

The logo for 'RememberMe' features the word 'RememberMe' in a bold, sans-serif font. The 'Remember' part is white, and the 'Me' part is blue. The text is set against a solid blue rectangular background.

RememberMe

**THE CHANGING FACE
OF MEMORIALISATION:
FINAL REPORT**

The background of the lower half of the cover is a large, abstract graphic. It consists of several overlapping, translucent shapes in shades of blue and white, creating a sense of depth and movement. The shapes appear to be stylized human figures or forms, possibly representing a crowd or a group of people. The overall effect is a dynamic and somewhat ethereal composition.

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Remember Me: The Changing Face of Memorialisation

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Professor Margaret Holloway (Principal Investigator) is Emeritus Professor in Applied Social Sciences and formerly Professor of Social Work at the University of Hull, UK. She entered academia in 1990 after an early career as a social worker and, following periods at Manchester and Sheffield Universities, was Professor of Social Work at Hull from 2004- 2015. From 2009 – 2013 she was Social Care Lead on the government's National End of Life Care Programme. Her first research (for PhD studies in the late 1980s) was into philosophical and spiritual issues in death, dying and bereavement and she retained this thread throughout her academic career, teaching and researching in both the broad fields of death, dying and bereavement and contemporary spirituality studies. She has a particular interest in older people and dementia. She has led this study of memorialisation following up themes which emerged from her study *Spirituality in Contemporary Funerals*, also funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. She has been Editor of the British Journal of Social Work since 2015.

Dr Louis Bailey (Research Fellow) led the Trans case study, 'Who Were They? Trans People and Memorialisation'. His research explores issues of stigma and resilience in relation to transgender experiences across the life course and in relation to ageing and end of life. He was co-author of the Trans Mental Health Study (2012; recipient of the GIRE Research Award) and has published papers on health and social inequalities, suicide prevention, bereavement and memorialisation.

Dr Lisa Dikomitis (Co-investigator) is a social scientist and ethnographer working across Keele University's Schools of Medicine and Primary, Community and Social Care. She is Research Director in the School of Medicine and leads its Behavioural and Social Sciences team. Her academic career started in Belgium, where she worked as Assistant Lecturer (2004-09) and a Postdoctoral Researcher and Lecturer (2010-12) at Ghent University. After moving to the UK for family reasons, Dr Dikomitis first worked as a Research Fellow at the Hull York Medical School (2012-14), before taking up a permanent position as Lecturer in Social Research at the University of Hull (2014-16). She joined Keele University as a Senior Lecturer in Sociology of Health in July 2016. Dr Dikomitis is a Belgian-Cypriot and studied at different Belgian Universities, holds undergraduate degrees in Education (2000, Catholic College Leuven) and in Art History and Archaeology (2001, University of Leuven) and a Master degree in Comparative Sciences of Cultures (2003, Ghent University). In March 2010, she gained her PhD in Comparative Sciences of Cultures (a sociology and social anthropology) from Ghent University. She also holds the PGCert in Academic Practice from the University of Hull (2015), was awarded Fellowship (2015) and Senior Fellowship (2018) of [Advance HE](#), previously known as the UK's Higher Education Academy.

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Dr Miroslava Hukelova (Research Fellow) has been involved in quantitative and qualitative research, and survey data analysis, for over 8 years. She worked with private and public sector organizations and a number of charities in North West, exploring the role of nationalism in people's perceptions, identities and belonging. Mirka was awarded a PhD in Politics from the University of Liverpool, examining Muslim identities from a comparative perspective, using the examples of Britain, Germany and the Czech Republic. During her PhD she also worked as a Research Associate on an ESRC/MRC/BBSRC research project (Enigma) at the University of Manchester. Her current research interests focus on how religious and cultural experiences contribute to one's identity in contemporary globalised world.

Dr Yvonne Inall (Research Fellow) holds a PhD in History from the University of Hull, undertaking an archaeological examination the role of spearheads in Iron Age Britain. As part of her doctoral thesis Yvonne conducted a review of British Iron Age burial practices, with a particular focus on martial burials. She is now assisting Dr Malcolm Lillie with the long durée component of the Remember Me Project: Deep in Time: Meaning and Mnemonic in Archaeological and Diaspora Studies of Death.

Professor Malcolm Lillie (Co-investigator) has been an archaeologist for 33 years. He was previously Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology & Wetland Science at the University of Hull and Director of the Wetland Archaeology & Environments Research Centre and is now Professor of Archaeology at Umea University in Sweden. He currently integrates two specialist areas into his research activities, the study



of earlier prehistoric human remains and the study of wetlands. Since 1994-9 Malcolm has undertaken studies of human remains from Britain, Ukraine, the Czech Republic, Turkey and other regions of Europe, which are aimed at understanding social structures, diet and pathology in archaeological populations. Death and Memorialisation are fundamental aspects of his work in human remains analysis and the current project offers an opportunity for this area of research to be refined in an exciting new direction by linking the attitudes of the past directly into the recent historic and modern contexts.

Associate Professor Liz Nicol (Co-investigator) has recently retired as Associate Professor of Photography at the University of Plymouth. She spent many years in photographic education (Plymouth University) both in management (Head of School of Art & Media) and teaching, eventually becoming Programme Leader of the MA in Photography. Over the last 10 years Liz has been photographing the flat landscape of the Venice Lagoon, documenting the threatened environment. One of the major elements of her work on 'Remember Me' was a developing interest in the monuments to commemorate The First World War and she continues to photograph and document these sites. More recent work is part of an exhibition, *Where Function Ends: Responses to the architecture of Edwin Lutyens*, at the Hestercombe Gallery. Her creative practice is multi-layered: the process of taking and making photographs is one of drawing attention to and making sense of the subject; contact/intervention with the print, masking and illuminating parts of the image, is to do with unravelling. Liz treats photographs as visual memory and works with camera-based imagery and directly with tracings of light and objects.

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Project Advisory Group

Professor Douglas Davies, Durham University

Reverend Jeremy Fletcher, Vicar of Beverley Minster

Claire Henry, Director of Transformation and Improvement, Hospice UK

Professor Suzanna Schwartz, Worcester University

Professor Sarah Tarlow, University of Leicester

Brian Taylor, Co-op Funeralcare

Yvonne Wilson, Murray Memorials and National Association of Memorial Masons

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Executive Summary

Background

A considerable body of material continues to explore the changing face of death in the 21st century, amongst which is growing evidence of new and diverse forms of memorialisation as people mark the passing of those to whom they felt a close association in life - colleagues, friends and public figures as well as family members. This evidence, much of it anecdotal and in the popular media, raises new questions concerning the content, meanings and purposes of memorials and the process of memorialisation. As traditional forms are replaced or supplemented by personalised, customised responses, it appears that these lay bare the fundamental human urge to memorialise but with little to guide mourners, or those professionals and community representatives supporting them, in developing forms which will meet those deepest needs.

Aims and objectives

This research aimed to comprehensively analyse memorialisation practices in the UK, past and present, subjecting this to some international comparison, in order to inform understanding of:

- the significance of memorials and memorialising processes today and throughout history and their relative significance at different points in time;
- the purposes and meanings which they fulfil today, the social effects observed in the past and the factors and contexts which shape these purposes, meanings and social effects;
- their forms and representations, past and present, and how and why these may be changing in contemporary society.

Particular focus was on: the role of religion; the context, understandings and practices of contemporary humanistic spiritualities; the significance of personal meaning-making; socio-economic and cultural variations and the development of cultural 'scripts'; the ways in which personal experiences and perspectives interface with social trends.

Method

This was a mixed methods interdisciplinary study employing a range of archaeological, historical, ethnographic, visual and other qualitative methods across nine separate strands:

- *Deep in Time: Meaning and mnemonic in archaeological and diaspora studies of death* (literature review)
- *Displaying Self: Memorialisation in contemporary society* (literature review)
- *Identity, meaning and memorialisation in the British Diaspora* (historical fieldwork)
- *The Photograph as vehicle for mourning and remembering* (photographic essay)
- *Free-writing in palliative care and bereavement* (qualitative study)
- *Heroes and loved ones: Death arising from armed combat* (case study)
- *Countries Old and New: Memorialisation among Polish migrants in Hull* (case study)
- *Who Were They? Trans Identities and memorialisation* (case study)
- *Celebrating the life? The hidden face of dementia* (case study)

A small study, *Memento Mori Aotearoa*, was also conducted in New Zealand offering some comparative perspectives on particular aspects.

Each of the constituent studies set its own research questions stemming from the overarching research questions.

Findings

Two themes emerge as of overarching significance across time but which continue to shape memorialisation practices today. They also indicate the reasons for the continuing importance of memorialisation in contemporary society.

Meaning-making

The development of memorialisation practices across history indicates the constant search for meaning in the face of death. In sum, our combined key findings suggest that while the need to find meaning in death is not a new phenomenon, it is the trend towards the creation of personal meaning rather than the taking of meaning from traditional and socially prescribed forms and practices which governs the shaping of memorialisation today. Nevertheless, there are significant resonances with the past and customising of traditional forms and practices.

Collective memory

Memorialisation makes of the individual life more than personal memories, which will perish with the deaths of those who hold them. The individual life is lived out within a historical period and civilisation, a particular cultural context, may belong to a significant social trend or the death to a catastrophic event, as well as being experienced through a network of close and wider relationships. Thus, each individual life makes its 'mark' as part of something wider. From the archaeological study of mortal remains and effects to the forever online existence of web-based memorials and Facebook pages, memorialisation bestows on the individual, immortality in various forms.

Conclusions and recommendations

1. Memorialisation is not a single phenomenon which can be simply defined. We suggest the following to encapsulate its multiple variables and interconnecting processes:

The way in which a set of memories is laid down and recalled, including their form and content, by an individual, family, community or wider society following the death of a person or number of persons in a single event or historical episode. This formation of memory may take place over a period of time after the death(s) but achieves a stable presentation which can be revisited at significant times and events, but which, however, may be critically re-evaluated in the light of personal, social or political change.

2. There are no seismic shifts in memorialisation practices observable across time. However, the 'face' of forms and behaviours reflects social trends and cultural context and does therefore vary across time and place but there are more resonances across time and place than might at first be assumed. This is possibly because the purposes of memorialisation remain remarkably constant

and enduring across time – namely, the need of the living to ‘tame’ death through the construction of meaning and affording a form of immortality to the dead.

3. It is also important to highlight the therapeutic potential of memorialisation. Like grief, memorialisation is both a phenomenon and a process and better understanding of the function of memorialisation and its relationship to grief has the potential to significantly enhance our understanding of grief and facilitate a more supportive contemporary response.

Recommendations

These overarching conclusions translate into specific implications and recommendations in the context of each research strand which could usefully be pursued with the relevant public and professional audiences and users in each specific field.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The UK's approach to death is thought to be changing. We are witnessing a renewed interest in the form and content of funerals and a rise in personalised requests. Reflecting wider cultural shifts towards secularisation and individualisation, funerals are moving away from traditional formats to incorporate a range of 'alternative' forms of service. Central to this has been the rise of the humanist funeral, which has grown in popularity since the 1980s, ostensibly as a reaction to the prevailing impersonal nature of traditional religious funerals. Humanist funerals and their sister ceremony - the memorial service - have led the trend, now widely adopted by religious celebrants, for informality in celebrating and memorialising the person and life of the deceased. However, Holloway et al (2013) showed continuing demand for ceremony and ritual, drawing on religious as well as other traditions, including family customs. This study identified dissatisfaction with the range of memorial forms offered to mourners. The creation of personalised memorials was linked to the creation and taking of meaning as an ongoing process, fulfilling an important function over time. This supports Nora's (1989) articulation of the importance of memory in contemporary life. Nora argued that 'sites of memory' are now fundamental to memory-keeping because there are no longer real 'environments of memory'.

There is in fact growing anecdotal evidence of traditional memorials giving way to, but also coexisting with, a rapidly developing range of alternative forms. Categorizing these as dedicated objects (e.g. gravestone), particular events (e.g. memorial service), ongoing activities (e.g. memorial foundation), commonly shared type (e.g. a bench), some apparently unique memorials are becoming so common as to constitute 'new traditions' coupled with emerging rituals. Researchers have observed a range of ritual behaviours (at the site, linked to celebratory dates, use of artefacts), that these vary according to religious and cultural tradition and that 'visits' to web memorial sites are more frequent than to cemeteries. These behaviours and practices appear to sustain a lasting relationship between the bereaved and the deceased, who continues to participate in the social world. What is less clear is whether the purposes and functions of these new memorials differ radically from previous forms and what informs their creation.

Archaeological and anthropological studies have long aimed to understand the cultural complexities of death, mourning, burial and memorialisation, although until recently archaeological studies were focussed more on the materiality of death than the social constructions of memory and memorialisation. The 'deep time' perspective afforded by archaeological approaches to the past, wherein unique insights into the long term processes of material recollection, architectural iconography, day-to-day practice and the mediation of landscapes of the living and landscapes of the dead, offers unique opportunities to assess changing perspectives on meanings of death and the mnemonics that are used to articulate memory and meaning for the living. Archaeology and anthropology evaluate how memory can be re-constituted or re-created to reach a new socially accepted 'norm', and seek to understand the re-structuring of mnemonics and monumental representations in line with changing socio-political and religious views on death and dying. Williams (2004) reminds us that archaeological remains are not simply passive objects, but can evoke memories

of the past and influence the experience and actions of mourners. The material remains of death and burial, 'reflect the complex interplay of emotions, material culture, and social memories of the mourners and the deceased in the past' (Chesson,2001:1).

In contemporary secularized society, where death becomes a threat of oblivion and erasure of individual identity, Hallam and Hockey (2001) suggest that memorials may represent a psycho-social shoring up of life against death. Even where there are religious or other beliefs in an afterlife, the modern emphasis on identity and individual meaning-making results in a focus on the person and life of the deceased. The bereaved invest considerable time and effort in impressing that identity on the memories of mourners, sometimes carrying this over into a more lasting memorial on which to focus continuing memories of family and friends and to mark the deceased's life more permanently in the community. Despite the secular context, Holloway et al (2013) identified linkages between personal meaning-making and spirituality. Others have observed that the cemetery is perceived as a sacred space and note the roadside memorial as marking the space between life and death with universal symbols of the sacred and spiritual. Memorials and memorializing practices are thus of continuing and possibly increasing significance in our contemporary secular and technicised society, providing a focus for social transition and a psychological and spiritual link between the living and the dead. ¹

This rationale for this study was that a comprehensive analysis of available and emerging forms of memorial and memorialisation practices was required. Preliminary work had already identified four themes which add to the complexity already described and highlight tensions in emerging memorialisation practices. The first concerns the identity of the deceased as a contested concept between mourners; the second where the representation of the deceased and their life is shrouded in ambiguity; a third contrasts forms which are permanent and those which are virtual or transitory; and a fourth concerns the interface between the public and the private domains which may lead to conflict and dissonance.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The principle aim of this research was to produce a comprehensive, interdisciplinary analysis of memorialisation practices in the UK, past and present, and including amongst the British diaspora. We aimed to locate this study within the growing body of international research on the changing face of death in the 21st century, thickening the texture of that analysis, tracing the roots of contemporary debates and facilitating understanding of the broader social processes which shape our responses to death. As well as contributing to the academic literature, our aim was to inform and support our accommodation of death as societies and individuals and to realise this through ongoing communication with three communities of interest: the death services industry and its users (funeral directors, celebrants, morticians, stone masons and memorial services); the museums and exhibitions community and its consumers; service users, practitioners and policy makers in the human services (health and social care in related fields, end of life/palliative care, bereavement services, coroners and the police).

¹ Full literature reviews may be found in the project strand reports 'Deep in Time' and 'Displaying Self' (see Section 3 of this report).

Specifically, we aimed to inform understanding of:

(i) the significance of memorials and memorialising processes today and throughout history and their relative significance at different points in time;

(ii) the purposes and meanings which memorials and memorialising processes fulfil today, the social effects observed in the past and the factors and contexts which shape these purposes, meanings and social effects;

(iii) the forms and representations of memorials and memorialising processes, past and present, and how and why these may be changing in contemporary society.

Stemming from these overarching aims our objectives were to:

- explore the role of religion in relation to each of the significance, purposes and forms of memorials and processes of memorialisation;
- explore the context of contemporary spiritualities in relation to the significance, purposes and forms of memorials and processes of memorialisation;
- explore the significance of personal meaning-making and its influence on the significance, purposes and forms of memorials and processes of memorialisation;
- explore socio-economic and cultural variations and analyse how cultural scripts develop, operate and impact on individuals and societies;
- analyse the dynamic of the public/private interface as it affects the mourning of individuals and influences public and community memorial events;
- analyse the theme of permanence and impermanence, its implications for and in relation to, social and cultural context as well as the accommodation of death by individuals;
- identify contemporary tensions, for example ambiguity and contested identities, their sources and impacts;
- apply this new knowledge in the professional cultures of health and social care practice and death services, in order to enhance the quality of care provided to dying and bereaved families and individuals;
- contribute to the raising of public awareness and education in a field with an increasingly high public profile, but one which is fraught with controversy.

2. Method

2.1 Overarching research questions

The research sought to get behind the material face of objects and artefacts and to go beyond the presenting face of emotional expression to investigate the meanings and rituals of memorials, memorial practices and memorialisation processes through asking the following questions:

Forms and purposes

- Do memorials and monuments display changing social effects and meanings over time? Specifically, how have the forms and purposes of memorials changed or remained stable over the last 100 years (i.e. since the 1914-18 Great War)? How did British settlers in the colonies adapt memorialisation and what changes have occurred over time?
- Can changes in memorialisation be related to changing social meanings and mnemonics? Specifically, how do we account for memorial variations amongst the British diaspora and in the former British colonies?
- What are the socio-political and religious articulations of death and dying over time and how do these influence memorialisation practices?
- How do different cultures influence rituals, means, social conventions and the material culture of memorializing the dead? Specifically, how is the changing demography of the UK influencing the religious and cultural diversity of burial and memorial practices?
- Does the choice of memorial vary according to geographic location, e.g. rural or urban?

Roles and identities

- Does the role of the individual, group or society influence the ways in which the dead are memorialised?
- Does the choice of memorial vary according to socio-economic status?
- How are gender and identity issues articulated in death? Specifically, are we seeing the deconstruction of 'British' identity in contemporary UK death culture?
- What is the relationship between personal and social identities and how are tensions managed in memorial forms and practices?
- To what extent and how are changes in the deceased's identity and role associated with age, gender, family relationships and religious, cultural and group affiliations reflected?
- What role is played by persons with designated status (community, professional, institutional) in determining and facilitating memorial forms and practices?

Emotions and behaviours

- Do memorials differ according to relation type - namely parent, sibling, spouse, distant relative, friend, social group, unknown community member etc?
- What is the influence of the views, wishes and preferences of the deceased?

- How do conflict and contestation between mourners affect the memorialisation process?
- What kinds of behaviours are employed around memorials and what are the factors (e.g. gender, faith/spirituality, culture, location) influencing those behaviours?
- How is 'private grief' framed and represented in public, including in the context of public mourning?
- What are the different needs of families, communities and social institutions and how well do available forms of memorials and memorialisation serve these needs?

2.2 Overview outline of methods

This was a mixed methods study employing a range of historical, ethnographic, visual and other qualitative methods across nine separate strands:

- *Deep in Time: Meaning and mnemonic in archaeological and diaspora studies of death* (literature review)
- *Displaying Self: Memorialisation in contemporary society* (literature review)
- *Identity, meaning and memorialisation in the British Diaspora* (historical fieldwork)
- *The Photograph as vehicle for mourning and remembering* (photographic essay)
- *Free-writing in palliative care and bereavement* (qualitative study)
- *Heroes and loved ones: Death arising from armed combat* (case study)
- *Countries Old and New: Memorialisation among Polish migrants in Hull* (case study)
- *Who Were They? Trans Identities and memorialisation* (case study)
- *Celebrating the life? The hidden face of dementia* (case study)

A small study, *Memento Mori Aotearoa*, was also conducted in New Zealand offering some comparative perspectives.

Each of the constituent studies set its own research questions stemming from the overarching research questions. Bibliographies from each study are combined and appear as Appendix C in the E-Publication available at

<https://remembermeproject.wordpress.com/project-reports/>

Ethical permissions for the free-writing study were granted by the University of Hull Research Ethics Committee and St Christopher's Hospice Research Ethics Committee and for the four case studies and photographic portraits, by the University of Hull Research Ethics Committee. The University of Canterbury Christchurch gave ethical clearance for the New Zealand study.

2.3 Interdisciplinary research

The research team together combined the disciplines of archaeology, history, sociology, anthropology, political science, pastoral theology, art history, visual and cultural studies, photography and social work. These different disciplinary perspectives and approaches were critical to the success of the research and the team met monthly for a whole day. Both the

archaeological and contemporary literature reviews were completed in the first year and the case studies started at different points over the first two years, but for substantial periods data collection was simultaneous across five or more strands. Each researcher provided updates for every meeting and periodically presented their work in progress in more detail and depth. This allowed for cross-cutting, thematic discussions to evolve (Fig. 1)

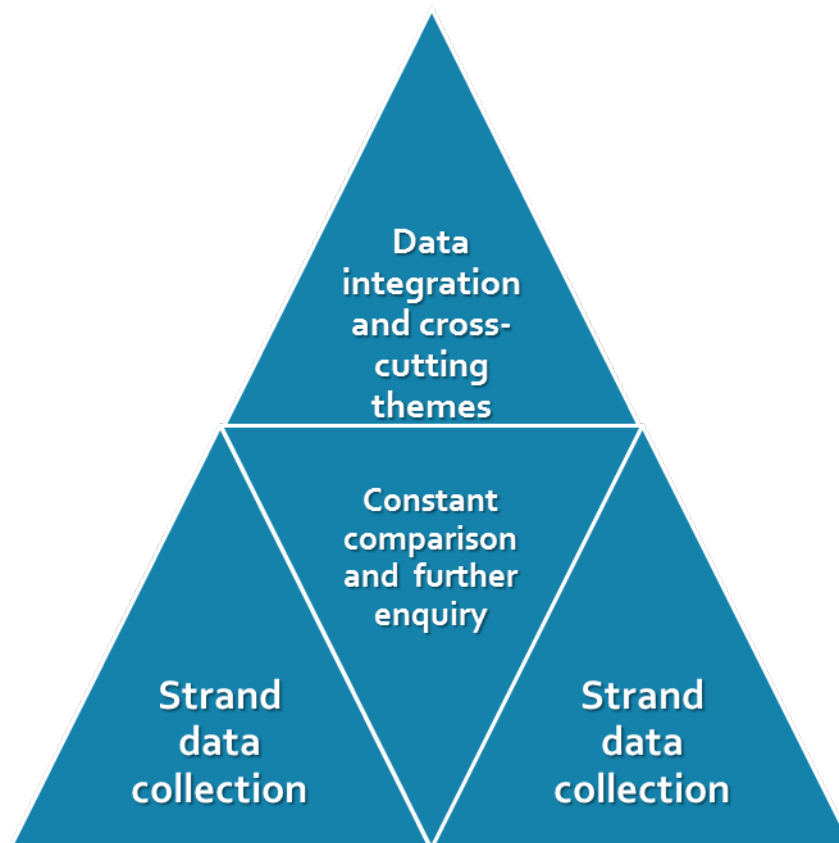


Figure 1: Parallel interdisciplinary working

As each strand moved towards completion, stage two of this process was to fully integrate each set of findings to reach overarching conclusions (Fig. 2). Each research strand identified key findings which were then mapped across the overarching research questions and their implications considered alongside each other to arrive at the overarching conclusions. The mapping also allowed us to see where the main thrust of a particular strand lay (Appendix A).



Figure 2: Integrated interdisciplinary working

Principles for doing interdisciplinary research

Working with unfamiliar disciplines proved an enriching experience but raised particular challenges in relation to terminology, research practice and ethics. For example, archaeologists use the term 'deviant burials' to refer to those which deviate from mainstream custom including for socially marginalised persons, but to then create a category of 'deviant death' was uncomfortable for the social scientists who saw the term as value-laden. Likewise, photographing private graves was seen as unproblematic by those who study the present but less straightforward an issue for those who study the past. Understanding photography as practice research in its own right and photographs as data which speaks for itself was challenging for those researchers familiar with photographs used as an aide-memoire or illustrative tool. Resolving these issues relied on establishing four principles:

- 1) Confidence in one's own expertise
- 2) Respect for the expertise of a colleague
- 3) Being receptive to new ideas and approaches
- 4) Being prepared to be discomforted in one's own position

To be able to fully operationalise these sometimes apparently competing principles requires a high degree of trust in the team (Fig.3)

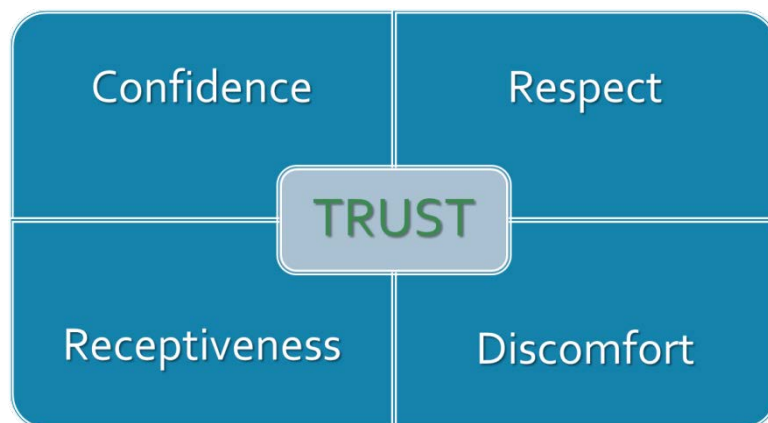


Figure 3: Principles for interdisciplinary research

2.4 Integrated analysis

Three processes contributed to producing the overarching analysis and conclusions.

1. Throughout the project, in interactions between researchers but specifically at team meetings, emerging cross-cutting themes were identified. This was an iterative process in which work in progress was presented, commented on by others and resonances between strands noted. Discussion of comparisons and differences facilitated the refining of a core idea to note the impact of variables such as gender, age, religion, culture and socio-economic and political context.
2. The data bases created in Nvivo for each of the four contemporary case studies and the free-writing strand were first combined into one large data base. This was then refined into 9 tree nodes:

Forms and processes; Role and identity; Emotional and behavioural; Religious, spiritual and secular; Meaning-making; Socio-political ; Spaces and places; Policy; Demographics.

Using framework analysis, literature reviews and papers from the remaining streams were then coded under these tree nodes. Use of NVivo facilitated the integration of a large amount of different types of qualitative data and a sophisticated organisation into themes and sub-themes and the relationships between sub-themes within main themes. Since the child nodes are labelled for their source (stream) it also facilitates cross-reference across the strands (see Appendix B tree node maps).

3. The key findings/research questions map was analysed for overarching findings in relation to each research question and the conclusions to be drawn. The map facilitated drawing out of the weight and significance of the themes identified through earlier discussions (see (i) above).

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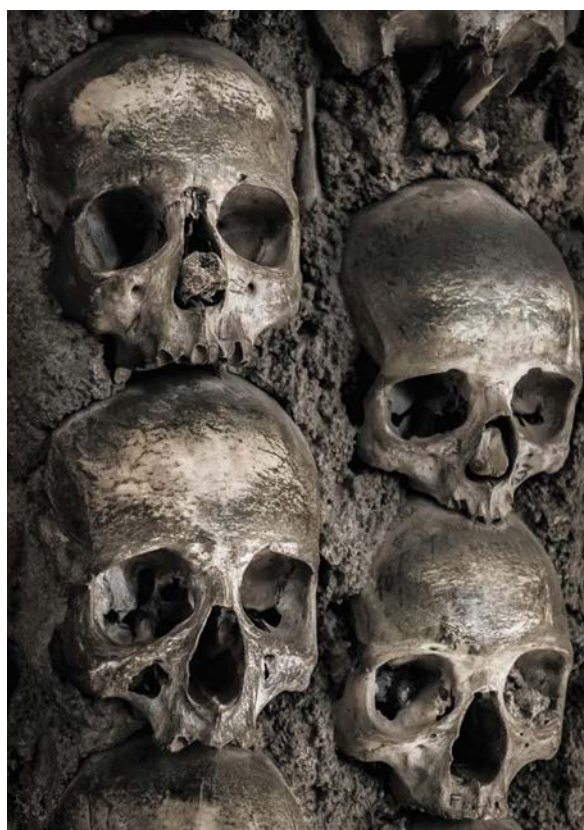
3. The Project strands: Summaries

Each research strand may be treated as a project in its own right and are here presented individually in summary form².

3.1 Deep in Time: Meaning and mnemonic in archaeological and diaspora studies of death (Yvonne Inall and Malcolm Lillie)

Background and Rationale

The Deep Time component of the Remember Me project seeks to identify broad trends and themes in memorialisation processes from the Iron Age (beginning c.800BC) through to AD 1640 as a means of informing understanding of the processes and significance of changing memorial practices in contemporary society. Across this span of time there has been an ongoing need to engage with and memorialise the dead. Recurrent themes emerge, and memorialisation practices of the past continue to resonate in the present. Despite the focus of this study on the more recent prehistoric through to historical periods, section 2.1 proves an overview of deeper time perspectives, as far back as ca. 50,000 years ago, and earlier, in order to encompass the *longue durée* of societal approaches to the dying and the dead. This approach will offer contemporary society a basis from which to re-imagine modern approaches to each of these processes. Recent studies, e.g. Croucher (2017a and b) have demonstrated the ways in which an imaginative use of modern approaches can inform the past, and vice versa.



Method

Due to the extended time-scale involved in the Deep in Time study a decision was taken to focus primarily on the major funerary and memorialisation practices in each of the following, main chronological periods: Iron Age; Romano-British; Anglo-Saxon; Medieval; Reformation and post-Reformation to AD 1640. An expanded literature search was conducted using academic search engines, key reference works and targeted searches of the main archaeological journals for each period for key words related to death, mortuary treatments and memorialisation practices. Analysis included a particular focus on key sites in each period, for which abundant literature was available.

Iron Age

² Full reports may be downloaded from <https://remembermeproject.wordpress.com/project-reports/>

A number of burial practices were identified for the Iron Age period in Britain. However, there are significant knowledge gaps for much of Britain and many mortuary practices are largely invisible in the archaeological record. Those practices which are observed in the archaeological record have a strong regional focus, including the Arras Culture square-barrow cemeteries of East Yorkshire, the Durotrigian inhumation rite, centred on the Dorset coast, and cremation burials in the south east of Britain. The Arras Culture barrow burials and the cremation burials of southeast Britain demonstrate connections to Continental Europe. In addition to these practices, the deposition of fragmentary human remains within settlement contexts was a mortuary treatment with a wide geographic distribution that covered much of Britain.

Romano-British

The arrival of Roman colonists during the first century AD resulted in changes in burial and memorialisation practices. Burial practices become visible in the archaeological record across a far greater number of sites during the Romano-British Period. Early Romano-British burials were cremations. These rites were largely indistinguishable from Late Iron Age British cremation burials and few such burials have been recorded from sites beyond the southeast. By the fourth century AD extended, supine inhumation had replaced cremation as the standard burial practice across the Roman Empire, including Roman Britain, as Christian rituals came to the fore. Burials were extramural, and concentrated on urbanised settlements and sites associated with the Roman military. Gravestones appear in Britain for the first time during the Romano-British period, highlighting family and other social connections, and these often offer poignant expressions of grief. However, as an intrusive burial culture, the burial practices which came to the fore during the Roman period did not endure, with the British population reverting to practices which were again largely invisible in the archaeological record after the departure of the Romans.

Anglo-Saxon

From the fifth to the seventh centuries AD Britain experienced an influx of migrants from Germanic Europe. The cultural impact of this movement of people was significant, and included changes in mortuary and memorialisation practices. Cremation was reintroduced to Britain, often practiced alongside inhumation. Anglo-Saxon burials during this period strongly referenced the past, re-using, incorporating and emulating Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British monuments. The wealth of some of these burials speak to the use of memorialisation strategies to reinforce social roles. By the ninth century, much of Britain had converted to Christianity, and ancestral monuments took on negative associations with paganism and damnation. These monuments were increasingly utilised as execution cemeteries, inverting their social ranking from the elite to the outcast.

Medieval

By the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066 burial rites and memorialisation practices were broadly similar to those observed on the Continent. Extended, supine burial was common practice throughout the medieval period. However, there were significant changes in memorialisation strategies, particularly for the social elite. With the papal recognition of Purgatory in the thirteenth century, there was increasing investment in memorialisation. Chantry monuments and bequests, funerary gifts and liturgical endowments led to a profusion of monuments in diverse forms. The need to be remembered was pervasive, and led to a professionalisation of memorialisation.

Reformation and post-Reformation to AD 1640

The appetite for costly chantry memorials appears to have been declining by the early sixteenth century. The onset of the English Reformation from 1534 hastened the decline and the Act of 1547 enforced a ban and confiscation of chantries. Emerging theological debates about the relationship between the body and the resurrection fundamentally altered the relationship between the living and the dead. The impact of these changes was most visible among the social elite, with a decline in the number of physical memorials erected, and a change in the language of memorialisation, focussed increasingly on remembering pious lives and avoiding calls for intercession.

Recurrent themes across time

Across time memorialisation processes demonstrate a need to maintain an ongoing relationship between the living and the dead. The dead may be transformed through memorialisation processes, and the strategies employed reflect the cosmological beliefs of the memorialising society.

Treatment of the physical body was an important part of the memorialisation process, with the corpse being treated with intimate care in every period. Evidence for careful preparation and dress in the Iron Age, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon periods allow us to infer that the deceased were the focus of a period of display prior to the performance of funerary rites. Archival records for the Medieval and Early Modern periods demonstrate a continued focus on the physical body. Processions also played a significant role in funerals in all periods, with details of the performative aspects preserved in historical accounts of the Romano-British and medieval periods.

The concept of a *journey to an afterlife* is evidenced through the provision of grave goods: food and drink in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods. Footwear and coins aided Roman Britons in their journey, and Anglo-Saxons were provisioned with grave goods symbolising travel by horse or boat. For the medieval dead the journey was spiritual rather than physical, and the proliferation of chantry services and monuments aided the souls of the departed on their way.

The dead continued to have active social lives. The dead were reincorporated into the community through the deposition of fragmentary remains in the Iron Age (and earlier periods), the construction of extramural monuments in the Romano-British period, the curation of cremation urns during the Anglo-Saxon period (an activity which also occurs in modern Britain) and the intrusive displays of chantry monuments of the medieval period. In each period, the living and the dead continued to interact on a daily basis, forming strong mnemonic ties, carefully curating and renegotiating the memory of the departed.

For *those whose deaths may have been problematic* ritual processes were enacted to ameliorate troubled spirits and mitigate perceived supernatural dangers to the living. Deviant burials of the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon period included prone and decapitated burials. Criminals and outcasts of the Late Anglo-Saxon and medieval world were excluded from Christian burials. In the early modern period, murderers were eligible for the post-mortem violation of anatomical dissection.

Cemeteries and deathscapes were recursive, often drawing upon, elaborating and sometimes emulating monuments of the deep past. Iron Age monuments frequently built upon Neolithic and Bronze Age legacies and were in turn built upon by Romano-British and, later, Anglo-Saxon monuments. The rise of the Christian church in the Late Anglo-Saxon period changed the focus of mnemonic power away from the pagan past to the new centres of Christian authority.

Population movements/migration influenced funerary rites and memorialisation strategies through time. It is apparent that the relationship between movement of people and practices is reflexive and complex. For instance, Romano-British burials included indigenous people buried as ‘migrants’ as well as non-locals buried in accordance with local tradition. Anglo-Saxon elites brought their burial rites with them, but these were quickly adapted to incorporate existing monuments into new memorialisation strategies. Subsequently, medieval memorialisation highlights the significance of the deceased both in their immediate context, and in international socio-political networks.

This study demonstrates that the concerns of the past reverberate through time and remain constant. The ongoing relationships between the living and the dead, between performance, place and the construction of memory all feature strongly in past and present memorialisation strategies.

Key findings

- Across time the core function of memorialisation processes highlights a perpetual need to maintain an ongoing relationship between the living and the dead.
- There is considerable evidence, particularly in later periods, that the forms and representations of memorials and memorialisation rituals mirror past practices.
- The dead may be transformed through memorialisation processes to reflect the cosmological beliefs of the society.
- Throughout time significant shifts are evident in the ways that society assisted the deceased on their journeys into the afterlife.
- For those whose deaths may have been problematic, ritual processes, showing similar features over time, were enacted to ameliorate troubled spirits and mitigate perceived supernatural dangers to the living.
- Treatment of the physical body was an important part of the memorialisation process, the deceased being treated with intimate care in every historical period.
- Liminal constructs, the spatial patterning, and the meaning of deathscapes varied over time depending on the nature of the relationships between the living and the dead.
- The dead often continue to have active social lives in the community of the living through the creation of memorials and the preservation and curation of remains, although throughout all periods there are modes of disposal that result in an ‘invisible dead’.
- Funerary goods, rites and memorials evidence the movement of peoples in complex processes of adaptation and integration between established and incoming cultures.
- While memorialisation practices may change, the concerns they seek to address reverberate across time.

3.2 Displaying Self: Memorialisation in contemporary society (Margaret Holloway, Louis Bailey and Miroslava Hukelova)



Purpose and scope

The purpose of this survey was to provide a comprehensive review of the literature on memorialisation from the mid-twentieth century to the present in order to:

- Provide a comparison with archaeological and historical themes and trends identified in the companion survey;
- Embed the project's contemporary in-depth case studies in established themes and enrich their articulation with key questions and developing trends.

Method

Extensive searches of the academic, popular and grey literature and internet sources were conducted. An immediate methodological problem emerged in that much of the literature intertwines the different topics and processes belonging to the aftermath of death; there is relatively little focus on memorialisation as a distinct process. Nonetheless, 199 references are incorporated in this review on the grounds of their more substantial treatment of memorials and memorialising processes. Some significant sub-topics are briefly reviewed but given full coverage in other reports from the Remember Me study. These include photography, memorialisation arising from armed conflict and migration. Coding and analysis were guided by the 'Remember Me' overarching research questions.

The review is divided into two main sections: Memorial Forms and Memorialising Processes.

Memorial Forms

Three sub-divisions of memorial forms used today are suggested, although it should be noted that they co-exist and overlap.

Traditional memorials, including gravestones and other markers in cemeteries, war memorials, other public monuments, and various forms of private memorial or shrine maintained in the home, including keeping the cremation ashes. These sites are the focus for private and public behaviours and may be regularly refreshed. They embody emotion, the social and relationship status of the deceased, and may be used by the bereaved to determine how they wish the person to be remembered. All forms of public memorial frequently contain a political or moral message and may be the subject of contention. Memorial donations provide an active engagement for all mourners, and though traditional, are increasing as a form of tribute to the deceased combined with support of a cause associated with the deceased's life or death.

Contemporary established forms are those which have emerged over the late modern period so as to become commonly adopted types. These include memorial trees and benches, roadside memorials and ghost bikes. They are intensely personalised and/or belong to a particular group or community. Spontaneous and grass-roots memorials represent a now established trend and may occur at the site of a roadside accident or other tragic event, including those involving several or mass deaths such as a natural disaster. Mass displays of flowers and personal messages are common after the deaths of celebrities, the public reaction to the death of Diana Princess of Wales being acknowledged as a watershed phenomenon. As with traditional forms, these new forms are the site or vehicle for mourning behaviours and some writers suggest that these practices represent a desire to develop new forms of ritualised mourning as old rituals prove inadequate for modern needs.

Emerging forms are those which are continuing to develop at a rapid pace, in both form and function. Predominant in this category is the use of the internet and social media with the creation of web cemeteries, memorial pages and continuing Facebook identities for individuals now deceased. Commentators suggest that the ever-growing popularity of internet memorials is due to its accessibility to a wide range of mourners, its function as a virtual support group for the bereaved, its capacity to foster a sense of continuing connection and the ease with which memories can be shared, including on important dates and anniversaries, such as birthdays. However, significant conflicts and concerns are also emerging, principally concerning ownership of the deceased's identity and memory. There may be conflict between friends and family concerning the representation of the deceased; the phenomenon of 'stranger mourner' is little understood and may cause offence; trolling and spam activity are proving difficult to control and add a negative dimension and unwanted intrusion. The camera phone is an important element in the use of the internet and in its own right, with the 'funeral selfie' providing both immediacy and a chronological marker. Photos taken on a personal mobile phone and then shared through social media exemplify the blurring of the public and the private as an intimate memorial is publicly displayed. Memorial tattoos are growing in popularity but are more correctly seen as a resurgence of an ancient tradition. They are notable in the contemporary context for their permanence, an indelible marker of grief which encapsulates a continuing bond with the deceased.

Memorialising Processes

The literature tends to conflate discussion of memorial practices and emotional, behavioural and spiritual processes around a focus on the funeral and other events surrounding the death. By contrast, there is relatively little on the ongoing process of memorialisation (with the exception of the treatment of the ashes). The review highlighted four major themes, each with significant sub-topics, which are themselves interconnected.

- a. **Identity**, with its extensively explored subtopics of personal, social and cultural, and multiple and contested identities, emerges as a key aspect of contemporary memorialisation. The laying down of the distinct personal identity of the deceased can be seen as a continuation of the life-centred funeral, the identity reflected and reinforced through objects, symbols and other evokers of memory as well as the telling and re-telling of personal stories and construction of narratives. Equally important, and impinging on the personal identity of the individual, are the social networks within which they operated and the relationships and social status which they held in life. Culture, social class and identity following migration are highlighted as important influencers. Across these various life domains, therefore, the several and simultaneous identities of the deceased open up the potential for disagreement and contention amongst the bereaved as to how the deceased is to be remembered and their life and death commemorated.
- b. **Relational aspects** stem inevitably from the social identity of the deceased and some authors argue that at its heart memorialisation is inevitably concerned with continuing and re-negotiating

relationships between the living and the dead. Memorialisation, it is suggested, allows for the social identity of the deceased to persist and their social agency to continue into life as well as for the bereaved to maintain bonds with the deceased. A considerable body of literature considers how memorials and memorialisation practices facilitate grief although there is also the potential for conflict between mourners, insensitivity on the part of social institutions and cultural dissonance to aggravate distress and complicate the grieving process.

- c. **Ritual and symbolism** span the different events and processes in the aftermath of death. It is a core feature of memorialisation influencing both the construction of the memorial and the ensuing memorialising behaviours and practices. Memorials may be seen as the markers of the ritualised transition from life to death and the relationship between the living and the dead. The earliest literature reviewed suggests a dearth of (meaningful) ritual but later research is keen to detail the richness and diversity of ritual around death in the twenty-first century. The significant feature of this, however, is the need for wider socio-cultural affirmation alongside the incorporation of private, informal rituals and symbols. There is some evidence that traditional rituals are being re-interpreted, adapted and enacted.

Secularisation, contemporary spirituality and religion are given relatively sparse attention as a whole, although there are numerous scattered references to the impact and influence of secularisation on ceremony and ritual, particularly in the funeral. Broadly speaking, religion is posited as a traditional meta-narrative which postmodern societies have discarded in favour of individualised, customised responses to death in a secular context. Some writers question whether this has led to a dearth of wider meanings but only a handful of sources consider the articulation of contemporary understandings of spirituality with the management of death and this is barely developed to consider the role and function of spirituality in contemporary memorialisation.

Conclusions

The literature provides a rich descriptive account of memorial forms but less attention to memorialising processes, particularly its ongoing nature after the funeral and immediate aftermath of the death. Other gaps relate to systematic analysis of socio-cultural diversity; secularism, spirituality and religion; the relationship between grief and memorialisation. Traditional, modern and emerging forms co-exist in a fluid and dynamic relationship and it is this which accounts for the changing face of memorialisation. However, the distinguishing feature of contemporary memorialisation is its employment in personal meaning-making. While the need to find meaning in death is not a new phenomenon, it is the trend towards the *creation* of personal meaning rather than the *taking* of meaning from traditional and socially prescribed forms and practices which governs the shaping of memorialisation today.

Key findings

- Contemporary memorials may be categorised as *traditional* (e.g. the gravestone), *contemporary established* (e.g. the now commonplace roadside memorials), or *emerging* (e.g. the fast growing use of digital forms and online memorial sites). These forms co-exist, including contemporary adaptations of traditional forms and several modes may be used in commemorating one individual.
- Memorialising processes are less documented than memorial forms but there is evidence that these are intensely personalised. However, most research is confined to the occasion of the

funeral and immediate aftermath of the death and scant attention is paid to the ongoing functions of memorialisation, its relationship with grief, or to diversity and difference.

- Traditional and public memorials may be used as the site or occasion for personal private behaviours.
- Ritual remains significant in contemporary memorialisation but is distinguished by the imbuing of traditional rituals with personal touches as well as employment of unique personal and family rituals
- Identity is a significant theme and spans personal relationships in life as well as social status and networks after death.
- Places and spaces are recurring motifs across physical, virtual, emotional, social and spiritual dimensions.
- Memorials set up in the wake of and at the sites of natural disasters and other traumatic events causing mass or several deaths are a significant and escalating phenomenon which touches on all of the above dimensions and combines personal, public, spontaneous, planned, formal and informal elements.
- Ritual and identity may be reinforced along traditional cultural lines among migrant communities where dislocation of place and space is felt in death.
- While many features of postmodernism are characterised by their transitory and impermanent nature, contemporary memorialisation shows an interesting trend towards the enduring and permanent.
- Secularisation is highlighted as a significant feature of contemporary memorialisation but there is a lack of critical appraisal of what this constitutes and how it continues to interface with contemporary expressions of spirituality or use of religious tradition.
- The distinguishing feature of contemporary memorialisation is its employment in personal meaning-making. While the need to find meaning in death is not a new phenomenon, it is the trend towards the *creation* of personal meaning rather than the *taking* of meaning from traditional and socially prescribed forms and practices which governs the shaping of memorialisation today.

3.3 Identity, meaning and memorialisation in the British Diaspora (Nicholas J. Evans)

Background

This embedded case study complements the archaeological survey (*insert link to Deep Time report*) by focusing on memorialisation across parts of Britain and her former Empire. From the seventeenth century, the British developed a nexus of organised burial spaces across the British world. They erected memorials and gravemarkers to remember those who died working and fighting for causes associated with British political and economic interests. Yet, collectively, they also served as a tool for exporting British culture overseas and were as common as more celebrated forms of cultural imperialism such as post boxes, telephone boxes and railways.



As the British expanded their overseas interests, the landscapes of death culture became more standardised. The significance of death culture as a mode of Britishness has received scant attention – except for celebrated burial spaces along the eastern seaboard of the United States and nodal cities of what was once British India during the long eighteenth century. Despite the well-documented impact the British diaspora had on overseas countries – economically, politically, culturally and socially – during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to date no study has sought to appraise the physical legacy of the British diaspora.

Aims and objectives

This study sought to remedy this lacuna within the scholarship of Diaspora and death studies by focussing upon the process of memorialisation of the British diaspora at home and abroad in seven nodal places. The research aimed to highlight the inclusivity or exclusivity of burial places for both voluntary and coercively motivated migrations, as well as identifying separation based on class, faith or race. Such considerations regarding those considered ‘subalterns’ were especially important given postcolonial debates in former colonised nations, especially the United States, the Caribbean and South Africa, concerning the maltreatment in remains of non-white and indigenous groups.

Method

Historical research tools were employed to, firstly, identify and then, secondly, conduct qualitative fieldwork (including extensive gathering of visual data) in survey sites in England, Scotland, Wales, Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Barbados. The chosen churches and graveyards were selected because they covered the nadir of British expansion across Britain and the world. These included: the

Scottish tea plantations of Colombo (Sri Lanka); Jewish and non-Jewish burials on the British sugar island of Barbados; Dutch and British settlers at vineyards of the Cape Colony (South Africa); the multicultural post-slave society at Freetown (the world's first post-slave society in Sierra Leone); and the domestic response to such movement in the hinterlands of the East Riding of Yorkshire (England), Cardiff (Wales) and Aberdeenshire (Scotland). The research examined how the British commemorated death overseas: the influence exerted by the British established (State) Church and, by comparison, the effect (if any) of other European or indigenous death culture(s); changes in forms and practices over time; and any discernible linkage between burial practices in Britain and within the diaspora overseas. Alongside the methods of burial and memorialisation, the business of exporting European memorials to the frontiers of the British Empire was also revealed by makers' marks on the front, side or rear of memorials.

This study did not re-gather data from the often-fragile archaeology of death in the British World. Instead, data prepared by antiquarians and increasingly genealogists around the world in printed form was analysed initially. Roots tourism (as Anthropologist Paul Basu has noted) is gaining traction, especially among the Scottish both at home and abroad, and this, coupled with the internet, has generated sizable data for academic scrutiny. Yet like antiquarians, data gathered in such sources can be flawed – lacking information on the stonemason or sculptor, data that enables scholars to trace how memorials were transhipped around the world. Information such as the form, shape, materials and even colour of memorials is also often absent and this further reveals the diverse forms of memorials as well as what textual analysis suggests. Comparative study is also often missing, except for the expensive memorials to elites in Colonial America or British India. Social class adds a valuable dimension to death studies, revealing some of the meaning. Yet as tentative analysis reveals, genealogy in the past also fuelled the erection of memorial markers to those who did not have a 'fitting' marker at the time of their death. The qualitative fieldwork undertaken on this study was set alongside published antiquarian and genealogical sources to obtain a rich multi-dimensional picture of memorialisation forms and practices across the British Empire over a crucial period in the globalisation of British history.

Findings

Though the varied forms of memorialisation to diasporic Britons helped the bereaved at a micro level, epitaphs in stone and marble created a collective of public statements concerning British identity for subsequent generations. Death culture not only remembered departed loved ones, it also shaped successive methods of mourning for soldiers, sailors, migrants and colonisers both at home and abroad. In Britain, the memorials embellished the death landscapes of the churchyard and later cemeteries. Overseas, the British replicated regional memorialisation practices creating a mosaic of death markers wherever formal burial spaces were established. Despite what Elizabeth Buettner describes as the 'Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia' surrounding colonial era memorials in British India, less elaborate and personalised diasporic memorialisation practices were evident throughout the broad time-period and geographic coverage of the fieldwork.

British identity was expressed in a number of subtle ways. Firstly, memorials were carved in the English language – with the exception of the use of Afrikaans in South Africa or Portuguese and Hebrew in the Jewish cemetery at Bridgetown, Barbados. Associations with the place, county or country of birth were

the most frequent method for identifying a person's British origin. Ties to the homeland were not always those from previous settlement. A number of medical personnel mentioned where they had obtained their medical or nursing training. Fraternal links to associational groups or fraternal groups (such as the Freemasons) provided a linkage between different graves. Finally, the use of stone from the homeland, especially for Scottish migrants, provided a tie to home. Collectively, the epitaphs of the British diaspora provide a multitude of clues demonstrating the deceased was British. Yet, as the British tended to settle around major maritime gateways, the archaeology of British settlement is at risk and has been eroded over time by environmental threats. Meanwhile political unrest in some of the spaces surveyed, especially Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka, has further jeopardised the physical remains of remote Britons. Such forces have intensified because of the pressure for available burial spaces or even land for re-purposing.

The multi directional flow of migrants to and from Britain, both during the period of the British Empire and following decolonisation, has continued to evolve. The impression the epitaphs have created varied enormously in time and place. Presbyterianism in the North East of Scotland appears to explain why Scots memorialised the bereaved with more detailed epitaphs than any other part of Britain. As those from this region have settled in large numbers overseas, their North Eastern Scottish origins have been marked in elaborate memorials in cemeteries and churches across the world. Though the enslaved population in the Caribbean were often buried outside formal burial spaces, they were afforded a proper burial. Following the end of slavery in the British Empire from 1833 onwards, memorialisation by these communities grew. Though this lack of earlier memorialisation has hindered the ability of descendants to visit gravesites, archaeological investigations by Jerome Hanley have observed the cultural transfer of African burial customs at the time of committal. Enslaved Africans liberated by the Royal Navy after 1808 along the West Coast of Africa remained proud of their liberated status in death as grave memorials in Freetown record. Crucially, memorialisation did not end with the committal of the deceased. Some communities surveyed show that second-, third- and even later generations continue to memorialise those who were buried without a grave marker or memorial. This is particularly evident where an ancestor was buried in an important ecclesiastical site (such as the Kirkyard of the St. Machar Cathedral in Old Aberdeen) or close to sites of cultural importance (such as at Mauchline in Scotland where Robert Burns once lived).

Cross-cutting discussions

Across all sites, three themes predominate in the memorials surveyed: the significance of *kinship*; the importance of *space and place*; the *social context status* acquired in the colonial era. Memorialisation was the tool for displaying identity, but it was largely those left behind whose agency determined what was recorded on an epitaph.

Memorials have served to reconnect disparate families in death. For example, memorials in the UK during the late nineteenth century recalled those who died abroad. Conversely, those dying abroad were reconnected to their region of origin in diaspora. Most markers show the importance of kinship to the diaspora, with many mourners including their relationship to the bereaved in epitaphs.

Space and place are important to memorialisation practices, yet the death landscapes have often evolved over time. It was not uncommon for memorials and even bodies to be moved over time.

However, the refusal of Jews to move the remains of ancestors has meant that they are some of the best-preserved memorials in the British World. Despite being afforded burial spaces according to Jewish law from the middle of the seventeenth century, multi lingual memorials in Barbados suggest Jews were uncertain how secure their mortal remains and memorials would be in death.

Whilst expensive and elaborate memorials inside consecrated churches valorise the memory of deceased Britons, the British abroad were dependent upon the financial or practical support of associational ties (including Freemasons) to memorialise those who died overseas.

Conclusions

Unlike other symbols associated with British cultural imperialism, such as red telephone boxes and post boxes, British memorialisation practices abroad varied enormously. As this study evidences, a complexity of factors determined memorial practices in the British diaspora during the three centuries studied here. Marking the deaths of those who have died far away from their homelands elevated the deceased and ensured their memory would be preserved for future generations to read in public spaces. The agency of the bereaved displayed on memorials reinforces themes of kinship, spatial environment and socio-economic status, evident in studies of contemporary death, and demonstrates they have enduring currency, especially amongst migrant or displaced populations. Whilst the British were not alone in marking their diasporic ties in death, the scale of surviving memorialisation both at home and abroad demonstrates they used death to create often-elaborate death markers that have largely stood the test of time.

Key findings

- Since the seventeenth century the British used memorials as a tool for colonising one quarter of the world. Often graveyards pre-dated the erection of churches or civic spaces as a sign of British rule.
- The visible imprint of memorialisation has not only remembered departed loved ones. It has also shaped the way we mourn soldiers, sailors, migrants and colonisers both at home and abroad.
- Regional diversity of memorialisation practices at home was replicated by settlers overseas. Despite the attention memorials in British India have received, less elaborate and more personalised memorialisation practices were evident across throughout the broad time period and geographic coverage of field work.
- The British have tended to situate memorials close the coastline of spaces that they settled. This has jeopardised the archaeology of British settlement overseas as both the memorials and physical remains of the British diaspora have been damaged.
- Environmental or political unrest in many of the spaces surveyed has further eradicated the physical remains of remote Britons. The archaeology is under threat and once memorials have been lost then this can lead to the re-use of burial spaces as the pressure for available burial spaces increases.
- Despite the prevalence of racism in life, in death the British respected different memorial practices of different ethnicities and cultures both at home and abroad. For example, even before Apartheid, memorials in South Africa were segregated. Yet all organised religions were accommodated within first decade of the British acquiring the Cape Colony.
- Globally, cemeteries surveyed in the UK and abroad are increasingly becoming spaces for either illicit burials (in closed spaces) or dwellings for homeless people. This was especially apparent in closed cemeteries in Hull, Cape Town, Barbados and Sierra Leone.

- The multi directional flow of migrants to Britain, both during the period of the British Empire and following decolonisation, has changed memorial practices here in the UK. For example, second and third generation Catholics have increased annual pilgrimages to family burial spaces on All Souls Day.
- Christians in the North East of Scotland have been more likely than any other group or area surveyed to memorialise the bereaved with formal gravestones. As those from this region have settled overseas, their North Eastern origins have been marked in elaborate memorials in cemeteries and churches.
- Though enslaved communities in the Caribbean were often buried outside formal burial spaces, they were afforded a proper burial and memorialised by their communities. Though this has hindered the ability of descendants to visit gravesites, the cultural transfer of African burial customs was observed at the time of committal.
- Enslaved Africans liberated by the Royal Navy along the West Coast of Africa remained proud of their liberated status in death as grave memorials in Freetown record.
- Unsurprisingly for an Island Nation, the British are often buried close to rivers or other stretches of water. This thereby confirms findings of the Deep Time survey that water remains important to burial and memorialisation practices.
- All communities surveyed show that second, third and sometimes later generations continue to memorialise those who were buried without a grave marker or memorial. This is particularly evident where an ancestor was buried in an important ecclesiastical site or close to sites of cultural importance (such as Mauchline where Robert Burns lived).
- Memorials have served to reconnect disparate families in death. For example, memorials in the UK during the late nineteenth century recalled those who died abroad. Conversely, those dying abroad were reconnected to their region of origin in diaspora. Space and place are important to memorialisation practices.
- The refusal of Jews to move the remains of ancestors has meant that they are some of the best preserved memorials abroad. Despite being afforded burial spaces according to Jewish law, multi lingual memorials suggest they were uncertain how secure their mortal remains and memorials would be.
- Whilst expensive and elaborate memorials inside consecrated churches valorise the memory of deceased Britons, abroad most markers show the importance of kinship to the diaspora. Buried remotely, the British were dependent upon the financial or practical support of associational ties (including Freemasons) to memorialise those who died. Occupational status was as likely to be included in memorials abroad as their place of origin.

3.4 The Photograph as vehicle for mourning and remembering (Liz Nicol and Jane Hutchinson)



Rosemary, cyanotype, Liz Nicol 2017

Background

The ongoing interest in the subject of memorialisation stemmed from what can be the very personal nature of the photograph as an object of remembrance, and more specifically, how the photograph of a loved one takes on new meaning on the death of that person. As a photographer, Liz Nicol used the camera and photographs to explore her own grief. This personal interest is embedded in the inherent relationship between photography and loss. It is informed by a complementary body of research in a parallel project.

Method

The research comprised of two strands (i) a literature review (Hutchinson) that explored the significance of photography and photographs to processes of loss and mourning, remembrance, commemoration and memorialisation, with a particular emphasis on World War One and throughout the years of pilgrimage and battlefield tourism that follow, and (ii) practice research (Nicol), exploring these themes through photography and rephotography, interfacing with the 'Remember Me' case studies, with a particular emphasis on exploration of the sites of World War

Literature review

The review considered sources that examined how processes of memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance are mediated through photography, photographs, and the sites and circumstances of their circulation. It also considered the use of photographs and the practice of taking photographs during activities associated with remembrance, commemoration and memorialisation. A review of the literature supports an examination of the significance of photography and photographs in remembrance, commemoration and memorialisation. Its initial focus was upon themes related to photography as a creative practice and subsequently evolved to respond to and support the development of the work.

Practice research

The creative photographic work responds broadly to concepts and material evidence of remembrance, commemoration and memorialization, in public and private settings. It has its focus upon activities relating to the Great War including military cemeteries and memorials, and the material evidence of memorialization practices in graveyards including those associated with places of worship, and municipal cemeteries and secular spaces.



Poppies, found Somme, 2016. Objectograph, Liz Nicol.

Central to Liz Nicol's photographic practice is the interface of intimate images and public spaces. In the research we saw evidence of this process in European cemeteries; when a very personal photograph is bonded in a ceramic plaque and placed at the graveside of a loved one. There are also

many examples at military graves, when the onlooker comes across messages to loved ones and photographs of the deceased.



Funeral Notice, Venice, Liz Nicol, 2017

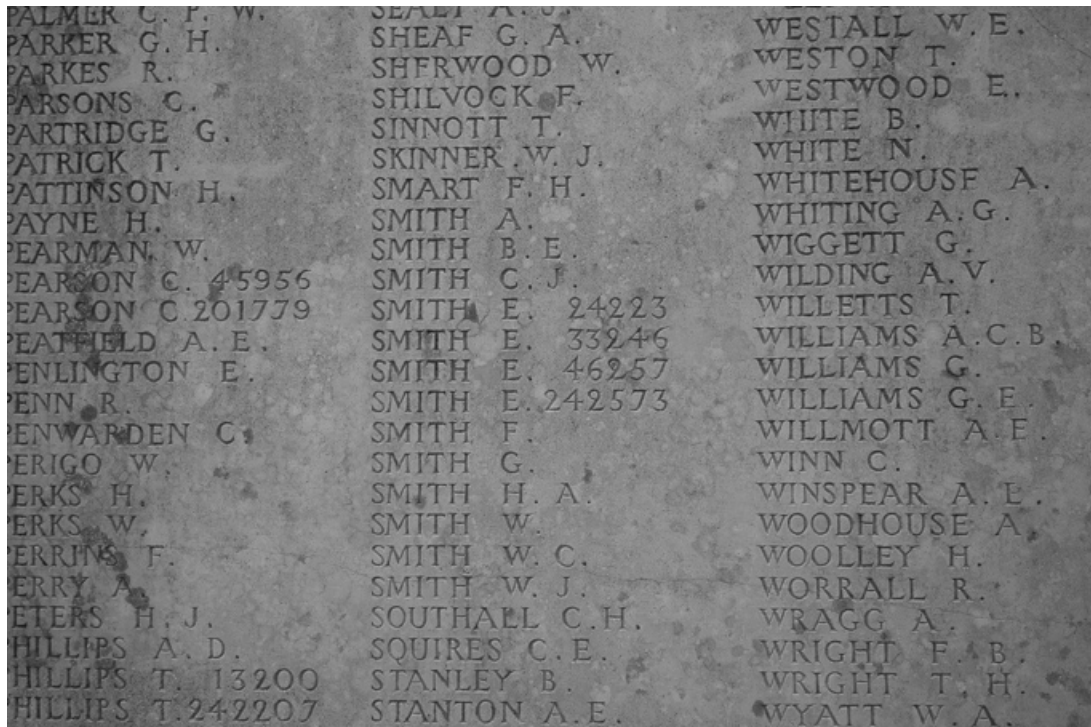
The photographic practice adopted aspects of three different methodologies. As an artist/photographer it is common to pursue practice in the purest sense, driven by self-determined goals. This was Liz's established methodology. In the context of this project where there was a brief the prevalent methodology was that of practice based research; working towards the presentation of a creative artifact as the basis of the contribution to knowledge. Normally one would see practice-based research and practice-led research as being distinct however there are aspects of the materiality of practice-led research that have usefully been employed in this project, for example in the form of re-photography.

During the early stages of this research, seemingly very different projects ran concurrently; photographing memorials, military and domestic cemeteries and traumatized landscapes, researching symbols of grief and death, but commonalities and connections became more evident as they developed. For example, the use of particular flowers: anemones, pansies and forget-me-nots, that could be seen placed at the graveside as cut fresh and artificial flowers of ceramic, plastic and cloth, were also found embroidered on postcards for the WW1 soldier to send home to his loved ones.



Original WW1 postcard, authors's collection.

Different photographic languages were fine-tuned through experiment for example, the cyanotypes (blueprints) were employed to record traces of the hanging branches and leaves of the Weeping Willow and the branches and fragments of Rosemary, both plants associated with grief and mourning. The First World War monuments were examined through the lens of a 100-year-old camera and black and white film. Both the cyanotypes and analogue prints carry a trace of the object or an indexical link. But, the names of the missing were made with a high resolution digital camera, just as the name had become separate to the body the pixels of the digital camera are not physically present.



Tyne Cot, Memorial to the Missing, Digital photograph, Liz Nicol, 2018

The final selection process was informed by the research as outlined in the review, the overarching research questions and the more specific focus of the role of the photograph in memorialization. The aim was to display and disseminate the different photographic works through the exhibition of artefacts and through the publication of the photographic essay.

Conclusions

The research showed how photography as creative practice contributes to an understanding of the economic, social and cultural influences impacting on loss, grief and remembrance. In contrast to the more usual and familiar illustrative and documentary role of photography, this research explored how photography and photographs facilitate and mediate the experience of memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance, the role of photographs as vehicles for mourning and remembering and how, in addition to their role as documents of the processes of memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance, photographs are also sites of memory.

Key findings

- Cameras and photographs facilitate and mediate the experience of memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance.
- Photographs can be memorials and sites of memory. They are used in and document the process of memorialisation. Photographs are used to reference a time which has passed and to record the passing of time.
- Photographs are persistent, stable and significant forms of personal and collective meaning-making across the variations of socio-economic and cultural norms. Photographs associated with processes of memorialization, commemoration and remembrance contribute to the representation and confirmation of national, community and individual identity.
- Photographs occupy a liminal space and are able to move between public and private, visible and intimate places and practices of memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance.
- Photographs are used to ameliorate the absence or loss of community and nation in practices associated with mourning and remembrance, for example, to represent absent family members at a funeral.
- In the context of remembrance, commemoration and memorialisation, photographs are considered as Linking Objects, Melancholy Objects and Transitional Objects and although secular objects they are often treated as Relics and Icons.
- The presence or absence of photographs impacts upon the experience of loss. Photographs make loss and absence visible. They present those absent, missing and those known to be dead as equal.
- There is recent and a renewed interest in the practice of re-photography in the process of memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance.
- There is a widespread resurgence, associated with the anniversary of the First World War, of the practice of re-creating Rolls of Honour, by civic and community groups. These are available to the public on freely accessible digital platforms.
- Reference to portrait photographs (and photography in general) seem to be scarce in histories of the Great War, even when discussing memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance. Where photographs appear they are used for illustration purposes. They are not referenced in History of Photography books that seem to move from the American Civil War to WW2, they are housed in archives.
- The literature indicates that the taking of photographs was and continues to be a key element in the experience of those visiting military cemeteries and memorials, whether as tourists or

pilgrims. Further, photographs mediated the expectations of prospective battlefield tourists and pilgrims.

- The literature concerning photographs in memorialisation and remembrance practices and processes indicates the importance of touch, presence and materiality. Photographs are a key feature of online and digital memorials.
- The literature indicates that the practices associated with memorial photography, and of using photographs as memorials have changed over time. In particular, literature which considers post-mortem photography and photographs and their subsequent display, whether in public or private spaces, finds cultural influences and differences in the acceptability of the practice.
- Creative photographic practice and the literature have illuminated the meanings, and the process of the attachment of meaning, to objects in the context of memorialization, commemoration and remembrance.
- The ongoing processes of memorialisation are evidenced in the visual arts where these appear not to be discussed extensively in the literature. Creative practice has contributed to descriptions in the literature of cultural and national differences in mourning, memorial and commemoration practices. In particular, the use of photographs during mourning, upon graves and/or embedded within gravestones.
- Photographic evidence illustrates cultural differences in the processes of memorialization and memorial practices and between municipal and churchyard cemeteries and memorials, and military cemeteries.
- The political context of memorialisation and commemoration is apparent through the examination of apparently spontaneous practices of laying floral tributes. This offers individual and communal empowerment and in secular contexts the demonstration of community affiliation through shared grief.
- In the context of memorialization, commemoration and remembrance, photographs function to bridge the gap between both memory and experience and private and public mourning practices.

3.5. Free-writing in palliative care and bereavement (Andrew Goodhead)

Purpose and Scope

The Hospice memorialisation research study examined the content of hospice memorial services/ events and free writing in Memorial Books. The study considered two distinct memorialising opportunities:

- The content and themes of memorial services or events offered by hospices to bereaved service users some months after the death of a patient
- The content and themes of hand written (free writing) entries in Memorial Books held on hospice premises



The study sought to understand and describe how hospices enable bereaved men and women to remember those who have died, in a communal event or through the availability of a book in a quasi-public space. Memorialising the dead appears to be a practice which is needed by some bereaved people to help with the bereavement process and to continue to maintain the deceased in the present

Method

11 hospices were invited to participate in the study. 10 agreed to take part; 1 in Scotland, 1 in Northern Ireland and 8 in England.

Memorial Services: The researcher was an observer participant, maintaining notes through an observation schedule to ensure that the same questions and observations were made at each event. The researcher ensured that his presence was discreet and that no attendees were spoken to or disturbed prior to, during or after the event.

Memorial Books: It was intended to collect data from memorial Books covering the same time periods in each hospice, the month of July and the periods around Christmas and St Valentine's Day. Many hospice books held insufficient data to cover these periods. A decision was made to either capture all the entries in a Memorial Book or an amount of entries equivalent to the period originally chosen.

One hospice did not maintain a Memories Book and agreement was made with the internal research committee that 'leaves' submitted for previous memorial services could be treated as free writing. All observations entries were entered into Nvivo 8 and free nodes (codes) created for the themes which arose as data was analysed. Where appropriate, nodes were collapsed into nodes with similar themes.

Findings: Memorial Services

The purpose and function of each Memorial Service was decided by the leaders of these events. Across the study, the purpose and function of services differed depending on content choices made by the service organisers. A number of approaches to death, loss and bereavement were seen through these Memorial Services, ranging from expressions of continuing bonds, letting go and holding on and the denial of death. Contents included poetry, prose, hymns, addresses and talks by bereaved relatives.

Imagery and metaphor was present in the description of death, loss and bereavement. Christian content was explained by service leaders to attendees. Secular and non-Christian poetry, prose, readings or music was not explained. This suggested a lack of confidence that religious themes would be understood by attendees. The services were primarily led by hospice Chaplains or Spiritual Care Leads assisted by volunteers or other hospice staff. Leadership was predominantly white. Attendees to the services were drawn from white, Black Minority and at one service an Asian ethnic background.

At nine services an *Act of Remembrance* was included. Attendees responded in unison to recall their deceased relative or friend. Attendees displayed emotion, comforted each other and actively participated in the remembrance. Even if attendees were disengaged from the service prior to and post the Act of Remembrance, this moment enabled them to be active participants at an event where they were primarily passive observers.

Findings: Free Writing in Memorial Books

Free-writers attend hospices to write in memorial Books at significant times of the year or for significant events. Writers describe their response to bereavement and write about ongoing events in their lives and share news with the deceased. There may be a substantial period between a death and a person attending at a hospice to write in a Memory Book. Some attendees return year on year. Others write of multiple bereavements and address a number of deceased people in a single entry. The bereaved describe the attributes of the deceased which are found within a family unit, or the attributes which will be 'passed on' to other generations within the family. Belief is expressed by free-writers but this is mainly within a Judaeo-Christian framework. There were only a few entries from non-Christian traditions, with two hospice Memorial Books holding entries from the Sikh and Hindu traditions. Memory Book free-writing enables the bereaved to undertake a ritual act. The presence of the writer is essential to the creation of a ritual and these acts are suffused with personal and familial meaning.

Cross-Cutting Themes

Meaning-Making

Free-writers and service attendees sought to make and take meaning from writing and engaging in Acts of Remembrance. This was seen in free-writing through the recognition of death, its significance and the expression of relational bonds. During Acts of Remembrance the use of symbols (candles, flowers or stones) became meaningful for individuals and families by taking and/or placing these purposefully at the direction of the service leader.

Continuing bonds

The passing of news and reminding the dead they are missed and loved illustrates how free-writers maintain relationships with the deceased. In Memorial Services, this theme was described in poetry, prose, readings and addresses. Bonds are also held when a process of letting go takes place. The bereaved continue in relationship with the deceased (holding on), but are also able to let go. This is best seen in the placing of the deceased in an afterlife where they can be recalled, but where they are out of reach.

Public and private memorialising

Although open to the public, hospices are not wholly public spaces. They offer semi-public spaces to facilitate memorialisation. Free-writing demands the attendance of the writer at the hospice and attendees at a Memorial Service must deliberately travel to the hospice. The personal and private entries of writers can be read by others intending to write. There is a mimetic quality to many entries as themes and language are found across many entries in each book. Those attending a Memorial Service come as individuals and families but enter into a shared act by their presence and participation in any Acts of Remembrance.

Key findings

- Meaning making is a significant purpose for those who free-write and for attendees at Memorial Services.
- The grief theory of continuing bonds is apparent in the free-writing entries in Memorial Books. These are expressed by describing personal attributes and sharing news. Free writing indicates that the dead are clearly involved in the continuing life of the bereaved. Hospice memorial books provide an environment where these relationships can be expressed and maintained.
- There is an interface between public and private grief rituals. Free-writers share their thoughts and emotions with others who will read an entry at a later date. During a Memorial Service act of remembrance, attendees recognised the common experience of bereavement when names were read or a shared action was engaged with.
- Symbols in the form of cards, drawings or photographs in Memorial Books, or stones, candles or flowers at Memorial Services are imbued with meaning by the bereaved and reconnect the bereaved to the deceased.
- Acts of Remembrance at Memorial Services provide attendees with an opportunity to actively participate in an event at which they are otherwise mainly passive observers.
- There is clear evidence that free writing memorialisation themes are common across the UK .
- Within each book there is a mimetic quality to entries, suggesting that writers are looking for forms of words which express what they feel.
- There appears to be some confusion among the organisers of Memorial Services about their purpose and content.
- Hospices have a pivotal role in creating helpful opportunities for the bereaved to remember the deceased.

3.6 Heroes and loved ones: Death arising from armed combat (Miroslava Hukelova, Jenny MacLeod, Yvonne Inall, Malcolm Lillie)



Background

The research constituted one of four contemporary case studies designed to illuminate a key tension identified in contemporary memorialisation: the relationship between the public and the private domains. The research also offered the opportunity to develop understanding of the relationship between memorialisation and identity, both individual and social.

Military-civil relations and identities are mediated today largely through the mass media and social media, rather than primarily through formal institutions (such as the Royal British Legion), though the two forms also meet. With the professionalization of the military and British engagement in recent overseas conflicts, the political context of the deaths of front-line soldiers differs from that which prevailed when public memorialisation events were established in the wake of World War One. Deaths of serving UK soldiers are publicly mourned and memorialised, both initially and through recurrent ceremonies such as Remembrance Day services. Little is known, however, about how these function in relation to the grieving and memorialisation processes of private families or comrades or how these compare with the impact of war in the past.

Aims and objectives

This research aimed to address this lacunae at the same time as it would illuminate broader aspects of memorialisation. Specifically, the case study aimed to:

- explore the significance of personal meaning-making and its influence on the significance, purposes and forms of memorials and memorial events, and the meanings taken from these, in death associated with armed conflict;
- analyse the dynamic of the public/private interface as it affects the mourning of individuals and influences public and community memorial events and the role and function of these in personal memorialising;
- illuminate the reasons for attendance at Remembrance Sunday and other military memorial events today and how and why their function might have changed over time.

Method

The case study comprised of two parallel lines of enquiry: (i) a review of material in the public domain (past and present) through media and online sources (ii) a qualitative and photographic study with participants in a Remembrance Sunday Service and Parade in November 2015, through a questionnaire with follow-up in-depth face-to-face interviews with a selected sample of volunteers,

and portrait photographs taken in the Memorial Gardens supplemented by a small number of photographs taken in three follow-up visits to the homes of interviewees who volunteered. Following the death of the lead investigator, the review became focused on a longitudinal study of public discourse around Armistice Day and Remembrance Sunday through an archive search of *The Guardian/Observer* and *The Times*, sampling newspaper articles published in the days around Armistice Day and Remembrance Sunday between 1919 and 2015.

Findings: Armistice Day and Remembrance Sunday in public discourse

Themes of sacrifice and gratitude, pride and community, solidarity and relatedness are evident from the origins of Armistice Day to the present. However, three significant dynamics may be observed which have a bearing on the direction in which these acts of public remembrance might usefully move in the future.

a. Continuing relevance

Contrary to common present day assumptions, the question of how long we should continue to publicly mark and remember major conflicts has been questioned as early as the 1930s. Renewed conflicts involving British soldiers have with each event raised the profile of Remembrance Sunday in the media, linked to the original purpose of ‘never again’. The horror of war is seen as a fundamental reason to retain public remembrance ceremonies, ‘lest we forget’.

b. The fallen soldier as war hero or lost loved one

In its World War One origins, the scale of lost lives, impacting on every community, contributed to the subsuming of the individual within the act of remembrance (epitomised in the grave of the ‘Unknown Warrior’). With lower numbers of deaths, dispersed rather than in local concentrations, the identity and personal impact of each soldier dying in combat has emerged in public consciousness. However, the ‘grieving widow’ and children at the funeral overrides focus on the ongoing suffering and hardship of bereaved families. There is some evidence of this personal impact tracking back, with the few remaining veterans of World War Two publicly recalling the loss of individual comrades who did not survive.

c. Differences for military and civilian populations

Although the deaths of civilians and associated personnel have historically been recorded, and the moral justification for particular offensives in both World Wars remains contentious, the deaths of persons outside of the military continues to be excluded from the public discourse surrounding Armistice Day and Remembrance Sunday in recent decades. Further, little or no attention is paid to the reasons why people without military connections or experience of bereavement through armed conflict might attend these public ceremonies.

Findings: Remembrance Sunday fieldwork

Questionnaires

In total 504 responses to the questionnaire were received and 22 face-to-face interviews conducted. Two intersecting axes in the profile of questionnaire respondents are significant: **military/civilian** and regular **church-goer/non-churchgoer**, i.e. those attending religious services only in connection with

particular ceremonies. Most participants with a military background listed patriotic reasons, duty and memories, as their reasons for attending the ceremony. More than half of regular churchgoers mentioned religious reasons for attending as well as love and sympathy. Although regret was the least frequently mentioned reason by all for attending, the moral case was strongly made, with many respondents referring to humanity and learning from the mistakes of the past. More than half of all respondents, mostly in the over 85 and 31-45 age groups, had come to remember a particular person, or persons, but while for members of the armed forces this was a comrade in arms or a friend, most civilians remembered a parent or another family member, not necessarily those who had served or died in the armed forces. More than half of all respondents were remembering someone who died while serving in the armed forces, usually from the First and Second World Wars but with a significant minority remembering someone who died in a more recent conflict.

Interviews

The interviews provided in-depth reflection on: reasons for participation in Remembrance Sunday; its emotional, spiritual and community resonances; its significance in personal memories and memorialising; and the cathartic impact of ritual, ceremony and place.



Jim interviewee No.70, photo Liz Nicol

The opportunity to experience private feelings in a public space within a community united in purpose was a common theme. A sense of connectedness was powerfully expressed and contributed significantly to the process of finding meaning in painful and poignant memories. For (former) serving soldiers, the closeness of the military bond was pre-eminent and maintaining that connection in remembering deceased comrades (whether fallen in battle or died in later life as civilians) was a necessary function of participating in remembrance events. For others, a sense of community solidarity was both healing in terms of personal grief and humbling in terms of what human beings owe to each other. The familiar ceremony, employing the same ritual and symbolism each year, was seen as facilitative as was the location of the service and wreath-laying in environments which were perceived as sacred; 'spiritual' was used to describe particular moments and elements by participants who also declared themselves to be non-religious.

Conclusions and recommendations

There is a remarkable consistency in the themes traced through history in the public discourse as represented in newspapers and other media and in the cross-cutting themes emerging from the Remembrance Sunday fieldwork. This suggests that the fundamental purposes of memorialisation forms and events associated with death arising from armed combat remain constant. However, these purposes should be understood in the context of shifts in social and political dynamics:

- *Continuing relevance of the ceremony today.*

Our contemporary study suggests that Remembrance Sunday remains important and relevant for those who choose to attend, or have affiliations which routinely lead them to attend. In 1919, the call was for the whole nation to come together; in the UK today, it is likely that a significant proportion of the population, ignore, or are not affected by, the November remembrance.

- *The interface between public and personal impact and consequent memorialisation practices.*

The contemporary trend to place private thoughts and feelings in public spaces and the desire of the general public to engage with the personal stories of 'strangers' is reflected in the uncovering and valorising of the human stories lying behind today's Remembrance Sunday ceremonies. The resultant shift from an overarching narrative of duty, sacrifice and gratitude to one of healing of loss and trauma allows Remembrance Sunday to offer a rare community cathartic experience for persons affected by other forms of loss.

- *The military/civilian divide.*

As the proportion of those with first-hand experience of the military has declined in the UK today, so differences in the purpose and function of Remembrance Sunday may have widened between military and civilian participants. For serving and former soldiers, the original overarching narrative is carried alongside an opportunity to renew the bond with comrades (past, present and through affiliation) as well as have their private feelings publicly recognised and respected. Nevertheless, civilian respondents in particular emphasised the importance of standing 'shoulder to shoulder'.

Recommendations

1. Religious and secular organisations which come together for the annual Remembrance Sunday service and parade should consult at national level to consider the format and content of these ceremonies in the light of the multiple purposes and needs which they fulfil in the UK today.
2. The specific needs of military personnel and their families should be considered in relation to the well-being and mental health needs of serving and former soldiers and the therapeutic potential of memorialisation events and practices explicitly recognised and employed.

Key findings

- The fundamental purposes of military memorialisation events remains constant over time but are shaped by prevailing social and political dynamics.
- Themes of sacrifice, gratitude, pride, community and solidarity can be seen from the origins of Armistice Day to the present.
- The church still plays an important role with many of the regular church goers also attending Remembrance Sunday despite it being a civic tradition.
- The unique sense of military 'brotherhood' or military family is reinforced on Remembrance Sunday.
- Remembrance Sunday enables participants to remember publicly and privately. It is a ritual which provides a space for reflection, a private time with one's own emotions and total immersion in oneself in a public space. Many found the act of remembrance cathartic and healing. Some participants used the occasion to reflect on personal loss, not necessarily from the Armed Forces, others did not think of anyone in particular.
- The ceremony carries a strong moral message with many participants referring to the need to learn from previous mistakes and avoid future conflicts.
- The sobering atmosphere of the Remembrance Sunday ceremony is closely connected with a particular place – the Minster or the war memorial/remembrance gardens, and a particular sound - The Last Post, or silence.
- For some participants the ceremony has a spiritual or otherworldly presence, not necessarily associated with any particular religion.
- Coming together and feelings of unity form a vital part of the Remembrance Sunday observance.
- Despite its association with the military, Remembrance Sunday fulfils a basic human need, it provides a clearly defined time and space for remembering, and brings together different groups regardless of their background and affiliations.

3.7. Countries Old and New: Memorialisation among Polish migrants in Hull (Lisa Dikomitis and Marcin Biernat)

Background

The research constituted one of four contemporary case studies designed to illuminate a key tension identified in contemporary memorialisation: tensions surrounding the identity of the deceased, which may be complex, several or contested between mourners. The case study was designed to examine the different ways in which UK-based migrants memorialise their loved ones. Despite acknowledgement of the potential impact of migration on death management practices, research to date has been limited.



Historical and socio-political context of the Polish community in the United Kingdom

The Polish migration to the UK happened in three distinct phases: (1) post-war migrants: Poles who came to the UK after the second world-war; (2) post-solidarity migrants: Polish Solidarity dissidents who migrated in the 1980s following the martial laws imposed in the winter of 1981 and (3) post-accession migrants: Poles who migrated after May 2004 when Poland became a full EU-member state. Although often presented as three distinct phases, there is also an ongoing migration between these different migration flows.

The Polish community is currently the largest migrant community in the UK. Indeed, Poland is the most common country of birth (9.5% of the UK's foreign born population was born in Poland) and with 15.7% Polish citizens constitute the largest group of foreign nationalities in the UK. The largest single national group to arrive in the UK were Polish citizens.

Heterogeneity is a key characteristic of the post-accession Polish migrant community, from those who have made the UK their home since 2004 and have now lived in the UK over a decade with key family members also in the UK and infrequent visits to Poland to those who work in the UK but live in Poland. For instance, Polish care workers or construction workers in the UK: although they left Poland, they do not necessarily live and stay in the UK on a permanent basis.

Aims and objectives

By combining two 'classic' themes in anthropology—death rituals and migration—we explored issues of complex and multiple migrant identities as well as the relationship between tradition, change and adaptation of death and memorialisation rituals among migrants in the UK. Because rituals around death and memorialisation are so deeply anchored in space and place, we decided to focus on one migrant community in the UK. We did so through an ethnographic case study of the Polish community

in Hull, a port city in the north of England. Through collecting ethnographic data on migrants' forms of memorialisation this case study aimed to yield insights into emerging forms of memorial in the British migrant communities, addressing such questions as: what kinds of rituals, public and private, continue after the funeral and where do social events take place? Do migrants merge traditions from home with those of the adopted culture, and if so, how? Do they utilise newly emerging forms, such as digital, to overcome barriers of place?

Method

The case study was composed of two strands: (1) a literature review and (2) empirical data collection through ethnographic fieldwork. We reviewed the international body of research around death, dying and bereavement in migration as well as the historical and socio-political context of the Polish community in the United Kingdom. Engagement with these two bodies of literature informed us of possible angles to explore during fieldwork and provided us with more specific research questions. The ethnographic study of memorialisation practices among the Polish community in Hull comprised of participant-observation and semi-structured interviews. Fieldwork was conducted by two social scientists, one anthropologist and one Polish sociologist, during one year (May 2016-May 2017), in Hull and its surrounding villages and small towns, with a focus on the so-called 'Polish' neighbourhoods. Participant-observation was conducted in a wide range of venues where Polish migrants gathered: churches, Polish community centres, cemeteries, public memorials, Polish Saturday schools and Polish shops and restaurants and in the homes of Poles in Hull. We conducted a total of 26 semi-structured interviews with various stakeholders: Polish migrants, funeral directors and stakeholders in the Polish community (e.g., charity workers, priests, consul officials). In addition to daily interactions with Poles in Hull, we also conducted online research, which was mostly devoted to exploring extant online data. We did interact online, however, with members of Polish church groups based in Hull, grave cleaning companies in Poland, with members of the online Polish community in Hull and with the owners of Polish memorial websites, Polish virtual cemetery website and a Polish obituary site.

Literature review on death, dying and bereavement in migration

Scholarship around death, dying and bereavement in migration is relatively recent. Our review of the literature revealed three distinct research strands in interdisciplinary death studies. The first strand, concerned with *death in migration*, emerged around the turn of the century, with landmark pieces on how Greek and Turkish migrants in Berlin remember loss and burial, migrant funerals and migrant graves in Sweden, experiences of dying, death, burial and bereavement among Bengali Muslims in London and memorialisation practices among Northern European retired migrants in the Mediterranean. During the same period, French scholarship studied migrant identity politics through a focus on migrants' preferred burial place, with case studies about Maghrebians and Senegalese migrants in France and Puerto Ricans in the United States. In the second strand researchers turned their attention to *the care for the dying migrant*, with several studies on migrant end-of-life care and rituals. The third strand brings a spatial dimension to this scholarship through several *geographies of death, dying and remembrance*. The literature in this strand contributes to our understanding of spatial phenomena in death, dying and memorialisation practices through different disciplinary lenses.

The choice of burial place and transportation of the migrant body receives considerable attention in this strand. Despite this burgeoning body of literature, there are two areas which remain largely under-researched in migrant death studies:

- (1) It is significant that much of the transnational and migration death research focussed on migrant communities which are visibly different, in religious and ritual practices, from the host country.
- (2) Attention to the temporal dimension is often concentrated around the time of death: the care the dying migrant received at the end of life, death itself and the first period immediately after death with emphasis on burial place, funerary or cremation traditions and the performance of graveside rituals in the first period after death. On the whole, the long-term *processes of memorialisation* among migrant populations have not received focussed attention.

The ethnographic study of the Polish community in Hull

Although the Polish community in Hull reflects the three migration waves to the UK, our research participants in Hull themselves divide the local Polish community into two categories: the ‘old community’, or established diaspora, and the ‘new community’, or the ‘new migrants’. This distinction plays an important part in their migrant identity formation and most hold a clear association with one of the two groups. The heterogeneity of the Polish community in Hull means that the ‘settled migrants’ (Poles who arrived since WWII and before 2004 and the children of those migrants) may have bonds to Poland, but these are not as strong in a tangible way in comparison to the connections the ‘new migrants’ have with Poland. Post-accession Polish migrants undertake, on the whole, frequent travel between the UK and Poland. Indeed, many Poles in Hull were also highly mobile and low cost air travel was very much at the heart of their migration experience.

Brexit - attitudes towards life and death in the UK

The data collection started in the weeks leading up to the ‘United Kingdom European Union membership referendum’, colloquially known as the ‘Brexit referendum’, which took place on 23 June 2016. Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in that first year after the Brexit referendum and Brexit was very much at the forefront throughout our engagement with members of the Polish community. The referendum resulted in a majority of 51.9% of people voting in favour of leaving the EU. During that time of social upheaval, a post-Brexit wave of hate crimes against Poles was reported. Our research participants talked at length about Brexit and the climate of antagonism towards Poles. Many Polish migrants in Hull were victim of xenophobic attitudes, regardless whether they had always lived in the UK or whether they had arrived in recent years.

Forms, practices and behaviours

There are different ways the relatives and friends of deceased Poles in Hull used funerary and memorialisation rituals to express, construct and assert the Polish identity of the dead. Examples of recurrent practices we observed among members of the ‘established’ Polish community in Hull, include flag-draped coffins, funeral stationery embellished with Polish symbols, sprinkling Polish soil on the coffin or on the grave and grave goods such as prayer cards, medals and crucifixes. In the homes

of Polish migrants objects that symbolised Polishness were often displayed near the photo of the deceased. These practices serve as 'cultural communication' of the deceased Polish migrant.

The choice of the burial place is heavily influenced by how settled the Polish family is in the UK. Cremation was never the preferred option, but was often chosen for financial reasons as repatriation of the body to Poland is much more expensive and involved a more complex administration for the bereaved family. The ashes of the dead were often kept at home until the next visit to Poland where these were then sprinkled at a symbolic place or placed at the local cemetery.

One particular new form of memorialisation is to ensure that graves of beloved ones are maintained, cleaned and renovated even when relatives now live in the UK. Polish migrants often pay for services of specialist grave cleaning companies.

Discussion

The heterogeneity of the Polish community and different migration backgrounds and histories reflect different death and memorialisation processes. In all cases, the cultural identity of Polish migrants is reasserted through death and memorialisation choices and practices. The display of Polish objects and Polish grave goods show the agency of the second generation Polish diaspora. It is a community response in death rituals, often followed by personal and collective memorials which are used to reinforce their Polishness. The liminal position of Polish migrants themselves and how they live in liminal space has a profound effect on death and memorialisation rituals. The anxiety and concerns around Brexit pushed some Polish migrants to accelerate plans of return or permanent residence in the UK and this was mirrored in the funeral and burial decision they made at that time of political upheaval.

We observed two main ways of remembering the deceased: public and private memorials. It is important to note that these overlap and the private memorial is often framed in a public remembrance activities: mass intentions, traditional processes at cemeteries and at memorial events for Polish soldiers.

The social geography of memorialisation practices among Poles in Hull ranged from public acts to private intimate acts of memorialisation. The deathscapes were overall not remarkably different than those places used by members of the dominant culture, the British. Bar the storage of ashes in unconventional containers, like plastic bags or boxes, waiting to be taken to Poland on the next visit. There are many similarities between how Brits and Poles memorialise. This is in contrast to the practices maintained by other large migrant communities in the UK. There are four main places where memorialization by Poles happen: in the church, at the cemetery (both in Poland and in the UK), in certain public places (e.g., memorials of remembered soldiers and Polish graves) and in the intimacy of Polish homes in Hull.

Conclusions and recommendations

While each of the two groups in the Polish migrant community generally has a different understanding and interpretation of what ‘Polish traditions’ are, they both draw from it for funeral and memorialization rituals. They also depart from tradition, sometimes consciously, sometimes not. The death and memorial practices and rituals range from mostly traditional to less conventional. It is very likely that the fact that these practices are situated in the UK facilitates the gradual transformation of tradition. It is, however, important to note that these traditions and practices are subject to change in Poland too.

For Polish migrants, memorialisation is not only about remembering the deceased, but also about retaining cultural identity. The social geography of memorialisation practices carried out by Polish migrants in the UK highlight the dynamics of the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ country. Liminality in death was omnipresent in the Polish community in Hull: just as the migrants live ‘betwixt and between’, also the dead (either the body or the ashes) often remain in a long period of margin.

It is paramount that all key stakeholders (local priests, funeral directors, Polish Consul, administrative staff at local non-governmental organisations) are aware of the many decisions that bereaved Polish families need to make in terms of cremation versus burial, choice of last resting place as well as the huge administrative burden that falls on the bereaved, often complicated when migrants were only partly settled in the UK (for instance, when core family members still live in Poland). Dealing with the dead is expensive and brings often unexpected costs for Poles. Many Poles require assistance with regards to translation of documents, live-translations at the funeral director and help with post-burial documentation.

Key findings

- For Polish migrants, memorialisation is not only about remembering the deceased, but also about retaining cultural identity, often re-affirmed in the ‘post-mortem identity’.
- The different migration backgrounds and histories of the Polish community in Hull reflect different death and memorialisation practices, including choice of grave goods.
- The social geography of memorialisation practices highlights the dynamics of the ‘old’ country’ and the ‘new’ country.
- Polish memorialisation practices span a wide range of deathscapes: grave and cemeteries in the UK and Poland, churches, public memorials, people’s homes and virtual spaces; many memorialisation practices carried out by Polish migrants are not radically different from those carried out by members of the host country.
- Choice of place of burial and of cremation or burial are influenced by the level of integration in the host country but also the financial resources of the bereaved family; cremation may be chosen for financial reasons since repatriation of the body to Poland is expensive and administratively complex .

- Liminality in death: just as the Polish migrants live ‘betwixt and between’, also the dead (body, ashes) are often in a long period of margin, or ‘liminality’; transportation of the ashes from the host to the home community can be seen as a form of ‘second burial’.
- For the second generation diaspora, memorialisation is a community response.
- However, private memorials are sometimes framed in public remembrance activities. For instance, a private memorial for a loved one can be carried out during a cemetery procession or a public memorial service.
- The whole life of the deceased is remembered through death rituals and memorialisation practices, both the pre- and post-migration life of the deceased, bringing it full circle.
- Meaning-making is expressed through the careful curation of mementoes and long-running memories through intimate acts of memorialisation, often in the intimacy of the home.

3.8 Who Were They? Trans Identities and memorialisation (Louis Bailey)

Background

Whilst there is a growing body of research exploring trans identities and lives, the studies have, without exception, focused on transgenderism as it is experienced, embodied and expressed ‘in life’. This study – focusing on trans identities during the course of memorialisation – is the first research of its kind to explore what happens to trans identities after death. The research explores a previously uncharted field, and highlights the ways in which trans+ people are remembered and their lives commemorated, drawing on the experiences of trans people themselves, as well as family, friends and wider community networks.



It raises important questions about gendering over the life course and across the sphere of death vis-à-vis memorialisation practice, contributing to discussions around postmodernity and multiplicity, and challenging normative models of grief through its discussion of chosen family, disenfranchisement and marginality.

Method

Research was undertaken between November 2016 and November 2017. The study was comprised of three sections - 1) participant-observation at the annual Transgender Day of Remembrance memorial service in Manchester, 2) an online survey with the UK trans population and 3) semi-structured interviews with the bereaved of a trans person who had died. Data was coded and triangulated via NVivo and analysed using thematic analysis.

Transgender Day of Remembrance Service, Manchester (UK)

The Transgender Day of Remembrance (TGDOR) is an annual memorial event which happens in towns and cities around the world in late November. Starting in 1998, the event commemorates those who have been murdered because of their trans status. For this phase of the project, the researcher attended the Manchester TGDOR event on Sunday, November 30th. The event was organised by the national transgender charity ‘Sparkle’ and was held in Sackville Gardens, Manchester. Just over 200 people were in attendance. The researcher observed the event and made extensive field notes both during the formal service and after the subsequent candlelit vigil. Observations centred on the forms of memorial employed and the behaviour of attendees regarding memorial use and associated symbolism. An interview was also conducted with one of the event organisers – the Vice-Chair of the charity Sparkle - regarding the priorities and politics around the event.

Online Survey

The second part of the study comprised an online survey which ascertained the views and experiences of the UK trans population regarding memorialisation practices. The survey, conducted via Bristol Online Surveys (BOL) also explored the role of religion, spirituality and ritual in trans and non-binary people’s every days lives. It was launched via Bristol Online Surveys (BOS) on January 16th and closed

on March 27th, 2017. A total of 141 participants accessed the survey, which was promoted via the third sector.

Interviews

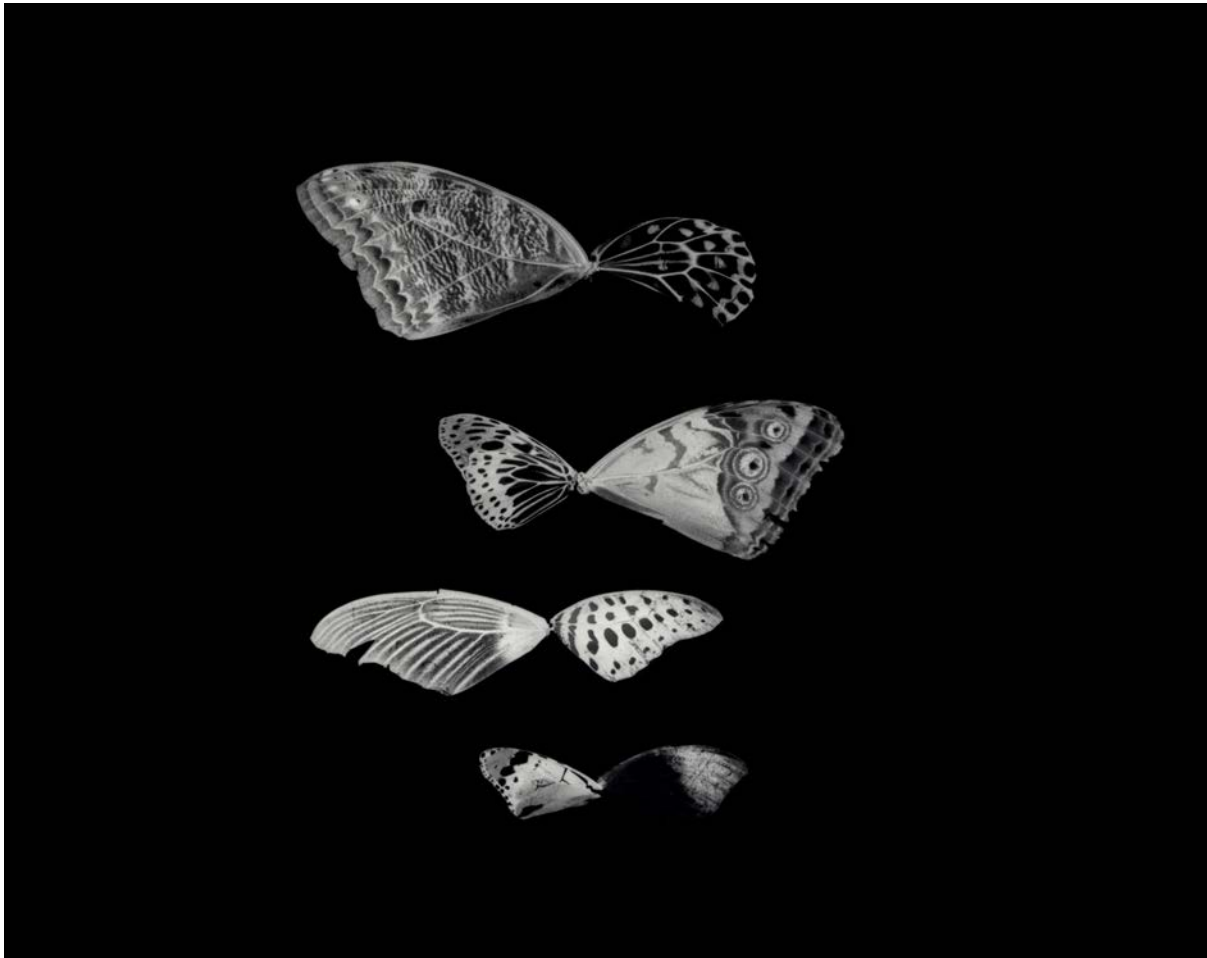
Following on from the survey, the final part of the study focused on the experiences of family members, friends and significant others of a trans person who had died. The interviews explored the ways in which trans people's identities are represented after death through private memorialisation practices. 14 interviews were conducted in total. After transcription, the interviews were coded via NVivo and analysed using an inductive thematic analysis approach. The interview data was then triangulated with the data

Findings

- Whilst TGDOR emerged as an important event for building community solidarity and highlighting the international scale of transphobic violence, there is a growing criticism within the trans community that the event serves to whitewash issues of race and poverty.
- Community members were divided over whether TGDOR should only memorialise victims of transphobic murder or should include the names of those who have died from suicide, arguing that suicide deaths are symptomatic of wider systemic erasure and violence.
- In keeping with wider shifts towards secularisation, the majority of survey respondents wanted a humanist service (32%) whilst only 5% a traditional/religious service.
- Just over 1/5th of survey respondents had not attended or had been prevented from attending a funeral because of their trans status. A further 20% of respondents had experienced negativity and prejudice at a funeral because of their trans status (n=123).
- Respondents emphasised the positive aspects of being trans and wanted their trans status to be commemorated as just one aspect of their identity.
- There was a tendency for birth families where the deceased had died young to prioritise birth gender over felt gender identity. In contrast, chosen families prioritised a person's socially-defined gender. Where the deceased did not have someone to advocate for their social gender, birth sex was the default option by coroners and funeral professionals.

Conclusion

This research shows that when it comes to memorialisation, the needs of trans people are relatively straightforward – to be acknowledged as their chosen gender. And yet, such a seemingly fundamental request serves to challenge societal norms around gender and, in turn, affects intimate relationships and family dynamics. In the absence of someone to advocate for the wishes of the deceased, a family of origin's 'right' over the identity of the deceased becomes privileged. In cases where a trans person's gender was not accepted, the result serves as a double erasure of selfhood with sometimes devastating consequences both for other mourners and the memory and legacy of the deceased. This data highlights the important role played by the chosen family of the deceased and the need for multiple and complementary memorials in order to honour the nuanced and sometimes multifaceted identities of the deceased.



Reconstructions, Butterfly Wings, objectograph, Liz Nicol 2017

Key findings

- Language, and accuracy around gendered terms and definitions, emerged as hugely important in relation to the memorialisation of trans people; misgendering and ‘deadnaming’ of the deceased (namely, using a trans person’s birth name instead of their social/legal name) caused significant distress for mourners from the trans community.
- Whilst some welcomed the opportunity for their trans status to be discussed as part of the memorialisation process, others wanted no reference to their previous gendered life. In all cases however, post-social transition identity was to be prioritised when acknowledging a person’s life course (i.e. using preferred pronouns when referencing previous gendered experiences – ‘when he was a girl’ etc).
- Chosen families (those who are not biologically related to the deceased but who have taken on important familial roles) can take on an important role as chief mourners, advocating for the deceased and presenting a necessary challenge to normative grieving practices.
- Memorial events can serve to erase identity, confirm identity and even re-establish identity. As such, this research highlights the notion of a continued and evolving social identity after death as mourners work to re-imagine a person’s identity based on their own understandings and interpretations of the deceased’s lived social gender.

- Active engagement with ritual emerged as an important source of comfort and closure for the bereaved. For mourners denied the opportunity to be involved with any part of the memorialisation process, the need for a ritualistic process or mechanism emerged as a powerful means of coming to terms with, and being able to integrate, loss. As part of this, there may be the need for multiple memorial services in order to cater for the differing needs of bereaved groups and to acknowledge the multi-faceted identities of the deceased.
- Where a trans person's felt gender was not commemorated after their death, it followed that the person had encountered some resistance to their identity from their birth families when they were still alive. Any tensions and issues became exacerbated after death, particularly in cases where the deceased was young, died unexpectedly and/or had recently transitioned. Where the deceased did not have someone to advocate for their social gender, birth sex was the default option by coroners and funeral professionals.

3.9 Celebrating the life? The hidden face of dementia (Margaret Holloway Miroslava Hukelova and Sue Adamson)



Background

The research constituted one of four contemporary case studies designed to illuminate a key tension identified in contemporary memorialisation, where the representation of the deceased and their life is shrouded in ambiguity. In the context of personalising trends in funerals and memorials, as well as personalisation being a central objective of health and social care policy and practice in the UK, commemoration of and memorialisation of the life and death of a person with dementia often fails to represent the whole life, the period with dementia being ignored or acknowledged in oblique reference.

This is at variance with person-centred care and biographical assessment as well as narrative approaches to dementia research. It suggests that the 'liminal phase' before death and 'ambiguous dying' referred to by commentators as characterising the end of life of older people are being continued into their death and memorialisation.

Aims and objectives

By focusing on memorialisation in and after the death of a person with dementia, this case study aimed to further illuminate questions of ambiguous identity and the purposes and functions of memorialisation in today's society. We hypothesised that how people with dementia are remembered and their lives celebrated in death might offer a significant comment on social attitudes to life with dementia as well as knowledge and understanding about living with dementia and the furthering of a dementia-friendly society.

Method

A preliminary literature review was undertaken. Electronic searches were undertaken for: dementia +bereavement; dementia+funerals; dementia+memorialisation. This revealed a reasonable amount of literature (including in the popular media) on the loss and grief of family carers, particularly anticipatory grief and experiences of loss during the period of dementia but also after the death; significantly less in relation to the funeral; and a dearth of studies into memorialisation and dementia, with no studies of the ongoing process of remembering and memorialising.

Data collection comprised of two consecutive phases:

- i) 18 face-to-face interviews were conducted with persons bereaved of a relative with dementia. We also conducted a trial set of 3 interviews with persons still caring for a relative with dementia.

- ii) Two focus groups were conducted with care staff working with people with dementia, one in Lancashire and one in East Yorkshire.

All interviews and focus groups were taped and transcribed and coded using the NVivo software package.

Interview findings

Two themes emerged as shaping the memorialisation of the person with dementia: (i) the way in which the person was remembered and (ii) the outlook on dementia. Those relatives who chose to remember the whole life also reflected this in the funeral service and in their ongoing memorialisation, although the private rituals which connected them most to their loved one tended to stem from the person's life before the onset of dementia. Sources of meaning for the person with dementia contributed significantly to memories and had mostly survived to some extent to the end of the person's life although their ability to actively engage with activities might have diminished. The form of remembering also linked to the outlook on dementia. Relatives might display an overall acceptance of dementia; see it as part of their relative's life journey; be pre-occupied with feelings of anger and/or loss; be overwhelmed with guilt or regret; have regarded the person in life as already dead; understand dementia as signalling the end of life. These positions were not mutually exclusive but tended towards one end or other on a broadly positive to wholly negative continuum.

Considerable efforts were put into planning the funeral, with families anxious to reflect the personality and preferences of their relative and ensure that they were remembered for the contribution they had made in life. Sources of meaning throughout their life were employed to shape the service. For some, it was important to focus on the life before dementia so as to ensure that the wider community of mourners took away these memories; others felt they had neither tried to exclude nor particularly include references to the dementia, which was often done through acknowledging care homes or personal carers. For a few, it was important that the life with dementia should also be remembered, in part because they were proud of the way their relative had coped with decline.

The ongoing process of memorialisation was important in helping relatives put the period with dementia into the context of the whole life. For most, this became easier over time, particularly if they had also built up happy memories from the dementia phase of the person's life. However, for others, negative and problematic memories of the impact of the dementia on their relationship continued to overwhelm and complicated the grief process. Other complications arose from differing attitudes to the dementia held by family members and disputes over care and funeral arrangements. While public events and memorials were carefully thought about and chosen for their symbolic value, the ongoing process of memorialisation was pursued through private acts and everyday routines. Items, behaviours and family rituals which served to connect the bereaved to the person who had died were most commonly mentioned and evoked poignant memories which allowed the bereaved to take 'time out' to re-experience their grief. This was reported as cathartic and comforting.



Forget-me-nots, Liz Nicol

Focus group findings

The discussions in each group highlighted the importance of the relationship between the individual person with dementia and care staff. For those group members who worked in care homes, the network of relationships and feeling that the unit of care functioned as a big family, was also important. This also helped them to mourn the loss of a resident and provide mutual support. By contrast, home carers frequently felt isolated and unsupported, their grief 'disenfranchised'. Memories were attached to the unique characteristics and behaviours of individuals, which made up the essence of the person with dementia as they knew them. Workers acknowledged, however, that they formed closer bonds with some people than others, partly to do with the length of time they had cared for them but also because of what the person with dementia found in the care worker as a person. Correspondingly, some people stayed in their thoughts longer than others and some they claimed they would never forget. Particular objects, places and occasions served to provoke memories of those who had died.

Carers liked to be involved in the funeral arrangements but were rarely asked to contribute and often not kept informed by the family of the time and place. Where possible they attended and found this informative about the earlier life and younger self of the person who they had only known with dementia.

Cross-cutting discussions

Three themes were prominent in both the interviews and the focus groups but with differing findings:

- a. ***The whole person and the whole life.*** Care workers saw the person with dementia as an individual with their own quirks and personality, although appreciating information about the pre-dementia person to enrich that picture. Relatives, irrespective of their attitude to the dementia, inevitably saw the person with dementia as in some way a diminished form of their younger self, although some families felt the essence of the person remained.
- b. ***Dementia as end of life.*** For care workers, the period with dementia was the reason for their sharing the life of the person with dementia and they focused on helping them to live that life. Some families saw the 'dementia journey' as constituting the last phase of their relative's life journey; others saw it as a death sentence. Neither families nor care workers engaged in end of life care planning or planning the funeral with people with dementia but relied on wishes expressed earlier in life, including (for care homes) those reported by former care workers. Where this information was not available, both families and care workers sought to reflect the essence of the person as they had known them, or chose to remember them.
- c. ***Memorialisation as an ongoing healing process.*** For relatives, retrieving memories across the whole life through private acts of memorialisation was both poignant and therapeutic and helped to put the dementia period into context. Care workers experienced different degrees of loss depending on the relationship they had had with the particular person; where the relationship had been close and/or over a long period, specific memories evoked through objects, activities and places were important to their wellbeing.

Conclusions and recommendations

1. Memorialisation of the person with dementia follows the same pattern as for any individual, but is complicated by whether or not the bereaved remember the whole life, or essentially one of two lives: the pre-dementia and with-dementia lives.
2. As with grief, retaining a predominantly negative or predominantly positive picture of the person with dementia who has died, is not ultimately helpful; bereaved relatives who, over time, were able to remember their relative's life as a whole, found the ongoing process of memorialisation important in dealing with both the loss of the person and the losses associated with dementia.
3. During the dementia period, families and care workers should develop a 'shared narrative' which enables each to better care for the person with dementia but also to lay down a repository of memories of the whole life journey.
4. Dementia charities and health and social care services could usefully support family carers in laying down memories of positive engagement with the person with dementia so as to enable them to remember the whole life.
5. It is important to record the wishes of the person concerning their end of life planning and death before the onset of dementia or at an early stage, but for carers also to be alert to signals that the person with dementia might be thinking about their death; this may be provoked by specific triggers from sources of meaning in their life.

Key findings

- Families were keen to convey the essence and characteristics of the person pre-dementia and most held ambiguous feelings about their identity as the dementia progressed.
- Over time, the majority of respondents were able to retrieve a picture of the whole life and some positives during the dementia period such as a heightened appreciation of aspects of everyday life were mentioned by several.
- For those who retained a wholly negative view of the impact of the dementia, they felt they had lost the person before the death and memorialisation was overlaid with painful memories.
- Planning the funeral was important and for the majority of families was confined to remembering the life pre-dementia; for those who wished to remember the whole life, there was much use of symbolism to convey the essence of the person.
- Families were unsure as to what extent prior sources of meaning continued to function for the person with dementia; familiarity, such as with a favourite piece of music or with religious liturgy, did however act to trigger happy and comforting connections.
- Over time, families developed their own memorialising rituals which evoked positive and meaningful memories of the person who had died; for a few this included items or photos collected by the care home.
- Care homes and home support workers retained and curated their own memories of the unique characteristics of the person with dementia.
- Care workers liked to be included in the funeral and enjoyed hearing about the person's earlier life but felt that their memories were ignored.

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4. Overarching analysis

4.1 Matching of strand key findings against overall research questions

As described in 2.3 the key findings from each strand were mapped across the project's overall research questions. The key findings are highlighted in the overarching analysis because they reflect the relative significance of that finding within its particular study, but each strand report contains further detail and additional findings of relevance.

4.1.1 Forms and purposes

Do memorials and monuments display changing social effects and meanings over time?

There is considerable evidence from the archaeological survey that the forms and representations of memorials and memorialisation rituals mirror past practices, particularly in later periods. The meanings attached to deathscapes varied over time, however, depending on the nature of the relationships between the living and the dead. For example, an important observation from the British diaspora study is that since the seventeenth century the British used memorials as a tool for colonising one quarter of the world. Often graveyards pre-dated the erection of churches or civic spaces and were used as a sign of British rule. Similarly, Anglo-Saxons used cemeteries and memorials as a means of legitimising their connections to new territory. However, historical remains cannot offer a complete story of the social effects and meanings of memorials at any one point in time or place. For example, coastal erosion and other environmental damage as well as political unrest in many of the spaces surveyed in the diaspora study have eradicated the physical remains of remote Britons. The archaeology is under threat and once memorials have been lost then this can lead to the re-use of burial spaces as the pressure for available burial spaces increases. Conversely, the refusal of Jews to move the remains of ancestors has meant that they are some of the best preserved memorials abroad.

In the contemporary period, we find co-existence of traditional forms such as the gravestone with newer forms, some of which have become commonplace, such as roadside memorials, and some which are emerging and expanding rapidly, such as digital forms and online memorial sites. In keeping with other contemporary social trends, such as customisation, traditional forms may be adapted and several types of memorial may be used in commemorating one individual. For example, in the study of Polish migrants, we observe that Polish memorialisation practices span a wide range of deathscapes - graves and cemeteries in the UK and Poland, churches, public memorials, people's homes and virtual spaces. Since the introduction of photography, cameras and photographs, including the growing practice of re-photography, have played an important part in memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance. Photographs function as both memorials and sites of memory and document the process of memorialisation as references to a time which has passed as well as to record the passing of time.

Can changes in memorialisation be related to changing social meanings?

Notable from the archaeological study is the way in which funerary grave goods, rites and memorials provide evidence of the movement of peoples and reflect the complex processes of adaptation and integration between established and incoming cultures. Similarly, findings from the contemporary case studies show a complex interplay of adaptation, adoption and transition. For example, while many features of present-day society are characterised by their transitory and impermanent nature, contemporary memorialisation shows an interesting trend towards the enduring and permanent. Photographs have become a key feature of online and digital memorials but the practices associated with memorial photography, and of using photographs as memorials have changed over time. In particular, the acceptability of post-mortem photography and photographs and their subsequent display, whether in public or private spaces, is culturally determined. In keeping with the broad trend in the UK, cremation emerged as the most popular choice of disposal amongst survey respondents in the Transgender study, but just under a quarter (a significant minority) wanted a natural/green burial. Second generation Polish migrants are treating memorialisation as a community response which confirms their group identity. By contrast, hospices adopt a traditional form of memorial service for the bereaved but seem confused about their purpose and content.

What are the socio-political and religious articulations of death and dying over time and how do these influence memorialisation practices?

Across time, the cosmological beliefs of the society are reflected in its memorialisation processes, frequently resulting in transformation of the identity of the dead. Throughout time, significant shifts are evident in the ways that society assisted the deceased on their journeys into the afterlife. Secularisation is frequently highlighted as a significant feature of contemporary memorialisation but there is a lack of critical appraisal in the literature of what this constitutes and how it continues to interface with contemporary expressions of spirituality or use of religious tradition. From our research, we found a number of associations with religious and spiritual themes. For example, meaning-making is a significant purpose for those who free-write in hospice memorial books and attend memorial services. In the dementia study, families were unsure as to what extent prior sources of meaning continued to function for the person with dementia but familiarity, such as with a favourite piece of music or with religious liturgy, acted to trigger happy and comforting connections. In the Transgender study, humanist services were far more popular than traditional/religious services but in the fieldwork associated with Remembrance Sunday, the church was seen to still play an important role with many regular church goers also attending Remembrance Sunday despite it being a civic tradition. For both religious and non-religious participants, the ceremony carries a strong moral message with many referring to the need to learn from previous mistakes and avoid future conflicts.

The visible imprint of memorialisation – its sites and traditions – emerges in the British diaspora study as shaping the way we mourn soldiers, sailors, migrants and colonisers, both at home and abroad. This socio-political interfacing with religious tradition and secularising influences emerges in the photographic strand, where the political context of memorialisation and commemoration is apparent through the examination of apparently spontaneous practices of laying floral tributes. This popular form of contemporary memorialisation is seen as empowering of both individuals and communities and affords the opportunity to demonstrate community solidarity and affiliation through shared grief.

How do different cultures influence rituals, means, social conventions and the material culture of memorializing the dead?

One of the earliest sets of rituals we can identify, which endure across time to the present, relates to the treatment of the physical body as part of the memorialisation process. The deceased are treated with intimate care in every historical period. Ritual remains significant in contemporary memorialisation but is distinguished by the imbuing of traditional rituals with personal touches as well as employment of unique personal and family rituals. Photographs function as ‘linking objects’, ‘melancholy objects’ and ‘transitional objects’ and although secular objects they are often treated as relics and icons. Symbols, in the form of cards, drawings or photographs in memorial books, or stones, candles or flowers at memorial services are imbued with meaning by the bereaved families participating in these activities and reconnect them with the person who has died. Within each hospice memorial book, writers imitate the style and wording of earlier entries, suggesting that writers are looking for forms of words which express what they feel. There were also frequent indications of the religious tradition with which the writer identified through use of religious language but without theological or belief content in the entry. Similarly, for some participants in the Remembrance Sunday service, the ceremony has a spiritual or otherworldly presence, but not necessarily associated with any particular religion.

The findings on religious and cultural influences in diaspora communities are mixed. Historically, Christians in and from the North East of Scotland have been more likely than any other group or area surveyed to memorialise the bereaved with formal gravestones, but throughout the British Empire, despite the prevalence of racism in life, in death the British respected different memorial practices of different ethnicities and cultures both at home and abroad. Cultural exchange can also be observed. The multi-directional flow of migrants to Britain, both during the period of the British Empire and following decolonisation, has changed memorial practices here in the UK. Likewise, bringing this into the present, many memorialisation practices carried out by Polish migrants are not radically different from those carried out by members of the host country.

Does the choice of memorial vary according to geographic location, e.g. rural or urban?

Across the British Empire, regional diversity of memorialisation practices at home was replicated by settlers overseas. Despite the attention memorials in British India have received, less elaborate and more personalised memorialisation practices were evident throughout the broad time period and across geographical regions. The British are often buried close to rivers or other stretches of water. This confirms findings of the Deep Time survey that water remains important to burial and memorialisation practices.

In today’s multicultural and regionally diverse Britain, it is notable that common themes recur in the entries in hospice memorial books from writers across the UK.

4.1.2 Roles and identities

Does the role of the individual, group or society influence the ways in which the dead are memorialised?

Social status and role and social organisations act as important shaping dynamics of memorialisation from the earliest times to the present. Archaeological remains suggest that the dead continued to have active social lives in the community of the living through the creation of memorials and the preservation and curation of remains.

Identity – personal and social – is a significant theme across all strands of our research and spans personal relationships in life as well as social status and networks after death. Ritual and identity may be reinforced along traditional cultural lines among migrant communities where dislocation of place and space is felt in death. Trans respondents, in the main, emphasised the positive aspects of being trans and wanted to be remembered for all that they had achieved and represented, with their trans status being just one aspect of their identity. For serving soldiers or ex-military, the unique sense of military ‘brotherhood’ or military family is reinforced on Remembrance Sunday by this shared act of remembrance.

Social setting and context is also important and our photographic evidence illustrates differences in the processes of memorialization and memorial practices between municipal and churchyard cemeteries and memorials, and military cemeteries.

Does the choice of memorial vary according to socio-economic status?

The British diaspora study suggests interesting variation in the impact of socio-economic status on the establishment of memorials and their associated ceremonies. Though enslaved communities in the Caribbean were often buried outside formal burial spaces, they were afforded a proper burial and memorialised by their own communities according to African burial customs. Enslaved Africans liberated by the Royal Navy along the West Coast of Africa remained proud of their liberated status in death and this is reflected in the choice of grave inscription in Freetown. At home, expensive and elaborate memorials inside consecrated churches valorise the memory of deceased British colonials, but abroad, most markers show the importance of kinship to the diaspora community. Occupational status was as likely to be included in memorials abroad as was their place of origin.

In the contemporary Polish migrants study, choices concerning place of burial and cremation or burial are symbolic, affective, but also financial, arising from the level of integration in the host country as well as the financial resources of the bereaved family.

How are gender and identity issues articulated in death?

Language, and accuracy around gendered terms and definitions, emerge as hugely important in relation to the memorialisation of trans people. ‘Misgendering’ (using a pronoun or form of address that does not correctly reflect the gender with which the person identified) and ‘deadnaming’ (using the birth name of someone who has changed their name) of the deceased and a general unease amongst mourners regarding transgenderism caused discomfort for mourners from the trans community. After death, the lack of control over self-definition increases the importance of mourners

from the transgender community advocating for a person's gender identity on their behalf. Identity was also important for the Polish migrants studied, for whom memorialisation is not only about remembering the deceased, but also about retaining their cultural identity. The photography strand shows how creative photography enriches descriptions of cultural and national differences in mourning, memorial and commemoration practices, in particular, the use of photographs during mourning, upon graves and/or embedded within gravestones.

What is the relationship between personal and social identities and how are tensions managed in memorial forms and practices?

The relationship between personal and public domains is a thread which runs across the whole project. For example, it is common for traditional and public memorials to be used as the site or occasion for personal private behaviours. Remembrance Sunday enables participants to identify both publicly and privately. Photographs are persistent, stable and significant forms of personal and collective memorialisation across the variations of socio-economic and cultural norms. Photographs associated with processes of memorialization, commemoration and remembrance also contribute to the representation and confirmation of national, community and individual identity. In the transgender study, significant tensions and conflicts are highlighted between different identities attributed to the deceased by the mourners. In the main, there was a tendency for birth families where the deceased had died young to prioritise birth gender over felt gender identity and tensions and issues in life became exacerbated after death. In contrast, chosen families prioritised a person's socially-defined gender over their birth sex and in some cases took on the role of chief mourners, intervening in order to ensure that the gender identity of the deceased was respected. Where the deceased does not have someone to advocate for their social gender, birth sex is the default option chosen by coroners and funeral professionals.

To what extent, and how, are changes in the deceased's identity and role (associated with age, gender, family relationships and religious, cultural and group affiliations) reflected?

Alterations to identity may occur over the lifetime for a number of reasons. This may be felt by the person or perceived by others. In the Polish migrants study, different migration backgrounds and histories led to different death and memorialisation practices, for example, choice of grave goods. Just as the Polish migrants live 'betwixt and between', also the dead (body, ashes) are often in a long period of marginality, or 'liminality', with 'secondary burial' following transportation of the ashes from host to home country, affording a post-mortem special identity. However, the whole life, both the pre- and post-migration of the deceased, is remembered through death rituals and memorialisation practices, bringing it full circle.

In the interviews with relatives bereaved of a person who had dementia, perhaps inevitably, there is considerable emphasis on the person pre-dementia and ambiguous feelings about their identity as the dementia progressed. However, over time, the majority of respondents were able to retrieve a picture of the whole life and maintain rituals which brought to the fore fond memories. Some positive memories from the period in which the person had dementia, such as a heightened appreciation of aspects of everyday life, were mentioned by several. For those who retained a wholly negative view

of the impact of the dementia, they felt they had lost the person before the death and memorialisation was overlaid with painful memories.

For trans people, the physical body post-death can ‘betray’ a person’s socially-defined gender. In the absence of self-declaration, biological markers are prioritised over social clues and even legal markers. However, in some cases, the memorial served as a means of confirming an identity that was not otherwise recognised or accepted during a person’s lifetime.

What role is played by persons with designated status (community, professional, institutional) in determining and facilitating memorial forms and practices?

There is evidence from historical studies of the professionalising of the funerals and memorials industry, and although these continue to provide access to a range of monuments and forms, most of our contemporary data points to individuals, families and communities customising memorials and opportunities to formalise their remembering. The free-writing in palliative care study highlights that hospices have a pivotal role in creating helpful opportunities for the bereaved to remember the deceased, which, however, they are not currently fully realising. Data from the trans study suggests that coroners and funeral professionals would benefit from trans awareness training to recognise the importance of social gender over medical status or legal status and the importance of chosen family in trans people’s lives and deaths. Care homes and home support workers for people with dementia have an important role to play in curating positive memories for the family of their relative living with dementia.

4.1.3 Emotions and behaviours

Do memorials differ according to relation type - namely parent, sibling, spouse, distant relative, friend, social group, unknown community member etc.?

Across time, our data underlines the shaping influence on choice of memorial goods, rituals and behaviours of the particular connection with the deceased. All communities surveyed in the British diaspora study show that second, third and sometimes later generations continue to memorialise those who were buried without a grave marker or memorial. Where perhaps the deceased was not known personally in life, photographs may function to bridge the gap between memory and experience. For example, one participant in the Remembrance Sunday fieldwork thought particularly of an aunt who had died during the war and after whom she was named. In the dementia study, planning the funeral was important for bereaved relatives and for the majority of families was confined to remembering the life pre-dementia; for those who wished to remember the whole life, there was much use of symbolism to convey the essence of the person.

What is the influence of the views, wishes and preferences of the deceased?

A significant aspect of the use of photography in memorialisation is that photographs present those absent, missing and those known to be dead as equal. Thus, for example, a photograph presents the person as they presented themselves. This links with findings from the trans study in which survey respondents reflected on how they would like to be remembered. The importance of acknowledging deeply felt gender identity over gender assigned at birth was emphasised; post-social transition identity was to be prioritised even when acknowledging the entire life-course. Some survey

respondents welcomed the opportunity for their trans status to be acknowledged during the memorial service, and for attendees to discuss their 'previous' gendered life before transition but other respondents wanted there to be no reference to their trans status or previous gender identity. However, whilst the survey reveals that respondents are comfortable talking about death in theory, there is a reluctance to actively plan for their own funeral and memorial.

How do conflict and contestation between mourners affect the memorialisation process?

Throughout all periods of history there are modes of disposal that result in an 'invisible dead'. For much of the archaeological material this simply means we cannot see what funerary and memorialisation practices were enacted or engaged in. It does not necessarily mean *a priori* that people were not memorialised. However, there are clear examples in the archaeological record of individuals who have been treated differently in death, in a manner indicating they were marginalised and/or feared in death. In Roman-Britain individuals could be buried face down on the periphery of the cemetery. Lepers were also buried in cemetery spaces which were deemed inauspicious, and suicides from the medieval period until the modern era, received differential treatments including burial at crossroads and the denial of Christian burial rites, effectively erasing their social identity in death. This resonates with the finding in the trans study that when a person's birth sex is prioritised over their felt gender at the time of death, this is experienced as the effective erasure of gender identity which serves to interrupt and exacerbate grief and cause significant distress for 'chosen family' mourners. This is also the case where mourners are not allowed to take part in or feel uncomfortable taking part in an official memorial service. Memorialisation is an ongoing process, however, and further data from the trans study suggests the notion of a continued and evolving social identity after death as mourners work to re-imagine a person's identity based on their own understandings and interpretations of the deceased's lived social gender.

In the Remembrance Sunday fieldwork, there was a strong sense of political, social and nationality differences being temporarily set aside with many respondents emphasising that coming together and feelings of unity form a vital part of the Remembrance Sunday observance. Likewise, care workers enjoyed hearing about the earlier life of the person with dementia although they might have struggled with the family's lack of engagement with the person with dementia. Regret was expressed, however, when the life of the person during the dementia period was not acknowledged and care workers who were not informed about, or had no access to, funeral and memorial services, felt isolated in dealing with their sense of loss.

What kinds of behaviours are employed around memorials and what are the factors (e.g. gender, faith/spirituality, culture, location) influencing those behaviours?

Behaviours associated with memorials illuminate beliefs held about death, the choices made of forms and the ongoing process of memorialisation. From the earliest times, for those whose deaths may have been problematic, ritual processes, showing similar features over time, were enacted to ameliorate troubled spirits and mitigate perceived supernatural dangers to the living.

Memorialising behaviours are strongly associated with particular places and spaces. For example, taking photographs was, and continues to be, a key element for those visiting military cemeteries and memorials, whether as tourists or pilgrims. Further, viewing photographs beforehand is a key

determiner of expectations of the battlefield tourist or pilgrim experience. More generally, the use of photographs in the process of memorialisation indicates the importance of touch, presence and materiality to this process.

Some 'spaces' are better understood as emotional, social or spiritual and may combine these dimensions with the physical features of a special place. For example, the sober and dignified atmosphere of the Remembrance Sunday ceremony is closely connected with a particular place – in our research, the Minster and/or the war memorial in the Remembrance Gardens - and a particular sound - The Last Post, or communal silence. The Act of Remembrance at hospice memorial services provides attendees with an opportunity to actively participate in an event at which they are otherwise mainly passive observers. In the Polish study, the social spaces employed in memorialisation significantly shape the memorialisation practices and highlight the dynamics of the 'old' country' and the 'new' country. The virtual spaces of social media and online memorial sites reveal some interesting, and sometimes disturbing behaviours. For example, intimate feelings are explicitly placed in the public domain and shared with strangers; 'stranger mourning' (when the participant had never met the deceased) is not uncommon; abusive or negative sentiments are posted which would never be written in a memorial book.

How is 'private grief' framed and represented in public, including in the context of public mourning?

The term 'private grief' has commonly been used to represent mourning behaviours in modern times. Our study of memorialisation reveals a need to also bring these feeling into the public domain, both explicitly (for example in a media interview) and implicitly (for example, by attendance at public memorial events). Memorials set up in the wake of and at the sites of natural disasters and other traumatic events causing mass or several deaths are a significant and escalating phenomenon in the present age. These combine personal, public, spontaneous, planned, formal and informal elements.

This interface between public and private grief rituals occurs in all our contemporary research strands and can be inferred from historical sources, such as inscriptions on gravestones. For example, writers in hospice memorial books share their thoughts and emotions with others who will read an entry at a later date, making conscious use of a bounded public space. During the hospice memorial services' Act of Remembrance, attendees indicate their sharing of the common experience of bereavement when names are read out or a shared action engaged with. In the Polish migrants' community, private memorials are sometimes framed in public remembrance activities. For instance, a private memorial for a loved one can be carried out during a cemetery procession or a public memorial service. Remembrance Sunday is an important occasion for those who attend regularly to remember both publicly and privately. Participants described it as a ritual which provides a space for reflection, a private time with one's own emotions and total immersion in oneself in a public space and corporate act. The popular use of photographs in memorialisation may be accounted for by the fact that they occupy the 'in-between' space of the public and the private. Photographs move between and bridge the gap between public and private, visible and intimate places and practices of memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance.

What are the different needs of families, communities and social institutions and how well do available forms of memorials and memorialisation serve these needs?

Our research points overwhelmingly to the longevity of certain types of memorial and memorial practices as well as memorialisation being an enduring feature of human existence. This suggests that memorialisation meets a fundamental need at individual, community and societal levels. It also suggests the capacity to adapt forms and practices as well as seek out new forms and develop new practices, according to the context.

The theoretical lens developed in the forerunner study (*Spirituality in contemporary funerals*) of a process of meaning-seeking, meaning-creating and meaning-taking, together constituting the process of meaning-making can be applied to this study of memorialisation. Meaning-making can be observed as a major influence on memorialisation across time, as the living seek to deal with the transition from life to death. Our archaeological survey found that while memorialisation practices may change, the concerns they seek to address reverberate across time. For example, amongst the British diaspora, memorials have served to reconnect disparate families in death. Memorials in the UK during the late nineteenth century recalled those who died abroad and conversely, those dying abroad were reconnected to their region of origin in the memorials of the diaspora.

Adaptation of historical memorial spaces to meet today's needs can also be seen. Globally, cemeteries surveyed in the UK and abroad are increasingly becoming spaces for either illicit burials (in closed spaces) or dwellings for homeless people. However, our contemporary literature review showed memorialising processes to be considerably less documented than memorial forms and such research is in the main confined to the occasion of the funeral and immediate aftermath of the death with scant attention paid to the ongoing functions of memorialisation, its relationship with grief, or to diversity and difference. Our research using the visual arts evidences the ongoing processes of memorialisation where these appear not to be extensively discussed in the literature.

Our research confirms and extends the observation that contemporary memorials and memorialising practices are intensely personalised. For example, amongst Polish migrants, mementoes and long-running memories are carefully curated through intimate acts of memorialisation, often in the intimacy of the home, suggesting a 'formality of informality'. Over time, families mourning the loss of a relative who had dementia, developed their own memorialising rituals which evoked positive and meaningful memories of the person who had died; for a few this included items or photos collected by the care home. Creative photographic practice illuminates the meanings, and the process of the attachment of meaning, to such objects. Photographs may also be used to ameliorate the absence or loss of a member of the community, for example, at a family funeral or civic or organisational occasion.

There is evidence that emotional, social and spiritual needs are being met by current memorialisation opportunities. For example, the grief theory of the need to maintain 'continuing bonds', or connections, is apparent in the free-writing entries in hospice memorial books. These are expressed by describing personal attributes and sharing news. Free writing indicates that the dead are clearly involved in the continuing life of the bereaved and hospice memorial books provide an environment where these relationships can be expressed and maintained. Many attendees at the Remembrance Sunday service found the experience cathartic and healing. Some participants used the occasion to

reflect on personal loss, not necessarily from the Armed Forces, while others did not think of anyone in particular. Despite its association with the military, Remembrance Sunday appears to be meeting a basic human need, providing a clearly defined time and space for remembering, and bringing together different groups regardless of their background and affiliations.

Not all memorial occasions evoke an unqualified positive response, however. Concerns were raised by those who had attended a Trans Gender Day of Remembrance service about the promotion of western notions of trans identity and the erasure of the complex and interrelated issues of discrimination stemming from class, race, gender and sex worker status. The trans study points to the fact that memorial events can serve to erase identity, confirm identity and even re-establish identity and highlights the need for multiple memorial services to cater for differing needs of bereaved groups and to ensure dignity and respect for the multi-faceted identity of the deceased.

4.2 Overarching themes

Two themes emerge as of overarching significance across time but which continue to shape of memorialisation practices today. They also indicate the reasons for the continuing importance of memorialisation in contemporary society.

4.2.1 Meaning-making

The development of memorialisation practices across history indicates the constant search for meaning in the face of death. In sum, our combined key findings suggest that while the need to find meaning in death is not a new phenomenon, it is the trend towards the creation of personal meaning rather than the taking of meaning from traditional and socially prescribed forms and practices which governs the shaping of memorialisation today. Nevertheless, there are significant resonances with the past and customising of traditional forms and practices.

Our research indicates a number of facets to this process of meaning-making, each significant in its own right.

- a. There is evidence across history that seeking, creating and taking meaning takes place at *individual, family, community and societal levels* and it is often in the interfacing of these contexts that meaning is found. For example:
 - Memorials following a mass or several deaths incident are erected in a significant public place and must be deemed appropriate (location and form) to the lives and deaths of the deceased persons. In contemporary times we see the growth in personal memorials and rituals at the public site by those immediately bereaved. Such sites are a place for affected communities to come together in acts of remembrance. It is important to individuals and local communities that there is wider public recognition of the tragedy and that they experience solidarity in their mourning.
 - The trend towards re-memorialisating is also a recognition of the individual in their family, social and historical context and migration adds a further layer to this. The act

of re-memorialising seeks to establish connections which bestow meaning on the continuing existence of the living.

- A further example of the intertwining of contexts is in the adoption of historical public sites today by particular groups for particular purposes.

b. Memorialisation practices embody the conceptualising of death and reflect the *cosmic/world view* of the society and period. Restoring order to life in the face of death and mitigating the threat of death to the living is a theme which runs across time and which leads to a set of beliefs around death and what happens to the person in and after death. For example,

- The Ancient Egyptians made elaborate preparations for the journey to the afterlife and death itself was seen as a transitional phase;
- Scottish funerals and disposal practices as ordered by John Knox were designed to minimise attention to the corpse since the soul now resides in 'another place'

A significant feature of this conceptualisation is to imbue the relationship between life and death with meaning. Religion has traditionally offered both social framework and individual consolation and hence has been central to the development and provision of practices in and around death. Contemporary secular memorial practices may represent the agency of the dead as neither absent nor present, through fostering the notion of 'spiritual connection'. For example:

- White chairs and ghost bikes;
- Messages placed in memorial books.

c. *Ritual and symbolism* are of enduring significance and particularly relied on in public expressions and as a means of containing and ordering difficult emotion. They convey meaning behind the symbol and allow individuals and different communities to take meanings which have resonance for them. For example,

- Symbols are heavily relied upon to represent the essence of the person, when the identity of the deceased may be complex or have changed over time, as in dementia.
- Remembrance Sunday represents different things for the military, for regular church-goers, for those mourning the loss of a close relationship, but all come together to find their own meanings in its ritual.

Some motifs e.g. light - and modes e.g. music, recur across time. This may be because they allow access to a different level of meaning and expression (than words alone) and, when used as a symbol, operate as shared meaning but individually taken. For example:

- The candle is a deeply religious symbol for Christians but candles are prevalent in humanistic ceremonies as a symbol of life, hope and love.
- Music has been used over time to express deepest urgings (as in the Requiem Mass) and today fulfils the function of connecting with very personal and emotional meanings.

d. Memorialisation provides the opportunity to revisit the intensity of grief but then resume everyday functioning – it is a way of living with grief without it overwhelming and of building and maintaining new ongoing connections with the dead. The popular bereavement theory of ***grief as meaning reconstruction*** suggests that new meanings in the wake of loss are found through the processes of sense-making, benefit finding and identity reconstruction. Memorials and memorialisation offer tools for the mourner to reconstruct meaning. For example:

- Soldiers who have lost comrades in arms find multiple personal memorials and events through which they remember their comrades and take time to reflect on war and its consequences.
- The transgender community holds an annual Day of Remembrance in which the traumatic deaths of some transgender people are remembered alongside personal losses of a friend or partner with the purpose of affirming identity and campaigning for awareness, justice and equality.

Further, memorial sites (including online) and events offer a supportive community with shared meanings on an ongoing basis for those in grief, which is more accessible, more sustainable and may be more acceptable to many people today than traditional bereavement support groups or professional counselling.

e. Memorialisation offers a means of narrating the life and its meaning which recognises that the ***concept of 'the life'*** is heavily contextualised. The notion of memorialising the 'whole life' becomes more complex in a short or long life or one of contested identity and the contemporary emphasis on 'celebrating' the life may be problematic in these circumstances. For example:

- The young soldier cut down in battle is memorialised for having sacrificed their life;
- Adoption or imposition of a new identity may lead to 'pre-' and 'post-' lives being variously represented, as in religious conversion, degenerative illness such as dementia, transgender identity
- The circumstances of migration or displacement (e.g. economic migrant, forcible transportation, political refugee) heavily influence the cultural representation of the life in death and the cultural meanings attached to the 'before' and 'after' lives.
- Those who die through violent or tragic event are invariably memorialised as innocent victims.

4.2.2 Collective memory

Memorialisation makes of the individual life more than personal memories, which will perish with the deaths of those who hold them. The individual life is lived out within a historical period and civilisation, a particular cultural context, may belong to a significant social trend or the death to a catastrophic event, as well as being experienced through a network of close and wider relationships. Thus, each individual life makes its 'mark' as part of something wider. From the archaeological study of mortal remains and effects to the forever online existence of web-based memorials and Facebook pages, memorialisation bestows on the individual, immortality in various forms:



Philippe Prost, 'Ring of Remembrance' Memorial, Ablain-Saint-Nazaire, France, inaugurated 11 November 2014. Photograph Liz Nicol.

- a. **Culture, education, socio-economic status, gender, identity and sexuality markers** are made visible in death through the memorials created, in ways that may not have been so in life. These attributes of the deceased locate them in social groups and movements which themselves are recorded and remembered in history. For example:
 - Women may be invisible or marginalised in life in historical accounts but afforded a heightened status in death through the epitaph bestowed by relatives; similarly, children are accorded a life course status in death in historical and social contexts in which childhood is not protected as a social state.
- b. The relative significance of different aspects of **identity** – individual/personal, social/group, community/ethnicity – appears to vary across history and socio-cultural and political context. Different identities are held simultaneously and memorialisation allows for these to be reflected in remembering the individual and locating them in several memory repositories.

For example:

- A Jewish holocaust survivor who becomes an established member of a local community in a new country belongs to the collective memory of the holocaust, of a specific Jewish migration pattern, according to their local associations, as well as in family history and relationships.

Further, changes in identity across the individual life course are a major cause of disquiet and conflict but the ongoing nature of memorialisation affords an opportunity for some resolution, in part because of these several memory repositories.

- c. The *reclaiming of memory* and *re-memorialising* is a trend observable in the modern period and possibly accelerating in contemporary memorialisation practices. Both practices generally occur some time after the death and not only ensure the life retains its mark but influence how the person is to continue to be remembered. For example:
- The memorials erected to Polish airmen in the East Riding of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire in recent years, following a campaign by the Polish community which settled in Britain straight after WW2, simultaneously marks these individual deaths and ensures that the contribution made by Poles to the Battle of Britain is not forgotten. It also establishes for this first group of Polish migrants their place in the region, distinguishing themselves from later Solidarity-era migrants and the post-accession migrants.
- d. The interface between the *public and private domains* recurs as a shifting boundary across time. Broadly speaking, the trend is from communal/public memorials and behaviours to the dominance of private and intimate forms and expressions in the contemporary period. However, there are exceptions in every period and a marked trend in the present towards sharing private memorialisation in public spaces, including on the internet. This widens the circle of those who will mark the death and places a record in a public space which belongs to everyday life. For example:
- Stone plaques placed by families in their local church in previous centuries make this personal record (usually with some biographical information) available to congregations and visitors in later periods.
 - Re-photography and a contemporary portrait photograph against the background of a historical site records the fusing of public and private meanings as a continuous process.
 - In the contemporary period, the increasing phenomenon of 'stranger mourning' (ie where the deceased was not known to the mourner and is not associated with national memorialisation events) in social media postings affords and impact to the deceased which they did not have in life. It is not known, however, whether the initial mourning behaviour to mark the death continues as ongoing memorialising behaviour.

- The refreshing of roadside floral tributes by family and friends on significant dates ensures that both the life and the death continue to have a presence in the wider consciousness.
- Periodic entries made in memorial books placed in quasi- public spaces such as hospices, allows the immediate family and friends to keep their loved ones memory alive in a wider community of mourners.

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5. Conclusion

Our conclusions start with three preliminary observations, which quickly became apparent in this study:

1. It is not possible to arrive at a fully 'comprehensive, interdisciplinary analysis of memorialisation practices in the UK, past and present, and including amongst the British diaspora' (overarching aims/objectives).

Aside from the volume of research in each discipline and sub-field, new research is coming on-stream all the time. This is only to the good and reinforces the need for the contribution which we seek to make from the 'Remember Me' study. We have investigated memorials, memorial practices and memorialising behaviours, applying a *longue durée* approach infused with different disciplinary perspectives. This has allowed us to identify connections, resonances and trends which one discipline or focus on one historical period or contemporary society alone does not permit. The separate data sets from each constituent strand are a substantial resource in their own right, and their integration has permitted a rich dialogue which is by no means exhausted.

2. Memorialisation is not a single phenomenon which can be simply defined.

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) Online defines 'memorialise' as: 'Preserve the memory of; commemorate'. It further defines 'memory' as, 'The faculty by which the mind stores and remembers information', 'remember' as, 'Have in or be able to bring to one's mind an awareness of (someone or something) from the past' and 'commemorate' as, 'Recall and show respect for; mark or celebrate (an event or person) by doing or producing something'.

Our literature reviews lead us to suggest that there is some confusion and interchangeability in the use of these terms and that the different features and processes in each of these definitions together make up the phenomenon of memorialisation. The following emerged as a working definition for the 'Remember Me' team in the course of our research:

'The way in which a set of memories is laid down and recalled, including their form and content, by an individual, family, community or wider society following the death of a person or number of persons in a single event or historical episode. This formation of memory may take place over a period of time after the death(s) but achieves a stable presentation which can be revisited at significant times and events, but which, however, may be critically re-evaluated in the light of personal, social or political change.'

3. The premise that memorialisation is changing in contemporary society may be only partially true.

It is tempting for researchers studying contemporary society to apply the notion of change to their own lifetime and to be influenced by public and popular discourse. This tendency is particularly apparent in the field of death studies, which observes that death has moved from being a taboo subject in the media to one of deep fascination, especially (in relation to disposal and memorials) with apparently novel and non-mainstream forms and practices. Much research to date has provided descriptive accounts of these without critical appreciation of *why* they are gaining popularity or *what*

they have emerged from. Yet only a cursory look at the deep time past alongside this ‘new’ memorialisation reveals certain core features which appear to show remarkable durability and which may illuminate why we memorialise, what fundamental human needs memorialisation addresses, and how practices might be developed and refined to better meet those needs.

Section 4.2 identified two overarching conclusions: (i) that meaning-making lies at the heart of memorialisation and that (ii) the quest for some form of immortality lies behind memorialisation.

We should not be surprised by the focus on meaning. The conceptual frameworks developed by the ancient disciplines of philosophy and theology have emerged from trying to make sense of life and in this process, death becomes their touchstone. Where folk and organised religion as well as superstition were once relied upon to offer explanation, secularisation has not lessened the search for meaning but changed its focus. Where once practising death rituals and preparing the dead for their journey to the afterlife were meaningful because they warded off fear of death and malevolent intervention from the dead, or prayers for the dead served as an investment in one’s own life after death, the secular quest is to shore up meaning in life here and now through celebrating the meaning of this particular life in the face of death. The symbols, rituals and practices which we employ in memorialising help us to do that. Where sociologists of religion have tended to employ functional definitions of religion, the philosopher John Gray recently commented that religion is the great endeavour of the human imagination and the religious instinct is therefore crucial to being human³. Grainger (a hospital chaplain at the time) takes both of these ideas into the context of dealing with death:

Religion answers a need for meaning, order, purpose; but it is not itself that need...it is one expression of a kind of thinking which is in fact characteristic of human mental processes, but which we become more than usually aware of in situations of existential challenge (Grainger, 1998, p.95)

More recent work on contemporary spirituality adds to that:

Spirituality is more basic than religiousness. It is a subjective experience that exists both within and outside traditional religious systems. Spirituality relates to the way in which people understand and live their lives in view of their core beliefs and values and their perception of ultimate meaning. Spirituality includes the need to find satisfactory answers to ultimate questions about the meaning of life, illness and death. It can be seen as comprising elements of meaning, purpose, and connection to a higher power or something greater than self (Holloway et al, 2011).

The emphasis on collective memory stems from this desire to find meaning in death. It is one of the ways in which civilisations leave the mark of their collective endeavour and place on record their cosmic view. In a largely secularised society it is not sufficient for meaning to be attached to memories

³ Desert Island discs Friday 9th/Sunday 11th March 2018

associated with particular individuals. As Hallam and Hockey (2001) have suggested, memorialisation serves the function of a psycho-social shoring up against the threat of oblivion posed by death and this study shows that that individual footprint must be demonstrated in a number of contexts. This explains why it is so important for bereaved families that the funeral eulogy mentions past achievements and membership of organisations and communities, past and present, outside of the deceased's immediate set of close relationships. At the other end of the spectrum, we do not feel comfortable for a funeral to have no mourners in attendance, hence funeral directors will step inside the chapel or, in one recent case, a young woman raised a congregation of 'stranger mourners' through Facebook for the funeral of an elderly woman.

So, is the face of memorialisation changing, as this project's title suggests? Our conclusion is that there are no seismic shifts in memorialisation practices observable across time. However, the 'face' of forms and behaviours reflects social trends and cultural context and does therefore vary across time and place but there are more reflections across time and place than might at first be assumed. This is possibly because the purposes of memorialisation remain remarkably constant and enduring across time – namely, the need of the living to 'tame' death through the construction of meaning and affording a form of immortality to the dead.

Finally, it is important to highlight the therapeutic potential of memorialisation. Like grief, memorialisation is both a phenomenon and a process and better understanding of the function of memorialisation and its relationship to grief has the potential to significantly enhance our understanding of grief and facilitate a more supportive contemporary response. As a concept it underlines and incorporates significant aspects of grief highlighted and addressed through the major grief theories; it allows for cultural diversity as well as cross-cultural synergies and communication; it functions at individual, community and societal levels and the mechanisms and tools of memorialisation practices allow for the customised merging of these; it uncovers the overarching imperatives which shape individual experiences of grief and communal expressions; contemporary memorialisation forms and expressions offer support for the bereaved which is more accessible, more sustainable and may be more acceptable to many people today than traditional bereavement support.

Study over time reveals an enduring human need to memorialise and the longevity of certain types of forms and rituals as well as the recurrence of significant themes, give clues as to how we might raise social awareness when dealing with death. Arguably, the 'problem' of 'modern death' with its spawning of grief counsellors developed in part because memorial forms and practices in late modernity had stagnated and ceased to fulfil the core function of a vehicle for meaning-making in the face of death. The current surge in interest in memorials and proliferation of alternative forms suggest that we may be reclaiming memorialisation at the heart of grief.

What is left is to find meaning (BBC 4 *The Vietnam War*, final episode)

I have absolutely no doubt that it is helpful, and it is very helpful if you have got people who understand that that is what you are doing....I came to the conclusion that remembering is important a basic need (Respondent in *Heroes and Loved Ones* case study)



Top: Commonwealth War Graves Commission Liz Nicol, 2016

Below: Widow, Beverley Memorial Gardens, Beverley, Liz Nicol 2015



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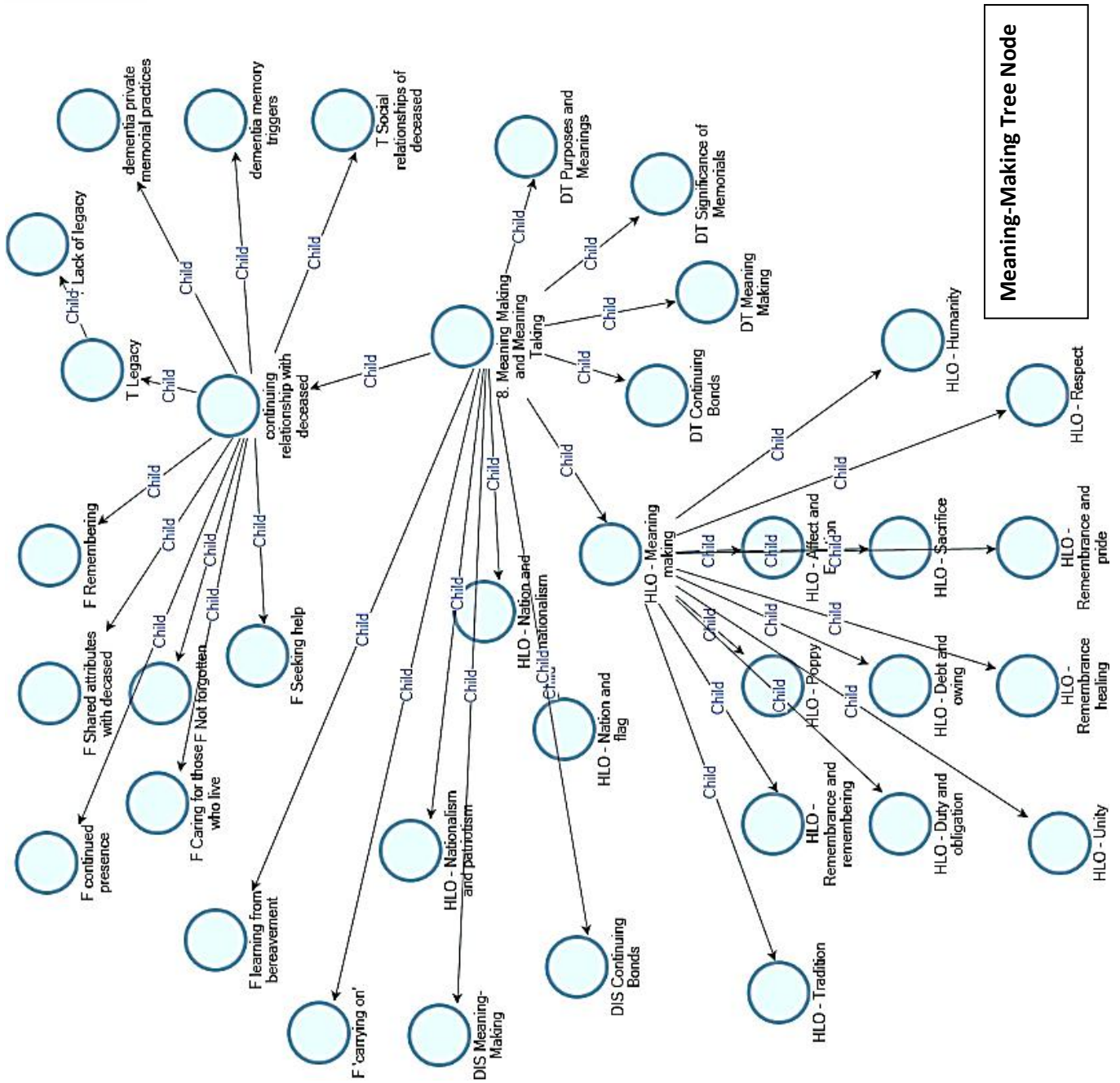
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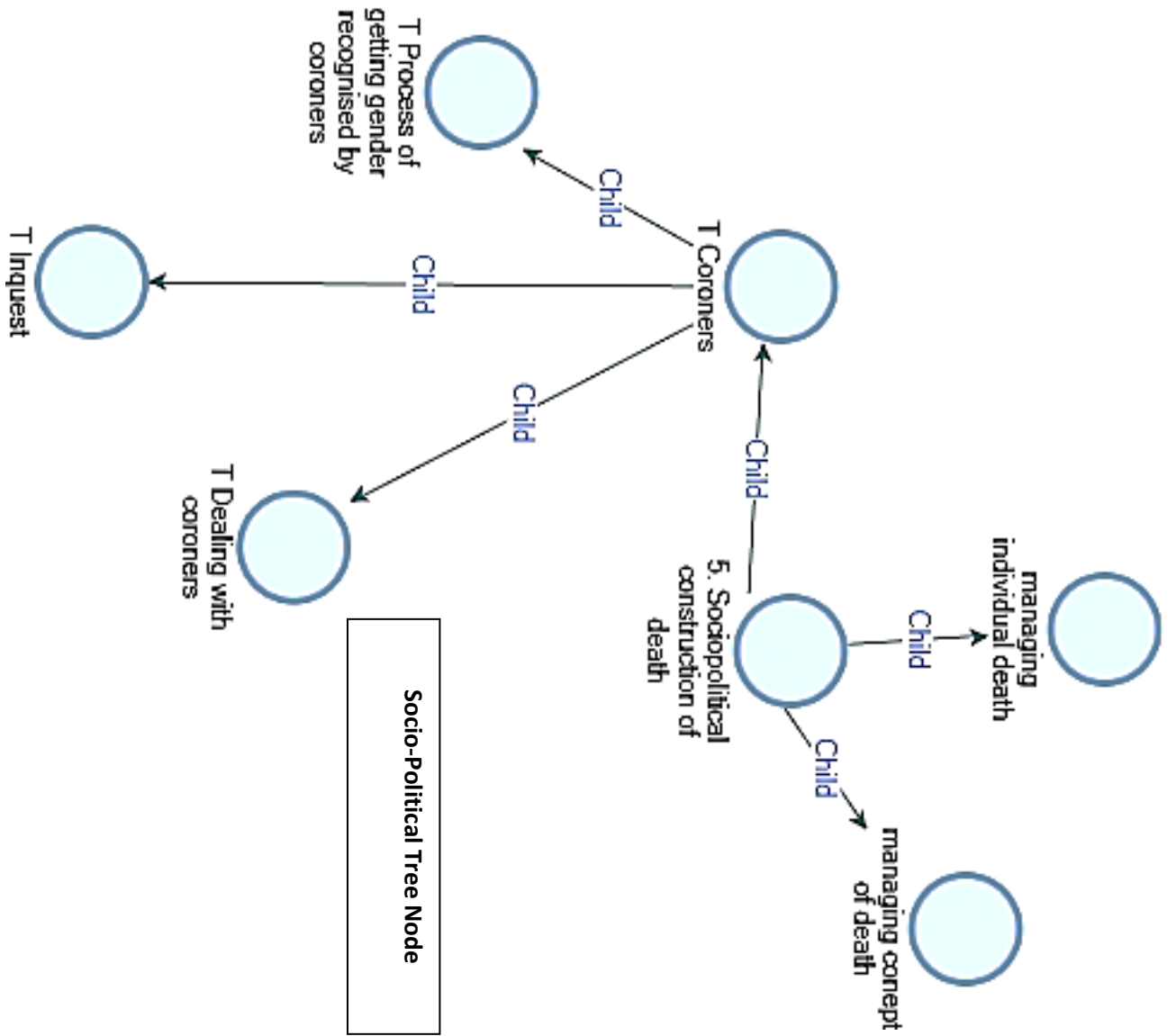
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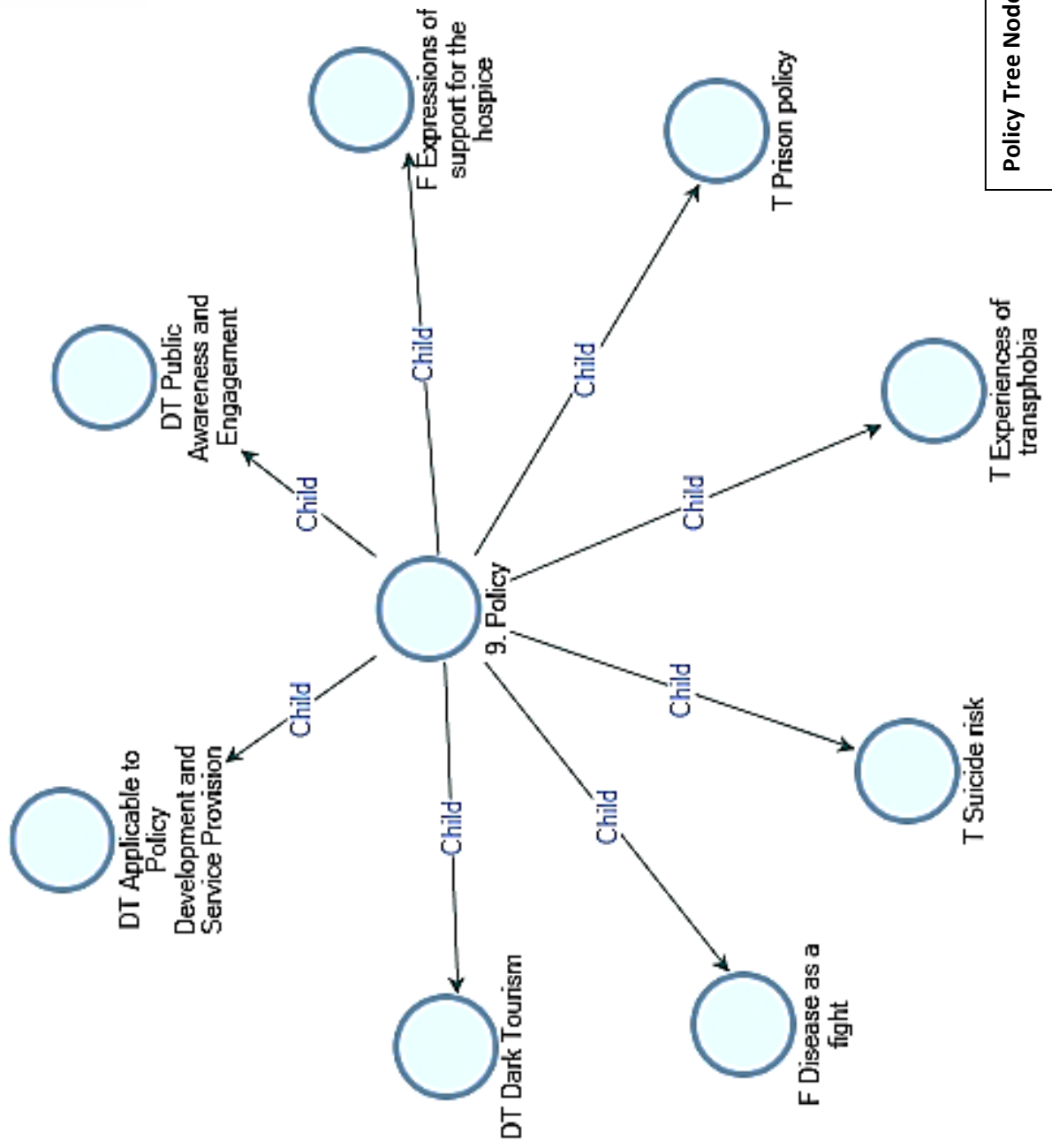
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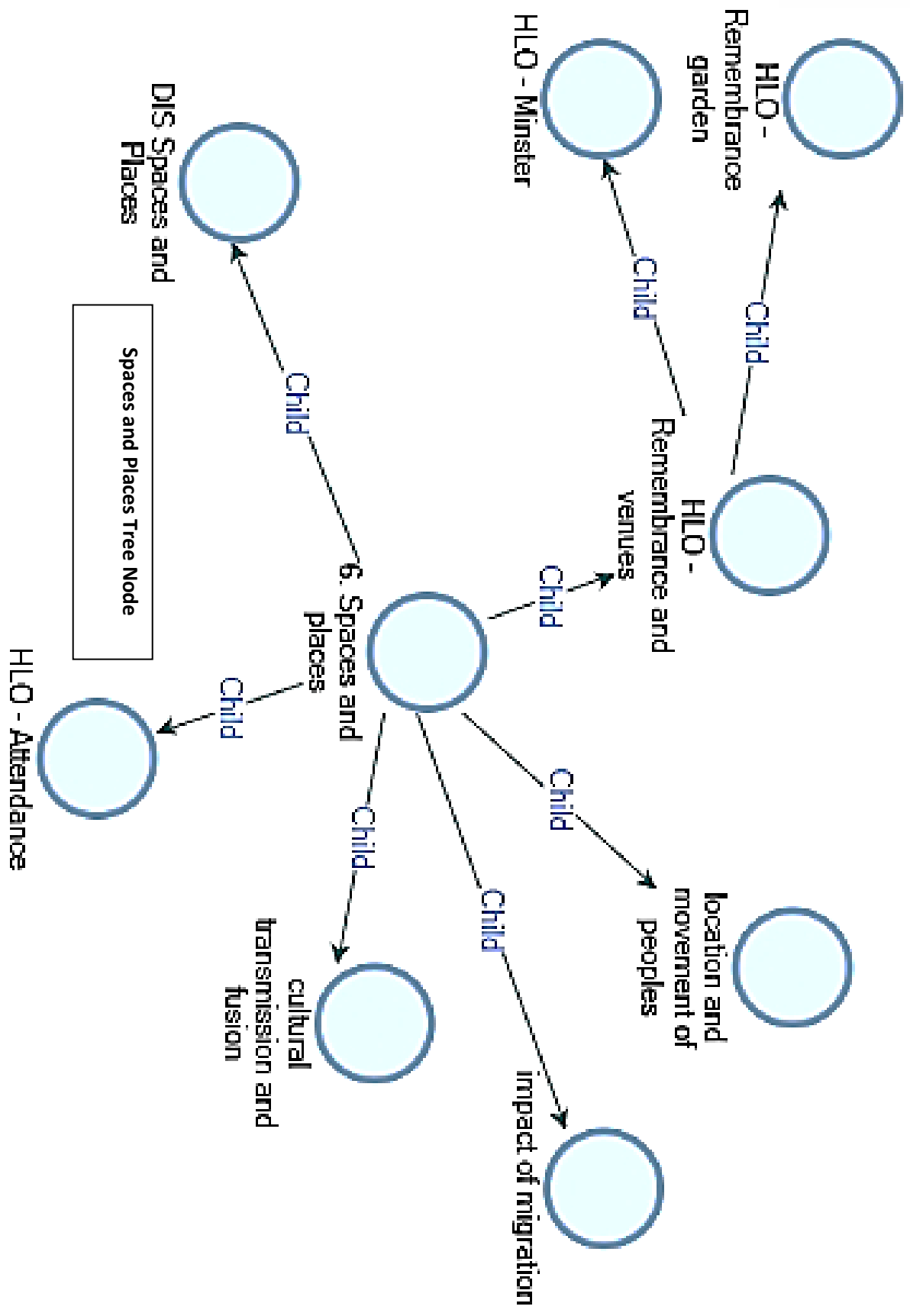
Appendix A: Key Findings/ Research questions map

	Deep Time	Displaying self	Diaspora	Photography	Free-writing	Military	Polish	Trans	Dementia
Forms & purposes Q1	xx	x	xx	xx			x		
Forms & purposes Q2	x	x	x	xx	x		x	x	
Forms & purposes Q3	xx	x	x	xx	x	xx		x	x
Forms & purposes Q4	x	x	xx	x	xx	x	x		
Forms & purposes Q5	x		xx		x				
Roles & Identities Q1	x	xx		x		x		x	
Roles & Identities Q2			xxxx				x		
Roles & Identities Q3				x			x	xx	
Roles & Identities Q4		x		x				xxx	
Roles & Identities Q5							xxx	xx	xxx
Roles & Identities Q6					x			x	
Emotions & behaviours Q1			x	x					x
Emotions & behaviours Q2				x				xxx	
Emotions & behaviours Q3	x					x		xx	
Emotions & behaviours Q4	x	x		xx	x	x	x		
Emotions & behaviours Q5		x		x	x	x	x		
Emotions & behaviours Q6	x	xx	xx	xxx	x	xx	x	xx	x











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