Productive Remembering and Social Agency

TRANSGRESSIONS: CULTURAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

This book series is dedicated to the radical love and actions of Paulo Freire, Jesus "Pato" Gomez, and Joe L. Kincheloe.

TRANSGRESSIONS: CULTURAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

Cultural studies provides an analytical toolbox for both making sense of educational practice and extending the insights of educational professionals into their labors. In this context *Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education* provides a collection of books in the domain that specify this assertion. Crafted for an audience of teachers, teacher educators, scholars and students of cultural studies and others interested in cultural studies and pedagogy, the series documents both the possibilities of and the controversies surrounding the intersection of cultural studies and education. The editors and the authors of this series do not assume that the interaction of cultural studies and education devalues other types of knowledge and analytical forms. Rather the intersection of these knowledge disciplines offers a rejuvenating, optimistic, and positive perspective on education and educational institutions. Some might describe its contribution as democratic, emancipatory, and transformative. The editors and authors maintain that cultural studies helps free educators from sterile, monolithic analyses that have for too long undermined efforts to think of educational practices by providing other words, new languages, and fresh metaphors. Operating in an interdisciplinary cosmos, Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education is dedicated to exploring the ways cultural studies enhances the study and practice of education. With this in mind the series focuses in a non-exclusive way on popular culture as well as other dimensions of cultural studies including social theory, social justice and positionality, cultural dimensions of technological innovation, new media and media literacy, new forms of oppression emerging in an electronic hyperreality, and postcolonial global concerns. With these concerns in mind cultural studies scholars often argue that the realm of popular culture is the most powerful educational force in contemporary culture. Indeed, in the twenty-first century this pedagogical dynamic is sweeping through the entire world. Educators, they believe, must understand these emerging realities in order to gain an important voice in the pedagogical conversation.

Without an understanding of cultural pedagogy's (education that takes place outside of formal schooling) role in the shaping of individual identity--youth identity in particular--the role educators play in the lives of their students will continue to fade. Why do so many of our students feel that life is incomprehensible and devoid of meaning? What does it mean, teachers wonder, when young people are unable to describe their moods, their affective affiliation to the society around them. Meanings provided young people by mainstream institutions often do little to help them deal with their affective complexity, their difficulty negotiating the rift between meaning and affect. School knowledge and educational expectations seem as anachronistic as a ditto machine, not that learning ways of rational thought and making sense of the world are unimportant.

But school knowledge and educational expectations often have little to offer students about making sense of the way they feel, the way their affective lives are shaped. In no way do we argue that analysis of the production of youth in an

electronic mediated world demands some "touchy-feely" educational superficiality. What is needed in this context is a rigorous analysis of the interrelationship between pedagogy, popular culture, meaning making, and youth subjectivity. In an era marked by youth depression, violence, and suicide such insights become extremely important, even life saving. Pessimism about the future is the common sense of many contemporary youth with its concomitant feeling that no one can make a difference.

If affective production can be shaped to reflect these perspectives, then it can be reshaped to lay the groundwork for optimism, passionate commitment, and transformative educational and political activity. In these ways cultural studies adds a dimension to the work of education unfilled by any other sub-discipline. This is what Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education seeks to produce—literature on these issues that makes a difference. It seeks to publish studies that help those who work with young people, those individuals involved in the disciplines that study children and youth, and young people themselves improve their lives in these bizarre times.

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1. PRODUCTIVE REMEMBERING AND SOCIAL ACTION

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past.
—opening lines of "Burnt Norton" by T. S. Eliot

In "Be Here Now" family portraits, living family members who are geographically distant can be reunited in a 'back to the future' moment (*New York Times Magazine*, June 10, 2012). A Skype image is projected onto a background and virtual callers photographed with their flesh-and-blood kin (Clang 2012), showing how digital technologies bridge past/passing generations with future ones. Hirsch (1999) draws attention to Jewish-American artist Lorie Novak's (1987) composite photograph "Past Lives," in which images of children (later found in an orphanage by Nazi Klaus Barbie, who then sent them to their death) overlay an image of Ethel Rosenberg, mother of two sons, who was convicted of atomic espionage and executed in 1953. Also there is a mid 1950's photograph of Novak herself, a child holding tightly onto her mother's hand, as if fearful of letting go. Hirsch (1999, 7) points out that Novak's piece discloses memory as an act in the present on the part of a subject who has constituted herself in relation to the past, thus enlarging the "memorial circle."

Hirsch's (1999, 7) depiction of postmemory as participating in "shared memories and shared fantasies" points to various connections between memory and the future, a subject that is increasingly becoming the focus of recent books such as *The Future of Memory* (Crownshaw, Kilby and Rowland 2010), *Memory and the Future* (Gutman, Brown and Sodaro 2010)—and our own *Memory and Pedagogy* (Mitchell, Strong-Wilson, Pithouse, and Allnutt, 2011) and *Productive Remembering and Social Agency* (Strong-Wilson, Mitchell, Allnutt, and Pithouse-Morgan). Terdiman (1993, 8) speaks about memory as "the present past." Rothberg (2009) comments on Terdiman's "useful minimalist definition" (3) noting that two important corollaries are that: a) memory is a contemporary phenomenon and b) memory is a form of "working through, labor, or action" (4). Crownshaw (2010) suggests, following Huyssen, that "the remembrance of the past" needs to be accompanied by "the remembrance of the future" (Crownshaw, 3). What does a future-oriented memory entail? We have chosen to use Andreas Huyssen's (2003) term "productive remembering" as an umbrella under which to explore various approaches to working with memory that

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 1–16

are future-oriented (27), some of which are "deliberate" (Morrison 1996), in terms akin to what Strong-Wilson (2008) refers to as "bringing memory forward," and some of which are more exploratory and tentative.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

The book is divided into two main sections—one that focuses on phenomena with which a productive remembering can usefully engage—and another on method, which elaborates on various tools and methods for productive remembering. The distinctions between phenomena and method are not hard and fast, though. In this introductory chapter, we explore the connections of productive remembering to conceptualizations of past and future and to method itself as a critical area within memory studies. Interweaving reference to the book chapters, we highlight three conceptualizations of memory that we see as forming persistent threads of productive remembering in the book as a whole, and that are most apparent in the 'memory as phenomena' chapters. The threads are: memory for the future, nostalgia, and belatedness. Interest in the future follows from the conceptualization of memory as present rather than past. Nostalgia has also been receiving renewed attention; a case in point is provided by a recent special issue (2010) of *Memory Studies* on nostalgia. The extraordinary response to the prose fiction of German exile W.G. Sebald provides a striking example of fascination with belatedness. While much of the work around memory has been in the area of trauma (a legacy reflected in certain chapters in the current collection, including Radstone's account of the place of trauma studies in her memory journey), the topics in the present book range from film, media and popular culture to health and even, the land of faerie. We conclude this chapter by initiating a 'catalogue' of methods that we see as of interest to productive remembering, drawing on those sketched in chapters in the book, as well as outlining existing ways of 'working memory', memory-work, and 'working through memory' that can be usefully characterized as "productive." In particular, we highlight the relationship between method and the autobiographical, subjective, or personal as a critical methodological thread of the book overall and of future directions.

Briefly, the book chapters treat productive remembering as either (or both) phenomenon and method by way of diverse subject matter related to various social issues: issues of trauma (Daniels on Indian residential schools; Gervais and Ubalijaro on the Rwandan genocide), women and war (Kelly on Virginia Woolf), HIV&AIDS (Carani on men living with HIV&AIDS; Tao on condoms and HIV&AIDS in China), notions of roots, belonging and place/family (Corbett on his Acadian roots; Hussey on her ancestors' "Faerie faith"; Wang on her relationship to her disenfranchised brother in the aftermath of Mao's China); and subjectivity (Allnutt's explorations of self through collage; Chang-Kredl's investigations of early childhood teachers' constructions of identity by means of the film, *The Piano*; Lewkowich's interest in teachers' and students' affective investments by way of the media text, *Glee*; Mitchell's autoethnography of oil rites/rights; Reid-Walsh's use of artifactual

memory to understand the agency of 18th century children playing with texts; Radstone's meditations on "the locatedness and politics of theory"). Certain chapters we see as contributing to a "catalogue" of productive remembering methods: the use of photographs and other objects to prompt, channel or contain memory across historical periods and contemporary contexts and fields of study (the use of photos in Carani and Mitchell; of collage in Allnutt; of objects as 'rememberers' in Tao and Reid-Walsh), and a 'back to the future' drawing on cinematic and television texts to critically reflect on subjectivity (Chang-Kredl's joining of Bluebeard with *The Piano* to understand motivations of teachers/mothers working with young children/ the future generation and Lewkowich's exploration of the complex affective currents generated in teacher and student by watching the television show, *Glee*).

These chapters are 'book-ended' by chapters written by Strong-Wilson and Radstone. Strong-Wilson's chapter treats social issues of subjectivity within the context of nostalgia and trauma, past and future, in W.G. Sebald's *Austerlitz*. Radstone's chapter suitably concludes the book by providing a "competing view" by locating memory within the context of her own intellectual journey and subjective coming to memory studies, identifying pertinent questions and anticipating 'what should be next?' on the field's horizon.

PRODUCTIVE REMEMBERING THREADS

Memory for the Future

What does, or might, remembrance of (or, for) the future or future oriented remembering look like? Remembrance of/for the future is often located in projects involving new technologies and social media (e.g. Kadar et al. 2005). It manifests itself as education through remembrance or commemoration, such that the past does not repeat itself (e.g., the work of Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert 2000). It is often tied to projects of social action, in which the past is harnessed to shape a better, more peaceful future (Gutman et al. 2010). One example is the chapter by Gervais and Ubalijoro (this volume), which focuses on the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide. Taking a feminist perspective, Gervais and Ubalijoro situate Rwandan girls' and women's individual and shared memories of the genocide within a context of social change and productive remembrance. The chapter reveals how Rwandan girls and women "come together in a conscious and determined act of survival" in order to reconstruct their lives, secure their livelihoods, and reconfigure their gendered positioning in Rwandan society.

Future remembrance may centre around nostalgia—the idea that a return to an idealized past is required in order to have a future; such was the notion inspiring Spitzer's (1999) essay "Back through the Future" on the desire of Central European refugees fleeing Nazi persecution to recreate a 'past' society in Bolivia distinct from what the European society had become under Nazism. A similar kind of sentiment is echoed in Qian Wang's "Thirty Years Before/After: My Memory of My Brother Quan's Life Experience in Mao's Time as an Honorable Worker (1949–1976) and in

Deng's Time as 'Laid-off' (1978–1997)" (this volume), in which, through a process of memory-work, Wang returns to the past in order to re-create the future. Through coming to terms with her brother's devastating experience of loss of self, an idealized form of the once-close sibling bond between them is projected and (re)-instated.

Future oriented remembering is located in the region of postmemory, as set out by Hirsch (1997, 1999) and more recently explored by Hirsch and Miller (2011) in their book, *Rites of Return: Diaspora Poetics and the Politics of Memory*. Here, returns derive their "significance precisely from the fact that we can't, we *don't*, 'remember'" (Hartman et al. 2011, 115; emphasis in the original). Those who do remember don't need to go back, they suggest. The 'return' journey (as a form of memory-work) is undertaken by those who inhabit the present and are looking for ways for the past to inform the future. Corbett's curiousity about his Acadian roots is of this kind, as is Daniels' to understand her relative's experiences of Indian residential school (both in this volume).

Remembrance of/for the future tends to occur in the wake of belatedness. Thus, Kadar (2005) persuasively argues for the legitimacy of the tattoo, the deportation list, the sterilized body, as well as the *absence* of such material signs as autobiographies in their own right, standing in for those whose voices cannot be heard because the documentation is faint, oblique or has been erased. Reid-Walsh (this volume) argues in a similar vein for the legitimacy of inquiries into objects owned by children in the 18th century that move (because they are moveable books) yet can only be made to speak through a particular kind of memory-work. Trying to envision "its productive future" involves telling memory's story by looking back and narrating its past from the point of view of the present past (Radstone; this volume).

Future-oriented remembering is perhaps most strongly related to belatedness through the figure of the listener (the witness of the witness) who is the one who follows after, and is typically situated at the periphery of a narrative (e.g., the passer-by, researcher, or archivist), but in whom is invested hope for change by virtue of bending an ear back. Strong-Wilson's chapter (this volume) explores the relationship between past and future in Sebald's *Austerlitz*, suggesting that productive remembering resides in the relationship between the one who tells the story and the one who listens and responds, autobiographically.

Another source of the past's relationship to the future that we see as salient is forgetting. One form that this can take is serendipity, or what W.G. Sebald called coincidences: the unpredictable way in which the past can erupt into the present. Lives that initially may not appear to be connected to our own become so through the fact of contiguity or adjacency even if removed in time and space; they become linked through an apparently random detail or incident (Strong-Wilson, this volume). Forgetting may function to clear a space, compelling us to ask whether productive remembering can in certain contexts entail productive forgetting. Eppert (2003), for instance, questions the privileging of remembering. She acknowledges that remembering can give voice to those who have suffered, anchor personal and collective identities, ensure continuity and look forward to social justice, even

redemption (Eppert 2003). Perhaps, though, she suggests, we need to remember *how to forget*. "Forgetting establishes conditions for the past to have 'some kind' of future—a future that is as yet undefined, but available to the imagination" (191). It is a potentially contentious proposal. Eppert clarifies (referring to her discussion of Toni Morrison's *Beloved*): "Cleansed from the story" are the consequences "and not slavery itself" (193). Allnutt's deliberate "forgetting" of her previous collages as, each day, she embarked on a new picture (this volume) provides one example of a productive forgetting.

Nostalgia and Productive Remembering

As mentioned, renewed interest is being invested in the study of nostalgia. "Nostalgia is universal and persistent; only other men's nostalgias offend" Raymond Williams wryly noted (cited in Walder 2011, 7). Originally, nostalgia meant homesickness, "described in European medical encyclopedias up until the nineteenth century as fatal" (Tall 1993, 120). It was particularly rampant in armies and in young women of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who were sent from their homes to work elsewhere as servants. This disease could be manipulated for political purposes of national identity building, but it was on the whole "the province of doctors rather than cultural theorists" (Davies 2010, 267). However, the understanding of nostalgia as longing for home shifted "from being primarily a geographical disease to a psychological one rooted in time" (Tall, 121) and became identified as a longing for the past, as it is popularly understood today. It is often denigrated as retrograde and conservative. Kathleen Stewart (1988) suggests that this shift occurred because of a move from place to time as a marker, as we live what Stewart calls "an increasingly fluid and unnamed social life" (Stewart, 227) . Nostalgia posits "a 'once was' in relation to a 'now' [and] creates a frame for meaning… By resurrecting time and place, and a subject *in* time and place, it shatters the surface of an atemporal order and a prefab cultural landscape" (227). How then might nostalgia figure within a productive remembering?

E.J. Hobsbawm describes a "twilight zone between history and memory; between the past as a generalized record which is open to relatively dispassionate inspection and the past as a remembered part of, or background to, one's own life" (cited in Walder 2011, 2). Walder suggests this "twilight zone" might be the place to situate (in his case, "post-colonial") nostalgia, or rather, nostalgias, since he acknowledges there cannot only be one nostalgia, or one description of its many manifestations or phenomena. This liminal aspect of nostalgia is what can allow it to be useful, creative and generative, even radical, rather than its popular designation as sentimental, consumptive and conservative. Atia and Davies suggest that "nostalgic thinking can become a force that complicates, rather than one that simplifies" (2010, 181) and that it can be interpretive rather than "a retreat into hidebound certainty" (182). The idea of nostalgia as "rosy" sentimentality, Walder argues, "is only part of the story, and that pursuing its manifestations with a proper sense of the complex of feelings

and attitudes it engages, and the contexts upon which it draws, reveals its potential as a source of understanding and creativity" (2011, 3).

Nostalgia remains a powerful force, as it has done for centuries. Using nostalgia as method, Patrick Wright suggests, is a way of using "fragments of memory" as "traction points for a kind of critical intelligence" (2010, 200). While he cautions that it has the potential to be merely melancholic, he also suggests "it can be a way of keeping all sorts of questions open, of thickening things up, of escaping programmed realities" (200). The method(s) of excavating the container of material memories, the 'twilight zone', share in common looking at place(s) in/with time—necessary anchors to locate what we need to take out and examine. A *critical productive nostalgia* can result from the investigation of that hybrid container. Atia and Davies suggest that "it [nostalgia] gives sensory depth to our awareness of the other places, times and possibilities that are at once integral to who we are and definitively alien to us. In that sense, nostalgia always has the potential to function as a kind of critical self-consciousness" (2010, 184).

The potential of an "animating vision of nostalgia" (Hirsch and Spitzer 2003, 83) is that it be used as a "regenerative model" (Wiley 1998, cited in Heddon 2008, 98; see also Ladino 2004; Mitchell and Weber 1999). Indeed, Jennifer Ladino suggests that nostalgia "can be a mechanism for social change, a model for ethical relationships, and a useful narrative for social and environmental justice" (2004, 89). She offers a "counter-nostalgia," contrasting it to what she calls "official nostalgia." "While official nostalgia is characterized by totalizing metanarratives of return that posit coherent origins as points on a progressive timeline leading to the present day, counter-nostalgia is reflective, in Boym's (2001) sense: it is ambivalent, ironic, localized, contingent, and potentially subversive" (Ladino, 90). She suggests that counter-nostalgia and official nostalgia are "mutually dependent" because the former "depends upon a tactical reappropriation" (90) of the latter. She contrasts the two through a critical focus on the subject's "attitude toward the *object* of longing" (91). The counter-nostalgic views the object of longing not as unitary, but as complex, changing, and changeable through a critical perspective. This perspective suggests the past is never past, because it can always be reconstrued through the lens of the present: a persistent thread in this collection.

This "retrospective learning process" (Sebald cited in Walder 2011, 98) engages directly with time; it is, as Walder suggests, "a way of thinking about time" (Walder, 139). Walder adds "[t]hinking through nostalgia enables us to respond to the ethical imperative that resists the postmodern attempts to deny the temporal, or to transform it into a fixation upon a consumable present" (163–164).

In this volume, nostalgia sits in many inquiries. Quietly or explicitly, it is a thread looking at dissonance: dissonance between history and memory, between personal perceptions and experiences and societal or cultural expectations and "programmed realities." Strong-Wilson discusses the two "memory practices" of nostalgia and trauma and how "nostalgia *inflects* trauma" in Sebald's *Austerlitz*. Michael Corbett looks to Acadian identity literature and his mother's economic displacement story to

investigate what dislocation means. Qian Wang examines her childhood memories of a time and place in China, using the 'nostalgic' tool of a worker's song to analyze her brother's story of cultural and societal displacement and thus come to an understanding of the forces at work on him as an individual and on the society he inhabited.

BELATEDNESS AND PRODUCTIVE REMEMBERING

"Without memories there wouldn't be any writing: the specific weight an image or phrase needs to get across to the reader can only come from things remembered" (Sebald in Jaggi 2001). The notion of the past as weighing on the present—Terdiman's (1993) "present past"—assumes the presence of an agent; we construct the past in the present, and the agent of that construction is memory (Terdiman, 7). Questions arise when memory—specifically, the experience to which the memory refers—is not one's own. Marianne Hirsch (1997, 1999) has referred to this phenomenon as 'postmemory' (unhyphenated), which she distinguishes from "survivor memory" (1999, 8). Postmemory is "secondary or second-generation memory," the memories of children who grew up hearing about, or being exposed to, the collective trauma of their parents or grandparents; these memories are often "so powerful, so monumental" as to "constitute memories in their own right" (8).

Postmemory is nevertheless characterized by its "belatedness" (8); it lives in the shadow of others' narratives and therefore fails to fully understand or re-create the past in the present. All memory, in a sense, is belated, in that it concerns the past. The notion of memory as belatedness has primarily been informed by trauma studies. For Caruth, trauma inheres in the belated structure of the experience itself, which fails to be grasped—indeed, is impossible to grasp—within the time of its actual occurrence. From Caruth's perspective, survivor memory is itself already belated. Trauma occurs through repetition (e.g, in dreams) of 'literal' events that continue to fail to be understood; the traumatized "become themselves the symptom of a history that they cannot entirely possess" (Caruth 1995, 5). We see various forms of this (this volume) in Gervais and Ubalijaro's chapter on Rwandan women's memories of the aftermath of the 1994 Genocide, in Daniels' work on the continuing effects of Indian residential schools as well as in Carani's chapter on men living the daily trauma of 'surviving' with HIV&AIDS.

Belatedness can assume a specific form of experience, one that may be an inheritance of trauma studies, but that has reverberations across diverse contexts of time and place. This belatedness inheres in the one who comes after, the listener who (in trauma studies) has been called the witness of the witness or the belated witness (Levine 2006). To come after is to bear witness, which means taking responsibility for experiences not one's own (Felman 1992). It involves, says Caruth (1995), listening for the departure: a break from the isolation of the event. It also involves attending in such a way as to carry the past forward and not wounding the listener in turn (La Capra 1994). As Hirsch (1997) points out, postmemory comes about not through recollection but through "imaginative investment and creation," often

animated by "deep personal connection" (Hirsch, 22). The idea is to interpose a critical distance: "to put oneself in the other's position without taking the other's place" (La Capra in Hirsch, 1999, 16), and in this way, belatedness itself might help to structure experience in useful ways.

Several of the chapters in this volume contain a structure of listening to accounts of past lives, whether actual (e.g., Carani, Corbett, Daniels, Gervais and Ubalijaro, Wang) or literary and imagined (Hussey, Kelly, Reid-Walsh, Strong-Wilson). Corbett, for instance, positions himself as the listener to the story of his mother's 'departure' from Acadia. Strong-Wilson's chapter on nostalgia and trauma in W.G. Sebald's Austerlitz concludes that the listener, after Austerlitz's departure from the story, plays a central role in productive remembering. Daniels explicitly situates herself as the listener: the one who comes after, first by accompanying her relative to Residential School hearings and then by her return to personal narratives of residential school survivors. Daniels juxtaposes those accounts with her close reading of Sebald's *Austerlitz* so as to arrive at an understanding of the significance of latency for the future. As a poet, Hussey creatively positions herself as listening to the past (her own; ancient poetry) for the contemporary eco-significance of faerie while Radstone tells memory's story by listening, or attending to, markers in her located, subjective journey through memory.

A related form that belatedness can take is déjà vu, an uncanny sense of having 'been there' before. Déjà vu is a form of repetition for those who come after: who may feel a connection but without being able to pinpoint its source or precise significance, and are therefore left with a feeling of significance: shades of future remembering. A fragment stands in as archive, testifying to the incompleteness of memory. This kind of belatedness is present in different forms within the chapters: in Allnutt's collages, which she created separately in response to a prompt felt as significant; in Corbett's feeling of a certain Acadian belongingness; of Hussey's felt kinship to an ancient Faerie realm; in Kelly's unaccountably being drawn back to Virginia Woolf in light of pressing concerns; in Wang's feeling of re-visiting familiar ground in her life history interviews with a brother she realizes she barely knew; and in Strong-Wilson's discussion of Sebald's *Austerlitz*, in which 'déjà vu' is Sebald's *modus operandus*.

A CATALOGUE OF METHODS OF/FOR PRODUCTIVE REMEMBERING: MEMORY AS METHOD

Radstone (this volume) remarks that "our tellings of the past are still more complexly forged than we have yet grasped—and in ways that may elude our capacity for acknowledgement or analysis"; thus, the *need* for methods. This collection of essays offers something of a catalogue or inventory of methods for productive remembering. Various chapters pull on memory methods that have been in use or that could be usefully applied to productive remembering. Some are literary (written) methods, some visual and/or with objects, and some archival. Many of the methods illustrated in these chapters are characterized, either implicitly or explicitly, by a 'return': to

an author, to a place, to a story, to something passed over or taken-for-granted. For instance, after a long hiatus, Kelly re-visits Virginia Woolf as Kelly/Woolf grapples with individual and shared ethical obligations in times of war. Kelly's chapter examines how literary autobiography – "[revisiting] texts which form part of one's intellectual or literary history" – can provide a lens through which we can re-imagine and re-position our selves in relation to political and social upheaval and conflict.

Much of the work on productive remembering of this collection – returning to a time, a place or an object or literary/visual texts—traces its genesis either implicitly or explicitly to the strategic work of remembering, ranging from the method of memory-work of Haug et al. (1987) and various adaptations such as "collective biography" (Davies and Gannon 2006), through to the "first draft/second draft memoir writing" (Hampl 1996) and burgeoning literature on working with the visual (Kuhn 1995; Hallam and Marchment 1995). While some of this work is based on collective work (Haug et al. 1987; Crawford et al 1992; Davies and Gannon 1996), there is also 'memory-work' with individual memories, as we see in Annette Kuhn (1995) and Janet Zandy (1995) in relation to gender and class, and Naomi Norquay (1993; 2008) in relation to race and migration. Frigga Haug and her colleagues in Germany are typically credited with coining the term memory-work in the 1980s, and developing a set of tools for working with memory. It is their work which has also inspired other memory collectives in Australia (see Crawford et al) based on a number of key principles: group selection of a topic or theme ("recall an early memory of going to school"), writing down the memories (as opposed to simply orally recounting them), working in collectives (typically of no more than 10 to 12 – and in their case only with women), writing in the third person (as a type of distancing), the sharing of the memories within the group, and group approaches to analysis (what do our memory pieces have in common? Are there certain themes? What memories are missing?). This somewhat systematic and deliberate approach has been applied to a number of different areas of research, ranging from the female body and sexualisation (Haug et al.), through to gender and emotion in relation to childhood holidays (Crawford et al.) to memories of playing school (Mitchell and Weber 1999). This third person memory writing has also been applied to individual memories as Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (1998) explored in their work with women and mail-order catalogue memories.

Significantly, while participants' experiences of memory-work processes might be therapeutic, Haug and her colleagues have resisted the classification of memory-work as therapy. As she writes:

> Memory-work is not intended to provide therapy for suffering persons. This is not cynically meant, but the formulation is derived from the opinion that therapy uses expert knowledge to help people who cannot help themselves. If increases in self-recognition, knowledge about socialization processes, competence about language and meaning, and critique of theory are fundamental and prerequisites for the growing ability to act, memory-work aims at such an outcome. (Haug 2008, 38)

From this perspective, memory-work research resonates with a generative research process (Ball 2012), in which we see an emphasis on cultivating a self-reflexive capacity for 'making a difference' to the present and the future that may begin with the self but goes beyond it and "[points] outwards and towards the political and social" (Mitchell and Weber 2005, 4).

Patricia Hampl (1996) describes her approach to working with individual memories as a type of travel writing. It is, she notes, the writing of a traveller "who goes on foot, living the journey, taking on mountains, enduring deserts, marvelling at the lush green places. Moving through it all faithfully, not so much as a survivor with a harrowing tale to tell as a pilgrim seeking, wondering" (Hampl, 21). Many of the contributors to this volume speak in the idiom of pilgrims exploring "the peripheral …intimate and productive spaces" (Robertson and Radford 2009, 203), whether they are 'reading' literary works, films, their research data, sites/places, or objects. They do so not as 'global' travellers but as pilgrims coming out of specific locations (see Radstone, this volume, on the locatedness of memory). Methodologically, Hampl's work is organized around revision: remembering/writing (first draft) and then re-remembering/writing (second draft). Between the first and second drafts, questions may arise, as in her example of piano lessons and the red *John Thompson* music book. In her first draft, Hampl recalls the piano book in detail. However, in her second draft, she realizes that she never actually had that piano book; it was a book *other* children had. As she explains, "Now I can look at that music book and see it not only as 'a detail' but for what it is, how it *ac*ts. See it as the small red door leading straight into the dark room of my childhood longing and disappointment. The red book becomes the palpable evidence of that longing" (208). The distance, or slippage, travelled between what is remembered and what may be re-remembered is explored in this volume in several pieces, including Chang-Kredl's memory work around childhood and adulthood with early childhood teachers, in Allnutt's multiple collages, as well as in Mitchell's re-construction of a family/personal history connected to oil rites/rights. Radstone (this volume) comments on the "deferred action" of memories, which are subject to revision.

We see the visual as a critical aspect of productive remembering methods, a tendency that is reflected in this volume, such as in Mitchell's autoethnographic work where she starts her exploration with a set of visual artifacts (photo/newsclippings and ticket stubs from a family train trip). Carani uses interior and exterior spaces to enter the emotional worlds of his participants who are diagnosed with HIV&AIDS. From the small contained space of the *dozette* (pill-box) to the kitchen table to the pharmacy and bank machine, he accompanies his participants in using visual prompts (including photographs) to promote memory and pills-taking, a "crucial event within the practice of medical adherence." As they explore these spaces together, Carani suggests, the participants take on the role of "navigator," helping both Carani as researcher, and themselves as participants, to "see the question," to integrate it and use it to make productive changes. Susann Allnutt, in "A Few Pieces of Thread: Memory and Collage," suggests that collage is a medium which can entertain a

fruitful "emotional register," and through the co-location of symbolic images, lay out for analysis a rich jumble of ideas. Visual juxtaposition of our intragenerational selves travelling across time and space becomes a useful resource.

Use of cinematic and television texts is a cognate way of working the visual. In their work with a group of women viewing the television series *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit*, based on Jeanette Winterson's novel by the same name, Hallam and Marchment (1995) highlighted the ways in which a systematic viewing and re-viewing can provide a method for studying productive remembering. They were interested in the ways in which women's memories of viewing the television series several years earlier acted as a type of feminist intervention for studying what they term 'the ordinary woman.' Mitchell and Weber (1999) and Weber and Mitchell (1995) developed this memory methodology further in work with cinematic texts related to teaching (e.g., *To Sir With Love*), while Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (2002) worked with the cinematic text *ToyStory II* as a text of nostalgia in and of itself.

David Lewkowich (this volume) uses the television program *Glee* as a repository of popular cultural knowledge. As musical-comedy-drama, *Glee* focuses on a group of teenage outcasts drawn together through the power of song. Glee has since become a transmedia text, with *Glee*-related merchandise such as DVD, a line of *Glee* clothing, and a young adult book series. Lewkowich looks at the relationship of pedagogical desire and memory; how the relational dynamics of education function to maintain an archive of affect, in which a teacher's past is transferentially caught up in the dynamics of negotiating and orienting meaning in the present. Sandra Chang-Kredl engaged early childhood teachers in watching and responding to the film, *The Piano*. The film features a mother (Ada) and a daughter (Flora), whose roles as mother-daughter/adult-child are muddied, bringing out Ada's subjective, interior experiences as well as her right to claim those experiences. Chang-Kredl considers how early childhood education (ECE) teachers' responses, and her own re-visiting of the film (as a former ECE teacher and a present instructor of future ECE teachers), can be used to understand "the subjective experience of ECE teachers whose inner experiences are also ambiguously shaped by representations of childhood." Radstone (this volume) draws attention to the place of film in her intellectual journey through memory.

One source of agency associated with belatedness in which interest has re-awakened in recent years, especially from the vantage point of productive remembering methods, is the 'after-life' of a place or an object. Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (2002), for instance, have looked at this phenomenon in the context of contemporary children's popular culture. Martens (2011), in *The Promise of Memory*, re-visits the place of objects in Proust, Rilke and Benjamin, beginning with Proust's famous madeleine. Rilke saw aspects of his childhood stored in benign objects like "the button box, the jewellery box, and the interesting things in mother's drawers" (p. 119) whereas other childhood objects could take on eerie aspects, turning on him, preying on his fears, and leading him down the rabbit-hole. It was Walter Benjamin, fascinated with collections, who elaborated a theory of the dialectical image in which "a mental image of a bygone thing" enters into the "constellation" of the present (Benjamin,

176), which we see in Reid-Walsh's active engagement with the moveable books of their eighteenth-century child owners. Reid-Walsh conceives the moveable books as miniature museum exhibits, "rememberers" embodying the children's thoughts and play as Reid-Walsh, too, engages with the objects and 'remembers'/reconstructs their probable use. She introduces the notion of artifactual memory (borrowed from museum studies and book history) to understand what the books can tell us about their child owners—and about us, in our contemporary media-saturated culture. For her part, Tao looks at the ways in which condoms prompted young people's memories, and how, using visual methods, they can be historically read as a sign of changing sexual culture in contemporary China, showing "the great potential of social memory in studying sexuality."

PRODUCTIVE REMEMBERING AND SUBJECTIVITY: THE PERSONAL AND/OR AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL

Recent memory-work projects highlight the interplay of what C. Wright Mills (1959) explains as "personal troubles" and "public issues" by revealing the "intricate connection between [personal lived experience] and the course of world history" (8, 4). For example, a recent special edition of the *Journal of Education* (http://joe.ukzn.ac.za/Libraries/No_54_2012/Complete_issue.sflb.ashx) on "Memory and Pedagogy" highlights the significance of deliberate remembering in contemporary South Africa, which bears the legacy of the racist and repressive Apartheid system that "locked doors between people and denied them access to each other's experience" (Haarhoff 1998, 10). In particular, this themed issue revealed "interconnections between memory-work and educators' reflexive study of their own pedagogic selves and practices" (Pithouse-Morgan, Mitchell, and Pillay 2012, 2). The co-editors highlighted a variety of ways in which education scholars were taking up memory-work in diverse South African contexts, and noted that the authors seemed to be responding to what Haarhoff writes about memory in relation to the self: "We re-member (the opposite to dismember) our stories, we reconstruct and reconnect our lives" (5). The essays also responded to Ball's (2012) recent proposal that "generativity" be adopted as a key criterion for educational research. Ball's principle of generativity challenges all researchers to engage in a self-reflexive process of "reflection," "introspection," "critique" and developing "personal voice" – thus moving beyond making recommendations *for* change to becoming generative agents *of* change. Overall, the articles drew attention to the personal, social and "pedagogic significance of bringing forward the past, as painful as it might be" (Pithouse-Morgan et al. 2012, 4). This was aptly expressed by one of the contributors, Sam Tobias, a South African schoolteacher:

> In exploring my early learning experiences and my current teaching practice through memory work, I have gained a deeper insight into my life. Our country is still in a transformational state and the education sector, and by implication teachers, are asked to change it from hopelessness to optimism. We do need

> to draw from how it was in the past so as to know how it should or should not be in the present and the future. It is only through undertaking this reflective journey that we will arrive at the point of complete transformation – change for the better. In order to realise the change we desire, we have to change and that can happen. (2012, 120)

The autobiographical and personal are likewise central to the pieces in this collection, are invariably tied to both the social and collective (rather than to a free-ranging "I"—Gilmore, 2001), and thus, to agency and/or social action, in which the personal or subjective is directly implicated in projects of productive remembering. Nostalgia, although it can be collective, implies the personal, the subjective, the auto-ethnographic; when used critically in memory-work, it pokes holes in, and suggests links to, both memory and history. Marius Kwint (1999) says that the increasing emphasis on memory stems from an understanding that history "should fully admit to its illusory and constructed nature" and that "for a truer understanding of the significance and causality of the past, we should reckon more with memory, embracing all its subjective viewpoints, since awareness of the past depends on it" (1). William Pinar (2004) likewise suggests that individual memory is social. A key aspect of the *currere* method he and Madeleine Grumet developed (indeed, one of its four aspects) is regression, which consists in pulling the past forward (Pinar and Grumet, 1976, 2006). Within Pinar's (2011) most recent conceptualization, belated attention accompanies reconstruction of subjectivity: a subjectivity conscious of itself as individual and social, and thus, as for the future. Subjective and social reconstruction involves activating "agency, as one commits to the ongoing study of the past, a 'regression' that enables one's entry into the future" (Pinar, 39); indeed, "To find the future … requires reactivating the past" (58), in particular, the autobiographical past: the commitment of the "I" to social reconstruction. As Radstone reminds us (this volume), theory needs to be built from the ground up; it begins in "the specific locations where memory is researched," one of those primary locations being the politics of subjectivity: memories that are both our own (viz., personal, storied) as well as "never simply our own" (Radstone). We thus find all of the authors in this volume moving between memory as individual and memory as collective or social, and in so doing, contributing to opening highly generative productive remembering spaces for social action.

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TERESA STRONG-WILSON

2. WAITING IN THE GREY LIGHT: NOSTALGIA, TRAUMA AND *CURRERE* IN W.G. SEBALD'S *AUSTERLITZ*

It is not always the events we have been directly involved in that affect us the most.

—François Mauriac, p. vii

The iconic figure of W. G. Sebald's *Austerlitz* is that of a small child waiting in a railway station. The child is one among the *Kindertransport*, Jewish children ferried to safety during the Second World War. Re-named Dafydd Elias by the Welsh couple who took him in, clothed him, and steeped him in a Calvinist eschatology, holding him in "captivity" (according to the child's perception) in cold, spare, even funereal surroundings, Jacques Austerlitz, upon learning his true name, embarks on a journey of learning who he is and where he came from. He becomes an architectural historian. He finds himself unaccountably drawn back to railway stations; railways being efficient means of transporting trainloads of people to their destruction in the Holocaust. Eventually, memories overcome Austerlitz. He retires from teaching and spends the remainder of his life searching for information about his family.

Austerlitz was spared the Holocaust but not its effects. "Since my childhood and youth … I have never known who I really was," Austerlitz confesses (Sebald 2001, 44). He tells his story to a narrator, the details of whose life bear a remarkable likeness to those of W.G. Sebald. Little is told about the narrator, but we know that he is German, that he avoids his native land, that he listens to stories of those like Austerlitz whose lives have been irreparably tainted by the Second World War, and that, through listening, the narrator comes to accept responsibility for the burden of the past. The narrator first meets Austerlitz in the 1960s in the *Salle des Pas Perdus*, a large waiting place in a railway station in Belgium. All who are there appear lost, except for Austerlitz, who is focused on the task of making architectural sketches of the inside of the building. However, Austerlitz is lost too. Austerlitz's and the narrator's paths cross at odd but regular intervals. After a lapse of almost twenty years, the two meet again. Austerlitz, now in his sixties, has retired. He begins to tell the narrator his life story, a story that is still in the process of being unravelled. In fact, it is as if he has been waiting for the narrator: "telling himself he must find someone to whom he could relate his own story, a story which he had learned only in the last few years and for which he needed the kind of listener I had once been" (Sebald 2001, 43).

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 17–27.

Austerlitz's inquiries bring him back to childhood. Like protagonists in other of Sebald's writings (*The Emigrants*, *Rings of Saturn*, *Vertigo*) who are freighted by memories of trauma, Austerlitz seems child-like (Sebald 2001, 41). When the narrator first meets him, he strikes him as youthful, like a character out of a Germanic heroic romance. Indeed, when the narrator meets him again after a long time, Austerlitz seems to be becoming younger rather than older: "while I had always thought he was about ten years older than I, he now seemed ten years younger" (2001, 39). Why this association between Austerlitz and youth?

Part of the reason may come from sources like Elie Wiesel's *Night*, Wiesel's memoir of his experiences as a 14-year-old boy in Auschwitz and Buchenwald. Wiesel was transported from his native Hungary to Auschwitz in Spring 1944, the same season in which Sebald was born. Sebald was fascinated with coincidences. He had steeped himself in the subject of the Holocaust; he surely read Wiesel's account, and perhaps also its foreword, written by journalist François Mauriac who remarked: "nothing I had seen during those somber years had left so deep a mark upon me as those trainloads of Jewish children standing at Austerlitz station" (Mauriac 1982, vii).These children were not the Kindertransport but those slated for death, waiting at a Paris railway station called 'Austerlitz': a 'terminal' station in France's subway system. Wiesel tells Mauriac: I was one of those children.

Mauriac frames Wiesel's account as a child's memoir, even though the child very quickly became an adult, pretending to be 18 years old so as to escape others' fate. Wiesel had resolved not to write his story but did, almost two decades after the end of the war. Sebald was drawn to belated accounts like these, fascinated by the interval between experience and understanding (Caruth 1995). Sebald's Austerlitz escaped death in the camps, but is tormented: arrested in an imagined state of childhood. In this chapter, I explore associations between memory, trauma and the child in Sebald's *Austerlitz*, applying lenses drawn from the genre of the contemporary childhood autobiography as well as from curriculum studies in education so as to arrive at a conceptualization of productive remembering.

In 1976, William Pinar and Madeline Grumet published a seminal text called *Toward a Poor Curriculum*. The idea was to emphasize curriculum as movement (with rootedness in life experience) rather than as stasis (as a text to be implemented; a model to be followed). *Currere* resisted the tendency, then prevalent in Ralph Tyler's (1949) highly popular *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, to reduce curriculum to a science of implementing objectives and evaluating their attainment. In its stead, *currere* proposed seeing curriculum through the eyes of autobiography and lived experience, drawing on the humanities, especially phenomenology. Memory work has comprised a central part of *currere*. Pinar derived *currere* from the Latin infinitive, making a verb of what had been a noun (curriculum). He proposed a method of four phases: regressive, progressive, analytic, synthetic. Grumet, who was originally Pinar's doctoral student, further developed the notion of the autobiographical in education. She saw *currere* as essential for both students and teachers, as a "reflexive cycle in which thought bends back upon itself and …

recovers its volition" (Grumet 1976, 130–1 cited in Pinar 2004, 35). Both saw *currere* as a form of cultural criticism: as a way to critically examining the relationship between subjectivity and the social world, a relationship reiterated in Pinar's (2011) most recent writings on the subject. In this chapter, I focus on Grumet's discussion of the importance of what she calls "excavation" to *currere*, exploring its links to the same theme in Sebald's *Austerlitz* as it pertains to the child. I connect that theme to Sebald: the relevance of his writings (here, *Austerlitz*) to autobiography in education, specifically curriculum from the point of view of *currere* as a memory practice, one that invokes childhood memory as integral to productive remembering.

ON SEBALD AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The link between Sebald's writings and autobiography in education may seem tangential. The litmus test used to identify autobiography was provided by Lejeune (1989), whose 'autobiographical pact' described the understanding between author and reader, wherein the author is the protagonist. Policing of the genre can obscure insights, though (Gilmore 2001; Kadar 2005). While Sebald's writings would seem to fall outside of the accepted canon, as Smith and Watson (2010) note in their recent review of the autobiography genre, Sebald scholars have long drawn attention to persistent traces of the autobiographical and personal in his writings; to what Cynthia Ozick has called the "ineradicable, inescapable, ever-recurring, hideously retrievable 1944 … the horribly frozen year of his birth that he meant to leave behind" (Ozick 1996, 34).

Sebald was born in Germany, in a small town near the Swiss Alps. Though insulated from the war, at the age of 17 he saw a film at school on Bergen Belsen, which was one among several events that provoked him to self-exile from his native Germany. He spent most of his adult life at the University of East Anglia, where he taught European Literature and Creative Writing. His academic writing changed direction late in life, turning from the study of others' literary writings to writing prose fiction centred around the Holocaust. He was drawn to the phenomenon of suicide in old age; to what he theorized as the weight of memory in survivors of trauma, which he explored through writing prose fiction based on actual lives. He explained: As you get older, you forget more but what "survives in your mind acquires a very considerable degree of density" (Sebald in Wachtel 2007, 54). He died unexpectedly in 2001 in a car crash.

Sebald's late turn to prose fiction marks its own testimonial to the burden of the past. In terms provided by *currere*, his prose fiction has constituted a way of working through social, cultural and political preoccupations. In a series of controversial lectures delivered in 1998 in Germany on the subject of Allied bombing of German cities during the war, Sebald (2004) took on the challenge of how post-war German writers can, and should, write about the inheritance of the past, making explicit his interest in the relationship between social justice and writing that interrupts the tendency towards order and silence. Central to Sebald's thinking on this subject

was his reading of the works of Jean Améry, a Jewish German who was part of the Belgian Resistance, was captured, tortured in Breendonk then sent to Auschwitz. Améry wrote an intellectual memoir on his experiences, in which he narrated the events so as to try to reach an understanding of what had happened to him. He committed suicide late in his life. Sebald was haunted by Amery's discussion of *unheimlich* (a pervasive theme in Sebald's writings, composed in exile); of feelings of belonging and not belonging. Austerlitz, too, grapples with not knowing who he is and where he belongs; it is also a subject that haunts the narrator.

Austerlitz stands out from the canon of his writings by taking the form of a novel. It is a story (Austerlitz's autobiography) told within a story (by a narrator). Because Austerlitz was (construed as) an architectural historian, the theme and practice of site excavation is pervasive, including the idea of subjectivity as a site. That excavation is tied to memory work. Such themes are consistent with Sebald's continual return to the subject of mental excavation. As Itkin (2010) has pointed out, *Austerlitz*, in its literary structure and allusions, is suggestive of a descent into the underworld characteristic of classical literature. In *Austerlitz*, that descent is to childhood, in which Austerlitz's autobiography bears a close likeness to contemporary childhood autobiographies.

JOURNEYING UNDERGROUND, EXCAVATION AND *AUSTERLITZ*

The entrances to memory in *Austerlitz*, Itkin (2010) has pointed out, are characterized by trips to the underworld. He explains that "[i]n classical epic, *katabasis* is a means of representing the continued influence of the past in the present, a spatial and an architectonic trope for the workings of memory" (Itkin 2010, 163). Itkin identifies two main sites for Austerlitz's descent into the past: his visit to the Liverpool train station and his journey to Therienstadt where his mother was interned. Both sites are tied to his childhood. Margaret Atwood (2002) speculates that writing is motivated "by a desire to make a risky trip to the Underworld, and to bring something or someone back from the dead" (Atwood 2002, 156). Austerlitz's journeys are predicated on a desire to recover his childhood and to use excavation as a method. I will come back to the two episodes that Itkin identifies, but first embed those episodes within Grumet on excavation as a method used by *currere*.

"The problem of studying the curriculum is that we are the curriculum," Grumet (1981, 122) has pointed out. The reconceptualization movement set out to demystify the notion of curriculum as something conceived as external to the knower. By being turned into a science influenced by Taylorism, curriculum was being drained of one of its primary contents: study of the "body-subject" (Grumet 1981, 129). Grumet borrows this latter term from Merleau-Ponty, arguing that when we ignore everyday experiences and the stories that comprise the texture of our lives, "we perpetuate and exaggerate our exile" (Grumet 1991, 84).

Excavation is a way of critically engaging the body-subject. The first step involves reclaiming one's stories: a situating of knowledge in time and place (Grumet

1991, 87). Grumet's instructions are: "Write about your three most educational experiences"; "Include as much detail as possible." The narratives are then shared with others, in an initial step of re-symbolizing experience (75): of drawing out what is specific; what is general: "What we lack is a public language to speak of these old private things" (86). Another purpose of the discussion is to not let the narratives—and the memories and the memory-objects to which they adhere—linger in "poetic memoirs" (87). Along with the writing, then, comes suspicion and doubt, "our distrust of the account", which also fails to cohere because it is only a fragment, a piece of something larger that cannot be discerned. The reason for writing at least three narratives is to allow for *further* slippage: "There in the interstices, the spaces where the pieces don't quite meet, is where the light comes through" (Grumet 1981, 122). The light is not that of enlightenment; rather, "[w]hat the restoration returns to us is doubt in the certainty of our own assumptions" (1981, 122–23). Furthermore, "without that doubt reconstruction dwindles into reification" (123).

The purpose of *currere* is to accomplish a critical distancing *through* engagement with subjectivity. One of the devices that moves the narrative beyond the self is the detail, which situates the memory as grounded in a particular time and place, such as Grumet's of the 1940s; home as "resonant with the sound of the radio, swirled and speckled like the linoleum on the kitchen floor" (Grumet 1991, 74). The details comprise "the given"; testimonials to a shared life of a particular time and place (80). The inscription of detail helps move the narrative beyond the self because it illuminates "the given" (80): the taken-for-granted world that originates in childhood and at home (Grumet 1991). One of our first tasks as educators is to "distinguish the world we received as children from the one we are responsible to create as adults" (80).

Austerlitz's descent into his past is presaged by "nocturnal excursions" (Sebald 2001, 127), which include restlessly riding of "the Underground, together with all the other poor souls" (126) through a Dantesque landscape. Austerlitz sees "images from a faded world," including a woman dressed in the manner of the 1930s. He finds himself drawn to the Liverpool Street Station, which lies in ruins, "one of the darkest and most sinister places in London" (127). If we were in any doubt as to where we are, the place is described as "a kind of entrance to the underworld" (127–8).

When in the station, Austerlitz feels strange, "a kind of heartache which, as I was beginning to sense, was caused by the vortex of past time" (Sebald 2001, 129). He performs a mental excavation of the site, identifying, layer by layer, its history: geographical changes, buildings, events, people, including "a hospital for the insane" (Bedlam) (p. 129): a litany of "suffering accumulated … over the centuries" (130). Austerlitz feels "as if the dead were returning from their exile" (132). A shabby porter appears. He seems to be eternally performing the mindless task of sweeping up rubbish, with a piece of cardboard used as a dustpan. Austerlitz follows the man. He is led to the *Ladies' Waiting Room* (with echoes of another waiting room, *La Salle des Pas Perdus*). His guide disappears. Austerlitz steps through heavy curtains into a grand and ruinous architecture, which he proceeds to analyze in minute detail. He soon concludes that these thoughts are but "distraction" from the "scraps of memory

beginning to drift through the outlying regions of my mind" (136). The memories begin to coalesce and interlock and Austerlitz sees two middle-aged people who by their dress and manner he recognizes as his Welsh foster parents. And then, "I also saw the boy they had come to meet" (137). He only recognizes himself by the little green rucksack that the boy is holding on his lap, "and for the first time in as far back as I can remember I recollected myself as a small child" (137).

Itkin argues that the Liverpool episode moves the narrative into the genre of the testimonial, with Sebald abandoning the more "peripatetic" perspective characteristic of his earlier prose fiction and instead providing "a personal engagement with the history of destruction" (Sebald 2001, 171). Itkin does not comment on the presence of childhood remembrance, except to suggest that the narrator's memories in a parallel underground (in his visit to Breendonk) pale in intensity. The narrator strains to imagine what it was like for the political prisoners in the Nazi compound but "everything is constantly lapsing into oblivion" (Itkin 2010, 167; cited from Sebald 2001, 24). The only concrete association that he is able to conjure is connected to the SS, people he might have known or that resemble people he knew: memories evoked by the smell of rubber, which reminds him of the apron worn by a local butcher in the town in which he grew up. These memories come from what would be considered as an untroubled, even happy, childhood, were it not for the juxtaposition of its ordinariness with misery.

Whereas the narrator (not unlike Sebald himself) may prefer to forget a tortuously ineradicable childhood and avoid excavation à la Grumet, Austerlitz's journeying underground is bent on recovery, which poses its own challenges. What is important (as we shall see) is their interrelationship with respect to excavation: Austerlitz's narration of his experiences, and the narrator's response narrative.

NOSTALGIA AND TRAUMA IN CHILDHOOD AUTOBIOGRAPHY

In Sebald's writings, the child is only ever remembered; there are no child protagonists. And yet, the adult protagonist is positioned as child-like. So, for instance, Dr Henry Selwyn, an elderly man, is absorbed in counting blades of grass, lying in the grass as a child might do, in Sebald's (1996) collection of four stories, *The Emigrants*. Even though he occupied the professional position of teacher, Paul Bereyter, whose story also appears in *The Emigrants*, is remembered by townspeople as Paul, "giving … the impression that in the eyes of his contemporaries he had never really grown up" (Sebald 1996, 28). The narrator, when he first meets Austerlitz, describes him as "youthful" (Sebald 2001, 7).

Other childhood echoes appear: Proustian promptings that bring protagonists to the doors of memory. Austerlitz feels the "uneven paving" of the stones underfoot in the vicinity of what, not surprisingly, turns out to be his childhood home: "it was as if I had already been this way before and memories were revealing themselves to me not by means of any mental effort but through my senses, so long numbed and now coming back to life" (Sebald 2001, 150). Such invocations seem more ironic than

genuine. For all of the time (60 years) that Austerlitz avoided confronting his past, his descent into a childhood nursery world occurs remarkably quickly, as if without "any mental effort" (150).

On one level, *Austerlitz* represents an ironic echo of the Romantic version of the childhood autobiography, a nineteenth century form of the *bildungsroman* that traced the development of the protagonist-artist, retrospectively locating the roots of creativity in childhood as a time of genius tied to Nature (Coe 1984). As many have documented, memoir has been experiencing a resurgence, the childhood memoir included. The contemporary childhood memoir treats accounts of survival from trauma traceable to childhood: abuse, colonization (being stolen), drug addiction, homelessness, poverty, prostitution, war. Popular contemporary examples include Frank McCourt's Pulitzer prize-winning *Angela's Ashes*. Distinctive to the genre, Douglas (2010) notes, is the complex intertwining of two memory practices: nostalgia and trauma.

Douglas devotes one chapter to the front covers of autobiographies, most of which depict childhood as innocence: young cherubic faces; a child lying on a beach, another against a garden backdrop; engaged in play (e.g., jumping; dreaming). Discrepant notes come in the titles (Douglas 2010). *Austerlitz*'s cover shows a young child of about 7 dressed as a chevalier, with a beautiful white satin costume of shirt (with large mother-of-pearl buttons), breeches, cape and hat with a feather plume. In the case of *Austerlitz*, the background provides the source of contrast: a desiccated field (wasteland) as does the name, which is of the Paris station (discussed earlier) and district, after which a Nazi warehouse was named; the warehouse contained valuable artifacts pilfered from the homes of those they murdered. The proximity (in sound) between Austerlitz and Auschwitz has also been pointed out.

The body is a primary site for repressed memories in the childhood autobiography (Douglas 2010); the traces provide evidence in adulthood of the child trauma. As Smith and Watson explain, "[t]he body is a site of autobiographical knowledge because memory itself is embodied" (37 in Douglas, 114). Since Austerlitz's trauma consists in an absence, a sundering of links to family and identity, his body-memory is experienced as fragments: shadowy traces of the past: feelings of illness; memory fragments described as "rending" or "shattering" (Sebald 2001, 161) inside of his brain. Kadar (2005, 224) has examined situations in which descendants are attempting to recover lost histories. In such cases, "[m]emory registers what it felt like, not exactly what it was like and that slippage from 'historical fact' to individual feeling and yearning is crucial … to understand traumatic events through fragment and trace." Austerlitz's Terezin visit is exemplary. Terezin is the second underground place that Austerlitz visits.

This Czechoslovakian town was vacated for the creation of Therienstadt, a "model" concentration camp used by the Nazis for visits from humanitarian organizations, like the Red Cross. In 1946, the original residents were allowed to return. As with the Liverpool Station, Austerlitz's visit is described as a descent. What most strikes Austerlitz are the shut doors: "Not a single curtain moved behind

their blind windows" (Sebald 2001, 189). Whereas Austerlitz learns much about his mother's experiences by exploring the Ghetto Museum, it is the mute objects that most speak to trauma. That trauma is consolidated when the objects also evoke nostalgia.

In the childhood autobiography, trauma is often expressed as a longing for that which may not have existed in the first place, compensating for loss "by supplementing a memory invigorated through absence" (Steinwand 1997, 30 cited in Douglas 2010, 94). Characteristic, too, is an idealization of the time prior to the trauma so as to "emphasize the magnitude of the change that comes after" (Douglas, 104). Compensation in *Austerlitz* is expressed in substitutions for the mother figure (which space does not allow me to elaborate). Idealization of time occurs through Austerlitz lingering over Terezin's closed Antikos Bazar, which he encounters while walking through the deserted town. The Bazar "exerted such a power of attraction" on Austerlitz that he stands immobile for some time, his "forehead pressed against the cold window" (Sebald 2001, 195), in a manner similar to a child gazing at the objects on the other side of a store window. The items strike Austerlitz as rescued from a time before the war. Escaping the fate of their former owners, they survive but are trapped in an eternal moment of "just occurring", "stranded" (197), dislodged from their rightful place.

The objects in the Bazar occupy the same place in the story as the sole remaining photograph from Austerlitz's childhood, which Vera, his childhood nurse, finds tucked away in a book. It is the photograph (already described) of a child dressed up as a cavalier, seeming to pierce Austerlitz with his gaze (in Sebald's evocation of Barthes's *Camera Lucida*) and challenging him to help him "avert the misfortune lying ahead of him" (Sebald 2001, 184).

While Douglas (2010) indicates that nostalgia and trauma intertwine in trauma childhood autobiographies, her examples bring out mainly juxtapositions. In *Austerlitz*, trauma *inflects* nostalgia, leading to an experience of time and memory in which a longing for change remains trapped, thwarted by actual events. Within this space and time, the body-subject occupies a grey world, shared by living and dead. With memory's absence, the present recedes into the past: "I have always felt as if I had no place in reality, as if I were not there at all" (Sebald 2001, 185). This impression is strongest for Austerlitz when he meets himself as unreal child, as "the Rose Queen's page" (185).

PRODUCTIVE REMEMBERING: COINCIDENCES AND *CURRERE*

Many have remarked on how *Austerlitz* marks a departure from Sebald's other writings. Austerlitz does not take his own life or disappear into death or madness. An inexorable forgetting begins to set in as Austerlitz becomes ill and fails to regain his strength upon visiting a spa frequented in his childhood—but then this tendency is suddenly reversed as he becomes newly animated by his search for his father. Perhaps it is the genre of the childhood autobiography that impels Austerlitz (as

character) to continue his quest, the primary goal of the genre being catharsis, as Douglas suggests (2010, 12). Perhaps the childhood quest derives its impetus from the fact that Austerlitz is fictional. Sebald has talked at length about how though fictionalized, his writing follows the chronological path of actual people's eventual demise (e.g., with Wachtel 2007). Perhaps it is the aura and echo of the child that hovers around Austerlitz—a naïve hopefulness that, despite feelings of not belonging anywhere, outweighs despondency—and fixes Austerlitz in an immutable cultural stance as child-like. Not unlike the child cavalier, Austerlitz remains trapped, a photographic still: in perpetual exile to end his "orphaned state of mind" (Sebald 2001, 265). At the end of the story, Austerlitz simply disappears. He leaves the narrator the keys to his apartment along with the responsibility, not only to re-tell his story, but make sense of it.

In trauma literature, Felman and Laub comment on the tradition of the only person who can shoulder the burden of bearing witness being the person who experienced the event—"[a]nd yet," they also note, "the appointment to bear witness is … to transgress the confines of that isolated stance" (1992, 3). What sets *Austerlitz* apart from Sebald's other writings is the degree to which the German narrator becomes responsible for, and implicated in, Austerlitz's story.

The two—Austerlitz and the nameless narrator—share the burden of an inheritance. Both have suffered from Germany's embrace of National Socialism. The narrator's life is connected to Austerlitz most intimately by way of internal echoes (a narrative strategy of which Sebald was very fond), most notably, the star-shaped structure of Breendonk, echoed in the star-shaped layout of Terezin. It is no accident that the novel ends with returns to excavation: Austerlitz's visit to France's National Library, where he hopes to excavate archived information about his father's fate. Like the huge warehouse (also called Austerlitz) in which the Nazis catalogued pillaged items from their victims, the library defies entry, resembling the closed doors of Terezin.

For his part, the narrator retraces his steps to Breendonk, where he travelled after first meeting Austerlitz. This time, he stays there longer, reading in one of the wooden buildings in which the SS had set up a printing shop. He is reading a book that Austerlitz had given him. The book recounts a Jewish author's search for his grandfather and culminates in the author's experience of vertigo at witnessing the deep chasm of the Kimberly diamond mines where so many perished. Reading the story, our narrator has the following experience: "The roof and the walls creaked in the heat, and the thought passed through my mind that the hair on my head might catch fire, as St. Julian's did on his way through the desert" (Sebald 2001, 296). The story of St. Julian (as narrated by Flaubert) tells of a cursed child who grows up to be a pitiless murderer of animals and, as in a Greek tragedy, though he tries to avoid his fate, ends by murdering his very own parents. In the moment of killing, St. Julian's father's eye scorches his son. With the narrator's return, not to the room where the SS tortured their victims, but to where they wrote nice letters to their families as they turned away from the contiguous horror, the German narrator comes to terms with his own past: with his own childhood memories of 'normality.'

Arrested as Austerlitz is within his search for a lost childhood, Sebald seems to be saying that it is incumbent on those who listen to assume responsibility for their own excavations. This is what he would have wished his fellow Germans to do, and what he critiqued them for not doing, most trenchantly in his *The Natural History of Destruction* (2004). It might be too strong to say, from a writer associated with melancholy, that herein lies the glimmer of hope that history will not repeat itself. Sebald did not exude such optimism. Within his terms of reference, though, casting suspicion on our own frame of mind was what was required in what we can appropriately call a productive remembering, even if Sebald was not assured of the positive worth of such activity. Such memory pathways (in *Austerlitz*, as in Grumet) seem to lead back to childhood, a time when we are in the fullest presence of "the given" and least conscious of what that given signifies. This was certainly true of Sebald's life, growing up where he did, insulated, in the absence of knowledge of the Holocaust, which had been as if erased.

The kind of excavation memory work called for by *currere*'s autobiographical method may be one way to address this perennial problem in education of responsibility for the past and care for the future. Productive remembering (or at least, a certain version of it) would seem to involve: a) addressing the close nexus between nostalgia and trauma; b) doing so in the context of childhood; c) re-visiting the stories; and d) sharing them with others. What is missing in Grumet's formulation (from the 1960's to the 1990's) but implicit in Pinar's (2011) more recent *currere* and cosmopolitanism, and rendered explicit in Sebald's writings, is the notion of contiguity (or, as expressed in the narrative, 'coincidence'). Contiguity is defined as a state of close proximity in space and/or time. Contiguity between the life of Austerlitz and the life of the narrator is what opens a space for productive remembering. The location of that space profoundly relates to childhood, as a remembered site for what has been 'given' but which, through productive remembering, can be changed into something constructive for the future.

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PART I

MEMORY AS PHENOMENON

LYN DANIELS

3. EXPRESSIONS OF POLICY EFFECTS: HEARING MEMORIES OF INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

Recently, I was asked by a relative to accompany her to a hearing about her experiences of abuse at a Canadian Indian residential school. The hearing was part of the Independent Assessment Process of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement.[1] The hearing involved an adjudicator and lawyers: for the federal government and for the claimant. In addition, the claimant had an elder and a relative present. I was the relative. I have studied the history of the Indian residential school system but participating in this hearing was a different type of learning. In this hearing, what were highlighted for me were the striking similarities between my relative's story and numerous other personal narratives of Indian residential schooling. Noting these similarities is not intended to undermine their significance. The history and colonial policies of the Indian residential school system persist (Brooks 1991), living through the individuals who experienced them. Colonial policy is evident in former Indian residential school students' personal narratives and in their expressions of its repetitive traumatic effects. Accordingly, we can learn from these personal accounts at a cultural level.

This chapter is devoted to my re-listening to Indian residential school history and to looking at its repetitive effects in terms of a history of trauma. It reflects a particular structure of listening to accounts of trauma and oppression that Hirsch (1999) referred to as postmemory. She described postmemory as a "space of remembrance" where memories and traumatic experiences are inscribed into the life story of second generation survivors of the Holocaust. Photographs, in particular those of survivor children, can be used to mediate such acts of remembrance, because they attest to the truth of the past while also communicating the distances that must be bridged: between the viewer and the subject and between the survivors of trauma and the next generation. Accordingly, in this chapter I discuss how family photos and the photos of Indian residential school children figure in this study of belated acts of remembrance.

W.G. Sebald's (2001) novel *Austerlitz* is also concerned with looking at, and hearing, a history of trauma. The German-born writer W.G. Sebald used a "periscopic," writing style where "everything is related round corners" (Schwartz 2007, 37). Caruth argued that, "[f]or a history to be a history of trauma [it] means that it is referential precisely to the extent that it is not fully perceived as it occurs; or . . . a history can be grasped only in the very inaccessibility of its occurrence" (Caruth

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 31–47.

1991, 187). She characterized this "unconsciousness" as "the indirect referentiality of history" (187). Hence, Caruth's understanding of a history of trauma is evident within Sebald's "periscopic" treatment because history and trauma are indirectly featured in his (2001) novel *Austerlitz*. The life of the character Austerlitz has been shaped by significant historical events that are unbeknownst to him (and readers) until his later years. That the reader learns this history in Austerlitz's own words via a narrator listening to the incremental recovery of his repressed memories constitutes Sebald's 'periscopic' technique. This technique conveys the ongoing effects of the intergenerational legacy of fascism on families and individuals.

Although the fictional life of Austerlitz, the character, features latency, repression, repetition, and departure[2] as aspects of a traumatic past, they are presented 'periscopically' because Sebald believed "there are thresholds you cannot cross, where you have to keep your distance" (Sebald, quoted in Schwartz 2007, 112). He believed it was morally wrong if "something is spun out of the lives of victims which is gratifying for the author" (112). This is an important ethical stance for a German writing about a Jewish character. Accordingly, postmemory offers a model of ethical relation to the oppressed or persecuted other which, similar to Sebald, advocates "distance" in order to resist appropriation (Hirsch, 1999, p. 9).

This chapter considers Sebald's apparently random themes of looking, collecting, and buildings in relation to Isabelle Knockwood's (2001) postmemorial text: a collection of personal narratives of an Indian residential school education. Through so doing, significant insights about history and memory come to light. In particular, it is Hirsch's (1999) notion of postmemory that bridges history but the distance remains.

HISTORY AND TRAUMA

Drawing on Freud's work on the history of trauma and on her own research into the history of the Jewish peoples and their persecution and exile, Caruth found that history and trauma shared similar features—namely latency, repression, repetition, and departure. We see these features, too, in W. G. Sebald's *Austerlitz* and in the history of the Indian residential school system. When the history of the Indian residential school system is placed in the context of a history of trauma (Caruth 1991), the apparently random themes of looking, collecting, and buildings draw our attention to seeing—and hearing—history for what it is, whether for indigenous or non-indigenous (here, Jewish) peoples.

I explore the indirect referentiality of history by juxtaposing the fictional story of an individual whose life was unknowingly shaped by Nazi persecution (Sebald's Austerlitz) with the systematic persecution that children experienced in the Indian residential school system in Canada and in Indian boarding schools in the United States. In particular, the personal narratives in Knockwood's (2001) history of Mi'kmaw children in an Indian residential school offer points of comparison to Sebald's novel with respect to how authors may feel compelled to carry the memories of a traumatic past to a wider audience. In both these approaches—fiction

and personal narratives—a history of trauma proves haunting through expressions of its repetitive effects.

Of the many collections of personal narratives of Indian residential school experiences, Isabelle Knockwood's (2001) *Out of the Depths* is ideal for understanding what children experienced inside these institutions—ideal because Knockwood collected narratives of former students of Shubenacadie Indian Residential School, a school which she herself attended. Her book provides a key starting point for understanding the human impact that Indian residential school policy had on Mi'kmaw children and their families, as she places their stories in a historical context (as an extension of Mi'kmaw oral history). Their memories and Knockwood's approach (of collecting personal memories) resonate poignantly with Caruth's thesis of traumatic history.

According to McCulloh (2003, 130), Sebald's purpose is to ask, "How can one find a compelling way to speak about what is in all its horror and complexity, unspeakable?" Fictionalizing such an unspeakable subject means that we see the "insidious, if oblique, infliction of harm achieved by the actions of the Nazis" (McCulloh, 110), which resulted in the repression of Austerlitz's memories regarding his family history and his nation's history—and therefore his identity.

As an adult, Austerlitz belatedly recalls the "Kindertransport" that sent him from Prague to Wales as a small child. Kindertransport was a British government operation through which children of Jewish peoples from German-occupied countries were saved from the harsh and deadly conditions of the ghettos and concentration camps. The children in the Kindertransport grew up in foster homes, group homes, and farms in the United Kingdom. Austerlitz, recalls the feelings of loss when English displaced his original (Czech) language. These departures mark a history of trauma.

POSTMEMORY

With postmemory there is a witness to a witness of the Holocaust. Hirsch argues that acts of remembrance can generate a projection and identification with the memories of the survivors of trauma. The medium that connect the generations are photographs. Postmemory is the relationship of second generation children of survivors with the memories of survivors, particularly when the "memories are so strong as to constitute memories in their own right" (Hirsch 1999, 8). Hirsch argued that the memories of survivors of trauma can be adopted by members of the next generation and conceives of postmemory as not merely individual and personal but available at the level of the cultural and social. I position myself in the role of the postmemory witness to the lived experiences of the history of the Indian residential school system, at a personal level, poring over photographs while listening to memories of family members, and at a cultural level, re-listening to the stories of survivors of Indian residential schools.

Similarly, Knockwood opens her book by informing readers that she is holding a Talking Stick and according to her Mi'kmaw traditions, she will tell of everything

that relates to a problem or issue. Those in attendance are compelled to listen until the Talking Stick is passed on. Knockwood frames the problem as one of understanding. She wants to understand why the hurt of her experiences and those of her peers at the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School does not go away. With this opening, Knockwood hopes that the act of writing their memories will provide some answers as the tradition of talking has done in the past. Knockwood positions the publication of her book in a postmemory space of remembrance with the statement that the children and grandchildren of those who attended the school "are usually the ones who want to talk to me about it since the book enabled them to understand much of what previously troubled them about their parents and grandparents" (2001, 13). Hence, Knockwood's collection of memories can be read as a form of "productive remembering" (Strong-Wilson, Mitchell, Allnutt, and Pithouse, this volume) since it has meaning for future generations. In the next section I briefly review the genres of literature produced about the history of the Indian residential school system and touch on Indian boarding schools in the United States.

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Canadian Indian residential school system operated in various forms for at least one hundred years, but the full impact of the extreme physical, emotional, spiritual, and sexual abuse for some of the children can never be completely understood. With regard to researchers who study Indian residential school history, Chrisjohn and Young have written that "going over this past will form one of the most intellectually and emotionally demanding tasks they have ever undertaken" (1997, 159). Their statement provides a testament to the difficulty of looking at this history and therefore hearing it.

The details of the Indian residential school system were not widely known among the Canadian public until the 1990s. But recent events such as the implementation of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement[3]—the outcome of a class action suit by survivors—have brought a measure of public awareness about the Indian residential school system. The apology by the Prime Minister of Canada in June 2008 highlighted this history.

There are two main genres of literature on Canadian Indian residential schools: the personal narrative genre and scholarly historical genre. Recent studies of specific schools that operated in the United States combine the two genres (Lomawaima 1994; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006).

The personal narrative genre presents the perspectives of those who experienced the Indian residential school system (Deiter 1999; Glavin 2002; Jack 2006; Jaine 1993; Knockwood 2001). In the scholarly historical genre, the authors seek to make comprehensive statements about the Canadian Indian residential school system. Assimilation of the indigenous population with the Euro-Canadian population—culturally, socially, and economically—was the original goal of the system (Archibald 1993; Barman 2003; Bull 1991; Furniss 1995; Grant 1996; Haig-Brown

1988; Ing 1991; King 1967; Miller 1997; Milloy 1999). The analysis of how the goal of assimilation was to be accomplished, and where Indian residential schools featured in that social equation, depends on each scholar's disciplinary perspective. In particular, it depends on their analysis of the policy that was mobilized and realized in the design of the Indian residential school system.

Although the Indian school systems differed in the United States and Canada, they were both founded upon colonial ideology. Lomawaima (1994) compared the recollections of former students of the Chilocco Indian Boarding School in Oklahoma with the historical records and official policy. Her study represents a cross-genre that emphasized the students' experiences through the use of academic scholarship whereas in previous studies, narratives were muted. Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc's (2006) collection of articles in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* also emphasized the diverse perspectives of former US Indian boarding school students through the use of unique data such as school and community newspapers. These studies compared the ideology underlying the policy of the US Indian boarding school system with former students' perspectives, thereby validating their experiences as the lived reality of policy. Continuous with the work of these American scholars, I view former Canadian Indian residential school students' recollections of their school experiences as expressions of repetitive policy effects.

LOOKING AND COLLECTING

With the allusion to an "inquiring gaze" in the opening scene of the novel, *Austerlitz*, Sebald is drawing attention to two kinds of looking: the kind of looking that is referred to as the 'colonial gaze' and the kind of looking synonymous with thinking. Austerlitz remains oblivious to the impact of history on his life and identity, as do the novel's readers, until the end of the story. History and trauma are foreshadowed by the narrator's observations of a zoo's inhabitants just before his first meeting with Austerlitz. He compares their large eyes to the "inquiring gaze found in certain painters and philosophers who seek to penetrate the darkness which surrounds us purely by means of looking and thinking" (Sebald 2001, 5). What "darkness" is Sebald alluding to? In this instance, readers are alerted to the role that philosophers and artists have in understanding and conveying the "darkness" of our social world. For instance, a central theme of *Austerlitz* is the erasure of history and the effect such erasure has on the social collective but most particularly on individuals (McCulloh 2003). McCulloh has argued that Sebald sees a social world where "certain forces . . . are bent on neutralizing all historical consciousness" (2003, 109). The two kinds of looking are preoccupations in *Austerlitz*, as they also are with contemporary efforts to understand the history of the Indian residential school system.

Leaving the zoo for the train station, the narrator in *Austerlitz* sees the waiting passengers as "the last members of a diminutive race which had perished or had been expelled from its homeland, and that because they alone survived they wore the same sorrowful expression as the creatures in the zoo" (Sebald 2001, 6–7). Here,

a central subject of the novel—the removal and extermination of Austerlitz's family and Jewish brethren—is foreshadowed. Sebald's use of eye imagery to open the story compels us to look; four sets of photographs of eyes appear on the second and third pages of the novel. This kind of looking might be likened to hearing and needs to be contrasted with the looking associated with the traumatizing effects of the colonial gaze.

Historically, with indigenous peoples, 'looking' played an important role in the colonial processes that expelled them from their homelands. Colonial social relations are reproduced through research in the ways that knowledge of expelled people is "collected, classified, and re-presented back to the West, then through the eyes of the West, back to the colonized" (Smith 1999, 1). In colonial times, indigenous people were looked upon as barely human. Colonial processes engendered 'sorrowful expressions' on the faces of the colonized which have been misinterpreted to tell a story of human progress that presents the 'natural' extermination/extinction of expelled peoples. This colonial view of the social world places the history of expelled people—in particular, indigenous peoples—in the category of natural history. This application of knowledge from the natural sciences to explain human history is known as Social Darwinism.

In Sebald's novel, the effects of the natural history ideology are highlighted by Austerlitz's childhood friend Gerald and Gerald's great uncle Alphonso—a natural scientist, a fictional contemporary of Darwin. Austerlitz befriends Gerald at their boarding school after Gerald was assigned to perform duties for the senior Austerlitz. Austerlitz relieves Gerald of these duties and observed that this move was met with disapproval by staff and students "as if it were against the natural order of things" (Sebald 2001, 76). Separation according to age and the privileges assigned to the seniors in the boarding school system was meant to invoke class differences. Growing up in such an environment can lead to blind acceptance of this social order as natural.

Gerald and Austerlitz learn about the 'natural order of things' from Uncle Alphonso—who observes that many forms of life were disappearing, "destroyed by our passion for collecting" (Sebald 2001, 90). Austerlitz, too, observes the "deep grief" (83) on the face of a parrot captured in the Congo and taken to join the numerous natural collections at Gerald's home.

Smith (1999) recognized the role of collecting and classifying in the colonial project. "Collecting" hid the true act of stealing territories, plants, animals, minerals, cultural resources, and even human remains (Smith, 61). 'A natural order of things' allows inquiry into every aspect of indigenous life and culture in the name of science without questioning how research reproduces colonial social relations. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, collecting was important for European colonialists to "delineate the essential differences between Europe and the rest" (Smith, 60), with Europe regarded as the cultural centre.

Smith traced these practices to the first European explorers, who took scientists along on their voyages to collect samples of plant and animal life. As exploration

led to trading, the research activities were not separate from the colonial activities of European traders. With a transition from trading to settlement, colonial traders became experts on the local indigenous cultures, given the knowledge and items they collected during their colonialist careers. The notion of preserving cultural items was connected to the colonial attitude that everything European would replace indigenous cultures. Preservation not only justified stealing but increased the value of collections on the commercial and museum market. For the museum-going public, viewing indigenous peoples' cultures in museum collections created an image of indigenous peoples that was confined to the past.

Central to Sebald's approach is his use of photographic images to serve several purposes. The photographs support the narrator's observations alluding to Austerlitz's history and, in doing so, stop time (Schwartz 2007). At boarding school Austerlitz takes up photography, "entranced by the moment when the shadows of reality, so to speak, emerge out of nothing on the exposed paper, as memories do in the middle of the night, darkening again if you try to cling to them, just like the photographic print left in the developing bath too long" (Sebald 2001, 77). This comparison brought out my own memories of hearing stories and viewing photographs about 'the boarding school.' These stories were told in ways to protect the innocence of the listeners—the relatives and descendents of Indian residential school survivors. Perhaps not enough time had passed for the survivors to fully express their traumatic experiences because until recently, the knowledge I had of the history of the Indian residential school system that had affected so much of my life was like a 'shadow of reality.'

Photography is the technology for another form of collecting: a tool in establishing the colonial gaze. In the literature about the Canadian Indian residential school system, there exist group photos of the children who were confined within these institutions (see Figure 3.1). These group photos, Racette argued, represent "the collective body of First Nations children possessed by the state," as these photos relay a "subtext that proclaims right of ownership and control" (2009, 61). In this

Figure 3.1. 1930s photograph from the 1979 50th anniversary brochure for the Gordon Student Residence.

view, even indigenous children were subjected to a passion for collecting as part of the colonial project.

Racette argued that a lack of personal boundaries and the overcrowding that plagued the system provide the "subtext" of these group photos (2009, 61). Paradoxically, the close proximity of the students in such group photos did little to relieve the isolation felt by many. Racette also noted that in other types of photographs, in addition to the group shots, "the haunted eyes of somber-faced children speak of profound loneliness or a deeper pain" (74). What occurred inside the Indian residential school buildings that led to these expressions?

BUILDINGS

Buildings are connected to identity. With respect to his study of train station architecture, Austerlitz confides to the narrator that "he could never shake off the thoughts of the agony of leave taking and the fear of foreign places, although such ideas were not part of architectural history proper" (Sebald 2001, 14). Furthermore, he "often found himself in the grip of dangerous and entirely incomprehensible currents of emotion in the Parisian railway stations, which he said, he regarded as places marked by both blissful happiness and profound misfortune" (34). Later, when Austerlitz learns the history of the Liverpool Street train station in London and of Bedlam (the adjacent insane asylum), he wonders if traces of the pain and suffering of past inhabitants are left in buildings. This passage foreshadows the Nazis' sinister use of buildings.

Similarly, at the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School, the students dreaded going to the infirmary. "For us the infirmary became the place from which children vanished forever. Sometimes we heard that they had died and sometimes we didn't. To us, it seemed that those sick children just evaporated" (Knockwood 2001, 110). Knockwood's collection of her peers' and her own experiences at the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School in Nova Scotia was first published in 1992. The 2001 extended edition includes her conversation with a former professor about starting university: "I would go down the corridors and I would think that I was going to see a nun or a priest because it reminded me so much of the residential school. I was more oppressed by just the building than I was by anyone there" (166). The emotions evoked by particular buildings and the recovered memories associated with them are important themes for Indian residential school survivors. Although Austerlitz had repressed this memory of departure from his family, the Indian residential school students vividly recalled these moments of departure.

Regarding the day of departure, Isabel Knockwood, the adult is looking back at Isabel the child:

> Sister Superior invited us inside and led us down a gleaming corridor with polished floors. On the wall was a picture of a Guardian Angel protecting a tiny girl and boy. The nun opened one of the double doors to the chapel and my parents dipped their fingers in the holy font near the door. First, they crossed themselves and then blessed us kids…A red candle burned in the sacristy at all

> times, explained the Sister. 'This is a sacred place,' she said. If I had known then what I know today, I would have added, 'And a place where a lot of children's prayers didn't get answered. (Knockwood 2001, 27)

In creating a space for remembrance, Knockwood photographed the derelict Indian residential school building after a twenty year absence away from the community:

> When the pictures were developed, I showed them to former students and the intensity of their memories and flash backs startled me. They remembered even more than I had allowed myself to remember. I returned to the derelict school several times and finally took pictures of every room. The images helped to jog the memories of former students, their families and tribal members. The code of silence that was imposed on us as children was beginning to break and stories began flooding in. (Knockwood 2001, 12)

Identity is a common theme within the memories of former Indian residential school students, who understood that they were undergoing a destructive process from the moment they arrived in the school building. Former Shubenacadie students were no exception. A fellow student showed Isabelle Knockwood around the school: "Susie stopped to show us the classrooms and the parlour. Down the other end of the corridor was the visiting room for the children and their parents. For the next ten years, my parents came every Sunday afternoon to visit us. Just how much those visits protected us from the strap I can't imagine, for it was those little ones who had no parents who suffered the most abuse" (Knockwood , 2001, 29). With regard to the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School, Knockwood concluded that "those who ran the school tried to rob us of our collective identity by punishing us for speaking our language, calling us 'savages' and 'heathens'" (2001, 159).

The title of Knockwood's book *Out of the Depths* is a reference to a prayer she heard uttered by a nun after the frequent and inexplicable opening of closet doors in the girls' dormitory. The prayer—"out of the depths I have cried unto thee O Lord. Lord hear my voice" (2001, 103)—did not provide comfort for the author but, rather, induced fear. She describes this experience in a chapter titled "Ghosts and Hauntings," which chronicles the former students' experiences with the uncanny (usually with respect to the children who had died at the school or the death of a family member). The phrase 'out of the depths' took on a different meaning in Knockwood's research: "Strangely enough, some of the students who were most seriously abused have been able to transform their lives and bring themselves 'out of the depths'" (158). The depths of misery that Mi'kmaw students experienced inside the Indian residential school building included solitary confinement in a dark closet under the dining room stairs with a diet of bread and water. Knockwood noted that this was the only room that was left standing after the Indian residential school mysteriously burned down. Few of these buildings exist today; many were ceremoniously destroyed, and some are used by indigenous groups for multiple social and cultural purposes such as the Kamloops Indian residential school.[4]

Solitary confinement was one of many types of punishments that were a daily occurrence for Mi'kmaw children, and for children throughout the entire Indian residential school system. Former students spoke of severe punishments that included frequent strapping, severe beatings, denial of food, head shaving, chaining together of feet, and forced consumption of castor oil to bring on diarrhea. In general and tragically, the disciplining and dividing practices of the Indian residential school staff were most often directed at the children's use of their indigenous languages, thereby marking cultural differences as racial. Language suppression practices were successful in effecting a population of "mutes" (Grant 1996, 193), and as such, several generations could no longer speak their indigenous languages nor communicate with their families and community members in any language.

Miller (1997) argued that the physical structure and layout of the schools was based on race, as evidenced by the locked doors that led to staff quarters and the separate dining rooms and food for students and staff that reinforced the privileged position of the white staff. Even though the schools were overcrowded, the configuration of the Indian residential school buildings and the practices within them effectively separated the children from each other.

The construction of the Indian residential school buildings themselves constituted neglect since early on there were problems with sanitation, adequate heating, and overcrowding. With inadequate nutrition because of chronic underfunding, the poor living conditions led to epidemics, from influenza to tuberculosis. In a comprehensive study of the abuse and neglect that he argued characterized the system, Milloy found that the lack of care that Indian residential school students experienced "drifted to manslaughter" (1999, 78). The mistreatment was documented in correspondence that came from indigenous parents, Indian Affairs field staff,[5] health care professionals, and provincial education inspectors. Milloy characterized the history of mistreatment of indigenous children as "a thick unbroken line" (1999, 263).

Knockwood's book contains seventeen photographs including of the building and the closet that was used for solitary confinement. Photographic images have a strong association with death. Sebald referred to them as "emanations from the dead" (Sebald, quoted in Schwartz 2007, 39–40). Hirsch argued that "photographic images are stubborn survivors of death" as well as the "fragmentary sources and building blocks of the work of postmemory" (Hirsch 1999, 10). They are the "debris and leftovers" of destruction (Ibid).

Austerlitz seems to have a direct encounter with 'the dead' when he is in the Liverpool Street station, which he describes as a "kind of entrance to the underworld" (Sebald 2001, 127). Austerlitz feels "as if the dead were returning from their exile and filling the twilight around me" (132). This is immediately before Austerlitz's premonition of the past—a key scene in the novel. Here, Austerlitz recollects losing his language: "the dying away of my native tongue" (138). Until that time Austerlitz had repressed his history:

> Since my childhood and youth . . . I have never known who I really was. From where I stand now, of course, I can see that my name alone, and the fact that

> it was kept from me until my fifteenth year, ought to have put me on track of my origins, but it has also become clear to me of late why an agency greater than or superior to my own capacity for thought, which circumspectly directs operations somewhere in my brain, has always preserved me from my own secret, systematically preventing me from drawing the obvious conclusions and embarking on the inquiries they would have suggested to me. (Sebald 2001, 44)

In this passage, the mechanisms of repressed memories are described. When Austerlitz tells the narrator of his "premonition of the past" that occurred at the Liverpool Street train station (McCulloh 2003, 122), he recovers a memory of arriving as a child at the station, where he was then picked up by his foster parents. In contrast with the moment when he learned as a teenager that the couple who had raised him was not his real parents, Austerlitz experiences this recollection as traumatic but for reasons that are not clear to him.

For the fictional Austerlitz and for Knockwood and other survivors of an Indian residential school, the history of trauma is haunting, and in particular, with the buildings wherein the trauma occurred.

EXPRESSIONS OF POLICY EFFECTS AND UNFORESEEN OUTCOMES

In this section I focus on the ideology underlying the policy of the Indian residential school system that the Canadian and American authors identify and, in particular, on the points at which the themes from scholarly literature and specific narrative accounts are aligned.

History scholars have argued that Indian residential school policy originated within the historical, political, and social context of nation building underscored by colonialism and imperialism. An important dimension of colonialism was its racial ideology. Milloy has argued that this ideology was connected to "fear of the unknown Other and of its disruptive potential" (1999, 31). This fear stemmed from the continuous battles waged by Indigenous Nations against the US army and the specter of such conflict extending into Canada. The Métis resistance of 1885 in what is now Saskatchewan, Canada inflamed these fears. As the living and social conditions for indigenous peoples in the west deteriorated due to the return of smallpox epidemics and the starvation resulting from the extermination of bison in the United States, policy makers turned to the solution of residential schools for the "anticipated disorder" (Milloy 1999, 32). These institutions were intended to eliminate "danger posed by Aboriginal distress" (32). Apparently, policy makers held that Aboriginal parents would view their children as "hostages" and would be "hesitant to endanger whites if it might endanger their children" (32).

Knockwood (2001) has argued that Mi'kmaw children's experience of cruelty and hard labor at Shubenacadie Indian Residential School, together with loneliness due to separation from family members, interfered with academic learning. Other researchers concur: the punishing routine characteristic of the Indian residential school system overwhelmed any academic gains for the children (Grant 1996;

Miller 1997; Milloy 1999). Glavin (2002), however, complicated the view that most Indian residential school students experienced the harsh discipline and punishments deployed by the religious staff as excessive. Glavin's study highlights the experience of one former student who credits his successful career to the discipline and perseverance he learned at St. Mary's Indian Mission School. A few scholars have also touched on this argument (Grant 1996; Lomawaima 1994; Miller 1997), and most narrative collections contain a few of these counter examples.

According to Lomawaima (1994), US boarding school policy was aimed at producing a cadre of agrarian manual laborers. She argued that this policy was out of step with the mass production character of the economy in the United States during the operation of boarding schools in the first half of the twentieth century. With Canadian and US colonial policy, indigenous peoples' education was confined to vocations that had ceased to be of value, purposefully leaving them vulnerable—socially, economically, and culturally. The narratives in *Behind Closed Doors: Stories from the Kamloops Indian Residential School* (Jack 2006) are prefaced by a comment that the school was established to produce laborers and semi-skilled trades workers, thereby precluding an academic education. Jack's analysis also takes aim at the class-based intention of Indian residential school policy.

The colonial structure of Canadian Indian residential schools and, I would argue, that of US boarding schools meant that the students were trained to enter a particular race and class of manual and domestic laborers as a way to forestall their anticipated resistance to assimilation.

While the Indian residential school buildings can be seen as sites where racial ideology was realized through practices meant to indoctrinate students into a colonial social order, Racette (2009) holds an even bolder view. She has argued that the most destructive policies, introduced by Duncan Campbell Scott,[6] were congruous with the broader "rise of fascism" (2009, 51). These repressive policies were implemented between 1913 and 1932 and were not altered until 1951. Given this view, Knockwood's statement about children 'evaporating from the infirmary' (discussed earlier) is particularly disturbing.

The theme of resistance, explored in the scholarly literature on the Indian residential school system by Haig-Brown (1988) and Archibald (1993), makes a frequent appearance in the personal narrative literature as an important way to contextualize how Indian residential school students responded to colonial policy. Some narratives include accounts of students physically grabbing weapons that were used to punish them, of passing secret notes, of covertly speaking their indigenous language, or of running away from the schools—the ultimate form of resistance (Deiter 1999; Jack 2006; Jaine 1993; Knockwood 2001).

Lomawaima (1994) found that many of the former Chilocco Indian Boarding School students in Oklahoma took up a strong work ethic as one of their creative acts of resistance in a harsh environment. Other acts included the creation of "homes" or private spaces by students, where their tribal/pan-Indian identities could flourish away from the supervision of staff. These "homes" were occasionally actual

structures built by the students, in which they prepared traditional food that was stolen from the school. Some students organized ceremonial dances held away from the surveillance of the school staff.

Lomawaima placed the responses of the Chilocco students along a continuum. At one end, the students' responses are characterized as "accommodation," and at the other end, they are characterized as "overt resistors" (Lomawaima 1994, 124). From the students' perspective, the ideal student fell in the middle of the continuum as "covert resistors" (124). Lomawaima argued that the Chilocco students gained some independence as covert resistors; indeed, the student leaders did not report on their peers when they broke the rules. These resistant, creative responses to US boarding school and Canadian Indian residential school policy also constituted unforeseen policy outcomes.

REPRESSION, LATENCY, DEPARTURE, AND REPETITION

Features of Knockwood's study relate to Caruth's (1991) themes of history and trauma. The extended edition of Knockwood's (2001) book, published after an interval of almost ten years following first publication, contains an additional preface titled "A Code of Silence." The preface concerns the repression that was enforced at the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School. Although Knockwood attended the school from 1936 to 1947, forty years passed before she began to talk and write about her own and her peers' experiences: "There was a sense that terrible punishment would follow talking about what went on at the school. As a result, when we became adults we had a tendency to avoid others who had been at the school. If we did meet them we rarely mentioned our school experiences" (Knockwood 2001, 11).

The interval between attending the school and writing about it as well as the interval between the first publication and the extended edition are marked by repression and latency. Caruth (1991) defined latency as the interval wherein trauma has yet to be fully understood. The trauma is repressed, with repeated and failed

Figure 3.2. Family photo of Indian residential school 'runaways.'

attempts to understand its significance. The repeated returns to this history for the initial publication and then for an additional preface in a subsequent edition were Knockwood's attempts to grapple with the significance of this history. According to Caruth (1991), Freud wrote of being free to publish the history of the Jews after his departure from the German-invaded Austria. In the second preface, Knockwood wrote that she had "finally learned to speak freely" (2001, 14). However, by writing in English, the tragic irony is that her freedom to speak came at the expense of her indigenous language. Returns to latent memories comprise the repetitions that are a feature of a history of trauma. The forced departures from home and language are also indicative of such a history (Caruth 1991).

Writing in the cross-genre that combines narratives of US boarding schools with scholarly analysis, Adams (2006) saw a challenge in relying on these narratives as a data source. He argued that "scholars are on shaky ground when they attempt to make hard generalizations on the question of student responses" because "*experiencing* an event is often quite different from *having experienced it*" (2006, 37). How can it be otherwise, though? The time interval is necessary. Caruth has termed this phenomenon "the indirect referentiality of history" (1991, 187), wherein the significance of a trauma is inaccessible at the time of its occurrence.

THE PERSISTENCE OF POLICY EFFECTS: A HISTORY OF TRAUMA

Austerlitz pieces together his past and learns that his mother was taken to Terezín, the concentration camp/ghetto established for Jews in Czechoslovakia. His father had fled to Paris before Jewish citizens had their rights revoked. Austerlitz discovers that both were killed by the Nazi regime. He is fortunate to reunite with his childhood nanny, Vera, who is able to tell him some of his family's history and his own. Referring to Austerlitz's favorite childhood book about seasonal changes, Vera reminds him of his perennial question: "But if it's all white, how do the squirrels know where they have buried their hoard?" Vera then alters the question: "What do we know ourselves, how do we remember, and what is it we find in the end?" (Sebald 2001, 204). These questions are pertinent to the history of the Canadian Indian residential school system and its repetitive effects.

Several scholars have long held the view that the experiences within Indian residential schools produced ongoing effects that included emotional distance from family members, difficulty with managing freedom, an absence of self discipline, rigid and abusive parenting, alcohol and drug abuse, sexual dysfunction, lack of respect for elders and language and cultural traditions, and resistance to education and education institutions (Bull 1992; Grant 1996; Ing 1992; Miller 1997; Milloy 1999). Educational scholars maintained that these effects were alleviated through healing processes that involved survivors telling their stories (Bull 1992; Grant 1996; Ing 1991). Survivors counter ongoing emotional isolation and inability to express feelings to loved ones with the benefits from regaining their language and traditional spirituality. They act as role models for their children and grandchildren in this regard, acknowledging that many

of their peers who attended Indian residential schools did not survive due to suicide, alcoholism, and other forms of self-destruction (Jack 2006). In telling their stories, Indian residential school survivors are drawing on storytelling as a means to healing and education as it was in the past (Jack 2006). Although the healing claims coming from language and spiritual reclamation, reconciliation with religious organizations, and restoration of balance were many (Grant 1996), skepticism persisted that such healing could actually occur. "I have been talking about the Indian Residential School in Shubenacadie for many years, and I still don't understand why the hurt and shame of seeing and hearing the cries of abused Mi'kmaw children, many of them orphans, does not go away or heal" (Knockwood 2001, 7).

For Austerlitz, the listener is the key: "someone to whom he could relate his own story, a story which he had learned only in the last few years and for which he needed the kind of listener I had once been" (Sebald 2001, 43). In my own role as listener, though, I was little prepared for the impact of hearing what it was like to experience an Indian residential school, just as my relative was little prepared for the experience of residential school and the after-effects of its narration.

When I attended a large gathering of indigenous peoples in 2008 to hear Canada's Prime Minister Steven Harper's apology to the survivors of Indian residential schools, the apology was met with silence. The covering of dust or snow that is a recurring image in *Austerlitz* evokes silence and represents a desire to cover the past. But there are many ways to interpret silence. The silence may be a necessary interval.

NOTES

[1] The Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada website indicates that Canada approved the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement in 2006 (http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/rqpi/sa/index-eng.asp). Included in this agreement is the Common Experience Payment (CEP) available to former students who lived at one of the listed residential schools. There is also an Independent Assessment Process (IAP) for those students who suffered sexual or serious physical abuses, or other abuses that caused serious psychological effects. They (as adult survivors) must apply for compensation. A Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and a Commemoration Initiative are also included in the settlement agreement.

[2] These four features comprise Caruth's (1991) theory of trauma.

[3] The Common Experience Payment, the Independent Assessment Process, and the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission are all part of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, which was the result of a class action suit by survivors against religious groups and the Canadian Federal government.

[4] See the Epilogue in Haig-Brown (1988) *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*.

[5] The Department of Indian Affairs was established to carry out the colonial government's—followed by the Canadian federal government's—repressive policies with respect to the indigenous peoples.

[6] Duncan Campbell Scott was the head of the Department of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932 while also being a celebrated Canadian poet.

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QIAN WANG

4. THIRTY YEARS BEFORE/AFTER: MY MEMORY OF MY BROTHER QUAN'S LIFE EXPERIENCE IN MAO'S TIME AS AN HONORABLE WORKER (1949–1976) AND IN DENG'S TIME AS 'LAID-OFF' (1978–1997)

> *Remembrance as a vital human activity shapes our past, and the ways we remember define us in the present. As individuals and societies, we need the past to construct and to anchor our identities and to nurture a vision of the future.*
>
> (Huyssen 1994, 9)

Hampl (2000) has suggested that unlike fiction writers, who write primarily to tell a story, memoirists pay greater attention to their own personal experiences, especially to consciousness itself. Memory helps us to remember and rethink our past. When we write about and examine our memories, we explore their influence on an ever-shifting sense of individual and communal pasts and identities. Life history, which is also about memory, is concerned with the ways in which others' life events potentially influence their experiences, perceptions, beliefs, and values.

Giddens suggested that the researcher as social scientist should develop a strong sense of the other by immersing himself or herself in the other's life-world, situating his or her awareness within the conceptual frame of the other person: "Researchers describe lives, tell stories about them and write narratives of experience" (1996, 464).

Cole and Knowles (2001) further emphasized that as researchers, we need to recognize our own reflexive presence and the relationships we develop with our participants. Indeed, in contemporary life history research, this kind of reflexive stance is expected. Sharing memories can help us form a sense of self because memory generates and regenerates knowledge and makes us who and what we are. Regarding who and what we are, Crawford et al. (1992) have explained that memory plays an important part in the construction of self.

In this chapter, as a researcher and as a sister, I use a memory lens to tease out the ways that I was influenced by what happened to my brother Quan in a highly changed political environment in China. I have written elsewhere—as a life historian—about my brother's life history (Wang 2008), but here I take the position of memoirist. Haug et al. have argued that "everything remembered constitutes a relevant trace—precisely because it is remembered for the formation of identity" (1987, 50). I take up Perrault and Kadar's (2005) invitation to seek traces of the autobiographical—here in the fragments of a life history narrated to me by another, my brother.

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 49–60.

My autobiographical story is bound up with my brother's life history, which has straddled two starkly different social, economic and political times in China's history: Mao's time (1949–1976) and Deng's time (1978–1997). My examination is rooted in a long history of growing up together as siblings that has ranged from my admiration for my brother as an honorable worker when I was a child to my ambiguous feelings about him after he was laid off[1] when I was a teenager and finally to my greater understanding of his situation after going abroad as an adult and turning back to view his life (and mine) through a researcher's/memoirist's lens.

The purpose of this life history research is to understand more deeply how lives affect one another, especially when one of those lives has been indelibly marked by struggles brought on by political and social changes. Hall suggested that identities are but "names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (1990, 225). In what ways are the identities of my brother and myself continuous with a certain relation with the past that has been influenced by China's own tumultuous history in the past three decades? How has my brother's life shaped mine? How has the hearing of my brother's story influenced my formation as a researcher?

BACKGROUND TO OUR STORIES

I came to Canada to pursue my academic research in 2003. Whenever I phone my family members in China to catch up, we talk about all the recent things that have happened back home. Every time my mother reminds me, "Not One Less," I know what she means. Mainly, this is a reference to my brother Quan, who is the oldest child and the only son in the family. Our family has five children, a number that reflects the policy of Mao's time; a greater number of children was equated with a larger contribution to the construction of socialism. Another reason our family is large is that my father was an orphan before joining the People's Liberation Army in China; therefore, when he was a grown man, he wanted to have many children. In the context of the one-child-per-family policy currently in place in China, my family is indeed large. Fortunately, my brother and sisters and I were born before 1979, the year this policy was instituted—especially since my family now numbers seventeen, including my nephews and a niece.

Many people admire my family because most of its members have received higher education and are working as lawyers, doctors, accountants, administrators, and university teachers in state-supported work units. These family members all enjoy benefits from the Chinese government. Two have even been sponsored by the government to study abroad. My brother is the exception to this pattern, however. His identity has become defined by having been a laid-off worker. Currently, even though he is self-employed, he is not able to enjoy the benefits of a large salary and freely accessible medical service. Due to circumstances beyond his control, he belongs to a group that Zhang (2005) calls the "outsiders" of socialist society. Yet this was not always the case. In Mao's time (1949–1976), the Communist Party

of China (CPC) emphasized that workers were the true owners of the country and the leading class politically and socially. As an "honorable worker" in the 1970s, my brother enjoyed "the benefits of secure employment, adequate housing, social insurance, plus well-planned and organized facilities for recreation" (Priestley 1965, 7). A Chinese film from 1983 called *The Happy Bachelors* (快乐的单身汉) painted a portrait of the happy lives of factory workers in the 1980s.[2] I still remember some beautiful lines spoken by the workers in the film: "Come over, come over, all the days, all the days! I will weave you into my life, with the golden threads of my youth, with the embroidered tassel of my happiness!" The film presents the image of happy, well-fed, enthusiastic workers who enjoy their life due to the benefits of secure employment.

However, the bottom fell out of the worker's world after the Reform and Opening policy was instituted, especially after the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989. State-owned factories were no longer free from the danger of bankruptcy. Workers' livelihoods, which had been secure in the conventional socialist system, started to suffer from an economic instability that was worsened by a fluctuating market that they could not have imagined in the previous centrally planned economy. When my brother was laid off, he not only lost his social status and all the rights he had previously enjoyed as a member of the leading political class but also had to cope with the conflict between his longstanding experience of job security and the new conditions of severe market competition, which forced him to compete in an economic arena founded on survival of the fittest. Like the majority of laid-off workers in China, my brother was middle-aged when he was laid off. He faced competition in the labor market for the first time in his life. Moreover, being a laid-off worker proved a double-edged sword. On the one hand, he was a victim of China's transformation from a socialist society into a market-driven economy, and on the other, the changing social context inspired him to develop his potential in other directions. However, this metamorphosis did not occur without a struggle. Although he ran a small company, he had to work every day and had no concept of the difference between weekdays and weekends. He also lost the happiness of working with his workmates. In our family, he changed from our moral support and role model to an outsider.

MAO'S TIME

When I was very young and started to study English, the first phrase I learned was "long, long life, Chairman Mao." It is hard to imagine that my first English teacher was my brother Quan. I assume this must have been one of the few English sentences he could speak because he had no chance to pursue further studies after middle school due to our family background (explained below). When I interviewed my brother in 2008 for my master's thesis (Wang 2008), I focused on the topic of my brother's childhood and his youth in Mao's time.

Where Mao Zedong was concerned, my brother had complicated feelings. Due to Mao's policies, my brother had a frustrating childhood, but he also spent his most

unforgettable time in his youth as an honorable worker. In general, he had admiration for Mao:

> All things have passed, but my childhood was full of political factors. The day when I was born, I was labelled as little *si lei fen zi*,[3] and the day when I went to primary school, I had to fill in the forms for registration. In one column, it was about category of origin. When I wrote down my origin as 'landlord,' my desk-mate screamed it out, and my classmates didn't like to play with me because of my 'bad' origin, and some kids teased me as a descendent of 'exploiters.' I thought it was funny (Interview, May 5, 2008). (Wang 2008, 37–38)

In Mao's time (1949–1976), people were given a *chengfen* label to identify them as belonging to a specific social stratum, reflecting their position as exploiters or exploited. Based on Mao's 1926 analysis of classes, landlords, rich peasants, and urban capitalists were generally categorized as the "exploiting classes," and the poor and lower middle peasants and urban workers were generally categorized as the "exploited classes" (Watson 1984). Since my mother was born into a family of landlords, she was identified with a "bad" origin as the descendent of "exploiting classes," although throughout the history of my mother's family, all her family members had been proud of their honorable and wealthy origins.

My grandfather's forefather passed the imperial examination during the last dynasty in China—the Qing Dynasty in the late nineteenth century—and was awarded the title *Xiu-Cai* (秀才, scholar). This designation brought the whole family honor and wealth because of the rewards from the royal court. From then on, my grandfather's big family became rich and was identified as "landlord." According to my brother's memory, when he was young, our grandfather told him that every year when my great-grandfather was the landlord, he appointed one day annually to open his granary to distribute free food to the local people. My brother also told me that our great-grandfather enjoyed showing benevolence toward his fellowmen. In many ways, my grandfather's family led a rich and peaceful life before Mao's land reform.

From 1950–1952, the CPC instituted the Land Reform Movement aimed at improving the living standards of peasants in the countryside. In China at that time, eighty percent of the people were peasants. Mao always asserted that he stood on the side of ninety-five percent of the people, and his launch of a land reform obtained political support from the majority of the peasants. Being a landlord should not be a sin, but under the 1950 Land Reform Act, all landlords were regarded as the exploiting class, and their land ownership was abolished and transferred to poor farmers. The worst event for our family during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) was the day my grandfather was named "*si lei fen zi*" and all his properties were confiscated by the government. During this decade, people were categorized and ranked by a set of class labels that they had inherited from their fathers and grandfathers. For example, the day my brother was born, he was labeled as "*xiao* (little) *si lei fen zi*" rather than being prepared to enjoy a rich life as a descendant of a landlord. In his childhood,

he often accompanied my mother and grandfather to countless meetings where they were criticized for being descendents of a landlord:

> All our family, including our grandpa, all depended on our father's salary. I didn't wear silk or fur—instead, ordinary clothes. How could they regard me as the exploiting class? From 1966–1976 during the Cultural Revolution, there was sharp conflict between Capitalists and Proletarism. As a descendent of a landlord, I was regarded as one member of capitalism, and I was insulted by my peers who belonged to Proletariat. I had no friends in school, but I had my own friends: my dog and my cat, which I picked up in the street, and I played with them after my studies. What impressed me most was that I had to accompany our mother and grandfather to meetings to be criticized because they had a 'bad' origin (Interview, May 5, 2008). (Wang 2008, 37–38)

In those days, it was quite common that my grandfather and my mother could not eat anything because of stress. My mother lost hope that our family would have a good future and thought that the label of a descendent of *si lei fen zi* would accompany her for the rest of her life. After these stressful days filled with criticism, my brother would cook simple food for my mother and grandfather, and even though the food was not tasty, it comforted them. When my mother recalls the past, she never forgets to mention that it was my brother who gave her the strength to live until the day in 1979 when the central government announced that class labels were no longer to be emphasized (Watson 1984). My brother testified: "Our mother got sick frequently, and since our father had to go to the countryside to train the bank staff and our grandfather was old, I was the main 'labour' in the family. I enjoyed taking care of our mother and our grandfather" (Interview, May 5, 2008) (Wang 2008, 37–38).

When my sisters were young and my parents were struggling through life because of my mother's "bad" origin, my brother shouldered the burden of hope for the whole family. However, the label of descendent of *si lei fen zi* destroyed my brother's dream to go to university because during that period, children whose families were farmers were given the top priority to receive a higher education.

The nationalization of industry in the 1970s in China initiated the era of the honorable worker. Mao Zedong stressed in his early writings that "people could indeed change their class nature by adhering to party discipline and by accepting a new world view" (quoted in Watson 1984, 7). My brother became a worker in a state factory producing carpets. Finally, he was on the same side as ninety-five percent of the people in China. Regarding being a worker, my brother said:

> When I worked as a worker, you [Qian] were only five years old. Everyday, you went to our factory after your pre-primary school. My workmates teased you as my 'little old sister.' I brought you to the cinema, and we watched a lot of films. Time passed so quickly; now you have already reached middle age, and I am old. I do miss my years working as a worker even though I could not get the chance to receive higher-education. It was my happiest time in my life;

> the material life was not as sufficient as my present life, but I led a life with rich spiritual pursuit and without pressure. For a while, we enjoyed the life as workers. After working in the factory, we could get together to play chess or instruments in the entertainment room; the playground was occupied by these sportive young men and young women; the library at the factory offered people a tranquil place to read. At that time, I practiced most musical instruments, such as the Harmonic organ, flute, Erhu, and violin, and we played lots of games after working. We led a versatile life at that time. Do you still remember the movie *Kuai le de dan shen han*—it was the real portrait of our life at that time (Interview, May 8, 2008). (Wang 2008, 40–41)

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the movie *The Happy Bachelors* is a portrait of the satisfied workers of that period. And a popular song of the time called "Our Workers Have Strength" "(咱们工人有力量) expressed pride in the role of the worker:

> We workers have strength, yeah!
> We workers have strength!
> We are busy working everyday
> Everyday is filled with our hard work!
> We build up high buildings and large mansions
> We establish railways and mines
> We mould the world by our hard work.
> Machines rumbling!
> Hammers ringing up!
> We produce hoes for more production
> We make guns for the front
> Our face shining with happiness
> Our sweat downflowing with hard work
> Why we do this?
> Why we do this?
> For seeking liberation
> For the thorough liberation of the whole of China[4]

This song illustrates that the young workers of this period regarded themselves as the owners of the country; they felt it was their responsibility to build a beautiful future for China. During this time, workers like my brother led enterprising, happy lives and were guaranteed job security. Moreover, such a social security arrangement made these workers loyal supporters of the Chinese Communist Party (Zhao 2004). They felt so proud of their identity as workers, and my sisters and I were proud of our brother, as well. As an honorable worker, he was a hero in our eyes. He could not only knit beautiful carpets in the factory but was also very skilled at playing musical instruments and some sports like soccer, basketball, and table tennis. He was the leader among us. In our youth, if we fought with our classmates, the reputation of our brother would drive them away. My sisters and I grew up under the protection

of our brother's big umbrella. In chapter one (this volume), Strong-Wilson et al argue that "Lives that initially may not appear to be connected to our own become so through the fact of contiguity or adjacency, even if removed in time and space; they become conceptually, even materially, linked, through an apparently random detail or incident." Looking backward, the memories of our lives as siblings can remind us that my brother enjoyed a past as role model. Meanwhile, other forces were at work on him as an individual and on the society he inhabited.

DENG'S TIME

Rapid changes occurred when Deng Xiaoping ascended to power in 1978 after Mao's death in 1976. Deng launched the Reform and Opening Policy that emphasized economic development as the top national priority. A trend of privatization swept the whole of China; it pushed many state-owned factories into bankruptcy and left workers in a precarious position "with the loss of virtually all of the related forms of social security that were part of their work units: housing, education, health care, and pensions, among others" (Weil 2006, para. 2). In addition, privatization brought about a rapid surge in unemployment (Lee and Selden 2007). The number of unemployed leapt from 3 million in 1993 to a cumulative total of 25 million by the end of 2001, with internal sources providing figures as high as sixty million (Solinger 2005). With millions and millions of workers laid off and millions of retired state-owned factory workers not receiving their full pensions, many workers became part of the marginalized and dispossessed. Looking back on this time, my brother said:

> It was a bitter life to be a laid-off worker when I was in my middle age. Do you know how bitter the Coptis chinensis Franch (a traditional Chinese medical herb) is? My life was exactly like that at that time. China's drastic economic reforms since the late 1980s have forced the closure of hundreds of state-owned companies and pushed the number of unemployed to 150 million. I belonged to one of them. The change of social status, from a member of the leading class to a laid-off worker, affected my life overnight. (Interview, June 7, 2008). (Wang 2008, 51–52)

When my brother was laid off, he not only lost his social status and all the rights he had previously enjoyed as a member of the leading political class, but he also had to cope with the conflicts between his longstanding experience of job security and the severe market competition, which was forcing him to compete in an economic arena seemingly founded on a bleak philosophy of the survival of the fittest. This struggle for survival often caused worry, which led to a strong need for affiliation with his family (Schwartz, Sagiv, and Boehnke 2000). However, the day my brother announced to our big family that he had been laid off and wanted to run a small business, a bomb seemed to explode in our midst. Nobody in the family could accept the reality that my brother—once our pride—had become a laid-off worker. How could he be laid-off? Would his decision to be self-reliant guarantee his (our) future?

His personal internal conflict between his values of conformity and those of self-direction pushed him into a corner, making him question his decision to become self-employed. My brother's change of social status alienated him from his sources of support since he became more self-directed to compete in a harshly changing economic environment. Like the majority of laid-off workers in China, my brother was already middle-aged when he was laid off. He wandered and struggled for quite some time. The alienation from his sources of support caused his political standpoint, ideological views, and revolutionary ideals to disappear; his sense of belonging to a powerful working class with guaranteed social security and his sense of achievement as an owner of the country vanished. As he managed to survive in this severe economic environment, the only thing that seemed left to him was an acceptance of his powerless and secondary social status as a "laid-off" worker:

> Finally, as a "laid-off" worker, I decided to go to the market directly to run a small business with my ex-workmates. Yet, my workmates, who had been the officials in the factory, could not put up with 'losing face' to become a low-class person, to be a businessman to make ends meet, and they left me, one by one. It was a hard time for me when my friends left me; my wife rejected me, and our big family could not understand my decision to be a self-reliant businessman. It was hard for me to catch my breath in the face of all these stresses. At that time, I thought life meant nothing to me, and I was wandering in the darkness, wondering if my whole world would end. My business partners left me because they wanted to get more benefits; my wife wanted a divorce, since she could not accept the reality that I became jobless overnight. The terrible thing was that I also got pressure from our family, from our father who has been a loyal Communist Party member. He disagreed with my decision to run a business and suggested that I wait for reassignment by the nation. In early 1980s, jumping into the sea [to do business] was challenging; nobody could predict the depth of the sea; it was really taking a risk to do business, since I had no experience before in the context of a planned economy. However, millions of laid-off workers are waiting for re-employment, and I prefer to run a business by myself to find my own position again in society. The misunderstanding from our family and lack of financial support put me into a hard situation. That was the hardest time for me; I lost interest in books and music when I felt dilemma in my life, and I abused alcohol to make me numb, but I had to face reality when I woke up (Interview, June 7, 2008). (Wang 2008, 51–52)

In my memory of that period, my brother rarely laughed or smiled; instead, he became a silent person. He began to abuse alcohol even though he had never touched it during earlier years. I had just begun my middle-school life. As a teenager, it was hard to accept that my drunken brother was the same person whom I had admired in my childhood. During my brother's difficult time of adjustment to his new life, all my sisters finished their higher education and found work as civil servants for the government with guaranteed social security. My sisters' change of social status made

my brother feel even more sensitive about his situation. Family communication dwindled. He was even unwilling to come to our family home for a meal. After becoming self-employed, my brother Quan had to work even on Chinese New Year's Eve in order to make extra money to continue getting by. Unlike in the past when my brother brought the family gifts at this time of the year, now he could not afford them, and he no longer rushed home to celebrate the New Year. He felt guilty that he was always the last person to arrive, but he had to struggle for his living. In my mind, after being laid off he always looked tired and even dirty. On New Year's Eve, our family members usually sat around the table and drank champagne to greet each other. Inharmonious talk now led to silence.

Silence can be a form of hopelessness (Freire 2000). Our family seemed under the shadow of a shapeless oppression. Where had my energetic, supportive, and sun-like brother gone? My brother seemed so strange to us during those years. I could not understand my brother's change and I cried. I remember that I took it for granted that my brother had become "bad," but I never thought about what drove him to it. I became sick of talking with him. Child though I still was, I began to look down on him. A terrible idea took root in my mind that my brother had been 'declining,' that he had become an outsider because he was no longer honored as an owner of the country (as my family had always been owners, in one sense or another); that he had become among those forgotten, or to be forgotten. In chapter one (this volume), Strong-Wilson et al argue that "Forgetting may function to clear a space, compelling us to ask whether productive remembering can in certain contexts entail productive forgetting." However, for those who have suffered and who are looking forward to social justice, perhaps "[f]orgetting establishes conditions for the past to have 'some kind' of future—a future that is as yet undefined, but available to the imagination" (Eppert 2003, 191 cited in Strong-Wilson et al, chapter one).

THE PRESENT TIME

Overnight, I lost my big umbrella. I had to grow up without my brother's honor. Running away from the shadow of a shapeless oppression, I moved to another city to continue my education. However, the past was reality, and I could not erase it from my memory. From the day I started my academic journey in Canada as a graduate student, I wrote many journals, and my brother, who I thought had been banished to a place of forgetting, turned up as the main protagonist of these stories and eventually of my master's research. In the research process, I uncovered the deep love I harbor for him. I wrote about how my brother provided psychological and emotional support for our big family through the love he had given us. I wrote about how it was my brother who brought my sisters and me into the mysterious world of literature by introducing us to books such as *How the Steel Was Tempered* by Nikolay Ostrovsky and *Red Rock* by the Chinese writer Luo Guangbin. Without my brother's influence, it would have been impossible for my sisters and me to have formed the good habit of enjoying reading books.

Since 2003, I have been living abroad. I've missed New Year's Eve with the family! I always pray in my heart that my brother will enjoy our family gatherings. When it comes to family, no member should be an outsider. Just as chapter one (this volume) mentions, living family members who are geographically distant can be reunited in a 'back to the future' moment.

CONCLUSION: MEMORY TRACES

Alford wrote, "You start a research project with a problem: a theme, issues, or concern and problems grow out of a combination of personal experience" (1998, 24). While I was doing the life history research with my brother and interviewing him, I was engaged in memory work on my own life. The memory work inevitably devolved to those periods of my life that were deeply affected by my brother's presence as well as by his absence. In my mind, his presence was associated with an idyllic childhood. Through this childhood prism, I construed his worker life as idyllic and romantic. His absence—when he struggled with his denigrated social status and disappeared socially, economically, and politically—was likewise associated with the most difficult time in *my* life. He was no longer the brother I knew of old. I remember feeling disenchanted. In chapter one (this volume), Strong-Wilson et al argue that future remembrance can centre around nostalgia—the idea that a return to an idealized past is required in order to have a future. The reason that I chose to examine the life of my brother is because in Chinese tradition, family is emphasized as the basic building block of society; it is considered the first society wherein an individual learns his/her first lessons about sociality. Hence, family provides the first opportunity for an individual to realize his/her ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. Family is seen as an enriching and a nourishing support system that helps the individual to grow into who he or she is (Muppathinchira 1999).

Giddens (1996) has argued that in contemporary life history research, the researcher needs to recognize his or her own reflexive presence and relationship with the participants. As a sister and a researcher, I began producing fragments of a life history that struggled with my idealization of my brother, which led to immersing myself into my brother's past. When I wrote about and examined my brother's life history, it was also my own memories in part that brought me directly into his life history and helped bring it to life. My own memories were reflected in my brother's life history. Remembering is not simply a repetition of the past but a way to sublimate its meanings. The more I began to access my brother's life-world, the more my understanding matured with respect to what happened in my brother's past. When, in my imagination, I restored my brother to somewhere near his former glory, I discovered that historical understanding is as important as the personal past. Through coming to terms with my brother's devastating experience of loss of self, an idealized form of the once-close sibling bond between us was projected and (re)-instated, signalling my return to the past to re-examine my memories and re-create the future. As a "laid-off" worker, my brother Quan exemplified the experiences of

those in China who were caught between opposing political directions before/after the Reform and Opening policy in China in the 1980s. So, too, was I caught.

In this chapter, I have explored the implications of studying memory traces in life histories, especially those marked by deep social and political changes. My exploration into my own memories of my brother over the course of a life—in this case, his life as a laid-off worker—provides an example of how the preservation of life stories and family histories can become a gift to ourselves and those we love, now and into the future.

NOTES

[1] Workers began to be laid off in China in the 1990s. In the Mandarin Chinese language, the word for 'laid-off' is *xiagang* (下岗), which implies "to step down from one's post, to be off-duty" (Won 2004, 74). The concept of *xiagang* involves "three no's": no job post, no termination of labor relations with the work unit, and no new job. Therefore, *xiagang* workers are those who are laid off because the work-unit is in financial difficulty or because the work unit has been sold (Yu 1998; Zhang 1998, quoted in Won 2004, 74).

[2] The film *Kuai le de dan shen han* was directed by Chong Song and produced by Shanghai Film Studios in 1983. At the time of printing of this volume, the film was available to stream online at http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMjY3NTIzNTY=.html

[3] The Mandarin expression *si lei fen zi* (四类分子) means "four categories": landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, and rightists.

[4] "*Zan men gong ren you li liang*" (咱们工人有力量, "Our Workers Have Strength") was composed by Ma Ke (马 可) in Mandarin Chinese in 1947 (see http://baike.baidu.com/view/2915467.html?goodTagLemma, accessed June 1, 2011). It was the first song to reflect the passion of the Chinese working class's struggle to establish a new China. This is my English translation of the original.

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MYRIAM GERVAIS & ELIANE UBALIJORO

5. PRODUCTIVE REMEMBERING FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CHANGE: EXPLORING MEMORIES OF THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1994 GENOCIDE THROUGH THE VOICES OF RWANDAN WOMEN

This chapter examines how a historical event of the magnitude of the Rwandan genocide has been inscribed into the present and future memory of Rwandan girls and women. Drawing on common memory work, we explore the ways in which rural women have mobilized and transformed themselves from victims of violence to agents of change in post-genocide society. A feminist perspective is used to place individual and collective memories within a context of social change—the emphasis being on bringing to light the suffered gender inequalities. We are especially interested in common memory from the recent past as well as the creative achievements of Rwandan society, in this case the achievements of women. At the centre of this chapter are rural women's stories to make sense of the significance of their past experiences, usually in a mode of oral testimonies, recalling and participating in the common memory of post-genocide Rwandan society.

The major theoretical framework that informs this research comes from feminist theory. One of the key objectives is to have the voices of rural women and diaspora women central in this research. Feminist theory examines women's social roles and lived experience in a variety of fields, while feminist research approaches speak to the concept of voice and how voice can become the foundation for change (Lykes, Beristain, and Pérez-Armiñan 2007). From the concept of memory, we are making sense of common memory. Drawing from Lavabre (2001), we refer to common memory as personal or handed-down experiences or recollections of what has been experienced in common, and to collective memories as memories built up in the process of integrating representations of the past and the diversity of personal recollections.

Thus addressing the various realities, in particular from rural women's perspectives, reflects an interest in sociology of collective memory by opposition to history of memory (Halbwachs 1968, 35). We link social trauma to social transformation, using the following definition of social trauma: "that certain historical events are so profound in their cultural and personal impact that they develop the features that resemble psychological trauma, namely that they're permanently unsettling, that you can't forget about them, even if you try to forget about them, there's a kind of compulsive need to relive and re-experience" (Smelser 2005, para. 2).

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 61–74.

Inspired by these ideas, we explore the following questions: What are the experiences of women who survived the 1994 Rwandan genocide? What impact has the 1994 genocide had on their everyday lives? We also look at social trauma and healing in the context of initiating social transformation. These specific themes are primarily addressed from our own experiences.[1]

For the sociology of memory, the Rwandan genocide is to a certain extent unique in contemporary history in the sense that common memory is largely based on oral testimonies. Few documents such as photographs, videos, recordings, albums, and letters exist to assist the remembrance of personal or handed-down experiences of genocide survivors, in particular for the rural Rwandan population. Materials to be considered as visual primary sources or evidence are exceptional; at the time of the genocide, the majority of the adult population was illiterate and very poor, especially in rural areas. When visual material were existent (e.g., photo albums and letters), they were very often destroyed since the survivors of the genocide had their homes pillaged during the struggle. In this context, this chapter relies heavily on oral testimonies, informal encounters, interviews, and personal experiences. The information and data used in this study were gathered during several visits to Rwanda. The first section of this chapter gives background information on the social consequences of the genocide, with a particular focus on the impact on the lives of Rwandan girls and women. The next section offers a direct account of girls' and women's recollections of the genocide and mobilization in the aftermath. This is followed by a memory-focused discussion on these recollections of Rwandan women.

BACKGROUND: AFTERMATH OF THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

The genocide that took place in Rwanda in 1994 was marked by horrific forms of violence, particularly against girls and women. As has been highlighted in many reports,[2] rape was part of the genocidal plan and part of the systematic degradation of girls and women, with perpetrators deliberately setting out to infect victims with HIV (Association des Veuves du Génocide [AVEGA] 1999). Virtually all children had to witness tremendous acts of brutality, and many were made vulnerable as orphans. Another consequence of the genocide was a drastic change in the demographic profile of the country. Immediately after the killings, girls and women formed 70 percent of the entire Rwandan population. Thus much of the responsibility for rebuilding the country fell on their shoulders. Today, they form 55 percent of the Rwandan population.

Rwanda's agriculture-based economy was completely destroyed by the war and genocide, forcing most of its inhabitants to live in a state of precariousness. In general, active members of the family (adult men and women) were either dead, in exile, or in prison. As a result, it became very hard for widows, children, and the elderly to survive. This also meant that a significant proportion of Rwandan women had to assume both the roles of provider and protector for their families. Burdened with increased responsibilities, they not only had to adapt to the increased responsibilities of these new roles but had to do so in a prejudiced environment. With

few resources at their disposition and often little education, many were susceptible to poverty. Indeed, to this day, nearly two-thirds of female-headed households generate incomes that fall below the poverty line (Gervais and Mitchell 2008).

Only two years after the genocide, in 1996, 34 percent of families, each averaging six to seven young dependents, were headed either by widows, unmarried women, or wives of prisoners suspected of participating in the killings (Ministry of Gender and Women in Development 2000, 2). Although the demographic situation has changed since and is becoming more balanced with the return of male refugees, there remains a high percentage of households being headed by single women (25 percent). In some rural areas, the proportion of families managed solely by women or girls can reach up to 38 percent (Gervais and Mitchell 2008). To add to the complexity of this problem, Amnesty International reported that a number of Rwandan women were living with HIV or AIDS (2004, 3). Many of the women infected fifteen years ago are now dying, which is causing a crisis at the family level as so many women are single household heads. The repercussions also extend to the economic plane as women have assumed a greater presence in income-generating activities (Gervais 2004, 2005c). Efforts by Rwanda's National Commission to Fight AIDS (CNLS), as well as by other groups like Gahaya Links (which enables women living with HIV or AIDS to earn ten to twelve dollars per week[3]), are now helping reverse this trend and making a difference in Rwandan women's lives. Nevertheless, reaching all of them remains a challenge (CNLS 2006; United Nations General Assembly Special Session [UNGASS] 2008).

Following the genocide, many children aged thirteen to twenty had to become heads of families by necessity, taking upon themselves the care of much younger children. According to the first available national statistics, child-headed households comprised 13 percent of all Rwandan families in 1996. Over time, this number has decreased somewhat (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2002; 2007), but the ravages of AIDS seem to be perpetuating the situation: more than 100,000 households today are run by children. Orphaned girls, likely deprived of education, are often expected to take on childcare roles or to find work as domestic servants. Young women may also be forced to sell sex to provide for themselves and are sometimes given a low income and obliged to live in the street (Umurungi et al. 2008).

Gender-based violence, extreme poverty, non-egalitarian customary practices, and discriminatory laws are among the main challenges that Rwandan girls and women have faced daily in the aftermath of the genocide. Collective and individual stories are useful in that they can contribute to a meaningful understanding of how Rwandan woman have faced a traumatic past and are dealing with its adverse impacts.

RURAL GIRLS' AND WOMEN'S RECOLLECTIONS: REMEMBRANCE AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Post-genocide, Rwandan women have been confronted by various manifestations and forms of insecurity. Safety, food security, and the welfare of their children and

families, along with psychological assistance, have been the women's first priorities. In response, aid projects put in place by international and local NGOs have sought to find practical answers to address the difficulties encountered and to provide for the needs that women have expressed. However, the greater and undoubtedly more important focus has been on granting women a necessary support for them to implement their own solutions and initiatives (Gervais 2004).

Observing firsthand the genocide's legacy on the lives of Rwandan rural girls and women, we have learned what they have had to overcome and accomplish to confront its dramatic consequences. During our encounters[4] with girls and women from all areas of the country, they showed no signs of agitation when they spoke of the horror and violence they had endured. But if they showed no anger, neither were they resigned. They had come together in a conscious and determined act of survival. To cope and survive, these women of Rwanda formed many small associations, most of which concerned the farming of small plots of land. Together, the women shared the workload in the fields. They succeeded in forming tight units that met their immediate survival needs and provided social support. The women achieved all this with very little outside help, resources, or training. Their skills and capacities, which had been almost totally neglected in the past by government or development agencies (Gervais 2002), have been one of the greatest untapped resources for stabilizing and rebuilding community life. The recollections of girls and women (survivors of the genocide, prisoners' wives, and returned refugees of 1994 as well as returning refugees from camps in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania) will show the ways in which they regrouped, dealt with the tragedy of losing their families, and ensured their livelihoods.

Social Action and the Common Memories of Rwandan Women

Recalling their post-genocide survival and rebuilding efforts in a commune called Save (located in the southern region of the country[5]), widows who had lost their husbands and their homes explained how they banded together to find a means to cope. Out of their own initiative, they created the Duhozanye Association—the name of which, translated, means 'Let's Console Each Other.' The association was born to help the women face their tragic losses and deal with the obstacles in their way. The association's founder and president—who had lost her husband, three daughters, and four sons—remembers how it began:

> After the genocide, the widows decided to get together. There were 310 of us. At the first gathering it was mostly crying and some talking. We told each other what had happened to us. Little by little we got accustomed to the situation—crying wasn't the solution. We thought about getting lodging and getting houses. A group of four or five would build for one, and then go to another to build a shelter for her. In Rwanda, women are not allowed to go on the roof. That is the man's job. At first, we'd go out at night to repair our houses, so no

> one would see us. But then someone found out and gave us pants to wear. Then we decided it did not matter if anyone laughed. We went out during the day. (Member of Save commune, pers. comm., September 2001)

Together, the association's members built houses for themselves and for other women who had lost family members. The houses, made of mud bricks with tin roofs, sit on small plots where the women grow banana and other trees as well as vegetables. Before the genocide, house-building was the domain of men, who alone held title to property. Development and Peace, a Canadian NGO, provided the Duhozanye Association with financial support to help it build houses for its members and also aided the association in defending its members' rights as individuals to property. In many cases, Duhozanye members signed individual contracts endorsed by communal authorities. The signing of a contract between a woman, the local authority, and the NGO in fact brought about a major change in Rwandan society: women and girls became officially recognized as proprietors of their own homes. By extending the approach of the Duhozanye initiative to other parts of the country and by making the legal framework a condition for funding, NGO projects promoted the needs of women and girls for housing programs, contributed to the legal recognition of their rights to property, and gave legitimacy to their role as heads of families (Gervais 2004).

A few years later, the Canadian NGO provided financial support for the Duhozanye Association to transform itself into a local NGO, the mission of which was to help the most vulnerable women. There were many stories told, but one that is from an elderly woman who had lost her husband and children in the genocide and had since taken charge of seven young orphans is particularly poignant. Before Duhozanye action, she and the children had all been living in a single room. The association built for her an extra room for the cooking and purchased a goat for her to provide milk to the children, considerably improving their diet.

Duhozanye as an association progressively gained a lot of credibility within the community. For instance, the association supported the candidacy of one of its members as mayor of the Save commune. This candidate was successfully elected and became one of six female mayors in the 2001 election.[6] Prior to 1994, Rwandan women had generally been excluded from decision-making positions. In this context, the election of several female mayors within the country was quite significant, as it signaled the first time Rwandan women had been able to take on the responsibilities of elected office through an open democratic process (Gervais 2005a).

In the south-western region of the country, members of the Musambira Women's Advisory Council (COCOF) worked together to recreate themselves. This association of women farmers operating in the Gitarama province was created in 1995 and has grown to more than 2,000 members. This organization, with technical assistance provided by both Canadian and Irish NGOs, grants monetary credit to its members for growing soybeans and peanuts or for starting their own small businesses. Because women do not own property, they have experienced difficulty in obtaining

loans through the bank system. Chiefly, they have no valuable assets with which to guarantee a loan.

Aware of these constraints, the COCOF Association offers small amounts of money to women who lack conventional means for securing income. A meeting was held in one of the homes of the women who had access to this program.[7] After the facilitator introduced the purpose of the meeting—to listen to how the women had benefited in being a part of COCOF and to obtain their opinions on the success or failure of the program—one by one, the women introduced themselves and began to tell their stories. As each woman spoke, the others sat quietly, arms folded in their laps. Then, they explained when and why they had borrowed money from the COCOF association and how they were managing to reimburse their small loans. One of the women, whose husband had been murdered during the genocide, recounted how she was able to support her eight surviving children with the help of a COCOF loan of just $166. Most of the women farmed small plots of land—cultivating cabbages, sweet potatoes, carrots, and soybeans. The small credit program had given them the ability to buy seeds and tools. The growing of crops allowed them to feed their families and to sell the surplus at the market. All of them claimed a greater ability to pay school fees and buy medicine. They also all noted the disappearance of severe cases of malnutrition among the children, thanks to nutritious crops such as soybeans.

The statements made by these women reveal that they have surpassed survival and bare subsistence levels and that their standard of living, thanks to their participation in an association, is improving somewhat. The same reality was noticed in other regions of the country. As one rural woman from the northern province of Umutara commented, there is now "no need to cultivate someone else's land to buy a bar of soap. Now you take the money from your profits" (Rural woman, Nyarubonye sector, Gabiro District, Umutara province, October 2003). Another rural woman from a central province said, "Contrary to the situation after the war [1994], we are clothed and better informed; we are different from those who are not part of an association" (Rural woman, Kivumu sector, Ruyumba District, Gitarama province, October 2003).

Engaging in discussions with the beneficiaries of the Nutrition Masaka Centre in rural parts of the province of Kigali revealed other ways women have moved forward after the genocide. The centre's mission is to receive and care for women who support at least one child suffering from grave malnutrition or related diseases. In the format of group meetings, the staff inform women on the ways in which to provide food supplements for children. During one session, a few of the women discussed how their husbands worry little about the education of their children or care little for responsibilities toward their immediate family. They said: "Men do not share their income." These women from the Masaka sector live in a densely populated region where there is a high concentration of returning refugees. The rural province in which they are located thus has to contend with the acute problem of scarcity of cultivable land. There is no hope of further sharing existing plots since the collective sharing program in place is overburdened as is. Consequently, the

province has to deal with extremely high levels of poverty. Malnutrition illustrates well the inequities that exist around the sharing of resources within households since women and children are those who are particularly affected. The lack of resources is a source of conflict—a conflict for which the resolution lies fundamentally in improving the economic security of women.

Rwandan women are conscious of their need to be aware of the structural disadvantages they face and of the opportunity that reconstruction efforts represent for promoting gender justice. Thus various associations have sprung up with the mission of defending the strategic interests of women who traditionally were considered second-class citizens in their own country. Women's associations such as the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians, the Pro-Women Collective (the main umbrella group for forty women's organizations), and the Association for the Defense of Women's and Children's Rights all lobby the government to have discriminatory laws reviewed and engage in activism to obtain more equitable representation of women in political life. Legislation pertaining to women has been revised, and new laws promoting women's equality are being adopted. Of these, two concern fundamental issues that have been instrumental in the recovery of girls and women after the genocide: a new law on inheritance and on the matrimonial regime and another on the punishment of acts of violence committed against women and children. More recently, the objective of the National Gender Policy has been to mainstream the gender dimension into policies and programs as well as into government budgets (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2008).

In the Kahi district located in the north-western region of the country, another meeting took place with members of the local Women's Council. These consultative committees were established in 1999 under the authority of the Ministry of Gender and Women in Development to ensure that the country would have, during the reconstruction, representative structures capable of influencing women's conditions at the local level. The Kahi district is part of a new settlement zone where the agricultural exploitation of the land is particularly difficult, due mostly to a lack of easy irrigation. Here, the Women's Council (composed of ten elected members) is actively trying to inform the rural population about new legislation introduced in late 1999 concerning the matrimonial system and inheritance rights.[8] Elected women councilors spend four days per month carrying out the duties of their position. Such a sacrifice is difficult and demanding when one considers that these women do so voluntarily, without remuneration. Yet such sacrifices are necessary and are prevalent throughout Rwandan communities. With little means but showing a resolute sense of perseverance, the members of the Women's Council of Kahi explained that the process of decentralization (i.e., the reallocation of power from a national level to elected people at the district level) is perceived as an opportunity for women to get involved in their communities: "Decentralization has allowed women to occupy positions of power where decisions are taken. At the cell level, women hold an active participatory role" (Local Women's Council member, Kahi District, Umutara province, October 2003). At the district level, elected women give high

priority to basic services such as health, water, education, and social infrastructure (men's priorities may differ greatly). Hence, their access to decision-making bodies is improving governance in grassroots policy (Gervais 2006).

How Rwandan Women Transformed the Political Landscape

Men used to occupy a high percentage of Rwanda's political positions. This situation has changed in response to the promotion of women's rights by associations and government initiatives. Women's groups have successfully pushed for a quota system and for greater inclusion of women in the political sphere. The participation of women in political life was formalized at the national scale in 2003 in the Constitution: one-third of the seats in the lower house and one-third of the seats in the upper house of parliament became reserved for them. Nevertheless, in the 2003 election (the first legislative election after the 1994 genocide), women exceeded their number of assigned seats and won 49 percent of the representation in the national parliament. Following the September 2008 election, women in Rwanda still top the world rankings of women in a national parliament, with 56 percent representation compared to a world average of 15 percent.

Although in the past the work of women on farms was indispensable to both the sectors of food production and the economy, their role as producers was previously misunderstood or ignored by government and development agency projects. Traditionally, marriage represented the main road of access to land for women since they could neither inherit nor own it (Gervais 2002). Thus, following the genocide, one of the greatest challenges facing female heads of households was the securing of a cultivable plot of land to ensure the family's subsistence. The networking of women into associations throughout the country provided the means necessary to leverage and obtain authorization from local authorities to cultivate communal land, lowlands, or marshes from the public domain (Gervais 2005b). Thus networking gave Rwandan women a stronger voice in the political sphere.

* * *

The information reported here sheds light on the ways rural girls and women have mobilized and transformed themselves from victims of violence to agents of change. It also highlights the close relationship that exists between the strategies implemented by women and their capacity to resolve the problems of insecurity that plague them (Gervais 2007; Gervais, Ubalijoro, and Nyirabega 2009). The conduct of economic activities by organized associations has represented a useful platform for establishing women's rights and enabling women's emancipation from traditional prejudices. Through numerous encounters with the members of these collective associations (of which a small sample was presented here), it is apparent that poverty is at the heart of everyday life concerns. Thus, in essence, it is the origin of tensions that exist within households and communities. Nevertheless, membership in these

associations, which bring people together to strive for a common interest and share memories, helps create a sense of solidarity that can soothe over differences in order to get a consensus. This directly contributes to the country's reconciliation, which is a paramount condition for establishing stable long-lasting peace. Women's leadership has been critical to the continuing recovery of a nation that lost one-tenth of its population in a period of less than 100 days.

INDIVIDUAL STORY: PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE EXPERIENCE OF A DIASPORA WOMAN

REMEMBERING APRIL 1994 THROUGH POETRY

I watched
My father's books burn
I watched
The light go out of my mother's eyes
I watched
My childhood dreams fly away
Sinking deep into the mud of the banana groves
I watched
The air that used to fill with the perfumes of eucalyptus during the day and of fragrant flowering trees at night, be weighed down with cold, dying and decaying flesh
I watched
The cries of the baby trying to feed on his dead mother's breast
I watched
My people far from the Capital say: We will not kill
To later watch them joining in the horror
I watched
Pale and familiar faces bow their heads and leave
I watched
My brothers' and sisters' faces right before and right after death
I watched
The machete lifts and with force decapitates love,
friendship, peace, tolerance and respect
I watched
Fear and I did nothing
Seated there, in front of my TV
I did nothing
To dry the hot tears pouring down my cold cheeks
I only had
To press a button to take the images away from my sight
But I did nothing
I watched

Like the rest of the world
The massacre of my people, of my dreams, of my memories and of my past
But even with eyes closed, a thumb pushing down the red button on the remote
I still see my people dying.

(Ubalijoro 1997)

As I translate the previous lines I wrote in October 1997, I realise it is October again. I can hardly remember typing the original words but the feeling of paralysis I felt then still overwhelms me and I want to weep for the person I was at the time. Hope had not yet permeated into my life again. Years spent placing one foot in front of the other, not knowing how to go on with joy had followed. I am in a different place now. Every day miracles are happening. We have come to a time when a Rwandan mother starting with just one cow can build wealth, grow her herd, perfect her skills in agriculture, contribute to rehabilitating our eroding soil's productivity and health, and inspire us all to move out of our comfort zones to be the enlightened human beings we were always meant to be, full of grace and humility.

A new paradigm is emerging where our humanity is being recognized in small and big ways: we have in Rwanda one of the highest proportion of female members of parliament in the world. We have women who look like us in positions of power to help us move forward. We have each other to feel comforted when all seems bleak and the ability to partner with like-minded people. We have laughter and dance to bring back the flow of energy and to tackle hard tasks ahead with dedication and humility.

How do we as students of life get beyond accepting what life hands us, to arrive at a place of empowerment, where knowledge of self, of others, of technology, of socio-economic conditions and policy propel us beyond what is unfair to help us dream a bigger dream for ourselves and our country? I conclude with a few questions my friend Professor Nancy Adler (2006) shared with me in her quest to move global leadership to new heights: each of us has the fibre needed to become a positive agent in our world, a world that desperately needs to be changed. Will we have the courage to ask ourselves the following questions?

Do we believe that we have a crucial role to play in shaping society's future? In shaping its success or demise?

Do we really believe we make a difference?

Do we believe that what we do matters?

How would you research and [learn] if you knew that the future of [our] country and the world depended on it?

Do we have the courage to see possibility?

Do we have the audacity to be hopeful, and the courage to express our hope within our professional domain?

We can only move forward if we can answer each of these questions with a resounding yes.

CONCLUSION

> In our time, collective identities and memories of trauma are deeply intertwined. Most ethnic minorities anchor their collective identities in the remembrance of past and present victimization. Victims of social trauma and their descendants often engage in purposeful and explicit remembering as a form of empowerment and identity formation. (Larson 1999, 335)

To borrow from Brinton Lykes, we ask ourselves how we can "contribute to clarifying contemporary, culturally situated meanings of human rights violations [that affected women in Rwanda and] join them in implementing strategies that transform their material and social realities, including extreme poverty and psychosocial trauma" (2007, 165), thus furthering a project of productive remembering and social action. What we learn from the women of Rwanda is that the events of 1994 forced the death of life as they knew it and brought about an archetypal rebirth into a new and greater collective story where the women's voices and actions were crucial to societal transformation. From the heartbreak of tremendous loss, the space that women's collectives created for recollection and renewal led the women to become active agents of peace and compassion in the rebuilding of a country. As we brought in historical memory with the actual events of 1994 and the political changes that followed, we developed a framework to share in the common memory of the women who lived through these events. As women shared their experiences and found ways to work together to rebuild their lives and their communities' lives, feelings of powerlessness and fear dissipated and in their place arose "courage, curiosity, and creativity" (Villoldo 2010, 4–5). The women changed their own worlds, creating "a unified world where [they were] the canvas and the artist, the landscape and the paintbrush" (Villoldo, 6).

This chapter has sought to reveal the kinds of responses Rwandan women have formulated to deal with the trauma and other repercussions that have followed from the genocide. The chapter takes on what Onyx and Small called "the process whereby individual women become part of society, and the ways in which women themselves participate in that process of socialization" (2001, 773). The collective stories shared by Rwandan women can offer insight into the effect of the genocide's legacy on their lives—what they have had to overcome and accomplish to confront its dramatic consequences as well as the evolution of gender issues as a consequence. With their stories and memories, we discovered the ways in which women regrouped, dealt with the tragedy of losing their families, and ensured their livelihoods. We learned from their oral testimonies how important it was that they console each other to increase social cohesion, demonstrate a great sense of solidarity, and ultimately redefine themselves through resilience. Their recollections challenge the perceptions of outsiders (humanitarian workers, development agencies, the international community) who often have portrayed these women to be powerless victims. On the contrary, the common memories presented here paint a picture of the strength, will, initiative, and resourcefulness that these rural girls and women have and clearly depict them

as agents of change capable of redefining their position and rights within a society. Likewise, individual memories demonstrate the legacy a political conflict can have on a person; how it can influence identity formation; and how much courage, hope, and motivation it requires to become an instrument of change. Combined, collective and individual memories not only complement each other but comprise a productive approach for describing, and moving forward, feminist memory in Rwanda.

NOTES

[1] Both authors are familiar with Rwanda. As a researcher and advisor monitoring projects funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Gervais observed firsthand the genocide's legacy on the lives of Rwandan rural girls and women and what they have had to overcome and accomplish to confront its dramatic consequences. Her research has focused primarily on types of actions and engagements by NGOs during the reconstruction period. Ubalijoro experienced the genocide as a Rwandan woman living in the diaspora as a graduate student. She has been conducting research in Rwanda after spending fourteen years abroad.

[2] Human Rights Watch issued a report in September 1996 (Nowrojee 1996) revealing the acts of sexual violence that were commonplace during the war and the genocide of 1994. In addition, Amnesty International (2004) and others have published accounts of the rape of women and girls during that time. See also Meredith Turshen and Clothilde Twagiramariya's (1998) book *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa*.

[3] This information is taken from page 4 of The George Washington University Law School's Creative and Innovative Economy Center's Profile in Creativity and Innovation on the founders of Gahaya Links, Janet Nkubana and Joy Ndungutse: http://www.law.gwu.edu/Academics/research_centers/ciec/Documents/CIEC%20Profiles/Profile%20Gahaya%20Links.pdf

[4] The information and data used in this study were gathered during several visits to Rwanda. During each visit, Gervais had the opportunity to speak with women across the country and to conduct focus groups or individual interviews with rural farming families. Based on respect and mutual learning, these meetings created the opportunity for people to be engaged in an analytical process, to express their views, and to make use of Gervais's observations for their own purposes.

[5] The administrative division of the country has been revised since focus groups and individual interviews were carried out. Presently, the country is subdivided into four provinces plus Kigali City, which are in turn subdivided into 30 districts (instead of 104) and 416 sectors. This administrative reorganization has led to name changes of the places of residence of women quoted in this chapter. We nonetheless preferred to keep the names of residences as they were at the time of the interviews.

[6] This was discussed at a meeting with members of Duhozanye Association in September 2001.

[7] This meeting took place in Ruyumba District in Gitarama Province in March 2002.

[8] Law No. 22/99, formalized on November 12, 1999, and concerning the matrimonial system and inheritance rights, is based on the principle of equality of the sexes. However, this law leaves a legal vacuum regarding how land is distributed among heirs from the same family.

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URSULA A. KELLY

6. RELEARNING AS REMEMBRANCE: *THREE GUINEAS*, IMPLICATION, AND MELANCHOLIA

Remembrance is both a political practice and a textual practice. In an attempt to represent a legacy of ideas and influence, remembrance within academic autobiography can take many forms. Revisiting texts that form part of one's intellectual or literary history is an interpretive and reflective endeavour that can reignite and redirect influence through an examination of their relationship to current dilemmas and one's place within them. In the spirit of such a reflective endeavour, I revisit Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas* in this chapter as part of an inquiry into existing dispositions towards and relationships to current global conflicts. Using this text, published in 1938, I focus in particular on the issue of implication as part of an inquiry into ethics, politics, and affect in relation to war and resistance in contemporary times. In so doing, I pursue a notion of productive remembering that, through a focus on implication, has as its central concern remembrance as the basis for an ethical relationship to the injuries of others.

(RE)TURNING TO VIRGINIA WOOLF

The pacificist writings of Virginia Woolf, who died by suicide in 1941, have been evoked often in the past decade of escalating global tensions. In popular media alone, Woolf has re-emerged in various sites. For example, following the tragic events of September 11, 2001, at the World Trade Centre in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, Woolf's well-known epistolary on the interconnection of women, education, culture, and war—*Three Guineas*—was introduced into public debates on the so-called War on Terrorism by writers of widely varying perspectives. Writing for *City Journal*, Theodore Dalrymple (2002) reread Woolf's classic through the nostalgic lens of (British) imperialism, scornfully debunking her ideas about war through the oft-cited example of the Allied war against Nazi Germany. Such melancholic vindications for war (Gilroy 2005) have been a common refrain in popular discussions of the contemporary US-led imperialist wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, which followed the events of September 11, 2001. Contrary to this position, Margo Jefferson, writing in *The New York Times*, also evoked Woolf to focus on issues of freedom and conversion, presenting Woolf's ideas as both timely and prescient. She went as far as to suggest that Woolf's prescription for women in the professions—in particular, to rid ourselves of unreal loyalties—should be

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 75–87.

translated into a manifesto of ethics for contemporary public life (Jefferson 2003).[1] Such evocations suggest a place for Woolf and her writing in an examination of a cultural politics of remembrance within the contested terrain of contemporary life.

Against this backdrop of popular re-emergence, I was drawn back to *Three Guineas*, a book I had first read as a young university student in the 1970s. I have little recollection of that initial reading and no compelling story to tell about its impact and resonance. I do know I read it following high-school years of debate about and resistance to the US war in Vietnam and a subsequent involvement in the nuclear disarmament movement of the 1970s and early 1980s. It was read in concert with the works of other progressive writers who, as a young woman, I was also reading. But it was Woolf's life, not her life works, which left a greater mark on my memory. And her death. Having lived through the First World War, Woolf's death, coming as it did during the Second World War, seemed inseparable from the war and the antisemitism at its centre. As well, Woolf's own devastating losses as a child and young woman seemed inseparable from the debilitating despair that ultimately led to her death. As a young woman, reading about her death was a point from which to consider the nature of unresolved grief, the difficult despair that often accompanies insight, and the abiding hangover of hopelessness borne of a world reconciled to repeating its errors of violence and inhumanity. While these things were not separate from her writings, they created an image of a writer whose biography surpassed her writings as a point of conscious impact. Despite her iconic status in feminist scholarship, I shelved the works of Woolf following university courses for which they may have been listed for study. Over the years, I gave little substantial consideration to any influence they may have had on the evolution of my thinking.

However, in the context of contemporary wars and the changing nature of Canada's relationship to and involvement in these conflicts, combined with the apparent failure of critique both locally and more broadly, questions of complacency, implication, and resistance are ever more important areas of inquiry. Walter Benjamin (1968), another tragic casualty of warring and despair, forewarned of the dangers of complicity and collaboration and the need for a vigilant critical awareness of forms of identification which solicit such hegemonic relationships. Around the same time as Benjamin, Virginia Woolf also examined the problems of implication with an unveering critical pose. Any inquiry into an ethics of difference as relational—one that pursues the question of one's relationship to the injuries of others—must pursue such critical awareness as a practice of self and cultural reflection. In this regard, my return to Woolf's *Three Guineas* has helped me to rearticulate questions about a politics of resistance, the nature of alliances for change, and the implication of academic work in the difficult issues of our times.

In an essay framed around the psychoanalytic notion of matricide, Alice Pitt (2006) discussed the problem of representing the (intellectual) mother in teaching and learning and the still persistent and widespread erasure of or ambivalence towards women theorists and philosophers. Pitt noted, "We atone for our matricidal acts by attending to traces of influence that take us by surprise and shatter our illusions of

originality. This [atonement] is the work of thinking back *to* our mothers. By doing so we learn a great deal about learning, and we may also be able to stem the tide of forgetting" (2006, 103–4; italics in the original). This chapter, then, may be my own reparative gesture for such forgetfulness. Teaching in a context of intensified global conflict and reminded of Woolf's work through the popular media representations earlier mentioned, I was drawn back to the writings of Virginia Woolf. Through this return, I was able to relearn some of what it was I was unable to acknowledge—or learn—in my earlier reading. Through this *relearning as remembrance*, then, I reclaim the efficacy of some of Woolf's thinking in relation to education—in particular, education considered for and of women—in a time of heightened global conflict and war. In so doing, I also posit an argument for revisiting such early readings as studied artefacts of a literacy history in order to enhance a critical reflection—one that enables a reconsideration of the implications of position and belief within educational practice.

UNREAL LOYALTIES: THE PROBLEM OF IMPLICATION

The words implication, complicity, and collusion are etymologically close. All three suggest a bringing or folding together, an interweaving and entangling. In their more contemporary usages, all three can also suggest secrecy, suspicion, and unscrupulous relations of power. Here, I am more interested in implication as a series of relationships that brings about a form of involvement that requires a deep scrutiny and vigilant self-questioning. Implication, in this sense, captures a deep, profound, and troubling *connectedness*.

In *Three Guineas*, Virginia Woolf wrote extensively about the implication of women in war and the relationship of this implication to education. Woolf argued that through both their conscious and unconscious efforts, women were implicated in and supported war. Confined as women were to the private domain and with only what Woolf considered an unpaid education in their conscious efforts to support the men on whom they depended, women supported men's warring ways on behalf of the (British) Empire. But Woolf pointed out that women with paid education also concretely supported the war, finding employment as nurses, munitions factory workers, drivers, etc., or volunteering in various capacities as part of the war effort. Woolf accounted for this support by arguing that the war offered educated women an escape from the hated private domain and the dependency it demanded, an escape that she argued attested to women's unconscious desire for war through a desire for the so-called freedoms they accrued as its result.

Woolf believed that only independent women could prevent war, but such independence was by no means straightforward. Nor did it ensure the opposition to—let alone the prevention of—war. Woolf argued for the entry of women into the professions while she contemplated how women might do so and yet continue to discourage war. Woolf felt that women must adhere to what she called "the four great teachers of the daughters of educated men—poverty, chastity, derision and freedom

from unreal loyalties" (145–46). If women remained attached to these teachers—in contemporary terms, refusal of wealth, intellectual compromise, celebrity, and false loyalties—only then could they remain uncontaminated by the professions and maintain the mind and the will to prevent war.

Of these four teachers, it is the last—freedom from unreal loyalties—on which I wish here to focus. Woolf offered a definition of unreal loyalties: "By freedom from unreal loyalties is meant that you must rid yourself of pride of nationality in the first place; also of religious pride, college pride, school pride, family pride, sex pride and those unreal loyalties that spring from them. Directly the seducers come with their seductions to bribe you into captivity, tear up their parchments; refuse to fill up the forms" (146). For Woolf, the problem of unreal loyalties for women was a problem of dependence and of implication through dependence. Woolf was not the only major writer of the early twentieth century to address such implication. At the time of the Cold War, Pearl S. Buck wrote of women's implication and complicity in US militarism and German fascism, albeit differently than Woolf and with greater attention to the complexities of race and nation in relation to gender analysis (Shaffer 1999). More recently, Bacchetta et al. (2002) referenced this unreal loyalty, citing the threat of the implication of women in the US-led wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. They noted that "middle-class Euro-American women in the United States are held up as the most liberated on earth even while they are being encouraged to stand dutifully by their husbands, fathers, and children" (304). The extent of this liberation is tested by the affront of implication. As Jacqueline Rose pointed out, an analysis of sexual difference is "the quickest way of calling the bluff on the superiority of the so-called democratic, civilized world" (1993, 32). Yet, melancholic nationalism, which is the refusal to acknowledge fully and mourn the deaths of those killed by US-led military action (Butler 2004), helped mobilise the continued implication to which Bacchetta et al. (2002) referred. It is a nationalism that is unable to tolerate ambivalence or uncertainty and, as such, threatens to silence not only debate about these wars but about women and war, more specifically. Furthermore, a thread of this melancholic nationalism manifests as gendered melancholia—visible within academia and in spaces specifically designated for the education of women—and may act in concert with this melancholic nationalism, compounding its silences and enhancing its devastation.

In *Three Guineas*, Woolf forewarned of a gendered melancholy in the education of women, acknowledging the disadvantage for women if an education for them was truly one to prevent war—what Woolf suggested was a poor education. In a poor education, "learning is sought for itself; where advertisement is abolished; and there are no degrees; and lectures are not given, and sermons are not preached, and the old poisoned vanities and parades which breed competition and jealously [are eliminated]" (63–64). In her writing about this poor education, Woolf described how the spectral face of the Cambridge Rebuilding Fund's Honorary Treasurer, to whom she wrote, gazed at her from the page. Woolf noted how her face "appeared to be fixed with a certain melancholy" and she imagined the Honorary Treasurer saying of

her ideas, "Dream your dreams . . . but we have to face reality" (64). In this moment, the (already) lost dream of a women's education unfettered by patriarchal influence, which Woolf considered the impetus for war, was acknowledged yet immediately disavowed. Conceding that the trappings of a patriarchal education would also mark the education of women—this being the reality that women must face—Woolf expressed the hope "that in time that education may be altered" (72).

GENDERED MELANCHOLIA

Almost seventy-five years after *Three Guineas* was published, what are some contemporary aspects of the new reality to which the Honorary Treasurer alluded that women face and with which women educators of women now contend? Today, women continue to be the primary victims of wars but are now also among those who arm offenses and imperialist campaigns; espouse the language of freedom, valour, and patriotism; and maintain and repair on the home and war fronts all that war ravages. Yet women are, and have been, leaders of state who have used war to political advantage over disaffected classes and minorities at home and aboard, or women have supported such leaders of state. Women have been held or adhere to unreal loyalties to the exclusion and harm of other women and sexual minorities. So many efforts in the name of women continue to benefit primarily those already advantaged by class and place. The reality holds.

Has the education of women—in particular, the education of women in higher education—within programs of women's studies, for example, confronted sufficiently the problems of implication? The challenges of an education for women inspired by feminisms call into question many so-called pillars of struggle. Speaking to the status of contemporary feminism and its shortcomings, Jacqueline Rose noted that "feminism today has to define itself as something which exceeds its own earlier boundaries, as something which, in order to continue, has therefore to be more than itself" (1993, 242). Minimally, such challenges suggest the need, on an ongoing basis, for what Rose called "a radical [psychic] self-questioning—not as a block or a bar to political process, but as a necessary part of its procedures . . . [that] would take this as feminism's specific contribution to other forms of political life" (232). Rose argued that a radical psychic self-questioning "can undo a certain rhetoric of certainty—one which has often dominated left-wing political discourse and whose bankruptcy seems more and more obvious today" (232). Such reflection—following Rose and, one might argue, Woolf—offers an opportunity for renewal, redirection, and change. Yet such self-questioning is difficult and not always encouraged or embraced educationally.

The consequences of refusing to adopt such a radical self-questioning pose are far-reaching. Drawing on the notion of left melancholia developed by Walter Benjamin, Wendy Brown argued that the left is awash in avowed and unavowed losses: an avowed "loss of a unified analysis and a unified movement" (2000, 23) and an unavowed loss of "the promise that Left analysis and Left commitment would

supply its adherents with a clear and certain path towards the good, the right, and the true" (24). This latter unavowed loss constructs a melancholic position in relation to social struggle, one resonant with Stuart Hall's earlier suggestion that the Left failed to apprehend the complexity of what he called "new times" due to both analytic orthodoxy and a refusal of the importance of the cultural and the psychic (Brown, 25). Such analytic orthodoxy has also been critiqued by other insightful writers (Butler 2004; Gilroy 2005) as prohibitive of useful responses to contemporary complexities. Brown contended that for the Left, these unavowed losses meant "that it literally renders itself a conservative force in history—one that not only misreads the present but instils traditionalism in the very heart of its praxis, in the place where commitment to risk and upheaval belongs" (2000, 26).

To what extent does gendered melancholy operate in education for women, in particular within feminist, gender, or women's studies? In these spaces, is the melancholy to which Woolf earlier eluded now resolved or heightened? Susanne Luhmann (2004) addressed these questions directly in her account of loss, ambivalence, and mourning in women's studies. She argued that given some of its political claims based on outsider status—a status Woolf saw as essential to the prevention of war—the institutional success of women's studies (getting inside) "is not only a reason for joy but also a site of ambivalence" (2004, 155). Luhmann claimed that this ambivalence is the result of totalizing narratives within women's studies which attempt (impossibly) to maintain certain ideals of women and women's studies in order to contain losses which were always already present (153). She suggested that foundational narratives of solidarity, shared suffering, etc.—produced in the first place to manage contemporary challenges to these narratives (from queer, postcolonial, and postmodern critics, among others)—now have enhanced appeal as a means to foreclose loss and to forge continuity in the face of fragmentation and change (163). Citing the exclusions enacted through a series of demands for certain versions of women's studies often coded by age, whiteness, sex, and theory, Luhmann saw women's studies becoming increasingly more isolated and conservative and increasingly less able "to understand and engage in a more complex way with what we do" (184). She argued that "as long as women's studies is a loved ideal, certain things cannot be known because they threaten loss" (187). This melancholic attachment to the loved ideal of women's studies buffers attempts to acknowledge loss and produces in its wake the grievous symptoms of unmourned loss. Luhmann cited increased ambivalence as one way for many to continue to maintain an attachment to women's studies while also to forge a critique of it (187).

The institutionalised spaces of education bequeathed through the efforts of Woolf and others (some of the very spaces of which Luhmann spoke) are sites in which certain forms of self-questioning can be mobilised or shunned, where melancholic attachments can be encouraged or refused. Returning to *Three Guineas*, it is important to recall that the Honorary Treasurer of the Cambridge Rebuilding Fund, to whom Woolf wrote, was rendered melancholic by the realities of an institutionalised education for women and the limits and accommodations of institutionalisation for

the fulfilment of an education for women. Such compromises suggested that an education for women was an already lost—or never fully realizable—dream. Despite this realisation, as Woolf hoped, such institutionalised spaces can be sites in which to contend with these realities as a way to reformulate and to animate a dream—to construct new meanings of present conditions. But they can also be sites in which to maintain a romantic fiction at the cost of desperately needed reinvigorated meaning. Luhmann (2004) suggested there is a preoccupation with the latter, with disavowal as a means to maintain a fiction.

Wendy Brown offered insight into the psychic dimensions of this work of disavowal. She contended that attachment to lost objects is safeguarded—that is, disavowal is maintained—through an insistence on certain narratives over others and through displaced and scornful attention on substitute objects, such as certain theoretical positions and those who adhere to them (Brown 2000). The symptoms of such displacement and projection include unreal loyalties (to anachronistic stances, old forms of thinking, and rigid political alliances) as well as complaint, lack of self-reflexivity, exclusion, and blame. Scorn is displaced onto postmodern, cultural, queer, and psychoanalytic theorists (who are seen to have diffused sisterhood and forsaken the sanctity of certain beliefs) in order to refuse any concerted examination of the changes necessary for women's studies to remain a potent intervening force in the complexities of contemporary life. In this sense, melancholia is a strategically deployed affect. In its more complete—that is, less ambivalent—forms, it stabilises a field of study; in its less complete—that is, more ambivalent—forms, the potential for critique is heightened.

WAR, MELANCHOLIA, AND DEMOCRACY

The US-led imperialist wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, which have preoccupied the first decade of the twenty-first century, have galvanised differences globally as they have also been framed to exploit a professed connection between women's struggle for freedom and the professed agenda of war. Such framing is an explicit rendering of Woolf's assertion of implication—that women want war because they want the freedoms believed to accrue from it. In a widely circulated statement following the events of September 11, 2001, Bacchetta et al. urged women to resist implication and "to refuse the call to war in the name of vanquishing a so-called traditional patriarchal fundamentalism" (2002, 305). They pointed out that "national and international mobilization for war cannot go forward in our name or under the sign of concern for women," for terror is ubiquitous and "roams the world in many guises and is perpetrated under the sign of many different nation states and agents" (305).

In *Three Guineas*, Woolf responded to the prescriptions to prevent war offered by her correspondent: to sign a manifesto to protect culture and intellectual liberty; to join a society devoted to peace; and to donate to that society, which is in need of funds. Despite a common aim of peace, Woolf insisted, "We can best help you to prevent war not by joining your society but by remaining outside your society but in

cooperation with its aim. That aim is the same for us both. It is to assert 'the rights of all men and women to the respect in their persons of the great principles of Justice and Equality and Liberty'" (260–61). Woolf believed that women must remain outside men's societies precisely to maintain freedom from unreal loyalties. Yet women continue to confront what it seems the Honorary Treasurer and Woolf knew but could not fully acknowledge—that the dreams of a gender beyond implication in the impulses of patriarchy were never possible or could never be real. An 'altered' education to address the evils of war, exploitation, and violence continues to falter.

At the end of *Three Guineas*, Woolf wrote of the temptation to ignore the peril at hand, to trade the chaos of war for the dream of order:

> Even here, even now your letter tempts us to shut our ears to these little facts, these trivial details, to listen not to the bark of the guns and the bray of the gramophones but to the voices of the poets, answering each other, assuring us of a unity that rubs out divisions as if they were chalk marks only; to discuss with you the capacity of the human spirit to overflow boundaries and make unity out of multiplicity. But that would be to dream, to dream the recurring dream that has haunted the human mind since the beginning of time; the dream of peace, the dream of freedom. But, with the sound of the guns in your ears you have not asked us to dream. You have not asked us what peace is; you have asked us how to prevent war. Let us then leave it to the poets to tell us what the dream is. (259–60)

Here, it seems, Woolf issued a challenge: to face realities, to confront the lost dream so as to dream anew. What is a viable project in the wake of a lost dream? To mourn its loss so that something else may emerge? The loss that the dream contained—that implication is a condition of a fragile, imperfect, yet profoundly connected humanity—must be acknowledged and accepted and a new politics envisioned. What might be this "some other thing" (Brown et al. 2006, 32) that could emerge from these struggles? Wendy Brown spoke of "recovering a certain openness" (Brown et al., 42) through a "willing[ness] to suffer an even more radical disorientation" and "a giving up of certain investments, not only in what we imagine the left must be for, but also what we imagine we must keep separate or oppositional" (Brown et al., 41). She noted that such openness is often the first casualty when "a radical justice project attaches itself to a certain vision, to a certain end or to a certain practice" (41). Letting openness flourish means resisting melancholy and embracing uncertainty for the understandings and new and organic alliances which can emerge from it.

The openness to which Brown referred and the animation and vitality that constitute it are part of a more sensate democracy. In her discussion of what constitutes a sensate democracy, Judith Butler stated:

> Democracy . . . at a very basic level, entails a capacity to know the world, to judge the world, to deliberate upon it, and to make decisions that are based

> upon an apprehension of the world. . . . There is no nonstructured apprehension. But, given that we accept that, the question is, how do we come to apprehend the social and political world? . . . we have to be able to see images and hear voices, even to smell and to touch a world we are asked to fathom. (2008, 3)

The animated civic life to which Butler refers is not only one which refuses the numbing effects of received knowledge or the Cartesian logic of much contemporary education. It is also a form of civility premised on full sensory engagement. Butler sees such sensate apprehension as a precondition of judgement made possible when engagement is combined with a critique of the ways in which it is structured and solicited so as to regulate our perceptual frames—our apprehension of the world. How does the melancholic apprehend the world? What is it not possible to see through a lens of melancholic disavowal? The melancholic rebuts possibility and refuses new attachments, for all energy is consumed by maintaining old, lost ones. This muted apprehension is a form of refusal and denial—a misapprehension which threatens a sensate democracy. But is melancholia also a form of apprehension with potent political possibilities? In disavowal, the melancholic resists uncertainty, holding onto treasured, loved lost objects as unfinished business. Confronting the ambivalence of melancholia can enhance its creative potential for the production of new meanings, new visions, new futures through an incitement to mourn. To do otherwise is to fail to apprehend both complexity and possibility and to get caught in the complicity of muted action. John Dalton noted, "Every melancholic confuses the unknowability of the future with the apparent nothingness of the present, a nothing that can be thought otherwise as a 'not-yet', the space of a potentiality. Our mourning, then, is perhaps not first of all the recursive experience of loss, but a symptom of being overwhelmed by a responsibility: for one's own finitude, and for the acknowledgment that finitude is the condition of the aspiration for change" (Brown et al. 2006, 30). This 'not-yet' is the point at which melancholia becomes an affect with political potency, rife with other kinds of possibilities for what it means to live responsibly and to remember productively. Part of this living responsibly is to refuse the unproductive remembering of melancholia in order to mourn more fully what is gone so that the finitude of life may be honoured by the changes we are willing to make in its honour.

A project of sensate democracy is enhanced through the development of what Megan Boler called critical emotional epistemologies, forms of knowing which incorporate "a public recognition of the ways in which the 'social' defines the 'interior' realm of experience" alongside an understanding of "how the dominant discourses within a given local site determine what can and cannot be felt and/or expressed" (1997, 231). For Boler, unearthing the obstacles and confronting the challenges to a critical articulation of emotions is essential to overcoming the "psychic imperialism" (228), which implicates us all in exploitation and injustices. As Boler pointed out, no imperialist project has been possible without a deliberate emotional "engineering" (228) of the polity—one that shapes emotional engagement and (mis)apprehension for exploitation and political profit, an agnotology driven

by what are often the inseparable interests of nation, military, and media. The same melancholic strategies as those mobilised by nations and states to protect present interests, prohibit critique, and gridlock futures are indicted in all forms of aggression, exclusion, and war. The melancholic's withdrawal to the past can be a form of inattention to the problems of the present and a hostility to what in the present threatens one's version of the past. Described in this way, melancholia is a condition premised on aggressive exclusions, for "aggression is what emerges in the space of unmourned losses" (Brown et al. 2006, 31). Caught in this melancholy, women become susceptible to and implicated in broader national melancholies of the sort mobilised in contemporary US-led imperialist wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. These affects are new versions of what Woolf identified as the problems of implication and the problems of unreal, sedimented, and unacknowledged loyalties.

WRITING AND PRODUCTIVE REMEMBRANCE

War is a refusal of and a hostile disregard for our shared vulnerability. It is a loss of meaning, a chaos. Writing, as Woolf showed us through her work, is one way to resist war, to carve out and to pursue new orders, new relations. In this way, writing is the antithesis of war and a potential site of compelling resistance to it. In writing, it is possible to recover connection to the other (ourselves), and in this sense, it can be a hopeful practice through which to confront loss as the basis of a renewed ethical encounter. As a site of such hoping and dreaming, writing is also a practice of freedom—a writing as resistance—as Woolf suggested through her work. But unable any longer to write in the ways she wished, tormented by the oscillations of depression and mania, and surrounded by the horrors of yet another—her second—world war, Virginia Woolf drowned herself. Writing was her form of reparation, her way as a woman against war of protesting war from the surest place she could—as a writer. Unable to write freely, she was unable to hold back the unrelenting chaos of war. Her death cannot be separated from the war.

Every loss, every casualty of a failure to reconcile the problem of war is an opportunity to consider implication and to decide how and what to remember. We return, through remembrance, to Woolf, as others have, to find a space and a chance to think our way anew, to remember what is not yet and what has not been, to acknowledge and to honour what is lost by acknowledging what we have not yet made of loss—the responsibility of those who live on so as to do more. To write is both to separate from some things and to attach to others, to forge new meanings and new intimacies as we challenge and perhaps abandon other, older ones (Holly 1998; Kristeva 1980; Ong 2001). If mourning is also an occasion for rethinking, then writing and representation, more generally, are attempts to record the loss which propels creativity—a record which can act as both a melancholic disavowal and an incitement to mourn. Of the disposition of the contemporary historian who is implicated in the history of oppression by writing it even while resisting it, Walter Benjamin wrote, "He will be sad. His history will be the product of his sadness" (1968, 256).

Sad, too, is the contemporary educator. Yet there is a productive side to this sadness. As Anne Phelan argued, through mourning, "we begin to cultivate ourselves in a different direction, beyond idealism perhaps and towards an understanding of our own critical subjectivity in all its limitation" (Lund et al. 2003, n.p.). Butler suggested that, "to grieve, and to make grief itself into a resource for politics, is not to be resigned to inaction, but it may be understood as the slow process by which we develop a point of identification with suffering itself" (2004, 30). An articulation of grief, then, becomes an aspect of an education for a sensate democracy (Butler, 4). It is part of what Paul Gilroy called an "agonistic planetary humanism," one through which we become "capable of comprehending the universality of our elemental vulnerability to the wrongs we visit upon each other" (2005, 4). An examination of these wrongs—our implication in the injuries of others—is both an occasion to mourn and to make reparation.

Towards the end of *Three Guineas*, Woolf wrote, "The human figure [of the soldier] even in a photograph suggests . . . that we cannot dissociate ourselves from that figure but are ourselves that figure. It suggests that we are not passive spectators doomed to unresisting obedience but by our thoughts and actions can ourselves change that figure. A common interest unites us; it is one world, one life. How essential it is that we should realise that unity the dead bodies, the ruined houses prove" (258–59). The common conditions of this *one* world, as Butler (2004) suggested, may reside in uncertainty and loss as the grounds for a new ethics and a more profound and enabling politics that can bear loss for the promise it holds—that of an encounter with living that is both hopeful and freeing, an encounter through which we may regain a deepened sense of and responsibility towards one another. A productive practice of remembrance, developed here as a form of relearning through critical reflection, would be infused with such a politics of loss and would inquire into the dispositions towards memory as well as the current contexts out of which yearnings to remember are borne. Productive remembrance must also inquire into implication: first, as a means to bring forward so as to go forward—differently, more justly (Strong-Wilson 2008)—and, second, as a means through which to connect to others through remembrance as ethical practice. Such productive remembrance is one which reminds of the need for critical vigilance in the examination of our relationship to and implication in the harm done to others, in our name or not, as it also reminds us of our ethical obligation to repair as we remember. A politics of remembrance embodies this spirit of critique as the possibility of renewal in times which demand renewed modes of analysis and the use of our institutional spaces to remember what we have already learned but must relearn against the backdrop of increasing complacency, the refusal of implication, and the ever present threat of unreal loyalties.

NOTE

[1] At this time also, Woolf was reappearing in other media. The film *The Hours* (Daldry 2002), based on the Pulitzer Prize-winning homage to Virginia Woolf written by Michael Cunningham (1998), was

released to wide critical acclaim, placing Woolf anew onto the world screen while also reasserting her long-lasting influence as a feminist thinker. Meanwhile, in Canada, Helen Humphreys (2002) published *The Lost Garden*, a novel which begins in London in 1941 during the Blitz and at the time of Woolf's drowning in the River Ouse. The figure of Woolf and her writings (in particular, *To The Lighthouse*) are key narrative devices in this story of love, longing, and loss in England during the Second World War.

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MICHAEL CORBETT

7. REMEMBERING FRENCH IN ENGLISH: THE MEDITATION OF AN 'ASSIMILATED' ACADIAN

Time Present and Time Past

CROSSING TANTRAMAR

This chapter is a critical analysis of the migration of multi-occupational Acadian labouring families from coastal New Brunswick villages to the industrial town of Amherst, Nova Scotia, at the beginning of the Second World War. By the mid-1960s, dozens of Acadian families had become established in the Anglophone community, and most children of the second generation were unilingual English speakers. I am one of those children. This chapter explores how cultural remembering functions in my own memory work. My question concerns what this memory work produces and how this production articulates with might be termed postmodern identity. One aspect of this memory work concerns questions of loss of both an ethnic home-place and ancestral language that circle back into complex and unsettled questions of identity and identification. The particular memory work done in my own family refers explicitly to the short 60 kilometre migration from Cap Pélé New Brunswick to Amherst Nova Scotia, but it is also set off against the 18th century genocidal relocation of the Acadian people (Farragher, 2005; Griffith, 2004).

The story of La Grande Derangement is a story of colonial brutality, but it is also the story of perseverance, obstinacy and survival. The Acadian people should have disappeared by now, assimilated into the mass of English that surrounds its tiny population and its precarious geography nested mainly within Canada's Atlantic provinces. Were it not for the active and proactive invocation of productive memory, it is doubtful that the Acadia people would exist. Memory then is essential to the ongoing construction and reconstruction of Acadian identity. The trouble for me and for my family, along with others that have largely assimilated is that we also perform memory work that produces other forms of identity that many of us consider to be Acadian. Diasporic Acadians undoubtedly represent the majority of Acadians if a loose definition of what counts as Acadian is accepted. But, if the definition of who counts as Acadian is loosened too much, Acadian identity ceases to have any real meaning. I suggest though that it is the desire to remember that is crucial because this is the desire to identify and it is this desire that I retain. The other difficulty for me is that in my family, the experience of assimilation tends to be remembered as a positive experience and even a point of pride. In this way then, a spectral memory

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 89–103.

of having made the transition into an Anglophone community and for one's children and grandchildren to "pass" is also a productive memory and one that generates an ambivalence around an Acadian identity.

The 1939 migration of my mother's family was understood as a set of opportunities and a way to escape the ravages of the Great Depression in rural New Brunswick. It was, I imagine, little different from the contemporary deployment of Acadians and other Atlantic Canadians to the Alberta oil sands or the situations of thousands of global immigrants who land in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver. There was no Governor Lawrence, the ruthless colonial bureaucrat who ordered the deportation; instead, there were hard times. During the First and Second World Wars, dozens of Acadian families moved to Amherst, Nova Scotia, to work in munitions plants. Most of them stayed after the wars. Opportunities eventually transformed into inevitabilities. The part of town known as Sand Hill in West Amherst became the enclave, a space Acadian families shared uneasily from the early decades of the twentieth century with African Nova Scotians and working-class Anglophones. Families stayed for the work, built small post-war prefabs and began the slow climb toward established working-class respectability. There was understood to be nothing back in Acadie to which one might return. And besides, none of the children could function in French even if there were opportunities.

My mother has told me that she remembers driving in a truck out of her village on the Northumberland Strait, then on across the Tantramar Marsh, and out of French and into English. She was seven years old. These are emotional memories for her, and yet, the experience of migration into another language is not uncommon. How many contemporary Canadian seven-year-olds have similar memories? She thinks about her own integration into an English community as both a personal struggle and inevitability. I am struck by her lack of bitterness about all of this. In fact, resistance to the assimilation that quickly enveloped her family was unthinkable in a cultural space in which identities tended to be all-or-nothing. French or English. Labour or management. Man or woman. Protestant or Catholic.

The symbolic violence organized and enacted in linguistic practices represented supporting and more intractable sociocultural boundaries that were just as violently enforced (Bourdieu 1984; Žižek 2008). As Žižek pointed out, echoing Bourdieu, it is this mundane symbolic violence that arises out of structures and historical patterns that must be studied carefully and understood because it is only through this kind of in-depth analysis that we can begin to understand the multiple examples of subjective violence, which appear as isolated and bizarre acts of terror or psychopathology. For instance, there is the violence done to people in ordinary institutional practices via language. These practices of symbolic violence become most powerful when they are transformed into what Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (1953) called "internal whips," which are understood subjectively as the opposite of violence (i.e., self-care [Foucault 1988]), and when they develop into the embodiment of correct, moral behaviour in an effort to 'better oneself.'

Class and religious affiliation represented identity boxes that were powerful, and yet, it was possible to aspire to be English, and by learning the language to pass as English. If this could not be done in one generation, it became more possible for children and grandchildren. A language can, with time, be scrubbed away. Unlike identity markers such as race and gender, French and accented English could be shed with effort—an effort that amounted to becoming an 'invisible minority.' Indeed, this Anglicization effort along with encouraging children in school was what marked families and individuals in this Acadian diaspora as ambitious and upwardly mobile. The effort to shed traces of an accent or of French-inflected grammar became a life's project for my mother's generation and, in a sense, their measure as hard-working people. Working hard is what it is all about when you live inside the working class. These efforts were understood to be as inevitable and as necessary as breathing . . . and school.

Part of a new common sense that came into play was the importance of Anglicization to the transitional generation—my mother's generation. For the first generation, the task was to learn enough English to compete with others on the bottom rung of the occupational and status ladder for menial jobs. The economic and social climate was brutal in the late 1930s. Once, my grandfather told me about men having to literally fight one another, like animals in a trench, for pick-and-shovel jobs. The winner got to crawl out of the hole and go to work. To escape all of this, English was the key. English was the currency on the job site, in the schools, and on the streets. Resistance was not only considered futile but was also seen as both dangerous and counterproductive. We survive and maybe even prosper by fitting in. The family narratives in which I have been steeped are not nostalgic accounts of what was lost or taken away; they are accounts of accommodation and a long journey of forgetting. These memories and family narratives produce a deep ambivalence about what it was to be Acadian in the 1940s and 50s adrift in a sea of English that sit beside my own romantic attempts to recover the French language in my own life and to see myself as part of a people I only know personally from childhood memories of Sunday drives to Cap Pélé.

DRIFTWOOD

For Acadians, land has always been a tenuous possession. This is an old story and Acadians are not alone in it. Place possesses a nostalgic pull that developers need to overcome by whatever means. People who sit on a piece of land for a long time come to feel that the land is somehow theirs. The First Nations, the Acadians, small farm families, independent small boat fisheries, rural people who live near mineral deposits, and ethnic communities whose identities are tied up in place seem to always end up getting cast as pre-modern "savages" (Paul 2000). "Redskins," Berry (1977) called them—more than a little inelegantly. Anyone who cares about the land sooner or later becomes one of these "Redskins." They sit in place in the way of growth, and in time they are more or less violently removed.

The seventeenth-century immigration and the eighteenth-century exodus of the Acadians illustrate this removal principal, which is one face of the kind of bureaucratic and physical "distancing" (Bauman 1989) that allows ethnic cleansing and other forms of hideous collective violence to become "banal" (Arendt 2006). Bauman suggested that the Holocaust and other forms of genocide represent the expansion and extension of the industrial capacity (in this case for violence) made possible by modernity. One initial plan that foreshadowed the Nazi death camps involved the removal of European Jews to Madagascar. The decision to use gas rather than boats was, according to Bauman, a question of efficiency.

Yet forced migrations tend to be remembered more romantically than campaigns of extermination; even when the former produce mass casualties, the myth of exodus seems balanced by the myth of the return. An important part of this remembering is done in the ideological work of cultural intellectuals who create heroic or maudlin glosses that obscure the violent actualities of the past in order to generate a palatable and marketable present. Ironically, the ghosts of forced marches are thus invoked for popular consumption as emblematic visions of a valiant people. If Longfellow's romantic construction of *Evangeline* has great emotional power both within and outside the Acadian community, sagas of return like Antonine Maillet's (1979) heroic tale *Pélagie-la-Charrette* and the protagonist's relentless pilgrimage back to Acadie have an equally powerful mythical appeal. These narrative memories matter deeply because they produce identity, resilience and pride. If Longfellow reconfigured the colonial deportation, disenfranchisement, and genocide as a romance, Maillet has reconfigured it as an epic of resilience, strength, and survival.

But spectacular forced marches are only one part of the story of multiple migrations, assimilations, reawakenings, and general ambivalence that seem to mark the experience of a group of people of Acadian heritage of which I am a part. We are those people who can only remember our connections to Acadie in English. We have been assimilated, and we represent a story of the Acadia experience that contradicts the romance of *Evangeline* and *Pélagie-la-Charrette*. We did not persist; we went with the flow and left the sacred ancestral territory. We live, for the most part, outside what is now defined as Acadie, those small sub-regional spaces like Isle Madame and Clare/Argyle in Nova Scotia or the Acadian Peninsula and the North Shore of New Brunswick. Our stories are not particularly heroic. In fact, at the conference that accompanied the Congrès Mondial Acadien in 2004, there was a debate about whether or not we count as Acadians. It is a good question.

Acadians are "driftwood" or so sang Robbie Robertson, leader of the 1960s and 70s rock group The Band, in the 1975 song "Acadian Driftwood." I suppose, then, we are the driftwood's driftwood. The diaspora has quietly continued unabated since the violent expulsion in the mid-eighteenth century. The particular diaspora that created my family was not begun by colonial violence. No families were torn asunder. There was no multi-year slog through the boggy heartland of the continent. In fact, the actual geographic move that pulled my mother's family out of their unilingual French community near Moncton was less than one hundred kilometres,

albeit across the world's biggest bayou, the Tantramar Marsh, which separates the present-day Canadian provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Nobody died in transit. It was relatively easy to go back 'home' and visit, although these visits became fewer as time went on. Away from its Acadian roots, this family once again lost its land and cultural/linguistic moorings. We left Acadie like Robertson's driftwood or Bauman's (2001) strangers adrift in liquid modernity. We go where we must. Who doesn't these days? Who really has any claim anywhere? To be a stranger is to be normal. And yet, strangers all have memories.

IDENTITY: HEROIC MODELS AND LIBERALISM

> "This isn't my turf / This ain't my season / Can't think of one good reason to remain"
>
> —from the song "Acadian Driftwood" (Robertson 1975)

Assimilation is at least as much about doing something as having something done to you. This is the Bourdieusian and Foucauldian paradox. Power is productive and positive. It is a part of what people want to do rather than something they resist and rail against. My mother's generation remembers assimilation more in terms of desire than of oppression. Resistance is self-defeating and ultimately futile. Why would one resist his or her own opportunities? Sensible people work at fitting in. My uncle bought a reel-to-reel tape machine in the 1960s to practice reading aloud in order to leach the French accent out of his spoken English. My mother worked on her English diction so she could fit into an English community. And she did. She got jobs in stores, worked as a day care director, and married an 'English' husband. My mother read to and with me religiously, and thanks to her I came to understand text before entering school. English text. The only visible sign of written French was the inscription beneath a small plaster guardian angel watching over a small plaster child kneeling in prayer. The inscription read "prière du soir." In our predominantly Acadian-Catholic elementary school, pedagogical engagements with text were the secular verses of the basal readers.

Like a religious sect, we are linked together through a collective consciousness that has no physical location but rather a common symbolic experience, like the memory of my grandparents' French. We are, perhaps, what Antonine Maillet (1979) imagined as the death of Acadia. We have crossed over to the other side and ceased to be Acadian. Like the wayward children of immigrants, we have been influenced, even corrupted. We are no longer recognizable to our ancestors, who themselves have kept to a purer cultural and linguistic course. But, we have not lost our memories, at least some of us have not.

The story of persistence is exemplified by Maillet's (1979) character Pélagie, who encourages the all-too-human crew of La Charette (the cart that carried the family's belongings back home to Acadie). Pélagie is true to some unshakably integrated sense of who Acadians are and where they belong. Pélagie cares about

place, one particular place: her home, Acadie. She proudly remained an Acadian, relentlessly determined to return to the land that is hers. It can be said that through its assimilation, my family has no home to which it might return. As Antonine Maillet put it in an interview, we are effectively dead:

> One must find oneself, and one cannot live that self outside of one's culture, one's natural heritage, one's memory, let's say. And one's language is part of that. Now, Pelagie has realized this—that people were going to disappear, not necessarily die, because each individual could become assimilated over there. But that would mean that a Leblanc became White. Understand? At that moment the Acadian lost his authentic personal identity. And he became another. In a sense, he died. (Blesso n.d., n.p.)

Maillet's imagery of a death that can only be avoided by continuing to speak Acadian French and by continuing to live in culture, heritage and memory is haunting and stark. So are we dead? Are we Acadian? Many of us who are linguistically assimilated still think of ourselves as Acadians though we may barely remember the Acadian language spoken in our childhood homes. The revival of Acadian identity from the 1970s onward has allowed at least some of us in the second generation to begin to identify with what we have lost. But what does this memory produce? So here we are, virtually all of us unilingually English, and yet, we believe ourselves to be Acadians. In a sense we want to forget the memory of erasure and assimilation that we experienced in our youth. We have come in something of a circle from a space where a contemporary of my grandfather spoke with pride of how all of his grandsons had "married English girls"—achieving the ultimate in assimilation—to the space where my contemporaries feel as though we have been cheated or deprived of something important. We have lost what Pélagie knew in her bones.

At the same time, we have gained a useful ability to float in space and take on multiple identities. For us, Acadie is memory, an idea. The fact that we are not bound to the physical location of the Francophone regions of rural Atlantic Canada is not necessarily experienced as loss. The possibility of complex, hybrid, multiple identities is a key feature of late modernity. In fact, many now argue that all contemporary identities are hybrid (Bhabha 1994). English itself is a mobile and amorphous space into which life is breathed by those who make it their own, either by choice or as the result of the force of circumstances. In fact, the distinction between being forced to assume an identity and to speak a language may be less important than the fact that the language is spoken in multiple ways. Static identities are also traps. There is an important stream in classical liberal social thought that abstracts the individual out of predefined identities (e.g., ethnicity, gender, social class, and race) and attributes choice and creativity to social agents. The tension between the constrained subject bounded by social position and the creative agent of liberal thought is illustrated by Appiah when he describes a "necessary equilibrium between our bare and "informed" or "rational" preferences, between a concern for people as they are, and for people as they might be, the identities we have and those

we might achieve. In each case, to ignore the first term is tyranny; to give up on the second is defeatism, or complacency. We have other choices" (2005, 212).

The challenge in escaping rigid identity assignments is to confront the binaries that Pélagie represents with the cosmopolitan recognition that cultural and ethnic diversity matters, as does physical, economic, and social location. At the same time choice and creativity also matter. The problem for liberalism is that its focus on agency makes it difficult to account for constraint and the sense in which identity is conferred or ascribed as well as constructed (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Both are inevitable, sitting uneasily together in dynamic tension. In other words, flexible multiple identifications drawn in part from cultural and social models provide an essential foundation for creative identity work described by contemporary analysts of the consumerist, individualized society (Bauman 2001). In this space, constructing and reconstructing a credible project of the self (Giddens 1990) is the most fundamental work we do.

One reading of Canadian historiography is a story of the establishment of two official language communities out of the polyglot of languages that began with diverse aboriginal language communities coming into contact with European languages (Shell 1993). The story continues on into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with waves of immigration intensified in the early twentieth century with multilingual European immigrants to the Canadian west. The story continues today for Asian, Caribbean, African, and Latin American new Canadians (Bissoondath 1994).

Every monolithic identity is in some way challenged by other possibilities, and it is becoming increasingly evident that many youth are not particularly comfortable in rigid identity boxes. It is of course a question of differential privilege but as Arjun Appadurai (1996) suggests, many people are now entering a time-space where imagination can propel us forward, through various "scapes" he identifies, away from the historic weight of memory and tradition. In my family history I can see that I have more space to use memory as I choose and to produce identity in a way that expands rather than reduces me as it did my mother and her generation. To use memory to produce identity is an feature of postmodern relativism, multiplicity, hybridity, and flexibility. Contemporary urban spaces in Canada are, it seems, increasingly able to accommodate and celebrate diversity and difference but also choice and what I might call the constructed self. We are called on to 'make' ourselves rather than to assume predefined identities. Giddens (1990) notion of the self as project and Foucault's (1988) idea of the care of the self are of course well-known and productive conceptualizations in their own right. To paraphrase Bauman (1999), we are doomed to choose and to go on choosing, whether we like it or not—at least those of us with the price of admission.

At the same time, it is not so simple. Choice is always bounded. In Charles Taylor's (2007) terms, we have entered a secular age in which market-based connections in the economy have replaced fixed power structures, the moral absolutes that flow from these structures, and their corollary images of how different types and orders of people are supposed to be. Commodification, of course, extends out of the economy

into state institutional spaces and into civil society. Our relationships within and outside the market are measured and reported in practices as varied as ubiquitous skills assessments and standardized tests and psychological/behavioural assessments in schools, precise data on consumer behaviour in market research, data on Internet activity, self-constructed identity presentation in social networking spaces, and openly shared visual traces of ordinary lives on Facebook, Google Videos, and YouTube. To be part of the database, as Bauman (1999) points out, is to be included and trusted to access credit and resources. While we fear for our privacy and security, we understand at the same time that visibility and credibility in these virtual spaces is an important form of inclusion.

In such fluid spaces, it becomes increasingly difficult to understand identity only in terms of place, ethnic heritage, religion, or other traditional anchors. It seems as though we are all in motion and the relative stability and place-focus that characterized multiple generations of Acadian families was already crashing down by the middle decades of the twentieth century. It is perhaps no accident that the Acadian cultural tourist attraction *Le Pays de la Sagouine* in Bouctouche is set in the rural New Brunswick of the 1930s. In his analysis of the construction of a provincial imaginary in Nova Scotia, Ian McKay (McKay 1994; McKay and Bates 2010) has also identified the 1930s and 40s as the key period in which cultural intellectuals established the foundation that gave the province its present Anglo-British tradition-bound touristic character. McKay and Bates's (2010) analysis of the promotion of what were called five "racial types" demonstrated how cultural intellectuals mobilized a particular form of racial demarcations—inclusions and exclusions that resonate today and arguably hamstring provincial economic and social progress (Moreira 2009). It is these exclusive and ultimately oppressive memories that are the nightmares Atlantic Canadians perhaps need to escape. And the memory-keepers who keep these constructed traditions alive must remember that they are also gate-keepers who protect unified and exclusive identity positions that are troubled not just be a fear of disappearance through assimilation but by global change forces and diversity as well. The memories that produce ethnic identification generate many byproducts. As Bauman (1989) contended, the Holocaust problematized once and for all the idea that people ought to be classified and cast in this or that identity frame. Cast by what authority, and to what end? This is a critical question that few analysts of life and tradition in Atlantic Canada have dared to ask.

If my family members are allowed to be Acadian, we also seem allowed to be a lot of other things. It seems to me that the contemporary challenge is not about getting back to some essential image of who we were or where we come from. Such a desire comes from the same place as the overt racism and notions of ethnic purity that linger like a hangover in Nova Scotia (McKay 1994; McKay and Bates 2010). The contemporary challenge of identity construction is more about creating an understanding that is as honest as possible about the multiple forces of inclusion and exclusion that have played a part in constructing us as we are. These forces have taken the Acadian language from us while at the same time providing us the

resources for other self-constructions and productive memory. This is an old Acadian story. Perhaps this is an old Canadian story as well.

Yet we must admit that rigidly imposed identities never entirely vanish, and there are still powerful "interpellations" (Althusser 1970) that shape what sort of selves more or less powerful agents are in a position to construct. The careful and conservative ancestors of the storied victims of Le Grand Dérangement—the Expulsion of the Acadians—understand this all too well.

COSMOPOLITAN MÉTIS

> We are a métis civilization. (Saul 2008, 3)

> It [neutrality] stood for their cultural identity, one that retained its French origins in custom, language and religion, yet was at the same time something new. Something *American* in its attachment to place, local practice and newly developed traditions. And it stood for their problematic relationship to empire, their desire to participate wholeheartedly in the opportunities for wider connections, but their insistence on an exemption from the intercolonial struggle for conquest and hegemony. . . . Under unambiguous British rule this position became more difficult to manage, but it was not something the Acadians could simply give up—it was an essential part of the conception they had of themselves, part of their identity. (Faragher 2005, 179–80; italics in the original)

> Métis is typically translated into English as "cunning" or "cunning intelligence". . . . Broadly understood, métis represents a wide array of practical skills and acquired intelligence in responding to a constantly hanging natural and human environment. (Scott 1998, 312)

The idea of Canadian identity has been, from the very birth of the nation, hybrid and multiple. There are, in hegemonic accounts, the two "founding nations" built upon the erasure and marginalization of other nations and languages, some of which are more deeply rooted in most respects. As Saul put it: "There is a perfectly straightforward foundation to these four centuries of shaping Canada. Anyone whose family arrived before the 1760s is probably part aboriginal" (2008, 8). In fact, many late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century immigrants were probably in the same boat, and it was not until the middle part of the nineteenth century, when many settled parts of what is now eastern Canada lost their frontier character, that the mono-ethnicity of the "two founding nations" ideology acquired the institutional support (i.e., Indian reservations, universal and compulsory schooling, urbanization, etc.) to create the relatively monolingual spaces that Canadian official languages legislation now protects. Acadians (along with other Francophones outside Québec) represent the resilience of multiple and hybrid cultural spaces and practices that flourish within the Canadian nation state. Like Aboriginal people, Acadians have discovered that by hanging around long enough, fissures open up that allow you to not only survive but, more importantly, to celebrate and build upon a past, and indeed to win

the legal battles over land and resources that a colonial history has removed. As a Cree elder said to me in the mid-1980s when I was a teacher in Northern Manitoba, "One day you will all be gone, but I'll still be here." Incidentally, I currently live on Acadian dykeland that may well have been inhabited by my ancestors nearly 400 years ago.

My family was part of transformative disembedding that continues today—a disembedding that serves as a reminder that the motor of linguistic assimilation that forced us to speak English was actually a staples capitalism, which tied people like my grandfather to a brutal routine of physical labour and economic exploitation. The trek of this transitional generation into the Anglophone nether land has been at least a partial success if its object was to have descendants escape the worst parts of this exploitation. The products of these memories are the immigrant's desire to escape. But at the same time, those parts of the family that remained in Acadie also benefitted from the broad transformation of Canadian society that has included social programs; better education systems; official bilingualism; a revival of Acadian identity and pride; political action; and, indeed, a renewed focus on the politics of identity.

I do not know and will probably never know how the final migration decision was made in 1939. I expect it was not made lightly. My grandparents were people whose own grandparents quite possibly knew people who experienced the Grand Dérangement. These people had lived as subsistence farmer-fisher folk, petty staples producers, and multi-occupational workers in Acadia since the middle decades of the seventeenth century. They possessed a deep well of practical, embodied, unschooled knowledge probably not unlike that possessed by Aboriginal Canadians through the first several centuries of the evolution of present-day Canada. Their connection to the land, however tenuous, probably mattered a great deal to them as they watched their life chances diminish through what they called the "Hungry Thirties." Acadia was the physical geography within which they experienced power in the form of sedimented social hierarchies and brutal, poorly-paid work of the sort portrayed by David Adams Richards (2006) in *The Friends of Meager Fortune*. The compulsion to leave this land and this life is understandable. This compulsion included a move to an English environment. For my grandparents, French remained their language of choice, and I can remember the music of their voices in both languages. These memories produce in me a desire to re-connect, to try and speak French, to create music, visual art and poetry, and indeed honour my carpenter/farmer/fisherman/logger grandfather by doing all of these things as best I can. So when this family packed their belongings in a truck and set out across the Tantramar Marsh the geographic marker that separates Acadian New Brunswick from the anglo-Protestant space of northern Nova Scotia in 1939, the future of the family changed forever. Unlike for Pélagie and her reluctant coterie, there was no turning back nor was there any nostalgic reason for wanting to do so. And yet, turn back I do in the same way that I emulate my grandfather; as best I can.

Ironically perhaps, my grandmother died suddenly in 1968 at the beginning of a summer of social upheaval marked by race riots, the Democratic convention in

Chicago, and a series of other apparently revolutionary events. In Paris, workers had already taken to the streets, raising fundamental questions about capitalism, and the Prague Spring challenged Soviet socialist hegemony. To sharpen the irony, she died on the day Pierre Trudeau was elected Prime Minister for his first term, and official bilingualism would soon give her native tongue equal status with English once and for all. And so, in an unexpected twist, English-French bilingualism became useful once again—even desirable as a possession—just as the languages of new Canadians are becoming important in the globalized spaces of contemporary capitalism.

Yet in the current context of an increasingly diverse Canada, things may be at least a bit different than the stark assimilationist experience of my elders. A positive difference might come in the form of what Kwame Appiah (2005) called "rooted cosmopolitanism," what Ulrich Beck (2006) described as the "cosmopolitan vision," or even what Saul (2008) described as a recognition of the foundational/anti-foundational métissage, which really distinguishes the Canadian experience. This vision is one in which a meaningful local life and deep remembered connections can sit comfortably with broad engagements, extensive and intensive abstract learning, and a joyful diversity. This cosmopolitanism is additive rather than reductive and it is one that, as Saul reminds us, connects us to a repressed but highly productive national memory of cooperation, métissage, hybridity and sharing. The hybridity implied in the idea of cosmopolitan métissage seems to reflect the turn away from singularity and purity—not only in matters of individual identity but also in the grand social projects of Marxism and feminism critiqued from a "cyborg" perspective by Donna Haraway (1991), in the disasters associated with grand state-sponsored social improvement schemes (Scott 1998), or in the problems and dead-ends associated with Vienna School singularity in the natural sciences as explored by physicist Peter Galison ("Peter Galison: How to Think about Science" 2008). It is in the border regions full of strangers that we find hybrid spaces in which we might produce knowledge in new ways.

There may, then, be good, practical reasons to hang on to those languages that seem marginal and unimportant (Davis 2009) as well as to those vernacular practices that are written off as métis in another sense of the term. My grandparents lived in a world where their deep knowledge of place was a normal feature of competent adulthood. My grandmother was a farmer, multi-skilled caregiver, healer, weaver, cook, and a rural midwife. My grandfather fished, farmed, worked in construction, logged, and did steam-fitting. Most of the time, they did several of these things at the same time. So the move to an English community and to factory labour was a movement out of a place-based way of life into industrial capitalism.

In *Seeing like a State*, Scott (1998) addressed the idea of métis in its original Greek context. This idea of métis roughly equates with practical knowledge that can only be learned through deep embodied engagement. This opposes the concept techne, which represents technical knowledge that can be transmitted and learned in more abstract ways. For Scott, the rise of the modern state and contemporary capitalism suppresses métis at the expense of centralized and abstract techne, and this, he argues,

is the source of deep policy mistakes, which have characterized central planning. In the end, these failures have resulted from attempts to assimilate and homogenize not only people but also knowledge forms. Scott ends up arguing for a revival of respect for practical knowledge and the construction of what he calls "Métis friendly institutions," which operate by "comparing the forms of knowledge embedded in local experience with . . . more general, abstract knowledge" (1998, 311).

Saul (2008) goes on to argue that it is the historic and contemporary diversity and complexity of Canada and the apparent multiplicity of what it means to be Canadian that is our greatest national strength. Saul has been arguing for years that living with complexity is something that Canadians do well, and indeed, it is our very inability to form a singular, monolithic national identity that makes us an example for many of the world's contemporary nation states that are riven by internal conflict around who really belongs. Ulrich Beck (1992, 2006)—perhaps the preeminent theorist of mobile modernity, cosmopolitanism, and risk society—has even gone so far as to argue that highly complex manufactured risk generated by globalization actually 'forces' cosmopolitanism upon us whether we like it or not. Contemporary financial, environmental, security, and food crises, for instance, actually compel us to come together, to abandon old boundaries and identity positions, to develop new border-straddling, improvised utopian ways to address the problems created by modernity. The adaptation that was thrust upon my mother's family in the 1940s and 50s might be read in this sense as a precursor of the hybridity and cosmopolitanism that have become increasingly normal in modern Canada. Rather than the official multiculturalism critiqued by Bissoondath (1994) as a thinly veiled program aimed at marginalizing new Canadians in their own cultural ghettos, unofficial multiculturalism is a lived condition of containing multiple cultural identities within a single body/consciousness.

Perhaps the final irony is the return to French through immersion programs for so many of the third generation of *exogame* grandchildren (my children and those of my contemporaries), who have little sense their grandparents were unilingual Francophones until the 1940s. The irony is, of course, that odd twist of fate represented by middle-class youth struggling to learn the same language their grandparents struggled to jettison.

Incidentally, new environmental, food security and energy regimes may also force many of us back into the kinds of multi-skilled rurally-based Métis production practices my grandparents left behind. Scott (1998, 332) put it this way: "Métis, far from being rigid and monolithic, is plastic, local and divergent." This precisely describes the kinds of multiple place-sensitive food production practices that are now promoted as the way forward in an increasingly challenged globalized ecological and energy crisis.

SO WHO ARE WE?

At the beginning of an interview with my mother and siblings, when I asked whether we were Acadian, my mother said that she certainly was because her father was

Acadian. When I asked the question "What about us, your children?", she was unsure. Taking paternal lineage as a gauge, we are Irish. Yet three out of four of our grandparents were Acadian. So does mathematics trump paternity? My sisters sat silent through this exchange. My mom then asked, "Well, what are the rules, Michael? How do you know what you are?" One sister responded, "Well, if we feel we are Acadian, then we are." This is the common view today. As it turned out, I am the only person among the dozen or so assimilated Acadians I interviewed who wonders whether or not he or she is Acadian. For my assimilated contemporaries, there appear to be few rules, and the ability to remember French in English seems enough to justify an Acadian identity. In the neoliberal space of contemporary middle-class North America, identity is a matter of choice like everything else. "And what does it really matter anyway?" one interviewee asked. If it doesn't matter then Maillet is right and we are dead. But if it does matter then we are in a position to remember productively and enact the desire that is fundamental to at least make the case that one belongs. I am making that case here on the basis of my own memories of a language heard at our kitchen table, of ancestors I knew, of places visited and of stories told even if they are stories of escape.

My siblings' apparent freedom to construct whatever identities they choose is made possible by state social/policy change. At the same time, the result of my mother's very personal struggle to better herself by learning to fit as best she could in the Anglophone community her family found across the Tantramar Marsh in 1939. My mother's challenges were struggles her children can barely imagine. Perhaps the lesson here is that her family's story is the tale of a missed opportunity to embrace a métissage that is now increasingly common, recognized, and even celebrated. I long for my grandparents' practical métis ability to live so completely in a place. I long for the ability to speak French fluently. And all of these memories have produced me, and others like me, in the Acadian diaspora tentatively claiming a precarious identity.

So perhaps the idea that we are Métis citizens of what Ralston Saul calls a Métis nation might get us closer to some kind of truth(s) than searching for the one true or even the single best ethnic category in which this family of mine might fit. Additionally, one unanticipated by-product of multiple Canadian struggles to 'fit in' is that what we fit into is less determined and less clear. This is the emerging multiethnic, hybrid Canada we are all currently building with more apparent success than many ethnically or nationalistically fixated contemporary states. If we look back in an honest way, this hybridity is nothing new and its opposite, a country of fixed and bounded nations and races is the productive nightmare from which we flee. And our flight from exclusive spaces and places might be analogous with what my grandparents fled in their exclusively Acadian community in 1939.

Nonetheless, in 1939 my grandparents, my uncles and aunts and my motehr fled to a community (Amherst Nova Scotia) that was originally known as Beaubassin in the heart of old Acadie, a place taken by force in one of the first North American battles of the Seven Years War that put this land under British hegemony once and for all. So did we leave Acadie at all? I must admit that when I look out from

my office window at the curiously named Acadia University founded by the New England Planters who were given the land from which the 18th century Acadians were deported, and I see the dykelands around Grand-Pré and Cape Blomidon, I feel as though I am living where I am supposed to be. I feel the same way when I looked from my back deck at the tidal rise and fall of the Bear River—a bastardization of the original name of this tidal estuary named by Champlain after his apothecary, Louis Hébert. I also know better than to get too comfortable because like all Métis I belong nowhere in any essential or final way. And this uneasiness too is a persistent product of a historic post-genocidal memory.

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CHARLOTTE HUSSEY

8. GLOSSING FAERY: IMAGINE IF YOU CAN'T REMEMBER!

"Why do you hunger after our myths and stories? Why don't you go in search of your own?" a Cree student once asked me in our classroom in James Bay, Ontario. His words provoked a meaning crisis and sent me on a quest to investigate my roots in the British Isles.

Richard Terdiman describes a similar meaning or memory crisis that has been plaguing Western peoples since the French Revolution: "I argue these two theses concerning the century that precedes and informs our own: first, that one of its most powerful perceptions was of massive disruption of traditional forms of memory, and, second, that within the atmosphere of such disruption, the functioning of memory itself, the institution of memory and thereby history, became critical preoccupations in the effort to think through what intellectuals were coming to call the 'modern.' The 'long nineteenth century' became a present whose self-conception was framed by a disciplined obsession with the past" (1993, 5). Terdiman also points to the rapid post-Revolutionary urbanisation that has swept the world. Urban peoples have been driven "to reconstruct the prehistory of their new environment in an effort to naturalize it" (6). But how far back can I go if my family has only been in North America for some 350 years? And what if political correctness blocks the way?

I remember telling a Mohawk student who said his *terra firma* was Kahnawake, Quebec, that my homeland was poetry. It then occurred to me to situate my explorations into my British/Celtic roots in literature itself, albeit in extant texts recorded by Christian scribes with a bias against paganism. No ur-text exists like Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus's *Germania; or, On the Origins and Situation of the Germans*. Written in 98 CE, it defined Germanic tribes as standing apart and isolated in their vast inland forests (Schama 1995, 76). Unfortunately, this early geographical isolation helped foster the enduring Germanic obsession with racial purity. It comes as no surprise that Hitler was an avid reader of *Germania* (Schama, 78).

Certainly no Nazi, J. R. R. Tolkien nevertheless wrote *The Lord of the Rings* in response to the lack of a defining English mythology (Glover 1971, 39). Tolkien's beloved *Beowulf* would never do as an ur-text because it portrayed a Swedish warrior battling Danish ogres and dragons. Unlike the forest-shrouded homelands of the Germanic tribes, the British Isles, jutting into the Atlantic, have served as a maritime crossroads since the Mesolithic. Barry Cunliffe describes the geographical impact of the Irish Sea and the English Channel: "We may distinguish the *narrowing*

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 105–119.

seas which serve as antichambers between the open Atlantic and other seas, to the north leading to the North Sea and the Baltic and to the south to the Mediterranean. These narrowing seas were choke-points in the maritime system where shipping activities concentrated and in consequence many ports developed" (1999, 93; italics in the original). Thus, reaching for my earliest literary sources, I found a melting pot of Anglo-Saxon, Old Irish, Middle Welsh, Old German, and Norman sources. In these texts depicting sea invasions, journeys to magical islands, and mist-filled otherworldly portals, one theme that stood out was Faery.

In my literary explorations, I found a verse form called a glosa, derived from the idea of a gloss (a note made in the margin that comments on something in the text). To write a glosa, you must take four consecutive lines from another source. Using them as an epigraph, you draft an accompanying four stanzas of ten lines each. Line ten of each stanza is a line from the epigraph, interwoven into the syntax of your poem-commentary. Thus the glosa has allowed me to listen to, muse upon, embellish, and transform lines—if not events—from the past.

My musings have involved my imagination much more than my memory. But one proceeds as if doing what Edward S. Casey calls "a historical reconstruction" (1991, 142). Casey explains, "It is just because the historian cannot, from her own experiences and resources alone, imagine a given past event in full detail that she seeks out the testimony of those who once witnessed it—which is to say, she seeks their rememberings in lieu of her own. Yet precisely because these rememberings are notoriously untrustworthy (frequently being based on what still others remembered or were reported to remember), the historian must correct and supplement them by her own imaginings in the present" (1991, 141). Thus listening to the past leads to evoking the poet's imagination to fill in what's missing, in a form of productive remembering (see Strong-Wilson et al.; this volume).

Here the ancient fragment serves as archive. Reconstructing the past from epigraphs adapted and constructed from ancient texts can prove even more daunting than cobbling together accounts of modern history. Such early texts are primarily myths, legends, and folklore set in a remote, unverifiable past. As Casey (1991) reminds us, "What we cannot remember, we can try to imagine" (1991, 141).

Such imagining is also happening in the Neopagan revival, a movement that has accompanied and critiqued the Industrial Revolution and has led to contemporary re-inventions of the Faery Faith. To better understand these reconstructive efforts, I attended a Faery Doctoring workshop given by Celtic shaman Tom Cowan. Such doctors were/are the alternative healers of Ireland with origins dating back to the Iron Age. A famous nineteenth-century example was Biddy Early, the Wise Woman of Clare. She was given her famous blue bottle by the Faeries to heal the many who sought her out.

Often a Faery Doctor has a Faery co-walker or Comimeadh (pronounced 'comemay'), which in Gaelic means "attending, or attendant" (Cowan 2008). I met my own Comimeadh via a process called journeying, which goes as follows: you

begin with an intent or purpose for your undertaking—for example, to meet a co-walker. You then lie down; close your eyes; and, aided by a soft continuous drumbeat, imagine a gateway to an otherworld. Entering this parallel universe, you can meet and dialogue with animals, faery presences, and gods and goddesses as well as undergo challenging psychic events. This waking-dream procedure is exceedingly ancient. An account of it appears at the beginning of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (Kinsella 1970), an epic depicting life in first-century Ireland. The opening passages of the *Táin* explain how this oral story had been lost and then re-dreamed, recovered, and remembered. Here, the Irish poet Muirgen chants over the grave of Fergus mac Róich, one of the heroes of the lost *Táin*, causing a weather change: "A great mist suddenly formed around him—for the space of three days and three nights he could not be found. And the figure of Fergus approached him in fierce majesty . . . Fergus recited him the whole Táin, how everything had happened, from start to finish. Then they [Muirgen and his followers] went back to Senchán with their story, and he rejoiced over it" (Kinsella 1970, 1–2).

This 'dreamed' reinvention of oral Irish pre-history eventually appeared as the twelfth-century written account of the *Táin*. Muirgen's journeying process is similar to how Casey defines Jungian active imagining as a visionary and therapeutic meditation that focuses on, elaborates, redirects, and transforms images—often retrieved from dreams—in order to enter the "drama of the psyche itself by participating in what is psychically real" (1991, 17). As Casey explains, in order not to be victimised by an upsurge of the unconscious (i.e., the terrifying ghostly Fergus), "we can attempt to alter the course of the on-going experience by becoming the agents of fantasy rather than its victims" (1991, 4). Thus journeying/active imagining is "an image-making, form-giving, creative activity" (1991, 4) that can allow such a traveller to listen to and reclaim a lost epic, or transform a contemporary meaning quest.

During one such journey, my Faery co-walker reminded me that my whole childhood had been touched by elemental presences because I had grown up in a Maine cottage fronted by the Atlantic and backed by a tidal marsh and wood. One thing that active imagining and remembering have in common is that both are "derived from sensory perception" (Casey 1991, 137). Consequently, as I continued journeying, childhood memories flooded back: in the wood was a gnarled crab apple that I loved because it was low enough for a child of six or seven to climb. I spent hours alone in the arms of this Old Apple Man, overlooking a Faery ring—a circle of dark grass growing up out of the woodland floor. Scientists report that such a grassy ring is caused by mycelia branching their thread-like hyphae underground beneath it. But children, myth, and folklore attribute it to the Faeries dancing their rounds there under a full moon. So what else do the old texts tells us about the Faeries?

In one of the earliest Old Irish explanations, *The Book of the Invasions*, the Faeries—a divine race called the Tuatha Dé Danaan—sail from "the northern islands of the world" to conquer Ireland (Koch and Carey 1997, 244). They fight

the Second Battle of Mag Tuired against the native Fomoire, supposedly around the time of "the destruction of Troy" (Gray 1982, stanza 69). Preparing for war, King Lug of the Tuatha Dé Danaan asks his people, "What is your power in battle?" (Gray, stanza 100) As each Faery caste replies, we glimpse the gifts of this Faery race. Druids begin prophesying and causing fire to shower down from the sky. Smiths and carpenters go on crafting weaponry of beauty and magic for the warriors who offer up their martial skills. Poets are poised to satirise and shame their enemies. Witches promise to "enchant the trees and the stones and the sods of the earth so that they will be a host under arms against them" (Gray, stanza 117). Sorcerers agree to cause earthquakes and steal two-thirds of the enemies' strength while preventing "them from urinating" (Gray, stanza 109). Harpers tune their strings in order to soothe the battle-weary with three strains of music that induced sorrow, joy, and the sleep of forgetfulness. Finally, Faery physicians will heal the wounded and bring the dead back to life with herbs and sacred well water.

Clearly, the Tuatha Dé Danaan deserve their title, "the people of many arts" (Gregory [1904] 2007, 14). Art and science—magical or medicinal—spring from efforts of the human imagination. It is not surprising, then, that Faeries have long been associated with the imagination, whether that of the child, poet, or healer. As muse-figures, they often facilitate the early stages of the creative process. During the Faery Doctoring workshop in 2008, Cowan said, "The Faeries live on the edge where the essence is becoming what is. And this essence is one that yearns to become individualized." This calls to mind the Faeries crowding around Sleeping Beauty's birth cradle to shape her destiny. Whether symbolic or actual, Faeries inhabit a liminal space of ever-becoming. This betwixt-and-between, twilight state suggests John Keats's state of doubt and uncertainty that one must rest in long enough to create an original poem. In a letter to his brothers, which is dated December 22, 1817, Keats writes, "At once it struck me what quality went to form a man of achievement, and which Shakespeare possessed so enormously—I mean *negative capability*, that is, when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason" (1954, 62; italics in the original). Such *negative capability* allows on to listen to accounts of the past.

During another journey, my Faery co-walker showed me a vision of my imagination at work. It appeared as a well of rosy light, in which waves of reddish energy kept contracting inwards, never outwards. Once a wave reached the centre, a new wave from the outer rim pulsed in. I asked to be taken to the edge where the incoming waves first entered my field of perception. There, suddenly plunged into darkness, I sensed a wind blowing beyond in boundless space. The darkness was greenish—a green burgeoning on the edge of chaos. Casey describes an "imaginal margin," a place or "fading fringe found at the outer limit of specific imagined content" (2000, 53). Here, imagined imagery trails off to "suggest a region located alongside or behind imagined content" (108)—the very description of a parallel Faery world found in the Old Celtic texts.

My own experience of this "imaginal margin"—or green, twilit edge—suggests a burgeoning creativity that issues from a somewhat terrifying yet fertile void, bringing with it the images that our brain needs to function and perceive. Green has always been the Faery colour and is associated, of course, with the earth, which the Tuatha Dé Danaan retreated into when they were conquered by a new wave of invaders, the Milesians: "When the sons of Míl Espáine [the Soldiers of Spain] came to Ireland, their cleverness prevailed over the Tuatha Dé Danann: thus Ireland was left to be divided by Amairgen Glúnmár. . . . He divided Ireland in two, and he gave the half of Ireland that was underground to the Tuatha Dé Danann, and the other to the sons of Míl Espáine who were of his own blood-kindred. The Tuatha Dé Danann went into the hills and the tumuli [*sid-brugaib*]" (Koch and Carey 1997, 95).

Thus Faery became associated with the green hills, Neolithic mounds, and the earth itself. In *Landscape and Memory*, Simon Schama affirms that such old nature myths are still alive today, as our modern "landscape tradition" is "built from a rich deposit of myths, memories, and obsessions" (1995, 14). He explains that "landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructions of the imagination projected onto woods and water and rock . . . but it should also be acknowledged that once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents; of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery" (61).

The Victorians, for example, perpetuated their inherited myths about the Faery "People of the Hill" and also reworked them for their own cultural ends: "The Victorians seemed to emphasize the idea of a world within the earth—in part because it was an area that remained to be investigated, in part because it was a realm that the emerging science of archaeology was exploring" (Silver 1999, 43). This Faery knoll example shows the Victorians continuing to breathe life into the age-old connection "between the faeries and the dead" (Silver, 43). Here, we can see the muddling of categories that Schama (1995) speaks of: are the interred the Christian dead awaiting the Last Judgment or the pagan dead awaiting rebirth?

But what of the all-but-dead? Traditionally, a Faery Doctor would heal a depressed, often listless, client by bringing back his or her energies supposedly stolen by the Faeries, for we must remember that King Lug's sorcerers promised to steal two-thirds of an enemy warrior's energy. Due to the soaring rates of depression, Cowen (2008) believes that today's Faeries continue to take away our energies in order to right the imbalances we have caused, particularly in nature. The following glosa explores my own academic lethargy. It was inspired by how a Faery woman lured the early Irish hero Bran away to her paradise island:

"SILVER BRANCH"
The branch springs from Bran's hand
so that it is in the woman's hand
for there is not enough strength
in Bran's hand to hold it.[1]

I cut a branch from a crab apple
deep in the wood, a silver branch
and dream all night of how to dress it:
silken ribbons of purple and blue,
seven hawk bells dangling in a row.
I am quickly made to understand
the branch possesses a potency all its own,
calling, called to those it chooses
like the silver one from faeryland;
the branch springs from Bran's hand.

Bran has dreams too. Waking,
he finds a silver branch in blossom,
a woman entering his locked fort.
She sings of a cultivated island: music
in the air, fragrant with vines and fruit,
sky-blue horses cantering the sands,
and joyful women await his coming.
Bran is called to go; the silver branch
leaps like a lure from his hand,
so that it is in the woman's hand.

Mine falls prey to other hands,
my own in this age of scientific fact.
I forget my branch on a library shelf.
Dust from the streets covers it,
clouding my desires, leaving me
to starve in spite of the feasting, the wealth,
deaf to the dream-maker's approach:
her branch cannot pull me out of time,
her songs do not go on at length,
for there is not enough strength

in my hands yet to grasp this gift,
this flowering branch and my breath, wind
through one of its bells. I linger on
among skeptics in barren rooms,
humouring their questions and doubts,
dissecting nothing but what is minute,
nothing compared to a silver branch,
the tones and half-tones of its bells
brimming over a level sea, the delight
in Bran's hand to hold it.

Here, a strange woman bearing a magical branch seduces Bran into a reality outside of time. He enters the continuous flow of a dreamtime—a "Land of Women"

existing "without grief, without sorrow, without death, without any sickness, without weakness" (Gregory [1904] 2007, 103). This eternal dreamtime eludes most mortals, and as a poet/listener left "dissecting nothing but what is minute," I remain trapped in my time-driven mind and memories. As Richard Coe writes, "What normal memory retains is merely a series of 'still photographs,' isolated the one from the other, often in irrational juxtaposition, and consequently with the one essential element which constituted their 'reality' omitted altogether" (1984, 81).

A metaphor used to describe Faery is water. The Celts worshiped their sacred springs, rivers, and wells. In John Matthews's *The Sidhe*, a Faery contacted during active imagining explains:

> We live in a liquid world, a place of constant movement. . . . I do not mean that we live in water, but that the formation of our world is constantly in fluid motion. We do have a form, yet it is not a fixed form. . . . It is also why we are able to pass through your world at every level, physically and spiritually, so that you are aware of us both in the realm of the senses and in that of the Spirit. (2004, 91)

This quotation emphasises the protean nature of Faery. It also suggests that Faery has long been a metaphorical way of talking about the imagination itself. Casey reminds us of the "fluidity and freedom" (2000, 36) of imagined experience, a state of "unimpeded possibility" (37). And imagined content, Casey explains, is often of an "uneven, undulating character" (107) suggestive of the "liquid world" (Matthews 2004, 91) mentioned above. In the epigraph for another glosa I created, the Faery Queen Fand is likened to the water moistening our eye. The early Irish poets, with their hypersensitivity to the sacred significance of water, saw the saline solution protecting our eyes as a liminal threshold where outer sensations begin their transformative journey into our brain:

"Fand, The Faery Queen"

Fand is the tear that covers the eye,
and she is so named for her purity and beauty,
since there is none like her
anywhere in the world.[2]

A film of water moistens every eye,
tiny lake with its false bottom
light passes through, threshold awash
between worlds. Little salt sea,
it's where the mind begins to bend
and play with images, magnified
into desires, the hero Cú Chulaind's
for Fand, so strong his men mix
him an opiate to forget, deny
Fand is the tear that covers the eye.

Fand's caught in the corner
of his eye, treading the bay,
its swells, a trick of watery light,
taking on the countenance of clouds
rolling in over the abyss.
Eerie like a moon's halo at sea,
pale as dissolving crystals of salt,
she washes away the dust of battle,
the lifelessness from his eyes quickly,
and she is so named for her purity and beauty.

Cú Chulaind's jealous wife
and her fifty maidens with sharpened knives
wait for Fand: a tear trickles
its salt path down his cheek, is gone
for the living eye is moist, warm,
large, golden. White blur
of her breast, a falcon stoops
into this poem, messenger of fate,
following Fand the world over,
since there is none like her.

Aqua vitae. Spring of vision,
Fand is the tear we all have cried,
cold mornings on the stuffy bus
with its grey faces and its sleepers,
streams of tears and black eyeliner
streaking cheeks like those of a girl
I saw there once bruised and weeping,
as our wheels spun, and we lurched and swayed,
a crowd of us being hurled
anywhere in the world.

Here, "the very lack of sharply focused detail" (Casey 2000, 110) of a figure seen far out at sea permits Cú Chulaind to project his desires and imaginings on the approaching Fand. In other words, the less sharp the focus, the more openness exists for the imagination to play. Also, in my poem I am trying to bridge the distant past and the present—the ancient seaside and the contemporary bus—because the imagination allows for, as Casey writes, "a purely possible space and time" (2000, 37). For him, in each imagined scenario, "*anything* was possible" (37; italics in the original). Thus, using the glosa, my imagination ranged free to join passages, archival fragments from ancient texts, with present day perceptions.

Our blood is comprised of water, too. Schama emphasises the "ancient pre-Christian tradition, composed of the mutable liquids of blood, wine and water" (1995, 288). This ancient confluence of water, blood, and wine reappears in "Thomas the Rhymer,"

a medieval English ballad. The Queen of Elfland is abducting True Thomas to make him her apprentice poet for seven years. To get to her kingdom, Thomas and his beautiful kidnapper imbibe a bit of wine en route after taking on this challenge:

> For forty days and forty nights
> They waded through red blood to the knee.
> And he saw neither sun nor moon,
> But heard the roaring of the sea.
> (Stewart 1992, 55)

This boundary river of blood between our world and that of the Faeries indicates that we ourselves must encounter our own ancestral blood to get there. Facing and purging one's self of a trauma-ridden past is done in most traditional cultures in order to enter non-ordinary reality. Orion Foxwood, an Appalachian seer and modern-day Faery Doctor, writes about the necessity to do ancestral (memory) work:

> The teaching tells us that each of us is born to redeem our bloodline and its inner power. The concept of redemption is rarely addressed in modern mystical practices. Redemption involves resolution and movement of the bloodline spiritually forward. It most often entails encountering certain ancestors, hearing the voice of their crying in the River of Blood and assuring that their problems are not carried forward through you into the next generation. This is one way which we, the living, purify the blood and redeem the dead. (2007, 99)

In my glosa "The Loathy Lady," an ancient Celtic goad—typically a physically deformed, powerful Faery woman—chides me for not asking questions about the redemption of my own bloodline:

> "The Loathy Lady"
>
> *You asked neither their cause nor their meaning.*
> *Had you asked, the king would have been made well*
> *and the kingdom made peaceful,*
> *but now there will be battles and killing*.[3]
>
> She comes to wake me from a stupor,
> the usual sleep. She's hideous,
> her red face, sagging features,
> nostrils flaring like a mule's with every
> breath. I can't breathe as she stares
> with one speckled eye protruding,
> the other sunken and lamp black.
> I stand mute in the face of miracles,
> large or small. She is screaming:
> *"You asked neither their cause nor their meaning."*

Fists clenched, she's covered
by a ropy, blue black mane, twisting
about her like a back-lit cloud.
She scowls as her eyes test mine.
The protruding one demands answers;
the sunken obsidian one foretells
what haunts me: a wounded father
grown indifferent to his daughter.
As if I too were deaf, she yells:
"*Had you asked, the king would have been made well."*

She accuses me of abandoning a king
laid to sleep on a stone slab.
Veiled or winged, a woman tends him,
as a red-eared dog laps a long
wound in his side from which
blood and water pour in two
streams. "Look!" All I see
are shadows behind a waterfall. What is
my question? Would that I were insightful
and the kingdom made peaceful.

My father's stationed on a stuffed chair,
holding a newspaper come between us.
The dog, not the usual our family
feeds or grooms, licks him
with a black tongue. The curling and uncurling
tongue, doing and repeating its doings,
the stretch of chin and shaggy throat,
free something in me: a howl
not a question, terrible and willing,
but now there will be battles and killing.

Again and again while listening to epigraphs taken from these early Western European texts, I could hear ancestral voices crying out from this "River of Blood" (Foxwood 2007, 99), particularly to decry how less and less capable we are of controlling human violence.

Pagan tree idolatry has existed worldwide (Schama 1995, 14) and rightly so because the tree is one of our most venerable historians. It has long recorded planetary memories of abundance and famine. A recent PBS documentary, *In Search of Ancient Ireland* (Eaton 2002), filmed Irish scientists charting the tree rings of 3,000-year-old bog oaks taken from the peat that had preserved them. The history of the planet's climate recorded by these rings is amazing. Apparently Bronze Age Ireland was a relatively peaceful, agriculturally productive time, but according to

the bog oak rings, a dramatic climate change occurred around 1180 BCE. For some eighteen years, these ancient oaks experienced a complete lack of sunshine. Due to what? Volcanic eruptions, meteor hits? Around this time, Troy, Mycenae, and the Shang Dynasty all fell. The Egyptians reported invasions of Sea Peoples. And throughout Western Europe, hill forts appeared. Did climate disaster, famine, and the consequent uprooting of peoples force us out of the peaceful Bronze Age and into the increasingly militaristic Iron Age?

Iron Age violence spilled over into the Early Middle Ages with the Crusades, perpetuating a legacy of brutal conflicts. In my poem that follows, the Faery Queen chides a medieval knight questing after some distant goal for overlooking the Earth and its immediate, albeit troll-guarded, treasures. These forgotten natural resources are part of what Schama calls "the same dismal tale: of land taken, exploited, exhausted; of traditional cultures said to have lived in a relation of sacred reverence with the soil displaced by the reckless individualist, the capitalist aggressor" (1995, 13).

"Trolls"

Watch out for trolls
on the road! One or other
of my troll keepers will
deprive you of joy![4]

The Old High German *trollen*
means "running with small steps,"
rustling the undergrowth of a forest,
where a knight, mounted on a monumental,
high-stepping horse, hacks
far from his thick-walled stronghold.
The clop of the shod hooves over shale
drowns out the drier sounds
of leaves being crushed by feet like a mole's.
Watch out for trolls!

As if long fingers were dropping coins,
there's a dull ringing on the barren ledges,
where a treasure trove, brought out to air,
can appear to be but a pile of dirt.
Dusty pebbles, loosened by something,
suddenly spill as if from a coffer,
their slurred clatter growing fainter,
further down in the leaf fall,
near trees that sough and whisper
on the road. One or other

of the winds, camped on the muddy slope,
lends its gritty force for a time
to something huffing like a feral hound
through a nose bigger than human;
its nostrils flare as it leaps rotting
logs, crashing its way downhill
towards the knight who's expecting a leathery
winged, warty skinned, boney
snouted devil! "Thinking ill
of my troll keepers will

defeat you," the Lady had warned.
The knight, lifting his fluted, iron
visor with its menacing narrow sights,
stares out of the plated helm,
steely eyes fix on some distant
vanishing point: a crusading convoy
to join, another holocaust to start,
or a melancholic witch to burn.
"Thoughts about whom next to destroy
deprive you of joy."

My poem "Trolls" takes inspiration not only from Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (Edwards 2004) but also from Albrecht Dürer's famous sixteenth-century engraving *The Knight, Death and the Devil*.[5] Through the eyes of his Christian knight, Dürer seems to be overlaying the old pagan trolls and land spirits with a Christian reading typical of the early sixteenth-century. He has etched a stern-faced, impervious knight traversing a grim forest, haunted now by a swine-snouted Devil (the boar and sow were once sacred pagan animals) and his decaying, corpselike sidekick Death. Avoiding what he believes to be the surrounding horror of nature, the knight fixes his somewhat contemptuous gaze on distant goals—religious and/or military. Thus "Trolls" and my poem "Matter" that follows both critique this continuing schism between spirit and denigrated matter:

"Matter"

And he saw the shield at his neck
great and black and ghastly at its centre.
He saw the dragon's head throwing out
fire and flames with a terrible force.[6]

In Welsh bogs and English fens,
war gear is found ruined, drowned.
A wolf-embossed sword bent;
a boar, bulging amber eyes
cresting a helmet, sheered off,
smashed; the raven shield decked
with raw, red stones defaced. These totems
harboured vengeful spirits, beaten,
sacrificed to the war gods and their cromlechs,
And he saw the shield at his neck,

as they collide. Pounded from meteoric
metals on an anvil's tempered horn,
its dragon-faced boss spits
an acid, scalding mist. Perceval
stabs into the flame-thrower's gullet
to kill the battle furor, the blood
of his enemy. Helms, twisting
torcs rattle under the sun,
they clash and clash again; their clamour,
great and black and ghastly at its centre,

awakens the banshee to glide
with her wolfhounds worrying the moor,
their phosphorous eyes, their fangs
sharp as the cold, clanging steel
Perceval drives through the toothed
flange of the scorched shield, routing
its battle magic. He thrusts, thrusts
into its copper throat where black,
smoking blood begins to spout.
He saw the dragon's head throwing out

its last volley, the enemy's shield
clattering to stony ground. Its matter
the same imploding cyclone of atoms
that pushes, tumbles and tears apart
a Hiroshima. Encased now in fat
metals, a gadget without remorse
self-destructs. Nothing's left to sacrifice,
just a scar burning across the land,
where blast winds run their course,
fire and flames with a terrible force.

In his book *Shamanism and Old English Poetry*, Stephen O. Glosecki (1989) explains that the boar on an Iron Age warrior's helmet held his battle manna, put there by spell-weaving smiths reminiscent of those of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Such totemic representations of dragon, boar, or bear were considered alive and needed to be ritually destroyed along with their warriors. Thus, across Western Europe, hundreds of Iron Age swords, shields, and helmets have been found ceremonially defaced and drowned so that their owners and their aggressive totemic representatives would not return belatedly as vengeful ghosts. But today, our atomic weapons of destruction have no such rituals to contain or exorcise them.

Being interviewed by Ekbert Faas, the British poet Ted Hughes pointed out that his own Western European ancestors had a much better understanding of the demonic forces of the universe than we do. Unlike us, our ancient relatives did not try to suppress their instinctive, predatory, wild energies, but sought instead to contain them. Our denial of the demonic, stated Hughes, is only making it become much more destructive:

> When the wise men know how to create rituals and dogma, the energy can be contained. When the old rituals and dogma have lost credit and disintegrated, and no new ones have been formed, the energy cannot be contained, and so its effect is destructive—and that is the position with us. . . . In the old world God and divine power were invoked at any cost—life seemed worthless without them. In the present world we dare not invoke them—we wouldn't know how to use them or stop them destroying us. (Hughes, quoted in Faas 1971, 10)

Perhaps this, too, is why I have forgotten the silver branch on a dusty library shelf—the branch once borne by Irish master poets as a symbol of remembering, of otherworldly communication, and of inspiration. Due to "the massive disruption of traditional forms of memory" (Terdiman 1993, 5), I no longer remember, as these bards once did, how to summon, contain, and work with what Hughes refers to as the demonic, "the bigger energy, the elemental power circuit of the Universe" (quoted in Faas 1971, 9). Going back to the future means, as Faery Doctor Foxwood suggests, listening to ancestral voices "in the River of Blood" (2007, 99), urging me to reconsider how earlier peoples used their folklore, rituals, and myths to call forth and control such irrational, violent, highly procreative energies. Taking up the silver branch anew, I need to imagine what I can't remember, in order to shape new rituals and myths to contain both demonic creation and destruction.

NOTES

1 From "The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal" (adapted from Mac Mathúna 1985).
2 The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulaind" (adapted from Gantz 1981).
3 From "Peredure Son of Evrawg" (Gantz 1976).
4 From *Parzival* (Edwards 2004).
5 This engraving can be found on page 14 of Francis Russell's (1967) book *The World of Dürer* or on the British Museum website at http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_ objects/pd/a/albrecht_d%C3%BCrer,_knight,_death.aspx.

[6] From *Perlesvaus* (Bryant 1978).

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PART II

MEMORY AS METHOD: A CATALOGUE

CLAUDIA MITCHELL

9. OIL RIGHTS/RITES: AUTOETHNOGRAPHY AS A TOOL FOR DRILLING

I am standing in front of a video installation depicting a large two-story wooden house being moved across Trinity Bay in Newfoundland. The installation, focusing on *les trajets* (travelling objects), is part of the 2010 exhibition *Journeys: How Travelling Fruit, Ideas and Buildings Rearrange Our Environment* at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) in Montreal (CCA 2010), and the actual moving of the house comes out of a large relocation project in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s. The project attempted to address economic pressures (especially as a result of the depletion of fish stock) by moving whole communities to areas where it would be easier to deliver such basic services as health and education. The video—part of the Resettlement Collection of the Maritime History Archive at Memorial University—fascinates me as it captures an almost hour-by-hour moving of the house. We see the house, pulled by a small boat, bobbing around in the water, and then the house reaches shore, only to begin a new episode of moving. This time it is a bulldozer that tugs it, pulling it up the bank and onto what looks like an alder and blueberry field. The whole daytime community—young boys, toddlers, women hanging out the laundry, the retired—are out in full force to view the move, and I, as a viewer of their viewing, am swept up in their excitement.

But what comes over me as I stand in the Canadian Centre for Architecture and watch the video is the memory of another two-story house: the farmhouse in Manitoba, one of the three Canadian prairies provinces. I spent the first six years of my life in that farm house, and I have the recollection that it too travelled. It was moved off our property when my parents had a brand new ranch house built on the farm in 1954. The large wooden dwelling was sold and relocated to the edge of the town of Virden a few kilometres away. As I watch the video, there are two things that begin to preoccupy me. One is the actual moving of our house. How did the house get moved, and why do I have no memory of that? Where was I? Did the large wooden structure lumber over the prairie land? Why are there no photographs of this? The second—the focus of this chapter—is social and relates to memory and the conditions that led to the moving of the "old house," as it has come to be called, and the building of the "new house," as we still call it all these decades later. Where does memory lead us, or where do we lead memory? And what sets off memory?

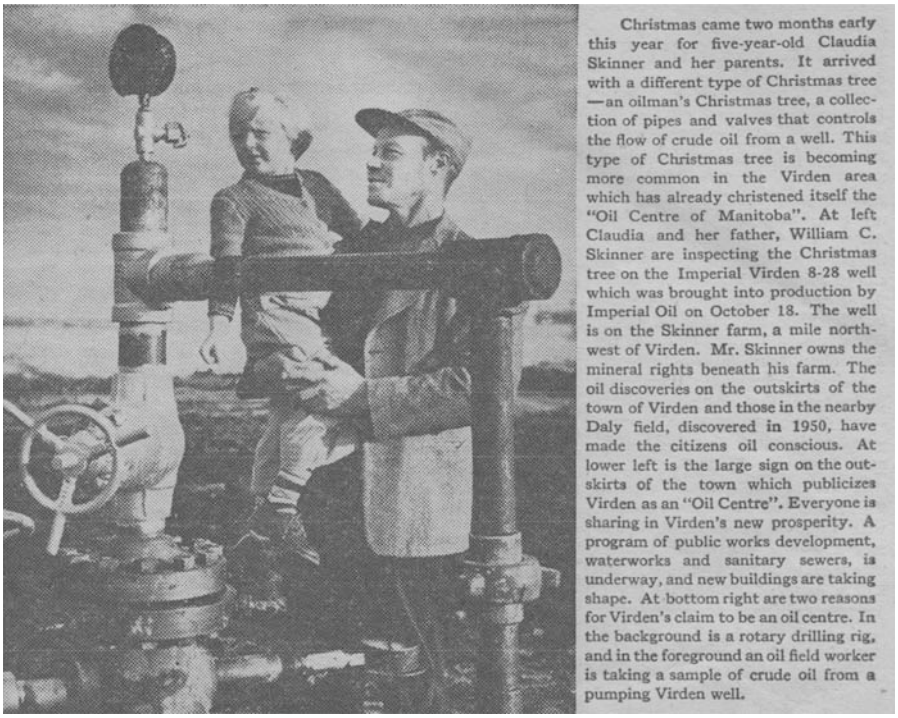
I would describe this chapter as an investigation of memory through autoethnography. Mostly, I am interested in dispelling the prairie/plains myths found

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 123–137.

in movies and poetry and popular discourse more generally: drought, depression, American renditions of Sally Fields and losing the family farm, migration, the loss of rural communities, and ghost towns. In so doing, I investigate prosperity stemming from the oil boom of southwestern Manitoba on the Canadian prairies in the 1950s. Simultaneously, I acknowledge the burden of a certain amount of self-consciousness in trying to write about both prosperity and oil in the current age of environmental awareness about oil—the 'stuff' of spills and of political conflict in the Middle East. Caroline Ellis and Art Bochner define autoethnography as "an autobiographical genre of writing that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural. Back and forth ethnographers gaze, first through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focusing on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract and resist cultural interpretations" (2003, 209). In this chapter, I work with a series of newspaper clippings and other textual evidence that speak to the iconic representations of the Prairies. I 'read' these clippings against a reality that was, in a sense, the antithesis of iconic prairie life. Let me say from the outset that the 'doing' of the writing is at once both easy and challenging, and if it sounds now like some sort of stream-of-consciousness piece, it is because that is the way I have encountered the evidence. This evidence can't be read as a linear story but rather one moving across generations—from my parents to my brothers and me and to our own children.

"A NEW KIND OF CHRISTMAS TREE"

Where to begin? My investigation starts with a newspaper clipping that appeared in 1953 in the *Virden Empire-Advance*, a small-town prairie newspaper (see Figure 9.1). The little girl in the picture is me. I am five years of age—a bit old, perhaps too old, to have my father hold me. At least that is what my Aunt Dodie, always with a slight edge to her asides, is sure to have said upon seeing this photo splashed all over town: "A big girl like you being held by daddy?" But there I am—there we are, my father and I—and let's not forget the real 'character' of this photo: "an oilman's Christmas tree," a wellhead, what the newspaper describes as "a collection of pipes and valves that controls the flow of crude oil from a well."[1] The picture you are seeing (Figure 9.1) appeared in the weekly newspaper of 'a well-to-do agricultural centre,' the place where I was born, but there was a similar photo that appeared in the *Winnipeg Free Press* two months earlier. Figure 9.1 appeared in the 1953 Christmas edition of the *Empire-Advance*, so the idea of "a different type of Christmas tree" as the article calls it makes sense, I suppose. It is the right season. In the *Winnipeg Free Press*, it is referred to as a "new kind of Christmas tree,"[2] though in that case—more than two months before Christmas—it is hard to imagine that anyone would have aligned the intricate collection of pipes and valves with a Christmas tree. But this, of course, is all very symbolic, and the deep structure is really about apparent wealth—a gift: "Christmas came two months early," says the *Empire-Advance*. The articles in both newspapers



Christmas came two months early this year for five-year-old Claudia Skinner and her parents. It arrived with a different type of Christmas tree —an oilman's Christmas tree, a collection of pipes and valves that controls the flow of crude oil from a well. This type of Christmas tree is becoming more common in the Virden area which has already christened itself the "Oil Centre of Manitoba". At left Claudia and her father, William C. Skinner are inspecting the Christmas tree on the Imperial Virden 8-28 well which was brought into production by Imperial Oil on October 18. The well is on the Skinner farm, a mile northwest of Virden. Mr. Skinner owns the mineral rights beneath his farm. The oil discoveries on the outskirts of the town of Virden and those in the nearby Daly field, discovered in 1950, have made the citizens oil conscious. At lower left is the large sign on the outskirts of the town which publicizes Virden as an "Oil Centre". Everyone is sharing in Virden's new prosperity. A program of public works development, waterworks and sanitary sewers, is underway, and new buildings are taking shape. At bottom right are two reasons for Virden's claim to be an oil centre. In the background is a rotary drilling rig, and in the foreground an oil field worker is taking a sample of crude oil from a pumping Virden well.

Figure 9.1. Claudia's Christmas tree 1 (© 1953, Virden Empire Advance).

stress this: "Mr. Skinner [my father]," the *Virden Empire-Advance* says, "owns the mineral rights beneath his farm." The *Winnipeg Free Press* says, "Mr Skinner owns the mineral rights on his farm." The *Empire-Advance* goes even further and notes the following: "Everyone is sharing in Virden's new prosperity. A program of public works development, waterworks and sanitary sewers, is underway and new buildings are taking shape." I had forgotten about the term waterworks, but that is what they used to say: "Do you have the waterworks?" or "Are you getting the waterworks?"

I decided that I should include both news clippings so you can see for yourself the slightly different angles taken in the photos. My daughter Sarah pointed out that at least in Figure 9.2 I am touching the wellhead. There is some justification for being held up by my father alongside my Christmas tree. The two photos are clearly from the same batch, judging from the clothing my father and I are wearing. I do remember the sweater that I have on. It was a dark pink—dusty rose is what I think my mother would have called the shade of it. What I remember about it all these years later, though I don't know why, is that it was odd because of its three-quarter-length sleeves, and if I am not mistaken, it had transparent glass buttons, which were very difficult to button or unbutton because the button holes were too small. You can't really tell from the picture. It was hand knit, probably by my grandmother.

Figure 9.2. Claudia's Christmas tree 2 (© 1953, Winnipeg Free Press).

I almost think that it might have been scratchy but that seems like a supposition. As for the striped socks, they were cotton, I would guess, and I have no memory of the oxfords I was wearing. I do remember seeing this very newspaper clipping when I was older than five but perhaps not more than ten or twelve and thinking that it was too bad that I was wearing such ugly socks. But it was daytime in the year before I started school, so I would have been in my play clothes. The pink sweater might have been my mother's idea of dressing me up because the newspaperman was coming—assuming my parents knew ahead of time he was coming. No sense of traipsing around the farm in a party dress on a weekday morning or afternoon. Or maybe the photographer just pitched up, saying he had driven out from Winnipeg (then a four-hour drive) and was wondering what the oil boom was all about and was interested to see the evidence.

That's when my dad would have taken him out into one of the fields to see a wellhead and the whole operation, and my mother would have got me into the dusty rose cardigan. In another photo from the same day, my father, mother, and I are pictured walking by a crude oil tank (see Figure 9.3). The *Winnipeg Free Press* account describes us as "Mr. and Mrs. William C. Skinner, and five-year-old

Figure 9.3. Elsie, Bill, and Claudia inspect a crude oil storage tank (© 1953, Winnipeg Free Press).

daughter, Claudia, inspecting a crude oil storage tank on their farm." I am not sure what we could have been inspecting or what skills we would have had as inspectors, but that is what we were apparently doing.

Through this small collection of newspaper clippings—carefully preserved by my mother—my sense of my place in the history of the oil boom in rural Manitoba in the 1950s is well established. The oil discovery itself, and subsequent oil production, was carried out by Imperial Oil, which of course I only came to know in later years as a transnational giant. About that I knew nothing, though I came to learn at an early age of the association between 'eureka' and oil discovery; the company that managed our wells was called Eureka Oil Ltd. Because I have been aware of the existence of these clippings, I think I must have developed at an early age an idea of myself as some sort of child star or poster girl. I am writing now from memory of certain things, such as the sweater and the buttons. Memory of such details represents one type of memory, but I am also writing about the memory of remembering, of having my mother show me these clippings. From time to time, these clippings would reappear. "Let's get out the photo box," she would say.

Although I think there might be a limit to the comparisons that can be made, I can't help thinking of two other accounts of girlhood photographs: one by bell hooks (1994) that describes a photograph of herself as a little girl and the ways in which the image serves to construct identity and one by Annette Kuhn (1995) of a school girl photograph. As noted in Chapter One, visual methodologies can be a critical component of memory work. An important part of both accounts is the fact that the photograph is lost. For hooks this involved the loss of the photos and the loss of something of her own identity:

> My favourite childhood snapshot then and now shows me in costume, masquerading. And long after it had disappeared I continued to long for it and to grieve. I loved this snapshot of myself because it was the only image available to me that gave me a sense of presence, of girlhood beauty and capacity for pleasure. It was an image of myself that I could genuinely like. At that stage of my life I was crazy about Westerns, about cowboys and Indians. The camera captures me in my cowgirl outfit, white ruffled blouse, vest, fringed skirt, my one gun and my boots. I become all that I wanted to be in my imagination. . . . Losing the snapshot, I lost the proof of my worthiness—that I had been a bright-eyed child capable of wonder, the proof that there was a 'me of me.' (1994, 45)

And as Annette Kuhn writes, "Sadly the photograph of me in my newly bought uniform is lost now, but I retain a clear sense, not just of what the picture looked like, but also of how it felt to be inside those clothes at that moment" (1995, 100). She goes on to talk about how much she minded the oversized uniform and how ill-fitting the clothes were, but at the same time the photograph is important as visual evidence of her identity as a smart girl: "And yet this uniform was proof for all to see that, as an 11-year-old bound for a good school, I was different, cleverer, a cut above the rest. It singled me out from the rest of my contemporaries. The fact that the photograph was made at all is proof that, for a brief time, at least, I was once again special, the credit to my mother I had stopped being several years earlier: the photograph was her own idea, and went to some trouble to arrange it" (1995, 91).

In my case, the newspaper clippings had been out of my reach for years, and for a time I hardly dared to dream that they might still exist. Thus, when I came across them in my own home a few months ago, I was overjoyed—but unsurprised at the content. It was not like learning in later life that you are adopted or some other family secret. The oil was no secret, and my brothers and I grew up in the middle of it.

Why do I ramble on about some old newspaper clippings? I wish I could know now what my parents, Bill and Elsie, thought of these posed photos. Since they are now dead and I was so little, there is a huge gap, of course, in what can be known. However, when I first saw Jean Bach's (1994) documentary *A Great Day in Harlem* about a posed photograph of a group of jazz musicians—including such jazz greats as Dizzie Gillespie—I remember being fascinated about the idea of working with the behind the scenes of the taking of a posed photograph. The documentary is based on a group portrait taken by photographer Jonathan Kane for *Esquire* magazine in 1959.

Drawing on raw footage of the taking of the photograph, Bach's film focuses both on the picture-taking process and the resulting photograph in *Esquire* so that more than thirty-five years later, the subjects interviewed for the film are still talking about that day. Participants talk about what they remember: how they felt about being in the photograph, where they stood, what the photo shoot was like, and so on. When I think about these people talking about being in the picture, I am reminded that my father always hated to be in photographs, so the idea of consenting to be in the photos described here where my father is so clearly 'in the picture' may have been a trial for him. In part, I am also intrigued by who's not in the picture and by the memories of the oil boom of my two brothers—school boys who missed getting into the newspaper pictures or being represented inspecting the crude oil tanks because they were older and already at school.

OIL CONSCIOUS/OIL CONSCIENCE

The *Virden Empire-Advance* claims that in 1953 the oil discoveries "made the citizens oil conscious." Shannon Walsh—my dear friend, former doctoral student, and director of the award-winning documentary *H2Oil*—would be appalled at the use of the term oil conscious to describe the 1950s citizens of Virden since their/our consciousness had nothing to do with the environment or what oil spills or salt water spills could do to the farmland or what effect the oil smell might have had on citizen health. The town's consciousness was occupied by the boom and the resulting prosperity, including waterworks and the new buildings. The situation must have been akin to other booms: finding gold in Yellowknife, asbestos in Thetford Mines, oil in Fort McMurray. The newspaper clippings don't say anything about the fact that oilmen and their families lived on our farm in trailers and skidshacks (the name for the small, temporary wooden trailer-like dwellings, I think). This might seem insignificant, but it is not if you live on a farm and are used to living at a great distance from other people. Rural space is disrupted by these trailers and skidshacks, added to the landscape along with people and traffic. It is hard to convey this in a few words, but in the days of the post oil boom—the time I most remember as I was growing up—it was all quiet again. If you should chance to hear a car coming along on the Main Road, as it was called, you would stop everything to see if it was going to turn into your long laneway, a good quarter mile away. Sometimes a car would turn in to the laneway, but it was only turning around. A disappointment. So new people—oilmen and sometimes their families, though I don't remember any specifics—lived right there on our farm. I do remember objects and things: one of my brothers sitting too close to an oil-fired space heater in one of these skidshacks, maybe on a Christmas Day visit, and melting the sleeve of his winter coat, which he still had to wear all winter. I also remember that one of the oil men left behind an enormous pair of cowboy boots that I took as my own, and I would wear them over my shoes, clomping—I think that must be the only appropriate word—around the farm as my own version of a cowgirl.

In this time of oil consciousness, our farm and many others in the area were transformed from what would have been a fully functioning mixed farm (grain and livestock) into what looked on the surface to be a Christmas tree operation of oil derricks, wellheads, pumps, treaters, crude oil storage tanks, and access roads running through the fields. It is a mini Burtynsky landscape from the cover of his book *Oil*. At times, we and the wells were one. The oil wells all had numbers—their identity markers—and these identity markers were the same for the oil wells as for the people, arranged according to Section Township Range by the Dominion of Canada as the mapping apparatus for the western provinces. Ours was 28–10-26. As a young child, once I began going to school, I had to know the location of our farm according to its section, township, and range. On the first or second day of school, that is what our teachers always wanted to know. You could live on a street if you were from the town and had a street address, but if you were not from the town, you could not just give out a postal box number or say you lived just off the Main Road or at Devon Farm. Devon Farm (that was the name of our farm) was not a real address. It was just something you decided to call your place. The real address was 28–10-26, with proper hyphens between the numbers. So the wells were named in relation to this, as in "No. 8–28."

But the derricks and pumps were not just about addresses and were far from benign even then. One of the older boys in the town decided—on a dare, I am guessing—to test out what it would mean to ride the teeter-totter structure of an oil pump. But this was no Disney theme park and like the Christmas tree wellhead, it was not an innocuous piece of play ground equipment, he discovered. He lost a leg. At another point, one of the oil derricks on our farm fell to the ground as it was being dismantled, my brother remembered, and crushed several vehicles, though thankfully no people.

SURFACE STRUCTURE, DEEP STRUCTURE, AND THE OIL BENEATH THE GROUND

"Oil, that is, black gold, Texas tea"
—from "The Ballad of Jed Clampett" (theme song for *The Beverly Hillbillies* TV show)

Since I have had so many years of intermittently interacting with the newspaper clippings, I find myself changing in terms of focus, becoming a little bit less interested in my poster child image and the human interest journalism about Mr. and Mrs. William C. Skinner and five-year-old Claudia and paying more attention to the oil itself. I am fascinated by the idea of what prosperity means and what 'owning' what's beneath the ground means. My father has been dead for more than twenty years, and the family farm was sold at the time of his death. The new owners bought the surface rights and received compensation for what happened on the surface (the wellheads, access roads, and so on), but the sub-surface we retained. The mineral rights—the oil rights, to be precise—stayed in the family. It was only at the time of my mother's death twelve years ago that I got a full appreciation of this since

we—the three children, my two brothers and I—inherited what's under the ground, even though there is no ground that we own there anymore. At least one of the wells is still operational. But at the height of the boom, our quarter section had seven or eight or more of these, though not all at the same time. Well, "No. 8–28" hasn't been retired, and we are the beneficiaries of the "Christmas tree"; we receive small but regular checks—our oil money.

So perhaps it should not be surprising that I have this interest now with oil and oil rights, what's on the surface and what's beneath the ground. I learned from my geologist brother—and he should know because he has made a career of studying what's beneath the ground—that all this issue of mineral rights and who owns what dates back to the late 1800s. Officially, and at the level of policy, as he writes, Manitoba is different from the other Prairie provinces: "As much of southern Manitoba was settled before the 1890s, the surface and mineral rights typically went together with the homestead title. When the original homesteads were sold, it was up to the subsequent owners to decide if they wanted to just sell the surface land and keep the mineral rights or sell them together. After 1890, the Government of Canada kept the mineral rights on any new homesteads, which were later transferred to the western provinces in 1930" (L. Skinner, pers. comm., December 19, 2010). This worked in the favour of my family and the family farm, but it is a different situation for Alberta and Saskatchewan: "Because most of southern Alberta and Saskatchewan were settled after this date [1890], the two provincial governments own most of the mineral rights" (L. Skinner, pers. comm., December 19, 2010).

More personally and at the level of the lived reality of policy, I am writing above about the time before I went to school, but by the time I finished the second grade, policy 'kicked in' even more. By then, we had moved—not out to California like Jed Clampett and the Hillbillies of Beverly Hills sit-com fame but into opulence nonetheless, going from the big old two-story farmhouse that my grandparents first owned and into a brand new 1950s ranch house with a massive picture window looking out over the prairie. Everything was brand new. My parents left on their first trip ever—other than a one day honeymoon to Clear Lake years earlier—driving to the General Motors car plant in Oshawa to pick up a brand new dark green and white Oldsmobile. And our whole family took the train out to the West Coast for our first summer holiday ever. My brothers and I got taken out of school early that last day of the school year—for me it was second grade and for them fourth grade and sixth grade—to catch the mainline Canadian Pacific Railway train to Banff, Calgary, and the West Coast. Randomly, as I am writing this, I find the proof of the trip in a small cardboard suitcase of photos and other artefacts in the form of a non transferable ticket, the "family plan," good for passage for two parents and three children travelling from Winnipeg to Victoria (see Figure 9.4). It is stamped June 26, 1956. I played "Swans on the Lake" from the first grade John Thompson book on the piano in the near empty dining room of the ferry that took us over to Vancouver Island, and my mother, who talked about this for years afterward, was ecstatic. Like Annette Kuhn, I, too, am a credit to a mother.

Figure 9.4a and b. Train tickets as textual evidence.

In school we studied Anne Marriott's poem "The Wind Our Enemy" as one of the few Western Canadian and Prairie-related texts. I am sure that the inclusion of the 'enemy' discourse wasn't intentional on the part of the well-meaning educational experts in Winnipeg who put these anthologies of the canon together, but that is what we were left with. And while we were reading about the soil blowing away in Marriott's poem, my brothers and I along with many others in our classes were building up another type of capital: we would come to own the minerals beneath the ground. Most other texts we studied in Literature class were about far-off England and British writers. At best on the Canadian scene, we looked at Bliss Carman and the "Ships of Yule." But we knew little about ships, even though someone referred to the wagons that brought settlers to the prairie as 'prairie schooners.' Ships meant nothing to us, and if I were directing a film of this time, I would have early 1960s

Figure 9.5. "Thanksgiving Time" (© 1953, Winnipeg Free Press).

prairie schoolchildren sit in nice neat rows staring blankly at the teacher (not from the town but a newcomer), who tries to tell (not show) about prairie schooners. Prosperity didn't quite fit into the curriculum even though that by the time I was in the fourth grade and we had many newcomers—the oil companies who had established offices, new organizations such as the Oil Wives, and all the building of modern bungalows—we children were housed in a brand new school that came out of the prosperity. Probably, many of the teachers owed their employment to this prosperity. It would be quite a few years before the advent of Media Education, however, and so although from 1962 onwards we children watched *The Beverly Hillbillies* half-hour television show every week—a parody, of course, of oil, black gold, and Texas tea—our teachers were having none of it, and we stuck to the works of Anne Marriott and Bliss Carman.

I remember that when I told people years later and at university that I grew up on a farm, I would always be quick to point out that it wasn't very far from town, which is a code for 'we did not live in the sticks.' But maybe it is a code for 'not being poor.' Digging for gold, searching for spices, drilling for oil—perhaps I should not have been so dismissive of Bliss Carman's "Ships of Yule": "When I was just a little boy, / Before I went to school, / I had a fleet of forty sail / I called the Ships of Yule." Little Bliss is perhaps writing of being four or five, the same age as me in the news clippings. This all happened before we went to school.

Somewhat ironically, I think now, another photo that appeared in the *Virden Empire-Advance* and in the *Winnipeg Free Press* around the same time (and no doubt taken by the same reporter who was sent out from Winnipeg to get a good story on the oil boom—a human interest angle on Bill, Elsie, and the family) captures the idyllic prairie farm scene of Bill and little Claudia walking past the barn during Thanksgiving time—father and daughter, hand in hand—and in and of itself another type of prairie myth (see Figure 9.5). Unnamed in the caption, my father and I have ceased to be

an interesting news item in relation to oil and have instead become part of a social construction created by the big city journalist and his rendition of 'a farm in Virden.' We are now part of what Lutz and Collins (1993) regard as a *National Geographic* sensibility—captioned for all time—preserving the notion of Daddy's little girl and harvest time in the popular imagination of the *Winnipeg Free Press* reader. I am not sure whether I really remember this photo being taken or whether I remember my parents telling the story, but it seems that my father and I had to walk up the lane several times in order for the photographer to capture just the right look of "Thanksgiving Time."

Although I have written elsewhere about the colonizing features of development-context photos produced by organizations such as the United Nations (see Johnny and Mitchell 2006), I had never realized that I, too, am one of the unnamed. The irony, of course, is that when we are allowed to be Mr. William C. Skinner and Claudia, we also are portrayed as prosperous industrial types, new age farmers, farming oil instead of wheat and owning the mineral rights beneath our feet—and forever giving up the idea of the traditional spruce or fir Christmas tree in favour of a different type of Christmas tree. Did anyone besides my parents recognize, I wonder, that it was the same farmer and the same farmer's daughter who appeared in the earlier story? In reality, the idyllic harvest landscape was disrupted by the wellheads, oil treaters, derricks, and the smell of the oil. But there is no sign of any of that in this picture.

BACK TO THE FUTURE?

Separate from what I have written in this chapter, I have long been fascinated by oil 'things' such as oil derricks and pumps. A number of years ago when my partner and I considered getting tattoos, it was an oil derrick that I hit on as a symbol. I wrote about this in the introduction to *Researching Children's Popular Culture* (Mitchell and Reid-Walsh 2002). I have resisted going any deeper in relation to oil, at least over the last five years, because, as I said earlier, I wasn't certain I was ever going to be able to lay my hands on the newspaper clippings that I describe here, and so I simply avoided remembering oil. Even now, I could stop writing this piece. "There," I could say, "I have written something. Now leave it alone." "You don't know where you are going with this stuff," one of my colleagues said, and she was right. All sorts of things seemed to surface in addition to the clippings once I got started. As I worked on this chapter, I found a copy of Bliss Carman's (1921) *Later Poems* along with my father's copy of *Selections of Prose and Poetry for Use in Schools* (published in 1922 and authorized by the Advisory Board of the Department of Education for use in the public schools of Manitoba). *Selections of Prose and Poetry for Use in Schools* is the anthology that my father must have studied in 1925 when he would have been in seventh or eighth grade. It contains the poem "The Homesteader" written by a rural Manitoban poet, Robert J. C. Stead. I know my father owned the book because his name is inscribed in various places in it—something I take as evidence of artefactual memory (see Chapter Four in this volume)—though of course I don't really know if

he ever read Stead's poem or if he took in anything about what it would mean to one day own both a farm and the wealth of the mineral rights beneath the land. Stead's poem seems to anticipate the oil boom in Manitoba:

> I follow the plough in the breaking
> I tap the rich treasures of Time—
> The treasure is here for the taking,
> And taking isn't a crime
> I ride on the rack of the reaper
> To harvest the fruit of my hand,
> And daily I know that the deepe
> I'm rooting my soul in the land.
> They say there is wealth in the doing,
> That royal and rich are the gains,
> But 'tisn't the wealth I am wooing
> So much as the life of the plains
> For here in the latter-day morning
> Where Time to Eternity clings
> Midwife to a breed in the borning,
> I behold the Beginning of Things!
> (in *Selections of Prose and Poetry for Use in Schools* 1922, 26)

As for me, I had never seen a single connection between *The Beverly Hillbillies* or Bliss Carman's "Ships of Yule" before working on this chapter. The idea of 'before I went to school' can only be obvious now when I am trying to recall a time before I went to school—something that would not have been easily accessed as memory when I was twelve years old or whenever we studied the "Ships of Yule." However, I find it quite strange now that there were no connections made in school between the oil boom and a poem dealing with riches, but perhaps I just don't remember. See what Carman writes:

> They stopped at every port to call
> From Babylon to Rome,
> To load with all the lovely things
> We never had at home;
>
> With elephants and ivory
> Bought from the Kind of Tyre,
> And shells and silks and sandal-wood
> That sailor men admire;
>
> With figs and dates from Samarcand,
> And squatty ginger-jars,
> And scented silver amulets
> From Indian bazaars[3]

I think we should ask primary school children to play with the idea of 'before I went to school' much more readily. Why don't we know more about childhood memory and the time before age six? A. A. Milne wrote *Now We Are Six*, but I haven't finished with the dig into 'before six' yet. But then we can do adult digs and adult drilling—something archaeologist Joanna Sofaer and her artist brother Joshua Sofaer do in a sibling research project of going back to the time of 'way before six' (Sofaer and Sofaer 2002). In their fascinating visual study, the focus is on trying to 'dig up' the infant self through a re-engagement with the places where they lived but before they could actually remember them, working with various archaeological tools such as aerial photographs and object biographies. Their idea was to use the practices of archaeology in order to explore their forgotten past—in particular, to explore the ways in which children might be included in archaeology. What their work suggests is a vast and untapped area of study that contests, in a sense, the boundaries of childhood consciousness (as well as adult consciousness about early childhood) as viewed through the materiality of objects (including photographs), spaces, and things. Their work also signals the significance of siblings research (see also Allnutt 2009; Langford and Langford 2011) and integrating their various perspectives and methods. While it is my brother as geologist who studies what is literally beneath the ground, I, as qualitative methodologist, aspire to get beneath the surface of 'things.'

CONCLUSION

Now that I have started to scratch the surface, it is hard to go back to the time before I thought of these ideas about oil rights and oil wells, though I still don't know quite what to make of it all. Should I even be writing about oil, given the political and environmental issues associated with the oil industry? I am not alone in worrying about this. In a short contextual piece at the beginning of his book *Oil*, Edward Burtynsky offers, in a somewhat apologetic way, the comment that there are many possible interpretations of his work and that people will make of oil what they will. He also writes that he realizes that the focus of all of his work over fifteen years is made possible because of oil. At the same time, there is something of an ownership issue about what I now think of as the surface rights and sub-surface rights associated with memory. The box of newspaper clippings and photos that inspired and informed this chapter also belong to my brothers, and of course to my children and grandchildren and the families of my brothers. Having put my spin on the series of newspaper clippings and other artefacts, they no longer exist in quite the same state in which I received them. Now that the images have been scanned into a book chapter and written about here, will I be able return them intact to the small brown cardboard suitcase where they have been stored so that they can be discovered again as an 'eureka' project by another generation? Or have I now contributed to some sort of drilling device? Perhaps that is what productive remembering is – creating a new space, a critical space within which to live and within which to imagine the future. In this case I am thinking of those who come after me and who may not know what to do with the small

brown suitcase of artefacts. It seems that the title of Annette Kuhn's book *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination* perfectly captures this productive state of being. The surface has been broken, and there are new depths for exploration.

NOTES

[1] This quotation and all other quotations in the chapter that come from the *Virden Empire-Advance* appeared in the issue dated December 16, 1953.

[2] This quotation and all other quotations from the *Winnipeg Free Press* were taken from undated clipping. What is known is that the clipping is from an issue of the *Winnipeg Free Press* that was published in October of 1953 just after Thanksgiving.

[3] This is a portion of the poem "Ships of Yule", which can be found in its entirety in Bliss Carman's (1921) *Later Poems*. The poem is now in the public domain and can also be read in full at http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/poetry/index-e.html

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SOUND RECORDINGS

Scroggins, Jerry, with Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs. (1962). "The Ballad of Jed Clampett" (theme song for *The Beverly Hills* TV show). Written and composed by Paul Henning. On *Hard Travelin' featuring the Ballad of Jed Clampett*. Columbia. LP.

GEORGE CARANI

10. SEEING A QUESTION: USING THE VISUAL TO UNFURL MEMORIES

It was one of those early foggy mornings, of which there are many on the island of Montreal in the fall. I was perusing Chinatown. Some bamboo calendars were swirling in the wind, bumping against the red bricks of the store walls, echoing the footfalls of passers-by. While the greyish daylight evoked a past to come, the movements and sounds unfurled memories of an Aesop's fable (See Figure 10.1)

Figure 10.1. An unfurled calendar.

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 139–154.

> Among the folk of days gone by, there was an old gentleman who had many sons. When he was about to reach the end of his life, the old man asked his sons to bring him a bundle of slender rods, if there happened to be some lying about. One of his sons came and brought the bundle to his father. 'Now try, with all your might, my sons, to break these rods that have been bound together.' They were not able to do so. The father then said, 'Now try to break them one by one.' Each rod was easily broken. 'O my sons,' he said, 'if you are all of the same mind, then no one can do you any harm, no matter how great his power. But if your intentions differ from one another, then what happened to the single rods is what will happen to each of you!' (Aesop 2002)

This chapter focuses on a research story of how, by being in a particular place, I stumbled across the importance of memory, especially visual prompts, in research on HIV and AIDS. Like the sound of the bamboo calendars echoing against the brick walls, certain events in the research brought me to the doors of memory: my participants' memories, my memory of Aesop's fable. The research comes from my interest in understanding how human beings search for meaning (Frankl 2000). Given the knowledge and skills they have at their disposal to overcome adversity, how do those living with HIV and AIDS address the challenges they encounter with regularly taking their medication? Part of the researcher's job is to try to visualize the participant's reality. Through accessing and sharing this reality, others might be helped. In this chapter, I discuss how the visual became an integral part of the research; how visual prompts were used by the participants in their reconstruction of memory; and how visualizing memory was tied to places familiar to the participants, who became as hosts on their own terrain.

> When did you find out that you were seropositive? I asked.[1]
>
> There was a silence. The time it took him to respond stretched interminably.
>
> His first recollection was not of a doctor's office. Depressed at the loss of his lover, he remembered all of the times he cried at a friend's place. He had let this man do things he had never let any other man do. Chain-smoking, he wrung his yellowing, chafed hands. He shook with tears. The friend began to notice profound physical changes, advising him to consult a physician, who sent him to yet another one. Two days later, the phone rang. A nurse asked him to come back to the clinic. He did not go right away. He went to bed, tossing and turning. The next morning, pale and dizzy, behaving like a condemned man, he entered the doctor's office. The gavel sounded the diagnosis like a verdict. He burst violently into tears. A nurse and psychologist rushed in, leading him to a small room to calm down. Loss of love. Impending loss of life. Shortly after, heavily sedated, he threw himself in the middle of traffic on the Metropolitan Boulevard. (Vignette constructed from events reported to the researcher by RL, one of the two main research participants who were used as case studies in this chapter).

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

The World Health Organization and UNAIDS estimate that 33.4 million people worldwide have HIV. Of that number, 2.7 million were newly infected in 2008. And two million died in 2008 from AIDS (World Health Organization 2009). In Canada, the number of people living with HIV (including AIDS) continues to rise, from an estimated 57,000 in 2005 to 65,000 in 2008: a 14% increase (AIDS Committee of Toronto 2010). The rapidly increasing number of people diagnosed with HIV and AIDS has provoked deep concern (Public Health Agency of Canada 2011). Research on HIV and AIDS has addressed the problem primarily from a medical angle; identifying causes and developing remedies have been the priorities. Adherence refers to the activity of regularly taking one's pills. The record for medical adherence is less than stellar in the population with chronic illnesses; only 50% maintain "good" adherence, which is defined as taking 80% of their medication over time (Cheever 2005, 167). For HIV/AIDS medication to be effective, a medical adherence of at least 95% has to be maintained (Wainberg and Friedland 1998), with a relapse frequency of less than 5% (Bartlett 2002). "Unless this topic [of medical adherence] is appropriately addressed, the likelihood is that drug-resistant variants of HIV, if able to successfully replicate, will sustain the epidemic and limit the effectiveness of antiviral therapy" (Wainberg and Friedland 1998, 1977). To ensure the efficacy of treatments, qualitative research is needed on the non-medical, psychosocial dimensions of medical adherence. One of the main difficulties comes from the secondary effects of medication regimens. Adherence to therapy is not immediately followed by positive effects. On the contrary, adherence often produces negative consequences (e.g., diarrhoea, fatigue, headaches, insomnia, nausea, vomiting, weight loss), the severity of which can increase with each subsequent dose and over time, usually leading to more lapses (AETC National Resource Center 2011; The Body n.d.). Another difficulty arises from the excessive cognitive demands associated with the treatment: "complexity of the therapeutic regimen—number of times a day pills must be taken, whether with meals or not, and nature and severity of side effects" (Rabkin and Chesney 1999). Relapses not only occur but are likely (Kalichman, Ramachandran, and Ostrow 1998). In this context of living with HIV and AIDS, becoming an expert in pills-taking clearly involves much more than the final observable outcome of swallowing pills on schedule. The term 'pills-taking' (even though it flouts grammatical rules) draws attention to the behaviour of having to swallow many pills at regular intervals. Pills-taking is a crucial event within the practice of medical adherence: a life-long activity.

Because adherence is a lifelong activity, we need to seek alternative approaches that can address the problems associated with HIV/AIDS medical adherence. My research explores the role played by attitudes and beliefs in medical adherence education. We know that attitudes, beliefs, emotions, intentions, and social support influence behaviour.[2] My research draws on theories of Planned Behavior and Reasoned Action as a basis for designing tools that can be shared between participants

and the researcher who uses participative inquiry (Reason 1998). The present study, which I conducted from 2005 to 2007, involved recruiting people who had been living with HIV and AIDS for a prolonged period (ten years or more) (Seidman 1998). I interviewed twelve men. Of these, two were selected as case studies: two French Canadian men who had been living with HIV that had progressed to AIDS over the course of ten years. They both had CD4 counts of 250[3] but presented highly contrasting approaches to adherence (Stake 1995). The two men are referred to as RL and RP.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

One approach to address continuous long-term medical adherence to HIV and AIDS therapies is to study the core belief systems and attitudes involved in the acquisition and organization of cognitive strategies, which are conceived as a "set of goal-directed procedures" (Roberts and Newton 2003, 24)—the kinds of strategies demonstrated by experts in medical adherence. Intentional adherence to a regimen of medical treatment requires understanding one's medical condition and its effective treatment, creating mental representations of situations leading to maintenance and relapse, and developing cognitive strategies to overcome any barriers that compromise regular pills-taking. The cognitive mechanisms identified in various versions of the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) model offer descriptive and predictive power for adherence.[4] TPB can predict and explain behaviours linked to health.

The cognitive processes identified in the TPB model are involved in initiating, developing, and maintaining various "schemas" and "scripts" of actions (Abelson 1981; Abelson 1976; Baron, Branscombe, and Byrne 2009; Godin 1994; Schank and Abelson 1977). A schema is constituted by a "set of beliefs" that organizes and directs cognition, emotions, and behaviour (Freeman, Davis, and DiTomasso 1992, 59). The scripts constitute organized sequences of behaviours—that is, "coherently linked chain[s] of vignettes" (Abelson 1976, 34)—used as tools according to each participant's schemas and intentions. A central issue in this research has been how these schemas and scripts are developed by people living with HIV and AIDS in real life situations, the sorts of difficulties and challenges they encounter, and how they address these challenges over time.

METHODOLOGY

Few qualitative studies have explored how attitudes and beliefs influence the pills-taking activity of men living with HIV and AIDS. In the medical sciences, experimental quantitative and empirical methods lean heavily on the use of surveys. However, these can present serious limitations in identifying and analyzing personal attitudes and beliefs. Indeed, they can only scratch the surface. The use of qualitative

methods in this study has allowed for a deeper understanding of the meanings lying beyond the words. Such methods were proper to the subject of the inquiry because they opened a window on the components as well as the organization of the participants' inner reality influencing their medical adherence. In particular, the creation of a distinctive qualitative design elaborated, facilitated, and maintained the participants' motivation and efforts to access beliefs anchored in their memories (Pillemer 1998), specifically their "narrative memories" (Folkman and Stein 1997): personal, episodic, vivid memories often marked by deep affect.

I formulated questions on medical adherence in a five-chapter Repertoire of Questions. The word repertoire signals the range of questions that could be chosen by the participant at different times and in different ways. I created the Repertoire based on themes encountered in previous studies and surveys, which I adapted to the participants' reality. The participants resided in an economically depressed part of the city of Montreal in social housing intended for those living with HIV and AIDS. The Repertoire's spiral structure allowed the participant to focus on five themes related to pills-taking—but from different angles. The five themes were attitudes, beliefs, intention, behaviour, and social support. The semi-structured in-depth interviews (Collier and Collier 1986; Glaser 1978; Glaser and Strauss 1967) were supported by a proximal-distal approach; in other words, the interview began in the present of the participant's life, moved to his past, then to his future, then back and forth. The repertoire questions were presented orally, in writing, and later visually when I included photos and images by drawing on Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI) techniques (Collier 1987). In PEI, participants are presented with photos and images and asked what each image makes them remember. In a PEI context, the visual constitutes the main prompt. Participants also brought in objects meaningful to them, which were used as probes (Collier 1987). Researcher and participant had at hand identical copies of the Repertoire. The Repertoire was constructed so that the participant could pick up at his own discretion the questions he felt ready to answer. While imparting a sense of direction to the interviews, the participant could exercise his freedom in how he used the tool to verbalize his own expertise. The usual hindrances to research from societal dominant-dominated relationships (Collier 1987; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978; Heron 1988; Heron and Reason 2001) were thus addressed by approaching the participant as a co-researcher. By adapting the research discourse (Cicourel 1981, 2002; Kleinman 1980) to the participant's reality, his pertinent forgotten memories of adherence and non-adherence were elicited, accessed, and reconstructed.

IDENTIFYING THE PROBLEM

From the very first interview, it became apparent that the Repertoire was not sufficient to help the participant explore the five proposed themes. Presenting the questions

only in their verbal format, even when reformulated, did not succeed in anchoring the dialogue around a theme. For instance, RL would say, "Je ne me souviens pas, vous comprenez." (Translation: "You see, I don't remember").[5] Participants also experienced challenges while answering questions. Their pills-taking was affected by emotional, behavioural, and cognitive difficulties, which can be attributed to the progression of HIV and AIDS combined with the secondary effects of medication. In certain cases, participants became agitated and unable to remain on the same seat for any length of time. While trying to remember the question they had just been asked, they would engage in compulsory activities like opening and closing the cupboard doors of the kitchen pantry, placing dishes on the counter for no apparent reason, putting pans on the stove, checking if the television was on, or coming back to the table and leaving again. Sometimes, they also expressed difficulty in remembering what the interviewing activity was about. It might have been that the questions evoked troubling memories associated with strong emotions like anger and despair, as when they recounted learning they were seropositive. It might also be that they perceived the interviewer as a person to whom they could complain and ventilate freely and from whom they could seek support. Their attention, like butterflies, would shift here and there and nowhere: the microphone, the cord of the black tape recorder on the table, the green binder containing all the interview questions. They would go off on a tangent, talking about an immediate problem as if it was the point of the interview. When provided with a reminder, they tried to re-engage in answering the question they had been asked. The participants' positive attitudes indicated that their intention to participate was still there. Nevertheless, it was difficult for them to keep focusing on the question as posed. I needed to do something. A tool had to be sought to ease the situation and help situate the question within a site familiar and specific to the participant. In other words, the inquiry needed to be motivating and meaningful to the participant's "specific situation" (Wilson and Goodall 1991, 40).

By presenting objects and photos of places in a familiar context, I could perhaps generate dialogue. Photographs had previously been used in this way to stir "a flood of sentiment and information" (Collier 1987). The photos and images might create an opportunity for my participants to "see" the questions.

USE OF THE VISUAL IN THE REPERTOIRE

As already explained, the Repertoire began with some standard questions from surveys on medical adherence and research on HIV and AIDS. Other questions were written specifically to elicit beliefs, attitudes, intention, behaviour, and social support. All written questions were presented in a booklet for the participant so that he could consult and choose any of them at any time. In revising the Repertoire, I began to include images at the beginning of each chapter. The images could be even taken out of the booklet to be handled by the participants. The images fell into one of three types. As the research progressed, their use became more systematic and purposeful.

The first image type was loosely connected to the thematic questions: for example, a representation of the AIDS virus, which was paired with the question "What is it?" The second image type came directly from the clinic. They were photos of the actual medication (pills) sold in Canada in their real-life size and colours (commonly known as the "Tableau des antirétroviraux"). The images represented all of the pills that the participants had to swallow. Such photos were used in connection with questions about the type of pills that participants were taking or had taken. For instance, when asked which pills he took, RL would say, "Je ne connais pas le nom de toutes mes pillules." (Translation: "I don't know the names of all of my pills.") However, when I introduced RL to the "Tableau des antirétroviraux" in the Repertoire, he could remember them and talk about pills-taking. The images and names of pills corresponded to those in his *dozette* (pill box). Visually decoding, he would indicate with his finger which pills he took. He could then, for instance, elaborate on which pills allowed him to sleep and which helped alleviate pain.

The third type of images comprised three revised concept maps. Each concept map schematically represented each of the repertoire themes and was organized through images. The images—chosen from popular media, the Internet, or scanned illustrations—comprised a collage with multiple semantic possibilities (Frederiksen and Donin 1991).

Each of the images represented an aspect of the participant's reality. For example, connected to the central heading "Sources of Participant Information for Medication," a photograph appeared of the actual AIDS shelter house that the participants frequented and where they could access information and organized activities. Another of the images, found on the Internet, was of Dr. Marcus Welby, an iconic representation of the "good doctor." *Marcus Welby* was a well-known television series (1969–1976) that idealized the image of the humanist physician (See Figure 10.2).

Also related to the concept maps, participants were invited to bring in their own images or any object pertinent to what they wanted to share about their experiences. A few of them did, in fact, do this. RL showed me photos of himself at his job to show what his life was like before taking medication. He contrasted his former healthy physical appearance with his present state. He further explained about the insensitivity of his first physician when he had tried to communicate to him the adverse secondary effects of the medication. The doctor refused to modify the medication or explain its potentially negative effects. RL attributed the decay in his appearance to the doctor's lack of empathy.

The closer they were to the participant's reality, the more power the images had in bringing forth memories and opening a window on the lived experiences of HIV/AIDS medical adherence. "Grace à vous, j'ai récupéré des parties de ma vie que j'ai oubliées et que j'ai essayé de me souvenir depuis longtemps." (Translation: "Thanks to you, I recovered parts of my life that I had forgotten and had been trying to recover for a long time.") "Grace à vous" here needs to be understood as due to the participants' own active involvement in the research; it was the participants who

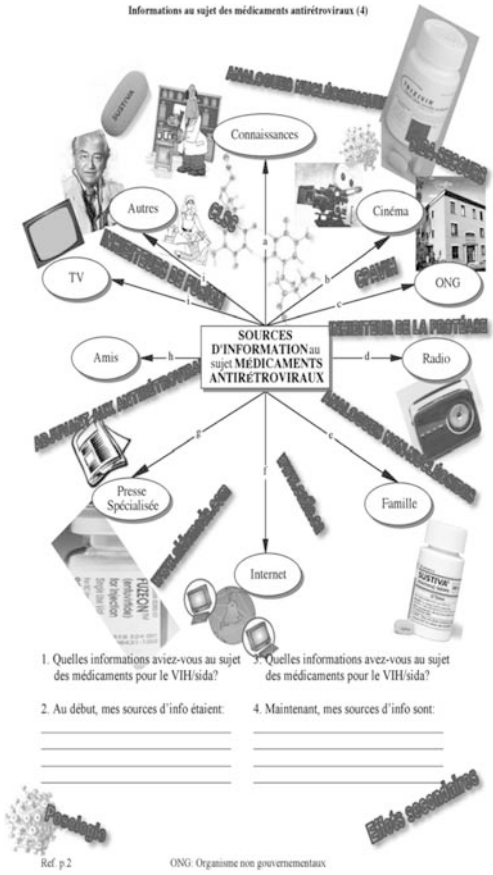

Figure 10.2. Concept map.

did the remembering, not the researcher. Why were images so powerful in eliciting memories? The research literature provides some answers.

ON PRODUCTIVE REMEMBERING AND THE VISUAL

Memories are represented through images. At the time of its occurrence, an episode is seen, heard, and felt, and only later transformed and reported in the form of a story-like narrative. Autobiographical memory is "specific, personal, long-lasting, and (usually) of significance to the self-system . . . it forms one's personal life history" (Nelson 1993, 8). Autobiographical memory is episodic in nature (Nelson 1993). In certain cases, personal memory involves the "reliving" of an experience (Brewer 1988, 22) and is usually accompanied by visual imagery and affect. Personal episodic memories are characterized by a particular episode that occurred at a certain

time and place, a detailed narrative of the interviewee's own personal situation at the time of the event, and the inclusion of "sensory images" (visual, auditory, olfactory) that impart a "feeling" of "reliving" the episode (Pillemer 1998, 50).

Narratives of life episodes formed an essential aspect of the interviews used in my research. As narrative and historical truths may differ (Spence 1982), memory's believability depends on the explicitness of the details and the intensity of the emotions associated with them. If the researcher accepts the premise that "a life is not 'how it was' but how it is interpreted and reinterpreted, told and retold" (Bruner 1987), then the emphasis falls on the participant's beliefs about episodic memories: "psychic reality is as important as historical truth" (Pillemer 1998, 10). This became a cornerstone of my research.

We now also know that a sensory component underlies highly emotional memories (Janoff-Bulman 1992). Trauma survivors have reported re-experiencing past episodes when images were re-presented to them. For example, "after traumatic experiences, children repeatedly 'see' what happened to them. These visions, accurate or inaccurate, are brought on when the child visits a place where the event occurred, when someone else mentions the traumatic episode, when something connected with the trauma comes to mind through association, and when the smells, the atmosphere, and the season renew a sense of 'being there'" (Terr 1990, 138). The stronger the visual input, the more truthful the believed memory of an episode appears to be (Brewer 1986; Neisser and Harsch 1992).

Including photos and images in a semi-structured interview constituted a socio-cognitive activity. With participants as guides, the inclusion of images opened a window on phenomena that may have discretely influenced how they regulated their medical adherence. Some visual prompts are acknowledged to be better than others at evoking episodic memories; this was what happened in the research. I needed to incorporate images and photos in a flexible manner, adaptable to each participant's reality being inquired about. The prompts needed to share certain similarities with the structure of the participants' episodic memories in order to facilitate their remembering. A variety of cues can be used to prompt autobiographical memory so as to engage the participant in seeking different cognitive processes and strategies; for instance, in Marles' (2011) study, participants' autobiographical memory was triggered by documents found in a shoebox as well as by family photographs, thus comprising "a mixture of semantic memory (facts about one's life such as one's date of birth) and episodic memory (experiences of one's life such as recollections of one's eighth birthday party) (217). Participants also tend to respond more readily to prompts that in their imagery are richer in meaning and power of evocation (Fitzgerald and Lawrence 1984). From this point of view, participants in the present study talked most easily about the photos and objects they brought themselves. They compared the images used in the Repertoire with their own and took the initiative to improve on their meaning by bringing in their personal ones, thus engaging in a project of productive remembering initiated by the use of photos and personal objects. For example, one participant hovered, with tears in his eyes, over the photo

he had brought of his lover who had passed away. He explained that his lover's death was how he first learned about AIDS, medical adherence, secondary effects, and physical transformations.

The use of photos and images gave the participants the power to regulate the speed and rhythm of answering questions. Being in charge facilitated their bringing in new personal information so that they felt themselves as valued individuals engaged in the practice of pills-taking, a practice about which they were intimately knowledgeable. The sharing of images between participant and researcher also helped forge mutual trust, contributing to methods of productive remembering anchored in the elicitation of health-related memories.

Some reports are beginning to emerge about the deleterious effects of NeuroAIDS on the brain and memory loss (e.g., Bartlett and Finkbeiner 1998). NeuroAIDS refers to neurological disorders, including HIV dementia and cognitive and behavioural disorders (Agnihotri 2006; McArthur 1997). Such disorders may severely impair remembering and even cause memory loss. According to the participants, the photos and images increased the flow and fluidity of their narrative memories—events in their lives that they had been trying to reclaim for some time. For example, some recounted how they had forgotten the degree to which they were dynamic and daring individuals who were full of life. Their memories shook the prevailing image they had of themselves as passive victims.

FURTHER ADAPTING THE METHODOLOGY: FAMILIAR MEMORY PLACES

I then began to walk around the neighbourhood where the participants lived, taking photos of such places as a restaurant, a grocery store, a health centre, a metro station, religious temples, a food distribution center, and a shelter for people living with HIV and AIDS. These photos of the immediate surroundings of the participants were used to situate the region of the city where the interviews were occurring as well as to help me visualize the participants' psychic reality and the social strategies (interpersonal scripts) they were using in developing a social support network to assist with medical adherence.

For most of the participants, interviews were conducted in their apartments or workplaces. A greater authenticity can accompany being in one's place, on one's own turf. Participants felt physically more secure and in control. They were the ones providing the hospitality, allowing the interviewer to enter into their realities.

The photos of place were used to further invite the participants to engage in the conversation. Asking about these places opened up a situation of greater self-empowerment: the participant showed his knowledge and his abilities as neighbourhood guide. It was also a discrete way for each participant to acknowledge his own expertise and his efficacy as a co-researcher on his own experiential knowledge (Heron and Reason 2001), which was one of the hoped-for goals of the research. Sharing and discussing photographs of familiar surroundings established an intersubjective bridge

Figure 10.3. Photograph of shopping mall in the participants' neighbourhood (photo by author).

between the participant and the researcher (Buber 1970), "in which the subjectivity of each is shaped by the encounter with the other" in the interview context (Abrams 2010, 58). It made it possible for the person living with HIV and AIDS to teach something to the researcher. By going to these familiar places, the researcher became a facilitator of an inner journey on which the participant had voluntarily embarked, as when I listened to RL's itinerary of a typical day: venturing out and ordering his pills, celebrating receiving the social welfare cheque, etc. He then actually brought me to the indoor shopping mall corresponding to the images shown to him of his neighbourhood (see Figure 10.3): the pharmacy where he ordered his pills and the grocery store where he bought his food. He changed his cheque in the Instabank machine. He then brought me to the restaurant across the street where he usually took his pills before eating. Even though it was in public, it felt to him like a familiar, safe place to practice adherence. We shared a pizza. The participant took on the role of navigator, helping others (in this case, the researcher) to 'see the question' and visualize the muddy deltas of shaken motivations and cloudy hazardous delays that the person living with HIV and AIDS regularly encountered in the activity of pills-taking.

CONCLUSION: USING THE VISUAL TO FURL AND UNFURL MEMORIES

The method we use determines the kind of truth we find (Gadamer 1996). By making available clusters of images related to the questions, participants could access information personally important to them. I had not taken these visual autobiographical aspects into account when first constructing the Repertoire of Questions. Revising the Repertoire so as to more systematically include photographs, visual artefacts, and their personal histories allowed participants to recover memories of attitudes,

beliefs, behaviours, emotions, intentions, motivations and social support they once had and compare them with what they were experiencing now.[6] I explored on foot participants' familiar places: visited the sites of activities, took photos of familiar surroundings. These research activities opened a window "grounded" (Strauss and Corbin 1998) from the angle of each participant's daily reality.

The look and feel of the Repertoire began to change materially as a result. The use of images became more systematic and pertinent to participants' everyday realities. Originally, the images were necessarily chosen within my own frame of reference—of what I imagined was the participant's reality. Only later did the images settle on what the participants were telling and showing me. As the research progressed, the participants themselves provided more of the images. The visibility of these images, particularly those tied to familiar places, served as an invaluable reference point, helping to spin an intersubjective bridge of personal experiential meanings while the revised Repertoire allowed for the co-construction of a socio-psycho-cultural space. The objective of using images was to facilitate participants' insights into the maze of their own past inner life contingencies as they might remember them. The analogies and the comparisons made from photos and images could then be used, positively, as a net: a grid by which each participant could access information difficult to process emotionally. In order to facilitate the participant's efforts to sustain his attention, images were clustered around a thematic question; in this way, objects related to that question remained immediately present to his eyes.

Organizing images around thematic questions made the sharing of information about personal discrete elements related to medical adherence activities more fluid. Through answering the question in their own surroundings and through familiar images, the broader and deeper purpose of helping them see the question was served. Being truly in the context of seeing a question, participants could perceive the picture's self-referential meaning, integrate it, and use it for improving their attitudes toward pills-taking as a life condition (See Figure 10.4).

Usually, we have to search for forgotten information. Contrary to popular belief, most memories do not flash like a bulb. This scenario (of searching for forgotten memories) is reminiscent of the puzzle encountered in reconstructing a loose bamboo calendar. To form the picture anew, each of the slender rods has to be linked with one another but according to a coloured pattern. Beliefs guide the choice of rods and the order in which they are placed. When the whole has been rolled into a spiral around its center, an image of a desired past may be said to be remembered. As in the Aesop's fable, the rods—though slender—resist external pressures by virtue of being combined and furled. For a person living with HIV and AIDS, the act of unfurling information to see the image of a past episode and then re-furling it in long-term memory is the intended goal of what is involved in 'seeing a question.' For the researcher, hearing and seeing the participants' lives 'in place' and with photographs and other visual aids was critical to better 'seeing' the appropriate form of the question within the Repertoire of Questions, thus drawing on methods of productive remembering in the service of social change.

Figure 10.4. Memory and pills-taking.

NOTES

1 Seropositive means testing positive on a test to detect the presence of an HIV infection.

2 For research on how attitudes, beliefs, emotions, intentions, and social support influence behaviour, see, for example, Ajzen 1989, 1991, 1996; Ajzen and Fishbein 1980; Ajzen and Madden 1986; Fishbein 1967; Fishbein and Ajzen 1975; Fishbein et al. 2001; Kanouse et al. 1991.

3 "A CD-4 count measures the numbers of CD-4 cells in a given amount of blood. The CD-4 cell is a blood cell that is critical to the immune system's defence against certain types of infections. CD-4 cells are also the major target of HIV, which infects and destroys them" (Bartlett and Finkbeiner 1998, 63). Whereas the normal CD-4 count ranges between 500 and 1400, for each additional year that a person lives with HIV without taking medication, his or her total count reduces by 50–100. By the eighth year of living with the disease, a person's CD-4 count will lower to 200, which means "damage is severe" (Bartlett and Finkbeiner, 63). CD-4 count may improve with medical adherence. The general rule is as follows: the lower the CD-4, the less immune the person is to disease. A CD-4 of 200 is usually used to define AIDS.

[4] The descriptive and predictive power of the TPB has been addressed in various research studies: Ajzen 1989, 1991, 1996; Ajzen and Fishbein 1980; Fishbein and Ajzen 1975; Fishbein et al. 2001; Gagné and Godin 2000; Godin 1994, 2002.

[5] All translations from the French are by the author.

[6] This systematic reflection on the use of photographs in the Repertoire is in keeping with recommended practices described by oral history scholars such as Alexander Freund and Alistair Thomson (2011), whose recent edited collection contain examples of the advantages of using photographs in the production and reproduction of memories of ordinary people as they reflected on their daily realities.

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SUSANN ALLNUTT

11. A FEW PIECES OF THREAD: COLLAGE, INTRAGENERATIONAL MEMORY, AND PLACE

> Continuity is a game we play with ourselves even though we know we can't win, clutching the few fragments we've managed to collect in our fists as we come away from experience, slowly opening our fingers to display the few pieces of thread we've managed to tear from the fabric of time as it was unwinding before us. (Bakker 2006, para. 10)

> Aren't we all sitting on stacks of past events? And not every level is neatly finished off, right? Sometimes a lower level bleeds into an upper level. Isn't that so? (Tyler 1983, 143)

I do collage. I am neither a collage artist nor a scrapbooker. I might describe myself as a visual researcher, given my doctoral work made use of both found and made photography (Allnutt 2009). Sparked by a graduate course in Interpretive Inquiry, I have collaged for over a decade in fits and bursts, both on my own and in the context of a collage research group called the Artful Analysis and Representation in Research Collective (AARRC) (Allnutt et al. 2005; Butler-Kisber et al. 2002–2003). In the context of AARRC, along with individual collaging, I have participated in making a group collage (seven people creating one 17 by 24-inch collage together)—a formidable lesson in group dynamics—and in collage inkshedding (each person starting a collage and then passing it to the next, and then to the next, until all have had input on each 17 by 24-inch collage). I have also led a couple of collage endeavors in a group. I have thought about, read about, discussed, presented, and done collage work. It remains mysterious. Each time, the process and the product feel both different and similar, both full of meaning and inexplicable. Perhaps that is because the I which does this work is one of many—the "'semiotic shifter' I, the reflexive 'me' that reads its own text, that is always outside of its own creation neither fully inscribed nor free of inscription, changing with time and every reading. Thus every time I use the word I, its subject is different" (Linstead 2005, 9).

In this chapter I discuss two recent collage endeavors—one undertaken in a group session of one and a half hours and the second done on my own over the period of a month—and consider the relationship between memory and collage. I suggest what collage can offer to productive remembering, through exploring the palimpsest of the placed self.

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 155–170.

Productive remembering could be described as reading the past to inform the future and can be used in many ways. Sontag states, "All memory is individual, unreproducible—it dies with each person" (2003, 85). Indeed, our memories are always personal, though they are sometimes more imbricated with cultural memory or what Sontag calls "collective instruction" (85). In this chapter on collage and memory, I speak of the usefulness of working with memories that stay closer to the self, of "mapping subjectivity" (Butler-Kisber 2008, 272), always acknowledging that, as individuals, we are ever in relationship with political, social, and cultural worlds, and they constitute us. In fact, it is these constitutive elements themselves that collage can assist us in understanding.

COLLAGE

Collage has a long history, from 1,000-year-old Japanese texts to the work of artists like Picasso and Braque in the twentieth century (Butler-Kisber 2008). Fundamentally, collage involves a juxtaposition or co-location of found objects/images on a surface. Meaning is generated through this co-location. Artists and craftspeople use it in many forms. Among its many charms, collage is a democratic low-cost medium because, most simply, it can be done two- or three-dimensionally by hand, using glue, paper, and scissors. It can be done collaboratively or on one's own; it can be created in a large format or a very small one. It can also be done electronically through digital manipulation. The material collage product is an original, despite using found images, and shows the creator's hand. Subsequent copies or scans of it inevitably eliminate that element.

My own experience with collage started with using images from magazines and gluing them on lightweight poster board, and I have continued in that vein, expanding to use images from newspapers and other ephemeral paper sources, as well as my own photographs. The search for images is the first nuanced complex step of visual meaning-making in collage. My early collages were done on what seems now to be a huge (and demanding) size, 17 by 24 inches; I am currently working almost exclusively with a small art card size (2 ½ by 3 ½ inches), which creates its own demands.

COLLAGE EXPERIENCE I: PULLING FROM THE PERSONAL ARCHIVE

Besides AARRC, I also belonged to a Memory Gathering group, in which, as self-described memory pilgrims, we brought our various backgrounds and research endeavors to regular meetings. The 'we' were Education graduate students and professors who read and wrote about and around memory and echo, using narrative, poetry, mapping, and collage. In this group, I conducted a collage-making workshop of an hour and a half, with the very general prompt 'the path to here.' Given that the participants were all engaged in academic work of one kind or another, what I meant by the prompt (but did not say) was 'the road to this particular time and place of being in academia.'

The collage I myself wanted to produce in this Memory Gathering workshop was inspired by the first meeting I had with my thesis committee when I started my MA in Education. Five talented and dedicated university professors—all women—considered what I had written as a proposal for entry into the program. I can still remember my emotions following that meeting. One was an abysmal sinking feeling, given the critique I had received on my writing. I had yet to understand the value of listening to and learning from how others perceive your ideas. This lesson I started to appreciate on that day. My other feeling was one of absolute buoyancy. My ideas had been addressed, grappled with; they had been taken seriously.

Thus what I wanted to convey in the 'path to here' collage was the idea of being taken seriously or, alternately, of taking myself seriously. In the piece I completed during the workshop, I put an Alice in Wonderland figure in a rather simple maze; there was a bridge that could take her somewhere. Around 'Alice' I placed some photographs from my doctoral work. Surrounding these central images, I put women's hands and arms—holding, lifting, supporting. These were for me the symbol of the support that I, a dazed and confused 'Alice,' received on that day, and indeed continued to receive from the women on my committees throughout my master's and doctoral work.

Interestingly, using the Markus technique[1] of soliciting feedback on your collage from the group before telling its story elicited some differing reactions. The supportive arms in my collage were seen by one viewer as asking for something: "Alice in Wonderland, everybody wants something." Another wrote, "Hands descend." Others wrote, "Labyrinth." One added "donation." Another comment, which was closer to my intended meaning, was "enchanted." These apparent contrasts between my collage intention and interpretations by its 'readers' were, as always, both interesting and challenging. Did this mean that my collage wasn't clear, or was it more likely that its polysemic nature encouraged multiple interpretations—as with many, if not most, images? Do these interpretations bring to light an ambiguity about my feelings that was not apparent to me but that I must consider? Is a particular advantage of collage that meaning as intended is *not* necessarily what is received? Does collage highlight one of the things we now understand about any text—that readers bring themselves to it in ways that always trouble intention?

Coming from a textual background with a concern for ensuring communication of my message, I tended to be more literal in my early collages, often using text as well as images, fearful of not conveying my meaning through the visual. My later collages are more abstract. I am still concerned with meaning, but I understand, first, that meaning is not always immediately available (it may come later and in layers) and, second, that meaning is in the eye of the beholder anyway. As I learn again and again, the author does not control the text once it is released. In collage, the product stands alone in the end, to be interpreted by the viewer and reinterpreted (or let go of) by the collagist. I now want that beholding experience to be more open, less definite, not captioned or limited by *my* intention but rather to be aporetic.

The members of the Memory Gathering group who had participated in the collage making met again to debrief on the collages and discuss the process because we did

not have time to go beyond the Markus technique on the first occasion. Once again, the value of the visual was brought home to me. The collaged stories that emerged were broad and deep. The explanations of the image choices and their co-location on the collages themselves were far-reaching; we moved both back into memory and fast-forward to today. The 'path to here' was long and complicated and told us more about each other than we could have imagined. I had been meeting with this group over several months, every three weeks or so. We had been doing various readings and writings and sharing them. But there, in these storied imaginative collages, vulnerability, memory, difference, and place were laid bare.

As I left the workshop that day, a participant asked me, "Is it always autobiographical?" By that, I believed she meant, 'Is it always like this . . . so personal, so deep?' I thought about her question a lot. A further question could be the following: are we producing knowledge? I believe that the answer to both questions is yes. Yes, we are always collaging the self and thus simultaneously expressing our cultural and social assumptions. Where do assumptions reside? Where is the self? In memory. Patricia Hampl says, "No one owns the past, but it is a grave error . . . not to inhabit memory" (1996, 211). The inhabiting and troubling of memory that we can engage in through collage teaches us about our ongoing identity construction. We can see autobiographical work, then, as not (only) a chronology of a history but the active push and pull of the construction of the self.

Our individual and cultural memories and the ways in which we confirm, interrogate, and interrupt them through collage lie at the heart of the resonance and usefulness of collage in productive remembering. Collage will inevitably contain that imbrication of social construction and personal memory; it is inevitably a form of self-study. Indeed, I think of it as performing intragenerational memory. By 'intragenerational' here, I mean that within each self, many generations of I's have been lived. The storehouse of impressions, the palimpsest of the self, contains stacked layers of time, time lived in place. Place, so strongly associated with experience, evokes memory most piercingly. Like dreams that bring together what happened this day, what happened decades ago, and what (apparently) has never happened, collage, through juxtaposition, can carry a thread forward and project a life line: personal time and place distinctly marked by social time and cultural landscapes.

In collage, we can put past times and places side by side, in a sense abstractly, and then work at extracting concrete meaning from them. Collage can both ask and answer questions and is responsive to what Annette Kuhn suggests is the process of memory work: "Memory work is rather like peeling away the layers of an onion that has no core: each level of analysis, while adding more knowledge, greater understanding, also generates further questions" (2007, 290). Donna Davis, an artist/visual researcher, suggests that since collage is "typically composed in a more impulsive, fluid, and expedient manner, a method which at once accesses and undermines the hierarchies of signs, effectively exposing them as both compulsory and arbitrary . . . collage may thus furnish a means to take back a measure of power over spectacular representations and renegotiate them" (2008, 247). Like all arts-based and arts-

informed inquiry, collage has the potential to straddle a border between data and aesthetic, between analysis and the impenetrable or unrepresentable. Resonance and usefulness are my own measures for validity. In collage, the resonance creates an echo and spawns memory in the viewer. Its usefulness is in its provocation for the future, in the mysterious manner in which it can bring up past selves and assumptions for review and renegotiation.

Thus, collage as memory relies most on our 'within.' The memory-feeling that collage attempts to capture is vestigial rather than archival, visceral rather than—or as well as—visual. One can consciously collage memory (Markus 2007; van Schalkwyk 2010), but even without intention, one is always collaging memory. And like some moving and evocative photography, collage can enter a deep realm visually. This becomes very apparent when we interrogate the choices we make in our co-location of images.

How can this remembering through abstraction be productive? How do we locate memory? Pamela Markus (2007) concretizes productive remembering for us in her doctoral memory work. In investigating the production of her art educator self, she collaged memories of her own art education. We follow her as she pins the images down verbally by naming each object in them and then turns the juxtaposed objects into concepts. It is an attempt to name (visually and then verbally) a feeling, often the forgotten or the invisible. Collages are constructed memory, to be sure; images are manipulated consciously. But this hands-on manipulation brings us to use pictorial conventions that we may or may not pay attention to when responding to the images that call to us.

This is not, then, the precision of the memory palace of Simonides (Yates 1966); we are not trying to remember 'facts.' The objects (or images) that we choose to co-locate in collaging contain the information we need to make meaning. In looking carefully at our collage—in this pulling together of memory and imagination, of floating reverie and concrete places and things—we apprehend how deeply informed we are by cultural (often consumptive) visual imperatives. Through our collage creation, as Bachelard—in speaking of poetry and place—suggests, "we may hope to make others feel all the psychological elasticity of an image that moves us at an unimaginable depth" (1994, 6).

The artful resonance that we can create through collage and the echoes that are evoked shape an open reading space for ourselves and for others. Owain Jones (2008) writes of the difficulty for adults in researching children, given their distance from childhood itself. He speaks of the "otherness of childhood"—in the sense of alterity, "the unbridgeability between self and other" (2008, 195)—and asks, "What is the nature of these differences between these worlds, and what manner of trade can occur between them?" (196). In my own consideration of researching the self, I think of ways to form bridges between former and current selves, the intragenerationality of the self. How do we bring forward all those selves, Linstead's "semiotic shifters," the I's of the past? How do we allow them in without over-scripting them with the present? What useful trade can we have with our former selves?

I think of the collages that AARRC has been making this past decade, as we pondered three prompts over that time: (1) 'What is it like to work in a group?'; (2) 'Being a woman in academia' (see Butler-Kisber 2010, 116–17); and (3) 'Our doctoral journey.' The images we created in exploring these themes have not always seemed personal, but then is autobiography always personal? Writing the self would seem to be the most personal of acts, as would collaging the self, but in actuality, the act of writing itself starts to create the distance from the self that is essential to analysis.

In writing the self, as Kuhn (2000) has noted, chronology and our understanding of how story works, the impulse to a plot, inserts us into a stream of writing that carries our story along. We are deeply influenced by the idea of a life history. Some version of '. . . and then I, and then I . . .' begins to take shape, bringing in, of course, social issues and cultural memes. These rules direct the genealogy and chronology of our tales. This "causal logic," with "events ordered retrospectively from the standpoint of the present," means that "the story is ordered and read as if this life could have been lived in no other way" (Kuhn 2000, 180).

Memory gets set in the stories we tell. They gel in the telling, and then it is hard to remember the not-told, the peripheral, the shadows. We cite ourselves: "In any recreation of a narrative of self, we call upon previous narrative selves that we may have created, or have received from others in the form of attributions, archetypes or stereotypes. An autobiography is always a retrospective-prospective account, recreating who we were in terms of who we would like to be. As such, when we write we *cite* the various selves which may be wholly or partially available to us as we rewrite them into our self-story" (Linstead 2005, 33).

In collage making, the narrative impulse of memory can find a different edge. As we move away from the word into the visual, the self looks up and around. It pays attention to the periphery. Collage allows—or rather, encourages—the palimpsest, the unset layers of memory, to emerge. It becomes an orienting device: where am I? Letting the non-linear speak from long- and short-term memory permits our cultural selves to pick—from among the almost infinite number of images available to us—that particular image that calls to us, that will somehow speak for us just at that moment. Collage is not only a product of inquiry but an inquiry itself. In its doing, the collagist is forced to excavate and confront, to place side by side memoried assumptions. Collage moves away from citation toward query. The taken-for-granted is put into question—up for grabs, exposed to view—for discussion, interpretation, negotiation, identification.

For people who consider themselves non-artists, collage can be literally magic because it allows us to combine memory and imagination in ways that often cannot be foreseen. We find ourselves astonished at what we have done. Why these images? Why this combination? What does this mean? Even when used purposefully in inquiry, the collage is not wholly a text; the emotional evocative reaction to the visual, as compared to the reaction to a written text, must continually be taken into account. Collage always seems to me to be more like poetry, while photography could be compared to prose.

Allan Neilsen suggests that we learn how to exclude what we see, when we become accomplished in photography: "The longer and more attentively we work with any given camera, the closer our images will resemble what we thought we saw through the viewfinder. . . . Yet when we learn what things our camera can see, we begin to see the same things; and when we learn what things our camera cannot see, we stop seeing them" (2007, 21).

Contrarily, collage is always new, always asking us to 'see' it. Do we look at a collage differently than a photograph? Collier suggests that we do not look at photographs but rather immediately leap away to our own internalized meaning, our "projective responses" (2001, 52). Thus our eyes may easily slide off the photograph; we believe we have understood what it has to say. We cannot make that leap away as readily from a collage; our eyes must roam around it to see what is there. We must pause to look in order to see, to make meaning from collage. That pause is quite vital. "The relationship between what we see and what we know is never settled" (Berger 1972, 7).

Being an Amateur in the Artful

I gave simple instructions to the Memory Gathering group regarding the choosing of the images. I suggested they look for images that called to them in terms of the prompt 'the path to here.' However, some participants felt unsure in their choosing, as if there was a right way to do this and a wrong way. Process or method is so often hidden or lies dormant in the product. To say that collaging is an art is to render the process less visible. To say it is a craft, however, does not give the product its place. Certainly, beginning collagists struggle with the form more than experienced collagists; however, what they bring is a naiveté and tenderness, an amateur's struggle with meaning and form—a struggle that later is not so apparent.

The value of being a novice or an amateur, of beginning as a researcher, is sometimes not acknowledged. There is effort involved in finding what one wants to call one's own voice, in giving value to others' voices, in finding a methodology that expresses most clearly one's purpose and meaning. Never again do we find ourselves in this place, and its value cannot be overstated. We are only an amateur once in each endeavor, and no matter how we might protest, it is always a struggle. During a conversation within AARRC, Mary Stewart said, "I do not regret the experience that has led to my collages being more aesthetically pleasing (most of the time), but I do miss how I felt in my collaging beginnings, when the striving to have the potential spectator understand meant more than pleasing the eye of the spectator, when the process meant so much more than the product." Molly Peacock, in her biography of an extraordinary paper collagist named Mary Delany (who took up collaging at age seventy-two in 1772), writes:

> To place oneself as an amateur in the twenty-first century invites an extreme vulnerability that would probably have mystified Mrs. Delany. To declare amateur status now means confessing that you're not serious; if you were, you'd

> aim to be a professional. Stepping into the position of an amateur, on the other hand—someone who loves something and wants to learn about it—repeats the confusion of youth. The state of not-knowing, especially for a person of age and accomplishment, recaptures youth's novel excitements. . . . [T]here's romance in that forensic impulse, because it yields surprise. (2010, 33–34)

Surprise. This is the crux of the matter in collage.

What Do We Gain? Collage, Memory, and the Social Container

In AARRC's debriefing on our products, we have paid less attention to the why of choosing certain images to represent our ideas. We did not always explain why, for instance, a butterfly might symbolize freedom (Butler-Kisber 2010, 117) or why mirrors and openings/portals appear so often in my own collages and what these might symbolize culturally. How does it come to be that there are these objects/meanings that we tacitly assume and structure into our collages to symbolize what we take eurocentrically to be universal? Do we presume that their juxtaposition with other images (perhaps also assumed to be universal) should speak for themselves? In some ways, from an inquiry perspective, this taken-for-grantedness is problematic. And yet it points to an issue with which we are familiar—too familiar, perhaps, to engage with at all times, particularly when we are in the spontaneity of collage—and that is the power of the ubiquitous visual. We apparently live in a world in which everything is an image, and as a result, our capacity to deconstruct these images fully can seem limited.

In presuming that we are expressing our selves—unique and essential—we forget, perhaps, that our selves are as constructed as these collages, as constructed as these symbols we use to stand in for our "unique" feelings: "'me'—a mythical place to which I, in common with some of the subjects in my research have ironically never been" (Linstead 2005, 8).

Perhaps if we envision places of me's, rather than that singular I, we might be able to go there, to dip in and out, to allow memory to surface and display its selves. As mentioned previously, one of the values of collage is that it is outside the usual ways of speaking, writing, and analyzing—the recitation of ourselves. It thus demands, first, a different mode of production or expression of an idea, a re-visioning rather than a revising and, second, a different mode of analyzing, a re-siting/re-sighting rather than a classification. Re-visioning demands memory work. Collage, with its abstract capacity, can interrupt the citing of self (Linstead 2005) and, like the use of place as an autobiographical prompt (Allnutt 2009, 2011), can contribute to a less chronological—and so perhaps more evocative—story.

In the pause we take to look at a collage, what do our minds do in order to see? When we don't immediately understand what we are looking at, though we know the bits that make it up, from where do we pull meaning?

Pepperell's discussion of visual indeterminacy suggests some of the challenges and value of meaning-making in collage. "What we habitually imagine to be objects

present outside in the world are in fact cognitive objects inhabiting our minds alone. It seems that the recognition of objects is the consequence of a process of active interpretation of world-derived data" (Pepperell n.d., 2–3). But like the Cartesian conundrum, as Pepperell says, we cannot separate ourselves from this circularity. He suggests instead that we embrace it. He himself had a brief experience of seeing in a manner that he describes as "semantically neutral" (4)—that is, he did not know what he was seeing. At once panicked and elated, he states that it was a moment of freedom, "no longer a passive consumer of meaning, but an active producer, drawing on all my latent cognitive resources to recover the lost sense of coherence I had enjoyed just before" (4). He notes there are "few instances (in our [overly developed] culture at least) where we are deliberately presented with images that withhold their meaning" (4). The possibility of visual indeterminacy is something that I recognize in collage work. Is this a state akin to childhood, when surely we see, again and again, objects and situations about which we have to make sense, make meaning? It is no coincidence, I think, that doing collage brings about a feeling of bated breath, of labored and yet elated meaning-making. The meaning we are making, however, is not always available, even to the maker, particularly in the moment. There is a frantic hush in the room; one can hear the mental murmuring.

Through collage, as we seek the images and juxtapositions that can articulate our meaning, we encounter our memoried selves. We can see the positioning of our conscious and unconscious ideas of our generational selves against or alongside cultural ideas/ideals of the self; others in our lives; and, indeed, social ideas at large. On the flat-planed, glued surface, we can put down whatever we want, limited only by the images at our disposal, and these, too, speak to our constructed subjectivities. This freedom calls to our imagination. Memory is full of imagination; indeed, memory mixes time, place, and imagination. Memory and imagination cannot be seen as diametrically opposed but rather, as Philo points out, "entail[ing] in effect a hermeneutic exchange" between present "reveries" and past "recollections" (2003, 16). It remains difficult to speak of something like imagination, which is construed as perception that is unique and uniquely ours, when we simultaneously understand that it may rest on a unitary concept of self that can be seen as nostalgic.

COLLAGE EXPERIENCE II: CREATING A PERSONAL ARCHIVE

In contrast to the above-mentioned Memory Gathering collage work, where we consciously pulled from the archive, I spent the month of July 2010 creating an archive. I was inspired by a suggestion of using play as a means of overcoming artist's block. The playing in question was to be a daily creation, over the period of one month, on art paper that was twelve inches high and on a long scroll. Every day, a twelve-inch square painting (or other visual product) would be done. The scroll would then be rolled up to cover the artwork so that the next day's work started fresh, presumably uninfluenced by the previous day's production. At the end of the month, the scroll would be unrolled and a month's worth of work-play displayed.

The idea of daily artwork as well as the not-looking appealed to me. What did I have time for? What art should I do? I decided one collage art card a day was possible. From July 4 to July 29, I created single, diptych, and triptych collages—27 singles, 3 diptychs, 2 triptychs—for a total of 40 art cards.

My theme or prompt was a question derived from Plato's *Meno*, with the phrasing encountered in Rebecca Solnit's *A Field Guide to Getting Lost*: "How will you go about finding that thing the nature of which is totally unknown to you?" (2005, 4). Tempted though I occasionally was, I never looked at the previous day's collage(s). I did not write about each day's collage(s), deciding I would collage a response to my month's worth of work and possibly write something then. That collage response remains to be done; I have not yet been able to move in to a summing-up. I have lined my collages up chronologically on a wall in my house, and I peruse them regularly, seeking meaning. I think of the extension of Meno's question: "And if you find what you want, how will you ever know that this is the thing which you did not know?"[2]

I briefly showed this archive of my month to the Memory Gathering group. The limited feedback I received (because of a lack of time) nevertheless carried important components. One member of the Memory Gathering suggested that the not-looking meant that I was in the moment, not in memory (E. Wood, pers. comm.). Normally, in academic production, so much must be held in memory. In this case, I had to remember nothing, not even the collage that had gone just before. What happens when you don't consult what has just gone before—or rather don't consciously consult? I say 'consciously' because it was quite obvious that what I retained in memory was not the exact collage but the feeling of the collage as evoked by shape

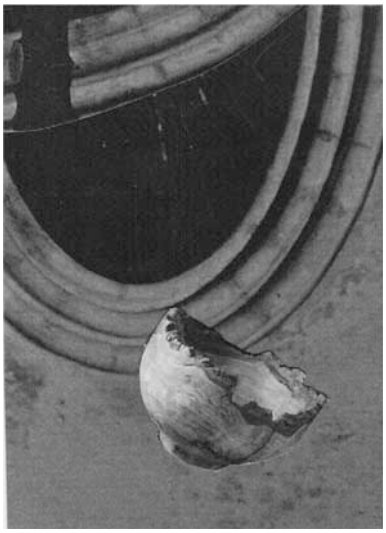

Figure 11.1: Collage 1

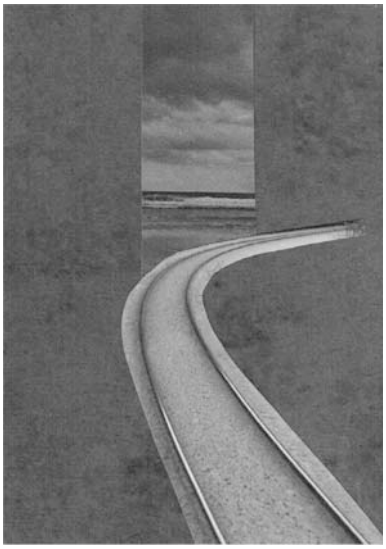

Figure 11.2. Collage 2

Figure 11.3. Collage 3

and color, as many members of the Memory Gathering group remarked. Although I approached each new collage freshly, so to speak, an imprint stayed in my mind and showed itself in recurring shapes and colors. Those elements become obvious when one sees the entire collection of collages displayed in their dated sequence. But is this the imprint of each collage coming forward? Or is it that, given the theme and the 'me' combined in this repeated deliberate act, my metaphors, my lives, my intragenerational selves would show themselves in this iterative way?

In a review of these collages, what speaks to me is place. Collage allows you to create an imaginative (apparently imaginary) space/place, which displays an architecture of meaning and feeling, rather than say (unmanipulated) photography, which allows you to record and then attach feeling to that archive.

Place is the anchor for all of our generational selves (Allnutt 2009, 2011; Bachelard 1994, Chawla 1986; Hay 1998; Jones 2005; Knowles 2000; Knowles and Thomas 2002; Lively 1994; McIntyre 2003; Moore 1986; O'Donoghue 2007; Sbrocchi 2005; Sobel 1990; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996, among many others). Collage can represent the feeling of place. Unlike the photographic representation, which actually shows place, the collage can be used to re-present, evoke, stand in for the flavor of place/self. Jones points to "the strange geographies which occupy us all, which hover between the then and now, between our geographical imaginations and our geographical memories, to these hybrid ecologies of the self and to the other element, their emotional register" (2005, 210). The hybrid space of the collage can entertain that "emotional register."

Because I am deeply interested in place and its relationship to our self-construction (Allnutt 2009), it is not surprising that my collages use images of place frequently.

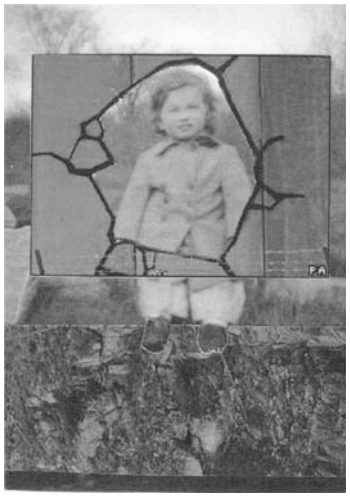

Figure 11.4. Collage 4.

Figure 11.5. Collage 5.

However, in a quick review of some of the collages of AARRC members, I noted how often they, too, used place images to suggest mood, meaning, and feeling. The cultural meanings of water, of mountains, of windows and doors, for example, are used to speak as a kind of shorthand, which is neither wholly abstract nor wholly figurative.

As it is "nearly impossible to see the shape of your life while you are living it" (Peacock 2010, 52), collage can also address the present by suggesting its shape. It does this by pulling from the archive of place and other memories in an intuitive and sometimes unconscious manner so that the current 'shape,' so to speak, becomes faintly visible now and distinctly visible later when re-viewed. What may have seemed imaginative becomes descriptive.

Collage slows things down. Something else is happening, different from the usual visual speed. Each of my tiny collages took about an hour, sometimes more, to complete. In that hour—that silence, that space—I could hear the mental murmuring of the child's concentration. One makes seemingly minute yet important decisions: no, not there, not that, yes, there, that. When you know/sense it's done, there is that feeling that something has been said, has been thought, has been shown, that was not known before. The unrepresentable has slightly shown its face. These non-discursive elements—this embodied aspect of collage; this picking over of the material objects of the images, the glue, the paper, the scissors—act as a kind of mnemonic and throw us back to an earlier time in our lived experience. Philo suggests there "are occasions when we are recalled to the peculiar psycho-social circumstances of childhood . . . and also to the sights, sounds, smells and other sensations and 'childish knowledges' made available through this thoroughly embodied but temporary difference" (2003, 10). The fabric of time is provoked and pushes through the palimpsest, and other events and places attach themselves as the thread pokes its way through to this particular creation at this particular time.

"KEEP SOME ROOM IN YOUR HEART FOR THE UNIMAGINABLE"[3]

Butler-Kisber points to ways of using collage in inquiry for metaphorical memoing/reflecting in "conceptualizing a response to a research question" (2008, 270) and as elicitation for writing (as in Pamela Markus's [2007] work). Collage can also be used as representation of an idea for the reader/viewer and presented as such. The "mapping subjectivity" (Butler-Kisber 2008, 272) we engage in through collage can thus contribute to a research back-story or be forefronted through final representation (or both). As researchers, our own selves are a rich resource in inquiry and one we do not always think to address, other than with the standard qualitative research positioning (white, middle-class, etc.). Productive remembering means we can read ourselves into our inquiry and find ways into discovery. After all, how *will* we "go about finding that thing the nature of which is totally unknown to us?" (Solnit 2005, 4). Socrates suggests to Meno that it is through recollection.[4] Perhaps "that thing" is not totally unknown, just currently without a means of access.

In AARRC, we endlessly discussed, threw about, teased, gnawed at the why of the collage method. Why does collage draw on impulses, intentions, and emotions not available through more traditional methods? Working from the "heart to the head" (Mullen, quoted in Butler-Kisber 2010, 104) is a concise phrase to express our conclusions. Betty Edwards, in her well-known book *Drawing on the Right Side of the Brain*, says it in a different way: "In order to gain access to the subdominant visual, perceptual R[right]-mode of the brain, it is necessary to present the brain with a job that the verbal, analytic L[left]-mode will turn down" (1999, xx).

That is the power of the artful—the mysterious power—and its source is memory, experience, and imagination, a meaningful combination that helps the personal and the cultural meet. In the close space of the collage, we can experience what Bachelard says of memory and imagination, that "with intimacy it recovers its entity, in the mellowness and imprecision of the inner life" (1994, 57).

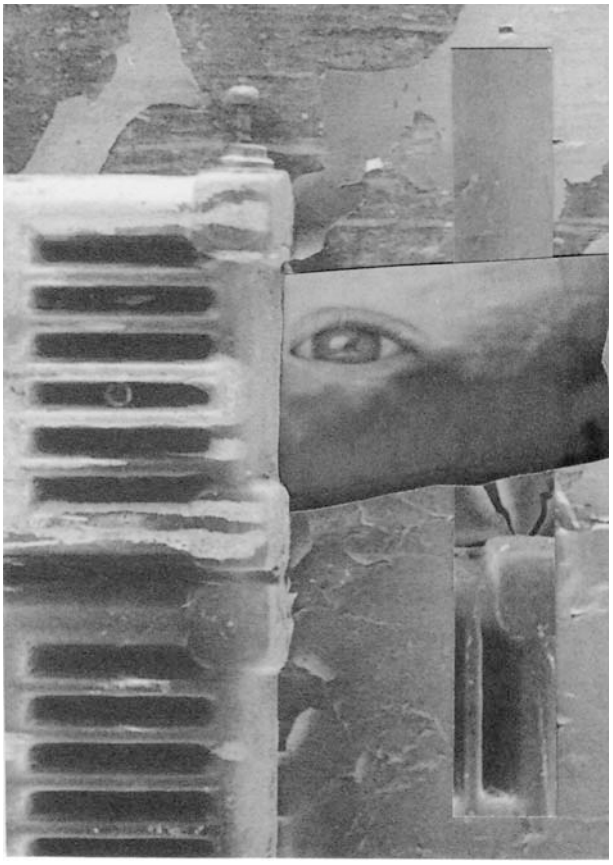

Figure 11.6. Collage 6.

I suggest the following: stop what you are doing (reading), gather the tools and materials you need, sit down with your many selves, and make a collage. Admit "the sidelong glance" (Davis 2008, 250). Ponder the possibly imponderable; represent the possibly unrepresentable. Note your surprise. And go from there.

NOTES

[1] The Markus technique is so named because of an intervention by Pamela Markus in our Interpretive Inquiry course. After we had created our collages, she suggested that the whole class be invited to look at every collage (instead of each individual immediately talking about their collage) and that each member of the class leave a short anonymous note (on a Post-it) on the back of each collage so that the current viewer was not influenced by what the previous viewer had written. This note stated the word(s) or titles which were evoked by the viewing. Only then were the collages discussed. This useful and informative strategy was taken up and continues to be used both by the Interpretive Inquiry instructor and in AARRC.

[2] This question is taken from http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/meno.html

[3] This is a quotation from p. 43 of Oliver (2009).

[4] This is an over-simplification of Socrates's response, of course.

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DAVID LEWKOWICH

12. THE TEACHER'S DREAM: PERFORMANCES OF PEDAGOGICAL DESIRE AND MEMORIAL (RE)CONSTRUCTION IN *GLEE*

When looking at the everyday influence of television, I begin from an assumption that narratives of popular culture can potentially be used in the classroom and daily life to promote "critical and empowering pedagogical encounter[s]" (Giroux and Simon 1989, 25) while also supporting the schemes we invent for interpreting and enunciating our own memories and life stories. Seen in this light, TV offers a unique opportunity for developing methods of productive remembering, as viewing the screen allows us to tap into fantasies of the future and desires of the past, invariably reading each through the lens of the other. This chapter seeks to engage the elusive intertwining of memory and pedagogical desire in the TV classroom: material and ethereal movements of vigour between bodies and between generations of bodies and bodies of knowledge. I will inquire into the textual spaces and temporalities of desire in *Glee*, a FOX-syndicated televisual comedy-drama about a high school glee club, with the obvious appeal of musicality, dance, adolescent awkwardness, and ever-present sexuality. I am here concerned with television in its potential as a textual and aesthetic arrangement; in its manifestation as a site of memory and generational containment; and as a prompt from which to consider the questions of pedagogy, involving teaching, learning, and curriculum.

Glee is here understood in its potential as a curriculum text since it functions not only as a site for learning about ourselves and others but also as a site for learning about learning itself. After a day spent labouring at work or school, what is the drive that compels viewers to (re)engage with fictional representations of labour—reliving, repeating, reimagining? At least in part, such a drive feeds backwards, enriching the meaning of the day that has passed; though it also feeds forward, giving promise and value to that which is to come. While such movements may be unconscious, their presence nevertheless enables us to see that television is never solely entertainment, nor is entertainment an empty endeavour. To look at the lives of teachers and students in popular culture is to think deeply about how such lives are constructed for our viewing pleasure, to consider the consequences of such pleasure for the everyday realities of our teaching lives and to the possible futures such realities envisage and assume.

Though *Glee* is only in its second season, its impact on the world of television is undeniable. While positioned as a musical comedy-drama about a group of teenage outcasts drawn together through the power of song, the show itself is no outlier and,

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 171–183.

indeed, is a veritable commercial industry. While the pilot episode of *Glee* garnered an audience of 9.62 million, the finale for the first season drew in 11.07 million viewers, giving *Glee* the highest rating for a new show's finale in the 2009–2010 season. The songs featured each week on the series are instantly available for purchase from iTunes, and such a system of immediate distribution coupled with the multiple CDs released every season has resulted in massive commercial appeal (Serjeant 2009). There is also an expansive range of *Glee*-related merchandise, including DVD and Blue-ray collections, a line of *Glee* clothing, and a young adult book series. Despite being criticized by a number of reactionary organizations (such as conservative watchdog and exposer of "liberal media bias" newsbuster.org), critics have generally responded favourably to the series. During its first season, *Glee* received a rating of 77 percent from Metacritic.com (whose data is culled from eighteen industry reviews). The season was also nominated for nineteen Emmy Awards (of which it won three) and was awarded the 2010 Golden Globe Award for Best Television Series – Musical or Comedy. From its commercial and critical success, and while it may be presumptuous to assume that *Glee* has necessarily changed how we think about school and how we think about teachers and students, there is no doubt that the presence of the televisual classroom has reached a kind of cultural apogee.

In what follows, I will begin by fleshing out the propositions of pedagogical desire, and I will then discuss various affective and epistemological understandings of the televisual—practices of viewing generally centered on screen-objects to which we gather our senses. Sara Ahmed, though she doesn't write explicitly about television, refers to the assembly of such focal sites as "our anchoring points" (2006b, 1)—places and objects that we call to our centre and which in turn call to us, insisting on our attention and motivated by notions of continuity and ritual. Following this inquiry, I will look at three passages from the pilot episode of *Glee*. My intention in this chapter is to investigate the meanings of pedagogical desire, memory, and relationality and to examine how the trope of the TV teacher and student may influence the dynamics of pedagogy in real life; for the ontological assumptions of popular television are undoubtedly related to the larger world—whether directly or contradictorily, psychic or somatic.

ARTICULATIONS OF DESIRE, (RE)CONSTRUCTIONS OF MEMORY

Throughout this chapter, I talk about desire in the manner articulated by Elspeth Probyn, who emphasizes its qualities of incessant movement, its thirst for difference, and its fluid relations to a sociality of belonging and becoming: "ways of connecting or of entering into things" (1996, 44). For Probyn, these stirring relations do not essentialize but instead travel "in the face of the fixity of . . . categorical logic" (9). The way that Probyn positions the transformative potential in the rupturings of desire—a "profoundly upsetting force" (43)—is similar to Jean-Paul Sartre's description of the infusive nature of desire as "trouble," akin to the "inapprehensible presence" in the murk of "troubled water" (2001, 363). Drawing on desire's

productive and improvisational impulse, Elizabeth Grosz notes that "it experiments, it makes: it is fundamentally aleatory, inventive" (1994, 76). It is the inescapable rhythm of desire that makes things—knowledge, memories, and bodies—absolutely impossible to pin down. In relation to memory, Annette Kuhn writes, "In the psyche, the drive that powers the acts of memory would seem to exert a specific pull: the desire, often only partly conscious, for a lost 'home' . . . [a] quest for union, re-union, wholeness" (2000, 194). This particular instinct (or drive) of memory—an irrepressible motivation for "passionate returns" (Robertson and Radford 2009, 203)—holds special significance for the dynamics of the pedagogical relation, especially in regard to the teacher's seemingly inevitable return to school as an adult. Meditating on the relation between pedagogy and desire, Judith Robertson writes:

> With desire I associate a sense of urgency. . . . It feels like gravity, only it doesn't pull me down. Instead, it pushes me on. Desire is something interminable. It is ceaselessly, constantly there. . . . In pedagogy, there's an exchange, something circulates, something mobilizes—hands, bodies, minds, and the actions/words that go between. . . . Desire in pedagogy leaves traces of joy and sorrow on people and events and the world. (1997, 76–77; italics in the original)

The practice and performance of pedagogy as "a problem of narrative" (Britzman 2003, 9)—as the ideals of linearity and the dissonant nature of social reality are often at odds—situates us always within an interpretative and relational sphere, moving between bodies (those of students and teachers) and texts. The texts we bring, encounter, and produce in the context of school, however, do not consign themselves simply to the dusty corners of bookshelves. Their malleable narratives are carried within our biographies and subjectivity, lugged around in our psychic sedimentations of schooling and their sometimes brutal awakenings in the crowded company of others. For Teresa de Lauretis, "subjectivity is itself . . . a kind of text we weave and unweave in retranslating ourselves; a text ever in progress, with its plurality, its overdeterminations, its ongoing confrontation with the other" (2008, 120).

In the relations of the pedagogical sphere, the interests of the teacher and the student are often at odds, and efforts at temporal containment can attest to this opposition. When, as teachers, it comes to consciously dispatching what we recognize as important lessons from our own schooling past (using "relics to make memories" [Kuhn 2000, 187]) to affect and motivate the field of the present (as a socio-textual event still being written), "every construction," as Roger Kennedy states, "is an incomplete one, as it covers only a small fragment of forgotten events" (2010, 184). There must, of necessity, be a remainder or supplement, a type of slippage signalling belatedness. The question is, however, whether this remainder remains in the past as a forgotten fragment of a "forgotten event" or whether it subsides as a consequence of the present, neglected and ignored. Who or what is being forgotten? And if a student's living takes place through the memories of others, is their living thus forgotten as well? If the past is brought forward to speak for the present, what happens to the present being spoken, still emergent? How can

we ever orient ourselves to a future through a present that glances only, obsessively at the past?

As students and teachers, we bring to the classroom personal understandings of what the nature of schooling implies—unconscious and often unelaborated; informed by memories and their distortions, popular culture, familial relations, etc.—and rarely question what movements are sheltered within the text we identify as *teacher* and the text we take on as *student*, both of which are often contradictory, ambiguous, and forever changing. Since subjectivity is something made, remade, and unmade through textual adjustments and interweavings of presupposed identities—fluid texts themselves—"the teacher's identity," Deborah Britzman remarks, "expresses a cacophony of calls" (2003, 223). The teacher thinks and remembers as a teacher yet also thinks and remembers as the student he or she once was, and it is through this, as Anna Freud notes, that "education is composed of all types of interference" (quoted in Britzman 2003, 8)—necessary conflicts of past and present from which everyday meaning is made.

There persists in the practice and authority of pedagogy, then, haunting desires that move forever along intertwined, intersubjective, intertemporal, and intercorporeal axes. Roger Simon describes such indelible desire as "an insistent affect, a demand directed toward the *embodied* presence of an other who holds the possibility of providing pleasure" (1995, 95; italics in the original), of conferring worth and defining consequence. Something other than conscious cognition is present and in the gathering that is teaching and learning makes its presence felt both as trace and irascible affect. For Kennedy, "the trace is something that survives in the present but stands for something in the past; the trace survives and through it one retraces the past. But the trace is fragile and enigmatic, its survival often fortuitous" (2010, 187). In teachers' attempts to preserve the significance of distinct educational memories, functions, and feelings, the question of whether traces can ever be invested with permanent meaning involves doing (possibly unconscious) battle with the fleeting nature of memory itself, "the losses—beginning with separation from the mother's body—that are the lot of humankind" (Kuhn 2000, 188). One way to engage in such conflict is through the creation of what Jay Winter calls "sites of memory," which inevitably transform into "sites of second-order memory, places where people remember the memories of others" (2010, 313) and thus confer on these memories—through "a desire to forestall death" (Kuhn 2000, 193)—a certain status of immortality. The persistence of educational and curricular structures (be they modes of assessment and discipline or glee clubs and dress codes) can sometimes work to create—out of past meaning—an archive for future memory that is psychic and internal while also physical and external. As Robertson and Radford argue, "The archive possesses a secret for the reader, and the reader must engage the impulse to find and possess a kind of beginning" (2009, 204). The question of who is allowed to 'read' (where reading is an act of creative and productive interpretation) thus becomes important when determining if curriculum, as education's archive and archive-in-flux, can genuinely allow for learners to read and create their own secrets and to read and possess their own beginnings.

As Britzman reminds us, "Education is best considered as a frontier concept: something between the teacher and the student, something yet to become" (1998, 4), forever birthed into existence. It is also in this way that teaching is something vacillating and tumultuous, whose destination is forever unclear and unknown—what jan jagodzinski decrees an "interminable and fallible task" (2004, 23). Education's dream of mastery—its hope of accomplishment and some overarching sense of finality—must therefore remain an elusive goal; yet the dream lingers as a fantasy of resistance against voicing the unthought and the unsaid—that is, those aspects of teaching and learning that fall outside of the cognitive, "something within education [that] resists thinking" (Britzman 2009, 2). Indeed, since "the teacher's performance is never in full possession of itself" (Ellsworth 1997, 164), it is from this seldom articulated inability to achieve mastery—over knowledge and temporality, over others, over the situation of learning itself—that Sigmund Freud refers to education as one of the "impossible professions" and "in which one can be sure beforehand of achieving unsatisfying results" (quoted in Felman 1987, 70).

Shoshana Felman (1987), among others, traces this impossibility to the psychoanalytic formulation of transference, where histories of authority, schooling, and love collide. As Kennedy puts it: "Transference is a process of the actualization of unconscious wishes and desires linked to childhood experiences in the context of the psychoanalytic relationship. The childhood experiences reemerge and are experienced as immediate" (2010, 191). It is through transference, then, that our emotional history can be regarded as a "history of layers . . . full of shifting strata, fragments of living reality, absences more than presences, a mutilated yet still living past" (Kennedy, 181). For spaces of education, the energies of transference impact the teacher and the learner through the emotions each projects toward the other and through the emotional expectations each brings to the present, which in fact have origins in experiences of the past. The past catches up to the present in the form of old conflicts and resistances, and so, if we take into account the transformative energies of transference (in the form of love and hate projected by the student onto the teacher) and countertransference (in the form of love and hate projected by the teacher onto the student), the idea of the temporality of education as something linear is necessarily disrupted. Though the idea of impossibility can appear rather gloomy, Felman proposes that instead of despairing, we should ask ourselves, "What can the impossibility of teaching teach us?" (1987, 70). As I see it, the "impossibility" of teaching teaches us something significant about the uses of love and authority in learning across the generations while also interrogating the multiple meanings of memory, through which desires and drives vibrate as unknowable and threateningly unattainable forces.

MIGRATIONS

Above all else, television is an object of the phenomenological world, and an object toward which we invariably orient ourselves. Since its inception as a technique of communicative address, television has played the role of "a powerful centralising

medium" that pulls the "home" (whether cultural or familial) together (Williams 2003, 49). However, it also acts as a medium of conceptual travel and provides what Milly Buonanno, with reference to Raymond Williams's concept of mobile privatization, refers to as "*symbolic mobility* . . . equivalent to a journey without a departure, to a migration without leaving one's place of origin" (Buonanno 2008, 107; italics in the original). Such migration needs to be thought broadly: as a means for passage through cultures, spaces, generations, temporalities, and ideologies and as a channel for ways of communicating beyond the strictly here and how. It is also a space where the orientations of memory are constantly reworked and re-visioned.

In her work on the phenomenology of sexual orientation, Sara Ahmed notes that "to be oriented is . . . to be oriented toward certain objects, those that help us find our way. These are the objects we recognize, such that when we face them [as into a screen and though the image may change] we know which way we are facing" (2006a, 543). For Lynne Joyrich, however, in her consideration of "the epistemology of the console," television's narrative "paradoxes, spiralings, and double movements" contain contradiction at their core (2009, 19). This is similar to Felman's understanding of "literary knowledge" as "a knowledge that is not authoritative, not that of a master, a knowledge that does not know what it knows and is thus *not in possession of itself*" (1987, 92; italics in the original). As I see it, television contains not only the potential for a "polysemy of the program," as John Fiske (1987, 16) argues—or a "polygamy of place," as Buonanno (2008, 39) puts it—but also an avenue for temporal play and "perceptual renewal in real time and real space, with the privileged entitlements of real material culture at hand" (Robertson and Radford 2009, 206). In this context, it is worth asking of the degree to which television functions as a storehouse for narrative rememberings, and as a means through which histories of schooling become either perpetuated and normalized, or taken up in a critical practice of productive remembering.

GLEEFUL PONDERINGS

Roger Simon proposes that "schools are tantamount to 'dream machines'" as "sets of social, textual, and visual practices intended to provoke the production of meanings and desires that can affect people's sense of their future identities and possibilities" (1992, 40). To this machinic nature of the schooled unconscious, I would also add that practices of formal education look not only to affect the future but also to simultaneously make censoring and transformative judgments on the past. In the following discussion, I think of *Glee* as a site where (im)possible futures and (im) possible pasts are pondered in dream and song. What is at stake in this reading is the question of how spaces of learning work to gather and contain generational meanings of education and whether these movements are seen as incontrovertible facts or contestable possibilities.

If we first think of morphological beginnings and of the word itself (glee), we are faced with an articulation that sounds almost guttural and pure-body, like a hiccup or

sneeze. It is significant to note the manner through which the word itself performs. Repeating the word glee, it becomes clear that the double 'e' leaves a sense of openness, loitering, and unfinished business, and as the word dissipates into the air, there is no consonant to stop its spread. What is more and like the photographer's 'say cheese,' one cannot properly enunciate the word glee without smiling, which reveals a clearly embodied quality to this program's title. As George Otte writes, "Words are indeed things to conjure with" (1995, 153).

"OPENING YOURSELF UP TO JOY"

In *Glee*'s pilot episode (first broadcast on May 19, 2009), we meet the character of Will Schuester, the teacher who organizes the glee club and names it New Directions—a title that signifies a break from the past in a terrain of innovative topography. A title, however, is never enough for full characterization, and as we shall see, the glee club strikes new ground only by replaying the past. As he walks into the school, Schuester approaches the trophy cabinet, a symbolic lodging for past accomplishments, and his gaze rests longingly on a plaque with the following words: "By its very definition, Glee is about opening yourself up to joy."

While his eyes remain focused on this euphoric statement, we read in Schuester's appearance a sustained and slightly smug deliberation, though also a quiet disorientation. As any teacher will tell you, those moments before class begins are precious and usually rushed. The fact that Schuester takes this time for reflection speaks to the sphere of remembering that he considers an important motivation for teaching. This sphere of remembering throws him into "the transferential time of pedagogy, casting the time of learning backward and forward" (Britzman and Pitt 1996, 122), revealing a desire to recover something lost in his past though present still; a joy that he recalls from his own time as a high school student, when he himself was a member of the glee club.

The trophy cabinet, as an archive of recognizable achievement, is an interesting place to stake such temporal reminiscence. In Winter's view, "sites of memory" can be defined as those "physical sites where commemorative acts take place" (2010, 312), and in the context of school, trophy cabinets and photos of past alumni serve as places of such commemoration. What is significant in the context of *Glee* is that this moment of homage returns to Schuester's own places of origin. For Robertson and Radford, "within the concrete predicament of the archive, a host of lost psychic objects roam" (2009, 205), and thus the gaze that Schuester's eyes describe can best be understood as an illustration of the "dumbfounding epistemological complexity of reading in the archive, where the intertextual dynamics of biography, time and space run amok" (Robertston and Radford, 205). Schuester can also be seen as a "travelling reader" and "literary pilgrim" and as one who reads in the past an inspiration for the present, "where thinking may hold and be held momentarily by the thought/relics/traces of another" (Robertson and Radford, 204). Unlike the "literary pilgrim" in Robertson and Radford's understanding, though, where readers travel

to "literary sites" in the hope of finding sustenance in the relics of another person's past, Schuester travels a more narcissistic route, finding sustenance for himself and others in his own past achievements.

THE SHOWER SCENE

With the intent of finding a male lead for the glee club, Schuester turns to the unlikely though undoubtedly masculine setting of the boys' locker room and extends an invitation to the football team. For Schuester, it seems obvious that the act of returning to the locker room he used as a student will inevitably recall particular memories of a somatic and sensual nature, where the physiological and psychic meet, as the smell of a sweaty body cannot help but touch a fleeting nostalgic feeling—an affect as that which the body remembers. This "compulsive return to places of origin" (Robertson and Radford 2009, 205) is also a characteristic of the literary pilgrim, "who seeks in a place of lost things the full promise of a once-felt reading" (206). Perhaps not surprisingly, since the only names that get written down on the sign-up list are "Gaylord Weiner," "Butt Lunch," and "Penis," Schuester says to himself, "I honestly thought that was the end of the very brief fever dream that was New Directions." The fact that Schuester refers to the object of his desire as through the burning febrility of a fever dream is indicative of a deeper archival symptom since for the "travelling reader," the task of returning to the archive often seems "'fevered' . . . of being in the pitch of a desire so urgent in its psychic and physical compulsions that it won't let go" (Robertson and Radford, 204). For Schuester, his return has left him, as Derrida (1996, 101) puts it, "burning with the desire to know, to make known," and it is easy to understand that in the frenzy of such psychic heat, the moments of origin and development, of past, present and future, may become confused.

It is at this moment of questioning that Schuester hears—emanating from a shower stall—what for him is an almost angelic vocal incarnation and return: REO Speedwagon's "I Can't Fight This Feeling" (Cronin 1984) being sung by Finn Hudson, the football team's quarterback. This song resonates well with the idea of music as an avenue through which to "[open] yourself up to joy," with such lyrics as "And if I have to crawl upon your floor, come crashing through your door, baby, I can't fight this feeling anymore." Such words also speak directly to the force of feelings that skin simply cannot and will not contain, similar to how Felman describes the uncontrollably affective force of laughter as "a sort of explosion of the speaking body . . . an explosive performance in every sense of the word" (2007, 124). Finn is here enraptured by text, which reminds me of Madeleine Grumet's reflection that "the text is material, it has texture, it is woven; we pull and tug at it, it winds around us, we are tangled up in it" (1988, 144).

As Finn sings, we see his body—his presumably nude, wet body—caught up in the inner rhythms of what can only be described as moments of *jouissance* and glee. He obviously *feels* the pleasure of the text as he sings, and for Barthes (1975, 17), "the pleasure of the text is that moment when my body pursues its own ideas—for my

body does not have the same ideas I do." And, of course, this pleasure stands at the heart of *Glee*'s pedagogical project: that no matter who you are, you have the right to be yourself, naked and bare. This shower scene then functions as an illustration of a fantasy that works to justify Schuester's undertaking; but the question is, Whose fantasy is it and for whom does Finn disrobe—both emotionally and physically?

Schuester is drawn both to Finn's singing and his bodily presence, and as the camera captures the corporeal and ethereal rapture in which Finn's body is caught up—his unbalanced feet, his closed eyes, the air drumming—we hear Schuester's thoughts as voice-over, an intergenerational mingling that merges with Finn's singing: "I suddenly realized why I had wanted to do this thing in the first place. It was seeing the gift in a kid that they didn't even know they had. It was *pure talent*." One has to wonder, then, what is it about Finn's talent that is pure? If we continue to think on this scene as a type of psychic return to Schuester's places of origin, then Finn's singing can surely be taken as the tracing of a "primal scene fantasy, in which one is in a place, in a scene, and at the same time in any number of places within that scene" (Kuhn 2000, 188). In this sense, Finn's passions are not only Finn's but are claimed by Schuester as well.

For a speaker to suggest the concept of human purity is to invariably invoke impossibility and farce and to position oneself as fully enmeshed in a dream. For Schuester, the narcissistic dream in which he resides is education's aforementioned dream of mastery, in which his life is given observable meaning through its effects on others and his profession is given visible purpose through a will to power and control. To establish and claim hold of this mastery, however, Schuester needs a shape to mould and a body in which to insert knowledge and memory of which it is not aware—as a compulsory gesture from one generation to another—or to find a student's talent "that they didn't even know they had."

Now this is not to say that Schuester's intentions do not derive from a place of love but that the desire to touch and transmit an imprint on the *tabula rasa* of a pure, unadulterated, and naked pedagogical body is not one that does any favours to the students, except by coincidence. What it does accomplish, however, is to confirm for the teacher that their love—a sometimes violent love—has palpable meaning and purpose and that their better memories are still alive. It is in this light that Schuester is a confused practitioner of memory work, who "use[s] the pretexts of memory, the traces of the past that remain in the present, as raw material in the production of new stories about the past" (Kuhn 2000, 186). Instead of using the traces of his own past as "raw material," however, Schuester mistakes the purity of his student's naked presence for the assumed purity of his own past, veiled in the clothing of memory. By claiming his student's talent as pure and unadulterated, Schuester declares his student as raw material to be formed into worthwhile substance and as a blank space to be sketched and memoried on. Such confusion does allow for the proliferation of desire, though only on the teacher's own terms, and this structure of fantasy "aimed at repeating a past experience of satisfaction" (de Lauretis 1994, 222) is Schuester's alone.

In effect, Schuester projects his own desires onto Finn, who is thus set up as the ideal student 'body' in Glee—and, not coincidentally, as a body that is white, athletic, naked (thus primal/elemental/originary), popular, heroic, heterosexual, male, and effortlessly artistic. This risk of colonizing the pleasures, desires, and lives of others—though with seemingly authentic motivations of love and care—is what Grumet refers to in her discussion of curriculum and textual selection for the classroom, indicating that "the task of pointing out the world is dangerous" (2006, 218).

"DON'T STOP BELIEVIN'"

In the final scene of this episode, Schuester decides in an unusually casual and anti-climactic manner that he should quit his job as a teacher and become an accountant instead. He conveys to his students in the glee club that though he has "loved being [their] teacher," he has to move on—a decision that he places rhetorically outside the bounds of adolescent understanding, telling them, "Being an adult is about having to make difficult choices." Though the glee club is dangerously close to disbanding after receiving this news, the show's final minutes have the students congregate in the auditorium to perform Journey's "Don't Stop Believin'" (Cain, Perry, and Schon 1984). The affective magnetism of this song is irresistible, and yet again, the lyrics point to the suspension and deferment of emotive pleasure. The song's chorus, "Don't stop believing, hold on to that feeling," and another line, "living just to find emotion," both speak to the projects of individual and collective becoming, in which high school students and teachers are invariably implicated. On the surface at least, this song works as a tool for uncovering, discovering, and inventing desire and as a means of interweaving personal ambition and social endeavour.

Even though it is the glee club's first time singing this song, their unreasonably flawless performance indicates the level at which we should interpret its presentation: that of fantasy and romance. In this, I find it fruitful to think of the glee club as a collective reading formation and social text. For those readers in a reading formation, as Grumet observes, "reading is essentially a romantic process, for it invites us to mingle our thoughts, visions, and hopes with someone else's" (2006, 207). In this performance—this fantastical social reading—what we have is clearly a rendering of love as something dialogic and in which the glee club functions textually as a transitional space, offering social security from the otherwise crowded company of a hostile and bleak school environment.

But as fantasy, we yet again have to ask a question that emphasizes the existence of arrangements of power in reading: whose fantasy is it? For though the students appear to gain meaning and pleasure from their performance, the song's ultimate achievement works, through the staging of a primal scene and a moment of origin, to convince Schuester to continue teaching. Halfway through the song, Schuester walks into the auditorium in awe, and upon the song's completion, he applauds the students' collective effort. When Finn asks if he will be staying on as their teacher, Schuester replies, "It would kill me to see you win nationals without me," and though

this phrase is obviously hyperbolic, it also uncovers Schuester's fundamental desire in teaching: to remain close to the joys of his schooling past, to "hold on to that feeling." This admission also reveals for whom this performance was staged. Even though it may appear as if the glee club has "found their own voice," it is a voice that has been previously articulated by Schuester, and as he is alone in the audience section of the auditorium, it is clear that the students are not so much singing for themselves as they are for their teacher. Once again, Schuester projects himself back and forth in this fantasy, narcissistically making his presence necessary both as subject and object, as past and present. As Kuhn expresses it: "Primal scene fantasies are expressions of a wish not just to be there at the scene of your own emergence into the world, but to author yourself, to be your own progenitor; and so to take command over the past, over a world in which you were not yet present. That you may assume any or all of the roles in the primal scenario answers a wish to be everywhere at once, to see, experience, know and remember all" (2000, 188).

The problems of love, passion, and remembering in teaching and learning invariably prompt difficult questions of *who* is coming to know in moments of learning and *what* is becoming known. For the students in New Directions, the intimate space they inhabit is an inherited emotional and physical site, in which a teacher's past is always caught up transferentially in the dynamics of negotiating and orienting meaning in the present. The economy of desire in *Glee* is therefore one in which the teacher's motivations match the student's expectations—despite certain stumblings—almost perfectly. From this unlikely correspondence, I have framed the show's presentation as comparable to the iteration of a teacher's dream, in which the use of fantasy is constructed as a vessel for the teacher's desire for mastery over knowledge and the productive uses of remembering.

Now such a reading is admittedly not complete but instead selective in its emphases, seductive tendencies, and tensions. I myself—as educational researcher, as teacher, as enthusiastic member of the television viewing public—am also enmeshed in the affective energies of the televisual; but just as with the students in *Glee*, I'm a reader who is sometimes absent from my own knowledge, tattered and torn in the folds of an impossible reading by my own history, my own schooling, and my own trajectories of desire and pedagogy. As Julian Wolfreys notes, "Because we can never get beyond or outside signification we can never get to what we desire" (2004, 54), the point of this reading has not been to locate a resolution but to look at interruptions, displacements, and obstructions; to look at the movements of love, memory, and learning as treacherous, though also as interminably and impossibly intertwined.

But where do we go from here? The purpose of this reading has not been to lambast against an obvious cultural influence or to find fault with *Glee*'s representation of the pedagogical relationship. Such a critique, which might ask whether what we are viewing is a 'true' representation of reality, is, in my view, fundamentally inadequate. The point is not to ask whether reality is sufficiently represented but instead to inquire about the construction of fantasy, which is what television drama invariably is. The questions I am asking are engaged in unravelling the determinations and pleasures of

everyday cultural consumption and what their modes of representation imply about human relations, pedagogy, and the uses of authority and memory. Television is a site that draws generations together, and in every act of viewing, there is always a conversation that is taking place, regardless of whether this conversation is spoken or not. Viewers stare at each other through this box we call a TV, and in viewing, as in reading, memories catch up to the present to influence the future. To interrogate a construction of fantasy is thus to think about the future—whether five seconds or five years from now—in the present while using our past as a reader. For when we read, we never read alone, and when we watch, we are always already at home, though also always already among strangers.

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SANDRA CHANG-KREDL

13. OF VOICES AND PUNISHMENT: THE MATERNAL IN JANE CAMPION'S *THE PIANO*

"The piano is mine. It's mine."
—Ada McGrath, *The Piano*

"I clipped your wing, that's all."
—Alisdair Stewart, *The Piano*

In Jane Campion's (1993) film *The Piano*, the main protagonist and mother, Ada McGrath, plays her piano in a moody, repetitive, and obsessive way that evokes in the audience the character's inner life. This impression of Ada's interiority is further shaped through the representation of Ada's daughter, Flora. The child on the screen displaces the adult spectator from a present viewing position to the past—we're both here and there, now and then, inhabiting a different space-time of "being-adult while also being-child" (Powrie 2005, 350). In this chapter, I refer to the responses of a focus group of early childhood teachers to *The Piano* as a launching point for my own reflections on the film, on the idea of interiority with respect to being an early childhood educator, and on the connections between self and childhood that are implicated in our work as teachers of children.

My reading builds on the idea that memories of our past influence our present and future, that is, on the compelling notion of productive remembering. In analyzing the film in its representation of the adult protagonist's relationship to childhood, I hope to contribute to our understandings of the subjective experience of the early childhood teacher, whose inner experience is also ambiguously shaped by representations and memories of childhood. Aitken (1994) wrote of the irony that "by the time we are old enough to reflect on what it is like to be a young child, we are so far removed from the experience that it's difficult to empathise" (p. 30). Adults may have *been* children at one point but researchers caution us against believing that, as adults, we can re-visit the otherness of childhood in some straightforward, accurate or reliable way (Bachelard, 1969; Philo 2003; Jones, 2001, 2003). Philo (2003), however, argues through his reading of Bachelard (1969) that it may not be "the historian's memory" (Bachelard, p. 119) that matters; it may be via the imperfect memory accessed through daydreaming, reverie, and imagination that we can reach "our most intimate knowledge of children and childhood" (Lenzer, 2000, p. 185): the "intimations of childhood, flickers and hints" (Philo, 2003, p. 12). Campion's film deliberately muddles the interior with the exterior and the child self with the adult self, and it is to this muddled space, tinged with reverie and ambiguous—even "treacherous"—memory (Orwell, 1952) that I turn.

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 185–196.

SUMMARY OF THE FILM

Much has been written about Jane Campion's (1993) film *The Piano*, including discussions of female spectatorship (Gordon 1996; Klinger 2006), representation of the colonial experience (Izod 1996; Brown 2003), silence and feminism (Bihlmeyer 2005; Dalton and Fatzinger 2003), and the struggle of women living in a patriarchal order (Gillett 1995).

The film takes place in the 1850s and narrates the story of Ada McGrath (Holly Hunter), a woman who arrives with her daughter by boat from Scotland to the New Zealand South Island for a marriage arranged by her father. Ada does not speak but communicates through her piano playing and through her nine-year-old daughter, Flora (Anna Paquin). Her new husband, Alisdair Stewart (Sam Neill), a settler and landowner, doesn't understand Ada and inadvertently alienates himself further by first refusing to bring the piano from the beach up to his settlement and by then trading the piano to a fellow settler, George Baines (Harvey Keitel), for land. Baines is taken by Ada's piano playing and suggests an unusual arrangement with Ada as a means for her to earn back her piano, an arrangement that he later abandons. As Ada falls in love with Baines, her intense connections with her daughter and her piano begin to wane—a transformation that enrages Flora. Flora betrays her mother, which leads to a "Bluebeard"-inspired climax in which Stewart takes an axe to Ada and chops off one of her fingers to render her figuratively voiceless. Following the brutal attack, Stewart is unexpectedly able to hear Ada's silent appeal and releases her. Ada, Baines, and Flora leave the beach, but on the boat ride, Ada chooses to throw the piano and then herself overboard into the ocean. However, she makes the choice, to her surprise, not to drown and makes her way to the surface. She settles down with Baines and Flora in the New Zealand city of Nelson.

TEACHER READINGS

As part of a research project conducted in 2009, I screened various films that included child protagonists with a group of early childhood teachers (preschool, kindergarten, and early elementary). The purpose of the focus group discussions was to explore how fictional representations of childhood might provoke teachers to reflect on their own work with children and on their identities as teachers. One of the films examined was *The Piano*.

My mind kept returning to the teachers' responses to scenes from the film. I was impressed by the intensity with which the teachers responded to the representation of Ada as mother. They were indignant at what they described as Ada's immature and self-centered behaviors and criticized her for not being present for her daughter. In describing Ada, the teachers commented:

> As a woman, it's as though she just remained a child, even her behaviour: she *threw* her cup down and she just [stamps her feet] "I want it like this." Her daughter didn't even do that.

> She's stuck. Things that happened in her life . . .
>
> And even at the end when they went back and she was learning to speak again, still, even then, after all that experience, I still found her to be very immature, very immature.

When I asked the teachers to describe the relationship between the mother and the daughter, they responded:

> I didn't *see* mother and daughter. It was more like a relationship where they supported each other, where they just held each other up.
>
> It was more equal.
>
> Sometimes it was very childlike. They were playing together. And then at other times the mother was using the child to get what *she* wanted.

The teachers judged Ada as almost unbefitting of motherhood due to what was seen as a reversal or equalization of child-adult roles and a belief that adults should develop beyond childhood behaviors. The teachers' aversion to the figure of Ada points to Ada's inability to differentiate herself as adult in relation to her child, Flora.

At the time, I hadn't formulated an opinion of Ada as mother, perhaps because when I had originally watched the film, I was not in a context of thinking about my work as a teacher and researcher in early childhood education, nor as a mother. I had not yet considered the method of productive remembering in reflecting critically on one's teacher subjectivity. However, the teachers' responses inspired me to isolate Ada's maternal status for closer analysis. Given our attention as early childhood teachers to the needs of children, the teachers' annoyance with the representation of the mother seemed well-founded, and yet, at the same time, my own endorsement of this view troubled me. Early childhood teachers and mothers contend with confining expectations—caring, giving, selfless, other-directed. The hostile response of the teachers to a mother like Ada, who is depicted as deviating from these ways of being, reminded me of the punishment that befell Ada, the Little Mermaid, and very nearly Bluebeard's wife. Ada is mute, speaking through her piano and her daughter. I argue that Ada's identity as a mother in *The Piano* destabilizes the viewer's sympathies toward her. The teachers' criticisms of the heroine as inadequate for motherhood due to her apparent inability to differentiate herself clearly as adult in the adult-child relationship are consistent with—albeit less grisly than—the punishment that the character incurs during the film.

The following analysis and re-visiting of the film, while prompted by the teachers' responses, is my own attempt to make sense of the figures of Ada and Flora, and to consider the permeable separations between childhood and adulthood, past and present, interior and exterior. I allude, as well, to two traditional fairy tales, "The Little Mermaid" and "Bluebeard," whose themes *The Piano* echoes: the motifs of women's voices and of women inciting their own punishment.

ANALYSIS: VOICES AND PUNISHMENT

Like the little mermaid, the heroine trades in her voice for silence—in "The Little Mermaid," as a form of escape and in hope of love; in *The Piano*, as a form of resistance or self-preservation. Like Bluebeard's wife, Ada exists in a patriarchal order in which the act of desiring (to know, to want) is considered wayward and brings punishment (the husband takes an axe to the disobedient wife) (Attwood 1998). A significant difference between *The Piano* and these two traditional tales is that the heroine in *The Piano* is a mother. In a cultural system that defines women as caregivers first, a woman who becomes a mother (or teacher) is defined by what she is for her child (or student). The prerogative of the young mermaid or Bluebeard's young wife to want, to be curious, or to know seems to slip away. The viewers who watch Ada are troubled by what they might interpret as an inability to move beyond an immature stage.

My analysis of the film and of the teachers' responses to the film will be framed around these two issues of voice and punishment. More specifically, I will address the conflation of Ada's inner and outer voices; the ocean and the piano as maternal symbols; Ada and Flora's deliberately symbiotic presentation; Ada's punishment invoked by her act of desiring; and finally, Ada's strange rebirth during the film's ambiguous ending. The analysis connects to a sense of the ambiguous, blurred, and sometimes strange experience of being adults who choose to work with children.

Conflating Inner and Outer Voices

There is a hallucinatory quality to this film which coexists with Ada's deep interiority. When the film opens, the audience sees blurry figures that, once the camera's focus clears, we recognize as Ada's fingers. The audience viewpoint alternates between a close-up shot of Ada's face through her fingers and a long shot of a young girl sitting on a pony that refuses to be pulled forward by an older man. Then the camera moves to a high angle shot of present day Ada, standing up from a sitting position and walking slowly over a well-tended lawn. We hear Ada in voice-over describing that this is not her voice, that she has not spoken since the age of six, and that it is her mind's voice that we are hearing. This narration makes it unclear whether the girl on the horse is Ada as a child or Flora, and it does not reveal if the older man is father or grandfather. The vocal confusion (the mind's voice) throws us further into an ambiguous space that overlaps time, identity, and interior and exterior worlds. It signals that we have entered Ada's subjective position rather than some external reality. Ada's mind's voice is presented in girlish tones, as if it belonged to the child Ada was when she relinquished this speaking voice. Through these narrative means, Ada is connected in a disorienting way to a state of childhood—either her own, Flora's, or both.

Flora's presence as Ada's child shifts the viewer's (teacher's) perspective significantly. Powrie (2005) wrote that the use of child protagonists, in comparison to adult protagonists, creates different meanings for the adult viewer. The child on

screen constructs an "oddly fractured spectatorial position" (Powrie 2005, 345). As adults watching, we are asked to adopt the point of view of the child, but this displaces us from the present viewing experience to the past—we're both here and there, now and then, inhabiting a different space-time of "being-adult while also being-child" (350). The adult spectator is brought to what Baudry described as "a state of artificial regression" and led back to an "archaic moment of fusion" (1986, 313).

Teachers of young children also function in a complex time-space that bridges past, present, and future. They remember once being children as they work with children. They prepare these children for a future that is read in large part as the teacher's present. Indeed, Pinar urges teachers to replace the linear view of time with a more fluid concept of temporality—living "simultaneously in the past, present, and future"—to complicate the ways we understand our subjectivities as teachers (2004, 4). While watching Flora, the teachers and I assumed the perspectives of child protagonist, adult viewer, teacher, mother, and child self, "occup[ying] all these positions at once" (Kuhn 2002, 188). As adults in the present, we want to protect Flora from the horrors she witnesses, and we want to care for her. Part of the harrowing experience of watching *The Piano* may lie in what Rose described as the adult's limited imagination in contrast with the "blissfully irrational, not-yet-fallen, not-yet-limited children" (1984, 167). Being in this irrational position of the child is unfamiliar to an adult and distressing in its powerlessness, in its lack of control.

In *The Piano*, however, Campion situates the adult viewer in an even more muddled space because, as spectators, we can't distinguish clearly if we're watching a child; an adult's memory of her childhood; or, as will be discussed, two characters who, through the art of fiction, can be understood as one character in doubled form—both adult and child. In addition to assuming the perspective of the child (Flora), we also occupy Ada's position of deep interiority and aren't sure if she is in fact separate from this child that we want to protect.

Metaphors and Metonyms in the Film: The Ocean and the Piano

As they arrive by boat on a beach in New Zealand's South Island, Ada and Flora emerge from the ocean. The ocean evokes the cyclical, fluid nature of maternalism, a wholeness, the body of the mother. Ada and Flora are both figuratively born of the maternal unconscious, and in that sense, they are equals in nature. As Kristeva (1980, 239) wrote, "Primal regression can be phantasmatically experienced as the reunion of a woman-mother with the body of her mother." Ada's piano, taking a predominant position in these opening scenes, is also metonymically linked with the maternal symbol of the ocean. Although Ada's father is ambiguously depicted in the brief memory scene at the beginning of the film, his presence is critical to the narrative because he is the original patriarch who establishes Ada as "a possession to be contracted for and exchanged" (Bentley 2002, 47). Importantly, Ada's mother is never referred to, and her complete absence allows the viewer to afford the symbols of the ocean and the piano with significant maternal meaning.

Allen (1999) borrowed from Winnicott to suggest that the piano in the film offers a sort of transitional object for Ada, an object that is neither entirely internal (in its complete connection with the mother) nor entirely external (to the child/Ada). It represents a transitional space in between. The piano, then, acts as the metaphor and metonym of Ada's absent mother and of Ada herself, positioning Ada as "both mother and daughter" (Allen 2000, 55). Yet Ada is not a child who negotiates separation from her mother but an adult with adult responsibilities. Thus the piano seems to also represent an arrested sort of fantasy or defense—"a solipsistic internal world" (Allen, 54). I suspect that it was this aspect of the representation of Ada as both child and mother that didn't sit well with the teachers. Flora's presence in *The Piano* prompted the teachers to be anxious for Ada to grow up because they worried about the insufficiency depicted in the mother-child relationship. This insufficiency is a position that contradicts the role of the caregiver. When Ada and Flora arrive at the beach, rather than tending to her daughter, who vomits on the beach, Ada gazes worriedly at the condition of the piano. Ada caresses Flora as she sleeps on the beach, and at the same time, she rips off a slat of wood over the piano to play a one-handed melody.

Ada's relationship with her piano is further conflated with her relationship with her daughter. Ada's connection to the outside world is mediated symbiotically through the piano and through the child. As spectator, we can watch Ada from inside and out and see Flora and the piano as extensions of her.

Doubling and Symbiosis in Campion's Mother-Daughter Relationships

Grumet (1988, 11) wrote that "the process of thinking through the world for and with the child invites the mother to recollect her own childhood and to inspect the boundaries of her ego." The mother's self-knowledge develops through this process of identifying with and differentiating from her child, this other consciousness "that is of her and yet not in her" (11). Flora and Ada's relationship in *The Piano* is shown as vacillating between symbiosis and conflict. Flora and Ada are both the same and separate characters. The symbiotic nature of their relationship is shown in various scenes in the film through pictures, sounds, sensations, and music. Their connection is represented in ways that reflect Campion's description of memories as pictures rather than stories: images of the ocean, of the piano, of Ada and Flora sitting protected under a womb-like tent fashioned out of Ada's petticoat, and of the ambiguous image of the child sitting on a stubborn pony.

When Ada and Flora visit George Baines to appeal for his assistance in getting back to the piano on the beach, Baines is frequently shown at his forested home in extreme close-ups, whereas in every scene of Ada and Flora, the shots are mid or long with the frame perfectly shared and split between the two. This difference in camera framing emphasizes the shared identity between Ada and Flora in contrast to Baines's solitary identity. They wear identical, dark, Victorian styled dresses, with bonnets and severely styled hair. Their facial expressions match perfectly, and their

movements and poses are precisely and deliberately synchronized. What is depicted is an uncanny connection or lack of separation between the two. Once they reach the piano on the beach, there is a combined release in tension where mother and daughter lose their confining and dark coats and hats. Flora's presence completes Ada. Where Ada is mute and serious, Flora speaks and is filled with spontaneity. Ada's improvised piano playing is matched by Flora's improvised dancing as Flora embodies Ada's music: dreamy, alive, impulsive, and moody. The image of Flora dancing and free, as the figure of the child, is inseparable from the figure of the mother enraptured in her piano playing and evokes further the sense of mixing of internal and external worlds, self and other, fantasy and reality.

The mother-child relationship is "a doubling that fosters and intensifies reflexivity" (Grumet 1988, 11). When Baines listens and watches as Ada plays expressively on her piano and Flora dances and does cartwheels while calling her mother, he is not only moved by Ada but also by the entirety of the situation and the feminine presence. The sound and scene of the great flowing ocean provide the background. Indeed, Allen (1999) and Attwood (1998) suggested that Ada and Flora's mother-daughter relationship offers a different and more feminine model for creativity, for looking, and for subject positions that are built on mutuality rather than domination and submission. What self-knowledge can teachers (mothers) produce through "reactivating the past" (Pinar, 2011, p. 58) and through inspecting the boundaries that exist between their selves, their students (children), and their own childhoods? Could inspecting the troubled feelings that arose while appraising Ada as an inadequate mother create a different model for an early childhood teacher's subject position? The biological immaturity of childhood is an undeniable fact; children have real needs. However, we attribute meaning to childhood independent of the child's existence as a state of biological development (James and Prout 1997). The "semiotically adhesive child" (Jenkins 1998, 15) is "often a figment of adult imaginations" (Jenkins, 23). How would it be if, as teachers whose everyday lives revolve around working with children, we understood ourselves to have emerged from the same maternal unconscious as the children we work with? How would it be if we didn't try so hard to differentiate ourselves from the state of childhood, if we questioned what are taken as unproblematic assumptions about children's needs? Would we, then, be unfit to be teachers or mothers? Would we be asking for punishment?

Campion presents another mother-daughter pair in the film, Alisdair Stewart's Aunt Morag and her daughter Nessie, as a farcical contrast to the strangely merged relationship between Ada and Flora. Aunt Morag's relationship with Nessie is described as "a grotesque mirror-image of Ada's to Flora" (Jay 2006, n.p.). Aunt Morag has distinguished herself completely from her daughter; she dominates Nessie as she does her servants, and Nessie has internalized her submission completely. When Aunt Morag relates the plans for the Bluebeard play to Stewart, saying "No doubt, it will be very dramatic," Nessie echoes "be very dramatic." Again, when Aunt Morag comments to Stewart about his door fixture, saying "With the latch on

that side, you are quite trapped," Nessie repeats "quite trapped." Aunt Morag and Nessie are indeed trapped as doubles, with little hope for change (after all, Nessie is already an adult), and as unappealing characters—Campion represents them, with wit, as awkward, unlikable, and catty—they do not invoke our sympathies. Aunt Morag dehumanizes both herself and Nessie through her domination. Aunt Morag may have distinguished herself from her daughter, but in the process, she has successfully destroyed any chance that Nessie will develop as an autonomous subject; Nessie will forever be an extension of her mother (Bentley 2002). Daughters re-inscribe the very structures that marginalize them, no matter how subterranean these structures are; they turn into mothers who have daughters of their own.

In contrasting their relationship with Ada and Flora's, we see that Ada's relationship to Flora, even when taken literally as a pathological fusion, is more complex, mixing harmony and conflict. Even with the deliberate depictions of doubling between Ada and Flora and the intensity of their connection, we see obvious indications of autonomy in both Ada and Flora. Ada's will is expressed through her piano playing, her silence, and her relationship with Baines. Flora speaks for her mother. However, she not only translates Ada's sign language dutifully but also takes on a voice that is inflected with adult expression (Jay 2006), and at times, she revises her mother's words as a form of her own rebellion, for instance when she offers an exaggerated and fantastic story about the death of her real father to Aunt Morag and Nessie: "My mother met my father when she was an opera singer in Luxembourg." Flora uses her insider status from her privileged position as part of the exclusive mother-daughter dyad to gain status and attention in others' eyes.

The Self and Punishment

Ada's exclusive connection with Flora is interrupted by her newfound relationship with Baines. This pushes Flora to act on her rage, and she reacts to this unwanted separation by aligning herself closer with Stewart, Aunt Morag, and Nessie—the conventional patriarchy. For in addition to losing her mother to Baines, Flora desires a normal family life and softens to her stepfather to fill that role. The scenes in which Flora chastises her dolls and takes turns at tormenting and then comforting the dog are significant. We never see Ada involved in domestic chores. Flora is acting as cold, harsh, and authoritative as Aunt Morag when she tells her dolls, "I said, now be quiet. You'll just have to be naked until I finish washing and drying your clothes. Don't mind if you're cold." She is speaking the conventions of patriarchy, obliging the dolls to not only be silent and compliant but to be indifferent to the pain and suffering that they, as representations of the feminine, merit.

Importantly, the bonnet is the symbol of Flora's attachment to her mother, whereas in the second half of the film, the angel wings, which Flora wore in the community play, are the ironic symbol of her turn against her mother and her role as Bluebeard's messenger (Gillett 2009). Rejected from the symbiotic relationship into which she was raised, Flora chastises Ada for her failure to comply with Stewart's demands to

stop seeing Baines—"You shouldn't have gone up there, should you? I don't like it, nor does papa"—and in a final act of betrayal, she delivers the piano key that Ada had inscribed with a love note for Baines to her stepfather, Stewart.

In order to understand Flora's rage, I return to how Ada's relationship with her daughter echoes her relationship with the piano. Although she uses them as means of fulfilling herself in deep and personal ways, there is a mutual and intense bond between Ada, Flora, and the piano. To some extent, I believe that as mothers and teachers, we make use of children in a similar way—that is, to complete ourselves. This may not seem like a noble thought when considered within a tradition where women are made to believe that fostering growth in others is their only valid role (Miller 1973, 40). And in response to objections that this tradition has been surpassed—with an estimated 98 percent of those working in preschools being women (Cochran and New 2007)—it would be difficult to argue that traditions of femininity in early childhood education are archaic. More frightening, however, is the notion that if the teacher (or mother) tries to move beyond this use of children to complete herself, she may incite a response of uncontrollable rage, located in some uncomfortable space that is both internal and external. The child/piano isn't enough for Ada, and she isn't willing to do without fulfilling her awakened desires. Ada has no choice, it seems, but to hold on to her inner life ("The piano is mine. It's *mine*.") despite her love for her daughter.

If, however, we consider the possibility of self-knowledge based in identification, connectedness, and differentiation "with this other, this child, 'my child'" (Grumet 1988, 11) and from the perspective of the more feminine and mutually built model of creativity (Allen 1999; Attwood 1998), Ada's behaviors become less contemptible. In fact, they make sense. Perhaps, as Swanson (2000) wrote, it is time to legitimate these maternal, subjective, textual, and emotional ways of knowing. However, along with these productive changes comes the danger of retribution. When Ada fosters her own desires—desires that are not maternal—Flora (a symbiotic part of Ada) reacts with rage and betrayal ("Bloody, bloody bugger her! . . . Let a mad dog bite her till she bleeds!"), and Stewart amputates Ada's finger (her voice). Flora is the witness who directs our gaze (Gillett 2009); as Ada receives her punishment in shock and silence, we hear Flora's horrified screams.

Sacrifice is a concept that mothers and teachers seem expected to live—to sacrifice one's own will in the service of others. Ideals of both middle-class mothering and teaching practices support the assumption that women have no commitments in life beyond or greater than responding sensitively to children (Steedman 1995). Suggesting the existence of such assumptions in our work is not welcomed—or at least did not appear to be welcomed by the focus group teachers. Knowing that you are protecting children and guiding them into adulthood is supposed to be fulfillment in itself. Early childhood education, after all, is a public and professional project. There is little space to consider how selflessness continues to be a taken-for-granted trait expected of mothers and teachers or how retribution is inherent in identifying these assumptions.

The Strange Rebirth

Returning to the Little Mermaid and Bluebeard's wife, the Little Mermaid chooses to die instead of killing her prince and Bluebeard's wife appeals to her brothers to kill her violent husband for her. Death is imminent. Following Stewart's attack, mother and daughter switch roles as Flora ties on her mother's bonnet, given that Ada's injury leaves her incapable. On the boat ride away from Stewart, Ada insists that the piano be pushed off the boat and into the ocean ("She doesn't want it. She says it's spoiled.") before attempting suicide by positioning her foot in the rope that is quickly being hauled down by the piano. The piano falls to its death in the water, completing its cycle of life, when Ada suddenly decides to kick off her boot and free herself from her "ocean grave."

The film's ending is ambiguous. Ada, Flora, and Baines are shown living as a traditional family. It isn't clear if Baines is just another representation of the patriarchal order that Stewart embodied, albeit a softer version. Ada's voice-over narrates that Baines has constructed a metal finger tip for her with which she can play and teach piano. The tinny sound of the man-made finger hitting the piano key is a reminder of Ada's experience: "I am quite the town freak. Which satisfies." She is learning to speak, as we watch her walking on a front porch, practicing vocal sounds underneath a black veil to hide her shame and to bring to the viewer the sense of mourning. Baines approaches and kisses her as the camera cuts to Flora doing cartwheels on the lawn. Then Ada's voice-over tells us, "At night, I think of my piano in its ocean grave, and sometimes of myself floating above it. Down there everything is so still and silent that it lulls me to sleep. It is a weird lullaby and so it is; it is mine." As the mind's voice speaks, we see Ada's body floating at the bottom of the ocean, attached by rope to the piano in a strange fetal tableau.

This chapter is fated for an ambiguous conclusion. Neither the Little Mermaid nor Bluebeard's wife had a child to care for; indeed, their struggles moved in linear narratives that we could follow clearly. Ada, however, articulated her emotions "through music which linear narration cannot completely contain" (Robinson 1999, 28) and through a daughter who could betray her. What is worth reiterating is that Flora is critical in representing and extending Ada's inner life. Ada both identifies with and differentiates herself from her child, this other "that is of her and yet not in her" (Grumet 1988, 11). The past, which constitutes the present and the future, can be embodied in the concept of childhood. Campion's representation of blurred childhoods may have been unsettling, but if we can hold off on the retribution that often accompanies other ways of knowing and examine these boundaries in different ways—maternal, subjective—perhaps we will better understand the interior experience of the early childhood teacher.

When thinking about the charged nature of the teachers' dislike for Ada, I need to remind myself that Flora is not an actual child; rather, she is a "figment of adult imaginations," whose thoughts, actions, feelings, and movements are constructed by adults (Jenkins 1998, 15) and whose reception is mediated by our adult memories

of childhood. As puzzling a concept as childhood is, so is the nature of the early childhood teacher's subjective experience richly ambiguous.

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JACQUELINE REID-WALSH

14. ARTIFACTUAL MEMORY: FRAGMENTARY 'MEMOIRS' OF THREE EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY MOVEABLE BOOKS ABOUT THEIR CHILD OWNERS

Artifactual memory is an evocative idea that is used occasionally in writings about architecture, museum studies and book history. In architecture and museum studies, it refers to the preservation of collective memory by the examination of the material culture of the past (Wiederspahn, 1999; Chronis 2006). In a discussion of interactive museum exhibits, Althinodoros Chronis (2006) uses the term in relation to ideas of embodiment and sensory memory. He cites the work of John Urry (1996) about how societies collectively remember the past, how a wide range of artifacts—from buildings to people's personal possessions—carry a kind of memory through their material form as objects. Urry (1996) observes that objects as embodied memories involve multiple senses so that the interpretation of the artifacts is through bodily experience. According to Chronis, engaging with the objects by sight and, if possible, by touch creates a synesthetic effect that provides an emotional experience. Therefore, the value of a heritage exhibit is that the visitor experiences what is perceived as substantive knowledge by engaging directly with the objects, which enhances the indirect knowledge obtained through books and lectures (Chronis 2006).

Chronis's discussion of museum exhibits relates to my interest in early moveable books—interactive paper artifacts that I consider to be precursors of some interactive media today. In England and North America, they began to be published for the children's market in the late eighteenth century (McGrath 2002). They are hybrid objects, combining aspects of books, pictures, and toys or games. Since they consist of words, images, and moveable parts, in order to understand the narrative the reader has to engage with the object through sight and touch and by moving the components. The reader becomes a viewer and a player; hence, I appropriate a term from media studies: 'interactor' (Murray 1997).

I consider historical moveable books to resemble miniature museum exhibits whose connection with the past is revealed to the reader-viewer-player through the senses (Chronis 2006). When I engage with the artifacts in a rare books library after having researched the subject, I assume the role similar to that of a museum visitor to an interactive exhibit —who, by using multiple senses, experiences what is perceived as a direct (re)engagement with the past (Urry 1996).

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 197–211.

At the same time, my use of the term artifactual memory is fanciful. Books, like all objects are mute (Miller 1998). In order to give voice to these artifacts, I anthropomorphize the moveable books themselves as rememberers who can narrative their life stories. The idea stems partly from the popular animated film *Toy Story 2* (Lasseter 1999) where Woody the cowboy doll and Jessie the cowgirl doll tell about their lives. They relate how they began as commodities in a toy store, are bought as gifts, are loved by their owners, are then discarded by being left on a shelf or under the bed, and are finally thrown out or given away. The dolls proudly show each other the marks of ownership stamped on their feet (Mitchell and Reid-Walsh 2002).

Similarly, some eighteenth-century children's books were purported to be autobiographies of objects associated with children. Examples include *Memoirs of a Peg-Top* (1782) and *Adventures of a Pincushion* (1783) by Mary Ann Kilner (Demers 2003). Like most writing for children in this period, these were didactic texts—the author employing the perspective of a lowly object to critique the behavior of its child owner. By contrast, no matter the content or period of production, moveable books are connected with children's amusement due to their interactive format. They are usually excluded from histories of children's books, which focus on content alone. If moveable books are included, they are dismissed as ephemera. I consider that including them would complicate our linear ideas of the Anglo-American history and 'progress' of children's literature from early "instruction to delight," which is described as erupting in the mid nineteenth century with nonsense literature and captured by the title of Patricia Demers's (2004) influential anthology of that name. Additionally, conventional histories of children's literature only contain books for children by adults. Writings by children or writings created partly by children are excluded. I believe that including these types of texts further disturbs the linear approach to children's literature by contesting the accepted history (Radstone and Hodgkin 2003).

The idea of artifactual memory that I am developing is a way to engage with early moveable books as interactive texts. In this chapter, I analyze a few examples that have been altered by their owners, examining the various signs of engagement to speculate what the books might 'tell' us about themselves and their relationships with their child owners. I focus in turn on three examples that demonstrate increasingly significant modifications by the children: a flap book that has been inscribed with several girls' names, a paper doll book that has an extra episode inserted into the narrative, and a toy theater play script (and set) that has been completely reworked.

The aims in this chapter are to discover some answers to the following questions: What can present day readers learn about these books as artifacts by studying the changes made by the child owners? Specifically, since the books contain moveable parts, what impact does this interactive dimension have on the children's relations to them? More broadly, how does this technique of artifactual memory contribute to the study of productive memory? As the editors note in Chapter One of this volume,

some methods include using objects as memory prompts. These may range from photographs to ticket stubs to pill boxes to ATM machines to spark the participants' ability to engage in and navigate through their memories in a productive manner. Here the objects themselves seem to function as catalysts to the human rememberers, but remain still and quiet themselves.

My technique seeks to give voice to the objects, in this case movable books, through studying how they were altered by contemporaneous child readers. Although I focus on these traces as evidence of real historical readers' engagements with the artifacts, in my interpretation of these artifacts as early paper media, I also adapt contemporary theories of children's media and apply them to earlier periods, with due reservations about presentism.

My approach is based on a strand of book history that considers books, like all manufactured objects, to possess a "life history" in terms of their production, consumption, and use (Hoskins 2006, 75). Books are understood as part of a communication circuit that consists of five stages in the life of a text: the writing, the printing/publishing, the distribution, and the reception and survival. This approach to bibliography, sometimes called bio-bibliography, is considered new because the textual authority no longer resides in the author's original manuscript. The focus is more on the interrelation of people with books. This includes considering aspects such as paratext (i.e., the extra printer's material including covers, blurbs, indexes, and so on) as liminal material that influences how the reader perceives the text. As further evidence of how a reader engages with the text, now conceived as a transaction, book history scholars may examine footnotes and the marginalia produced by the reader (Finkelstein and McCleery 2005).

My use of the term artifactual memory extends this last aspect of a book history project beyond marginalia: namely, to focus on the artifact and its reception by the child readers by studying the physical evidence of use by the children. Even if there is no contextual material such as provenance, or diaries, I interpret these material changes as containing fragmented stories or pieces of information about the child owners' engagement with their artifacts.

A FLAP BOOK WITH CHILDREN'S INSCRIPTIONS

In the eighteenth century, as Andrea Immel (2005) observes, children were exhorted to treasure their books. One common engagement by children was inscribing their names on the artifact. In some cases, several generations were owners of the same book, so a book came to have a genealogy of ownership and a history of use. One good example is an anonymous, moral flap book for girls called *The Moralist: Or Entertaining Emblems for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Ladies* held at the Cotsen Children's Library in Princeton, New Jersey. The library has two editions. Originally published by William Tringham in London in 1768, it was apparently popular, for later it was re-published by E. Tringham (a relation to William). The book has two prices: six pence for a copy with uncolored illustrations and one

shilling for the colored version. This pricing would have made the book accessible to both the middling and artisan classes (Reid-Walsh 2007).

The flap book consists of a sequence of colored emblematic images with accompanying morals organized loosely by the topos of the "ages of woman." A girl's ill behavior is depicted in terms of moral and religious absolutes. The message is unremittingly deterministic: a bad girl, unless she repents, will become a wicked woman who will suffer in her "cave of wretchedness" for eternity. This flap book is an adaptation of the conduct book, a popular form of advice literature in the eighteenth century intended to teach morals and manners to young women, but here the advice is modified for young girl readers by using a combination of images, words, and moveable flaps. The layout and design suggests that the intended reading path is to read the verse at the top of the page, look at the complex image with the moral application, and then lift the flaps up and down to see the consequences of the behavior. The act of lifting the flaps progressively transforms each half of the picture. The sequences follow one after the other in an apparently relentless manner, facilitated by the child reader-viewer herself. The design is such that even if a reader lifts the flaps out of order, the same consequences occur, reinforcing the inexorable logic. The complexity of the image and text encourages a slow, thoughtful pondering of the images and words as an integrated unit—perhaps as an adaptation and extension of the way a reader-viewer engages with an emblem book, a didactic Renaissance form consisting of words and images (Reid-Walsh 2007).

In terms of artifactual memory, it is revealing to see that generations of girls owned this stern, didactic text. When I examined the first edition, carefully lifting the fragile flaps up and down, I noticed that inscribed in different places are the names of three different female owners spanning 1771–1824. The first name occurs in a repeated statement of ownership. On the top inside cover are the words "Ann Keen / her book 1771 / Ann Keen Her Book." On the bottom end (upside down) is a text written with flourishes and a moral rhyming couplet properly referenced: "Ann Keen / Her book 1771 / Gave her by the Reverend Mr. Davey / Reverend———— / Learn now in Time of youth / To follow grace and truth / Dr. Tripp." On the back cover (upside down) is repeated "Ann Keen her / Ann Keen / Her Book May 2 1778." The repeated statements suggest Ann Keen may have been practicing her writing skills and that she used the book over a seven-year period. Considering the didactic message, both the moralistic quotation and the fact that the book is a gift from a clergyman are in keeping with one another.

The second and third inscriptions are by girls with the same last name, dated 1797 and 1824 respectively. Since the writing is faded, the last name is unclear. On the back of the second leaf is written "Elizabeth F[?]ripps Her Book 1797" and below is written "Sarah F[?]ripps [Sept(?) 14], 1824." It is intriguing to speculate that this book was handed on from one generation of girl to another in the same family. Furthermore, the placement of these statements of ownership is suggestive. Instead of being placed conspicuously, as are the earlier inscriptions, these are placed on

the back of the leaf (see Figure 14.1) on which the following stern, deterministic message is proclaimed:

Ah! me behold the wicked creature
How shocking to a virtuous nature

Figure 14.1. The second leaf from the Moralist: Or Entertaining Emblems for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Ladies (Credit: Princeton University Library).

Learning the fairest Child on earth
Is Trod on as of little worth.
Moral
A Thoughtless Girl you'll find it true
Will make a thoughtless Woman too.

This placement begs the question as to whether the location of the writing is arbitrary or not. If the location is significant, the question arises as to whether the inscriptions could be in response to the stern text. Do they indicate the girls' stance to the lessons contained in the verse? Are they in agreement or in disagreement with this reductionist logic? Do they object to their depiction as evil creatures set on a predestined path of wickedness if they misbehave? Moreover, these inscriptions are relatively hidden from adult or other eyes.

While a curator might deduce the provenance of the artifact to learn about the families of the givers and receivers of this edition of the book, for my purposes the inscriptions and their placement provide a snippet of autobiography about the book itself—for it existed as a 'living' object for over fifty years, from when it was published in 1768 until 1824. Its state of disrepair suggests many hands moved the flaps. Notably, the publishers are associated with the famous family of John Newbery, who is considered the founder of commercial children's literature in England (Reid-Walsh 2007). The girls who were given this book in order to learn conventional feminine behavior (through some positive but mainly negative examples and dire warnings) lived in the time period when the conduct book was popular. The extension of the conduct book genre to a flap book form for younger readers indicates the broad range of its appeal with educators and parents.

In order to explore the relationships among the three girls whose names are inscribed on this artifact, I adapt a couple of ideas from contemporary cultural studies but apply them back in time. I consider that the generations of girl owners could be seen as forming a sequential reading community. Since they lived in different time periods, the community exists only textually through the inscriptions on the artifact—some in obvious places and others in secret places, unified only in the life history of the book itself.

This notion adapts the ideas of Paul Willis and Angela McRobbie in their studies of youth popular culture in Britain in the mid twentieth century. Willis (1990) coins the term proto-community to refer to youth cultures formed around contingency and shared interests. He notes that proto-communities are sometimes "serial" and connected only by indirect communication. He considers the underlying metaphor to be that of a "spaced-out queue" (1990, 141). This proto-community can exist among young people but be almost invisible to the adult eye. Regarding girls, McRobbie (1991) considers the invisibility of girls in youth cultures of the period to be due to their location within the home, where they engage in private cultural practices around reading and looking at images.

In the case of the girl owners of the flap book, the reading community is chronological—the later girls receiving and reading a book already inscribed by an earlier girl reader. Although the two later girl owners have the same last name, they lived in different generations. The relatively hidden location of the later girls' names indicates the possibility they existed in an uneasy relation to or perhaps questioned the dominant culture of restrictions and proscriptions articulated by the text. Only the physical object of the book with the traces of ownership inscribed on it provides a record of this community. If the flap book could tell its tale of ownership, the history of this community could be discovered, and some of the questions about the various generations of girl readers of the book could be answered.

A PAPER DOLL BOOK WITH A NARRATIVE ADDITION

Paper doll books were designed by the London toy firm of S. and J. Fuller in 1810 and form part of the heightened commercial production directed towards children of the "middling" classes in early nineteenth-century England (McGrath 2002, 14). Each ensemble consists of seven to nine colored cut-outs (mostly of clothes, props, or accessories), a head on a tab, and a short storybook—all in a case. The anonymous books told brief stories, usually in verse, centered on the character represented by the paper doll. As the story progressed, the child reader was intended to dress the doll in the appropriate costume. Most featured child protagonists. Selling from five to eight shillings each, the books would have been marketed toward the affluent, and inscriptions indicate they were probably intended as gifts.

Perhaps due to their function as gifts, if the paratextual information on the back cover and paper case is examined, it becomes apparent that the books were sold as a set. For example, on the back cover of *The History of Little Fanny* (1810a), it can be seen that *The History and Adventures of Little Henry* (1810b) is marketed as "a companion to Little Fanny," which also suggests the girls' book precedes the boys' and that the latter is a spin-off product. By selling the (expensive) books as gendered pairs in a series, the S. and J. Fuller company was using the 'breeder' strategy of marketing not considered to have been used in children's publishing until the twentieth century. Particularly, this strategy is associated with the practices of the Stratemeyer Syndicate, the producer of many hardcover series books such as *The Hardy Boys* and *Nancy Drew*.

Paper doll books are a hybrid form tapping into the popularity of paper dolls, the didactic children's story, and gendered play patterns such as doll play for girls and theatrical play for boys (Speaight 1969). Paper dolls were produced in England from the late 1780s as an inexpensive commodity and were modeled on the shapely female form of the expensive three-dimensional fashion doll. The design of the paper doll books is usually different, for most show a child's undeveloped form. They are also different in terms of construction, for they do not consist of a body that is dressed but of a head and neck with multiple dressed bodies. The neck has a long tab that slides into slots in the backs of the elaborate outfits.

As a set, the paper doll books seem to imply both male and female readers. Many of the books feature didactic narratives—retellings of the "Prodigal Son plot" where a disobedient child leaves home, suffers reversals of fortune, has adventures, repents, and is accepted back into the family (Immel 2006). This basic plot is strongly inflected by gender and genre. The paper doll books for girls use the genre of the conduct book novel, a popular narrative form of the period intended for late adolescent readers, but adapt it to a story for young girls. In contrast, the narratives featuring boys have little moral didacticism and tend to concern real or imagined adventures, such as the example of Little Henry who is stolen from home, rises to prominence in the Navy, and returns home a boy hero.

Media theorist Janet Murray (1997) in her influential *Hamlet on the Holodeck* draws a key distinction between activity and agency in interactive media texts. She states that most media, whether a board game with dials or a computer with a mouse, keep the user busy but the child has no control over the outcome. By contrast, a game such as chess encourages agency. Similarly, the role of the implied child reader of the paper doll books seems to be restricted to the level of the activity of doll dressing while reading the didactic narrative (Reid-Walsh 2008). Yet, the affordances or capabilities of the design provide possibilities for play that suggest limited agency in terms of engaging with the narrative. Because of the textual fragments of the verses and loose episodic structure of the stories, it would be easy for a child reader/player to compose an addition that extends or subverts the text.

This type of play is indicated in *Frank Feignwell's Attempts to Amuse his Friends on Twelfth-Night*, a moveable book that can be seen online as part of the Hockliffe Collection of De Montfort University in England. Since I live in North America, my present access to the book is virtual and based on sight alone: black and white scans of the pages with the appropriate paper doll costume beside the corresponding verse. Fortunately, I have played with the standard print version of this book and others in the series in museums and libraries, so the story I deduce from the modified online version is actually based on comparisons drawn from my experience with the hard copy. The pretext for this book is a Regency boy dressing up in different dramatic costumes (such as king, barber, and judge) to entertain his Christmas guests.

As seen in Figure 14.2, an additional seventh figure and a new verse have been added by hand. With the exception of the elaborate Captain's hat and a sword, which have been added to the costume, the pose and dress of the figure appear identical to that in another boys' paper doll book, *The History and Adventures of Little Henry* (1810b), on the page where Henry is promoted to midshipman (15). This addition strongly suggests that the owner possessed both paper doll books or knew both well.

As Matthew Grenby observes, the added figure might reflect the occupation of one of the owner's family members since the final line of verse states that he will "ne'er bring disgrace on the clothes I now wear" (2001, para. 5).[1] Yet there is another possible interpretation. The inscription on the front cover states it was owned by a girl named "Charlotte Morris" and dated "Feb. 8, 1811." It is interesting to see that a girl owned an adventure paper doll book, not only didactic ones. Although an

Figure 14.2. Addition to Frank Feignwell's Attempts to Amuse his Friends on Twelfth-Night (available on the Hockliffe Collection website at http://www.cts.dmu.ac.uk/AnaServer?hockliffe+ 105329+imageset.anv).

expert in period handwriting could determine whose hand wrote the added episode, it is possible the girl owner was collaborating in the process by masquerading as a midshipman—in the spirit of the intent of the book but extending it to gender-crossing play, as well.

This addition suggests there were different ways for child players to engage with the paper doll books. Murray (1997) discusses how a media text may enable a child interactor some degree of agency but that this function is always limited. As she states, a player may be navigator, protagonist, explorer, and builder but never author (153). In the context of this chapter, the book tells us how the child or children in collaboration have turned themselves into a character in the narrative. Moreover, the added episode shows how the child or children have seized co-authorship: they have written and illustrated their own episode by inventing new material or modifying existing words and images. Thereby, the young middle-class girl owner has temporarily escaped the world of proper conduct and crossed into the genre of heroic romance.

A TOY THEATER PLAY OF RECYCLED AND MODIFIED SHEETS

Toy theaters are elaborate paper artifacts—encompassing a model stage, sheets of theatrical characters, stage scenery and wings, and a play script—enabling the

production of an abbreviated play. In early nineteenth-century England, they were popular with middle-class boys. Since it cost one penny for plain or uncolored sheets and two pence for the colored sheets, and accessories were extra, the boys often bought the items piecemeal with their pocket money (Reid-Walsh 2006).

Unlike the flap books and paper doll books, there are abundant examples of toy theater sets. There are also quite a few first-person retrospective accounts written by well-known men—including Charles Dickens, Robert Louis Stevenson, G. K. Chesterton, and Winston Churchill—that provide an insider perspective on toy theater play (Baldwin 1992). Since staging a full play was extremely difficult, their recollections suggest that nontraditional play created agency for the players. In most cases, these reminisces were written long after the men's toy theater play had finished and are heavily influenced by nostalgia. I consider that a more dispassionate account of nontraditional play could be 'told' by the artifactual memory of the toy theater set of one Victorian boy, Master Atkinson. The original set is housed in a private collection, but the collector gave me a set of color photocopies of the sheets: a playbill, character sheet, and several scenes. These sheets are all taken from different plays published by the founding publishers of the form in the 1810s and 1820s and are modified and recycled.[2]

Scrutinizing these materials, it is apparent from the playbill that "Master R. Atkinson" proposed to stage "Jack the Woodcutter's Son, or the Giants of Germany" for one night after Thursday, October 29, 1846, since this date has been struck through but no new date added. The play was apparently of the boy's invention, for no play of this name is listed in a union catalogue of toy theater plays, although there are similar titles such as a pantomime called *Jack and the Beanstalk or Jack the Giant Killer* (1819) and a melodrama titled *The Woodman's Hut, or the Burning Forest* (1817) (Speaight and the Society for Theatre Research 1999, 35, 42). By calling the modified play a "serio comic melodramatic spectacle," it seems that it is intended to be a pastiche. While the term serio-comic[3] had been in use since the late eighteenth century to refer to the presentation of a comic plot under a serious form, the other terms refer to types of popular drama turned into toy theater plays.

From the character sheet, it is apparent that most of the main characters are costumed appropriately for a fantastical or fairy tale plot. The final main character, a boy (presumably Jack), is not included but appears on a separate sheet, standing on a rope bridge over a gorge. The remaining four scenes represent an interior of a rustic cottage with a smoking fire about to consume the room, a rugged landscape, a cityscape about to be engulfed by a raging fire with explosions, and a tranquil interior scene of an inn and shop. The paratextual information on a number of sheets indicates what plays the sheets were originally published for.

The modified toy theater sheets tell intriguing fragments about the play practices of one boy. Like the paper doll book, they are a partial record of a child's play. Here the boy has used his collection in unintended ways by creatively taking the sheets out of context and re-using them in different ways. One familiar theme appears: the appeal of catastrophe in the two fire scenes. Indeed, the stylized representation of the

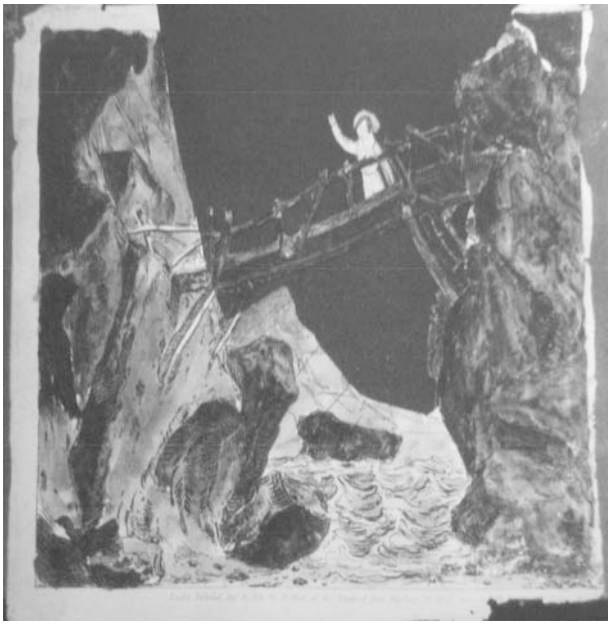

Figure 14.3. Boy on bridge in modified toy theater play sheet (From the Peter Baldwin Collection).

exploding fire in the cityscape recalls the exploding scene that concludes *The Miller and his Men*, the most popular toy theater play since its adaptation to the toy theater stage by William West in the early 1800s (Mayhew 1971).

The sheets also relay a frozen moment in a boy's narrative play, suggested by the depiction of the hero "Jack" in Figure 14.3. The little boy standing waving towards the audience is not costumed as if he were a character in a folk tale but as a middle-class boy in the Victorian period. This might suggest that the hero is the child director, Master R. Atkinson himself, and the inclusion is similar to the strategy in the modified paper doll book where the child or children have added an extra autobiographical figure. Moreover, the boy's gesture suggests that he is not in character at all but depicting himself as a performer in his own show for his friends.

Janet Murray's (1997) discussion of narrative agency is useful to apply here regarding her belief that the interactor is always excluded from assuming the function of author. Similarly, it would appear that the child director/producer of toy theater plays could never be the scriptwriter. Yet Master Atkinson's production suggests that such a process could occur in the play of an 'ordinary' middle-class child.

Furthermore, the way the boy re-used the toy theater sheets indicates that he was very knowledgeable about the conventions of theatrical play. He would be considered a fan today. Here, it is revealing to adapt Henry Jenkins's (1992) ideas in *Textual Poachers: Television Fans & Participatory Culture*. Jenkins analyzes

television fans who appropriate and rework content to produce their own artifacts as an interpretative practice. He relates this to de Certeau's ideas about the relation between writers and readers and sees the process as one of struggle over ownership of a text and control of meaning. Jenkins notes that de Certeau places writers and readers into opposition with one another: writers are the "institutionally sanctioned interpreters" of literary preserves (Jenkins 1992, 24). By contrast, "readers are travellers; they move across lands belonging to someone else, like nomads poaching their way across fields they do not write, despoiling the wealth of Egypt to enjoy it themselves" (de Certeau, quoted in Jenkins 1992, 24) Popular reading is accordingly a series of "advances and retreats, tactics, and games played with the text" and serves as a type of cultural bricolage whereby readers fragment texts according to their own blueprint in order to re-make meaning in light of their own experiences (de Certeau, quoted in Jenkins 1992, 26).

To Jenkins, fans occupy a similar position of cultural marginality and social weakness in relation to the cultural producers. Yet media fans exist in a social network through which individuals share the meaning-making process, and by the nature of their own products, they blur the boundaries between producers and consumers, spectators and participants (Jenkins 1992, 45). These insights can similarly be applied to Master Atkinson's toy theater play. The boy's act of making his own drama through recycling bought sheets could be considered as a subversive tactic against the pressure to buy more sheets and collect more plays. Like a television fan, he is taking and reusing the content of scenery and characters from older media (at the time of his play in the 1840s, some of the sheets were twenty or thirty years old) to create a collage form for his own play. Again, similar to Jenkins's fans, who are part of a cultural community and may publish their fan fiction on websites, the young boy by devising, advertising, and (presumably) staging his play is seeking to go beyond his isolated status as a (re)writer of a text. By performing his play, the boy is 'publishing' his work. By placing his work in front of a knowledgeable audience, the boy is also seeking either to formulate or to consolidate a community.

CONCLUSION: MOVEABLE BOOKS 'TELLING' SNIPPETS OF ARTIFACTUAL MEMORY

Books are mute. Similarly, there is a muteness of ordinary children of the past who have not left diaries, journals, or letters for posterity. As seen from this discussion of historical moveable books and their child interactors, the artifactual memory approach seeks to begin to give voice to both the silent artifacts and their owners so as to uncover or recover fragmentary articulations of children's agency.

This chapter has analyzed three different types of moveable books, stored in material and virtual collections, as instances of artifactual memory: an eighteenth-century flap book, an early nineteenth-century paper doll book, and a mid-nineteenth-century toy theater play. I have approached them as miniature interactive museum exhibits which, because of their design encourage the visitor to engage with them through the senses

(Chronis 2006). Extending a book history technique from bio-bibliography that studies marginalia of readers to determine the relationship between readers and their books, I have focused on artifacts that have been modified by the child owners: through writing inscriptions, adding a narrative episode, or reworking the existing material components. In so doing, I have discovered fragmentary stories that the books tell about their transactional relation with their owners (Finkelstein and McCleery 2005).

By looking at and, where possible, by touching and manipulating the parts of the moveable books, I have discovered three fragments of autobiographical accounts by these books about their lives as objects read and played with by their child owners. In terms of their life histories, the flap book called *The Moralist* had a long period of use, or life, as an object written on by different generations of girls from 1771 until 1824 and handed down between generations of family members. I do not know how long the modified paper doll book *Frank Feignwell's Attempts to Amuse his Friends on Twelfth-Night* was in circulation in a family, only that it was owned by a girl in 1811 when this type of hybrid book became popular and that the child obviously possessed or had access to the other component (*The History and Adventures of Little Henry*)—both adventure narratives featuring boys. The toy theater re-composition "Jack the Woodcutter's Son, or the Giants of Germany" featured sheets from a number of plays from the 1810s and 1820s re-used by a child in the mid-1840s, which could suggest an intergenerational sharing by family members collecting the sheets.

Similarly, the books 'tell' tantalizing tidbits of autobiographical information about their owners, which provoke more questions. With the flap book, the placement of some of the names opposite a harsh dictum could indicate that the girls were taking a position with respect to its relentless logic about girls' behavior. With the paper doll book, perhaps the girl owner and a boy relative collaborated to interpolate a new episode of a present, future, or fantasy career into the text by extending the narrative by word and image. In this way, they become co-creators of the book. In the toy theater reconstruction, a boy reformulated (or 'repurposed') older materials into a new artifact based on the logic of recycling or collage, and by planning a performance of his new play, he seizes the agency of authorship. As I further refine this method of artifactual memory and analyze other little known early moveable books for and by children, I will be able to hear more snippets of stories told by the books about themselves as objects and about their child owners and readers as players.

Studying the fragments of narratives these artifacts tell is part of a larger comparative project on interactive narrative media texts for children, ranging from seventeenth-century flap books to twenty-first-century computer games (Reid-Walsh 2008). Media on paper platforms (called supports) and digital platforms have aspects of continuity as well as difference in terms of design and use. Looking back at old media and their players in order to better understand both early and new media and their players is a productive remembering project in itself that enables me to analyze design, play, affordances, and children's activity and agency in

different periods. It contributes to a revised understanding of the history of Anglo-American texts by and for children, from their beginnings up until the present day. At the same time, the project serves to rectify the muteness of past child readers/players. More than anything it is possible that this work can put child readers/players of the past in dialogue with the articulate DIY (Do-It-Yourself) youth media culture of today.

NOTES

[1] Matthew Grenby speculates that the verse may be written by the child or children or copied from another source. Neither he nor I have been able to locate a source as yet. (Private conversation, February 18, 2011)

[2] These belong to a leading expert in toy theaters, Mr. Peter Baldwin.

[3] The Oxford Dictionary Online defines the term as follows: "Partly serious and partly comic; (of an actor, vocalist, etc. or his performance) presenting a comic plot, situation, etc. under a serious form" (http://oed.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/176475, accessed June 7, 2011).

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RAN TAO

15. THROUGH THE LENS OF SOCIAL MEMORY: STUDYING YOUTH SEXUALITY AND CONDOM USE IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

Young people represent one of the groups most vulnerable to HIV infection. A recent estimation from UNAIDS (2008) shows that young people aged fifteen to twenty-four account for an estimated 45 percent of new HIV infections worldwide. In China, approximately 60 percent of HIV infections are estimated to occur among young people aged fifteen to twenty-nine (Xinhua News Agency 2003), with unsafe heterosexual practices being the predominant transmission mode (Mills 2003). Interventions to promote young people's protective behaviors, as Weiss, Whelan, and Gupta (2000) highlighted, are based on an understanding of the socioeconomic context of the lives of young women and men, on the sexual meanings in their culture, and on the gender dynamics in intimate relationships. This chapter explores the sociocultural meanings of physicality and sexuality being constructed within Chinese culture. In the context of youth as cultural producers (Buckingham 1993), this chapter examines young people's own accounts of life experiences related to sexuality in China and prioritizes the meanings that these youth themselves give to sex and sexuality.

Meaning and memory are inextricably related (Mills and Walker 2008, 6). Meanings that are stored in memories inform the present and guide the future (Cattell and Climo 2002). As Nielsen claimed, memory is not a simple recollection or reflection of experience but "a social construct through which the past is brought to bear on the present" (2008, 207). Incorporating these ideas, this chapter explores Chinese young people's understandings of sexuality and the meanings they attribute to it through the tool of social memory using the object condoms for "productive remembering" (see Chapter One of this book). It explains how traditional gender norms and sexual knowledge, which reside in memories of young people, influence sexual beliefs and practices. To begin with, I highlight the condom as a site of memory, situating the discussion within the larger context of social memory and materiality. Next, I explain the methods used to talk about and explore condoms and sexuality with youth participants in my study. Finally, I examine the meanings arising out of my study that show how the condom is a cultural code laden with sexual discourses/knowledge from Chinese history that inform and shape young people's actions in the present day.

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 213–224.

THE CONDOM AS A SITE OF MEMORY

China has more than 2,000 years of history of condom use (All-China Women's Federation 2009). The condom itself is a cultural artifact that symbolically constitutes and transmits memories and meanings of physicality and sexuality within Chinese culture (Tao and Mitchell, 2012). Using this object as a site of memory can yield rich stories about sexuality among Chinese youth. Moreover, working from the premise that "the best way to initiate communication about sex with young people is to bring up the subject of condoms" (Lipton 2005, 103), this object can be used to elicit young people's personal accounts of sex and sexuality. Young people's conceptions of condom use demonstrate how they understand risks and safety and how they might deal with the negotiation of their sexual relationships. As Holland et al. (1998) emphasized, the ways in which young women think about sex and negotiate condom use in sexual encounters play a critical part in HIV prevention programs around the world. This chapter thus seeks to provide a better understanding of how young Chinese women (and men) see sexuality and condom use in the hope of reconceptualizing and better implementing sex education in China.

SOCIAL MEMORY, MATERIAL CULTURE, AND MATERIALITY

Memory studies is developing into an interdisciplinary area cutting across many fields, including psychology, philosophy, literature, sociology, anthropology, and archaeology (Cattell and Climo 2002; Mills and Walker 2008; Olick and Robbins 1998). Concepts of memory also have evolved over time. Halbwachs (1992) distinguished memory as a number of different types of memory—including autobiographic memory, historical memory, and collective memory—and he saw collective memory as prominent in terms of the significant role of group dynamics in shaping individual recalling and remembering in a coherent and persistent fashion. The primacy of collective memory also lies in the fact that thoughts about the world are constituted upon agreed versions of the past through collective communication rather than upon individual, private remembrance (Cattell and Climo 2002).

I choose to use in this chapter the term social memory, which highlights the many different social contexts in which memories are made as well as the importance of individuals as members of social groups in memory work (Fentress and Wickham 1992; Mills and Walker 2008). Social memory is commonly defined as "the means by which information is transmitted among individuals and groups and from one generation to another. Not necessarily aware that they are doing so, individuals pass on their behaviours and attitudes to others in various contexts but especially through emotional and practical ties and in relationships among generations" (Crumley 2002, 39). I use social memory for two purposes. First, I look at how the condom has been shaped by social context—a context that is changing in tandem with the development of Chinese societies—and what this signifies. Second, I explore the engagement of participants as social subjects in my study and highlight the importance of

their agency in remembering and narrating. I privilege personal expression and interpretation of experiences through individual memories and voices, which are integral to collective social memory.

Social memory is constructed and reconstructed through social practices (Bourdieu 1977), which always "link people and things through time in the process of shaping history" (Mills 2008, 83). In other words, people constitute and transmit social memory through their interaction with other people and with a rich variety of material culture, such as artifacts, objects, and buildings (Mills and Walker 2008). As Nielsen (2008) pointed out, material culture—alongside language and bodily practice—is an active medium for social memory construction. And the difficulty of the analytical distinction of the three media has been recognized. The growing recognition of the intersection between people and material culture is indicated in an important change within the literature on "things" from the use of "material culture" to the use of "materiality" (Mills and Walker 2008). Materiality refers to "the material dimension of practice" (Nielsen 2008, 208); it highlights the active role of materials in interaction with humans in a social process. As Joyce explained, the concept of materiality promotes a series of shifts of emphasis to new understandings of materials as the active medium of experience, to "a new appreciation of the agency of humans and nonhumans," and to "the ways that knowledge is bound up in relation to persons and things" (2008, 26). In this frame, history is understood not merely as something that people (subjects) live and experience but rather a process in which humans and nonhumans, subjects and objects, are associated and intersect with each other over time. Human agents and materials—subjects and objects—play collaborative roles in history making and memory construction and transmission (Mills and Walker 2008).

THE STUDY: TALKING ABOUT CONDOMS AND EXPLORING SEXUALITY WITH CHINESE YOUTH

In this section, I draw on my work with twenty-five students in the English department of a university in China, which aimed to explore Chinese young people's sexuality in the age of AIDS (Tao 2009; Tao and Mitchell 2010). For the study, I organized three focus group discussions (two with mixed-sex groups and one with a single-sex group of young women) involving sixteen participants—ten female and six male. In recognition of the facilitative role of group dynamics in eliciting individual memories, as highlighted by Halbwachs (1992), group discussions not only invoked the participants' thoughts and stories about condom use and sexuality but also helped them to organize their emerging memories. Creating a comfortable environment for open and collective talk was especially important. It helped to challenge cultural restraint in talking about sensitive topics while offering a space in which young people's memories could be recalled, reshaped, and transmitted.

To help mobilize young people's engagement in memory work, I used photovoice (Mitchell, Walsh, and Moletsane 2006; Wang 1999)—a participatory visual method

in which participants explore their understanding of certain issues through the taking and captioning of photographs—and photo elicitation (Harper 2002)—a strategy of using images in interviews to "evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words" (Harper 2002, 13). To elicit participants' thoughts, stories, and memories, I used a photo that was taken and captioned by a female participant of a condom vending machine (see Figure 15.1).

Figure 15.1. "The words prominently displayed on the cover of the condom-selling machine are: Contraception, Unexpected Pregnancy. Below the highlighted characters were provided free-charge aid phone lines ready for 24 hours. The red ribbon is not widely recognized as the symbol for the HIV/AIDS awareness, but no explanation is given here. Besides, this machine looks unfunctional—maybe cannot provide condoms. The cracks in the wall underneath the machine implicitly signify its break-down. Most people are conservative and would feel ashamed to approach the machine for condoms. Being ignorant of knowledge of HIV/AIDS, they tend to see condoms merely as a contraceptive measure."

Condom vending machines are commonly installed in cities and are also found in some rural areas in present-day China. On my way to the university where I carried out my study, I saw quite a number of condom vending machines scattered across the city: at street corners, beside neighborhood grocery stores, and near hotels. A surprising and interesting phenomenon that I noticed was that most of them looked weather-beaten, rusty, and worn-out, as illustrated in Figure 15.1. Some of the machines looked as if they had been deliberately sabotaged. Who had done this? Were adolescents responsible or were adults to blame? Why had they done this? I brought these questions into the focus group discussions with the three groups of participants. I first showed the picture of the condom vending machine and then introduced the topic of condoms. I hoped that the image of the machine (and condoms) could serve as a catalyst for recalling and reshaping participants' memories about condoms—memories that helped to constitute these young people's conceptions of sex and sexuality.

But such a catalyst is only successful if the ideas or stories that are provoked resonate among group members. In the single-sex group of young women, group members frequently nodded their heads when one of the participants told a story about a condom vending machine that was installed along her daily route to middle school:

> When I was a middle school student a couple of years ago, I took a short-cut road every day, for it saved me much time to get to school. But one day, I noticed that there was a condom vending machine installed along that road. From then on, every time I passed by the machine, I felt uncomfortable and embarrassed, especially in the presence of other passers-by. I even dared not give a glance at the device for fear of being noticed of doing that. It seemed as if a glimpse at the machine showed that you had interest in the condoms in it, and you would get some for sex. Sometime later, I decided to quit that road and take another one, which took me longer time to school. What was surprising and interesting is that I was not alone in this case. I found later that some of my classmates had the same response to the machine as I did, having to circumvent it on purpose. (Field notes, May 26, 2007)

The condom vending machine was installed with the purpose of limiting unwanted pregnancy and sexual infections by bringing convenient, easy access to condoms to the residents of the neighborhood. However, as manifested in the above story, the machine brought inconvenience and uneasiness to passers-by as well as shame to the road on which it was installed. As a sign of sex or immoral sex, it broke the tranquility of the neighborhood. This young woman's story might offer some explanation for why condom vending machines were deliberately damaged. Importantly, the resonance of her story with other group members illustrates how and why individuals, as important members of social groups, are propelled to engage in memory work and how they share and collaboratively construct collective social memory.

Indeed, triggered by the condom machine story, another young woman in the group shared her story related to condoms:

> I was doing some shopping in a department store when I accidently went close to the counter selling contraceptive products. I was not wearing my glasses that day, so I took the glittering covers of condoms for, like, candies. Wanting to make sure what they were, I was bending to stare at the "candies." Some minutes later, I felt people around me casting sidelong glances at me. I looked up and caught the face of that middle-aged female saleswoman. Written on her serious-looking face were surprise, anger, and scorn. Immediately, I realized that I must have entered an area where I was not supposed to be, and then dashed out of the store, flushed. (Field notes, May 26, 2007)

Obviously, the stigma culturally associated with condoms persists today and prevents Chinese youth from seeing condoms simply as a means of protection from infections. Moreover, with the current situation of limited sex education in China (Shan 2009), lack of knowledge about condoms and other sexual health topics keeps young people from realizing the value of condoms in STI/HIV prevention. Even though they take condom use as an effective contraceptive measure, many of them do not know how to use condoms or use them correctly. A young woman in one of the mixed-sex groups told her condom story:

> I studied at a boarding high school. It has an incredibly sexually liberal climate to the extent that male students blew up condom balloons and played with them in class breaks. We had a classmate—handsome, energetic, and tall. He was popular among girls. A girl would become his girlfriend and would have sex with him in order to win his heart. That day, they stayed in the boy's dorm room and attempted to have this important thing realized while the boy's good friends—five boys—were guarding the door in case the boy's roommates might interrupt them. I heard that they spent more than one hour trying to put on a condom but finally had to give it up. They tried seven condoms. (Field notes, May 26, 2007)

As demonstrated in this story, sexual knowledge is still very limited among Chinese youth, even though they tend to have sexual encounters at an earlier age than previous generations. Much easier access to condoms than in the past does not necessarily bring people a better chance of self-protection.

As the group discussions continued, the question was raised about whether the man or the woman should provide condoms in sexual encounters. Most participants saw it as a "guy's thing" to supply the condoms because, as they explained, girls would be considered to be "sluts" if they had condoms in their purses. It was also shameful for girls to buy condoms in grocery stores. Male-domination is highly appreciated by Confucianism, which has a strong impact upon Chinese culture and tradition. It has penetrated into the fabric of Chinese social life and familial life and influenced people's behaviors. Gender inequality has been passed on from one

generation to the next through various modes of communication and representation, among which are material objects such as condoms. This thread of discussion led to a related one on who should initiate sex in a relationship. A young man who was widely seen as an excellent student and who had been elected head of the students' union in the English department shared his view:

> I have no girlfriend, and neither did I in the past. When I get involved in a relationship in the future, I will take control of the relationship and marriage. Man should dominate every aspect of a relationship and social life. I am from a small town, where families have been structured in this way for a long time. My mom, my aunts, and female relatives follow and respect their husbands, and they form stable and loving relationships. Since man is supposed to control a relationship, I think it unacceptable for a woman to initiate sex. If my future wife initiates sex, I will forgive her for the first time and only once but will warn her of not doing it again. . . . It should be a man who provides condoms.
>
> (Field notes, April 23, 2007)

This young man's view clearly follows the accepted societal view. However, I did find that young women were increasingly aware of self-protection and autonomy over their own bodies. And two young women even admitted that they would initiate sex if they wanted to:

> Yes, I will. Why not? If I want that, I'll do it.
>
> (Author: Aren't you afraid of being thought of as casual or cheap?)
>
> No, I am not. I want to do it with my boyfriend, not with other guys. I think he understands. And definitely I will use condoms. It protects me from getting pregnant, STIs . . . . If he does not want to use condoms, then we will not have sex.
>
> (Field notes, April 25, 2007)

In face of the fact that the majority of female participants and many other people in society thought that initiating sex was a "guy's thing," these two young women's attitudes are significantly meaningful. They signal a gradual awakening of female sexual consciousness that has been suppressed and kept dormant for thousands of years. Young women are beginning to break with the gender roles imposed on women in traditional China as well as in the Maoist era, which reduced them to sexual objects, reproductive tools, or asexual beings. An awareness of themselves as sexual beings is emerging. Young men in urban China are also coming to accept and appreciate such profound changes in young women. When asked what reactions they have to their girlfriends initiating sex, some young men said they feel it is natural and acceptable because they believe that young women's sexual drives are no different from their own. This transformation in Chinese young people's sexual ideas reveals that individualized and freedom-orientated sexual values are being constructed among urban youth in contemporary China. However, it needs to be noted that in the

macro context of contemporary Chinese society, gender disparity is still prevalent. The empowerment of women as active agents in their sexual experiences and life situations should be the focus of efforts to curb the spread of STIs and HIV. In examining participants' readings of the condom machine and resulting discussions on condoms and incorporating what I saw and heard about condoms during my field work in China, it is apparent that culture weighs heavily on the meanings assigned to condoms, creating what could be termed an active cultural code.

MAKING MEANING OF YOUTH RESPONSES: CONDOMS AS A CULTURAL CODE

By looking at the social memory of the condom among contemporary Chinese youth as part of continuous, evolving social memories of sexuality across Chinese society, we can see the condom functioning not only as a sign of changing sexual culture in China but also as an object with agency that has influenced the sexual lives of the Chinese in different periods of history. The condom can help us to better understand youth sexuality in contemporary China and to foresee the status of Chinese youth sexuality in the future.

THE CONDOM AS A SIGN OF CHANGING SEXUAL CULTURE

People's conceptions of the condom in different historical periods reflect the transformation of their sexual values and subjectivities as well as the change of sexual norms. Thus the condom can be seen as a sign of changing sexual culture. Social memory, which is shaped by beliefs and values, tends to sustain and reproduce cultural norms and gendered relations (Cattell and Climo 2002; Connerton 1989). The condom, when located within Chinese contexts, can be read as a site for social memory that operates to reinforce traditional sexual and gender norms for both condom users and nonusers.

Central to the conventional sexual discourses being constructed across Chinese society is sexual negativism. Confucian philosophy condemns sex as something bad and obscene as well as dangerous to the stability of families and the nation (Ruan 1991). Maoist ideologies, which have had a profound effect on the Chinese for the past several decades, were influenced by the Confucian view. Furthermore, the Maoist regime politically and ideologically denounced sexual pleasure and desire as degenerative and reactionary against China's new socialist advancement (see also Tao and Mitchell, 2012). Talk about sex was silenced; any sexual behavior not purposely recreational was considered corrupt and consequently was constrained. The sexual object—the condom—was constantly associated with shame, stigma, and embarrassment. Only those who were legitimately married were entitled to condom use. For those unmarried, using condoms meant engagement in disgraceful, immoral behavior (premarital and extramarital sex).

In traditional Chinese norms, women are positioned as inferior to men, as was touched on in the focus group discussions with youth. According to Confucianism,

woman is incomplete and worthless—an appendage dependent on man and subject to male authority throughout life (Gallagher 2001). In appreciating the subservience of women to men and wives to husbands, the Confucian value system restricts and suppresses the sexuality of Chinese women and their control over their bodies. Because men are the sole determiners of whether condoms or other contraceptive methods are used, condoms transmit and consolidate the idea of female sexual passivity and male domination in relationships.

Fortunately, however, gender inequalities and the sexual meanings attributed to condoms are not permanently fixed in tradition; instead, they are in flux in response to changing socio-economic circumstances, which shape people's sexual beliefs and values and social memory. The People's Republic of China, established in 1949, legislated gender equality for the first time in Chinese history, and the 1950 Marriage Law gave Chinese women legal rights to protect their equality to men and monogamy. They were enfranchised with the same political rights as men with the passing of the 1953 Electoral Law (Hall 1997). Since then, Chinese women have been afforded more opportunities and a broader scale of choice and freedom in social life. Nevertheless, given the historical and cultural endurance of Chinese traditions, the male-oriented Confucian dogma still permeated and influenced all aspects of human life in contemporary China up until the early 1980s (Bond 1996). Mass media was also responsible for the reproduction of patriarchal relations, frequently seducing women into a false consciousness that they abided by uncritically (Hermes 1995). These factors among others (e.g., lack of social and economic power for women in patriarchal, rural areas) interacted to undermine women's capability to negotiate and take control in their sexual relationships and lives. So despite the legislation passed on gender equality, no major change occurred to the sexual discourses stored in social memory and conveyable by the physical medium of condoms until the 1960s and 70s.

Chinese sexual conceptions and values have begun to transform noticeably since the early 1980s, when China opened its door to the outside world and initiated an economic reform. The open-door policy led to the influx of various ideas, values, and ways of seeing things in the world. Prominent among them were Western notions of sexual liberation and sexual freedom. These penetrated Chinese society via mass media and challenged Chinese sexual norms. With the growing impact of Western sexual values, especially upon China's younger generation, people's ideas, conceptions, and behavior in relation to sexuality began experiencing radical transformation, to the extent that a sexual revolution has been identified in contemporary China (Pan 1993, 2006). The dramatic change in sexual beliefs and values leading to the transformation of social memory is embodied in the change in the ways the Chinese name and rename condoms (see Tao and Mitchell, 2012). Condoms were called "contraceptive sheaths" (*biyuntao*) in the Maoist era; "safety sheaths" (*anquantao*) in the 1980s and 90s; and now *taotao*, with the implication of fondness and intimacy. In my fieldwork with young people, the use of *taotao* was found to be preferable to the use of *anquantao* while *biyuntao* scarcely used.

Virtually all the female and male participants in my study said that they used (or would use) condoms if involved in sex. Today, Chinese people, especially youth, tend to see the condom as a commodity that protects against unwanted pregnancy and sexual infections. The evolution of condom names is a strong marker of the liberal progression of sexual values and moral standards among the Chinese.

THE CONDOM: AN OBJECT WITH AGENCY

Looking back at the modern history of condoms in Chinese society, we can also note another interesting phenomenon: Condoms have not simply been used as contraceptives. Condoms possess agency, intervening with people's sexual behavior and beliefs. For example, in Maoist times—particularly in the 1960s and 70s—the Communist Party government distributed a limited number of condoms on a monthly basis to married couples only, making this kind of contraception as well as other kinds (i.e., contraceptive rings and pills) unavailable to people who were not legitimately married. Although low-volume condom production at the time might have accounted for the planned allocation of condoms to family units, it is clear that condoms were used as a tool to manage and discipline the general population's sexual lives. The objects were imbued with power by the institution to control the bodies of the Chinese.

The maintaining and strengthening of the newly-established communist enterprise was set as the national mission for all people in China and led to intense sexual negativism among the Chinese (Whelehan 2009). Sexual engagements—except for the purpose of creating successors for the communist cause—were defined as corrupted and capitalistic and were consequently condemned as reactionary and dangerous to the national cause (see Tao and Mitchell, 2012). This political and ideological condemnation of human sexuality that was centered on the provision of condoms gave condoms the agency, in a sense, to influence people's conceptualizations and behaviors related to sexuality.

In contemporary times, the condom brings back its representations of sexual negativism and female obedience as constructed in Chinese history, which operate to influence present-day sexual beliefs and behaviors of the Chinese as discussed earlier. "Through symbolic codes, objects invoke representations of the past that inform people's action" (Hodder 1992, quoted in Nielsen 2008, 209). In this sense, the object—condoms—contributes to "turning the past into a shaping force of current practice" (Nielsen 2008, 209).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has offered a historical look at the interactions of people and condoms over a range of Chinese social contexts and has revealed people's conceptions and meanings of sex, sexuality, and condoms as social constructions. It has also explained how the understandings that people had in the past about sexuality,

which are represented by condoms and stored in social memory, have become a shaping force upon present-day Chinese youth, influencing their sexual beliefs and behaviors. Social memory, in this regard, not only bridges the gap between past and present but also acts with agency to intervene in the present. Memory-work appears to be an effective tool to construct the present-day meanings that Chinese young people attribute to sexuality; the object (the condom) as a medium of experience and memory is significant in breaking the silence on sexual topics and in constituting young people's thoughts and stories about sexuality. The chapter has demonstrated the great potential of social memory in studying sexuality and invites us to consider using this tool to explore other sensitive and complex issues in social science research.

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PART III

THE FUTURE OF MEMORY STUDIES

SUSANNAH RADSTONE

16. TELLING MEMORY'S STORY: MEMORY STUDIES FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

How can we start to tell memory's story? If the narrative of the emergence and history of memory studies is difficult to inscribe, the envisioning of its most productive future(s) is no less problematic. There are, to begin with, many different and competing views of what constitutes, or what ought to constitute, this emergent subject area (and there are competing views, also, about whether memory studies is best described, indeed, *as* a subject).[1] As I write, a number of memory studies handbooks, readers, and companions are reaching or are about to emerge onto library shelves,[2] demonstrating through their distinctiveness the range of competing versions of memory studies currently in play. Though they begin, in their different ways, to map the field(s) of memory studies, these volumes restrict themselves to largely Western and, in all but one case, Anglophone perspectives, including research undertaken in the main within the Humanities and to a lesser extent the Social Sciences.

But it seems like I've started to tell the story of memory studies already, and up until my last comment, in terms that pretended to a degree of objectivity and neutrality. However, it is here that the real problems with telling this story begin—not with the challenges posed to narrativisation by the provisionality, extent, and diversity of memory studies but with questions of memory and narrative themselves. One of the fundamental insights provided by memory research is that memory constructs the past *in the present*. So any story that I might tell about the history and development of memory studies will be a story that I tell from, and inside, not just the present but my present. This story, far from preceding its narrativisation, will come into being through my acts of remembrance and through my telling. But memory is never purely personal. And if it was true in 1998 that social memory studies was "a field that ironically has little organized memory of its own" (Olick and Robbins 1998, 106), those venturing into that field now will encounter something more like a 'phantasmagoria'[3] than a silent and empty lecture theatre.

If telling the story of memory studies is fraught with difficulties, it is insights from memory research, together with studies of historiography and narrative, that have revealed those difficulties to us. If we start by attempting to describe the current state of the field or where memory studies is now, our mappings of this field will be informed—whether explicitly or implicitly, intentionally or inadvertently—by our own disciplinary positions, interdisciplinary trajectories, theoretical predilections,

T. Strong-Wilson et al., (Eds.), Productive Remembering and Social Agency, 227–241.

political convictions, and geographic locations. If histories, locations, and convictions militate against the possibility of producing an objective or value-free mapping of the field, these are, at least, factors that can, to a degree, be acknowledged. Studies of historiography and of memory help us to see, however, that our tellings of the past are still more complexly forged than we have yet grasped—and in ways that may elude our capacity for acknowledgement or analysis. History, like literature, will, to begin with, be plotted in the modes of tragedy, satire, comedy, or romance, for instance (White 1974). The short history of the transformation of memory research into the institutionalised subject area of memory studies might be plotted as a tragic fall, for example, and it would, of course, be slipping towards satire to suggest that my example is hardly, in itself, unpartisan. But history is itself made up of all manner of stuff, including our own and others' memories of the past. As memory research has insistently shown, memories are never simply our own. The culture that has formed us informs our remembering. The memories that we produce in the testimonies collected by oral historians, for instance, will partake of the myths, folk tales, and stories (Passerini 2009) through which we are brought to life. But this is not to say that our memories are simply made for us or that the ways that we remember are pre-determined by the cultural repertoires that we inherit. Memory research shows us, instead, that though far from being unambiguously ours, the samplings and bricolages that make up what we call 'our' memories do tell our story—yet not always, perhaps, the story that we might wish to tell. For example, research on memory and cinema has shown that the memories that we take to be ours may be composite images that draw on, among other things, remembered film images. Research into memory's entanglements with cinema has also gone on to show that the binding that melds together images from personal memory with images from the cinema is the psychical mediation of cinema—a mediation that produces cinema/memories cut to the measure of unconscious desire (Radstone 2010). As Annette Kuhn's own memory work has demonstrated, the inner scenes that result from the interweaving of memory with cinema images locate us within national and cultural imaginaries. But the subtle discrepancies between cinema images and inner scenes demonstrate not just memory's irrevocable inseparability from culture but also the universal and yet highly specific and subjective play of unconscious fantasy. A primal scene fantasy may be responsible, for instance, for shifts of location that produce remembered scenes in which we put ourselves at the heart of the action (Kuhn 1995).[4] The terms through which memory, culture, and the national imaginary become interwoven are, then, both ours and not ours. Culture remembers us within its national and other imaginary spaces—spaces that are themselves subject to the displacements, fantasies, and desires that constitute the unconscious dimensions of life and of memory.

The preceding account of memory's vicissitudes has emphasised space, but time, too, is implicated in the difficulties inherent in telling the story of memory studies. As Laplanche and Pontalis (1988) have shown us, the inner world of memory does not offer us anything like a straightforward representation of the past. While for

Laplanche and Pontalis there is something carried forward from the past that re-emerges in the present, memories are also subject to deferred action—a process of revision brought about by the play of present conditions.[5] In particular, "whatever it has been impossible in the first instance to incorporate fully into a meaningful context" (Laplanche and Pontalis 1988, 112) will later become subject to revision, explain the authors, in the context of new circumstances and fresh experiences that "allow the subject to gain access to a new level of meaning and to rework his earlier experiences" (112). So how to tell the story of memory studies when what it teaches us, amongst so much else, is that our memories of the past are utterly caught up not only with the forces, schemas, and structures of culture, ideology, and power but also with subjective forces that entwine the past with the present and merge the personal and the public through the refractions of unconscious process.

In exploring what memory studies can teach us about the difficulties of describing its history and projecting its future, as I have been invited to do, I have already begun to tell a very particular story—a story that foregrounds theorists whose work matters to me and disciplinary areas with which I am most familiar. My emphases and references highlight work, thinkers, and perspectives that have been of particular significance in my own 'journey through memory' (Kuhn 2000). And given all of the conditions of telling and remembering that I've already discussed, it seems to me that this is the best that I can do—to offer not an account of memory studies but a much more located description of recent encounters—acknowledging all the while that this story will be formed out of a very specific intellectual history and by the determining force of the present in its shaping of the lineaments of these memories of my recent past.

LOCATING MEMORY STUDIES

I came to memory research by way of an intellectual journey through British cultural studies, feminist psychoanalytic theory, and a film/literature PhD on women and confession. After abandoning a degree in English Literature at Sussex University ten years previously, I restarted my education in 1980, having been told by a colleague at the radical and socialist bookshop at which I then worked (though at this stage I was hardly the most politically educated of people) that a new and very interesting degree was about to recruit its first students. Happily, I was offered a place. As a mature student in the first cohort of the first British undergraduate degree in cultural studies at what was then the North East London Polytechnic (NELP), I was taught by a group of lecturers whose intellectual and political passions were palpable and whose links with the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) and with its then Director, Stuart Hall, ran deeply through personal as well as intellectual lives. This was an inspiring and life-transforming education. At NELP, the cultural studies that we learnt taught us each day that every aspect of life is, in some sense, deeply political—all aspects of life, culture, and experience being inextricably part of, and active within, networks of power and desire. Yet this was a

cultural studies that eschewed both the flattening of experience into the categories of the already known and the deadening of history into the endlessly predictable (as some forms of political education are apt to do). With its intellectual foundations in the post-Gramscian political and cultural theory developed under Stuart Hall at the CCCS,[6] it conceived of the present not in terms of its inevitability but rather in terms of unstable alliances and conjunctures forged within history's turbulent crucible. History as both made *and* for the making; consciousness as determined *and* mutable. This was a cultural studies with its roots in history but with its gaze fixed upon but never transfixed by the present.

Memory, then, was there, in a sense, from the start. There in cultural studies' determination to take everyday experience seriously (experience was and remains an absolutely central though endlessly elusive concept for cultural studies), there in its emphasis on the importance of a fully historicised analysis of culture, there in its negotiations with that most irritating and yet, at that time, seemingly indispensible concept of ideology. Various groups at the CCCS had indeed begun to research and publish on the theme of Popular Memory during the 1980s,[7] though few could have imagined then how freighted and fecund memory research was rapidly to become.

One of the most critical and defining aspects of the cultural studies that formed me was its engagement with the question of the relationship between politics and subjectivity or, put slightly differently, between the inner and outer worlds. A challenge within cultural studies was to re-think those concepts that were, in a sense, both its patrimony and its burden—ideology, false consciousness—in terms that spoke to the suppleness and complexity of lived cultural negotiations. Psychoanalysis—which offered a powerful means to interrogate the inner world's relations with and resistances of culture and its forces, as feminism had already compellingly and yet controversially asserted (Mitchell 1974)—was a powerful influence at NELP. The cultural studies faculty comprised cultural theorists *and* historians, bringing together, for instance, research and teaching on the psychoanalytic film theory of the 1970s and 1980s with lectures on those radical oral histories that were aiming at that time to elicit and record other voices—voices of women, of the working class, of ethnic minorities.[8] But, as many were beginning to point out, memory exists in the present; hence we can speak of the oral historian's interaction not simply with the past but "with the past within living memory" (Bornat 1989, 16). It is hardly surprising that in a context where oral history was being taught alongside psychoanalytic 'screen theory'[9] and feminist psychoanalytic theory, the view that oral history interviews offered a clear 'window' into the past was always going to be untenable. Gradually, then, a new set of questions began to emerge. By concentrating on the nuanced living of culture and of power, 'our' cultural studies had already striven to undo the overly determinist and one-way theories of ideology that it had inherited from sociology and Marxism. For this committedly historicised and political cultural studies, memory now promised to open up other dimensions of experience or of living. With its attunement to the temporal and what I hesitate to call the historical[10] dimensions of lived experience, the study of memory promised to enhance understandings of

the living of culture and the living of power by contributing an understanding of memory as the living, or the life of 'the past' in the present.[11]

The links between CCCS, NELP, and the radical history publication *History Workshop Journal* had always run deep but were further emphasised in 1995 by Raphael Samuel's appointment to a Chair within our School at NELP (now re-named the University of East London) to which I had by then returned, as a lecturer. Samuel, the foremost socialist historian of his time and the founding editor of *History Workshop Journal*, took up his post and established his research centre (now the Raphael Samuel History Centre[12]) in what turned out to be the last year of his life—the year following the publication of his vast, eclectic, and brilliant *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (1994). With its emphasis on 'the past in the present' and on 'contemporary culture,' the volume's title alone underlines memory's increasing salience for contemporary cultural and historical enquiry. Meanwhile, *Theatres of Memory*'s cornucopic assemblage of chapters on topics including heritage, photography, and film ushered in, in Samuel's inimitable idiom, a broad-based approach to memory—not just as that which 'belongs' to individuals but also as a fully political, affective, and representational dimension of culture and the public sphere.

For the last several years, my own research—inflected always through psychoanalytic ways of thinking—has remained powerfully indebted to the intellectual history that I inherited from cultural studies, from feminist psychoanalytic theory, and from cine-psychoanalysis (or psychoanalytic cinema studies) so that for me, the field of memory research forms part of a much broader field of cultural enquiry engaged with the relations between inner and outer worlds; with the politics of subjectivity; and with the temporal, psychical, affective, and representational dimensions of culture and experience. I dwell on this history and this inheritance because it matters now. At a time when the institutionalisation of memory research into memory studies rushes on apace, the search is on for formulations of the field suited to a transnational and transdisciplinary market (Radstone 2008). But there remains something more than a little paradoxical as well as instrumental—and intellectual, economic, and institutional power is clearly at issue here—about the attempt to produce a fully 'globalizable' version of memory studies. Notwithstanding possibilities for transmission and translation, memory research, like memory itself, is always located. It is, as I've already demonstrated, specific to its site of production and practice. Meanwhile, as the new subject area of memory studies is being globalised, writings in memory research are focusing increasingly on transcultural and transnational memory,[13] producing accounts of memory that emphasise its "high speed" travels across the globe.[14] But at the same time that publications and conference papers in memory studies are proposing that memory research adopts a transcultural or transnational 'lens,'[15] memory research is producing rich and detailed analyses of the resonance, meaning, and affectivity of highly specific and located processes, acts, and events of memory and forgetting. Are there contradictions here?

A liberal response to this present configuration of the global with the local might propose that theories of transcultural and transnational memory are well suited to the analysis of memory in its mobile dimensions whereas other theories that were developed to engage with memory in its local, regional, and national specificities remain better suited for their original tasks. But I am not sure of the adequacy or sufficiency of this liberal response. Taking my lead from the cultural studies that formed me, I want to ask rather about the gains and losses, the forces in play that drive intellectual and conceptual shifts. I want to ask, that is, about the politics of ideas. These questions are best considered not at a level of high abstraction but on the ground, in the specific locations where memory is researched.

JOURNEYS THROUGH MEMORY

This year, the voyages (both literal and figurative) and encounters to which my work has led me have brought 'home' to me, in concrete rather than abstract terms, the knowledge that memory research is always a deeply located practice: located in particular intellectual histories and addressing itself to specific 'pasts in the present.' Indeed, to put things like this is already to separate out issues that are mutually implicated, for intellectual histories are bound up with national, regional, and local histories—with politics, war, and culture.

Earlier this year, I was invited to give lectures at two European universities within which memory research is currently flourishing: Lund University in Sweden and the University of Konstanz in Germany. At Lund University, I met with a group of researchers forming a Nordic Universities network to develop a project on the challenges posed to European integration by pre-1989 memories—a project that will also investigate the uses and consequences of any transnational mobilisation of these location-specific memories. Projects of this sort demonstrate, I think, the very best of a transnational and transcultural approach to memory, for memory research of this sort combines an attentiveness to the locatedness of memory with an awareness of memory's potential not only to wander but also to remain fixed in its place. The location-specific memories in question within this project pose problems, indeed, for European integration precisely because of their immobility as well as their longevity. Some memories get stuck and are not easily forgotten. Without attending to the locatedness of memory as well as its movements, theories of transnational and transcultural memory—with their focus on memory's high-speed (often digital) travel around the globe—risk eliding such memories from view, precisely because of their locatedness and immobility. Memory research undertaken within the paradigm of transcultural or transnational memory therefore risks producing a self-fulfilling theory by telling the story of only those memories that, for whatever reason, do appear to move between locations. And this begs a series of questions about which memories and theories of memory do travel and why—and to whose advantage and disadvantage.

Under the guidance of Aleida and Jan Assmann, the University of Konstanz's *Geschichte und Gedächtnis* project had its origins in a research cluster on "The

Archaeology of Literary Communication" founded in 1979. With their shared roots in the cultural anthropology of Egypt and with Aleida Assmann's expertise in Literary Studies, the Assmanns have gone on to develop a distinctive approach to memory, influenced in the main by the writings of Maurice Halbwachs (1992) (see, for instance, A. Assmann 2004; J. Assmann 2006). Even though memory research at the University of Konstanz had its origins in part in the ancient world, it has also turned its attention to twentieth century German history and to memories of the Second World War. My recent visit to the University of Konstanz illustrated, in the context of this research on German memories of recent history, that memory research takes very different paths within its different locations. The influences of British cultural studies, Gramscian Marxism, and psychoanalytic theory that formed my approach to memory research have played no part in the formation of memory research at the University of Konstanz, where of greatest influence are Halbwachs's writings on collective memory.

These divergencies of orientation become apparent at the levels of theory and practice. From my psychoanalytically informed perspective, Halbwachs's sociological writings on the transmission of collective memory by institutions including education and the family would benefit from some integration with psychoanalytic theory in order to explore fully the processes of transmission through which the inner worlds of memory articulate with the fields of the social, the institutional, and the public. But this is a perspective informed not only by British cinema and cultural studies but by the politics associated with psychoanalytic theory. This is a politics that conceives of processes of memory transmission within multiple force fields—including those of the psychical, the social, and the national—and that understands memories (personal, collective, literary, cinematic, or digital, for instance) not as reflections of past events or experiences but as complex constructions constituted through processes including displacement, condensation, and the screening or substitution of one memory of, or for, another.

If memory research at the University of Konstanz developed out of Egyptology, its focus on memories of the Second World War might be said to be bringing memory research back home and introducing concepts and theories belonging to an emerging transnational memory studies—within which theories of trauma, testimony, and witnessing have become central—into memory research in Germany or memory research on German topics. The discussion following my lecture at the University of Konstanz included, for instance, a lively exchange on the usefulness for memory research of the concept of witnessing. Along with testimony, witnessing has emerged over the last decade or so as a pivotal concept within trauma theory—a key transnational theory of memory that has been mobilised frequently in discussions of victim and perpetrator memory. There is something paradoxical, however, about the deployment of what is now a transnational theory of trauma by memory research conducted in Germany and on the memories of German people, for although theories of trauma, witnessing, and testimony were themselves developed largely with reference to the Holocaust, most of the key writings on Holocaust memory, testimony,

and trauma emerged in the 1980s in the United States (Caruth 1995, 1996; Felman and Laub 1992). The US provenance of trauma theory can be explained in part by the presence in the United States of those Holocaust survivors whose testimony informed the development of trauma theory.[16] But trauma theory developed, too, within a particular intellectual and theoretical milieu informed by the work of Paul de Man at the Yale School of Deconstruction (under whom trauma theory's main exponent, Cathy Caruth, studied for her doctorate) as well as by the more Lacanian-influenced work of Shoshana Felman (Felman and Laub 1992), also at Yale.

If German and US memory research has been informed up until quite recently by rather different intellectual histories, history—the historical events of war and the Holocaust—runs through the formation of memory research in both national sites. For if the perspective associated with what began as American but is now transnational trauma theory was derived from encounters with Holocaust testimony, the development of the French social scientist Maurice Halbwachs's understandings of memory and memorialisation were similarly critically shaped by war and disruption (Apfelbaum 2010). Halbwachs's early life was marked by the uprooting and dislocation his family experienced in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian war; his major work on collective memory (Halbwachs 1992) was written during the First World War, and his later career was overshadowed and ultimately cut short—Halbwachs died in Buchenwald in 1945—by the Holocaust.

Trauma theory has become the dominant mode within which to analyze the transmission of experiences of catastrophe. But Halbwachs's writings, too, have been drawn on, though less commonly, in work in this field (Apfelbaum 2000). Although, as I've already suggested, his writings might now be judged to require revision through psychoanalysis or affect theory, Halbwachs's stress on the necessity of a shared language and culture for mutual comprehension and transmission can shed a certain light on the communicative blockages associated by trauma theory with traumatic memories (Apfelbaum 2010). Trauma theory, with its stress on the unspeakable and the unrepresentable, pays little attention to the question of the fit—or lack of fit—between the cultural, local, regional, and national knowledges and repertoires of testifier and witness and does not address the differentials of power embedded within any such differences. But perhaps a Halbwachsian stress on the commonalities formed *by* memory transmission but also required *for* its transmission might also be pertinent with regard to theories of traumatic memory. Paradoxically, trauma theory—with its stress on silence and the unrepresentable rather than on the specifics of location, language, and culture—allows memory research to think that it can, under the guise of trauma analysis, go anywhere—and I don't think I need to draw attention to the hubris (and the political implications) of this assumption.

For all of us engaged in memory research, trauma theory, with its emphasis on the analyst as secondary witness, only serves to underline assumptions about the universal transparency of memory that theories of transnational and transcultural memory threaten to compound. As the emphasis on transnational and transcultural memory strengthens, it becomes all the more vital to remember and pay attention

to two dimensions of location: the location of the researcher and the locatedness of instances of transmission.

Where the researcher is concerned, I am only too aware that up until now I have myself paid little attention to my own locatedness. But even if there are dimensions of memory transmission that speak to experiences that are universal and transhistorical—that exceed language and that operate at the level of the affects rather than at the level of representation—and even if subjectivity is fluid and unfixed and the unconscious always exceeds our capacity to know ourselves, there are aspects of our location that continue to form and to inform our theory and our research and that need to be acknowledged. How, for instance, are Australian or British or US researchers to undertake the exploration of the trauma cinemas of, say, Argentina or Japan, given that these researchers are embedded in specific intellectual histories and given that they are located inside their own memory cultures as well as outside of the memory cultures they seek to understand? And I raise this question because it relates to a research project with which I have links. Here, we are confronted with the first urgent question facing transnational and transcultural memory research.

The second set of questions relates to the study and analysis of what are being described as transnational or transcultural memories. Though it might seem paradoxical, it is from the perspective of the transnational and the transcultural that we are reminded of the significance of memory's locatedness. Whether we focus on the ways in which memory might 'travel'—via the Internet or cinema, for instance—this travel remains only hypothetical, or an unrealised potential, until a particular individual goes to a specific website or a particular audience watches a specific film. For even when (and if) memory travels, it is only ever instantiated locally, in a specific place and at a particular time. It is to this precise event of memory's instantiation as well as to the relations between such events that memory research can address itself. And in order to engage with these memory events, we as researchers need to understand, if not be a part of, the culture—however hybridised, complex, multiform—within which that memory event is taking place. Anthropology, amongst other disciplines, has taught us that it takes a great deal of time and skill to even begin to research across cultures, and these may be skills that research into transnational and transcultural memory requires.

In my own recent journeys through memory research, I have been particularly impressed by work that, while it takes on board the ways in which memory—and theories of memory—might be said to travel, adopts a questioning approach to theories that are sometimes regarded as having universal applicability. The work I discuss in the following pages pays close attention to processes of mediation as it focuses on specific, localised instantiations of what we call remembering. My examples are drawn from research on traumatic memory because my own work has been located for some time now within the field of critical trauma studies and because trauma theory is perhaps the most widely promulgated element of memory research.

The opening paragraph of Catherine Merridale's essay "Soviet Memories: Patriotism and Trauma" contains the trenchant comment that "all assumptions,

and especially the most fashionable, demand constant question" (2010, 376). As she continues, it becomes clear that Merridale's own questions concern "the current vogue for writing about memory" (376). Immersed in the study of Russia's violent past and having access to a wide range of other sources, Merridale writes that she knew, nevertheless, that "hearing stories directly from the survivors of Soviet power would open new vistas of understanding" (377). Finding herself engaged in oral history and having stated that oral history is "little else" (378) than memory, Merridale explains that she therefore "came to memory by accident, reluctantly, and I write about it equally unwillingly" (377). Having come to memory unwillingly, Merridale's contribution to the field at this moment of its expansion and codification is significant, however, for she found that "the classic story of trauma's legacy, the medical diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) now so universally accepted, simply misses the point in the Soviet case. It is irrelevant because it is an import to the Soviet situation, a discovery that suggests that, while suffering is universal, the reactions to it, especially at the social level, are culturally specific" (379–80). Merridale's findings—which emphasise the specificities of communist, collectivist culture and group membership in determining Soviet memory—are a powerful reminder of the importance of building theory from the ground up and of respecting memory's located specificities. A theory that works in one location may not work elsewhere.

If Merridale's explorations of Soviet memories raise questions about the universalisation of trauma theory, the work I turn to next critiques trauma theory's dominant understandings of witnessing and testimony for its inhibiting of "cosmopolitan or transnational memory cultures able to sustain efforts toward the global attainment of human rights" (Hirsch and Spitzer 2010, 391). Like Merridale, Hirsch and Spitzer seek to question trauma theory's emphasis on the embodied symptoms arising from traumatic memory's unspeakability. However, unlike Merridale, they emphasise not the lack of fit between the theory and the specificity of actual historically located survivors but the uses to which the silences and bodily symptoms dwelt on by trauma theory may be put. Focussing specifically on Holocaust testimony and returning us to the politics of theory, Hirsch and Spitzer suggest that "the moments of mute or traumatized witness that have become so paradigmatic in recent discussion are so open to interpretation and projection that, outside the narrow framework of psychoanalytic encounter, they preclude therapeutic restorative listening in favor of ascription and appropriation" (403). For Hirsch and Spitzer, trauma theory's emphasis on the silence and unspeakability of Holocaust testimony has had two interlinked effects. It has contributed to the view of the Holocaust as a unique and incomparable event and to the appropriation of the suffering of Holocaust victims by "nationalist and identity politics" (403). In place of this emphasis, Hirsch and Spitzer propose muteness and affect as "human elements of survival that can become the links between the diverse catastrophes of our time" so that Holocaust memories might become incorporated "into an enlarged global arena, making room for additional local, regional, national and transnational testimonies about slavery, colonialism, genocide, and subordination" (404).

Hirsch and Spitzer's stress on the politics to which trauma theory's interpretations of testimony might be put is timely and significant, as is their wish to facilitate modes of remembering that might create alliances between survivors of diverse historical catastrophes, wars, and oppressions. But if we set Merridale's findings about Soviet memories against Hirsch and Spitzer's conclusion, we are returned, I think, to the intractable questions around which this chapter has been circling—questions about the specificities and localities of memory and about the locatedness and politics of theory. For while Hirsch and Spitzer seek to loosen the chains of nationalist and identity politics by basing cosmopolitan or transnational memory in universal experiences of suffering, Merridale insists that though suffering may be universal, reactions *to* suffering—how it is remembered, whether it is remembered—are culturally specific. And if testimony is forged through culture, locality, and politics, so, as my next example shows, is witnessing.

Kelly Butler's (2010) study of the witnessing of indigenous and asylum seeker testimony in Australia engages critically with trauma theory's concepts of witnessing and testimony by demonstrating that in the Australian case witnessing of Indigenous and Asylum Seeker testimony serves to renew white settler identity through demonstrations of compassionate and ethical witnessing while withholding full subjectivity from those who become the objects of its compassion. Butler's local study of witnessing in Australia takes issue with trauma theory's transnationally circulating assumptions about the virtues of witnessing, demonstrating that local studies can do more than simply fill in the blanks of a memory studies with global aspirations; for they can problematise, too, the assumptions embedded within already-globalised theory—in this case, by demonstrating that witnessing brings with it no ethical guarantee.

Finally, Michael Rothberg's (2009) *Multidirectional Memory* returns us to the question of the political mobilisation of Holocaust memory. Rothberg's impressive study of the relations between Holocaust memory and struggles of decolonisation advances contemporary memory research's engagement with transnational and transcultural theory by developing a critique of the widely held view that different catastrophes and historical traumas are fated to vie for attention in the public sphere.

Multidirectional Memory comprises a careful analysis of the imbrication of Holocaust memory with writings on colonialism and anti-colonial struggles, producing a critique of the "conception of competitive memory" (Rothberg 2009, 5). In place of an approach that assumes that memories of traumatic suffering compete for recognition in the public sphere, and that therefore pits Holocaust memory against memories of slavery and colonisation and vice versa, Rothberg convincingly outlines the complex mnemic connections between the Holocaust and slavery and colonialism. But the connections that Rothberg finds are not equivalent to the transnational memories that might bind distinct groups together on the basis of shared suffering. For Rothberg focuses on perpetration as much as he does on suffering, mapping the transnational processes through which memory may be screened, denied, or displaced as well as transmitted. In outlining these connections,

Rothberg develops a critically revised trauma theory attuned to those processes of transmission and intertwining that are the subject of his study.

CONCLUSION

As I move towards concluding a chapter written in tension with both the globalizing thrust of memory studies and with theories of transnational and transcultural memory, I find myself commenting appreciatively on a work that foregrounds Holocaust memory's breaking "of the frame of the nation-state" (Rothberg 2009, 20) and that focuses on memory's "jagged borders" (Rothberg, 5). However, though Rothberg's book emphasises, in its very title, memory's multidirectional potential, the book also comprises a series of forensic analyses of specific texts that Rothberg reads for their symptomatic remembrance and forgetting of violence. Focusing on memory's screenings, displacements, and condensations, this quest brings memory's 'travels' back home—to processes that can be tracked within and across the locations, instances, texts, narratives, and events of memory. The idea that memory 'travels' stands in for the articulation of these processes, processes that my version of memory research—located as I've shown within a specific national, intellectual, and political history—conceives of with the aid of psychoanalysis. And if psychoanalysis shows us one thing, it is that the processes that it reveals are never-ending, that meaning will always be revised, and that stories—like this one of my journey through memory—have no end.

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NOTES

1 For views on what memory studies is, ought to be, and might be, see, for instance, recent contributions to the new journal *Memory Studies*, including Brown 2008; Hoskins 2009; Van House and Churchill 2008; Kitch 2008; Radstone 2008; Roediger III and Wertsch 2008; Sturken 2008; Sutton 2009.

2 See Erll and Nunning 2008; Olick, Vinitsky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011; Radstone and Schwarz 2010; Rossington and Whitehead 2007.

3 I'm referring here to Annette Kuhn's (1995) "A Phantasmagoria of Memory," which is a chapter in her book *Family Secrets*. For more on metaphors of memory and their links with technology and the media, see Draaisma 2000.

4 For a longer discussion of Kuhn's work on this topic and research on cinema memory more generally, see my recent essay titled "Cinema and Memory" (Radstone 2010).

5 For an excellent introduction to Laplanche's psychoanalytic theory, see Fletcher 1999, 2003.

6 For a comprehensive list of Stuart Hall's publications, see http://www.mona.uwi.edu/library/stuart_hall.html. A series of interviews between Stuart Hall and Bill Schwarz is currently in preparation (Hall and Schwarz, forthcoming).

[7] See, for instance, Popular Memory Group (1982). For a fuller bibliography of these publications and a discussion of the problematic attempt by one group to undertake a form of self-reflexive research they termed memory work, see Clare and Johnson (2000).

[8] For a seminal discussion of oral history practice by one of its foremost practitioners, see Thompson (2000). The book series *Memory and Narrative* (published by Transaction) contains many of the most interesting recent interventions into the theory and practice of oral history.

[9] A term developed by the British cinema studies journal *Screen* in the 1970s and 1980s to describe the amalgamation of Marxist, feminist, and psychoanalytic theories.

[10] I hesitate to use the term historical because in the UK one of the most long-lasting and central lines of debate and enquiry has centered on the relations between history and memory. Discussions of history's relations with memory can be found, for instance, in the following work: Figlio 2003; Radstone and Hodgkin 2003a, 2003b; Schwarz 2003.

[11] I have placed inverted commas around 'the past' because there is much more to be said and understood about what might be meant by 'the past' in this context. Memory's complex temporalities impel us to interrogate our common sense understandings of historical temporality's linearity and to ponder the relation between memory and history (see Schwarz 2003).

[12] To find out more about our research centre, visit http://www.raphael-samuel.org.uk

[13] The international Transcultural Memory conference in 2010 included much discussion of transnational memory (visit http://igrs.sas.ac.uk/research/transculturalmemory.htm) Meanwhile, books and essays are appearing on the topic of transnational memory (see, for instance, Hebel 2009).

[14] Here I am quoting from Astrid Erll's keynote lecture at the Transcultural Memory conference. This lecture and my response are currently available online at http://igrs.sas.ac.uk/research/transculturalmemory.htm

[15] I take this term from Erll's keynote lecture (see note 14).

[16] See, for instance, Dori Laub's analyses of Holocaust testimony in Felman and Laub 1992, 57–92.

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