Funded by the European Union

GLAMMONS

HISTORICAL MEMORY, TRAUMA, AND THE SENSE OF BELONGING

Panteion University
CREARE SOCIAL
in polis urbanism
Technische Universität Berlin
BSB Burgundy School of Business
european creative hubs network
MAZOMOS
Nova Iskra

Disclaimer

Funded by
the European Union

This project has received funding from the Horizon Europe Research and innovation on cultural heritage and CCIs Programme of the European Commission grant agreement No 101060774.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of WP3 is to enrich our understanding of how communities of commoners are constituted in GLAMs, how these communities attempt to co-manage accessibility and inclusiveness—including from a spatial perspective—and how communities represent a social condition that is both locally embedded and globally stretched.

What added value does a conceptually informed term of “communities of remembering” provide for the debate on the constitution of GLAMs, based on two empirical case sketches?

What commoning-based spatial practices allow for a better understanding of “communities of remembering,” and how does a spatial viewpoint contribute to the debate on GLAMs in the cultural and wider societal fields?

Sociological and cultural research has mainly shed light on post-traditional and lifestyle communities, with less focus on class, nation-state, or traditional status-bound social class community building. In this context, the role of memory as a driver and resource for community-based sense-making within the debate on lifestyle communities (social milieus) has not been adequately considered.

We combine these decoupled strands of thought: the anti-essentialist lifestyle-based formation of communities on the one hand, and the role of memory and trauma as key components in post-traditional community formation on the other. We believe it is increasingly important to consider the role of trauma, mourning, and grief in group formation and social movements, which has not yet been fully researched. We are aware that trauma, mourning, and grief have a long history in modernity as key resources for liberation from systematic collective oppression and as components in the invention of new communities.

The screening of community concepts has demonstrated that the role of space as an analytical category to shed light on commoning practices of remembrance is only marginally developed. Therefore, we highlight the role of physical and social environments in the formation and sustenance of collective memory. We perceive the spatial dimension as an essential element in communal remembering, emphasising that spaces are not passive but actively involved in “doing memory,” i.e., remembering. Places actively participate in memory processes, evoking and structuring the recollections associated with them. Thus, remembering becomes an embodied experience, deeply intertwined with space.

To empirically explore commoning practices of remembrance, we employ a multi-dimensional methodological approach. First, we cluster themes from an online archive of the SMU. Second, we map relevant places and spaces that have been exhibited and discussed due to collective use. Third, we integrate a dialogue format—Round Tables—to explore the role of commoning practices in the formation of spaces of remembrance over time.

In the case of the SMU, the initial clustering of relevant queer spaces reveals that, from the 1920s onward, places for queer encounters included pubs, dance events, and cultural venues, as well as notable health-related locations. After the Nazi regime, both in East and West Berlin, a few accepted and tolerated addresses served as meeting places for politically

motivated actions and self-representation (to a lesser extent in East Berlin). After the political unification of Berlin, politicised actions increased enormously, expanding into the cultural sector (publishers, fashion, art, libraries, and other cultural industries), medical spheres (health information and AIDS-related help), and political spheres (institution building, political representation, self-organisation, and the foundation of public libraries).

The analysis of the available projects in the SMU's online archive provided the following findings: The early phase of the exhibitions was mainly dominated by historical themes and artistic representations of queer people. Since the 2010s, forms of social representation of the pluralized queer communities have increased, followed by issues of queer politics, activist positions, and social movements, mainly in the aftermath of the AIDS trauma. In recent years, the role of spaces and places—i.e., the geographies of queerness—has increased due to the financialization of the retail sector, which is erasing many relevant queer spaces.

The Round Tables provided further insights into the constitutive dimension of places and spaces for queer living in Berlin. They revealed how various types of flexible, fluid, and opaque spaces are essential, as well as fully stable, institutionalised, and safe spaces (such as libraries, archives, exhibition spaces). This multi-dimensional geography of queerness is a key finding. Its at least dual character might serve as a blueprint for open living spaces in an increasingly segregated and socially divided urban society.

Findings:

1. With the help of a spatially sensitive view of the various time phases—starting in the early 1920s—we were able to provide an additional analytical perspective on institutional and community formation over time and space. We expanded the scope around the project partner "Schwules Museum" to also integrate other relevant queer associations and like-minded institutions, whether place-based or less spatially fixed zones of encounter, reflecting spatially sensitive practices of "doing community" over time.

   The various spatialities of these multi-purpose communities have not only expanded enormously in the last 2-3 decades, but they also stretch far beyond the geographical address and core commoners of the "Schwules Museum." Various clusters have formed, consisting of spatially fixed institutions such as health, service, art, cultural, and knowledge institutions, along with support services (publishers, bookshops, event agencies, writers, gallerists, photographers, etc.).

2. Historically, the constitution of the community around the "Schwules Museum" has its origins in various thematic purposes, each connected with distinct spaces that orchestrated them. These range, timewise, from: → Till 1929: Single "accepted" places for bars, clubs, events, meetings, and medical support, with surrounding ephemeral (semi-) "public" spaces. → Till 1970s: Rented (or squatted, or accepted)

spaces for activism, political action, archiving, and showcasing, as well as exhibiting hidden, silent, and less-tolerated spaces. → Till 2000s: Production spaces (publishers, libraries, shops, printing facilities, etc.) around the above-mentioned spaces, with now established but recently unspoken “meeting” zones (Tiergarten, Volkspark Friedrichshain, Hasenheide, etc.). → Till today: Fully mediatized and institutionalised LGTBQ+ spaces well-framed as clusters with socio-economic spaces in the wider arts, gallery, music, fashion, and tourism industries, facing the oppression of the neoliberal global real estate market, with increasing rents and almost unaffordable housing costs.

3. Transgression of the first community (gay/lesbian) places: The expansion of identificatory concepts into what is considered LGTBQ+ contexts is associated with expanded spatial options to connect and integrate according to individual needs and expectations for socialising.

   Consequently, multi-dimensional expectations toward the social space of the community must be dealt with and negotiated anew. Diverging interests and expanded socio-structural differences (age, income, qualification, social class, etc.) show the increasing complexities of calibrating belonging and common action. This is significant when considering the role of the first founders and initiators of gay and lesbian spaces.

The spatial analysis can provide two-fold answers:

First, the multilayered spaces of the “queer clusters” provide social security and socio-cultural embeddedness in times of intensified racism, homophobia, and exclusion, offering, roughly speaking, safe spaces for community members and commoners. The multiplicity of a nowadays rather heterogeneous, highly fragmented queer landscape is spatially embedded into a multi-coded context that provides numerous points to experience the past while allowing commoners to build their own future perspectives in Berlin.

Second, the expanded queer landscape, with its various queer clusters and sub-clusters, poses enormous challenges in guaranteeing participation and acceptance as commoners within associations. Furthermore, the expansion of queer landscapes and their heterogeneity is unlikely to fulfil any kind of internal coherence. The queer landscape, stretching relationally between Berlin on one hand and a global scale of queerness on the other, serves as a general seedbed and learning ground for navigating spatial complexities, overlapping meanings, and sub-cultural communities within the larger framework of an undefinable “queer community.”

Since organisational practices within these fragmented sub-groups are mainly temporary, unfinished, and process-based, with project-oriented actions, spatial locations such as the

SMU (and many others) matter more in keeping pace with rapid and fluid changes, providing access to decision-making processes, and ensuring a minimum degree of politically secured safety for commoners. Approaching a pluralized "queer community" from a spatial point of view can yield insights into our understanding of the constitutive role of remembrance, trauma, and memories.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction

1.1 Abstract

This working paper explores the constitution of "communities of remembering" within Galleries, Libraries, Archives, and Museums (GLAMs) by examining how these communities co-manage accessibility and inclusiveness through a spatial lens. We argue that understanding these communities requires integrating memory, trauma, and social dynamics into discussions typically focused on lifestyle and post-traditional formations. Through empirical case studies, particularly involving the Schwules Museum (SMU) in Berlin, we analyse how various spatial practices influence collective memory and community identity.

Our multi-dimensional methodological approach includes clustering themes from an online archive, mapping relevant queer spaces, and facilitating Round Tables to discuss commoning practices over time. We find that spaces historically linked to queer encounters have evolved significantly, influencing political actions, social movements, and cultural representation. The findings reveal a complex interplay between fixed and fluid spaces, highlighting the role of physical environments in shaping collective memory.

We emphasise that spaces are active agents in the remembrance process, affecting how communities construct identities and navigate challenges. The paper concludes that a spatially sensitive framework enhances our understanding of GLAMs and the role of memory in community formation, providing insights into the socio-cultural dynamics of queer communities in an increasingly fragmented urban landscape. This research contributes to the broader discourse on how memory and place intersect in the development of inclusive and resilient communities.

1.2 Contribution to other Deliverables

This paper, titled "D3.2 Working paper on historical memory, trauma and the sense of belonging," makes a vital contribution to WP3 by focusing on the interplay between memory, trauma, and belonging within GLAMs. It draws on insights from Deliverable 1.1 to establish a theoretical foundation for understanding how historical memory influences community dynamics, while also integrating concepts from Deliverable 3.3, which explores the implications of trauma on social cohesion and inclusivity. The discussion on memory and trauma directly connects to Deliverable 3.1, emphasising their significance in shaping the sense of belonging among certain social groups. Additionally, the two case studies featured in the vignettes are derived from Deliverables 3.1 and 3.5, providing empirical examples that illustrate the themes of “communities of remembering” and collective identity. By interlinking these elements, the paper enhances the discourse on how trauma and memory can inform our understanding of belonging and resilience within diverse communities. Furthermore, the insights gained from this deliverable will be invaluable for shaping the policy recommendations in the third and final year of the GLAMmons project, ensuring that considerations of memory and trauma are integrated into future strategies for community engagement and inclusivity.

1.3 Problems and challenges; objectives of the paper

Introduction

The purpose of WP3 is to enrich our understanding about the ways that communities of commoners are constituted in GLAMs, how these communities attempt to co-manage accessibility and inclusiveness- also from a spatial point of view-, and how communities represent a social condition that is locally embedded on the one hand as well as they stretched globally.

WP3 will specifically focus on three museums and sites of cultural heritage. Since the two case vignettes (Museum of Political Exiles of Ai-Stratis and Spinalonga Fortress) and the case study “Schwules Museum” attempt to deal and heal different kinds of traumas (social, cultural, political), we are interested in how the respective communities do this and how community trauma healing practices advance their well-being and health, the sense of belonging (either community or individual) and social inclusion.

Task

Task 3.2. Co-managed communities: the case of Schwules Museum Berlin (M13- M24)
Lead participant: Inpolis
Other partners involved: TUB/CREARE
In this task we set out to explore (a) how contemporary management and leadership theories fit the “GLAMs as commons”, which in the case at hand is organised in a non-hierarchical way, and where the term of leadership can be misleading (b) what values drive the existing participation and funding modes and their changes (if any) during the recent crisis and beyond, (c) which are the most important stakeholders with whom those values are shared and (d) how the dual financing model (“Friends of the Museum” and “State”) functions as well as whether and how it is further supported by other contributions (e.g. donations).

Research questions

What added value does a conceptually informed term of “communities of remembering” provide for the debate on the constitution of GLAMS based on three empirical case sketches?

What commoning-based spatial practices allow to better understand “communities of remembering” and how does a spatial viewpoint add to the debate on GLAMS in the cultural and wider societal field?

Challenges

Discussion in the last 2-3 decades in social sciences on the notion of “community” have highlighted

- the notion of networks,

- the role of digital means as mode of being connected,
- the opportunities to invent new collective post-traditional identities,
- the option to address global themes (ecology, sustainability, knowledge)
- the opportunities to participate in social movements,

Sociological and cultural research has shed light mainly on post-traditional and lifestyle communities and to a lesser extent on class, nation-state, or traditional status-bound social class community building. Thereby, the role of memory as a driver and resource for community-based sense-making within the debate on lifestyle communities (social milieus) has not been considered.

We combine those decoupled strands of thinking, anti-essentialist lifestyle-based formation of communities on the one hand, and the role of memory, and trauma as a key component for post-traditional community formation on the other. We perceive that it is even more important to consider the role of trauma, mourning, and grief for group formation and for social movement, that has not yet been fully researched. We are aware, that especially the latter, trauma, mourning, and grief, of course have a long history in modernity as a key resource regarding the liberation from systematic collective oppressions and as a key component to invent new communities.

Being aware of the long-standing role of remembrance as a key to understanding the formation of communities worldwide, we apply the heuristic concept “communities of remembering” to GLAMs to better understand practices of collective sense-making that stem from the past, although not all of its members have personally experienced it.

1.4 Structure of the paper

Section 1: Conceptual Clarifications

In the first section of the paper, we clarify and distinguish between the three key concepts in our title: "memory," "trauma," and "sense of belonging." Additionally, we expand on the concept of "community," previously developed in WP1, with a socio-spatial concept, that of boundary making and perceiving boundaries for collective community formation. It will allow us to be more specific where, how, when communities constitute themselves.

This section aims to provide clear working definitions to guide our discussion throughout the paper. It also offers alternative perspectives and introduces new conceptualizations to enrich our understanding of these terms. By being sensitive to space, we shed light on community practices and their attempt to initiate institutional, social, cultural spaces for the purpose of the commoners in the last decades.

Section 2: Methodology

The second section details the methodologies employed in our analysis. We describe the methods used to gather and analyse data, incorporating findings from other papers within WP3 and WP1 to ensure a comprehensive study of GLAMs. This section highlights the

interdisciplinary approach and the integration of various data sources to strengthen our analysis.

Sections 3 and 4: Case Vignettes

Section 5: Berlin Case Study - Schwules Museum

Section 3 and 4 presents the case vignettes. Although these case vignettes are discussed in greater detail in another working paper, we provide brief introductions and summarise the relevant findings for this paper. These sections focus on the Museum of Political Exiles of Ai-Stratis and Spinalonga Fortress, highlighting their approaches to dealing with political and social traumas, respectively. It provides the historical, spatial, locational, institutional, and cultural context, outlines the methods used for data collection and analysis, and discusses the key findings.

Section 5 serves as a detailed examination of how the Schwules Museum addresses and heals cultural traumas, fostering a sense of belonging and inclusion within the LGBTQ+ community.

Section 6: Comparative Analysis

In Section 6, we synthesise the findings from all three case studies. This comparative analysis addresses the main research questions of the paper, examining common themes and differences in how these institutions engage with historical memory, trauma, and the sense of belonging.

Section 7: Conceptual Innovation - Communities of rememberance

Section 7 proposes the addition of a new dimension to our understanding of commoner groups: "Communities of *rememberance*." This concept emphasises the role of collective memory in community formation and trauma healing, offering a new lens through which to view the interactions within GLAMs.

Section 8: Implications and Policy Recommendations

The final section considers the broader implications of our findings for future research and policymaking. We discuss how the insights gained from this study can inform the development of more inclusive and effective cultural heritage practices. Policy recommendations are provided to support the creation and maintenance of GLAMs that foster community well-being and social inclusion.

2. Conceptual framework and an attempt at disambiguation: Socio-spatial approaches toward memory, trauma and the role of community

2.1. Memory and trauma

In the sociological study of memory and trauma, the relationship between these constructs is explored through the concepts of social memory and collective trauma. Sociologists and scholars in related fields investigate how memories of traumatic events are embedded within societal structures, recognizing that memory is not purely an individual phenomenon but one constructed through social interactions, cultural representations, and institutional narratives (Halbwachs, 1992; Olick & Robbins, 1998). These collective memories are formed and perpetuated through processes of commemoration, memorialization, and storytelling, which significantly shape how traumatic events are recalled and understood over time (Assmann, 2010; Connerton, 1989).

The impact of traumatic events extends beyond individuals to entire communities, manifesting as collective trauma. Researchers delve into the psychological and emotional ramifications of such traumas on groups sharing a common identity or experience, examining how these experiences reshape group identities, social relationships, and cultural narratives (Alexander et al., 2004; Eyerman, 2001). The politics of memory surrounding these events involves contentious debates over which memories are prioritised and whose narratives are recognized, highlighting underlying power dynamics and social inequalities (Schwartz, 1996; Trouillot, 1995).

Further investigation into trauma includes its transmission across generations. Scholars explore how traumatic memories are conveyed through family stories, cultural practices, and collective rituals, influencing how subsequent generations understand and incorporate these traumas into their own social identities (Hirsch, 2008; Volkan, 1997). This research also extends to how societies address the aftermath of trauma through social support networks, mental health services, commemorative practices, and the emergence of social movements aimed at healing and change (Kirmayer et al., 2014; Landsberg, 2004).

Moreover, trauma's role within societal contexts is not limited to its immediate psychological effects; it also includes broader socio-cultural and political dimensions. Trauma, both interpersonal and structural, is shaped by and contributes to systemic inequalities and social disruptions, affecting marginalized groups disproportionately and influencing societal dynamics and responses (Butler, 2010; Kleinman & Kleinman, 1991).

Lastly, scholars recognize the potential for trauma to catalyze social change and activism. By studying how communities mobilize in response to trauma, research highlights the potential for increased awareness and systemic reform aimed at preventing future traumas and addressing historical injustices (Gilligan, 2006; Sztompka, 2000).

2.2. Memory, trauma, and community-building

Memory and trauma are foundational elements in the process of community-building, serving not only to foster collective identity and unity but also to facilitate social cohesion and resilience among individuals. This relationship between memory, trauma, and community dynamics is increasingly recognized in sociological and psychological research, reflecting the complex interplay between past experiences and present community structures.

Memory serves a dual function in community formation: it is both a repository of shared narratives and a dynamic catalyst for community identity. Through the construction of shared narratives, memory encapsulates a community's history, values, and experiences, thus creating bonds of solidarity rooted in collective recollection (Misztal, 2003). These shared memories of past struggles and triumphs are not merely reflective; they actively shape the community's self-conception and foster a sense of belonging among its members (Halbwachs, 1992).

Moreover, memory is instrumental in transmitting cultural heritage, which reinforces both individual and collective identities. By ensuring the continuity of communal narratives, memory fosters trust among community members and shapes their shared understandings and mutual support systems (Assmann, 2010). This continuous interaction between memory and identity not only contributes to the maintenance of cultural continuity but also enables communities to adapt and integrate new experiences into their historical narrative.

Trauma introduces a profound layer to the function of memory within communities. Traumatic events often become central elements of collective memory, significantly impacting community identity and influencing the direction of collective action (Alexander et al., 2004). The shared experience of trauma can lead to heightened empathy and solidarity, prompting communities to develop coping mechanisms such as rituals and commemorative ceremonies that aid in the processing of collective grief and the fostering of resilience (Volkan, 1997).

The role of trauma in community dynamics extends beyond immediate reactions to include long-term influences on community structure and social capital. Communities often mobilize in response to trauma, using the collective memory of past adversities as a foundation for social change and advocacy for justice (Eyerman, 2001). This mobilization can be particularly transformative, leading to the establishment of support networks and organizations aimed at addressing the consequences of trauma and preventing future occurrences.

Communities exhibit resilience by drawing strength from their collective resources, cultural traditions, and established social networks. The process of community recovery is often facilitated by the collective memory of overcoming past adversities, which serves as a blueprint for current resilience strategies (Pfefferbaum et al., 2005). By fostering an

environment of inclusivity and support, communities can empower their members to participate actively in recovery efforts and to contribute to the community's overall resilience.

All the above shows the roles of memory and trauma in the construction and maintenance of community identity, cohesion, and resilience. The relationship between these elements highlights the importance of understanding community dynamics through a lens that appreciates the profound impact of shared past experiences. Future research and community practice must continue to explore these relationships to enhance our understanding of community resilience and to inform interventions that support community recovery and growth.

However, extant literature often adopts either an essentialist or normative approach, conceptualising communities as pre-existing entities independent of distinct memories and its traumas. These perspectives overlook the critical ways in which memory itself actively constitutes the formation of social communities over time. The role of memory and trauma in forming and shaping community identities remains insufficiently explored and under-theorised, calling for a deeper investigation into how communal memories contribute to the ongoing construction and redefinition of community boundaries and senses of belonging. Before we continue however, we need an exercise in disambiguation and, as we will show, we will also need to adapt our terminology.

2.3. Spacing and the role of boundaries for community formation

In a social geography perspective, the relationship between boundaries, bordering, and processes of social ordering is a long standing conceptual and theoretical field. Scholars such as (Hospers 2006, Matthiesen /Bürkner 2001, Paasi 2005) define boundaries as physical and symbolic demarcations that separate different territories, communities, or social groups (Kreating 2020). In doing so, boundaries are not just seen as fixed lines on a map but as dynamic and socially constructed entities that reflect and influence social relations, identities, and power structures. Those boundary formation practices are seen as essential for understanding the spatial dimensions of the constitution of social categories such as community. Boundaries organise social space and influence social relations (Paasi, 1996).

A more critical perspective emphasises the power dynamics involved in the creation and maintenance of boundaries and the role of geographical knowledge either on the level of statecraft or on the dimension of the formation of institutions. (Ó Tuathail, 1996). Since boundaries are not fixed but dynamic, a relational understanding of space is shaped by social practices and interactions (Massey, 2005). Furthermore, socially erected boundaries intersect with various social categories such as race, gender, and class, influencing the experiences and identities of individuals (Crenshaw, 1991).

Next to the term boundary, the doing of bordering refers to the processes and practices through which boundaries are created, maintained, negotiated, and contested. It

encompasses a range of activities, from legal and political actions to everyday social practices. Seen as a practice, bordering is an active process that involves defining, enforcing, and sometimes resisting the boundaries that separate different groups or spaces from each other.

Processes of social ordering are the mechanisms through which communities organise and structure themselves. These processes determine how resources, opportunities, and belonging are distributed and how access to and commoning are maintained or challenged within a social space. Social ordering involves the categorization of people and places, the establishment of norms and rules, and the creation of social roles and identities, and thus, various forms of being socially in, and being socially out.

Boundaries and bordering processes are central to social ordering because they help define who belongs to a particular social group and who does not. This, in turn, influences access to resources, rights, and social status. Social ordering relies on boundaries to maintain distinctions between different social groups, whether these distinctions are based on nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, or other social categories.

Boundaries often reinforce existing power structures and social hierarchies. Those in positions of power use boundaries to control movement, manage resources, and enforce social norms. Bordering practices on the other side can marginalise certain groups, limiting their access to opportunities and reinforcing social inequalities.

Both boundaries, bordering and the constitution of social orders are dynamic and subject to constant changes. Social movements, migration, economic shifts, and shifting identity politics can all challenge and reshape boundaries and borders and so the social orders they uphold. So bordering processes are sites of contestation where different groups vie for control, recognition, and inclusion. This contestation reflects broader struggles over social order, justice, respect, and social acceptance.

Especially in identity politics, social boundaries contribute to the construction of social identities and senses of belonging. They delineate "us" from "them," fostering group solidarity within boundaries and often hostility or exclusion towards those outside. Parallel to the formation of social groups, based on practices of belonging, not only social spaces play a crucial role but also materialised spaces hosting knowledge (archives, libraries, and exhibitions) infrastructures at a certain place. Processes of social ordering within social groups rely on the one hand on these identities to maintain cohesion within groups and to justify exclusionary practices but are also confronted on the other hand to remain open toward new subjectivities.

While looking at memory, trauma, and its effects on the formation of community, analytically, we add a distinct spatial view. It allows us to move from social positioning to spatial representation and vice versa, from seeing formal and informal spaces for meeting, exchanging, collective action, and acting as a mode to understand social ordering in a

societal context. So social ordering is inherently spatial, and boundaries are a key tool in organising space.

In summary, from a social geography viewpoint, boundaries and bordering are fundamental to the processes of social ordering. They shape and are shaped by the ways societies structure themselves, distribute resources, and manage social relations. Understanding this relationship is crucial for analysing how power, identity, and space interact in the construction and maintenance of social orders.

Social practices of bordering are the everyday activities, behaviours, and interactions that contribute to the establishment and maintenance of boundaries between different social groups. These practices play a crucial role in the formation and perpetuation of social order by defining who belongs to which group, who has access to certain resources, and who holds power or is marginalised. Here are some key social practices of bordering in relation to the formation of social order:

The choice of language or dialect can include or exclude individuals from certain social groups. Accents, slang, and jargon can signal belonging or otherness. Furthermore, terms used to describe different groups can enforce social boundaries. For example, labels like "illegal immigrant" vs. "refugee" carry different connotations and implications for social order.

In addition to that, individuals, who interact with others, form relationships with, and include them in their social networks, can reinforce boundaries. Social ties often follow lines of distinct identificatory belonging, but also class, ethnicity, or religion. Practices of inviting or excluding people from social events, groups, or spaces (e.g., clubs, parties, or community organisations) serve to maintain social boundaries.

The use and control of spaces (e.g., parks, shopping malls, neighbourhoods) can include or exclude certain groups. Gated communities and restricted areas are physical manifestations of social boundaries. This is also the case, when looking at institutional policies and practices. E. g. in school zoning, admissions policies, and tracking can create boundaries between different social groups and workplace practices: Hiring practices, promotion policies, and workplace cultures can create boundaries within the labour market. Cultural practices such as gatherings, festivals, and rituals can reinforce group identities and boundaries. Participation in or exclusion from these practices can signal belonging or otherness. Visible marks such as clothing and fashion can serve as markers of social boundaries. Uniforms, religious attire, and fashion trends often signify group membership and social status. Those attributes then define also questions of access to resources in commons like social status, defining programs, and credit that can create and maintain social boundaries.

In urban studies and neighbouring academic disciplines, there are several theoretical approaches and positions that deal with processes of demarcation and "doing boundaries". Symbolic interactionism (Goffman 1972), emphasises how individuals constantly draw and

maintain boundaries in everyday life in order to define their identity and social roles. In addition to that Beckers (1972) theory of "labelling" shows how social groups and institutions create and maintain boundaries through labelling and norm setting. Aspects of social space and social fields underlines how different forms of capital (economic, cultural, social capital) and habitus influence the positioning of individuals and groups within a social space and thus define and reproduce social boundaries. Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space shows how social and spatial practices contribute to the construction and remodelling of urban spaces, which often includes the demarcation of boundaries between different social groups. Later in the 1980s, Michel Foucault's work on disciplinary society and biopolitics analyses how power structures and discourses construct and maintain social and spatial boundaries.

From a gender viewpoint, Butler (2010) addressed the role of performative gender that shows how gender identities are constructed through repeated performative acts, thus creating social boundaries around gender roles. From a feminist urban sociology point of view, Massey emphasises the importance of gender relations in the production of space and the ways in which spatial boundaries reflect and reproduce social power relations and gender hierarchies.

These approaches offer different perspectives and methods for analysing boundary demarcation processes and "doing boundaries", be it through interpersonal interactions, symbolic markings, structural conditions or discursive practices. As a consequence the concept of "place experience" has been introduced aiming at exploring how human experiences and identities are shaped by spatial boundaries and places.

The notion of 'boundary' and its related concept 'boundary' in the sense of 'boundaries' plays a key role in the social sciences. The concept plays a role in studies of collective and social identity, census categories, group positioning based on ethnicity/race, and scholarly controversies, to name a few.

These perspectives aim at calling for greater integration to facilitate the identification of 'similarities and differences in how boundaries are drawn across contexts and types of groups, and at the social psychological, cultural, and structural levels' ["similarities and differences in how boundaries are drawn across contexts and types of groups, and at the social psychological, cultural, and structural levels" (Lamont/Molnar (2002), p. 168)]. Lamont/Molnar (2002) propose a distinction between symbolic and social boundaries in order to better understand the role of symbolic resources in "creating, maintaining, contesting, or even dissolving institutionalised social differences" (p. 168). The discussion focuses on (a) social and collective identity; (b) class, ethnicity/race, and gender inequalities; (c) professions, science, and knowledge; and (d) communities, national identities, and spatial boundaries.

According to Lamont/Molnar (2002), the study of the interplay of symbolic and social boundaries is just one possible strategy that can be used to highlight the similar analytical

concerns of a vast body of research ["the study of the interplay of symbolic and social boundaries is just one possible strategy that can be used to highlight the similar analytical concerns of a vast body of research" (p. 186)]. Three alternative strategies are proposed: to examine the properties of boundaries (such as permanence, visibility, permeability); to systematically catalogue "the key mechanisms associated with the activation, maintenance, transportation or the dispute, bridging, crossing and dissolution of boundaries" (p. 187); and to engage the existing literature by maintaining a focus on cultural membership.

2.4. A need for disambiguation: understanding the formation of “communities of memories” from spatial view-point

In the exploration of terms such as memory, remembering, remembrance, trauma, and collective trauma, it is essential to establish working definitions before delving deeper into their interrelations and implications. The need for disambiguation arises from the complex nature of these concepts, which have been examined and interpreted across various disciplines, including psychology, geography, sociology, history, and cultural studies.

Each field brings a unique perspective, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of how these terms are used and understood in different contexts. To ensure clarity and precision in our discussion, we will screen literature from these diverse disciplines, drawing on sources that provide a broad spectrum of interpretations and definitions.

This interdisciplinary approach allows for a richer comprehension of how terms like memory and trauma are conceptualised across different academic landscapes. For instance, psychologists may focus on the cognitive and emotional aspects of memory and trauma, while historians might emphasise their role in shaping collective identities and historical narratives.

Although our interest lies within the social and spatial (i.e. geographical) dimensions of the terms, by examining them through a multidisciplinary lens, we can appreciate their multifaceted nature and the various ways they influence individual and collective human experiences. Engaging with a wide range of scholarly work will enable us to construct a well-rounded view of these concepts, laying a solid foundation for further analysis and discussion within our study.

2.5. Memory, remembering and remembrance.

Wertsch & Roediger (2008) explore the concept of "collective memory", focusing on its complex nature and the broad spectrum of interpretations it encompasses. They articulate that collective memory goes beyond individual experiences, encapsulating memories shared by a group that profoundly shape its identity and cultural practices. They emphasise that "collective memory is a form of memory that transcends individuals and is shared by a group" (Wertsch & Roediger 2008, 318), highlighting the communal aspect of this phenomenon.

Wertsch and Roediger introduce several conceptual oppositions to better frame the discussion around collective memory. These include distinguishing between 'collective memory' and 'collective remembering,' and between 'history' and 'collective memory.' They explain that whereas collective memory might be perceived as a static body of knowledge, collective remembering is "an active process that often involves contention and contestation among people" (Wertsch & Roediger 2008, 319). This dynamic process is significant as it involves the continual reconstruction of past events, influenced by current social and political contexts.

When discussing the differences between history and collective remembering, the authors argue that history aims to provide an accurate depiction of past events, which often challenges the subjective narratives cherished by communities. On the other hand, collective remembering serves the purpose of identity formation within groups, which may lead to modifications of historical facts to suit current narratives and needs. They note, "Collective remembering inevitably involves some identity project" (Wertsch & Roediger 2008, 319), suggesting that it is not only about recalling the past but also about shaping the present and future group identity.

The distinction between individual and collective remembering highlights the broader implications of how memories are formed and shared within groups. Wertsch and Roediger discuss the importance of cultural tools, such as narrative forms, that facilitate collective remembering, underscoring that "what makes collective remembering collective is that members of a group share the same ‘cultural tool kit’" (Wertsch & Roediger 2008, 321). This shared toolkit allows for the uniform interpretation and perpetuation of memories across generations, further solidifying the group's collective identity.

Schmidt (2008) defines memory as a dynamic, constructive function rather than a static storage of information. The author argues that memory is "not a storage site which is located at a specific place in the brain but must instead be seen as the establishing of relevant and enduring cognition structures which serve to constitute order in the brain and synthesize human behaviour" (Schmidt 2008, 192). This view emphasises that memory involves the formation of pathways that are influenced by both genetic factors and personal experiences, which help to "stabilize subsequent cortical processes" (p. 192). These pathways are not merely about retaining information but are central to how we perceive and interact with the world: "Memory conceived of as a function of the brain... organizes itself on the basis of its own history" (Schmidt 2008, 193).

Remembrance on the other hand is detailed as a process that activates these memory functions. The text defines it as a process akin to "perceiving without sensory stimulation" (Schmidt 2008, 194), highlighting its constructive nature. It's not about retrieving stored data but about "a constructive cognitive synthesis of behaviour based upon activated neuronal structures" (Schmidt 2008, 194). Remembrance thus involves the application of "strategies which lead to an elaboration of remembrances such as completing or contextualization"

(Schmidt 2008, 194). These strategies help manage inconsistencies in our cognitive synthesis of past events, influenced by various factors including "context, relation to other people, motives and occasions for remembering and its relevance, and emotional intensity" (Schmidt 2008, 194).

The primary distinction made by Schmidt between memory and remembrance is that memory is about the internal cognitive architectures that facilitate the processing and evaluation of experiences. In contrast, remembrance*is an active reconstruction that often utilises cultural narratives to make sense of and communicate past experiences. The author notes, "The paving of enduring pathways for the spreading of excitations and the synthesis of behaviour is intrinsically connected with the normatively imprinted intensity of emotions" (Schmidt 2008, 193), indicating the complex interplay in memory which subtly influences remembrance.

In other words, memory is presented as a fundamental, largely subconscious framework that dictates how experiences are internalised and processed, while remembrance is a conscious, interpretative process shaped by personal and cultural contexts. This distinction underscores the complexity of how humans interpret and recall their past, suggesting that "remembrances of 'the same' are not at all the same remembrances" (Schmidt 2008, 194), highlighting the subjective nature of how we remember.

Kenny (1999) explores how personal memories are integrated into and influenced by collective memory, and vice versa, particularly through the lens of traumatic experiences. He conceptualises the "place for memory" not merely as a psychological realm but also as a physical and narrative space where individual and collective histories intertwine and impact identity formation. Kenny posits that memory requires a physical or metaphorical "place"—a context that gives it meaning and allows it to be preserved across generations. This place is often rooted in narrative traditions and physical locations that carry significant cultural or historical weight. He describes memory's place as being found "in the stories that we tell," which are essential for the continuity and identity of both individuals and groups (Kenny 1999, 420). The metaphorical landscape of memory he discusses involves socially constructed benchmarks that help individuals position themselves within their collective memory landscapes.

Kenny discusses the complex dynamics between individual and collective histories, emphasising that while all experiences are individually perceived, they are profoundly shaped by the collective contexts—cultural traditions, social norms, and historical narratives—that frame them. This interrelation is particularly evident in how personal experiences of trauma are integrated into collective narratives, which can redefine these experiences and influence collective identity and memory.

He illustrates this with examples of traumatic events, like the experiences of Australian Aboriginals and Canadian residential school survivors, showing how these individual memories become part of a collective narrative that sometimes shifts significantly over time.

These narratives not only preserve memory but also shape the collective understanding of past events, often serving contemporary identity and political needs. Kenny asserts, "the collective memory... encompasses individual memories while remaining distinct from them. It evolves according to its own laws, and any individual remembrances that may penetrate are transformed within a totality having no personal consciousness" (Kenny 1999, 421).

Graves and Rechniewski (2007) delve into the complexities of "collective memory" and "transcultural remembrance," articulating their interconnectedness and distinctiveness within the broader scope of memory studies. Collective memory, according to Graves and Rechniewski, refers to the shared recollections within a community or society that are significant in shaping its identity and cultural practices. They describe it as a dynamic interaction within the community, influenced by social, political, and cultural forces. Collective memory encompasses the traditions, narratives, and symbols that a group or society cherishes and passes down through generations. This memory form is pivotal in fostering a sense of continuity and identity within the community.

"Memory and remembering become social not by the fact that they are located at a place beyond actors, but by the fact that they become co-oriented via reflexive processes of expectations and imputations which give rise to the impression that nearly everybody in society thinks about the past in that and no other way" (Graves and Rechniewski, 2007, p. 194).

Transcultural remembrance expands the concept of collective memory by crossing cultural and national boundaries. It encompasses the ways in which memories travel and are shared beyond the confines of a single culture, influencing and integrating with other cultural narratives. This form of remembrance underscores the fluidity and exchange of memories across different cultural spaces, facilitated by globalisation and increased intercultural interactions. They elaborate on this concept by discussing the role of transcultural operators who interpret and disseminate memories across cultural boundaries, enhancing the scope of collective memory studies:

"Researchers themselves are transcultural operators who interpret remembering cultures to themselves and others and contribute to disseminating practices of remembrance across cultures" (Graves and Rechniewski, 2007, p. 4).

The relationship between these two terms is framed within the context of globalisation and the increasing interconnectivity of the world. Collective memory forms the basis of transcultural remembrance, as the latter cannot exist without the foundational narratives and symbols derived from specific cultural or community memories. However, transcultural remembrance extends these memories beyond their original contexts, allowing them to be reshaped and reinterpreted in new cultural settings. This dynamic facilitates a broader understanding of how memory works across different societies and how it can contribute to a more inclusive and interconnected global memory landscape.

Thus, while collective memory focuses on the shared memories within a specific group or society, transcultural remembrance examines how these memories traverse and adapt across different cultures, creating a more complex and interconnected global narrative.

Watson (2020) discusses how museums can more effectively articulate community identities and a sense of place, particularly through the engagement with local history and the integration of collective memory. Watson highlights the importance of museums working collaboratively with local communities to uncover and represent their unique histories and identities. She emphasises that "by giving more attention to the historiographic needs and historical perceptions of these audiences, museums might more effectively articulate community identities and a sense of place" (Watson 2020, 160). This approach not only helps in preserving the community's heritage but also in making the museum a space that truly reflects the local populace's identity and experiences.

Watson further illustrates this through the example of the Time and Tide Museum in Great Yarmouth, where local people were involved in selecting the themes for the museum's exhibitions. This participatory approach enabled the museum to reflect the community's identity more accurately and to resonate more deeply with local residents. She states, "The themes selected were the fishing industry and the ‘Rows’, distinctive and once bustling narrow alleyways which run east to west through the town" (Watson 2020, 160), showing how the museum incorporated elements that were significant to the local collective memory. By doing so, the museum not only preserves these memories but also helps in constructing a shared sense of identity and place, which is crucial for community cohesion and pride.

2.6. Trauma

From the discipline of psychology there are some interesting insights in the work of Bohleber (2007) that discusses "remembrance," "trauma," and "collective memory," emphasising the interconnected nature of these concepts. Bohleber (2007) presents remembrance as a dynamic process of reconstructing past experiences that involves both individual cognitive activities and cultural influences. Trauma intensifies these memories, making them more salient in the collective consciousness. Collective memory is a social construct that arises from the interplay of these individual and shared remembrances, shaped by cultural narratives and the communal need to make sense of the past, particularly in the face of traumatic events.

Remembrance in this work is defined as a cognitive process that involves reactivating memory functions to reconstruct past experiences. It is not simply about retrieving stored data but involves "a constructive cognitive synthesis of behaviour based upon activated neuronal structures" (Bohleber 2007, 194). This process is shaped by cultural modes and schemas that organise experiences and narrations, fundamentally influencing how individuals and societies remember events. Conversely, trauma is understood through the impact of traumatic events within the context of memory and remembrance. Traumatic

experiences often result in vivid and persistent memories, which can significantly affect how individuals and societies remember and process historical events. Trauma can thus be seen as a catalyst that intensifies the cognitive and emotional processes involved in remembrance, though this specific linkage is more implied than explicitly detailed in the provided excerpts.

Finally, collective memory is depicted by Bohleber as a socially shared form of remembrance that is crucial for the identity of a group or society. He states, "Memory and remembering become social not by the fact that they are located at a place beyond actors, but by the fact that they become co-oriented via reflexive processes of expectations and imputations which give rise to the impression that nearly everybody in society thinks about the past in that and no other way" (Bohleber 2007, 194). This form of memory is essential for the maintenance of social identity and is actively constructed through the interplay of individual memories within a cultural context.

The connection between these concepts is centred around the way traumatic events are remembered and narrated within a society, contributing to the collective memory. Bohleber suggests that collective memory consists of shared narratives that are influenced by both individual experiences (including traumatic ones) and the wider cultural and social frameworks. This collective memory plays a pivotal role in defining group identity and how historical events are perceived and communicated within the society.

Still in the realm of psychology Hirschberger (2018) discusses the profound impact of collective trauma on the social construction of meaning within societies. He views collective trauma not merely as a disruption but as a profound crisis of meaning that compels societies to redefine their identity and collective memory. He provides a useful definition of collective trauma, collective and individual memory:

“The term collective trauma refers to the psychological reactions to a traumatic event that affect an entire society; it does not merely reflect an historical fact, the recollection of a terrible event that happened to a group of people. It suggests that the tragedy is represented in the collective memory of the group, and like all forms of memory, it comprises not only a reproduction of the events but also an ongoing reconstruction of the trauma to make sense of it. Collective memory of trauma is different from individual memory because collective memory persists beyond the lives of the direct survivors of the events and is remembered by group members that may be far removed from the traumatic events in time and space.” (Hirschberger 2018,1)

Hirschberger articulates that collective trauma is a cataclysmic event that "shatters the basic fabric of society" and represents a "crisis of meaning" (Hirschberger 2018, 3). This crisis triggers a pivotal transformation within the society, where the collective trauma becomes a cornerstone for the construction of a new system of meaning. This system is crucial for groups to redefine their identity and direction moving forward.

The process of constructing meaning from trauma is described as a dynamic social psychological process, which is primarily dedicated to the “construction of meaning" (Hirschberger 2018, 8). It involves the ongoing reinterpretation of traumatic events to make sense of them, a task that continues well beyond the lives of the direct survivors. Hirschberger emphasises that this reconstruction is not a mere reproduction of events but an active reconstruction that accommodates and integrates new interpretations and meanings over time. Hirschberger discusses how the memory of trauma, while potentially traumatic, also serves an adaptive function for the group's survival. It does this by elevating existential threats, which in turn prompts a search for meaning and the construction of a "transgenerational collective self" (Hirschberger 2018, 4). This new collective identity helps mitigate the existential threats posed by the trauma and fosters a stronger group cohesion and identity.

The construction of meaning from collective trauma is a continual process that involves negotiation both within and between groups. This negotiation is responsible for ongoing debates over the memory of the event, but it also provides a foundation for intergroup.

Thus, collective trauma, while undeniably disruptive, is also a potent catalyst for societal change and sense-making. Through the social construction of meaning, societies not only find ways to cope with the immediate impacts of trauma but also use these experiences to reshape their collective identities and future trajectories. This process demonstrates the profound interconnection between trauma, memory, and the ongoing construction of social meaning.

In their exploration of collective trauma within queer communities, Kelly et al. (2020) articulate how queer communities are particularly impacted by both external and internal sources of trauma. The authors define collective trauma in queer communities as a multifaceted phenomenon that includes not only the trauma experienced due to external factors like legal attacks, violence, and societal discrimination but also internal community conflicts such as racism and cissexism. This comprehensive definition helps to understand the unique challenges faced by queer communities, which are distinct in their formation and experiences compared to other social groups.

Kelly et al. (2020) argue that collective trauma within queer communities does not only arise from outside pressures but also significantly from within the community itself, marking a pivotal area of concern that shapes community dynamics. They state: "Yet, participants also mentioned trauma that originated from within the community, such as racism in the queer community, as having a significant impact on their lived experiences" (Kelly et al. 2020, 1523). This internal dimension of trauma is crucial because it underscores the complexity of collective trauma as it is experienced within queer communities, highlighting the intersectional nature of trauma where factors like race and gender identity play significant roles. Additionally, the lack of intergenerational transmission of community history in queer communities as noted by Kelly et al. (2020) further complicates the collective memory and

identity formation, distinguishing their collective trauma from other communities that might have a more continuous historical narrative.

LaCapra (2016) examines the interconnection of trauma, collective memory, and identity-building, highlighting the complex ways in which these elements influence historical understanding and cultural formation. He emphasises the profound impact of trauma on both collective memory and identity, underscoring that trauma should not merely be seen as an individual experience but as a deeply influential collective phenomenon that shapes and is shaped by historical and memory processes. He discusses the role of trauma in challenging and reshaping collective memory, thereby influencing identity formation within societies: "Trauma brings out in a striking way the importance of affect and its impact on memory, pointing both to traumatic memory in the form of post-traumatic effects and to the challenge to work through them in a viable but perhaps never totally successful fashion" (LaCapra 2016, 376). This statement highlights the dynamic nature of memory as it is impacted by trauma, suggesting that the processes of remembering traumatic events are critical to how societies understand their past and construct their identities.

LaCapra explores how traumatic events and processes, such as genocides and other forms of violence, shape collective memory and thereby influence community identity. "There are dimensions of the traumatic that can be represented and should be as This approach to trauma emphasises the need for societies to confront and represent their traumatic pasts honestly and accurately in order to understand their historical identity and to foster a more informed collective memory.

LaCapra's exploration highlights the interconnectedness of trauma, history, memory, and identity, showing how these elements interact to shape both individual and collective understandings of the past. His work calls for a critical but non-dismissive approach to the study of memory and trauma within historical discourse, advocating for an understanding that acknowledges the complexity and enduring impact of traumatic experiences on collective memory and identity formation.

2.7. Working definitions I: Memory & Trauma

Before we move into further concepts, using the above as a point of departure, we propose the following working definitions:

Memory is the most general term among the three and refers to the mental capacity or faculty of retaining and recalling past experiences, knowledge, and sensations. It represents both the information stored in the brain and the brain’s ability to access that information. Memory can be short-term or long-term and includes everything from information to deeply personal experiences.

Collective (historical) memory refers to the shared pool of memories and knowledge held by a group or society that informs its identity, culture, and understanding of historical events.

This concept encompasses not only the recollection of past events common to the group but also the social frameworks, cultural practices, and communicative processes that help maintain and transmit these memories across generations. Collective memory is shaped by cultural narratives, significant events, and the dominant interpretations that are accepted and reinforced within a community. It plays a crucial role in defining a society's values, informing its responses to current events, and influencing the collective behaviour of its members. Collective memory can be manifested through various means such as ceremonies, monuments, education, media representations, and public discourse, all of which serve to embed these shared memories in the social consciousness.

Remembering, when used as a noun, can be considered the active process of recalling something from memory. It is the act of a mind retrieving and reflecting on past experiences or information. The emphasis here is on the process itself—how either the individual or a collectivity goes about bringing a past thought or event back into (individual or public) consciousness. Remembering is both a personal, internal activity, and a collective public one.

Remembrance specifically refers to the action or process of remembering someone or something, but with a nuance that often includes a formal or ceremonial aspect. It usually carries a connotation of honouring or commemorating and is often used in contexts where people collectively recall and pay tribute to significant individuals, groups, or events. Remembrance can manifest as public ceremonies, moments of silence, or memorial services, thereby holding a more solemn and communal connotation than the more neutral or personal act of remembering.

Trauma refers to a response to an event or series of events that is extremely stressful or disturbing, overwhelming an individual’s ability to cope, causing feelings of helplessness, and diminishing their sense of self and their ability to feel a full range of emotions and experiences. Trauma can result from experiences that are physically or emotionally harmful or life-threatening and can have long-lasting adverse effects on the individual’s functioning and mental, physical, social, emotional, or spiritual well-being.

Collective trauma describes the psychological reactions to a traumatic event that affect an entire society, community, or group of people. Unlike individual trauma, which is experienced personally, collective trauma occurs when a disruptive event or series of events leave a lasting imprint on the group’s consciousness, influencing and shaping group identity and collective memory. This type of trauma is often associated with historical events such as wars, genocides, natural disasters, or other crises that impact many people simultaneously. Collective trauma can manifest through shared emotions and behaviours, and it can be transmitted across generations, affecting how subsequent generations understand and relate to the past and each other.

All the above terms are interrelated, some of them partly overlap, while there are also fundamental differences between them:

Memory serves as the foundational capacity that allows for the act of remembering. Remembering utilises the mental faculty of memory to recall past experiences, knowledge, or sensations.

Collective memory encompasses the shared recollections and cultural knowledge within a group or society. Remembrance, particularly in its formal or ceremonial aspects, often draws upon and reinforces collective memory, especially when honouring significant events or figures that are part of that shared memory.

Both Remembering and Remembrance involve the process of recalling past events. Remembering is a broader, often neutral process that can be personal or collective, whereas remembrance specifically denotes a formal or communal act often linked to honour and commemoration. Both Memory and Collective Memory involve the retention and recall of information. While memory pertains to individuals, collective memory extends this concept to the level of groups or societies, embedding personal memories within a broader social context.

Individual trauma can catalyse collective trauma when experienced by a large group simultaneously, such as during wars or natural disasters. The psychological impact on individuals contributes to a shared emotional state that becomes part of the collective memory and identity. Both Trauma and Collective Trauma are responses to stressful and disturbing events. The individual experiences of trauma contribute to and can resonate within the framework of collective trauma, influencing the group’s cultural and historical narrative.

2.8. Place, space and collective memory

The thinkers we refer to below, provide some aspects of the relationships between place, space, and memory. Their work collectively illuminates how physical and spatial environments are integral not just to the storage of memory but to its active production and reproduction, influencing both how societies remember and how they construct their identities through these memories.

Pierre Nora's concept of "lieux de mémoire" (1989) articulates the profound connection between place, memory, and national identity. He identifies specific locations such as monuments, landscapes, and even certain significant objects as crucial in the cultivation and preservation of collective memory, describing them as repositories of national memory where "environment and history converge." These sites do not merely mark historical events but also act as symbols and anchors for the national memory, serving as focal points where collective memory is both shaped and expressed.

Maurice Halbwachs (1980) complements Nora's ideas by emphasising the social frameworks that underpin collective memory. According to Halbwachs, memory is inherently collective, shaped by the social groups to which individuals belong. He argues that spaces

and places play a significant role in the structuring of memory, with physical settings acting as cues that trigger and shape collective memories. This framework is particularly influential for understanding how communities remember and the spatial context in which these memories are anchored.

Edward S. Casey (2000), working within the phenomenological tradition, offers a nuanced exploration of memory as an embodied experience that is profoundly connected to specific places. Casey discusses how places are not passive backdrops but active elements in the process of memory, serving as catalysts that evoke and structure the memories associated with them. His approach highlights the sensory and experiential dimensions of memory, providing insight into how individuals and groups interact with their environments to remember.

Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) adds depth to this discussion by examining the symbiotic relationship between space, place, and human experience. Tuan's work illustrates how spaces become meaningful places through the experiences and memories that people attach to them. He posits that these places then play a crucial role in shaping the social and collective memories that form the basis of community identity.

Paul Connerton (1989) focuses on how collective memory is not only maintained through spoken or written narratives but also through bodily practices and rituals performed in specific places. He explores how ceremonies and habitual practices within spaces serve as key mechanisms through which memory is transmitted and sustained. Connerton's analysis underscores the performative and ritualistic aspects of memory, emphasising the role of communal activities in the continuous recreation of collective memory.

David Lowenthal (1985) explores the dynamic ways in which societies utilise the past, engaging deeply with the role of physical environments in shaping historical consciousness. He discusses how landscapes, buildings, and monuments are not only remnants of the past but also active elements in the ongoing dialogue between past and present. Lowenthal's work reveals how societies use physical spaces to interpret and re-interpret their history, thereby shaping their collective identity and worldview.

2.9. Introducing "Spaces of Remembering"

Here we would like to introduce the concept of *spaces of remembering*, that integrates the physical and social environments that play a crucial role in the formation and sustenance of collective memory. This notion is deeply explored through various scholarly perspectives, each highlighting different aspects of the relationship between space, memory, and identity. Such spaces serve as symbolic repositories where history and environment converge, acting as focal points for the collective memory of a nation. They do not merely mark historical events but function as anchors for national identity, where the memory is continuously shaped and expressed. Space plays a critical role in structuring memory by serving as cues that trigger and shape collective recollections. This perspective is vital for understanding how

communities remember within spatial contexts, where the environment provides a tangible link to the past, anchoring memories in specific places. The spatial dimension thus becomes an essential element in the communal remembering, highlighting how spaces are not passive but actively involved in “doing memory”, i.e. *remembering*. As per the phenomenological tradition, remembering is both experiential and sensory.

Places are active participants in doing memory, evoking and structuring the recollections associated with them. *Remembering* becomes an embodied experience, deeply intertwined with space.

2.10. Community

Community theories span several disciplines including sociology, anthropology, psychology, and political science, each contributing unique insights into community dynamics.

Tönnies (1887) introduced the distinction between Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (society). Gemeinschaft is characterised by close-knit relationships, shared values, and strong interpersonal bonds typical of traditional communities. Conversely, Gesellschaft describes modern societies marked by impersonal relationships, individualism, and contractual bonds (Tönnies, 1887). Durkheim (1893) theorised that social solidarity varies depending on the society’s type of social organisation. Mechanical solidarity prevails in pre-industrial societies, where shared norms and values unify individuals. In contrast, organic solidarity characterises modern, industrial societies where interdependence from specialised roles binds individuals (Durkheim, 1893). Influenced by Park and Burgess (1925), Community Ecology Theory examines how environmental and spatial factors shape community development. It underscores the significance of geographical proximity and resource distribution in influencing community dynamics (Park & Burgess, 1925).

In all three above theoretical approaches, the central interest is to understand, define, and trace the development of communities. Understanding how communities function was of particular interest to Parsons and later Goffman. Parsons (1951) offered a structural-functional approach, emphasising how communities maintain social order through interdependent institutions and shared norms. Communities enhance societal stability by providing belonging, identity, and regulatory functions (Parsons, 1951). Goffman (1967) focused on micro-level social interactions within communities. His theory of "interaction ritual chains" suggests that community cohesion is reinforced through repeated interactions that affirm shared values and social bonds (Goffman, 1967). Putnam (2000) posited that social capital—networks, norms, and trust—enhances community efficiency by facilitating coordinated actions. High levels of social capital are associated with increased community resilience and effectiveness in addressing communal challenges (Putnam, 2000).

However, the approaches mentioned, still tend to take the existence of community as a given, presupposing its presence prior to its practices. A more social constructionist approach can be seen in the theories that follow: Developed by Mead (1934) and furthered

by Blumer (1969), symbolic interactionism views communities as constructed and maintained through symbolic communications and interactions. This perspective highlights how communal identities and realities are continually negotiated among members (Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969). Network theory views communities as networks of interconnected individuals and institutions. Granovetter (1973) emphasised the strength of weak ties in spreading information and opportunities across communities, laying the groundwork for understanding the role of modern social networks in community dynamics (Granovetter, 1973). Finally, Wenger (1998) introduced the concept of "community of practice," defining it as a group sharing a concern or a passion for something they do and learning to do it better through regular interaction. This concept has broad applications, from educational settings to professional fields (Wenger, 1998).

2.11. Community and collective memory

Among the theories discussed, several can be explicitly linked to the concepts of *memory* and *remembering*, which are crucial for understanding how communities construct and maintain collective identities and narratives. While not directly focusing on memory, the concept of Gemeinschaft (community) implies a strong role for collective memory in maintaining the close-knit relationships, shared values, and strong interpersonal bonds that characterise these traditional communities. The memory serves as a foundation for shared experiences and cultural continuity, which are central to Gemeinschaft.

Durkheim's concept of mechanical solidarity directly involves collective memory. In societies where mechanical solidarity prevails, memory and remembering are critical because they reinforce the shared norms, values, and beliefs that bind individuals together. This type of solidarity relies on a collective conscience or common morality, which is perpetuated through the community's collective memory. Memory plays a role in the formation and sustenance of social capital. Shared histories and experiences, remembered and recounted, help to build trust and networks of engagement among community members. These memories are crucial for the reciprocity and norms of generalised trust that Putnam discusses.

Symbolic interactionism is directly related to memory and remembering as it emphasises how individuals and communities create and maintain social realities through symbolic communication and interaction. Memory is a key mechanism through which individuals interpret past interactions and use them to shape current and future interactions. This ongoing process of interpretation and re-interpretation of past events helps to solidify collective memories and identities.

While more focused on spatial and environmental factors, community ecology theory also considers how these factors influence social interactions and the collective life of a community, which includes collective memories. For example, geographical features and locations can become imbued with collective memories that influence community dynamics.

Communities of practice are fundamentally about learning and knowledge sharing, processes that cannot occur without memory. Members of these communities engage in joint activities and discussions, developing a shared repertoire of communal knowledge that includes shared ways of doing things, stories, language, and memories of learning events.

Each of these theories shows how memory serves as a crucial element in the formation, maintenance, and expression of community identities, providing a link between individual experiences and the larger social fabric. Memory and remembering are not only about preserving the past but also about facilitating communication and social cohesion in the present and influencing the future development of communities.

2.12. Working definitions II: Community

A *community* can be defined as a group of individuals who share common attributes, interests, or values and are connected to each other through social ties, shared experiences, or geographical proximity. Communities are characterised by a sense of belonging and mutual support, and they often engage in collective action to pursue common goals or address shared challenges.

A community is a social unit composed of individuals who share a sense of identity and commonality, which may be derived from cultural, historical, or social connections. This group is often (but not exclusively) bound together by a shared geographical location or virtual space, mutual needs, or a collective purpose. Members of a community interact more frequently with each other than with outsiders and participate in ongoing social, economic, or cultural activities that reinforce their sense of unity and belonging. Communities play a crucial role in providing social support, facilitating communication, and fostering resilience among their members.

2.13. Introducing “Communities of remembering”

Given the synthesis of community theories and the crucial role of memory within these frameworks, we propose the term 'communities of remembering' to illustrate how the active practice of remembering not only sustains existing communities but also constitutes communities in the first place. With this concept, we aim to move away from an essentialist approach to communities, demonstrating instead how they are constituted, constantly renegotiated, and reinvented through various practices—one of which is the active practice of remembering.

This will be developed in detail in the case studies and will be discussed in the final part of this working paper.

2.14. Conceptual disambiguation of “spaces of remembering”: a first intermediary summary

CONCEPT	WORKING DEFINITION
Memory	Mental capacity or faculty of retaining and recalling past experiences, knowledge, and sensations. It represents both the information stored in the brain and the brain’s ability to access that information. Memory can be short-term or long-term and includes everything from factual information to deeply personal experiences.
Collective (historical) memory	Shared pool of memories and knowledge held by a group or society that informs its identity, culture, and understanding of historical events; social frameworks, cultural practices, and communicative processes that help maintain and transmit these memories across generations; cultural narratives, significant events, and the dominant interpretations that are accepted and reinforced within a community.
Remembering	The active process of recalling something from memory. It is the act of a mind retrieving and reflecting on past experiences or information. The emphasis here is on the process itself—how either the individual or a collectivity goes about bringing a past thought or event back into (individual or public) consciousness. Remembering is both a personal, internal activity, and a collective public one.
Remembrance	The action or process of remembering someone or something, but with a nuance that often includes a formal or ceremonial aspect. It usually carries a connotation of honouring or commemorating, and is often used in contexts where people collectively recall and pay tribute to significant individuals, groups, or events. Remembrance can manifest as public ceremonies, moments of silence, or memorial services,

	thereby holding a more solemn and communal connotation than the more neutral or personal act of remembering.
Trauma	*R*esponse to an event or series of events that is extremely stressful or disturbing, overwhelming an individual's ability to cope, causing feelings of helplessness, and diminishing their sense of self and their ability to feel a full range of emotions and experiences. Trauma can result from experiences that are physically or emotionally harmful or life-threatening and can have long-lasting adverse effects on the individual's functioning and mental, physical, social, emotional, or spiritual well-being.
Collective trauma	The psychological reactions to a traumatic event that affect an entire society, community, or group of people. Unlike individual trauma, which is experienced personally, collective trauma occurs when a disruptive event or series of events leave a lasting imprint on the group's consciousness, influencing and shaping group identity and collective memory. This type of trauma is often associated with historical events such as wars, genocides, natural disasters, or other crises that impact a large number of people simultaneously. Collective trauma can manifest through shared emotions and behaviours, and it can be transmitted across generations, affecting how subsequent generations understand and relate to the past and each other.
Community	A group of individuals who share common attributes, interests, or values and are connected to each other through social ties, shared experiences, or geographical proximity. Communities are characterised by a sense of belonging and mutual support, and they often engage in collective action to pursue common goals or address shared challenges.

Spaces of remembering	Physical and social environments play a crucial role in the formation and sustenance of collective memory. The spatial dimension is an essential element in the communal remembering, highlighting how spaces are not passive but actively involved in “doing memory”, i.e. *remembering*. Places are active participants in doing memory, evoking and structuring the recollections associated with them. *Remembering* becomes an embodied experience, deeply intertwined with space.
Communities of remembering	The active practice of remembering sustains existing communities but also constitutes communities. Non-essentialist approach to community; demonstrates how these are constituted, constantly renegotiated, and reinvented through various practices—one of which is the active practice of remembering.

Takeaways

The screening of community concepts has demonstrated that the role of space as an analytical category to shed light on commoning practices of remembrance is only marginally developed. Therefore, we highlight the role of physical and social environments that play a crucial role in the formation and sustenance of collective memory. We perceive that the spatial dimension is an essential element in the communal remembering, highlighting how spaces are not passive but actively involved in “doing memory”, i.e. *remembering*. Places are active participants in doing memory, evoking and structuring the recollections associated with them. *Remembering* becomes an embodied experience, deeply intertwined with space.

3. Methodology and analytical process

To approach a rather sensitive topic, a multi-methodological framework has been designed. First, we have analysed the open online archive of the project partner, the SMU. The archive is the heart of the Schwules Museum. Featuring more than 1.500.000 items, it is by far the largest and most extensive collection of documents, ephemera, and artwork associated with LGBTIQ* history and culture in Germany. The archive is among the most important centres for LGBTIQ* research worldwide and is in constant conversation with our exhibition and public events program. The collections grow daily through donations, transfers of LGBTIQ* related collections from public archives, associations and political groups. The collections are only partially processed.

The archive has developed along with the museum; beginning in 1985 as an archive of the gay movement, it has since expanded beyond those themes. In contrast to state archives which classify their materials according to the principle of provenance (according to their origins), the archive at the Schwules Museum works with a mix of the principles of provenance and pertinence. This means bequests from individuals or groups will be stored according to their origins, but much larger sections are organised according to topics, events, territories or persons (= principle of pertinence). The archive makes every effort to process our holdings and make them available according to archival standards (storage in archival folders, organisational systems, signatures, inventory indexing). Since work on the archive is done primarily on a volunteer basis, not all bequests have been indexed.

Within the online presentation of the partner Schwules Museum we clustered the cases that are online in the website along the follow sub-categories:

- **Historical topics**
- **Representing queerness**
- **Art, Visual Culture, Artistic Representations of Queerness**
- **Spaces, Places, and Geographies of queerness in Berlin**
- **Politics, Activism, Social Movement, Power Politics**

Since the online-web archive sheds light on the overall landscape of what is nowadays considered as a LGTBQ++-context, it does expands its thematic scope way beyond the founding theme - that of guy men - as researchers, we considered to integrate other institutional representatives of the LGTBQ++-community into our research interest. In order to better understand the evolution and formation of the wide LGTBQ++-community, we designed “round tables” as a qualitative empirical format to co-create knowledge about the constitutive character of this type of community.

From a methodological point of view, round tables in social sciences offer several opportunities that enhance research, discussion, and collaboration:

Round tables facilitate open dialogue and active interaction among participants as collaborative sensemaking of research. The circular arrangement - either in analogue or digital forms - allows for direct eye contact and equal visibility, promoting an environment where everyone feels included and encouraged to participate. This setup minimises hierarchical barriers and fosters a sense of equality, which can lead to richer and more diverse contributions. Furthermore, this format is conducive to collaborative exchanges. It encourages the exchange of ideas and perspectives, helping to build consensus on complex issues. This is particularly valuable in interdisciplinary research where integrating diverse viewpoints is essential.

In addition to that, the informal and inclusive nature of round tables can stimulate new ideas and viewpoints on a common topic. Participants are more likely to share novel ideas and explore unconventional approaches in that type of setting. This can lead to the generation of new hypotheses and research directions. Methodologically, a round table can provide a platform for critical analysis and debate. Participants can challenge each other's assumptions and interpretations in a constructive manner, leading to more robust and well-rounded conclusions. This critical engagement is crucial for advancing theoretical and methodological rigour in social sciences.

Practically, round tables can serve as a means of collecting qualitative data through discussions and focus groups. The diversity of perspectives gathered in such settings enhances the richness and depth of data. This can be particularly useful for triangulation, where multiple sources of evidence are used to validate findings.

Round tables are flexible in terms of structure and can be adapted to various research needs. They can be used for preliminary explorations, mid-project evaluations, or final debriefings. This adaptability makes them a versatile tool in the methodological toolkit of social scientists. The interactive nature of round tables encourages participants to reflect on their own positions and assumptions. This reflective practice can lead to greater self-awareness and a more nuanced understanding of the research context, contributing to methodological reflexivity.

In summary, from a methodological standpoint, round tables in social sciences promote a dynamic and inclusive environment that fosters dialogue, collaboration, creativity, critical thinking, and reflective practice. These benefits collectively enhance the quality and impact of social science research.

As an intermediate summary, we have mapped first the spaces and places that are presented in the projects of the cases in the online archive. Second, we have mapped the space- and place-related expressions of the members of the round tables.

Takeaways

To empirically unlock commoning practices of remembrance, we opt for a multi-dimensional methodological approach. First, we cluster themes of an online archive of the SMU, second, we map relevant places and spaces that have been exhibited and discussed due to collective use. Third, we integrated a dialogue format, that of Round Tables, to elude the role of commoning practices for the formation of spaces of remembrance over time.

4. Memory, remembering and trauma: Two Case vignettes and one full case story

4.1. Vignette 1: The Case of Museum of Political Exiles of Ai Stratis (s. deliverable 3.1 for more details)

The Museum of Political Exiles of Ai Stratis (MPEAS) continues to serve as a significant space where the active processes of remembering, community engagement, and trauma are interwoven, shaping the narratives of political exile in Greece and forming the identities of those who participate in this community of remembering. Created by ex-political exiles and imprisoned individuals involved in major historical events of the 20th century, MPEAS reflects an effort to preserve and communicate their traumatic experiences of political persecution, resistance, and imprisonment, and to foster a sense of collective memory and identity.

From the beginning, MPEAS has acted as a focal point for a "community of remembering," consisting of those who directly experienced exile and their descendants, as well as academics, historians, and others committed to keeping this history alive. This community has actively engaged in practices of remembering by collecting and curating material traces of exile—such as letters, photographs, crafts, tools, and equipment—which provide tangible connections to the past and enable a deeper engagement with the lived experiences of those who suffered. These acts of remembering are central to maintaining the relevance of this "dark heritage," ensuring that it remains part of the ongoing narrative about resistance, social justice, and democratic ideals in Greece.

The role of trauma is deeply embedded in MPEAS's mission, as it addresses not only the suffering experienced by political exiles but also the ongoing impact of that trauma on their lives and on broader society. This is evident in the museum's efforts to confront contemporary appropriations of the past, such as those by the Neo-Nazi Party of Golden Dawn, and to draw connections between historical experiences of persecution and modern forms of marginalisation, such as the establishment of refugee camps on Greek islands. In doing so, MPEAS does not merely preserve a static memory of trauma but actively engages in a dialogue that challenges disremembering—efforts to erase or distort history—and works to expose "invented" traditions that threaten cultural pluralism and social cohesion.

Despite these collaborations, MPEAS struggles with financial sustainability, particularly due to its legal status as a non-profit organisation, which limits its ability to generate revenue through its facilities or activities and prevents it from directly accessing state funding. This restriction means that MPEAS relies heavily on its community for financial support and volunteer labour, receiving donations, membership fees, and voluntary entry

admissions to sustain its activities. The reliance on volunteer contributions and "sweat equity" highlights how the community of remembering plays a vital role not only in preserving memory but also in ensuring the museum's continued existence.

The pandemic has exacerbated MPEAS's financial challenges, as restrictions on mobility and on-site visits significantly reduced its income and disrupted its ability to host events, guided tours, and other activities that form an essential part of its outreach and engagement with the public. The impact of the pandemic continues to be felt, limiting the museum's ability to return to its pre-pandemic level of activity and engagement.

In terms of disseminating its historical narratives, MPEAS has managed to make its archives and collections accessible to a wider audience, not only through events and activities in its premises but also by participating in documentaries, movies, and theatrical plays that explore the historical periods relevant to its mission. The museum has also hosted various cultural events, such as recitations of poems written by exiles, concerts, book exhibitions, and presentations, which further contribute to the active practice of remembering and engage the broader public in this process.

In sum, MPEAS exemplifies how a community of remembering actively engages with memory and trauma, transforming them into a dynamic process that shapes the identities of those involved and the broader narrative of political exile in Greece. Through its grassroots efforts, collaborations, and reliance on volunteer contributions, MPEAS functions as a living institution where the trauma of exile is confronted, remembered, and integrated into contemporary understandings of social justice, resistance, and democratic struggle. The museum's role as a custodian of memory, and as a space where the practices of remembering are continuously enacted, ensures that the stories of the exiled remain an enduring part of Greece's cultural heritage and collective consciousness.

4.2. Vignette 2: The Case of Spinalonga (s. deliverable 3.5 for more details)

In the case of Spinalonga, memory, trauma, and the active practice of remembering play a deeply influential role in shaping perceptions and narratives about the island, while simultaneously forming the identity of various communities, such as tourists, heritage managers, and the "community of remembering"—those directly involved in the acts of "doing memory" or "practices of remembering." Spinalonga's history as a leper colony, where individuals with leprosy were forcibly isolated and condemned to live in harsh and dehumanising conditions, has left a legacy of suffering, social exclusion, and fear. This

legacy is not only embedded in the collective memory of both the local community and the descendants of those who lived there but also in the evolving practices of remembering that shape how different communities engage with the island's past.

While memory represents a static repository of the island's history, the act of remembering is dynamic and involves the ongoing engagement with this past. The "community of remembering," for example, is constituted through deliberate acts of recalling, narrating, and reconstructing the history of Spinalonga, which in turn shapes their collective identity. This process is evident in how Spinalonga's painful history has been brought into public consciousness through literature and cultural initiatives, such as Victoria Hislop's novel "The Island," which played a pivotal role in humanising the experiences of the island's inhabitants. Through such acts of remembering, the community of remembering actively reconstructs narratives that challenge the stigma once associated with leprosy, reframing it as a story of resilience and dignity.

However, these practices of remembering are neither uniform nor uncontested. Different communities approach Spinalonga's history in ways that align with their own identities and objectives. For example, heritage managers might emphasise certain historical periods, such as the Venetian and Ottoman past, to attract tourists, while downplaying the more recent and painful history of the leper colony. This selective process of remembering influences the narratives presented to the public and shapes how tourists, in turn, perceive and relate to the island.

The trauma associated with Spinalonga is deeply embedded in the island's landscape, serving as a powerful reminder of the suffering experienced by the lepers. These physical remnants act as focal points around which the community of remembering gathers, turning the island into a space where the painful aspects of history are confronted and processed. The act of engaging with these remnants allows those directly involved in practices of remembering to actively participate in forming a more nuanced understanding of Spinalonga's past, which not only shapes their collective identity but also challenges how the island is represented to wider audiences.

As Spinalonga has transformed into a heritage site and tourist destination, the role of memory and the active process of remembering have become central to how various communities construct their perceptions and narratives. The "community of remembering" faces the challenge of resisting the commodification of trauma while ensuring that the narratives of suffering, resilience, and human dignity remain central to the island's portrayal. Meanwhile, tourists form their perceptions based on the curated narratives they encounter, which are often influenced by the tensions between commercial interests and the desire to convey an authentic and respectful representation of the island's history.

In this context, remembering is not just a passive act but an active engagement that helps construct the identity of those involved in the process. For heritage managers, it involves navigating between commercial pressures and the responsibility to convey the full spectrum of Spinalonga's history. For the "community of remembering," it involves continually re-engaging with the past to ensure that the experiences of those who suffered are acknowledged and honoured. And for tourists, the experience of Spinalonga becomes a space where they engage with narratives of suffering and resilience, shaping their understanding of the island's history and their own role as participants in this act of remembering.

Ultimately, the role of memory, trauma, and the act of remembering in Spinalonga highlights how these processes influence the formation of narratives and perceptions about the island, while simultaneously shaping the identities of the communities involved in engaging with its past. By embracing the concept of a "community of remembering," Spinalonga becomes more than just a heritage site—it transforms into a dynamic space where historical narratives are actively negotiated, where trauma is acknowledged, and where different communities form their identities through their engagement with shared cultural heritage.

4.3. Take-aways from both cases

The Museum of Political Exiles of Ai Stratis (MPEAS) and Spinalonga both serve as spaces where memory, trauma, and the active practice of remembering play a central role, but they do so in ways that reflect their unique historical and cultural contexts.

From the start, MPEAS acted as a focal point for a "community of remembering" composed of former exiles, descendants, academics, and others dedicated to keeping the history of political exile alive. This community engages with the past through the curation of material traces of exile, such as letters, photographs, crafts, tools, and equipment, which provide tangible connections to the experiences of those who suffered. By confronting contemporary appropriations of history, such as those by the Neo-Nazi Party of Golden Dawn, and linking historical persecution to modern issues of marginalisation, MPEAS serves as a dynamic space that actively challenges disremembering and invented traditions. Financially, MPEAS relies heavily on its community for support due to its non-profit status, and the pandemic has further limited its activities, underscoring the challenges faced by grassroots institutions in sustaining memory practices.

In the case of Spinalonga, the island's history as a leper colony, where individuals were isolated and lived in dehumanising conditions, has left a legacy of suffering, social exclusion, and fear. This legacy is embedded in the collective memory of local communities, descendants, and those involved in practices of remembering. Like MPEAS, Spinalonga has

also become a focal point for a "community of remembering," which actively engages in reconstructing the island's history through literature, cultural initiatives, and public consciousness. The novel "The Island" by Victoria Hislop, for instance, played a crucial role in reframing the narrative of the leper colony, transforming it from a story of stigma to one of resilience and dignity. However, the practices of remembering Spinalonga's past are often contested, with different communities, such as heritage managers and tourists, engaging with the island's history in ways that align with their own identities and interests. The physical remnants of the leper colony serve as powerful reminders of the trauma experienced by its inhabitants and act as focal points for confronting this painful history. As Spinalonga has evolved into a tourist destination, tensions have arisen between the commodification of its traumatic past and the desire to convey an authentic representation of suffering and resilience. This process of remembering, therefore, influences not only the narratives about Spinalonga but also shapes the identities of the communities engaging with its history.

Both MPEAS and Spinalonga illustrate how memory and trauma are not static but are actively engaged with through the practices of a community of remembering. In the case of MPEAS, this engagement takes the form of grassroots efforts to confront historical and contemporary forms of exclusion and marginalisation, while for Spinalonga, it involves negotiating the tension between commodifying the island's past and honouring the experiences of those who suffered. Together, these cases highlight how trauma can be transformed into a dynamic process that shapes not just the narratives of the past but also the identities of those involved in preserving and engaging with shared cultural heritage.

4.4. Case Study Schwules Museum: Introduction

4.4.1. Collective trauma among gay men in Germany: The criminalization of homosexuality and AIDS

Collective trauma among gay men in Germany has been deeply influenced by historical events such as the criminalization of homosexuality during the Nazi era and the subsequent AIDS crisis. These events have had lasting psychological and sociopolitical impacts on the LGBTQ+ community.

During the Nazi regime, homosexuality was persecuted under the guise of protecting Aryan supremacy and traditional family values. Homosexual acts were criminalized through the expansion of Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code, leading to severe penalties including imprisonment and forced sterilization (Grau, 1995). Homosexual men were interned in concentration camps where they faced brutal treatment and were often identified by a pink triangle badge, marking them for particular persecution (Plant, 1986). This symbol later became a poignant emblem of LGBTQ+ resistance and remembrance.

The legacy of this persecution continued into the post-war period, with Paragraph 175 remaining in effect until the late 1960s. It was not until 2002 that the German government

formally acknowledged and apologised for these atrocities, offering compensation to survivors (Jellonnek & Lautmann, 2002).

The collective trauma of the LGBTQ+ community was further exacerbated during the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s and 1990s. The epidemic was characterised by widespread stigma and misinformation, contributing to the marginalisation and isolation of individuals with HIV/AIDS (Shilts, 1987). The high mortality rates and lack of effective treatments created a profound sense of helplessness and despair among affected communities (Watney, 1987). The impact of AIDS extended beyond individual suffering, affecting entire communities and exacerbating existing social inequalities, particularly among marginalised groups (Farmer, 1992).

The AIDS crisis also led to the loss of a generation of activists, artists, and community leaders, deepening the collective grief and trauma experienced by the LGBTQ+ community (Crimp, 1988). Despite advances in treatment and a decrease in AIDS-related deaths in recent years, the psychological and emotional scars remain, continuing to influence the experiences of those who lived through the epidemic (Herek & Glunt, 1988).

The collective traumas of the criminalization of homosexuality and the AIDS epidemic have significantly shaped the social dynamics, identity, and political activism within the LGBTQ+ community in Germany. These events underscore the importance of addressing historical injustices and the ongoing need for social justice and equality in healthcare.

Hartal and Misgav (2020), develop the concept of 'queer urban trauma' through an analysis of traumatic events and their aftermath in the context of urban and spatial activism. The authors define queer urban trauma as stemming from violent incidents that significantly affect the LGBT community, and discuss how such trauma is processed and transformed through spatial politics and activism. They explain, "Trauma, as we use the term in this paper, is a psychological effect of violence" and further extend this by discussing how "traumatic events taking place within urban contexts affect the spatial politics of LGBT and queer urban movements" (Hartal and Misgav 2020, 1464).

The authors argue that the spatial politics of trauma are constructed differently in distinct urban settings, which in turn influences the nuances of urban activism and politics. The analysis focuses on two key incidents in Israel—the 2009 shooting at a youth club in Tel Aviv and the 2015 stabbing at the Jerusalem Pride Parade. These events highlight how urban context and cultural perceptions shape the political responses and activism strategies of the LGBT community. "We argue that the politics of trauma are constructed differently in these two urban settings, producing important nuances of urban activism and politics" (Hartal and Misgav 2020, 1464).

Regarding how traumatic events within urban contexts influence the spatial politics of LGBT and queer urban activism, Hartal and Misgav (2020) describe the differing responses in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem as reflective of each city's political and cultural climate. In Tel Aviv,

viewed as a liberal hub, the community's response involved significant public mobilisation and visibility. In contrast, Jerusalem, with its conservative backdrop, presented more challenging conditions for public LGBT activism, leading to different forms of spatial engagement and public visibility. The authors highlight how these traumatic events not only invoke immediate responses but also lead to long-term strategies in community organising and spatial claiming, deeply influencing the broader discourse of queer urban activism.

4.4.2. A first overview on “queer memory” in recent literature

German historian Benno Gammerl's non-fiction book “Queer - Eine deutsche Geschichte vom Kaiserreich bis heute” (2023) provides a comprehensive overview of German history from a queer perspective. He examines the history of queer identity from various cultural, political and social dimensions, from the time of the German Empire to the present day.

Kaiserreich	Formierung der ersten Homosexuellenbewegung
1920er Jahre	Erste Blütephase (homosexuelle Clubs und Kneipen)
NS-Zeit	Verfolgung durch Nationalsozialisten
Nachkriegszeit	Unterschiede zwischen Ost und West
1970er Jahre	Neue Emanzipations-bewegungen (zunehmender Aktivismus)
1980er Jahre	Aids-Epidemie (Re-Stigmatisierung)
1990er Jahre	Einklang von Intersektionalität innerhalb der Community
2000er Jahre	Einklang von Intersektionalität innerhalb der Community
2010er Jahre	
2020er Jahre	Offene Forderungen (Selbstbestimmungsgesetz, Anerkennung von Regenbogenfamilien, Blutspendeverbot etc.)

Gammerl's book explores the experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals over more than a century, detailing the changes in social attitudes, legal status, and personal lives of queer people. Gammerl covers a vast timeline, starting from the German Empire (1871-1918), through the Weimar Republic, Nazi Germany, the post-war period, the division of Germany into East and West, and the reunification up to contemporary times. He examines the shifting legal frameworks affecting queer people, including the criminalization and decriminalization of homosexuality, the impact of Paragraph 175 (the anti-homosexuality law), and the progress towards legal recognition and rights for LGBTQ+ individuals.

Building on these historical moments, Gammerl highlights key moments and movements in queer history, such as the gay liberation movement, the influence of feminism, the impact of

the AIDS crisis, and the ongoing struggle for equal rights and acceptance.He addresses the intersection of queer identity with other aspects of identity, including gender, class, and race, illustrating the diverse experiences within the LGBTQ+ community. Based on the overview, it was possible to identify main themes of remembrance in the various time periods.

4.4.3. Relevant places for the formation of a queer landscape in Berlin

Based on the following timeline, examples of institutionalised places of queer history of remembrance in Berlin are presented. The history is characterised by queer bars, pubs and clubs as well as official associations and institutions. The timeline should not be seen as an exhaustive list, but rather as an initial overview of known places of remembrance. It should be noted that there are also other institutions.<

Timeline: Key places of queer encounters in Berlin since early 1920s

1920:	
1919 Foundation of the "Institut für Sexualwissenschaft" (Tiergarten)	1921 Pub/Bar "Mulackritze" (Scheunenviertel)
1920 Meeting point "Salon von Richard Schultz" (Charlottenburg)	1921 Kleist Casino (Schöneberg)
1927 Opening of the "Eldorado" (Schöneberg)	
Postwar West-Berlin	
1946 queere Bar "Ellis Bierbar" (Kreuzberg)	1947 Nightclub "Gerda Kelch" (Schöneberg)
1951 "Gesellschaft für Reform des Sexualrechts" (Schöneberg)	1955 Sexworker Bar "Robby Bar" (Schöneberg)
End 1950 Women and Dancing venue "Frauen Club Kati und Eva" (Charlottenburg)	1958 Travestielokal "Chez Nous" (Charlottenburg)
1963 Lesbian Bar "Club 10" (Schöneberg)	1963 Nightclub "Hoppla Sir" (Kreuzberg)
Postwar East-Berlin	
1948 Nightclub "Esterhazy-Keller" (Mitte)	1950 "City Klause" (Oranienburger Tor)

Beginning of the 1960 Pub "Zum Burgfrieden" (Prenzlauer Berg)	1960 Open of the “Gründerzeitmuseums” by Charlotte von Mahlsdorf (Mahlsdorf)
1963 Pub "Schoppenstube" (Prenzlauer Berg)	1963 Pub "Schoppenstube" (Prenzlauer Berg)
1964 "HO Mokka Bar" (Alexanderplatz)	
1970s: West-Berlin	
Mid-1970 years Lesbian Bar "Die zwei" (Schöneberg)	1970 years Joint activities of the the HAW (Schöneberg)
1977 Gay Bar "Andere Ufer (Schöneberg)	1977 Opening of the gay center (SchwuZ) (Schöneberg → Neukölln)
1978 Opening of the first gay book shop "Prinz Eisenherz" (Schöneberg)	1979 first Christopher Street Day (Savignyplatz Richtung Kurfürstendamm)
1970s: East-Berlin	
1970s years "Die Busche" as first gay men-disco in Ost-Berlin (Weißensee)	1973 Foundation of the "Homosexuelle Interessensgemeinschaft Berlin" (Mitte)
1980s: West-Berlin	
1981 Frauenstadtteilzentrum "Schokoladenfabrik" (Kreuzberg)	1981 first Lesbian Bar in Germany "Risiko" (Schöneberg)
1985 Foundation "Schwules Museum" (Kreuzberg → Tiergarten)	1986 Café and cultural centre for women "Begine" (Schöneberg)
1988 Underground-Club "UFO" (Kreuzberg)	
1980s: East-Berlin	
1982 gay-lesbian Group "Gesprächskreis Homosexualität" (Prenzlauer Berg)	1983 Foundation "Lesben in der Kirche" (Prenzlauer Berg)
1983 Foundation "Schwule in der Kirche" (Treptow)	
1990:	

1990 Information Center "Sonntags Club" (Prenzlauer Berg)	1990 Local "HAFEN" (Schöneberg)
1998 "Ficken 3000" (Kreuzberg)	
2000 ff:	
2000 "Möbel Olfe" (Kreuzberg)	2006 "TransInter Queer e.V." (Friedrichshain)
2007 "Silver Future" (Neukölln)	2010 "Südblock" (Kreuzberg)
2011 "Other Nature" (Kreuzberg)	

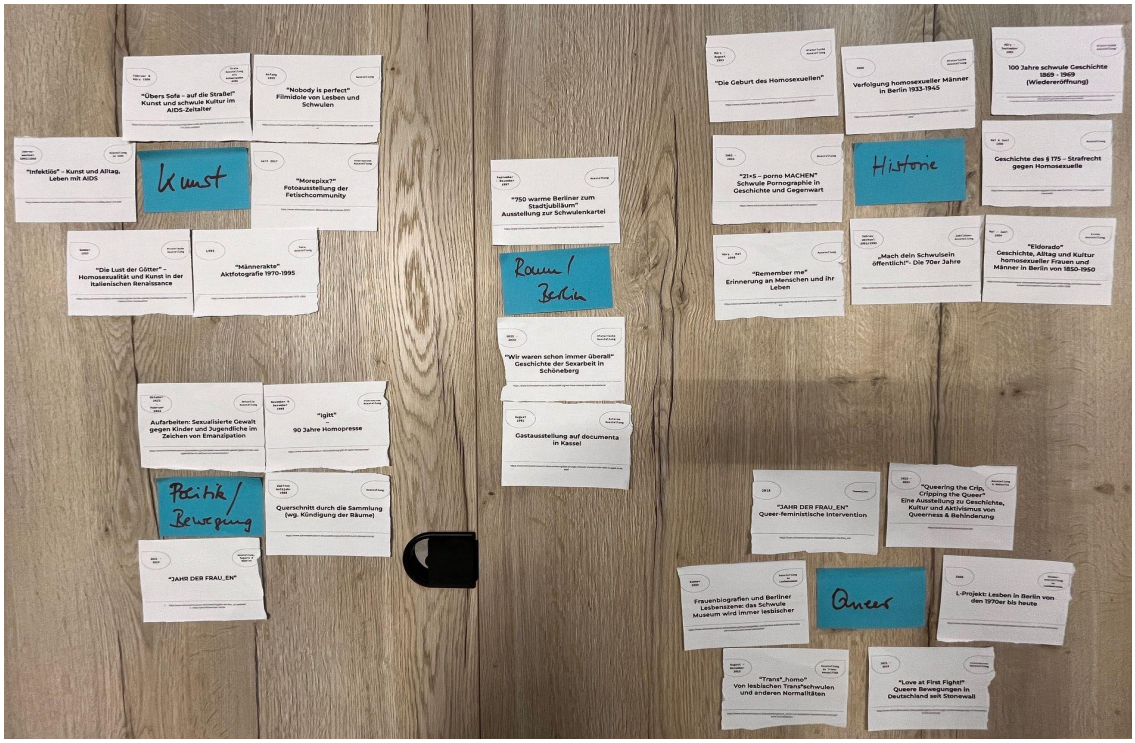
Takeaways

The first clustering of relevant queer spaces demonstrates that from the 1920s onward, places for queer encountering have first been pubs, dancing events, and cultural venues but also notable health related places. After the Nazi regime, both in East and West-Berlin, few accepted and tolerated addresses served as meeting places with politically motivated actions and self-representations (to a lesser extent in East-Berlin). After political unification of Berlin, politicised actions increased enormously and thus expanded into cultural sector (publishers, fashion, art, libraries, and other cultural industries sectorial fields), medical spheres (health, information, AIDS related help), and political spheres (institution building, political representation, self-organisation, foundation of public libraries).

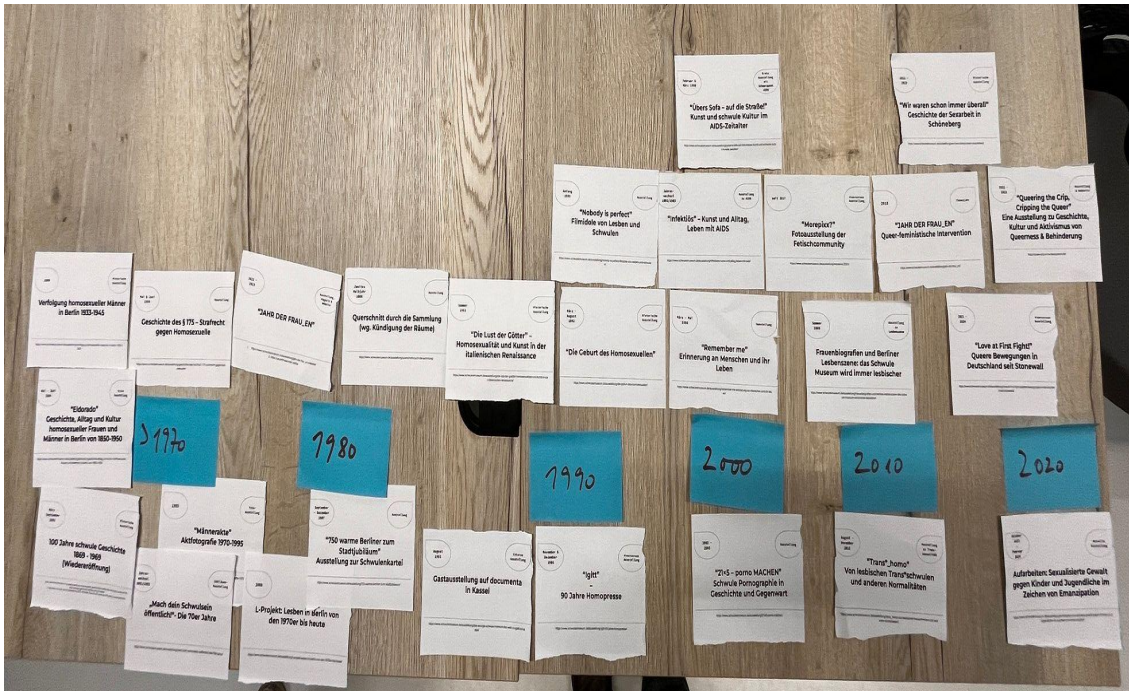
4.5. Analysing the “online-Archive” of the Schwules Museum Berlin

4.5.1. Clustering: Themes and time

Taking the structured proposal introduced by Gammerl (2024) as a blueprint, we have clustered each project that was available at the online archive of the Schwules Museum (SMU). Approaching the online archive in March 2024, we have deciphered 69 available and accessible projects. In a first pre-test attempt, we have taken the first 20 projects to develop thematic groups such as art, politics, space, history, queer culture, in order to learn in which way the projects differ from each other. We considered this test as necessary in order to make sure that a significant variety is available.

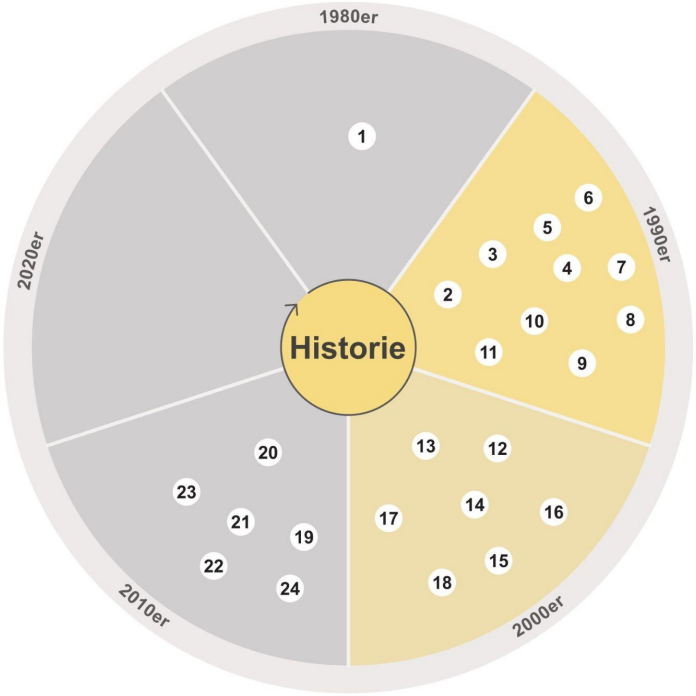


In a next phase we have clustered the first sample according to the decade they were covering and representing. So not the date of the presentation of the exhibition project was key, but the time the exhibition is addressing. E.g. the oppressive time for gay man in the Nazi regime in the 1930s. In a next step, we combined the clustering criterion, that of time (decades) and that of themes (art, history, politics etc.pp). We then rolled out a combined analysis and allocated xy projects over time on the one hand. On the other, we placed the projects in the decade they were covering in specific thematic clusters. This would allow us to detect changes of meaning regarding the way how the SMU perceives memory and how the SMU sheds light on changing meanings regarding the “doing of remembrance”.



The following five graphics cluster and summarise the available online projects. We have allocated all available online projects in one decade and thereby, in one topic.

4.5.2. Clustering: Historical topics

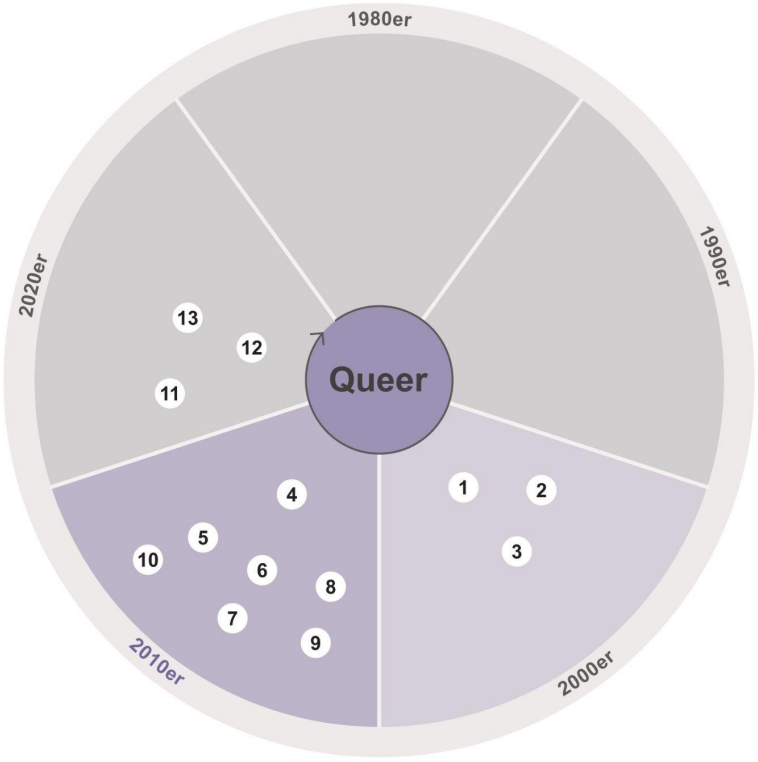


Exhibitions that take a historical look at the topic of “queer” can be assigned to the “Historical themes” cluster. Various exhibitions remember multi-layered topics, such as cultural, social or individual personalities from history. Historical themes were mainly dealt with in exhibitions that took place between the 1990s and the 2010s.

1 "Eldorado" Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur homosexueller Frauen und Männer in Berlin von 1850 -1950 (1984)
2 Geschichte des § 175 - Strafrecht gegen Homosexuelle (1990)
3 100 Jahre schwule Geschichte 1869 - 1969 (Wiedereröffnung) (1991)
4 “Mach dein Schwulsein öffentlich!"- Die 70er Jahre (1991/1992)
5 “Die Geburt des Homosexuellen" (1992)
6 “Lebensgeschichten" Individuelle Darstellung von Schwulen des 20. Jahrhunderts (1993-1999)
7 "Deutsch-Russische Freundschaft" Zur Kulturgeschichte der Homosexualität in Russland und Deutschland (1995)
8 Tanten - Tunten - Kesse Väter: 100 Jahre Travestie im Film (1995/1996)
9 "Goodbye to Berlin?" 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung (1997)
10 "Die Seligkeit liegt immer am anderen Ufer" - Schwule und Schlager (1997)
11 "Remember me" Erinnerung an Menschen und ihr Leben (1998)
12 Verfolgung homosexueller Männer in Berlin 1933-1945 (2000)
13 "21×5 - porno MACHEN" Schwule Pornographie in Geschichte und Gegenwart (2002/2003)
14 Mittenmang: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1945 - 1969 (2003/2004)
15 Selbstbewusstsein und Beharrlichkeit - Zweihundert Jahre Geschichte (2004)
16 "Applaus muss sein" Hommage zum 50. Todestag von Thomas Mann (2005)
17 Hilde Knef „Halt mich fest" - Erinnerungen, Erkenntnisse, Impulse (2005/2006)
18 Are you man enough to be a woman!: Fotografien aus der Sammlung Sternweiler 1940 bis 1969 (2007)
19 Rio Reiser: Allein unter Heteros (2010)
20 "lesbisch. jüdisch. schwul" (Erfahrungen aus Zeiten des Nationalsozialismus) (2013)

21 “30 JAHRE POSITIVES ERLEBEN" - Ausstellung zum Jubiläum der Berliner Aids-Hilfe (2015)
22 "Homosexualität_en" Umfassende Schau zu Geschichte, Politik und Kultur der Homosexualität (2015)
23 "Tapetenwechsel" Präsentation verschiedener Sammlungen aus dem Archiv (2015 - 2018)
24 “HIVstories. Living Politics” Geschichten von HIV und Aids-Aktivist*innen (2019)

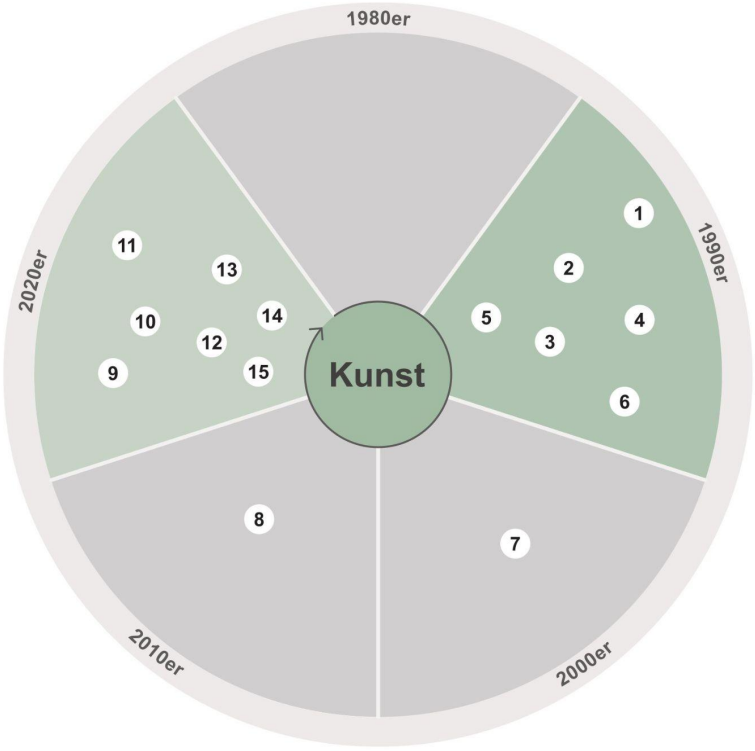
4.5.3. Clustering: Representing queerness



The cluster “Representing Queerness” deals with exhibitions that show the diversity of the movement by looking at comprehensive topics such as transgender, migration or feminism. Based on the exhibition years, it can be seen that these themes are mainly dealt with from the 2010s onwards.

1 Fuck Gender - Fotos von Anette Frick 1995 -2003 (2003)
2 L-Projekt: Lesben in Berlin von den 1970er bis heute (2008)
3 Frauenbiografien und Berliner Lesbenszene: das Schwule Museum wird immer lesbischer (2009)
4 "Trans* homo" Von lesbischen Trans*schwulen und anderen Normalitäten (2012)
5 "Transformation" (2013/2014)
6 SuperQueeroes - Unsere LGBT|*-Comic-Held_innen (2016)
7 "ğ - queere Formen migrieren" Transkultureller Austausch von LSBTIQ*-Menschen zwischen der Türkei und Deutschland (2017)
8 "JAHR DER FRAU_EN" Queer-feministische Intervention (2018)
9 "LESBISCHES SEHEN" Ausstellung künstlerischer Positionen von queeren FLTI* (2018)
10 "Unboxed": Transgender im Schwulen Museum? (2019)
11 "TransTrans": Transatlantische Transgender Geschichte (2019/2020)
12 "Love at First Fight!" Queere Bewegungen in Deutschland seit Stonewall (2021-2024)
13 "Queering the Crip, Cripping the Queer" Eine Ausstellung zu Geschichte, Kultur und Aktivismus von Queerness & Behinderung (2022/2023)

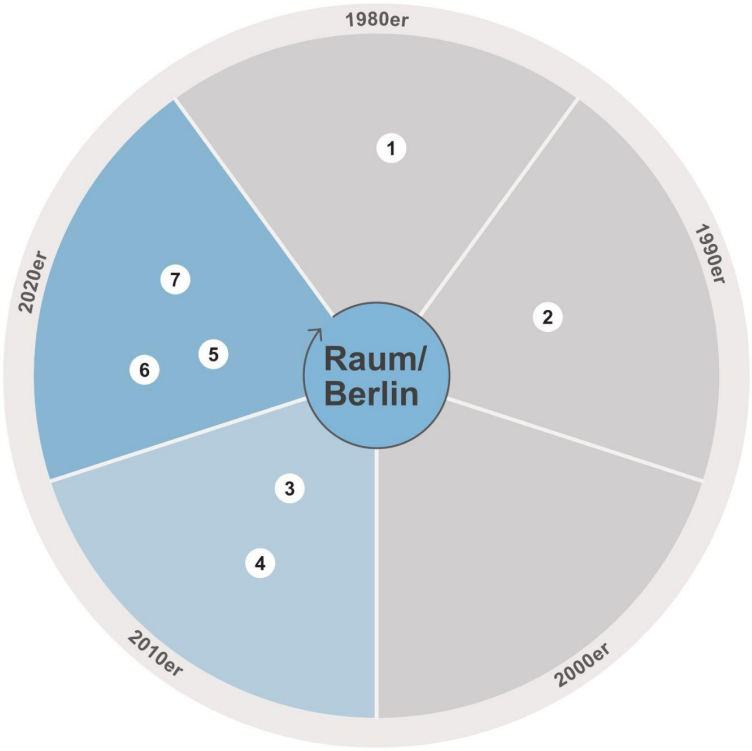
4.5.4. Clustering: Art, Visual Culture, Artistic Representations of Queerness



In the cluster “Art, Visual Culture, Artistic Representations of Queerness”, queer themes from the present and the past have been remembered, through photo, art and film exhibitions, especially during the 1990s and since the 2020s.

1 "Übers Sofa - auf die Straße!" Kunst und schwule Kultur im AIDS-Zeitalter (1990)
2 "Infektios" - Kunst und Alltag, Leben mit AIDS (1992/1993)
3 "Die Lust der Götter" - Homosexualität und Kunst in der italienischen Renaissance (1993)
4 "Obsessionen" Ausstellung zu Sexualitat im Alter (1994)
5 "Männerakte" Aktfotografie 1970-1995 (1995)
6 "Nobody is perfect" Filmidole von Lesben und Schwulen (1999)
7 "Intimate Spaces" Ausstellung mit interaktiven Live Performances (2006)
8 "Morepixx?" Fotoausstellung der Fetischcommunity (2017)
9 100 Objekte - An Archive of Feelings (2020)
10 "Mercury Rising" - Inter* Hermstory[ies] Now and Then (2021/2022)
11 "The Gutter Art of Stephen Varble": Genderqueere Performance-Kunst in Fotografien von Greg Day (2021/2022)
12 "Encantadas": Transzendentale Kunst aus Brasilien (2022)
13 "Ocaña. Der Engel, der in der Qual singt" (Künstlerportrait von José Pérez Ocaña) (2022)
14 "Photography as a Way of Life." Rüdiger Trautsch: Bilder aus 50 Jahren (2023)
15 "Leerstelle: Zeit haben. Zeit zählen. Zeit füllen." (2023)

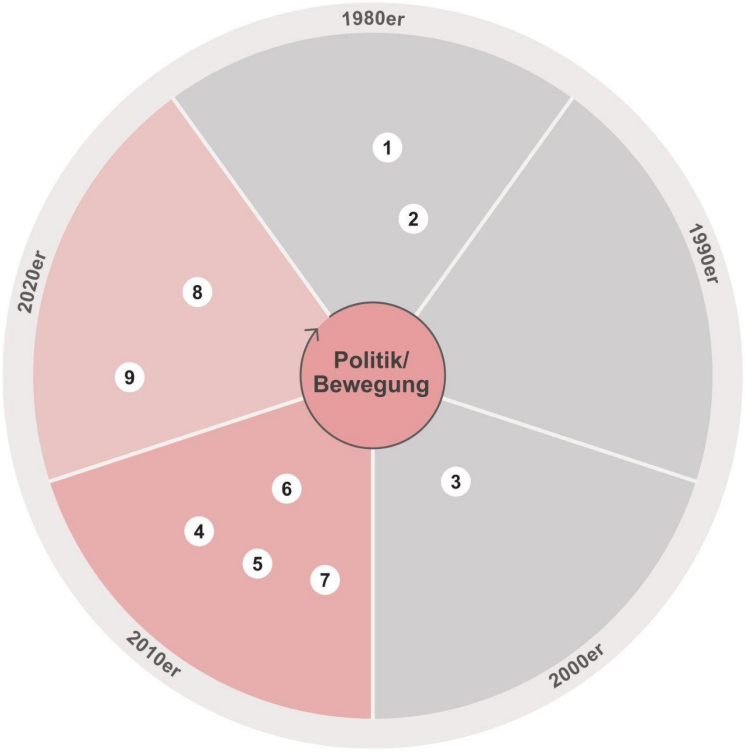
4.5.5. Clustering: Spaces, Places, and Geographies of queerness in Berlin



Due to the location of the Schwules Museum in Berlin, various exhibitions consider institutions or associations from Berlin, as well as queer life in specific neighbourhoods such as Schöneberg or Prenzlauer Berg. These exhibitions are assigned to the "Spaces, Places, and Geographics of queerness in Berlin" cluster. Since its founding in the 1980s, spatial considerations have been repeatedly addressed in the exhibitions.

1 "750 warme Berliner zum Stadtjubiläum* Ausstellung zur Schwulenkartei (1987)
2 Gastausstellung auf documenta in Kassel (1992)
3 „Verzaubert in Nord-Ost": Die Geschichte der Berliner Lesben, Schwulen und Trans* in Prenzlauer Berg. Pankow und Weißensee (2010)
4 "Objects of Desire": alltägliche Geschichten der Sexarbeit (2019)
5 "Wir waren schon immer überall" Geschichte der Sexarbeit in Schöneberg (2022/2023)
6 Tuntenhaus Forellenhof 1990: Der kurze Sommer des schwulen Kommunismus (2022/2023)
7 "lieben. kämpfen, tanzen." - 50 Jahre Sonntags-Club (2023/2024)

4.5.6. Clustering: Politics, Activism, Social Movement, Power Politics

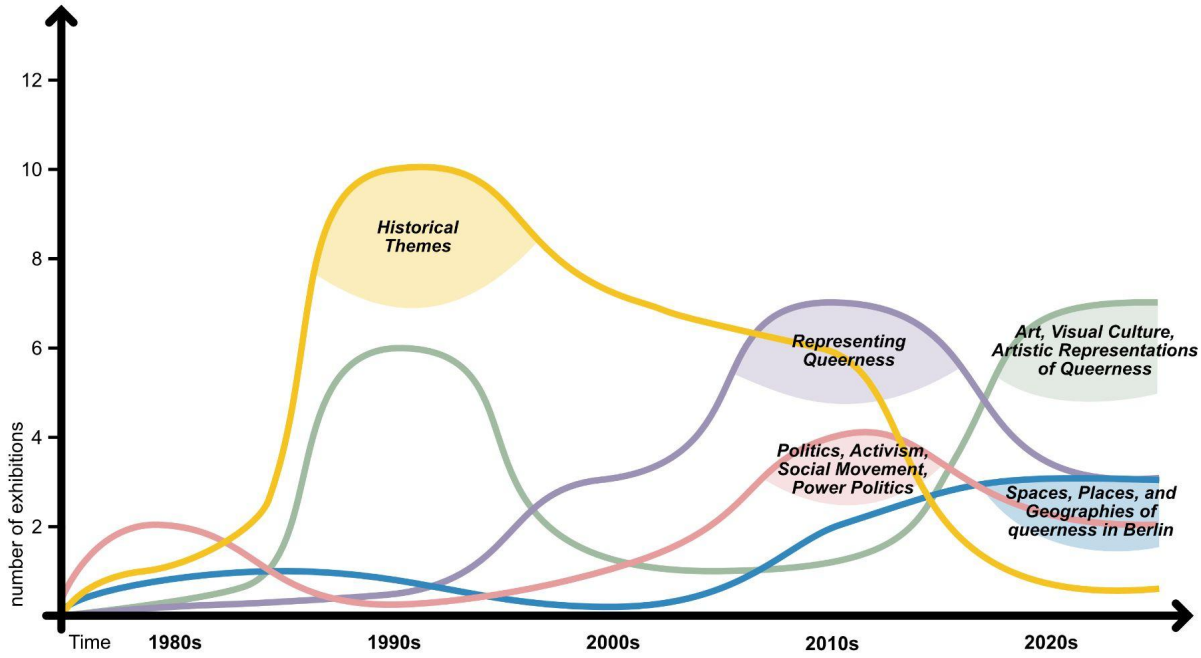


The "Politics" cluster includes exhibitions that focus on the different thematic orientations within the movement. It is noticeable that exhibitions on this topic have increased in the 2010s, highlighting the growing importance of this theme.

1 "Igitt" - 90 Jahre Homopresse (1986)
2 Querschnitt durch die Sammlung (wg. Kündigung der Räume) (1988)
3 Gesellschaft für Reform des Sexualrechts und das Berlin der 1950er Jahre (2001)
4 "Und das war auch gut so" 13 Jahre Klaus Wowereit (2014/2015)
5 “12 Monde" jahresprogramm feministischen Filmemacher Videokünstler innen (2018)
6 "our own feminisms"Das: Ein queer-feministisches Zukunftslabor (2018)
7 "Deutsch-Russische Freundschaft" Zur Kulturgeschichte der Homosexualität in Russland und Deutschland (1995)
8 "JAHR DER FRAU_EN"(2022/2023)
9 Aufarbeiten: Sexualisierte Gewalt gegen Kinder und Jugendliche im Zeichen von Emanzipation (2023/2024)

4.6. Changing Landscape of various “Memories-Topoi” between 1980-2024

As a first synthesis is presented in the following graphic. We have mapped time and the number of projects that were representing the specific topics. It allows a first understanding how the “configuration of memory” as a collective and community-oriented representation has changed over time. We can show that a first strong wave covered various topics in the late 1980s and 1990s, very often dealing with the societal positioning of gay men, the AIDS crisis, and legal issues. Then, in the 2000 years and 2010 years, the thematic field has broadened: aspects of queerness, social activism, power politics became more relevant to shed light on the social status of a growing queer landscape. With the increase of land, housing, and living costs in Berlin since the 2010 years, questions of space and place for the queer landscape in Berlin become more and more relevant, also presenting often forgotten and neglected scenes of e.g. sex workers on the streets in some districts of Berlin.



Takeaways

The analysis of the available projects of the SMU in its online archive provided the following findings:

- The early phase of the exhibitions have been mainly dominated by historical themes and artistic representation of the queer people.
- Since the 2010 years, forms of social representation of the pluralized queer communities have increased followed by issues of queer politics, activist positions, social movements, mainly in the aftermath of the AIDS trauma.

- In the last years, the role of spaces and places, so the geographies of queerness increased due to financialization of the retail sector erasing many relevant queer spaces.

4.7. Round tables

The following section analyses a small series of three round tables encounters with persons in stable connection to the Schwules Museum, the institution of what is called today the "Magnus Hirschfeld-Society e.V." as well as practitioners and knowledgeable persons of the Berlin queer landscape. The interview sequences have been chosen to systematically demonstrate the relation between archival work, exhibiting of queerness, and the "*human conditio sin qua no*" since the last 100 years in the "queer Berlin" on the one hand, and the effects on commoning, institution-building, and forming political subjectivities over time by grounding and defining them on the use of historical memories and its cultural and historical artefacts on the other.

Places and spaces that have served the community and that are considered community-forming social contexts.

Interviewee: BM: (to be anonymized as all the following as well…)

Yes, 'Spinnboden', the lesbian archive. Then there's the 'Lili-Elbe-Gesellschaft', which is a trans archive. And Martin Lücke's research group at the Free University of Berlin. Then there's the group 'LAZ-Reloaded' (Lesbian Action Center West Berlin), which acts as an explicitly transphobic institution in order to rediscover the true meaning of lesbian activism. For example, they pressed charges against an academic who wrote about the origins of the LAZ, as she has a rather pro-trans stance. For a few years, there had been the idea of building a house for this institution, which was to be set up under the 'Initiative Queer Nations' (headed by Jan Feddersen). Page 2

Micro-summary and key meaning: Informal Places and institutional spaces have served the purpose of community formation over time and that are considered community-forming social contexts.

Yes, there's 'Siegessäule' and 'L.MAG'. And then of course various bars and their history. For example, 'Tom's Bar', recently had to close or has become part of a Spanish chain. Page 2

Micro-summary and key meaning: Relevance of places and recent disappearance by global capitalism and its investments into "cool places" and interesting real estates

The 'Prinzknecht' has existed since the 90s. The 'AHA' (Allgemeine Homosexuelle Arbeitsgemeinschaft) is also very important. They are located on the 'Rote Insel' and run a café and bar where shows take place. This institution has been around since the 1970s. Page 3

Micro-summary and key meaning: Relevance of long-standing places

Yes, and the 'Jessen medical practice', which is particularly important when talking about HIV. Heiko Jessen was the doctor in Germany who carried out all HIV-related clinical examinations. Page 4

Micro-summary and key meaning: Relevance of state-support medical help that has dynamized the care aspect of first gay men and later queer communities.

'Café Berio' could also be mentioned. Then there's the 'Möbel Olfe'. The 'Raststätte' was the original location of Möbel Olfe in the 90s. 'Südblock' has also become an institution. Then the 'SchwuZ', of course. Then there's the whole chain of institutions that now exist as 'Berghain'. From the first parties in the 'Bunker' to the current form. What comes next is very strange, but still very important: the 'Bull Bar', which is a gay sex bar that is open 24/7, 365 days a year. The bar has been open since the 1980s. Before Bull, there was also an important gay coffee shop, which then developed into the bar in the 1990s (page 3)

Micro-summary and key meaning: Relevance of club culture, clubbing that has started in the 1980s/1990s and that has dynamized the spreading of queerness from Berlin around the globe first by gay men and later by queer communities.

I doubt whether there has been constant institutionalisation in the last 50 years. Because there aren't many institutions that have developed or expanded. So many of the institutions are still as small and informal as they were 20 years ago. The Schwules Museum is in fact independent. Page 5

Micro-summary and key meaning: Relevance of club culture, clubbing that has started in the 1980s/1990s and that has dynamized the spreading of queerness from Berlin around the globe first by gay men and later by queer communities.

What has taken place is a nationalisation of the movement. We have become dependent on the state. And that's different in Germany than in France. It's similar in the Netherlands and it's very different in the USA and the UK. Above all, this has to do with the history of AIDS and the history of remembrance. Imagine you are a well-paid man in England or the USA, it's 1984 and HIV is coming. But the state does nothing, no help, no support. You must

organize with others to do something against the state. In Germany it was completely different, a state aid facility was set up as soon as HIV arrived. This made the community a recognized minority group. And this nationalization has progressed much faster in Germany and the Netherlands than in other countries. Page 7

Micro-summary and key meaning: The trauma as a key moment to initiate wider forms of network, collectivization, institutional-building to safeguard medical help. This process has been framed institutionally by medical support infrastructures in Germany and thus, led to an increased acceptance and respect for the urgent need of a vulnerable group.

And on the other hand, of which I am also a part: since around 2008 there has been a completely different queer Berlin, namely a non-German queer Berlin. In other words, a more English-speaking queer Berlin. For example, the whole Italian community that came to Berlin and organized big events and parties here. So, the whole Italian gay underground has come to Berlin. Then the whole Turkish community. 'GAYHANE', an important party in Berlin since the 90s at 'SO36'. And we, as a group, have our own institutional forms and activist groups. We founded our own CSD. Among others also the Israelis and Jews, because we are more pro-Palestine and do not accept the exclusion of Palestinian positions at German protests. That's why we founded our own CSD - 'Internationalist Queer Pride Berlin'. This is a CSD with up to 10,000 people and not a single German participant. These people also don't cruise in Tiergarten, but in Hasenheide. Page 8

Micro-summary and key meaning: Expansion of queer communities, triggered by refugees, incoming migrants, and less accepted and respected queer people in their home countries. They considered "Berlin" as a tolerant suitable urban context for their living.

Interviewees D und H

We started in 1982/1983 in West Berlin. It was a small group of people from the gay movement who wanted to communicate to each other about commemorative events in preparation for the 50th anniversary of the handover of power to the fascists. At this time, there were plans for a larger commemorative event in West Berlin that did not include a whole series of victims of the Nazis. Not the homosexual men and women, not the Sinti and Roma, not the so-called asocials, and of course not the evil communists in West Berlin.

Micro-summary and key meaning: Remembrance events as a potential for the formulation of historical materials, clustering of dispersed materials, photographs, artefacts, starting in the late 1970s and early 1980s in West-Berlin.

Yes, in 1983/1984. We held our first exhibition in West Berlin in 1985, in which the pictures and books we were able to find at the time were exhibited. That wasn't very much. It all just filled the small exhibition space in the Staatsbibliothek West. But that was the beginning, when we also started talking to official institutions.

Micro-summary and key meaning: Making use of the potential (exhibitions, small conferences…) to address it to official institutions in the early 1980s.

I had carte blanche to invite guests to a series of gay and lesbian events at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig. I had given poetry and song recitals. And in this context, I invited Ralf to introduce the Magnus Hirschfeld Society. Ralf came to Leipzig, and we got in touch. Not knowing, of course, that one day the Wall would fall, and the Hirschfeld Society would become an all-German event or organization.

Micro-summary and key meaning:Expansion of the core impulses into East-Germany.

The Rosa Winkel publisher also commemorates the persecution with the Rosa Winkel. So, there is a parallel. In the early 1980s, there was a historical awareness in the gay movement. The Hirschfeld Society was a mainstay, as was the Schwules Museum and the Rosa Winkel publisher. It was dedicated to raising awareness of this forgotten literature from the 1920s and even earlier.

Micro-summary and key meaning: The situation of Berlin' 1920, its liberal context as a cultural capital serves as a cultural-historical potential for the formation of various cultural networks, thematic representations, and in the course of time since the 1970s, as a thematic resource to initiate institutional structures, voices, access points and policies.

There were still a few survivors in the 80s that we were able to interview. Sometimes it was a bit difficult to interview them because we knew so little. Which is why we sometimes couldn't ask people the right questions. I had a very nice conversation with the old actor Michael Rittermann. It must have been around 1984/85. Michael Rittermann had his first engagement at the Renaissance Theater in Berlin in 1929 as a young actor and was one of Karl Giese's friends at the Institute at the time. And we spent one afternoon with him and asked him about the people who had something to do with the Institute.

Micro-summary and key meaning:The initial historical resource allocations in the 1970s and 1980s have been built up by people from the cultural sectors, intellectuals, and academics.

It has experienced an incredible dynamic. In the early days of the Hirschfeld Society, even in the late 80s and early 90s, few people were interested. Today, the Hirschfeld Society, I don't want to say overrun, but the trans community is very interested. We almost always have people doing historical research on trans and intersex at the Hirschfeld Society. That didn't play a role. So, what we understand as queer today, i.e. the whole variability of gender and sexual diversity, found a home back then. And this diversity is being accepted and researched again today. And back in the 90s, hardly anyone was interested in it.

Micro-summary and key meaning: The historical past of what is today known as "queer culture" has been conquered by a new queer generation that connects its presence today with the historical past. The more than "gay man"-perspective of the legacy of Magnus Hirschfeld is rediscovered and attracts younger generations worldwide.

When we gave a Hirschfeld lecture, there were 10 people who knew about it. If someone talks about Hirschfeld today, you can fill a lecture hall. I can only report on my lectures, but there is a great deal of interest. Precisely in this opening up of not reducing homosexuality. Both in research and in public perception. On May 14, our gay commissioner/queer commissioner of Berlin is declaring a Hirschfeld Day. That would have been unthinkable 20 years ago. And today Hirschfeld is so en vogue and on everyone's lips that it has a completely different publicity than it did back then.

Micro-summary and key meaning: The historical past of what is today known as "queer culture" has been conquered by a new queer generation that connects its presence today with the historical past. The more than "gay man"-perspective of the legacy of Magnus Hirschfeld is rediscovered and attracts younger generations worldwide.

It developed and built up slowly. In the beginning, we gave talks at adult education centres. Only 10 people came. We also held a whole seminar at Humboldt University once. A few more people came. But that was an academic context in which it was presented. There are individual campaigns that attract attention. We erected monuments to the Institute in Berlin, behind the Congress Hall. (...) Then at some point there were radio interviews. In other words, people asked us about memorial days. After we set up the research centre in 1989, we were able to work with more professional staff for a while. We were able to expand our historical research. We were able to work on more details. Then there were also occasional requests from radio and television. Which we weren't always happy about. Sometimes these were very strange undertakings, but they suddenly sparked a broader interest.

Micro-summary and key meaning: Although positioned closely to Berlin-based universities, the expansion into wider publics took place with the help of various media, interviews, and TV.

And on which all our publications and publications are based. We have set up a research centre, a research centre on the history of sexual science. It functioned via the second job market, but it meant an incredible boost in professionalisation for the Hirschfeld Society. And now systematic research has been carried out by going into the archives. In other words, we systematically searched through publications, researched publications and archives and were ultimately able to systematically create an archive. A separate photo archive, a document archive, an archive of estates that could complement the publications. In other words, 'all history'. We recorded interviews so that we now have various pillars of historical material that we can fall back on and build up our publication.

Micro-summary and key meaning: Various archives serve as a cultural basis to guarantee a solid ground for the dissemination of the historical artefacts, and the political and social positions into new emerging queer sub-communities.

And if you visit us, you will see that we now have a huge library. So, we got the library of the Institute for Sexual Science in Frankfurt am Main from Volkmar Sigusch, which was systematically purchased through Jan Phillip Reemtsma. That alone has almost doubled our institute holdings, our library holdings. It has become huge. In the meantime, we have become an organisation that can no longer be ignored. In other words, we have become an institution. This small Hirschfeld Society has become a large Hirschfeld Society.

Takeaways

The round tables offered further insights in the constitutive dimension of places and spaces for queer living in Berlin. It showed how various types of flexible, fluid, and opaque spaces are essential as well as fully stable, institutionalised and safe spaces (such as libraries, archives, exhibition spaces…). This multi-dimensional geography of queerness is a key finding. Its - at least - dual character might serve as a blueprint for open living spaces in a growing segregated, and socially divided urban society.

4.8. Mapping Queer Spaces in Berlin

A third step to better understand the changing queer landscape and its community formation, we have mapped the most significant spaces that were either highlight in the work of Bruno Gammerl (2024), the projects on the online archive of the Schwules Museum, and finally, in the round tables (see section above).

Source: own draft

4.9. An intermediate summary: Dynamic expansion of variable queer spaces in Berlin

Expanding landscape of queer infrastructures

Phases of emergent variable types of spaces toward a queer landscape

1. Single addresses, culturally coded “institutions” (1920-1930)

    Fixed addresses like Clubs, Bars, Venues, private Homes, but also medical centres
    Fluid and ephemeral space, cruising zones, parks, hidden spaces, streets

2. First addresses of relative institutions (health and sexual medical support centres) (1920-

1930)

Magnus Hirschfeld Institute

3. Post-war period situations and divided city. Visible institutionalisation of care, health, support, and activist spaces (1950-1989)

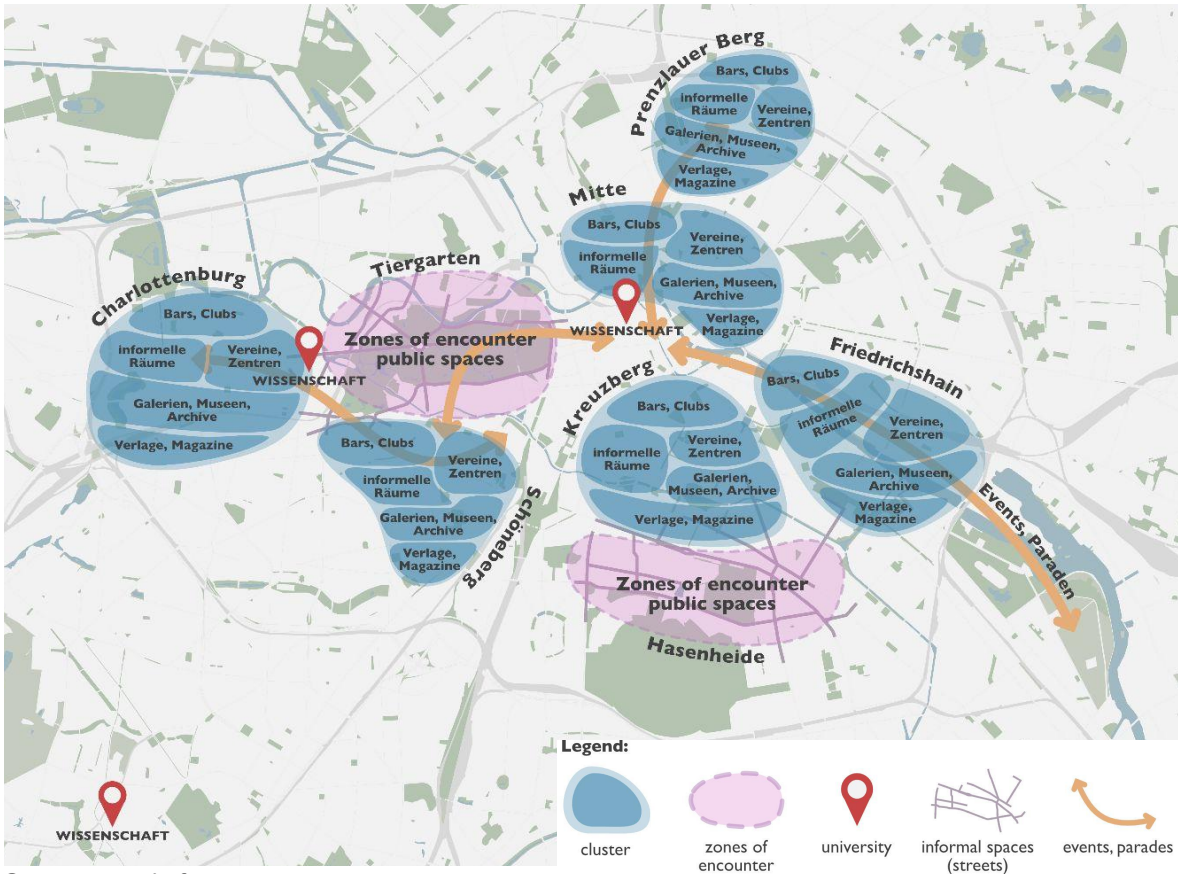
Expansion of spaces such as Clubs, Bars, dance venues in East and West-Berlin
First foundation of sexual liberation (1951) in one of the densest districts (Schöneberg) in West-Berlin
First foundation of a so-called “Homosexuelle Interessensgemeinschaft Berlin” (homosexual interest group)
First foundation of a so-called “Woman district centres” in Kreuzberg
First foundation of a so-called “Café and Culture centre for Women” in Schöneberg
Institutionalisation of “Lesbians in the church” in Prenzlauer Berg
Institutionalisation of “Schwules Museum” in Kreuzberg/Tiergarten
Institutionalisation of Heath and support centre in Schöneberg

4. Expansion of multi-purpose areas in inner city districts (1989-2000)

Clustering of related services (publishing, health, care, activism) around former meeting places in few districts
Blurring of former ephemeral meeting zones and club culture
Emergence of post-family quasi community attitudes and subsequent spaces
Health driven (Aids crisis) politicisation and further expansion into the art, film, music, fashion sector
Multi-coded clusters with ephemeral public meeting zones

5. Pluralization of the LGTBQ++-Community (2000 ff)

Art market, gallery spaces, fashion industries convergence with an expanded LGTBQ++-community around the first institutionalised spaces of the gay and lesbian community (starting in the 1970s ff)
Emergence of sub-communities (either e.g. by age, sexual orientation, hybrid identities, or political positioning) within the well-established community spaces, either around the first institutionalised spaces of the gay and lesbian community or stemming from the socio-economic clustering of the art, fashion, gallery, and tourist segments.



Source: own draft

5. Summary and first observations

1. With the help of a spatially sensitive view on the various time phases - starting in the early 1920s - we could provide an additional analytical view on the institutional and community formation over time and space. We enlarged the scope around the project partner “Schwules Museum” to integrate on the one hand also other relevant queer associations, and like-minded institutions - either place-based or, on the other hand, less spatially fixed zones of encounter, that reflect spatially sensitive practices of “doing community” over time. The various spatialities of these multi-purpose communities have not only expanded enormously in the last 2-3 decades they also stretch way beyond the geographical address and the core commoners of the “Schwules Museum”. Various clusters, constituted out of spatially fixed institutions such as health, service, art, cultural, and knowledge institutions, with support services (publishers, book shops, event agencies, writers, gallerists, photographers, etc.)

2. Historically, the constitution of the community around the “Schwules Museum” has its origin in various thematic purposes, each connected with distinct spaces that orchestrated them. They range - timewise - from

→ Till 1929

Single “accepted” places for bars, clubs, events, meetings, medical support with surrounding ephemeral (semi-) “public spaces

→ Till 1970s

Rented (or squatted, or accepted) spaces for activism, political action, archiving, and showcasing, as well as exhibiting hidden, silent, and less-tolerated spaces

→ Till 2000s

Production spaces (publishers, libraries, shops, printing facilities…) around the above-mentioned spaces with nowadays established but recently unspoken “meeting” zones (Tiergarten, Volkspark Friedrichshain, Hasenheide etc.)

→ Till today

Fully medialized and institutionalised LGTBQ++-spaces well framed as clusters with socio-economic spaces of the wider arts, gallery, music, fashion, and tourism industries facing the oppression of the neo-liberalized global real estate market with increasing rents and almost unaffordable housing costs.

3. Transgression of the fist community (gay/lesbian) places

The expansion of identificatory concepts into what is considered a LGTBQ++-contexts is associated with expanded spatial options to connect and to integrate according to one's individual needs and expectations to socialise. Consequently, multi-dimensional expectations toward the social space of the community have to be dealt and negotiated anew. Diverging interests and expanded socio-structural differences (age, income, qualification, social class…) show the enhanced increasing complexities to calibrate belonging and common action.

This is of importance when looking at the role of the first founders and initiators of gay and lesbian places.

The spatial analysis can provide two-folded answers:

First, the multilayered spaces of the “queer clusters” provide social safety and socio-cultural embeddedness in times of intensified racism, homophobia, and exclusion, and so, roughly saying: safe spaces for its community members and the commoners. The multiplicity of a nowadays rather heterogeneous, highly fragmented queer landscape is spatially embedded into a multi-coded context that provides numerous points to experience the past in the same moment as it allows the commoners to built-up their own future perspectives in Berlin.

Second, the expanded queer landscape with various queer clusters and sub-clusters poses enormous challenges to guarantee participation and acceptance as commoners within association, Furthermore, the expansion of the queer landscapes and its heterogeneity is not likely to fulfil any kind of internal coherence. The queer landscape, stretching relationally between Berlin as a place on the one, and to a global scale of queerness on the other, is a general seedbed and learning ground on how to navigate spatial complexities, overlayering meanings, sub-cultural communities within the large frame of a undefinable “queer community”.

Since organisational practices within these fragmented sub-groups are mainly temporary, unfinished, process-based, all in all project-oriented actions, spatial locations such as the SMU (and many others) matter more, to follow rapid and fluid changes, to provide access to decision making processes and to guarantee a minima degree of politically secured safety for its commoners. Approaching a pluralized “queer community” from a spatial point of view can gain insights in our understanding on the constitutive role of remembrance, trauma and memories.

6. Conclusions

1. Applying a sensitive socio-spatial approach, we show (in the case of the SMU) that various types of flexible spaces enable collective belonging among commoners/volunteers (for a growing queer landscape in and beyond Berlin) over time.
2. Institutional spaces (e.g. knowledge, cultural spaces but also “thematic” spaces and bars, clubs, restaurants…) provide safe encounters and allow practices of participatory commoning.
3. Cooperative spaces allow knowledge flows, political alliances, and partnership/exchanges (exhibitions, archives, talks, research…).
4. Artistic (transgressive/transformative) spaces around institutionalized spaces in inner city areas of Berlin allow wider socializing and bonding practices in queer and like-minded milieus
5. Creative production spaces (Design, fashion, publication, artistic studios etc. pp.) combine queer-milieu-belonging with “making a living”, jobs, contracted work, freelance etc. pp.)
6. These multidimensional types of spaces are surrounded by informal, atmospherically coded, meeting zones (parks, green spaces, silent areas, dead end streets etc. pp) that provide rather secret opportunities for social and sexual encounters.
7. These flexible spaces form a distinct growing landscape of queer geographies that is constituted by many commonly run nodes but also growing economic spaces as well as shifting, informal, and rather “scene-based” spaces.
8. Various types of spaces serve as means for social belonging. Many of the existing historical places are under substantial pressure and danger. Commercialisation, financial marketization and global retail capital and right-wing homo- and xenophobia pushes milieu-oriented spaces aside.

9. A spatial view shows the relevance of forming accessible and affordable spaces for communities of remembering.

10. If these spaces fade away, commoning practices in cultural commons will be pushed in thematic niches (academic niches), or at the periphery (countryside) or in private enclaves.

7. Outlook: Towards a theory of “Communities of remembering”

As initially proposed at the end of Chapter 3, we propose the term 'communities of remembering' to illustrate how the active practice of remembering not only sustains existing communities but also constitutes communities in the first place. With this concept, we aim to move away from an essentialist approach to communities, demonstrating instead how they are constituted, constantly renegotiated, and reinvented through various practices—one of which is the active practice of remembering.

We thus propose the following working definition:

Community of Remembering is a network where collective memory is both the constitutive element and the central organising principle; remembering forms, maintains and expresses a communal sense of belonging. We understand communities of remembering, as those networks that are constituted, albeit never in a final and definitive way, through the practices of doing memory, i.e. through remembering. These communities are characterised by shared narratives and memories that are continuously communicated, interpreted, and reinterpreted among members, creating the possibilities for a sense of belonging and solidarity. These shared historical memories are not static; they evolve with the community's ongoing interactions and experiences, contributing to a dynamic and often fragmented cultural continuity. Conflicting narratives are constantly negotiated among the members of the network.

Like in communities of practice, members of communities of remembering to engage in continuous interactions that facilitate the collective construction of memory. This interaction often involves conflicting storytelling, negotiable commemorative rituals, and the reinforcement of cultural symbols that embody the community's shared experiences. Memory in these communities serves as the material that holds the community together, embedding a sense of shared history and identity. It includes the recollection of significant events, practices, and values that define the community's character and ethos. The community utilises various mechanisms to transmit memory, such as formal and informal education, artistic practices, rituals, public ceremonies, and through the physical environment, which may include spaces that crystalize communal memories (e.g. monuments, museums, galleries, archives, libraries, etc).

The process of remembering in these communities is often purposeful and directed towards specific ends, such as healing from past trauma, building bonds, or – more explicitly political – mobilising for social change. Communities of remembering to strengthen both horizontal (interpersonal) and vertical (intergenerational) bonds, ensuring that memories are passed down through generations and shared across contemporaries, thereby preserving the continuity of community identity over time. By producing a shared historical narrative, these

communities enhance bonds and trust among members, and learn to negotiate conflicts, which are essential for cooperative efforts and collective action.

The above working definition situates "communities of remembering" at the intersection of collective memory theory and community studies, highlighting the dynamic and constructive nature of memory in social organisation and community life.

8. References

Alexander, J. C., Eyerman, R., Giesen, B., Smelser, N. J., & Sztompka, P. (2004). *Cultural trauma and collective identity*. University of California Press.

Andrea, R., Benno, G., & Martin, L. (Eds.). (2023). *Handbuch Queere Zeitgeschichten I*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Assmann, A. (2010). *Memory in a global age: Discourses, practices, and trajectories*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Assmann, J. (2010). *Cultural memory and early civilization: Writing, remembrance, and political imagination*. Cambridge University Press.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Prentice-Hall.

Bohleber, W. (2007). Remembrance, trauma, and collective memory: The battle for memory in psychoanalysis. *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 88*(2), 329-352.

Bowen, G. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal, 9,* 27-40.

Butler, J. (2010). *Frames of war: When is life grievable?* Verso.

Casey, E. S. (2000). *Remembering: A phenomenological study*. Indiana University Press.

Connerton, P. (1989). *How societies remember*. Cambridge University Press.

Crimp, D. (1988). *AIDS: Cultural analysis/cultural activism*. MIT Press.

Daniel, A., & Klapeer, C. M. (2019). Einleitung. Wider dem Utopieverdruss. Queer*feministische Überlegungen zum Stand der Debatte. *Femina Politica - Zeitschrift für Feministische Politikwissenschaft, 1,* 9-31.

Denzin, N. K. (1998). *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Durkheim, É. (1893). *The division of labour in society*. Free Press.

Evans, J. V., & Cook, M. (2014). *Queer cities queer cultures: Europe since 1945*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Eyerman, R. (2001). *Cultural trauma: Slavery and the formation of African American identity*. Cambridge University Press.

Farmer, P. (1992). *AIDS and accusation: Haiti and the geography of blame*. University of California Press.

Flick, U. (2002). *Qualitative Sozialforschung: Eine Einführung*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: rororo.

Gammer, B. (2024). *Queer: Eine deutsche Geschichte vom Kaiserreich bis heute*. Hanser Verlag München.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behaviour*. Pantheon.

Goffman, E. (1972). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. Harper & Row.

Granovetter, M. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology, 78*(6), 1360-1380.

Graves, M., & Rechniewski, E. (2010). From collective memory to transcultural remembrance. *Portal: Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies, 7*(1), 1-15.

Grau, G. (1995). *The hidden holocaust?: Gay and lesbian persecution in Germany 1933-45*. Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers.

Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The collective memory*. Harper & Row Publishers.

Hartal, G., & Misgav, C. (2021). Queer urban trauma and its spatial politics: A lesson from social movements in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. *Urban Studies, 58*(7), 1463-1483.

Heiber, S., Bird, R., & Lottmann, R. (2023). Räume für queeres Alter(n). *Feministische Geo-RundMail, 94,* 27-32.

Hebbert, M. (2005). The street as locus of collective memory. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 23*(4), 581-596.

Herek, G. M., & Glunt, E. K. (1988). An epidemic of stigma: Public reactions to AIDS. *American Psychologist, 43*(11), 886-891.

Herz, A., Peters, L., & Truschkat, I. (2015). How to do qualitative structural analysis: The qualitative interpretation of network maps and narrative interviews. *FQS, 16*(1), S.

Hirsch, M. (2008). *The generation of postmemory*. Columbia University Press.

Hirschberger, G. (2018). Collective trauma and the social construction of meaning. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9,* 1441.

Hospers, G. J. (2006). Borders, bridges, and branding: The transformation of the Øresund region into an imagined space. *European Planning Studies, 14*(8), 1015-1034.

Jellonnek, B., & Lautmann, R. (2002). *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle: Verdrängt und ungesühnt*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.

Jensen, S. O. (2011). Othering, identity formation, and agency. *Qualitative Studies, 2*(2), 63-78.

Jones, A. (2013). Introduction: Queer utopias, queer futurity, and potentiality in quotidian practice. In *A critical inquiry into queer utopias* (pp. 1-17).

Kelly, M., Lubitow, A., Town, M., & Mercier, A. (2020). Collective trauma in queer communities. *Sexuality & Culture, 24,* 1522-1543.

Kenny, M. G. (1999). A place for memory: The interface between individual and collective history. *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 41*(3), 420-437.

Kirmayer, L. J., Lemelson, R., & Barad, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Understanding trauma: Integrating biological, clinical, and cultural perspectives*. Cambridge University Press.

Klemm, M., & Liebold, R. (2017). Qualitative interviews in der organisationsforschung. In S. Liebig, W. Matiaske, & S. Rosenbohm (Eds.), *Handbuch Empirische Organisationsforschung* (pp. 299-324). Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Kleinman, A., & Kleinman, J. (1991). The appeal of experience; the dismay of images: Cultural appropriations of suffering in our times. *Daedalus, 1,* 1-23.

Klapeer, C. M., & Schönpflug, K. (2015). Queer needs commons! Transgressing the fiction of self-ownership challenging Westocentric proprietism. In *Global Justice and Desire* (pp. 187-203). Routledge.

Kosnick, K. (2017). OUT on the scene - queer migrant clubbing and urban diversity. *Ethnologia Europaea, 47*(1), 12.

Kreating, M. (2020). Beyond the nation-state: Territory, solidarity, and welfare in a multiscalar Europe. *Territory Politics Governance,* S.

LaCapra, D. (2016). Trauma, history, memory, identity: What remains? *History and Theory, 55*(3), 375-400.

Landweer, H., Newmark, C., Kley, C., & Miller, S. (2012). *Philosophie und die Potenziale der Gender Studies: Peripherie und Zentrum im Feld der Theorie*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Landsberg, A. (2004). *Prosthetic memory: The transformation of American remembrance in the age of mass culture*. Columbia University Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge University Press.

Marschner, N. (2023). Eingeschränkte Solidarität. Ein intersektionaler Blick auf Klassenverhältnisse in queeren Alterswohnprojekten. *Feministische Geo-RundMail, 94,* 33-37.

Matthiesen, U., & Bürkner, H. J. (2001). Antagonistic structures in border areas: Local milieux and local politics in the Polish-German twin city Gubin-Guben. *GeoJournal, 54*(1), 43-50.

Mayring, P. (2003). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken* (8th ed.). Weinheim: Beltz.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society*. University of Chicago Press.

Misztal, B. A. (2003). *Theories of social remembering*. McGraw-Hill Education.

Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. *University of California Press*.

Olick, J. K., & Robbins, J. (1998). Social memory studies: From "collective memory" to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 105-140.

Papanikolaou, D. (2014). Mapping/unmapping: The making of queer Athens. In J. V. Evans & M. Cook (Eds.), *Queer Cities, Queer Cultures: Europe post 1945* (pp. 151-170). Continuum.

Paasi, A. (2005). Globalisation, academic capitalism, and the uneven geographies of international journal publishing spaces. *Environment and Planning A, 37,* 769-789.

Park, R. E., & Burgess, E. W. (1925). *The city*. University of Chicago Press.

Parsons, T. (1951). *The social system*. Free Press.

Pfefferbaum, B., Reissman, D., Pfefferbaum, R. L., Klomp, R. W., & Gurwitch, R. H. (2005). Building resilience to mass trauma events. In L. S. Doll, S. E. Bonzo, J. A. Mercy, & D. A. Sleet (Eds.), *Handbook of injury and violence prevention* (pp. 347-358). Springer.

Plant, R. (1986). *The pink triangle: The Nazi war against homosexuals*. Henry Holt and Company.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon & Schuster.

Rottmann, A., Lücke, M., & Gammerl, B. (2023). Queere Räume, Räume queeren. In A. Rottmann, M. Lücke, & B. Gammerl (Eds.), *Handbuch Queere Zeitgeschichte 1 Räume* (pp. 35-52). transcript.

Schmidt, S. J. (2008). Memory and remembrance: A constructivist approach. In *Cultural memory studies: An international and interdisciplinary handbook* (pp. 191-202).

Schwartz, B. (1996). Memory as a cultural system: Abraham Lincoln in World War II. *American Sociological Review, 908-927.*

Shilts, R. (1987). *And the band played on: Politics, people, and the AIDS epidemic*. St. Martin's Press.

Silverman, D. (1986). *Qualitative methodology and sociology: Describing the social world*. Gower.

Sztompka, P. (2000). *The sociology of social change*. Blackwell Publishers.

Tönnies, F. (1887). *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Fues's Verlag.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. University of Minnesota Press.

Volkan, V. (1997). *Bloodlines: From ethnic pride to ethnic terrorism*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Watney, S. (1987). *Policing desire: Pornography, AIDS, and the media*. Methuen.

Watson, S. (2007). History museums, community identities, and a sense of place: Rewriting histories. In *Museum revolutions* (pp. 186-198). Routledge.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge University Press.

Wertsch, J. V., & Roediger III, H. L. (2008). Collective memory: Conceptual foundations and theoretical approaches. *Memory, 16*(3), 318-326.