Grassroots Memorials
The Politics of Memorializing Traumatic Death

Edited by
Peter Jan Margry and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero
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This book is the definitive work on the political meanings and performative dynamics of grassroots memorials, a phenomenon that has increased in Western culture and that now expands globally. The topics discussed in the volume are of enduring importance and reflect issues of ultimate concern—death, memory, suffering, trauma, and the politics of memorialization. A great strength of the book is the diversity of relevant subjects analyzed by a range of international scholars and the interdisciplinary perspectives that they present.

Daniel Wojcik, University of Oregon

This is a provocative, timely volume of smart essays with an impressive global reach. The essays are well connected by the introduction that will be a contribution to scholarship by itself.

Simon J. Bronner, Penn State University

Grassroots memorials have become major arenas of focus during times of trauma, danger, and social unrest. These improvised memorial assemblages continue to display new and more dynamic ways of representing collective and individual identities and in doing so reveal the steps that shape the national memories of those who struggle to come to terms with traumatic loss. This volume focuses on the hybrid quality of these temporary memorials as both monuments of mourning and as focal points for protest and expression of discontent. The broad range of case studies in this volume include anti-mafia shrines, Theo van Gogh’s memorial, September 11th memorials, March 11th shrines in Madrid, and Carlo Giuliani memorials in Genoa.

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Cover photo: Ghost bike for Eric Ng after he died on December 1, 2000, due to a car accident. Photo by Nick Goldbier, New York.
Remapping Cultural History

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The theoretical paradigms dominant in much of cultural history published in English tend to be derived from northern European or North American models. This series will propose alternative mappings by focusing partly or wholly on those parts of the world that speak, or have spoken, French, Italian, Spanish or Portuguese. Both monographs and collective volumes will be published. Preference will be given to volumes that cross national boundaries, that explore areas of culture that have previously received little attention, or that make a significant contribution to rethinking the ways in which cultural history is theorised and narrated.

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When the media present “tragedy or a disaster. Untimely terrorist massacres, school shootings, forms of societal violence—problematic personalities always confront them with the vulnerability. The mediation of deadly events makes it necessary for us to confront anxieties and grievances. Premature death, which are increasingly decades become as mediatic events, the world wants gequently heritazise—although precise (and more problematic) do these things. The growing Western societies—and especially with its political and perform important new phenomenon.

As is often the case in the workshops we organized at anthropologists conference in Brussels, was titled “The Public Memory as Political Tools.” The top fact that fourteen presenters of spontaneous or temporary not represented in this book from the well-defined focus, we also could not include the Ciocco the “Cromagnon” suffered an untimely death.

Later, in 2007, we contacting the subject and invited the second workshop—“Rituals Society”—at the American Folklore Society on October 24, 2008. These all more preparation to the book.
The Madrid Train Bombings
Enacting the Emotional Body at the March 11 Grassroots Memorials

Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

For more than a hundred years, anthropologists and psychologists have dealt with the role of collective mourning and the analysis of the roots of emotions. Although emotions are central for the understanding of grassroots memorials, emotions themselves are rarely the focus of research on the topic. At the same time, there is a clear social demand for the interpretation of emotions in order to, for example, understand the instrumentalizations that emotions can be the subject of in times of conflict and social unrest. In the acts of mourning performed at grassroots memorials, the emotions at play cover a wide range, from grief, hate, or rage, to love. The anthropology of emotion has broadened the scope of its investigations and, as Geoffrey White explains, “it increasingly considers a broader ecology of affect that locates emotional experience in the scenes and practices of everyday life. This line of thinking seeks to find emotions as much in situated practices as in minds and bodies” (White 2006: 51). Mourning is related to the ritual process of overcoming grief, but mourning itself cannot be considered an emotion. Although intense emotions might not explain the rituals, ritual acts themselves do not explain the intense emotions of bereavement (Rosaldo 1993: 187). Lutz and Abu-Lughod suggest that emotion is “about social life rather than internal states” (1990: 1–2), and to contribute to this debate, I look in this chapter at the social life of grassroots memorials in the aftermath of the March 11 Madrid train bombings.

People grieve, mourn, and commemorate catastrophes. When a group of people in the West feel that certain deaths are particularly tragic or are related to mass-media celebrities, and which the editors of this book call “greater” deaths, it is increasingly common. Mourning rituals are sanctioned spaces after the death of a great figure and are usually documented throughout history. However, it is not easy to trace, as is explored here, how this emotion is also argued that the mass-mediated emotional expressions that consolidate in the 21st century.

My focus is on the narratives of aspects of the “emotional self”: The emotions of the materials deposited at the train stations; the support employed to express emotions and expressive qualities of the writing; the emotional aspects expressed through the clothes deposited at the train stations; and the narratives of emotions expressed throughout the documentation of the Archive of Mourning Project. The undertaking conducted at the Spanish Cultural Institute in Mexico City featured a systematic documentation of the grassroots memorials that documented and analyzed grassroots memorials in the March 11 bombings. The first part contextualizes the project, the second emotionality.

Many other aspects of the emotional, inter-personal, and the political controversies following the March 11 attacks could be included, such as the blaming of ETA terrorists; the overwhelming of sentiments; the controversies of remembering; the controversies of the remembrance after 11 March; and the emotions involved in the conflicts over who participated in the commemorations organized after the event as their first ever grieving experience, those in the media in the emotions lived in this event.

The Archive of Mourning Project

On 11 March 2004, ten bombs were exploded in the train line that links the town of Alcalá de Henares with the center of central Madrid. The bombs went off...
related to mass-media celebrities, an established pattern of mourning—which the editors of this book call “grassroots memorials”—is becoming increasingly common. Mourning rituals in public and noninstitutionally sanctioned spaces after the death of high-status individuals have been documented throughout history. However, the origin of these rituals is not easy to trace, as is explored in this book’s introduction—which also argues that the mass-mediated pattern of grassroots memorials is a phenomenon that consolidated in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

My focus is on the narratives of identification that deal with two aspects of the “emotional self”: The effect that the actual sites—the locations of the materials deposited at the grassroots memorials—and the support employed to express emotions in writing have on the intensity and expressive qualities of the writings of the memorials; and the emotional aspects expressed through the body, that is, by the fabrics and clothes deposited at the train stations. In both parts, I analyze the narratives of emotions expressed through the writing of the messages, using the documentation of the Archive of Mourning project, a research undertaking conducted at the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) that documented and analyzed grassroots memorials in the aftermath of the March 11 bombings. The first part of my contribution is dedicated to contextualizing the project, the second to analyzing these two spheres of emotionality.

Many other aspects of the emotions linked to the public grieving after the March 11 attacks could be included, such as the emotional aspects of the political controversies following the bombings; the emotions linked to the blaming of ETA terrorists; an analysis of the outrage and antiwar sentiments; the controversies of remembrance and the instrumentalization of the remembrance after 11 March 2004; or an analysis of the emotions involved in the conflicts over who commemorated and where, who participated in the commemorations, and which victims were being honored; an analysis of our interviews with young people whose first encounter with tragedy and death had been the bombings, and who described the event as their first ever grieving experience; or an analysis of the role of the media in the emotions lived in the aftermath of the attacks.

The Archive of Mourning Project

On 11 March 2004, ten bombs were placed in four commuter trains on the line that links the town of Alcalá de Henares with Atocha station in central Madrid. The bombs went off within a few minutes of each other,
between 7:36 and 7:39 AM. It was the morning rush hour, and the trains were packed with workers and some students. The bombs killed 192 people and injured a further 1,857.

After the bombings, a group of anthropologists and literature scholars at the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), and members of a CSIC research group on expressive culture in contemporary societies started a project to document and analyze the public expressions of grief. The researchers had received e-mails and telephone calls from colleagues who were concerned about the bombings; they asked for details about the attacks and, because the CSIC is close to the Atocha train station, whether we were okay. In a sense, our going to the stations with our cameras constituted an academic way to process our own grief. Photographs, as pointed out by Diana Taylor, are in themselves an act of interlocution, an action and anti-action in the face of the impossibility of doing, an archival impulse “to save the images to understand them at some future time” (Taylor 2003: 241; cf. Chulilla et al. 2005). The need for action is a recurrent motif that appears in most of the ethnographic accounts of grassroots memorials (cf. the introduction to this volume) and is the focus of this research project: A reflexive account of the researchers’ need for action, together with analyses of others’ need for action, in order to analyze those actions. Grief (and other emotions) is an effective trigger mechanism for actions of various kinds, including the actual academic endeavor, constituting what can be called an “emergency ethnology” (Sánchez-Pérez and Ortiz 2008: 23).

The project was entitled the Archive of Mourning because the purpose was to catalogue the collection of almost seventy thousand writings and objects that document the grassroots memorialization at the train stations, including photographs, recordings of testimonies, and the actual objects, drawings, and messages deposited at the Atocha, El Pozo, and Santa Eugenia train stations; and to analyze the mourning practices that took place at those stations. Once the grassroots memorials had been dismantled and replaced by a cybershrine on 9 June 2004 (almost three months after the bombings), the national train company RENFE donated the Archive of Mourning project the artifacts that had survived. RENFE’s original plan was to bury the materials beneath an official monument in memory of the deceased. However, when our team contacted them to ask for permission to document the materials, they changed their minds and decided that the best option was to allow us to preserve them. The decision to accept the documents touches upon important ethical issues regarding the role of research institutions and the change in the perspective of “collecting the ephemera of loss” (Gardner, this volume), while the act of burying opens up the discussion about what the implications are of the symbolic act of burying (and volume).

The ideas presented in this chapter are drawn from the analysis of some of the documents in the archive. We present them in the following sections, organized chronologically: The Stations, Politics, and Community Networks. Since the attacks, trains have been loaded with symbolic meanings. For those who were injured or lost loved ones, those who directly experienced the explosions or who were nearby but were uninvolved, or those who were not directly involved but were equally affected, or because they used the stations daily, the events have been reenacted in various forms: In the city, they are reflected in the names given to the various train stations, those passing through them, and the ironies of daily life. As we have seen, some of them used the stations daily to make, while for others, it is still an inescapable part of the trauma. “We were all in those stations, written on columns, and doors, become a symbol that was also used in other kinds of spaces: poems and songs. “We were all in those stations, written on columns, and doors. This is what makes the station, the symbol of the social body, unified but equally divided. The political dimension of that sentence is evident: when uttered at demonstrations orevening events, the performance of grief and its power to maintain the memory of the deceased, the additional power when those who were killed remembered. The internal dynamics of the grassroots memorials in the city are related, on the station in which the memorial is located, the largest train stations in Madrid: the Atocha, El Pozo, and La Laguna stations are commuting stations (the river Henares corridor). These stations are the entry points for those who work in Madrid, while Atocha handles long-distance travelers on both national and international lines.

The four stations documented in this volume—Atocha, Viacrucis, Coslada, or San Fernando—are the entry points for Madrid’s suburban networks, the spaces for the expression of emotions.
The Stations, Politics, and Communication

Since the attacks, trains have been laden with various layers of emotional meanings. For those who were injured, for the families of the victims, for those who directly experienced the bombings, and for those who were not directly involved but were equally affected via the mass media, for instance, or because they used the same trains, the long-lasting trauma is reflected metonymically in trains. Trains represent the whole bombing event: Although they were just a part of it, they symbolize the whole event. In some cases, getting on a train again was a difficult decision to make, while for others, it is still an impossible action, an unhealed aspect of the trauma. “We were all in those trains” was repeated at the demonstrations, written on columns, and depicted in drawings—thus becoming a symbol that was also used in other contexts, for instance, in books of poems and songs. “We were all in those trains” symbolizes the unity of the social body, unified but equally dismembered, after the attacks. The political dimension of that sentence, “We were all in those trains,” when uttered at demonstrations exemplifies the internal dynamic of performances of grief and its power to unify common action, and, therefore, the additional power when those emotions are instrumentalized (cf. Holst-Warhaft 2000: 2).

The internal dynamics of the grassroots memorials differs depending on the station in which the memorial was placed. Atocha is one of the largest stations in Madrid; the others—Alealá de Henares, Santa Eugenia, and El Pozo—are commuting stations in the corredor del Henares (the river Henares corridor). These three stations are used by commuters who work in Madrid, while Atocha, in addition to commuters, also handles long-distance travelers on the high-speed line (AVE) and other national and international lines.

The four stations documented in the project—plus other ones, such as Vicálvaro, Coslada, or San Fernando—constituted noninstitutionalized spaces for the expression of emotions and the exchange of thoughts. The
train stations represented a public arena for the expression of grief, rage, love, hate, and other emotions, as well as for discussions, mainly on the topics of politics and religion, that packaged those emotions embedded in narratives. They were a forum for communication. In their study of the representation of foreigners at the grassroots memorials after the bombings, Chulilla and colleagues use the image of the Chinese *dazibao* to describe, in particular, the columns of Atocha train station. *Dazibao* is a Chinese term that describes a space in a wall where passersby can leave messages about topics that are of interest to the community and also debate them (Chulilla et al. 2005: 370). This author uses the image of *dazibao* to talk about performativity (but without mentioning this concept) and the participation of those who visited the memorials. As opposed to the case of September 11, where the combination of postings was the result of accumulation (cf. Fraenkel, this volume), in the case of Madrid, a dialogic structure was the mechanism used at the train stations. The structure consisted not of a juxtaposition of messages, but of a combination of two mechanisms: dialogue between various voices expressed at the superimposed layers of communicative acts, and a palimpsest structure, in which the latest addition sometimes erases the previous one. In these palimpsestic and, at the same time, continuing conversations, the support is reused and conveys various levels of writings. For instance, illustration 10.1 shows a posting on top of graffiti on a column at Atocha station. A printed sheet of paper bearing the words “Immigrants are not to be blamed” serves as the support for other texts in Spanish and Arab written by different hands. The palimpsest structure—the paper covers or erases the graffiti—together with the dialogue embedded in grassroots memorials, provides information about the multiple narratives during the almost three-month period that the memorials lasted.

This performative structure also establishes a particular mechanism of construction of narratives, and contributes to the processes of internalization and externalization of the narratives about the attacks, which found a public arena at the stations. In a conflictive (and instrumentalized) situation like post-March 11, the narratives expressed at the stations reflect multiple confronting elements, such as debates about the authorship of the attacks, protests against the war in Iraq and the participation of Spanish troops in that war, the instrumentalization of the victims, the political confrontation motivated by, among other things, the change of government three days after the attacks, the silences regarding the authorship of the attacks, as well as other narratives linked, for instance, to the victims, God, or the terrorists. To understand the externalizing/internalizing components at the memorials, I draw for this part on White’s analysis of the discourses of “survivors” of Pearl Harbor who present personal stories in the memorial context. White argues that discourses of mourning serve as strategies to emotionalize narratives of personal pasts, and that by constructing narratives of memory, we narrativize the stories of those who die. How do certain externalizations become institutionalization of those emblems of memory? How do the narratives externalized become institutionalized in a form of dialogic performativity? How do certain texts? (White 2000: 507).

In a very different context, the Madrid’s train stations were a forum to externalize narratives about the bombings, as well as other public forums. At the same time, they were a forum to externalize narratives of those narratives via the platforms of grassroots memorials. During the month of April, at the stations, the main routine of narratives involved a narrative (particularly anti-Bush and anti-war) and a narrative of solidarity and antiterrorism. In a sense, both were part of a process of “extensification” of a narrative of Islam being one of the less-represented.

The enactment of various emotions contributing elements of the memorials and
In their study of the bomb-ings, mainly on the emotions embedded in their study of the bomb-ings, mainly on the emotions embedded in their study of the bomb-ings, mainly on the emotions embedded in their study of the bomb-ings, mainly on the emotions embedded in the case of Madrid, the authors argue that the monthly signs of grassroots emotions are expressed through a palimpsest structure in which previous emotions are overlaid with new ones. For example, a sign at Atocha station reads, "Los inmigrantes no tienen culpa!!" which means "Immigrants are not to blame!!". This sign reflects the complex emotions and discursive strategies at play in the memorial context. White argues that a repertoire of discursive strategies serves to emotionalize national narrative and also works to nationalize personal narratives, and that by externalizing repeated narratives, a process of internalization of those emotions takes place. White analyzes how the narratives are externalized and asks a very relevant question: "How do certain externalizations become fixed through repetition and institutionalization such as that they gain the status of collective or cultural texts?" (White 2000: 507).

In a very different context, the Madrid train stations served as a forum to externalize narratives about the bombings that did not necessarily have other public forums. At the same time, that process allowed for an internalization of those narratives via the performances that gave shape to the grassroots memorials. During the months that the memorials stood at the stations, the main routinized narratives were an antipoliticians narrative (particularly anti-Bush and anti-Aznar messages) and rhetorics of solidarity and antiterrorism. In a sense, the grassroots memorials were part of a process of "contextualization" of these narratives, with anti-Islam being one of the less-represented narratives, as explored below.

The enactment of various emotions at the stations is one of the constituting elements of the memorials and is the foundation of its performa-
tive quality. The externalization of somebody’s emotions was partially internalized by other people who visited the memorials, by means of the performances of grief at the stations. Interaction with each other, and sometimes participation, are the most common actions observed at the four train stations. Communication was the linking factor, the common thread that constitutes an action for the internalization of those narratives. In addition, the mass media is one of the most powerful externalization agents for narratives. How those narratives are received and internalized, and how the media change the perceptions of the events—and not so much behavior (Walter 2008)—require a thorough ethnographic study. The research results obtained by Thomas (2002, cited after Walter 2008) regarding the mourning of Lady Diana by the British people show that the media were more effective in changing perceptions than behavior. Although most of the people interviewed for that research project stated that the British had changed their ways of expressing emotions in public, no more than 10 percent of a panel of 249 ordinary British citizens had actually participated in acts of public mourning. The media, in the case of March 11 train attacks, played an essential role in the internationalization of mourning narratives and the emotions involved.

To explore the emotions expressed and internalized at the grassroots memorials, in the next part of this chapter, I focus on the formats in which the narratives of emotions were expressed and, in the subsequent part, on the embodying practices linked to particular materials: clothes and fabrics.

Verticality and Materiality: Writings on Walls, Writings on Paper

In this section, I draw on a series of photographs that document the columns at Atocha station on 8 and 9 June 2004, after the materials deposited at the grassroots memorials had been taken away. Until then, the columns had been covered by pieces of paper and other supports for writings and drawings, which did not allow for the complete reading of the graffiti. In preparation for the cybershrine that was inaugurated on 9 June by the minister of development, Magdalena Álvarez, the station’s cleaners dismantled all the grassroots memorials, clearing both the exterior and the interior of the station of candles, teddy bears, messages, flags, T-shirts, etc., and putting them in boxes. The graffiti on the columns were not erased, so the photographs of those columns provide interesting information about the very first writing reactions in the aftermath of the attacks, as they were soon covered by additional writings and drawings that used paper as their support. I took pictures of each of the four sides of the columns. Illustration 10.2 shows part of a column of the cybershrine.

The reason for substituting the grassroots way of memorializing the bombings by the workers at the train station. It was a union newsletter, but there were virtually signed the letter. In this rather end, their trauma after the bombings, and so into their lungs as an evil fluid.” By handing the station, they felt that they were workers and end their letter with: “We ask from the main hall of the station, and nearby. We ask for respect for the memory of the grief of the survivors. We ask, in short, edy.” The train company also had a series of the grassroots memorials, as the reciprocal and emotional relationships between the bombings, the trains, and the train memorials in the stations was marked.
of the columns. Illustration 10.2 shows the state before the clean-up, and illustration 10.3 shows part of a column on the day of the inauguration of the cybershrine.

The reason for substituting the grassroots memorials with a permanent way of memorializing the bombings is explained in a letter written by the workers at the train station. It was published on 31 May in Rojo y Negro, a union newsletter, but there was no explicit mention of who actually signed the letter. In this rather emotional letter, the workers explain their trauma after the bombings, and say that the odor of candles “entered into their lungs as an evil fluid.” By having the grassroots memorials inside the station, they felt that they were working in a funeral chapel. The workers end their letter with: “We ask for the candles to be taken away from the main hall of the station, and a permanent memorial to be built nearby. We ask for respect for the memory of the deceased and for the grief of the survivors. We ask, in short, to be allowed to overcome tragedy.”

The train company also had a strong interest in seeing the removal of the grassroots memorials, as the move would break down the symbolic and emotional relationships that were being established between the bombings, the trains, and the train stations. The end of the grassroots memorials in the stations was marked by the exchange of the grassroots

character of the memorial for an authorized form of memorialization, like the web site to which mourners could add written messages and images of their palms. Institutionalization brings to an end the structuring pattern of grassroots memorials.

Memorizing Vertically or Horizontally?

The physical structure of the grassroots memorials in the four stations had both a vertical and a horizontal plane, as some of the offerings were placed on the floor and others were stuck to the walls. Although both planes include various types of support, some materials were more common depending on the plane. For instance, the vertical plane (walls) is more suitable for graffiti; pieces of paper and flags bearing messages are equally common horizontally and vertically; while flowers, candles, teddy bears, and other objects are most common on the floor. What is more relevant, however, is that verticality allows the visitor to improvise a message and to add something to the memorial in a written form and to do so on the spot; therefore, the act of writing in situ is linked to the walls; placing graffiti directly onto the walls and adding messages to other documents.

The dynamism of the grassroots memorial in terms of spatiality and content is one of the key elements in the case of Madrid. The walls were a public message board during the three-month period in which discussions were conducted. The floors, on the other hand, accumulated materials the disposition of which changed very often. The graffiti on the bricks of the walls were not removable, contrary to the writings on paper hanging on the walls and the horizontally placed materials. The horizontally deposited materials and papers, and the other materials that were stuck to the vertical parts of the memorials, changed over time and were relocated, moved, and rearranged by improvised “memorial organizers” who changed the position of the offerings and arranged them according to various criteria (cf. Stengs, this volume). In the case of the Atocha train station, people working for the cleaning services performed that role, while in the case of the El Pozo train station, women from the neighborhood got together to light the candles, remove wilted flowers, and arrange the memorials. The life of the materials deposited during the three-month period was as fluid as the ephemerality of many of the offerings. In the Atocha station, the cleaners (most of whom were women) took care of lighting the candles and rearranging the memorials; they moved them from the train platforms, where they had been for the first few days, to various locations below the dome and in the connecting hall between the metro and the train station, and finally to the intermediate hall, where later on, the cybershrines were located until the rearrangement of the messages of the victims of Moroccan origin, waiting to the glass dome in the last weeks of April, and the researchers wondered whether cans, or station workers who had read (2005: 401). During my observation as personnel from the station, rearranging the memorials, I did not have evidence of families or the interest for a particular victim. The limited days (due in part to my own grief, to the other mourners at the train stations), but the fluidity of the memorials in terms of reordering over time.

My argument is that the three variables in the intensity and the type of emotion expressed in grassroots memorials are: the support, the writing, and the location. The supports of the memorials—graffiti, messages, flowers, and candles—influence the type of dialogues and the messages conveyed. The common themes are remembering the dead, fighting against terrorism. Insults aimed at supporting material is paper, but the writing is fluid.

The spatial immobility of the writing makes the graffiti hidden behind the walls of the initial grassroots memorials more common in the messages. The tone and volume of the emotions expressed in the memorials varied. In the Atocha station, the walls offered a place for the victims to express their emotions, while in other stations, the walls were more fluid, and the messages were more common in the messages. It is interesting to note the extent of the messages, and the expressions of solidarity that were six texts expressing anti-Islam sentiment.

The word peace does not exist / in the Arab / We are Christians / we don’t want / to be Muslim. We are Christians we don’t want to be [sic] it.
Hell with slam and the slamistas [sic] (in English in the original).
The Qur'an says “mistract those who misreat you ... kill those who do the same ...” Let us follow these lessons and the same to them!!!
Moors out / Mosques out.16

To contextualize the proportion of these messages in the overall displays in the train stations, as stated—and taking into account only the collection of photographs that document the columns the day that the postings were cleared away—I could count in those pictures only six pieces of graffiti that had an anti-Islam content. See, for instance, illustration 10.3.

The density of graffiti can be easily perceived in this picture, which shows a third of one of the four sides of the columns that surround Atocha station. The six anti-Islam texts are not examples of “types” of messages, but individual messages. In the same picture, there are various messages expressing hatred toward al-Qaeda and toward terrorists, and others saying “yes to Islam,” “no to war” (or “no to the war”), “here you have your 20 mass destruction weapons,” “It has been finally Al-Qaeda (it has just been confirmed),” and “those who are into politics are evil.” Written on one of the bricks, in smaller handwriting, are the words, “In that train there were people from the left, / from the right and other ideologies blame the / terrorists, not the government! We all / feel grief /

Illustration 10.3. One of the brick columns at Atocha train station, 9 June 2004. Photo: Cristina Sánchez-Carretero.

Teresa;” and in white ink, “Go on, far away all in those trains” and “People are dying / have died.”

Taking into account just the graffiti proportion of anti-Islam messages is excluding documentation from the pictures is a due to the less violent quality of the reports, as explored above. At El Pozo, Islam messages is even lower, with the lot wall: “Moors, no”; and “Islam = nia, the vertical side of the memorial posted messages, drawings, photographs, estación de Henares train station, the vertic were virtually no graffiti.

As the days passed, the intensity of politicians and terrorists also decreased. On 14 March 2004, the sentence, “We want in multiple formats. The graffiti on the El Pozo, were the preferable loci for the instrumentalization of victims gave way to and peace.

Clothes and Fabrics: Embodied Life

Embodi the Memorials

The body is the only place from which the place for the location of mourning is the performance of memorialization between bodies and the world, exempli- takes places at grassroots memorial sites, then depositing one’s clothes at the self on the memorials themselves: The self at the memorials, materializing deposi- part of the emotional self into a material form and thus linking.

Some of the materials deposited at these were linked to the body. The use of clothes divided into two categories: clothes that were used as the sup-
Teresa;" and in white ink, "Go on, families, we are / with you! / We were all in those trains" and "People are not to be blamed. / 200 innocents have died."

Taking into account just the graffiti on the Atocha columns, the proportion of anti-Islam messages is extremely low. When the rest of the documentation from the pictures is added, the proportion is even lower due to the less violent quality of the narratives expressed on paper supports, as explored above. At El Pozo train station, the number of anti-Islam messages is even lower, with two messages, written on a parking lot wall: "Moors, no"17 and "Islam = religion of death."18 At Santa Eugenia, the vertical side of the memorials included fewer graffiti and more posted messages, drawings, photographs, and objects. Finally, at the Alcalá de Henares train station, the vertical component was minimal; there were virtually no graffiti.

As the days passed, the intensity of the hate messages and the insults to politicians and terrorists also decreased. Until the elections on Sunday, 14 March 2004, the sentence, "We want to know the truth," was repeated in multiple formats. The graffiti on the walls at Atocha, and on those at El Pozo, were the preferable locus for these manifestations of emotion. After a few weeks, the heated debate about politics and politicians' instrumentalization of victims gave way to messages about solidarity, love, and peace.

Clothes and Fabrics: Embodied Emotions, Embodying the Memorials

The body is the only place from which emotions are displayed, the only place for the location of mourning itself, and the most intimate site for the performance of memorialization. Clothes, as the liminal space between bodies and the world, exemplify the communicative process that takes places at grassroots memorials. Inscribing the self in clothes and then depositing one's clothes at the memorials is depositing part of that self on the memorials themselves: Transporting the self outside, leaving the self at the memorials, materializing emotions via one's clothes, and depositing part of the emotional self at the memorials. Following this line of thought, depositing one's own clothes is translating the emotions into a material form and thus linking body and memorial.

Some of the materials deposited at the shrines—clothes and fabrics—were linked to the body. The use of clothing in the memorials can be divided into two categories: clothes that were deposited at the memorials and clothes that were used as the support for printed images or symbols of
the loved ones who were being memorialized. The former act is common at grassroots memorials, while the latter is more linked to other performative commemoratives (Santino 2004; 2006b), such as protest marches in which a component of protest is linked to particular victims; for instance, the images of the disappeared during the marches by the Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, who bear the portraits of their loved ones on signs and T-shirts. In the selection of examples included below, I concentrate on the first type of garments as memorializing material culture.

Garments as Memorializing Material Culture: Clothes and Fabrics

To provide a broad picture of the garments used as memorabilia at the stations and of their impact on the structure of the grassroots memorials, I distinguish seven types of clothing and fabrics:

Uniforms: One of the types of clothes that were deposited at the train stations comprised official uniforms, such as those of emergency health workers, the social services, and other workers. Some of these clothes were worn during those traumatic days, either at hospitals or the train stations.

T-shirts: Many of the T-shirts bore a logo indicating the name of an association, a town, or a company, but many others did not. In the latter case, the T-shirts were used as the support for writing. Some of these clothes were worn during those traumatic days, either at hospitals or the train stations.

Scars and caps: The most common scarves were soccer ones; however, also other types—such as scout scarves—were deposited at the memorials.

Dolls clothes: Miniature clothes deposited by children.

Carpets, tablecloths, and curtains used as the support for writing: The immediacy of the act of writing was, in many cases, decided on the spot, as evidenced by the presence of stained tablecloths, which had presumably been taken straight from tables to be written on or used as banners in demonstrations.

Flags: The number and variety of flags is an emblematic element. It is interesting to note the variety of countries represented. One-third of the deceased were born outside Spain, and the mourning at the train stations reflects the variety of their origins (Sánchez-Carretero 2006: 339; Chulilla et al. 2005: 364–68). This variety contrasts with the almost exclusive presence of the American flag after September 11 (Ortiz and Sánchez-Carretero 2008: 165).

Black ribbons made of various fabrics: Black ribbons together with white hands are the most important antiterrorism symbols in Spain. Blue ribbons were used in demonstrations demanding the release of people kidnapped by ETA. The blue ribbon turned into black as a mourning symbol to indicate an assassination of a 11 attacks. Black ribbons could be found for faxes, stores, banks, and the railway stations, various supporting fabrics: sewed on or pinned to towels.

Clothes that had been in contact with the sites of this traumatic event could be located at the other side of the process, linked to keeping some of the loved that once touched his or her body.

Conclusions: Toward an Epistemology

I have dealt with two aspects of the memorialization processes, namely, through material and the writing and support material, that is, “grief is the writing on white paper; hate is on the wall”-The love/hate relation expressed via the use of the xenophobic messages not strictly maintained. There is, however, the anti-PP and anti-Aznar message, paper, but the antiwar, antipolitician paper is used.

Many questions remain open and open that are used to internalize the emotions experienced involved in the mourning process that are mirrored in the media? What was the emotional involvement? These questions need further research, and anthropologists are facing the situations from society as they occur. And the repertoire of emotions that are expressed.

Gail Holst-Warhaft starts her project with a quote from Hamlet, a tragedy...
symbol to indicate an assassination committed by ETA. After the March 11 attacks, black ribbons could be found on facades and cars, and at offices, stores, banks, and the railway stations. Black ribbons were stuck to various supporting fabrics: sewed on curtains, painted on tablecloths, or pinned to towels.

Clothes that had been in contact with the bodies of those who helped at the sites of this traumatic event constitute a particular type of clothing deposited at the memorials. And, related to this, another important aspect of the relationship between mourning processes and clothing, which could be located at the other side of the spectrum of private mourning process, is linked to keeping some of the garments of the deceased beloved that once touched his or her body (Hallam and Hockey 2001: 19).

Conclusions: Toward an Epistemology of Emotions

I have dealt with two aspects of the emotional internalization/externalization processes, namely, through my analysis of how the position and the material of the writing support affect the intensity of the emotions expressed in the writing at the memorials; and by presenting a particular type of support material, that is, garments. One could say that “Love is on white paper; hate is on the walls”—but this was not entirely the case. The love/hate relation expressed via the writing support elements does apply to the few xenophobic messages; however, in other messages, such as those that direct anger toward politicians, the paper/wall dichotomy is not strictly maintained. There is, however, an increase in the severity of the anti-PP and anti-Aznar messages on the walls compared to those on paper, but the antiwar, antipolitician feelings are also maintained when paper is used.

Many questions remain open that are linked to, for instance, the senses used to internalize the emotions expressed, such as: Which senses were involved in the mourning processes that developed at the grassroots memorials? Which senses were involved in the process of analyzing them? How were the visitors affected emotionally by the memorials? How were people affected emotionally by the memorials they saw in the mass media? What was the emotional involvement of the mass-media participants? These questions need further analysis at a time when ethnologists and anthropologists are facing the social challenge to understand reactions from society as they occur. And, to do so, it is important to analyze the repertoire of emotions that are expressed at times of social trauma.

Gail Holst-Warhaft starts her provocative book The Cue for Passion with a quote from Hamlet, a tragedy, which—like most tragedies—con-
sists of an exploration of death, grief, and mourning. Grief is an emotional state, and “how we display that grief, how we act it out in public, or how others act it out for us is what mourning and its rituals are about” (Holst-Warhaft 2000: 1). According to this author, the cultural diversity of contemporary societies and the variety of approaches used to cope with grief means that “when the modern, increasingly private person is faced with the death of someone close, she has more to cope with than her own grief; she must invent ways to respond to it. ... with no community to dramatize our grief, to translate and perform it, we are increasingly forced to do it for ourselves or to turn to strangers for advice” (Holst-Warhaft 2000: 10–11). The media are another element that provides models for grassroots memorials, as explored in the introduction to this book. The dramatization of grief after a traumatic event such as the March 11 bombings finds a formalized pattern via grassroots memorials for the expression of various and, sometimes, collective emotions.

Among current studies on grief and mourning, there is a tendency to assume that grief is a private emotion, and that mourning is constituted by ritualized public practices that are designed to help people to ease and deal with their grief. However, grassroots memorials contradict this, because the emotions are publicly displayed in a ritualized format that is not necessarily intended to overcome grief, but to ask for action, by for instance protesting, asking for it never to happen again, or simply asking “Why?” Following Doss, I think that “these memorials problematize supposed distinctions between grief and mourning, as they embody both visibly public expressions of grief and performative rituals of mourning” (Doss 2008: 19). My thesis is that having a public arena for the display of emotions affects the ritualized practices and redirects into action the emotional power that generates this type of social grief. Therefore, the triangle emotion-action-communication is articulated and developed at the grassroots memorials.

This chapter stressed the importance of focusing on the emotions channeled at grassroots memorials. It also pointed to the need to work toward an understanding of emotional repertoires, the chain of emotions, the senses that are affected, and the emotional states of being, as well as toward an interpretation of the emotional system involved in the current memorialization practice that constitutes grassroots memorials.26

Notes

1. White concentrates on the role of buildings in the emotional sphere, stating that “few studies have taken seriously the role of space and place in the production of affect, much less the architectural environment” (White 2006: 51).

2. The project was funded by the Spanish Government (HUM2005-03490) and is part of the Centre of Excellence "Reconstruction of Identities after Conflict" (Ref. 217441).

3. A strike by students meant that the number was unusually low.

4. These are the official figures included in the OMS report.

5. In particular, an e-mail from Margaret F. Morris, Library of Congress, wondering if the project, made up of students, made up of students, would be suitable.

6. For a complete description of the techniques, the religious iconography is analyzed in public space are analyzed by Carmen Oliver and Oliva (2008).

7. The cybershrine consists of a website, an archive, a database. The site could be accessed online at Atocha and the public space are analyzed by Carmen Oliver and Oliva (2008).

8. The collection was catalogued in December 2009, with 495 objects, 6,432 messages and drawings. At the time of writing, the rest of the collection is at the Fundación de los Alumnos.


11. The boxes were donated by RENFE to Way of the Cross.

12. "Rejo y Negro" is the newsletter of the Comité pro-Alliance, a large union in Spain. The letter is available online at www.rejoynegro.com.

13. "Por qué no se tienen las vistas de la ciudad Alemania?... un lugar cercano un recuerdo permanente, un recuerdo de los muertos y para el dolor de los supervivientes, un recuerdo de la tragedia."

14. A quantitative approach to the issue has been part of the master's thesis of the author of this paper, focusing on the role of documents preserved at the Archive of Messages on the walls of Atocha. His study shows, in particular, that 25 percent of those messages are about the trains and the work stations; another 25 percent are about the photographs; and the remaining 50 percent are about the photographs and the work stations (Clarke 2009: 29). However, a qualitative analysis shows a number of reasons: the Archive of Messages on the walls of Atocha, the photographs deposited at the train stations; the analysis was not for the postings or papers deposited in the photographs; and the photographs are real...
2. The project was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Culture (HUM2005-03490) and is part of the CRIC project (Cultural Heritage and the Reconstruction of Identities after Conflict), which is funded by the European Union 7FP (Ref. 217411).
3. A strike by students meant that the number of students on the train was lower than usual.
4. These are the official figures included in the judicial process.
5. In particular, an e-mail from Margaret Kruis at the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, wondering if we were going to start a documentation project, made us think about it.
6. For a complete description of the technical aspects of the project, see Pilar Martínez (2011); the analysis of the writings is provided by Paloma Díaz-Mas (2011), the religious iconography is analyzed by Antonio Cea (2011), and the use of the public space are analyzed by Carmen Ortiz (2011).
7. The cybershrine consisted of a web site, www.mascercanos.com (no longer available). The site could be accessed online and also directly from computers in the Atocha and El Pozo train stations. The computers included a scanner so that visitors’ palms could be scanned and become part of the message. The symbolism of the palm in Spanish antiterrorism movements is explained below. For information about the cybershrines, see Truc (2011).
8. The collection was catalogued in December 2008. It contains: 2,482 photographs, 495 objects, 6,432 messages and drawings on paper, 58,732 e-mails, and 64 recordings. At the time of writing, the research team is preparing the final deposit of the collection at the Fundación de los Ferrocarriles Españoles (FFE).
9. White considers narrative performances to be a larger component of emotional identification than images, in the context of memorials (White 2000: 526).
10. Silverstein and Urban (1996) use the term “contextualized” to describe the routinization of discourse through repetition and/or institutionalization.
11. The boxes were donated by RENFE to the Archive of Mourning project.
13. “¿Pedimos que se retiren las velas del vestíbulo de la estación, y que se alce en un lugar cercano un recuerdo permanente. Pedimos respeto para el recuerdo de los muertos y para el dolor de los supervivientes. Pedimos, en definitiva, que nos permitan superar la tragedia.”
14. A quantitative approach to the issue has been partially applied by Daniel Clarke, as part on his master’s thesis on the topic. Clarke quantified the themes of the documents preserved at the Archive of Mourning and compared them with the messages on the walls of Atocha. His conclusion is that politics (around 23 percent) and peace (almost 25 percent) constitute the most common themes on those walls (Clarke 2009: 29). However, a quantitative analysis has many limitations for a number of reasons: the Archive of Mourning does not have all the documents deposited at the train stations; the analysis of the photographs is used for the walls but not for the postings or papers deposited on the floor; and some of the wall messages from the photographs are readable, while others are not.
15. The studies that deal with Islamophobic messages at the Madrid memorials mention that they constitute a minority of messages when compared with other topics (Chuillla et al. 2005: 392; Clarke 2009: 48). For a study on the reactions of Muslim associations in Madrid after the bombings, see Téllez (2011).
16. “La palabra paz no existe en el diccionario árabe” (FD-825); “Somos cristianos / no queremos / ser islamicos / Isabel de Castilla regresa” (FD-688); “Somos cristianos no queremos [sic] islámicos” (FD-870); “El Corán dice: ‘maltrata a quien te maltrata ... / Mata a quien lo mismo hace ...’ sigamos sus enseñanzas / y hagamos lo mismo con ellos!!” (FD-711); and “Fuera moros / fuera mezquitas” (FD-824). The only other xenophobic examples that I could find not included in the studies mentioned above are: “We are Christians we don’t wanto [sic] islamícos” (FD-870), which is slightly different from the previous example, which ends with “Isabel of Castille” and seems to have been written by the same hand; and the anti-Semitic graffiti messages “With the Jews to the electric chair” (FD-861) and “Jews sons of bitches” (FD-861), In addition, I also found an anti-Islamic example among the graffiti expressions of El Pozo.
17. FD-1735.
18. FD-1838.
19. For instance, SUMMA workers (FD-1732; FD-1165)—who are the public emergency health service in Madrid—or IMETE (FD-1646), the unemployment city service.
20. Examples of T-shirts are: FD-1645 (from El Pozo) (a week later, the same T-shirt appeared in another place [FD-2298]); FD-1940 (from Sta. Eugenia); FD-626, FD-2099, FD-1556, and FD-1557 (from Atocha).
21. See, for instance, examples of a scarf (FD-1020) and various soccer scarves (FD-618).
22. See, for instance, FD-1574 (from El Pozo).
23. See, for instance, FD-2026. Examples of banners are FD-2113 and FD-2250.
24. See, for instance, FD-2145.
25. The conservative party Partido Popular, headed by Aznar, was in power when the attacks took place; it was replaced by the socialist party (PSOE) after the 14 March 2004 elections.
26. A Spanish version of some parts of this essay can be found in Sánchez-Carretero 2011.

References


Madrid Train Bombings: Enacting the Emotional

“Somos cristianos / no queremos a quien / al drástico / tragedia de mezquitas / y / ella mezquita.”

We did not included sobredos [sic] in our analysis.

In this sense, the electric chair is again an example of the anti-americanism.

The public emergency employment city.

The same T-shirt (Madrid); FD-2520.

In Madrid: 220,000 soccer scarves

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Carlo Stiaccini was awarded his PhD in 2006 for his dissertation on religious works at the Department of Modern Italian Emigration Studies) and studies in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, essays on war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and topics of war and migration texts, in the seventh