THE WINSTON CHURCHILL MEMORIAL TRUST OF AUSTRALIA

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2015 Churchill Fellow

The Peter Mitchell Churchill Fellowship to investigate methods of planning and managing disaster memorials.

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Signed Dated
Shona Whitton 3 October 2016
Photography: The author took all photographs within this report unless otherwise credited.
Cover image: A pair of running shoes left at the temporary memorial following the Boston Marathon bombing on a shelf at the Boston City Archives.
Exploring the role of memorialising in disaster recovery
Shona Whitton
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I feel incredibly lucky and privileged to have had this experience. While I travelled alone for the nine weeks of my Fellowship there were many people involved in making it the wonderful and fruitful experience that it was.

I would like to sincerely thank Peter Mitchell for sponsoring my Fellowship. Disasters typically attract significant donations but rarely are there funds to support the growth of those of us who work to support communities after disasters. I know previous Fellowships have significantly changed how we work after disasters in Australia I hope my work will also contribute to this. Thank you also to all the wonderful, helpful people at the Churchill Trust who helped this last minute planner get organised. Thanks also to all the people on the panel of my first interview – I really truly thought I did a terrible job – thanks for thinking otherwise!

I owe most of my learning from my Fellowship to the generous, knowledgeable and inspiring people I met along the way. Everyone I met was incredibly generous with her or his time and enthusiasm for my work. Many people I met shared their intimate, personal experiences of loss and grief with me. Thank you for sharing your stories, I feel privileged to have listened.

Very special thanks go to my team at Australian Red Cross. Without the supportive, encouraging and nurturing environment fostered by my colleagues I most definitely would never have ended up on a Churchill Fellowship. Though I enjoyed gallivanting around the world, focusing on one single project for nine weeks, I dearly missed the passion and enthusiasm my team brings to our work. I’m sorry I didn’t send more postcards!

I am lucky enough to have good friends all around the world. Thank you to those I got to meet up with along the way. While I can talk at length about memorials the very nature of their existence is heartbreaking and at times made me deeply sad. Seeing friendly faces and having people to talk about anything but memorials was soul nurturing. Special thank you to Jade, Alex, Frannie and Juliet for letting me invade your house for two weeks while I was in London.

Lastly, I want to acknowledge and thank the inspiring, intelligent and passionate women I met along my journey.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Project aim: To investigate and identify best practice methods of planning and managing disaster memorials.

From 21 May to 25 July 2016, as part of my Churchill Fellowship I visited New York, Boston, Paris, Berlin, London and Oslo to explore the role of temporary and permanent memorials after disasters and terrorism.

As Anne Eyre has noted in her work, temporary memorialising after community crises is to be expected. Despite seeing this occur time and time again we do not consider the occurrence and evolution of temporary memorials in post disaster community recovery planning. This can have implications for community healing as well as the psychosocial wellbeing of those working to manage temporary memorials. Some key findings from Boston and Paris relating to temporary memorials include:

- Temporary memorials will happen after collective grief events however there is little to no guidance for agencies and communities on how to manage this.
- Preserving items left at temporary memorials is increasingly common, and in some cases expected by the affected community.
- The people who end up doing the work of preserving temporary memorials are not involved or considered in any recovery planning.

For many communities affected by disaster and terrorism creating a lasting, permanent, tribute to who and what was lost or destroyed is integral to healing and reconstructing a changed way of life after the crisis. Permanent memorials need to be considered as part of the psychosocial healing process and not simply the building of a physical reminder of the crisis. Some key findings from New York, Berlin, London and Oslo relating to permanent memorials include:

- Development of permanent memorials should be considered as a process not an end goal orientated project.
- Community consultation about permanent memorials needs to be broad and transparent.
- Being involved in the planning & development process for permanent memorials can be a healing experience for survivors and the bereaved.
- Memorial planners must consider how to enable involvement of those affected at a time that is right for them.

In Australia, we need to consider how to better engage communities in memorial planning and how to support community driven permanent memorial processes more effectively. We need to look at which are the most appropriate agencies to conduct the removal and preservation of temporary memorials. Australian Red Cross is well placed to incorporate the findings of this report into its existing post disaster community recovery programs. This will include advice to communities on the management of temporary memorials and community capacity building around the permanent memorial planning process.

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PROGRAM

The following outlines the different methods of data collection used in each city I visited in the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and Norway during my Fellowship trip.

Method:
- Interview - an audio recorded semi-structured interview
- Meeting – a face to face discussion, without audio recording
- Observation – visit to memorial site, collection of photograph and video data

### New York, United States

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<td>The Holocaust &amp; atrocities committed under Nazism</td>
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### Oslo, Norway
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### Dublin, Ireland
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<td>1974 Dublin &amp; Monaghan Bombings</td>
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<td>Dublin and Monaghan Bombings memorial.</td>
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*I visited Dublin for a family wedding over one of the weekends I was in London. Though not an official location on my Fellowship itinerary I wanted to visit the *Famine* memorial as I had visited two other Irish Famine memorials in the US.*
DISCUSSION & LEARNING

“Collective memorialising after a disaster refers to public processes of grieving and remembrance, marking a profound social event, acknowledging and honouring losses, and seeking comfort, hope and even transcendent meaning.”

Joshua L. Miller

Memorialising is a natural social practice after death and loss. There is much research into why human beings feel compelled to practice remembrance and commemorative rituals. Modern societies have long practiced commemorating through building monuments and memorials. This practice is so ingrained in modern culture that often after disasters, particularly human caused events, the development of memorials becomes the follow up news story for the media. The media will report on memorial services, the appearance and growth of temporary memorials and the announcement of the planning of permanent memorials.

We have come to expect that some kind of built structure will be created to reinforce our memory of the event. What does this mean for people affected? For the bereaved? For survivors? Is going through the emotional experience of planning and building a permanent memorial worth it? If we are commemorating people who have died, whom do we build memorials for? What is the purpose of the memorial once it is in existence?

We know that people will want to memorialise after disasters, terrorist attacks and other significant emergencies. We also know that the memorial process can be overly political and cause much controversy. Therefore, while on my Fellowship trip I tried to determine the key questions we should ask while in the memorial planning process. How can we make this process easier for those involved? How do we protect the people involved from further harm? Considering the controversial and political nature of memorials is involvement in the process a useful experience for individual and community recovery?

Memorials and memorialising practices have been researched, reviewed and critiqued through a variety of lenses by public art experts, urban planners and museum professionals. These views have taught us much about the way people ritualise after death. My Fellowship, this report, and any future learning I do is from a psychosocial perspective. Psychosocial refers to the psychological (thoughts, feelings and emotions etc.) and social (relationships, cultural practices, family networks etc.) aspects of the human life.

Post disaster psychosocial recovery is focused on regenerating the cultural, psychological, social, economic, and physical elements of a community that has experienced adversity. The process of collective memorialising after crisis plays an integral role in community recovery. Engagement with this process can be very helpful for both individual and community recovery. If individuals and communities can have a connected and healing experience during the memorial process this will contribute to broader community recovery.
There are countless memorials in existence. There are many I wanted to visit as part of my Fellowship and some key ones I regret I did not add to my itinerary. However, I chose those on my program for specific purposes. I wanted to visit cities that have had temporary memorials that have been preserved (Boston and Paris). I wanted to visit permanent memorials to both natural disasters (Tsunami memorials in Oslo and London) and human caused events (9/11 terror attacks, London bombings, July 22 terror attack, Irish Famine, Holocaust, Bali bombing). I also wanted to see memorials that are located at the site where the disaster occurred (9/11, London bombings, Bethnal Green Tube Disaster) and those that are for an event that happened elsewhere (Tsunami memorials in Oslo and London, Bali Bombing Memorial in London, Irish Famine memorials in Boston and New York). I was also interested in seeing many different permanent memorials to one event (9/11, London bombings) and the different ways permanent memorials are designed and built.
Temporary memorials

“Spontaneous expressions of grief are now the rule rather than the exception following sudden, tragic death.”
Anne Eyre

Why temporary memorials occur

Following community level crisis events such as disasters, terrorist events and other critical incidents there can be a communal experience of fear, terror, loss or grief. These events shatter people’s fundamental sense of safety; order and security leaving people feeling threatened and vulnerable. Disruption to worldview, the assumptions people have about lives and communities that make up their reality, occur most significantly following situations that are “unexpected, traumatic and horrific.” People’s psychological and faith-based assumptions about their lives can be shattered and many people experience a crisis of meaning or purpose.

Post death rituals provide a safe space for the expression of individual and communal grief and can be an important therapeutic step in the grieving process. Spontaneous expression of loss, sorrow, grief and disbelief in the form of informal, temporary memorials, such as the ones in Paris and Boston, often begin within hours of the public having knowledge of the disaster. People feel the need to share their sorrow and acknowledge loss, even if they are not directly impacted by the event.

This expression can be a healthy opportunity for expressing shock, anger, disbelief, grief, and other emotions associated with disaster. A lack of, or barriers to, collective expression can hinder recovery and successful grieving following death. Post disaster rituals such as spontaneous expressions of grief, commemorative and memorial activities can assist in re-establishing feelings of control, social solidarity and belonging after collective crisis.

The spontaneous expression of grief after disasters is predictable post disaster behaviour. As such, large-scale spontaneous tributes and shrines are not uncommon after crisis events. In fact, they are seen as the rule rather than the exception following events that cause sudden and tragic death. Following the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 approximately 50,000 mementos were left along the ‘Memory Fence’ surrounding the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, over 50 million bouquets of flowers were laid outside Buckingham Palace and Princess Diana’s London residence after her death in 1997, and more than 200,000 items were collected after the 1999 Columbine High School massacre.
It is clear from past events that following community level crisis events there will be temporary memorials. They occur most often after human caused events such as accidents, terrorist acts or mass criminal incidents. Temporary memorialising also often occurs following the deaths of high profile people, particularly if the death is sudden. In 2016 there have been a number of notable examples, including David Bowie, Prince and the stabbing death of British MP Jo Cox (see Images 1, 2 and 3).

**Where temporary memorials will appear**

Temporary memorials occur at, or near, the site of death, for example outside the Bataclan theatre following the November 2015 Paris attacks. If police or other emergency services cordon off the affected location with fencing, rope or tape memorialising will start on or in front of the fencing.

Memorialising occurred on, and in front of, the barricades along Boylston St after the 2013 Boston Marathon Bombing. Temporary memorialising at the site of death will occur across all sites, when there is more than one site of death. This occurred in Paris in November 2015 and in London following the 2005 London bombings. Memorials occurred at each of the London Underground stations near the explosion sites, as well as at Tavistock Square.

If access to the site is not possible, or if distinct communities were affected by an event, temporary memorialising may occur in other locations or landmarks associated with the event. Following 9/11, a replica Statue of Liberty (Image 4) appeared on the footpath near a firehouse in Manhattan. This firehouse, home to FDNY Engine Company 54, Ladder Company 4 and Battalion 9 lost 15 firefighters in the World Trade Center on September 11. Passersby began to leave items on the statue, which soon became known as *Lady Liberty*. After a few months the firehouse loaned *Lady Liberty* to the Intrepid Air, Sea and Space Museum where she acquired more tributes, including many from families who lost loved ones on 9/11. In August 2006, Lady Liberty was donated to the National September 11 Museum, where she now resides.

Following some events, where there is an international impact or the event occurs in a geographic region away from where the majority of victims are from, memorialising will occur at other key locations related to the event and to the victims. Following the downing of Malaysian Airlines Flight MH17 over eastern Ukraine in 2014 a temporary memorial occurred at the Dutch embassy in Kiev. One hundred and ninety three of the 298 passengers on board MH17 were Dutch.

**Ownership of temporary memorials**

Temporary memorials are community built structures that are usually on public property. There were two temporary memorials following the Boston Marathon bombing; the first near the site of explosion, at the
end of the finish line of the marathon at Boylston St, the other at Copley Square. Both sites were public, city-managed spaces. Despite this there was confusion around who would take responsibility for the management and removal of the memorial. Ultimately the Boston City Archives ended up in possession of the memorial items, though they were assisted by pro bono support from storage company, Iron Mountain.

“Right when they first called us, they were just asking us what they should do with them. They weren’t asking us to take them, we maybe thought the Boston Public Library would take them, they’re not city records, they’re not official, they’re not generated by the city government. So they could go anywhere, we don’t have to take them. So we thought the Library would take them and we decided to say we’ll help you in any way we can” Marta Crilly, Boston City Archives.

People who live or work nearby may self identify as ‘custodians’ of the memorial. In Boston, people from the community tended to the memorial while it was in existence.

“…these people from the community had kind of taken over the task keeping the memorial nice. They would kind of sweep things up and move things around. And I think they were removing dead flowers and things...” Marta Crilly, Boston City Archives.

What temporary memorials are made of
Temporary memorials are made up of the offerings from a community of people. The items that people leave at temporary memorials are reflective of their community, and the victims and survivors of the crisis event. Following the November 2015 Paris attacks many items at the temporary memorials reflected nationalistic feelings, such as the use of the colours of the French flag. At the memorial at the Bataclan theatre, where many young music fans died, the memorial items were related to music and youth culture. After the Boston Marathon bombing, items left at the memorial were related to the marathon community, such as sneakers, running bibs etc. When children are killed during crisis events toys are usually the main element of the memorial. Following the 2012 Sandy Hook massacre over 60,000 teddy bears were left at, or mailed to, the town of Newton. The most common items left at temporary memorials are flowers, notes, cards, photos etc. People often create the items they leave at memorials such as posters, paintings and poetry. Each item represents a person, or group of people, who experienced emotion strong enough to motivate them to share their feeling publicly. This means memorial items are highly emotion laden. In essence the emotion, feelings of grief, sadness, fear, anger, are transferred to the item.

Imagery and messaging shared and popularised on social media also becomes a main theme of items left at temporary memorials. This occurred following recent events, including...
the Paris attacks, the bombing at Brussels airport in March 2016 and the mass shooting in a nightclub in Orlando, USA in June 2016.

Following the Paris attacks, the image of the peace sign adapted to include the Eiffel Tower, created by graphic designer Jean Jullien, went viral on social media after Jullien shared it on his Instagram profile. The image then quickly appeared across all temporary memorials at the different attack sites in Paris (see Image 5).

“The picture with the Eiffel Tower and the peace and love sign. That was the most important drawing.” Mathilde Pintault, Paris City Archives.

People will continue to feel a connection to items they contribute to a temporary memorial as well as the memorial itself long after they visit. This has implications for moving and removal of the temporary memorial as disrespectful removal can cause emotional upset.

Negative commentary in temporary memorials

Particularly following terrorism and other human caused events temporary memorials can attract some negative and extremist messaging. Though this is minimal, it does occur. This is likely also to occur in condolence mail and books. Although only a distinct minority of messages are negative, if memorial items are going to be shared with family members or survivors, screening of the messages will need to be considered. However, from a historical perspective, preserving these negative messages enables the complete picture of the event to be understood in the future.

“There was ugly stuff too. To be quite honest, as an archivist I document historical moments. So to me, it’s just as important to document the really ugly things. But obviously that is not helpful for a community in recovery.” Marta Crilly, Boston City Archives.
**Length of time insitu**

There is little commonality across crisis events for how long temporary memorials stay insitu. It is different for each event, perhaps driven by the scale and intensity of the crisis. In Boston, the Marathon bombing memorial was taken down on June 25th, over two months after the April 15th bombing. The Paris City Archives continued to collect items from the temporary memorials for up to four months after the November attacks. The memorial at Place de la République was still in place, though small, when I visited Paris in June 2016, over six months after the terror attacks. In contrast, the memorial following the Martin Place siege, in Sydney, was removed on December 23rd, eight days after the December 15th siege. Following 9/11 some temporary memorial items became integrated into much longer lasting community healing events, such as the National 9/11 Flag (see page 18).

**Moving / removal of temporary memorials**

The very nature of temporary memorials means they will need to be dismantled as some point. There are many factors that will contribute to the need to move or remove the memorial. However, there are two key factors that are common across different temporary memorial occurrences that drive the removal of memorials: the location of the memorial and the weather.

Memorials tend to occur in public spaces that are relatively easy to access. This may mean that the memorial itself impacts the regular use of the space. Temporary memorials can engulf public meeting spaces, thoroughfares and high traffic areas. The memorial is likely to attract many visitors who will linger near the memorial, which is problematic, and in some cases dangerous in high traffic areas. In Boston, the Boylston St memorial had to be moved to Copley Square when Boylston St was reopened to traffic so people could continue to visit the memorial safely.

Items left at temporary memorials are usually made from paper, cardboard, cloth or are organic matter such as flowers. Cut flowers generally do not last long without water and at temporary memorials they are usually out in the sun and will decompose quickly in high temperatures. In wet weather paper and card items disintegrate and stuffed toys and cloth items get moldy.

The general public is usually understanding of the need to remove temporary memorials. However, the way in which items are removed can be controversial and needs to be well planned and executed. The psychosocial implications of removing these cared for and emotive items are significant. Poor or disrespectful handling of the tributes can cause further distress to survivors, their families and the broader community.xix

![Image 7: Archivists from Paris City Archives removing the memorial in front of Casa Nostra pizzeria in Paris. Credit: Straits Times.](image7.png)
Preservation of temporary memorials
The emotive nature of temporary memorials leaves many communities unable to dispose of memorial items. The broader community increasingly expects preservation of temporary memorials after disaster events. This presents a number of challenges for communities and authorities.

Fortunately, many cities and towns have not experienced large-scale crisis events that have prompted widespread collective distress and memorialising. However, this means that most communities are not experienced in managing the removal and preservation of temporary memorials. In most cities and towns there is no dedicated organisation or agency responsible for the management of temporary memorials, particularly preservation of memorials.

Not all communities will wish to keep items from temporary memorials. Different communities will also choose to go about the preservation in different ways. There is no right way. However, preserving temporary memorials can be a timely and expensive exercise. Following the terrorist events in Paris and Boston city archivists spent four months and one year respectively, cataloguing and archiving memorial items.

Preserving memorials can be a useful and healing experience for communities. Following the Sandy Hook massacre in 2012, the community chose to digitise memorial items. When storage company Iron Mountain offered pro bono digitising services the community chose to continue the process themselves even though it was going to take them much longer.

“We have infrastructure where we can scan, whatever they’re going to do as a community we could probably scan in hours. They wanted to continue to do the scanning themselves because it was really part of the community healing process, the way that they sort of brought volunteers together as part of this project...” Samantha Joseph, Iron Mountain.

Once authorities have chosen to preserve the memorial, this will create an expectation that items will be kept. Clear communication to the public about what is being preserved and what cannot be, such as organic matter, is crucial. At some point the group responsible for the preservation of the memorial will
need to decide to stop collecting items. Realistically, it is a time intensive and complex exercise to continually collect items left at memorial sites.

Preservation of notes, cards, and objects left at temporary memorials is complicated by the fact that most temporary memorials are outdoors. This means items may be wet, moldy, decomposing and damaged. Some items may also need to be restored as cardboard and paper items can be ripped and damaged. In some cases, the damage tells the story of the memorial but it can also make it difficult to read or understand the messages. Determining whether to restore items happens mostly on a case-by-case basis.

“We decided not to fix every document because... we made the choice not to do it because it was they what they were. That’s the way they were and that’s part of the history of this memory also.” Mathilde Pintault, Paris City Archives.

Archives, storage companies and libraries, who may offer to store items will require items to be professionally cleaned and sanitised to ensure memorial items do not contaminate their collections. Cleaning, sorting and sanitising memorial items can be very expensive.

**Role of the ‘preservers’**

In many cases the people who end up doing the work of preserving temporary memorial items are professional archivists, museum professionals or people who specialise in document and object storage. While these people are very skilled in the technical aspects of their work they generally do not work with highly emotive materials. Or if they do work with distressing material there is an element of emotional distance created by time or the material not being from their own community.

People who preserve the memorial are likely to live and work in the community where the crisis event occurred. They may have been personally affected by the event or they may know people or have to support loved ones who were directly impacted by the disaster. In addition, many city archives are open to the public. In Boston, people can request to view memorial items from the Boston Marathon bombing temporary memorial. The archivists will choose a selection of items for people to view. People who come to visit the memorial items may be extremely distressed. People who work at city archives are unlikely to be trained or have experience to support people in distress. This can add an extra emotional burden to people preserving memorial items.

It is likely that the people and workplaces who preserve the memorial are not involved in disaster recovery planning, do not have appropriate psychosocial support mechanisms or referral pathways in place, nor have a good grasp on the potential psychological and emotional implications of long term work with memorial items.
Ongoing use of memorial items
The scale of the disaster and the community experience of recovery can impact how memorial items are used in the future. In large-scale catastrophic events, like 9/11, showcasing temporary memorialising after the events builds a broader picture of communal distress and reactions to the disaster. The National September 11 Memorial & Museum has a collection of temporary memorial items from all over the world that are rotated through the Tribute Walk section of the Museum.

“It was always part of the plan from the very beginning of when we started collecting, we were getting probably tens of thousands of quilts and things like that from all around the world. It was always intended that we would need to do some sort of rotating exhibition of spontaneous memorials. The space actually rotates pretty much annually and our collection obviously houses many many more of these than you see there.” Allison Blais,

The National 9/11 Flag
The National 9/11 Flag hung from a building across from Ground Zero until late October 2001. It was dirty and tattered when it was finally taken down. The New York Says Thank You Foundation then toured the flag around all 50 American States, including to other communities affected by disaster and for disaster anniversaries, such as Oklahoma City, Pearl Harbor, Hurricane Katrina and Shanksville, near the Flight 93 crash site. Along the way the flag was mended by people all across the country with patches and threads from decommissioned American flags. The flag is part of a rotating collection of items displayed in the National September 11 Museum.

Image 11: The National 9/11 Flag on display in the Tribute Walk exhibition space of the National September 11 Museum in May 2016. The flag has since been rotated out of the museum.
Images 12 & 13: Museum exhibits showing the flag being created around the United States.
National September 11 Memorial & Museum

Permanent memorials

“A collective crisis calls for collective measures to reconnect people with their culture and past and to reconstruct a sense of social relatedness and belonging.”

Joshua L. Miller

What is the purpose of permanent memorials

Though generally places about those who have died permanent memorials are places for the living. Permanent memorials are ultimately places of connection. They are a place of connection for the bereaved to their loved ones, particularly if people have no remains to bury. For some people, the memorial will be the only place people feel close to their loved ones who died in the disaster. This feeling can be particularly strong for people when the memorial is at the site of death in the disaster. However, even if the memorial is away from the site of death they are still places of powerful emotion for people who need a place of connection to their loved ones who have died.

“When I want to go and be with him, it’s at the memorial. That’s his final resting place, that’s where he took his last breath, his last step was there. That’s where I want to go…that’s where they were last. Whether you take them home or not, I have no where else to go to connect with him.” Monica Iken, September’s Mission, speaking about the National September 11 Memorial (see Image 14).

Memorials also create connection between the living. They are key sites for anniversary events and provide a central place for all people affected by the disaster to come together, support one another and share experiences, both of loss and of hope.

“We gather there as a community on every anniversary. What has been very important for us is that the ceremony take place there.” Jelena Watkins, speaking about London’s 9/11 Memorial (see Image 17).
Memorials also create connection to history and are a reminder of past events. They can be places of great learning. Modern memorials are as much about the crisis event itself as they are about those who have died. Many memorials to larger scale disasters or crisis events have museums, information or education centres connected to the memorial. Examples include the July 22 Information Centre, Berlin Wall Museum, National September 11 Memorial & Museum, the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, the Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp and Memorial among many others. These places help people who were not affected by the disaster to learn about what happened and the people who died. For survivors, family and friends of those affected to be able to inform a wider audience about the disaster helps people to feel their stories are being heard. Being involved in sharing the story of their experience can help people to make sense of their loss.

“They [the 9/11 Tribute Center guides] uniformly say that they get great sustenance from talking to people around the world. They really enjoy meeting people from around the world and they’re very moved that people from around the world and nationally care about what happened here. It puts value into their life, that their story and what they experienced is valued in the outside world. It’s very meaningful to them.” Wendy Aibel-Weiss, 9/11 Tribute Center.

Who is involved in the development of permanent memorials
Disasters and terrorist events have far reaching impacts. The affected community is not always only located at the site of the crisis event. This is an important consideration for permanent memorial planners, as people outside the city or town affected may wish to be involved in the planning and decision making process.
People who are bereaved may live in other cities or countries. People who survived the event may have only been visiting the area where the crisis occurred and may live in another city or country. The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami directly impacted and caused massive death tolls and displacement of people across 15 countries (Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Thailand, Somalia, Myanmar, Maldives, Malaysia, Tanzania, Seychelles, Bangladesh, South Africa, Yemen, Kenya, Madagascar), however people from a further 46 countries were killed in the disaster. The events of 9/11 occurred over three sites, across three different states and those killed were from over 90 different countries. This means that the affected populations are far more widespread than the geographic location of the event.

“People often assume that a community is only the geographic community of the disaster, so what you find and what I experienced was that people who are part of the ripple effect of the disaster but are just as affected as those right at the epicenter can struggle to actually find their community.” Jelena Watkins.

The bereaved and survivors may wish to be involved in memorial planning even if they don’t live near the geographic site of the event. They may wish to create a memorial in their own town or country (see Image 16) but will still want to be involved in planning for ‘official’ or ‘national’ memorials.

When planning for memorials it can be easier to only consult with people thought to be ‘most affected’ by the event. It is important for memorial planners to remember that some communities may feel and have been profoundly affected by an event but are not considered to be by the wider public. Examples include:

- People who live near site of terrorism or disaster but were not affected physically,
- People who did not lose loved ones or property in the disaster,
- Civilian responders,
- Disaster response and recovery workers,
- Nearby business owners etc.

It is important to consider these people not only to support their recovery but also to reduce division and controversy around the memorial planning process.

Image 16: Detail of the Indian Ocean Tsunami Memorial at the Natural History Museum, London.
Consultation in memorial planning and development

The end goal of planning and developing a permanent memorial is the physical memorial itself. This can take a long time, years in fact. From the outside of the process, it can seem unnecessarily long and complicated. For the people involved however, particularly for people bereaved and those who survived the disaster, the process can be healing.

“It has healed me in the sense that I feel I can live my life without him...it was very healing but it wasn’t easy” Monica Iken, September’s Mission

Transparent, extensive and inclusive consultation with the widespread affected community is important throughout memorial planning. The affected community needs to be active participants throughout memorial planning. Jelena Watkins, whose brother was killed on 9/11, was involved in the process of developing the 9/11 memorial in London. The process was managed by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport.

“It was a really positive experience because I remember going into it with some anxiety, thinking what am I going to find here and will I be listened to...this was a really good example of good practice that we were told quite early on about it that this was going on. We really felt involved right from the conception, which is very, very positive. It’s not that it was all done and we were just meant to sign it. We felt like we were active participants. We were looking at fonts, we were looking at materials, talking with designers who at the time I felt really touched and impressed by their level of care in every little aspect...” Jelena Watkins.

Consultation needs to occur from the very outset of memorial planning. Early and thorough consultation can counter potential controversy. Neglecting to consult broadly can cause discrete groups within the affected community to feel as though their voice does not have a place in the process. Following the July 22, 2011 terror attack in Norway, an Art Committee was established and tasked with the development of two memorials. One in Oslo’s Government Quarter near the site of the bombing and the other at the site of the mass shooting near the island of Utøya.

The Art Committee did extensive consultation with survivors and families of victims. However, a key affected group was not involved in the initial consultation process. These people lived on the mainland neighbouring the island of Utøya, where 69 people were killed. Many of these people were first on the scene of the attack, rescuing people fleeing the island and providing first aid to the injured. The shooter also targeted some people as they attempted to rescue people from the water. This group of people was profoundly affected by their role in the crisis.

As of writing, a group of approximately 300 people who live in the Hole area, near Utøya, have taken legal action against the Norwegian government protesting the location of the memorial in their community.

“We see now that the neighbours should have been asked.” Nora Ceciliedatter Nerdrum, KORO, Public Art Norway.
There will be many competing priorities and issues involved in memorial planning. These can include:

- The wishes of families and survivors. Just because these people were in someway involved in the event does not mean they had similar experiences nor that they have the same beliefs about what the memorial should look like.
- The location of the memorial. If the memorial will be at the site of the disaster or elsewhere. If the memorial will be elsewhere what will happen to the site of the disaster?
- How the memorial will be paid for and maintained. If public donations are being used to build the memorial, donors will also feel connected to the process and want to be communicated with.
- Who has ownership of the memorial? This is challenging as after events that create a communal feeling of grief the whole community can feel or perceive ownership of the memorial.
- Competing political priorities, especially across different government levels.
- Those who own the property the memorial will be on. This can be particularly complex if the memorial will be at the site of death and is on privately owned land.
- How decisions about memorial planning are communicated to all stakeholders and the public.

There may be a lot of different memorials for the same event

People will want to memorialise in their own way. This is likely to mean that one event will be memorialised in many different ways. Memorialising is an intensely personal and emotional experience. The more widespread the disaster, or the bigger the scale, the more permanent memorials are likely to be created.

Different permanent memorials for one event are created by a group of people with a common bond of some sort or a connection to the site of the disaster. These distinct groups may be:

- Family and friends of the victims
- Survivors of the disaster
- Family and friends of survivors
- Emergency services workers
- Civilian responders
- From a particular geographic place
- From a workplace
- A particular nationality, cultural or religious group
- A community group
- Or have a familial or ancestral connection to the site of the disaster.

There are at least 700\textsuperscript{xi} recorded 9/11 memorials across the United States and the rest of the world. However, this statistic is from 2011 so there may well be many more today. In New York, there are many 9/11 memorials to different groups or people, but also to significant related events in the recovery. See Case Studies 1 and 2 on page 27.

People in locations away from the event may want to build a memorial (see Case Study 3 on page 28). They also may request to use items related to the event in their own memorial. Following 9/11 the steel from the World Trade Center buildings became very significant in memorial projects both in New York and further afield.
"It was all about the steel at Ground Zero, all about the steel, taking the steel and bringing it someplace else. A lot of really incredible projects." Donna Gaffney

The September 11 Memorial Garden in London (see Image 17) has a number of connections to New York. It is located in Grosvenor Square, which has a traditional link to the United States and has long been the location of the American embassy. There is also a piece of steel from Ground Zero buried under the memorial.

"What not very many people know is that a piece of steel from New York from the towers is actually buried under there. That was quite significant symbolically and in many other ways because knowing that, this garden is not just a memorial place. For many families, it’s actually the only place they have to go to because they had no remains to bury after 9/11.” Jelena Watkins

Listing of names on permanent memorials
Almost all memorials list the names of those who have died in the disaster or crisis event. For many families and loved ones this is an important acknowledgement of their loss and grief. However, for some who do not feel their wishes have been heard in the process they may not want their loved ones name on the memorial. Many memorials do not list the names of all the victims. For example, the Port Arthur memorial, Columbine memorial, the July 22 Information Centre remembrance room.

The listing and arrangement of the names on permanent memorials can become incredibly complex. There are many different ways in which the names can be listed and this will need to be decided by the group planning the memorial.

“...the arrangement of the names of the memorial, which was a very very long, fraught, and emotional process to figure out what that should be. Even when we made the decision, especially when we made the decision that we try to do this meaningful
adjacencies concept, where the relationship of the victims would be on the memorial somehow, there were many many family members who did not like that at all and wanted them to be alphabetical and they wanted company names listed and the floors they worked on, and all sort of things...” Allison Blais, National September 11 Memorial & Museum.

Interim permanent memorials
Large scale, ‘official’, ‘state’ or ‘national’ memorials take time to plan and build. In the mean time interim memorial sites may need to be created if people are visiting the disaster site or if reconstruction of the area will be including the official memorial. These may vary in function and purpose. During the recovery effort at Ground Zero people continued to visit the site. To make the area safer and allow for people to linger at the site a temporary viewing platform was built.

The affected community will want a place to come together to commemorate anniversaries before a permanent memorial is complete. In Oslo, due to the reconstruction and revitalization of the government quarter a temporary permanent memorial will be built to provide a place for people to gather at anniversaries until a more permanent memorial can be built in about 15 years following the rebuilding of the area. This ‘temporary permanent memorial’ is being planned in alignment with the permanent memorial near Utøya.

Behaviour at memorial sites
The planning and design of permanent memorials is an important collective effort in reconstructing a sense of community after disasters. The final product of the process, the memorial itself, is most commonly designed as a space of reflection and remembrance for what the community lost. As such, memorial sites are often considered sacred and places of great reverence.

In large cities, memorials to significant disasters and terrorist events can become well visited by tourists and even key tourist destinations. Some visitors may have good knowledge of the disasters, others may have been indirectly affected in some way and some may know very little about the crisis. Information centres or museums at memorial sites can help to educate visitors about the disaster and the people who died.
The modern memorial tends to invite participation with site. In some cases people are invited to touch the memorial or walk through it or experience the memorial in some way. For example, the Diana Princess of Wales Memorial Fountain was designed to allow people to play and wade in the water. At the National September 11 Memorial people are invited to touch the name panels around the outside of the memorial pools ((see Image 21). Other memorials expressly outline expected behaviours at the memorial site. At the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe a plaque with regulations for visitors forbids people from standing on the concrete stelae or jumping from one to another. Though this still occurs (see Image 23) and the memorial has guards posted to patrol the memorial.

For many memorial planners a permanent memorial becoming a tourist destination is not a key goal of the process. However, it does need to be considered in the planning process. Consideration needs to be given to how people will interact with the memorial and how they are expected to behave.
Case Study 1: FDNY Memorial Wall

Across the road from the National September 11 Memorial & Museum is the FDNY Memorial Wall (pictured below). This memorial is dedicated to the 343 firefighters who died on 9/11 along with volunteer firefighter Glenn Winuk. Glenn worked for law firm Holland & Knight in Lower Manhattan. On 9/11 Glenn, told all his co-workers to go home and then went down to the World Trade Center to assist people who had been injured. Glenn was in the South Tower when it collapsed. Holland & Knight wanted to do something to honour Glenn and the other firefighters.

In the early days of the recovery the most urgent need at the WTC site was ice. Ice was needed at the site for injuries, sprains, cleaning out the eyes of the workers etc. so Holland & Knight raised money for an ice fund. When the clean up of the site ended there was still money left over in the ice fund. The left over money was used to create the FDNY Memorial Wall. Before the memorial was placed on the wall, the wives of deceased firefighters wrote notes on the reverse side of the plaque.

Image 24 & 25: FDNY Memorial Wall

Case Study 2: 11 Tears Memorial

American Express lost 11 employees who had been working at the World Trade Center on September 11. The company has created a permanent memorial in the lobby of the American Express Tower on Vesey St in Lower Manhattan, across West St from One World Trade Center and the National September 11 Memorial & Museum. The 11 Tears memorial (pictured right) was completed in 2003 to commemorate the 11 people from American Express who died.

Image 26: 11 Tears Memorial, American Express Tower
The Boston Logan International Airport 9/11 Memorial is located near the Hilton Hotel at Boston Logan Airport. Two of the four planes hijacked and used in the September 11 terrorist attacks departed from Boston Logan Airport.

The memorial was dedicated on 9th September 2008 after a multi-year planning process. It honours the passengers and crew of American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175 that both departed Boston Logan Airport on the morning of September 11, 2001 for Los Angeles. The memorial is also a commemoration of the efforts of the airport community in comforting the families and friends of the crew and passengers in the aftermath of 9/11 and in restoring the airport to full operation.
Case Study 4: Meaningful adjacencies, National September 11 Memorial

The National September 11 Memorial lists 2,983 names. These are the names of the women, men and children killed both in the February 26, 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the 9/11 attacks in New York, Pennsylvania and at the Pentagon.

The arrangement of the names on the National September 11 Memorial was guided by architect Michael Arad’s concept of ‘meaningful adjacencies’. This means the names are arranged ‘in accordance with geographical and familial ties, links with co-workers, and the specific wishes of the victim’s loved ones’. The names were first grouped geographically, based on the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center. Names on the north pool of the Memorial are of; those people who were working in or visiting the north tower; crew and passengers on Flight 11, which crashed into the north tower and the victims of the 1993 bombing that occurred in the north tower. The names on the south pool include those who were working in or visiting the south tower; passengers and crew of Flight 175, which crashed into the south tower; those killed at the Pentagon and on Flight 77 and Flight 93 and the first responders.

The second grouping was based upon consultation with the victim’s loved ones. This included allowing people to choose who their loved one would be listed beside, such as spouses, fiancés, siblings, co-workers, friends and family members. Throughout the process over 1,200 ‘adjacency requests’ were received by staff at the memorial, which informed the final arrangement of the names on the memorial.

“It was the families who knew each other and were finding their loved one’s names, and they were next to each other. It was a nice reunion for them at the same time that they were finding their loved ones names. There was also, all of these instances all over the plaza were strangers would be standing next to one another and realize that, “oh, this was somebody who was related to this man who worked with my son,” and they would introduce each other and form these new relationships, which was something we hadn’t anticipated at all.” Allison Blais, National September 11 Memorial & Museum.

Image 31: The names of brothers Farrell and Sean who worked at Cantor Fitzgerald
Considerations for temporary memorial management

The following are some brief considerations for temporary memorial management. These lists are by no means exhaustive.

While memorial is insitu

After disaster and human caused crisis events where there is a communal or shared experience of fear, grief and loss, temporary memorials are likely to appear.

Some considerations:
- After certain types of crisis events, assume temporary / spontaneous memorialising will occur and start to plan the management of the memorial.
- Allow memorial to ‘grow’, do not try to encourage or interfere with development of temporary memorials.
- Ensure safe access for people visiting site.
- Consider if crowd management measures may be needed. Temporary memorials can grow quite large after certain events.
- If visitors are exhibiting signs of extreme distress consider locating psychosocial support personnel/volunteers at the site to provide support and assistance.
- Start thinking about potential preservation of the memorial. Who or what organisation will be responsible for this.

Visits to memorial by survivors, people injured and families of deceased

Temporary memorials can become important sites of connection, hope and recovery. Family members, survivors and people injured in the event may want to visit the memorial.

Some considerations:
- Consider whether survivors, families of the deceased or people injured may want to visit the memorial. This may need to be facilitated if the memorial has grown quite large and getting lots of visitors.
- Consider the timing of the visit.
- The removal of the memorial may need to be delayed / timed around this type of visit.
- Visits should be planned in close consultation with families of the deceased, people injured, survivors and their families & friends.
- People may wish to visit on their own, with family & friends or accompanied by emergency management personnel/volunteers. Decisions to visit, or not, and with whom should be respected.
- Visits by families of the deceased, survivors, people injured should be accompanied by psychosocial support where appropriate.
- Brief visitors on media presence if necessary.
- During visit consider restricting access/crowd control measures if necessary.
Moving/removal of memorial
Most temporary memorials consist of flowers, notes and cards that will not survive long when exposed to the weather and will need to be removed at some stage.

Some considerations:
- Consider the upcoming weather forecast when determining how long the memorial should remain in place.
- Consult with affected community before moving/removing memorial.
- If those directly affected wish to visit the memorial but are unable to in the immediate future, consider whether it is feasible to move the memorial to a more protected location, or leave in place longer.
- The affected community may wish to preserve the memorial, this can include mulching organic matter and keeping and archiving the notes, cards and objects.
- Consider who will be responsible for removing the memorial.
- Consider having a respected, neutral community group, e.g. Red Cross, local volunteer Firefighters, Rotary etc. conduct the removal of the memorial.
- Items and objects left at memorials hold much emotional worth. Any moving/removal of memorial objects/items should be done in a respectful manner.
- Leave a sign/plaque telling future visitors to the site what has been done with the memorial. Include contact details if available.
- Some communities may wish to archive memorial items in community/library archives or items may be given to the bereaved and survivors.

Archiving memorial items
Increasingly communities are choosing to preserve temporary memorials. There are a number of practical and management challenges associated with this.

Some considerations:
- Consult with the affected community about archiving / preservation of memorial items. There may be particular items, e.g. photographs or personal belongings that they may wish to retrieve from the memorial site.
- Determining who ‘owns’ the memorial items or who is responsible to the property the memorial is located on is important to ensure.
- What will be kept and what will need to be disposed of such as organic matter.
- Where will the items be stored and will they be accessible to the affected community if they wish to access memorial items.
- Memorial items such as stuffed toys, paper and cardboard do not survive well for long when exposed to the elements. They will need to be cleaned and properly processed before being added to any pre-existing community archives.
- Whether there are local storage companies that could provide pro bono storage services.
- Consider local or regional companies that could assist with cleaning, preservation and digitisation of memorial items.
**Relationships & stakeholders**

Many people will be involved with temporary memorials, in a number of ways. It is important to consider all the different stakeholders involved when making decisions.

- People who work to preserve the memorial, such as city archivists, are:
  - not usually involved in recovery planning;
  - unlikely to have experience working with emotive materials;
  - unlikely to have experience working with, or supporting, people experiencing distress.
- Self care workshops and stress management sessions may be useful for people working to preserve the memorial.
- The media are likely to be very interested in covering the removal and preservation of memorial items.
- The media may wish to document the preservation process, including interviewing people doing the work. Staff should consider if they are comfortable with this and think about personal boundaries they may need to put in place.
Considerations for permanent memorial planning
The following are some brief considerations for permanent memorial planning. These lists are by no means exhaustive.

When to start the memorial planning process
When the memorial process begins can have tremendous impact on the outcome of the process.

Some considerations:
- The development of permanent memorials takes a long time.
- Larger scale events take even longer.
- Agencies responsible for leading disaster response and recovery efforts should be careful about promising to develop memorials in the early days after the disaster.
- Lead agencies should have messaging prepared about any potential memorial processes, including that the process will only begin once the affected community feels ready.
- Messaging should be clear and transparent about the length of the memorial planning processes.
- Any decision about what, where and how a memorial is planned should be decided in consultation with the bereaved, survivors and the affected community.
- Consult with the bereaved, survivors and the affected community about when and how they may want to be involved in the planning process.

Who should be involved in the process
Memorial planners need to consider who will need to be involved in the process from the outset. This will impact on the success of the process.

Some considerations:
- A reference group or committee should have representatives from the groups that will be involved in the consultation, as relevant (see below).
- Family and survivor groups may have already formed. Memorial planners should consider engaging representatives from these groups in the process.
- Think more broadly than those people considered directly affected by the event.
- Are there existing community groups or agencies with expertise in memorial design and planning?
- An independent party, or individual, could help to facilitate meetings and decision making.

Consultation is key to the memorial planning process
Transparent and open consultation is key to permanent memorial planning and there is a much larger group of stakeholders interested in the process than usually considered.

Some considerations:
- Consultation should be as broad and open as possible.
- Consideration should be given to different groups involved in the event. This should be done from the beginning.
- The bereaved and survivors are key groups to consult with.
• Also consider those not considered directly impacted. Such as those who witnessed the event, siblings and friends of deceased and injured, those who work as or near the location of the event, first responders (both emergency services personal and civilian responders), recovery workers etc.
• Consultation should be done using a variety of methods. Including, but not limited to, online, phone, interviews, community meetings etc.
• Allow people to feed into the process however they wish.
• Have a ‘let people be heard’ policy.
• Consider how your consultation process will be transparent and accessible to those outside the process.

The site of the memorial
Memorials take a long time to conceive, design and build. They are expensive and will also require ongoing maintenance.

Some considerations:
• How will the memorial be funded? Will this funding also cover ongoing maintenance of the memorial? Who will manage and oversee this money?
• Who owns the land the memorial will be on. Will this person, or group, be responsible for the ongoing maintenance of the memorial?
• Will the memorial be at the site of the disaster or elsewhere?
• Family, friends and survivors will feel a strong connection to the site of the disaster.
• Some memorials will attract large numbers of visitors. It may be useful to outline some expected behaviours at the memorial site on a plaque or information brochure.
CONCLUSION

Post disaster memorialising is an integral part of community recovery and should be more effectively planned for, and integrated into, post disaster recovery planning. Taking a psychosocial approach to the management and preservation of temporary memorials and the planning and management of permanent memorials will assist in ensuring that these processes have a positive impact on both individual and community recovery. This includes an assumption that after community level crises temporary memorialising will occur. Governments and communities need to consider who will be responsible for managing temporary memorials, including who will be responsible for preserving temporary memorial items. Being involved in the planning of permanent memorials following terrorism and disasters can be a healing experience for the bereaved and survivors. The process will be long and complex, and broad, transparent community consultation is vital to ensuring all people affected feel heard in the process.

Key findings from my Churchill Fellowship include:
- Temporary memorials will happen after collective grief events however there is little to no guidance for communities on how to manage this.
- Preserving items left at temporary memorials is increasingly common, and in some cases expected by the affected community.
- The people who end up doing the work of preserving temporary memorials are not involved or considered in any recovery planning.
- Development of permanent memorials should be considered as a process not an end goal orientated project.
- Community consultation about permanent memorials needs to be broad and transparent.
- Being involved in the planning & development process for permanent memorials can be a healing experience for survivors and the bereaved.
- Memorial planners must consider how to enable involvement of those affected at a time that is right for them.

Future focus:
There are a number of key areas that I have not included in this report as they warrant further research and focus.

1. Further exploration of the impacts of handling and preserving temporary memorial items on ‘preservers’ and how best to provide these people with psychosocial support.
2. Is preserving temporary memorials really worth the time and expense? When are memorial items used in the future?
3. The psychosocial implications of memorial planning and development.
4. When is the best time to start planning a permanent memorial?
5. Who is memorial for? The bereaved and survivors or for wider community learning. Or both?
6. The differences between community driven and government run memorial planning processes.
7. Impact and implications of permanent memorial location including exploring the issues of locating memorial at the site of the disaster or elsewhere. What are the implications for the location of memorials when disasters occur overseas.
RECOMMENDATIONS

On Fellowship topic:
Throughout the nine weeks of my Fellowship trip I met with a range of people involved in the memorial process in different ways. Some had lost loved ones in terror attacks, some worked with temporary memorials, others have been working on the development of permanent memorials. I spoke to people about the management of both temporary and permanent memorials. I also visited a range of different permanent memorials. These memorials (listed on pages 7-9) were created following both natural disaster and terrorism. They were for both memorials at the site of disaster and for disasters that had happened elsewhere.

The following recommendations are informed by over eight hours of interviews, 10 meetings and observation of 34 different permanent memorials.

1. Incorporate community focused memorial advice into Australian Red Cross community recovery program.
3. Government and community recovery planning to include plans for management of temporary memorials.
4. People preserving temporary memorials are offered psychosocial support and / or supervision.
5. Guidance for groups managing the permanent memorial process.
6. Broad and transparent community consultation during permanent memorial planning.
7. Funding for permanent memorials to consider ongoing maintenance requirements of memorials.

For future Churchill Fellows:
This was an incredible opportunity and I was lucky to have had the guidance from previous Churchill Fellows to assist me in my planning. Tips from my Red Cross colleague and fellow Churchill Fellow, Kate Brady, included:

1. Make sure not to overload your program.
2. Try to only book one meeting per day.
3. Overestimate how much time you need in each location.
4. Track your spending.
5. Keep your receipts!

Another Red Cross Churchill Fellow, Clare Abbott, helped eased my pre-trip anxiety by telling me what a great time she had and to pack in lots of fun stuff to balance out the Churchill stuff.

While on my Fellowship trip I met with two inspiring UK Churchill Fellows, Anne Eyre and Claire Whatley. Both women were incredibly generous with their time and knowledge. Being able to talk with people who understood what a Fellowship trip was all about, while on the trip, was hugely beneficial.

To continue, and to contribute to, the supportive and sharing Churchill culture and hopefully to inform the success of future Churchill Fellows I have listed a few tips below, all of which I found out the hard way!
1. Consider weekly check ins with a colleague or someone else who is informed on your topic. Only once I was home did I realize not being able to ‘talk out’ what I was learning along the way made it so much harder to narrow down and focus on my key findings. I felt overwhelmed by the sheer amount of information I had collected and really struggled to pull it all together. I also spent nine weeks learning and talking to people about crises and trauma. Not having someone to talk about this with weighed me down by the end of my trip. Although it took being home for a month to realise this, with the benefit of hindsight I know how useful it would have been.

2. Scheduling dedicated ‘down time’ is critical. Meetings and learning all you can about your topic is one very important part of the Churchill experience but so is seeing the world.

3. If you decide to audio record interviews budget for transcription services. Doing it yourself is mind numbing and a waste of your valuable time overseas and report writing time when you get home. Try www.rev.com

4. Try starting your report while you are away. You’ll thank yourself! Once I was home I really needed a break from my topic, which then just ate into the time I had to write my report.

5. Try and meet other Churchill Fellows before, and / or on, your travels. Ask for tips!

From left: Me with UK Churchill Fellow Claire Whatley in London and with UK Churchill Fellow Anne Eyre in Coventry.
REFERENCES


ii International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2011, Psychosocial Interventions: A handbook.


