
16. Hunting down monuments: the CAF model— characteristics, actors, and functions

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INTRODUCTION

The question *What is a monument?* invites a crisis of common sense in responding. Making sense of monuments is complicated by the variety of words that are used, often interchangeably, to describe them. Words such as ‘monument’, ‘memorial’, and ‘commemoration’ all share in their deep history a root in another equally complicated word: ‘memory’. Memory, of course, is as old as humankind. Historians study memory, as do neuroscientists, psychologists, political scientists, sociologists, philosophers, and others besides. The remarkable scope of memory studies and the field’s growth in recent decades, signal how deeply memory runs through all facets of our modern life. The blooming field of memory studies has advanced a series of propositions, drawn from a number of disciplines, to explain the role of memory in our societies. The major assumption of works on memory is that, in addition to our own personal memories, there is a collective memory, which shapes our collective sense of selves (Halbwachs 1994 [1925]; Gensburger 2016). That collective memory is said to reside not only in our recollections and self-representations, but also in objects and places, such as monuments or memorials. Despite the prominence of monuments, far too little attention has been dedicated to tackling controversies associated with their study.

From a nuclear blast zone to the sites of black magic rites, I have visited numerous unusual—and often macabre—places to study how individuals and societies mourn and commemorate. This fascination with memory and hunting down monuments (tracking, mapping out, visiting, and analyzing) earned me a very recognizable nickname—‘the Monument hunter’. Yet, during my research on the monuments, I have become acutely aware of the conundrum of problems caused not only by the heterogeneity of the concept of monument, but also by the different shapes they take, and their varying purposes. While numerous scholars study monuments, it is hard to find two authors writing about monuments meaning exactly the same thing. The reason for the vagueness of the term and its understanding might lie precisely in the multitude of ways in which different disciplines have approached the study of monuments. Urban and art history explore monuments as aesthetic objects, focusing on their artistic and historical values. Yet by doing so their political dimension is obfuscated. Similarly, political science, and in particular scholars of nationalism, stop at emphasizing monuments’ instrumental use by elites and states in their legitimacy and power pursuits. Finally, trauma-related research, in particular victimology literature, treats monuments as places of mourning and grief with distinct therapeutic function for individuals and societies. In other words, each discipline observes monuments through its own prism and assigns to them a specific range of meanings, purposes, and values.

Empirical relevancy of monuments across disciplines demands a more comprehensive approach to their study. The objective of this chapter is to create a conversation between disciplines and link various arguments on the nature of monuments and memorials. To sketch

a comprehensive approach that could inform future research on monuments, I draw from a number of theories in architecture, semiotics, and cultural and political studies. Throughout this chapter I will use, interchangeably, the words ‘monument’ and ‘memorial’. For James E. Young, memorials “recall only past or tragic events and provide places to mourn”, while monuments are “celebratory markers of triumphs and heroic individuals” (1993: 3). Arthur Danton is more explicit in this regard. To him “monuments make heroes and triumphs, victories and conquests, perpetually present and part of life. The memorial is a special precinct extruded from life, a segregated enclave where we honor the dead. With monuments we honor ourselves” (1987: 112). I suggest that the distinction between monuments and memorials is far more complicated, debatable, and sometimes impossible to draw. Memorials and monuments serve as aids to our (collective) memory. Yet, memorial has commemoration in its semantic core and ritual enactment as one of its main functions.

In the second section, I look at the history and theory of monuments across disciplines to argue that expectations in relation to memorialization and monuments in particular have changed greatly over time. In the third section, I go on to elaborate with greater detail the changing of monumental politics of memory due to the individualization of commemoration and the spontaneous ‘monuments’ created by the public. By analyzing the making and consumption of monuments in response to world wars and totalitarianism, I show how shifting the foci of who ‘holds the keys’ to collective memory is reflected in monuments. The fourth section brings us to the model proposed to the study of monuments. Guided by the *who*, *how*, and *why* questions, I introduce the CAF model—a three-step analytical framework focusing on monuments’ characteristics, actors, and functions assigned (functionality). The CAF model starts from a very basic claim that the process of thinking about the past is an attempt at retrieving a memory, understood as both experience of and knowledge about the past. This suggests that everyone is a memory actor, yet individuals and social groups assign different meanings, values, and purposes to memory on levels of individual and collective. Such understanding of the role of memory and the agency of memory actors can produce opposite results: leading towards remembrance or towards forgetting. Monuments can be the products of both the workings of memory and oblivion.

THE CHANGING NATURE OF MONUMENTS

Expectations regarding memorialization, and monuments in particular, have shifted greatly over time, forcing us to rethink the ways in which we remember. Egyptian pyramids were created to venerate rulers/Gods, for the eternity. In ancient Greece, battlefield monuments were made of wood, to mourn and perish, making space for the oblivion to take place—deemed needed for healing. The word *monument* draws its semantic origins from the Latin ‘monumentum’, which means a monument, memorial structure, statue, tomb, or something that reminds, from the Latin verb ‘monere’, to remind, to warn. Monuments, including obelisks, antique temples, and other memorial structures, are designed to elevate the public imagination by dramatic reference to both grand events and atrocities (Schwartz 2015: 236). Yet, monument has gained much wider signification through history. It refers not only to a statue, or other structure erected to commemorate a person or event of importance. A monument is also a building, place, or site that is of historical importance or interest and an enduring and memorable example of something.

As monuments have evolved over years, so has their purpose. In 1943, Josep Lluís Sert, Fernand Léger, and Sigfried Giedion wrote ‘The Nine Points on Monumentality’ in response to what they saw as a misuse and decline of the monument in the prior century. In their view, devaluation of monumentality made that the monuments have, “with rare exceptions, become empty shells”, not representative of “the spirit or the collective feeling of modern times.”¹ The authors firmly believed that monuments should link the past with the future and be representative of the sentiments of people. As such, monuments need to represent people collectively, but they are also seen as an opportunity for artists, architects, sculptors, and landscapers to innovate. Critically observing monuments of the past, they advocated for a change that could result in new monumentality, able to adapt to modern times and gain added value in urban context. The major innovation of modernists, therefore, was the introduction of the interdisciplinary approach in the field of design of public monuments. A monument, in this way, becomes a modern architectural and urban element of the city adapted to the changed and modern lifestyle of the society; it has an added value.

Monuments thus come to signify far more than their material manifestation as they would start to have a value—certain qualities that render them desirable and worthy. Alois Riegl, in his ‘Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin’ (1903) speaks of monument values distinguishing among three commemorative values in monuments: age value; historical value; and deliberate value. Riegl’s concept of ‘age value’ and ‘commemorative value’ “is very similar to John Ruskin’s appreciation of the passage of time upon a building, and his conviction that it is impossible to re-gain an original shape by restoration” (Ahmer 2020: 152; *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* 1849). More precisely, Riegl examines commemorative values of monuments, making distinction in their purpose between intentional and unintentional monuments. From a contemporary point of view and using terminology in relation to monuments, his classification is rather confusing. It created links between the intent (of doing something) and adding values (to something). To clarify Riegl’s terminology, if a monument is erected deliberately to satisfy certain practical or ideal needs of a monument maker themselves, their contemporaries, or posterity, it might have subjective artistic and historical value. Other monuments gain monumental characteristics over time because they undeniably possess historical and artistic values. Put simply, commemorative values are imposed by the makers of a deliberate monument, while we alone define the value of unintentional monuments.

Perhaps most of the confusion on monuments derives from their intended function. German art historian Andras Renyi argued that, broadly, monuments have two different functions in a modern society: positive and negative self-identification. They might celebrate the past events, persons, or symbols of importance for the positive identity of a given community, or act as ominous reminders not to forget the past and its negative events, persons, or symbols, that people would rather not remember. However, the monument conundrum is far more complicated, as commemorative function is not its unique purpose. From the art theory perspective, monuments have overlapping functions: as a status object, as an instrument of propaganda, and as a work of art. The awareness of these functions, according to Lars Berggren (1999: 562), is crucial for understanding the single object and the process of raising monuments as a phenomenon. His concept of *Monumentality* builds upon changes that the French Revolution introduced in intense building of monuments to celebrate democracy, the Republic, and national identity embedded in the female figure of Marianne. While the pre-nationalism period was characterized by the religious monopoly over history, Greek and Roman role models, and Medieval, Far and Middle East influences in monumental style, the French Revolution sig-

naled the shift in memorial actors' production of meanings that are assigned to the past. That role has shifted from the Church to the governments—new pantheons of power.

Over time, purposes, values, and functions assigned to a monument indubitably diversified in reaction to shifting power roles taken on by a variety of memory stakeholders. While the power roles have shifted, the last century is still reflective of the top-down production/imposition of memorial purposes. These purposes have been discussed from a viewpoint both of culture and of politics. In the first case, monuments and hence memory is in service of remembrance—a part of landscape (Winter 1995), traditions, values, and rituals. With 'cultural memory', society relies on,

the reusable and available texts, images and rites ... with the preservation of which it stabilizes and spreads its self-image; a collective shared knowledge, preferably (but not necessarily) of the past, on which a group's sense of unity and individuality is based. The topoi and narratives that appear in monuments need an institutionalized communication, without which their reuse cannot be organized. Therefore, we do not only inquire into the history, form and meaning of the monuments as artefacts, but also into the history of their use and their reuse. (Assmann 1992: 11)

Essentially, both Winter and Assman ask *who* is doing the work of remembrance, whereby 'remembrance' is used to describe a social process that has memory as its final product. Asking *why*—at all—doing memory work challenges the view that memory is the end result of remembrance *per se*, but rather a tool to achieve certain objectives set by its mnemonic actors.

THE POLITICS OF MONUMENTS

The utilitarian value of memory is to be found most prominently in identity politics and the pursuit of power as it remains the main lens through which monuments are observed and analyzed. Typically, monuments are created by institutional actors to serve as a public reminder of events and persons that are deemed important for the collectivity and definition of a uniform national memory and identity. Reinhart Koselleck (2002) can help us understand the evolution of this process perhaps better than anyone. He argues that historical evolution of monumentality shifted from function of the monument as a means of legitimation and cohesion of states and societies. The dynastic memorials legitimize the right of individuals to inherit political offices, while republican memorials legitimize the meritocratic ideal based on deserves of individual endeavor, most often endeavor on the battlefield. The republican period has brought "democratization of memorials" for the death, represented by individuals' names inscribed in the name of a sovereign people (Djuric 2015, 33). The subsequent nationalist period commemorated soldiers, first as heroes or defeated for the nation, and after the First World War as object of national mourning—as a new function assigned to monuments.

In particular, the Unknown Soldier's cult had its biggest expansion after the First World War. Although it had long existed, with early accounts from ancient Greece of symbolic burials after battle, cenotaphs—empty coffins—were introduced to commemorate "the missing" and those whose remains could not be identified. There are two major novelties that a monument to an Unknown Soldier introduced: it provided societies with a blank canvas for mourning, and it democratized the cult of the dead. As Benedict Anderson points out,

No more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers. The public ceremonial reverence accorded these monuments precisely because they are either deliberately empty or no one knows who lies inside them, has no true precedents in earlier times. . . . Yet void as these tombs are of identifiable mortal remains or immortal souls, they are nonetheless saturated with ghostly national imaginings. (1983: 17)

Although aesthetically focused on clear gender separation of roles (man as soldier, woman as motherland), a number of monuments that commemorate millions of women who contributed to the First World War effort were also erected, especially in the British Empire.²

The periods of important historical upheavals, such as both world wars and particularly the explosion of nationalism, grasped the utilitarian potential of monuments in playing, establishing, and perpetuating public narratives. The novelty that memory actors introduced with such monuments is their communicative function and its resonance within the community that receives and consumes memory. Semiotics, in particular, has been concerned with monuments as communicative devices where the intent is to promote certain views, discourses, and narratives about the past. In *Banal Nationalism*, Billig (1995) argued that semiotic objects such as art, statues, literature, monuments, flags, and other forms of material culture play a key role in the (re)production of public memory. He takes the emergence of the European nation-states in the 19th century, as an example to concur with Hobsbawm (1990) that the invention of myths, traditions, and customs became necessary to supplant feelings of inequality with a sense of civic equality and of national belonging. This means that semiotic objects emerged as key elements of nationalist investment, in light of their utilitarian value for building consensus and carrying ideologies, their capacity for performing and constructing collective identities, and their usefulness for constituting a shared social reality and public memory.

Such pursuit of memory consumerism, however, demands a certain level of hierarchy among co-existing pasts, as it establishes which memory is useful and hence appropriate, and which is not. This process—reflective of selectiveness of memory—is defined by agency of memory actors through their intent, power, and rationality. Bourdieu (1996) and Foucault (1969) have brought attention to the fact that both enactment and reception of such semiotic resources must be analyzed in their respective contexts of production and consumption. This is a very valuable insight that not only brings into focus the object of memory work, the intent of memory actors, and the purpose of a monument, but also emphasizes that collective memory has a utilitarian value. Monuments as examples of memory practices are strategically produced by individuals with specific positionings and interests (Bourdieu 1996), framed or organized institutionally, regimenting what can be said and heard.

As such, memory is strongly rooted in political purposefulness and the agency of political elites and institutions in creating, maintaining, and re-negotiating the past for a specific objective (e.g., identity fostering, consensus building, reconciliation, power). Elite producers of monument's meanings—that is, of its commemorative symbolism—are individuals with specific positionings and interests that manipulate the past and shape attitudes of memory consumers (Bourdieu 1996; Gillis 1994). The scholars of nationalism (e.g., Hobsbawm 1990; Gellner 1997; Smith 2002) gave proof that symbols such as flags, anthems, and monuments are powerful tools for (re)inventing a public memory and formulating social values about traditions, myths, rituals, territories, languages, and cultures of 'an imagined community'. Paul Connerton in his *How Societies Remember* (1989) emphasizes the political dimension of memory (or better said, collective memory) as a dimension of political power. Control over societal memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power (Connerton 1989). As a result

of political agency, how a nation remembers is encoded in politics of memory: discourses, remembrance practices and policies, decisions that regulate what is to be remembered, when, and how. It is filtering, a selective and rational process that creates a mold of how events are remembered in the historical consciousness of a group (society) in Durkheimian terms. As a dominant narrative, filtering represents an ‘official’ politics of memory with fixed boundaries between what is remembered and what is not, which values are transmitted to posterity, and with what (specific) purpose.

This strategic enactment of interest projection and subordination of memory to political power is most visible in authoritarian societies. Very acutely, the politics of memory became an ideological object with the rise of totalitarian regimes such as National Socialism in Germany or Fascism in Italy. Political ideology influenced the aesthetics of monuments in order to favor or support certain narratives or values to be conveyed. In Fascist Italy, urbanism and architecture were used to impose a new, fascist view of the past in order to “italianize”, for instance, the outer borders of Italy such as Bolzano and Alto Adige. Monuments inspired by the Antiquity architecture conveyed messages of racial superiority, divine roots of the (Roman Empire) nation that fed the cult of martyrdom and territorial expansion, especially in relation to the colonial pursuits of Mussolini. In a similar manner, monuments in a present-day North Korea serve the propaganda of the regime and rely on aesthetics of triumphalism and exceptionalism, now largely abandoned by the rest of the world. This specific type of North Korean monuments has proven to be one of its most successful export products in some of the countries of the African continent.³ Such rigidly prescribed politics of memory and monument canons, as both aesthetic and ideological objects, started becoming contested with democratization processes, the exit from communism, and other forms of dictatorial or autocratic regimes (Mälksoo 2009; Mink and Neumayer 2013).

Around the world, democratization processes enabled breaking down of the monopoly that regimes and their states imposed over interpretation of the past. Seen in retrospect, the political changes after the Cold War (especially in Europe) signal that not only can memory be reinvented and instrumentalized by individuals for the sake of legitimizing power relations, but it can be also negotiated, contested, and erased. In other words, rewriting the politics of memory and re-assigning novel purposes to the past seeks legitimization from and thrives on oblivion. Breaking down the shackles of imposed memorial canons was translated into the removal of many monuments from the public space. The “Lenin-fall”, the toppling of Lenin statues in 2014 Ukraine, is quite telling in this regard. Thousands of the Soviet-era statues were removed after new legislation (the “decommunization” laws) came into force demanding that all remnants and symbols of the country’s communist past be taken down. While in many countries monuments to controversial figures were sent into oblivion, new monuments were placed to fill in the memory void imposed by the previous regimes.

Democratization and popularization of memory have resulted in monuments supportive of victims’ rights. In South Korea, a monument for the comfort women was erected only in 2011. The recognition of the victims, women and girls, forced into sexual slavery by the Imperial Japanese Army during the Second World War has been a long-standing diplomatic issue between South Korea and Japan, who have been urged to apologize to and honor the victims. The right to truth and symbolic acknowledgment is part of restorative and retributive justice efforts for those who suffered from cultures of violence. However, these examples also go to show that a monument’s image-making and image-breaking are two sides of a same medal, just as remembering and forgetting are. As Savage (1997) points out in his work on monu-

ments to the liberated slaves, a monument is shaped not only according to aesthetic principles, but as a discursive device that in time can be contested and reflects deep-seated ideological differences in the interpretation of the past among different stakeholders. In such polarized communities, corrective measures to existing monuments are introduced with an aim to deconstruct meanings, initially assigned values and ideas, purposes. Erasure from the politics of memory, as the most drastic form of corrective measure, more often than not translates into dismantlement or destruction of a monument.

THE CAF: A THREE-STEP ANALYTICAL MODEL FOR STUDYING MONUMENTS

The process of democratization of memory suggests that monuments have evolved from being totems of powers to be consumed by passive society to inhabiting an active discursive arena for negotiation about what memory consumers wish to remember. The history of monuments' evolving characteristics, its main actors, and functions assigned to it lead us to derive some key guidelines for constructing a more comprehensive approach to their study. What kind of common approach can we use to analyze such a diverse universe of monuments? Connecting different analytical frameworks in architecture, cultural geography, political science, and memory studies, the CAF model conceives the interpretations of monuments and memorials by asking, (a) what are the characteristics, (b) who are the actors, and (c) what are their functions.

As a premise, one should point out that every monument is a product of its own time and should be analyzed cautiously, as time- and context specific. Community beliefs, societal values, institutional and political systems, and actors change and reconfigure over time. With the passing of time, new knowledge about the past is discovered or established, and novel purposes and meanings might be assigned to the existing monuments. This is particularly the case with, for instance, colonial-era monuments to the 'pioneers' of European colonial exploits in Africa and in the Americas. From a contemporary standpoint, and given the importance that redressing past injustices has for certain social groups, such monuments can be perceived as triggers of transgenerational trauma and public reminders of oppression. Yet, every monument is different and a product of specific constellation of actors who initiate, guide, and consume the memory work.

The CAF model observes monuments as part of remembrance efforts that individuals and groups create to pursue specific objectives and create/transmit specific meanings and values. Characteristics of a monument relate to its material dimensions, its aesthetics, authenticity, and solicited responses. Drawing from the architectural theories on monuments and heritage-making processes that they may undergo, memorial meanings and values are constructed by their aesthetics, materiality, claims to authenticity, which, when orchestrated together, convey the intent of their makers and/or consumers. In terms of memorial actors, I draw from Bourdieu and Foucault to distinguish between memory makers and memory consumers. Finally, concerning monuments' functions, I distinguish between a number of functions that can be attributed to a monument including corrective actions, which is the least-discussed notion in the existing literature on monuments.

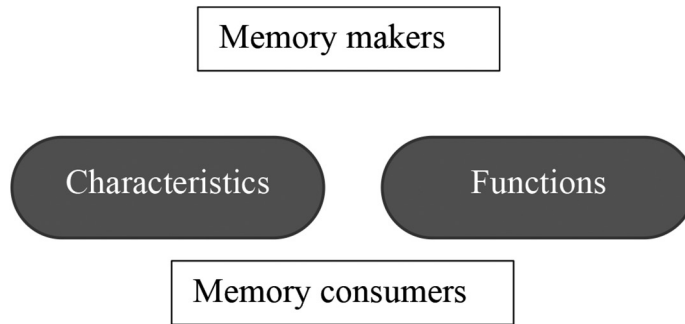


Figure 16.1 The CAF model: Characteristics, Actors, Functions of a monument

a) Characteristics

Materiality

Throughout history, architects have been concerned with issues of permanence and monumentality, seeking to create and preserve meaning in buildings and the rituals surrounding them (Tanović 2019). In terms of materiality, a number of authors advance typologies to analyze the visual dimension of monuments: their shape, form, texture, materials used, and position.⁴ Fundamentally we can see monuments as permanent and ephemeral—a struggle between what is made to be set in a stone for eternity, and what is fragile and instantaneous. State memorials, often very imposing architectural structures, are made with the intent to commemorate by leaving a permanent footing in space and time. *The Menin Gate* at Ypres, Belgium, designed by Bloomfield, for instance, is one such example. Such memorials can be analyzed as ‘places or memory’ (Nora 1989), but they are also the places of what Foucault defined as ‘Heterotopia’. Such places are experienced as different, having their own spatial and temporal reality. They have the ability to influence our perception of time, grasping for the eternity. Timelessness has always been an aspiration of monument makers. In architecture eternity is represented through the choice of materials (the frequent use of stone and reinforced concrete), their duration, indestructibility, and resilience.

Conversely, makeshift memorials or ‘spontaneous shrines’ are made of perishable materials (Santino 2006; Doss 2010; Margry and Sánchez-Carretero 2011). Their frequent use over the last two decades, has made them the dominant vehicle for contemporary remembrance. Despite their popularity and under theorization, these monuments have a long tradition that might not be especially evident at the first glance. Written records of makeshift memorials can be traced across continents and time. Known as ‘descansos’ in South America, shines were found also in Europe before and after the arrival of Christianity.⁵ A temporary monument or a shrine is usually made to mark the site of untimely death; such is the case with roadside memorials. Vernacular and temporary, ad-hoc monuments are examples of ephemeral architecture requiring periodical renewal. The current discussions on these monuments and their limited ‘life cycle’ focus on the way perishable material is gathered, by whom, the way renewal actions are conducted, and the meaning of these monuments for their makers and wider public (Truc 2017; Milošević 2018; Arvanitis et al. 2020).

The concept of monumentality conjures permanence, or at least an aspiration to durability. This might be the reason why the mainstream architectural theory only partially includes

ephemerality in the notion of (monumental) architecture, even though some works advocate for a greener architectural theory in which the ephemeral has respectable roles. Landscape architecture, for instance, advances vegetal aesthetics in contemporary memorial design. A memorial tree or grove is enduring, symbolic, and will grow stronger and blossom with life, year after year. In commemoration of human lives lost in terrorism, European and American memorials increasingly appeal to the aesthetics of ‘nature’ to symbolize societal regrowth, as Heath-Kelly (2018) argues. These arboreal groves serve as focal points for remembrance ceremonies, aesthetically balancing the figurative representation of lost human lives with the symbolism of natural regrowth. One such example is the memorial in the Sonian Forest in Belgium, where a tree is planted for every victim of the terror attacks in Brussels (2016). Taken together, the groves also emphasize the passing of seasons and the progression of time, enacting two temporalities by representing both the past event, and subsequent societal recovery. Finally, ephemerality and materiality are to be found even in online memorials. As Hutchings (2013) remarks, online memorialization enables global access, quick assembly, easy storage, and ongoing editing, giving a sense that it is also immune to physical dangers unlike similar memorials in public space. However, even digital memorials are not immune to erasure from (digital) memory. For instance, the Swedish national memorial, celebrating the turn of the millennium, was inaugurated in 1999. Due to unclear organizational responsibilities concerning the maintenance of the technology behind it, the monument was eventually shut down. Similarly, a wealth of online memorials for the COVID victims between 2020 and 2022 has been launched (in lieu of physical monuments) and abandoned.

Claim to authenticity (location)

The choice monument makers make about the location is an important one, as it adds additional layers of symbolism. For instance, a major event could be commemorated by erecting a monument in a symbolic urban space, such as a square, or in proximity of other monuments or buildings that are symbols of power. Equally, monument makers have chosen locations that have a claim to authenticity. A classic example of authentic location would be a battleground memorial such as the one in Waterloo, Belgium. However, monuments situated in the urban space rely on fragile materiality of pain and suffering and build upon it to reinforce and preserve authentic memory. For instance, bullet holes, shelled buildings, former detention centers, crime scenes, or even mass graves are seen as monuments themselves. It suffices to mention the transformation of former concentration camps in Europe to museums to emphasize how a place of memory can undergo the process of heritage making to ultimately become a symbol and a monument itself.

Authenticity is one of the most important concepts in heritage preservation. As an objective and measurable attribute of artefacts and monuments, it is also laden with subjective and culturally constructed meanings (Jones 2009). The claim to authenticity in a monument is important for the survivors and visitors alike. The research into victims’ and survivors’ views on the location of a monument suggests that authenticity is far more relevant than the aesthetics or meanings attached to a monument itself. A visit to a monument that claims authenticity can stir up a negative emotional response in some of the victims/survivors, yet it may also serve as a tool for building their own resilience, finding forgiveness, or exploring other possible paths towards confronting and dealing with their own experiences and memories. The inclusion of names on a monument, where possible and known, is critical in representing people who were intimately known to their communities and whose loss has been keenly felt (Bagot Jewitt

2011: 15). In relation to the visitors of memorials, emotional responses can be triggered by the authenticity of a place of memory or a location—yet more often, it provides them with a way to identify with and ‘touch’ history that remains frozen in time. Finally, authenticity can be an important trigger in ‘dark tourism’. The Roman Colosseum may be considered one of the first dark tourist attractions as it had death and suffering at the core of the Ancient Roman gladiatorial product, and its eager consumption by raucous spectators. Stone (2006) explains how such immediacy and spontaneity of dark ‘sensation’ tourism relates to sites of contemporary death and suffering, with premeditated visits to structured and organized attractions or exhibitions that portray recent and/or distant historical occurrences.

Emotional and physical responses

The research into collective memory has probed the influence of the emotional and cognitive dimensions in the mechanism of social memory transmission. The cognitive linguistics approaches to the conceptualization of social identity imply that a commemorative event can be construed differently by profiling different frames, resulting in specific emotional, cognitive, and behavioral responses. Few studies have tested this approach on monuments to measure and compare the emotional and cognitive engagement of subjects when exposed to differently construed types of commemorative events. Greimas and Fontanille (1993 [1991]) advanced a semiotic model for the study of emotions and feelings at the narrative and discursive level. By employing this model, we can grasp the fluctuation of emotional attitudes towards monuments and unpack how emotional attitudes affect the practices of those who use monuments. For instance, Pavlaković and Perak (2017) studied the effects of a monument’s representations, associated commemorative speeches, and media coverage on the individual’s affective and cognitive stance about the traumatic events in Croatian collective memory. Their findings indicate that the dynamics of a cultural memory transmission is correlated with the level of affective and cognitive engagement of the recipients. It also shows the functions of the conceptualizations activated by the memory agents in their speeches for the construction and appropriation of a cultural model and permeating the monument with new symbolic meanings.

Remembrance has an emotive nature, as it claims more reflectiveness and critical thinking on behalf of the beholder. Yet some monuments are created by the architects with a clear idea to solicit not only emotional but also physical responses in visitors. A “performative memory” as Costello (2013) named it, is the practice of spectator becoming participant. We can see this in the work of American architect Daniel Libeskind, who designed the Jewish Museum in Berlin. The building allows for many interpretations. Some visitors see a broken Star of David, others a bolt of lightning. However, a walk through his Garden of Exile, intentionally leaves the visitor with a feeling of insecurity or disorientation. The garden is meant “to completely disorient the visitor. It represents a shipwreck of history” (Mindel 2015). This is precisely what Libeskind had in mind when he designed the museum space. Hence, by use of landscape architecture, performative elements can work together actively to construct visitors’ experiences, soliciting emotional and physical responses. In this way, a monument invites reflectiveness, but it also becomes a surrogate experience.

b) Actors

The configuration of actors involved in the making of monument and their level of their engagement condition both the characteristics and the functions of a monument. Yet, the

staying power of monuments over time is determined by their resonance with those for whom the monument is made—its audiences. When it comes to stakeholders who guide, initiate, and consume monuments, we must acknowledge their hierarchy and increasing diversification of roles. Not all memory actors have the ability/power to produce a memorial, yet monument makers are those who have the means and motivation to erect or preserve an object in urban space with an aim to honor the memory of an event or a person. In terms of hierarchy among memory actors, we can operate with a number of typologies. In the memory literature, there is a strong focus on states and elites as dominant proponents of memory work. Becker coined the term “moral entrepreneur” to describe persons in power who campaign to have certain deviant behavior outlawed (1963). This term was readapted by Pollack (1993) into ‘memory entrepreneurs’, suggesting self-appointed missionaries of historical truth devoted to the construction of narratives.

Jelin’s (2003: 33–34) definition of ‘memory entrepreneurs’ is slightly different: “those who seek social recognition and political legitimacy of one (their own) interpretation of the narrative about the past” and are “engaged and concerned with maintaining and promoting an active and visible social attention on their enterprise.” Bernhand and Kubik (2014) have advanced a more sophisticated typology of memory actors. They differentiate among mnemonic abnegators, warriors, pluralist, and prospectives. While such a fine-tuned typology certainly can be supportive in understanding the contentiousness of memory politics, the state-led and elite-supported top-down memory politics is not the only setting for the production and consumption of memory.

Focusing solely on memory actors who have political (or other) power in imposing a top-down view of the past and expressing it through monuments, the literature often excludes victims and survivors as empowered memory actors able to shape the characteristics and functions of a monument or memory work in general. Despite their (in)direct experiences that make of them key memory actors—witnesses—, their power to exercise the role of memory makers is somehow neglected in the literature making them passive receivers of memory work. Yet in various contexts, that passivity of victims who have experienced trauma is challenged. In certain cases, the first stewards of memory are victims and survivors themselves. For instance, Jonathan Huener in his 2003 book *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945–1979*, details the story of the survivors’ efforts to preserve the site of Auschwitz despite their lack of experience with museums or historic preservation. Another, more recent example is the Utøya memorial created and managed by the victims/survivors of terror attacks that struck Norway in 2011. This suggests that victims can be memory entrepreneurs too, as they do not forgo their individual and/or collective agency in response to trauma.

Many authors rightly contend that the research is dominated by the overemphasis on state agency and manipulation at the expense of civil society (both by associations and individual grassroots initiatives) (Wüstenberg 2017). Memorials can be created by like-minded groups and individuals with an aim to honor the memory and inspire action, or to use them as a tool to seize power and visibility and gain a wide variety of benefits. A makeshift memorial to the slain journalist Daphne Caruana Galizia in Malta is an example of how activists, non-state actors, and ordinary citizens create and manage multiple incarnations of memorial that is seen as outcry for justice and truth about the murder of Daphne. Such ‘mourning in protest’ (Senie 1999) is a performative memorial event directed towards societal grievances that contain a transformative intent. Diametrically opposed to that memorial stands the one created for the Belgian anti-vax terrorist Jürgen Conings, whose right-wing supporters mourned him at the

site of his death. Grassroots memorials emerge swiftly following unexpected events in which human loss has occurred, such as terror attacks or plane crashes. Such monuments, usually the first expression of grief in public space, are reflective of the bottom-up approaches to memory making and -consuming.

Whether we analyze permanent or ephemeral monuments, it is important to remember that a plethora of actors participates in producing and consuming its views, narratives, values—assigning to a monument a wide variety of functions. Permanent monuments in urban space need architectural and urbanistic solutions, and permits—they are projects that are put in motion by the institutions and authorities that are representative of a city, a region, or a state. More instantaneous/spontaneous forms of monuments broadly see society itself as a creator of a monument. Yet, monument consumers are both intended and random visitors who attend memorials and vigils, as well as the victims, the survivors, their families, or representatives of their organizations.

c) Functions

The functions assigned to monuments and memorials are multi-faceted. On the one hand, monument makers assign a purpose to a monument that is expected to perform and enact these functions for individuals and groups that consume the memory in question. As mentioned in the previous section, meanings and values of monuments are not static but rather dynamic and dependent of the time in which we observe them. Memorial functions can thus shift, and they can be repurposed or refined with the introduction of corrective measures.

In the simplest terms, we can differentiate among several most important functions of a monument: artistic, commemorative, symbolic, political, social, religious, and commercial (Cudney and Appelblad 2019). More often than not, a memorial possesses all of these functions. For instance, the memorial at Pearl Harbour in Oahu, Hawai'i is a good example. The memorial complex, including museum, a monument, and authentic ships docked at the site, indubitably has many functions. It is one of the most important places of American collective memory, and as such it is actively preserved and commemorated. Increasingly, the exhibit that focused solely on the victim/perpetrator narrative has become more self-reflective and aware of the experiences of Americans of Japanese descent who were either in internment camps on the Hawai'ian Islands or have served in the military. The memorial complex attracts thousands of visitors and as a tourist destination it has a clear profit-oriented strategy. The entire area is used for venues, rallies, meetings with voters, or gatherings organized on anniversary days or national holidays. This example shows that monuments can be more than places of memory able to educate about the past.

The evolution of expectations regarding memorialization has put a heavy burden on history and on monuments in particular. Artistic, commemorative, symbolic, political, social, religious, and commercial functions of monuments and sites of memory shift over time. Monuments have not only become a tool for remembering the past but are put in service of present needs (for resilience building, reconciliation, dealing with the past, anti-radicalization) and the future (promises of non-reoccurrence, awareness rising, knowledge transmission). This is partially due to the dominance of the transitional justice paradigm in the 1990s, which transformed memorialization into an imperative to attest the rule of law and support democracy—a means to shield the future from the errors of the past (Bickford 2014). Abiding by this memory imperative, monuments are often used as templates and transplanted in some

communities seeking to replicate the same process or a desired outcome. Arguably, this is often the case with memorials made to promote some sort of an imposed, shared narrative about the past in post-conflict societies, following the assumption that monuments can foster reconciliation. Such monuments, especially when imposed, can lack appeal among intended consumers and therefore be rejected on the ground, neglected, and abandoned.

This brings us to the interpretation of monuments occupying an intermediate position between the designers' intended meanings and the users' interpretations (Eco 1990). In some instances, monuments are imposed onto a community that rejects them as alien. For instance, 'Gugulethu Seven' is a memorial in the Capetonian township of Gugulethu created with the intention to remember seven killed members of an anti-apartheid group. While the memory of their bravery still lives in the township, the imponent monument intruded the urban space of the community as not synchronized with the remembrance practices and cultures on the ground. As a result, the monument is not maintained and has gained invisibility in the urban space. This raises important questions about for whom the memorials are actually made, if it is not used or interacted with. Using monuments to foster shared narratives and raise awareness of certain events and persons can equally be done by means of positive identification. A series of monuments to European citizens, treaties, EU founding mothers and fathers, have been created across European Union's capitals with an aim to support the Europeanization of memory (Milošević and Trošt 2021). Yet, the abyss between the intended meanings (the symbolic value of a monument) and users' interpretations (rejection, misuse), suggests that such ghost monuments are effectively invisible to their intended publics—and have value only for their makers. It goes without saying that, when the organic connection between the memory as experience and its consumers is lost or faded, the capacity of a monument to perform diminishes.

The role monuments play in bringing closure to the bereaved is a function that has received less attention. Some psychoanalytical approaches foreground the individual physical engagement with monuments. A number of studies have concurred with Savage's (2006) view that monuments may have therapeutic functions. Funerary rites and burial places extend the temporality of the deceased's life and represent a bond between the dead and the living. However, when used as a place of mourning and expression of grief (among other emotions), even a monument at a crime scene may have therapeutic functions for the bereaved.

In other instances, it is the nature of architectural solution that can exert the pressure on non-directly affected memory consumer. In case of *The Garden of Exile* in Berlin, the visitor is simulating experiences of persons that were exiled and having a biological reaction to it. Yet, more often than not, visitors interact with monuments and especially statues—not as cultural symbols laden with meaning, but as material objects in space that afford opportunities for physical interaction—in affirmative, utilitarian, and/or destructive ways.

Who hasn't been tempted to touch a material object in a museum? Using Gibson's theory of affordance, Marschall (2017) answers this question by examining how people in South Africa physically interact with colonial-era monuments, such as the Rhodes statue. Contested as a historical figure, Rhodes and his memorial have been defecated upon, his nose cut, and his head half severed. Yet vandalization of a monument as a way of showing rejection is not the only way to physically interact with it. Interaction with a monument by memory makers and consumers alike may be expressed also through additive or modifying interventions that aim at deconstructing its previous characteristic and functions. Much of the discussion on Confederate statues in the United States or colonial-era monuments in Europe, has revolved

precisely around corrective actions that could/would assign novel meanings to a monument. As deeply politicized, monuments can be mediated by initiatives that seek to provide a multifocal view on the past, or even a critical perspective. A notable example of modifying interventions is the constant reimagination of figures present on the Monument to Soviet liberators in Bulgaria. Once Soviet liberators, the soldiers overnight become DC Comics heroes such as Batman or Superman. Drawing on Keane's theory of "bundling", Zubrzycki (2013) calls this process "aesthetic revolt"—material characteristics can endow an object with a life of its own, based on its material properties, which may even change naturally over time, and a monument can change its characteristics and functions, differing from those originally intended.

Another corrective measure to tackle dissent over a monument's meanings and functions is by virtue of creating a counter-monument. Counter-memorality emerged in Germany, as a new and critical mode of commemorative practice in opposition to traditional monumentality. In his widely acclaimed studies of Holocaust representations, James E. Young explored counter-memorial 'places of memory' examining the aesthetics and conceptual contributions of counter-monuments. However, we should be wary that there are two types of memorial projects that call themselves counter-memorials, yet they have a different objective. On the one hand, there are those designed to counter a specific existing monument, narratives, and the values it represents. By contesting the Monument A, we introduce a Monument B. On the other hand, there are those that adopt anti-monumental strategies and seek to counter traditional monument principles. Experience with the public competition for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews in Berlin offers interesting insight on this issue. German artist Horst Hoheisel proposed an anti-solution for its creation. Rather than building a new facility commemorating the victims, he suggested detonating the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, and pouring its remains at the former place of existence. "How better to remember destroyed people than by destroying a monument?" (Young 1999).

This is an extreme response to the inability and autism of the monuments to provoke memories, their passive attitude towards the viewer, and their result in detaching ourselves from our memories. Instead of raising a new structure to commemorate the void created by such a massive human loss, creating another void by destroying another monument would be more appropriate. Ultimately what the artist suggested is maintaining those voids created by murders in our histories and collective memories and creating a new one to be a permanent reminder not to forget. Current discussions around dismantlement of the monument to Belgian King Leopold II in Brussels revolve precisely around finding 'the right' counter-memorial measures. One of the ideas is to melt down the controversial monument and use its material to create a new memorial to the victims of Leopold's regime in the Congo.

To sum up, corrective actions to be introduced upon 'controversial' monuments range from adding memorial plaques to decontextualizing the person or an event that a monument represents, but these actions can also be more extreme—as in the permanent removal of a monument or its destruction. However, sometimes monuments do come back and take on an afterlife. Transitional justice practice has also witnessed the process of a return of previously removed monuments. Monuments to a key personality of the recent history of Tunisia, former president Habib Bourguiba⁶ (1903–2000), reappeared in the urban space. The resurgence of the memory and policies of the former president of Tunisia were best visible with the return of the equestrian statue of Bourguiba to the avenue in Tunis that bears his name.⁷ This suggests that corrective actions, in some instances, are reversible, temporary, and skin deep.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined monuments as objects of scholarly study, addressing the multitude of ways in which they are created and used by a variety of actors. Drawing from different disciplines interested in monuments as objects of cultural and political practices of memory, the chapter put forward a 3-step model for their study based on characteristics, involved actors, and assigned functions. The CAF model has the potential to bridge the fragmented landscape of studies that engage with monuments. The current chapter represents an attempt to move research towards this direction. By revealing the relationship between concepts across three different levels, the CAF model provides a comprehensive framework to analyze monuments, guiding future studies and advancing our understanding of the complexity behind memory production and consumption in monuments themselves.

For a number of reasons, the empirical relevance of monuments demands a more coherent approach to their study. The evolution of expectations regarding memorialization and monuments in particular have changed greatly over time, not only in the diversification of the functions assigned to monuments, but also in terms of actors who are empowered to voice their needs and ideas and participate actively in both making and consuming monuments. A monument is made to venerate the past or serve as an ominous reminder of our fallacies; moreover it is expected to perform and fill in the voids created by ghosts of national fantasies. Monuments are not simply symbolic objects of artistic and historical value nor a museum-like showcase to publicly display power, glory, or victimhood. Increasingly, monuments are serving more as shop windows where memory—a carefully rearranged product—serves to appease the taste and preferences of those who crave it and will consume it with varying appetite.

NOTES

1. See <http://www.terencegower.com/new-monuments-for-new-neighbourhoods/reference-nine-points-on-monumentality/> (accessed 25 July 2022).
2. Some of the earliest monuments for women in the British Empire go back to 1923, when 23,000 members of the public subscribed to the appeal to create what was called then the world's first memorial to women. The money was collected from women around Britain to restore an important 13th-century stained-glass window and to plant a commemorative oak (Marshall 2004).
3. Founded in 1959, the Mansudae Art Studio caters for North Korea's memorial making. It has been one of the most successful companies to export its memorials across Africa.
4. For more information on frameworks apt for the visual semiotic analysis of monument's features see e.g., Abousnougou and Machin (2013), who analyzed war memorials in United Kingdom; and Greimas (1984), who advanced topological, eidetic, and chromatic categories from plastic semiotics.
5. There are archeological records that ancient Slavic people used memory *tumuli* separately from the burial place of the deceased. In the Middle Ages, as Kolinski (1994) discusses, wayward crosses were made next to the roads in today's Poland. In the 18th century, *krajputasi*, stone-made roadside monuments, were widespread in the Balkans. Makeshift stone *tumuli* and grave markers were also constructed in pre-colonial Africa with documented accounts of their use by e.g. the Oromo people in Southern Ethiopia.
6. A major figure in the political, social, cultural, and economic history of contemporary Tunisia, Bourguiba is also a controversial figure. As a politician at the origin of major social reforms, he also represents authoritarianism.
7. See 'History and Collective Memory in Tunisia' (2016).

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