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PLACEMAKING, PERFORMANCE AND INFRASTRUCTURES OF BELONGING

The Role of Ritual Healing and Mass Cultural Gatherings in the Wake of Trauma

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Prologue

In the spirit of this project to develop a dynamic community of praxis, the authors have decided to frame their contribution to this volume as a dialogue rather than a univocal essay, keeping the commitment to posing theory against practice, and bringing a new voice, that of an artistic researcher-practitioner, into the discussion. In what follows, Dr Anna Marazuela Kim (AMK) provides a wide-ranging introduction to explore the potential of mass cultural gatherings in the healing of societal traumas, specifically as they invoke placemaking in the *absence* of place – a dynamic which forms a new contribution to the literature on this topic. This is followed by Dr Jacek Ludwig Scarso's (JLS) presentation of a case study, Artichoke's *Sanctuary* (2022) (Figure 23.1), this is intended as an example to apply our considerations, in that it both reflects and challenges notions of placemaking in trauma-informed practice.

Lastly, an exchange of ideas between the two authors provides a series of reflections highlighting both the poignancy and complexity of addressing trauma through ephemeral, artistic placemaking.

AMK

While the premise of this volume – *trauma-informed placemaking* – might seem new, the project of placemaking has long been predicated upon the value of understanding the history of the places it seeks to remake, in order to make visible the complex set of structures and forces that have shaped and continue to inform their trajectories. The US-based *Thriving Cities Project* (now *Lab* and

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Group) with which I have been involved pioneered a paradigm of the city as a complex ecosystem, with the understanding that the basis for engaging any given city was not limited to identifying its present set of challenges and circumstances, but the deep structures of the history that formed it. Often it is only by means of this socio-political archaeology that one uncovers the potential of what was once a richly layered, complex and diverse community of interests living and working together, the interrelation between what Richard Sennett describes in terms of the ‘*cité*’ and ‘*ville*’ (Sennett, 2019). Historical investigation is also crucial in revealing the hidden, or nearly invisible, fractures and traumas in a landscape which are later obscured by newer layers of sedimentation: whether the grim detritus of post-industrial abandonment; the shiny patina of gentrification covering wounds of displacement and a flattening of layers of cultural diversity; or the newly demarcated borders instituted by war, political force, or the forces of global capitalism, further dividing societies and communities. That is to say, placemaking often begins in the aftermath of histories of trauma.

Places – even when they have suffered such radical changes as to render them unrecognisable to the communities who once made them, for better or for worse – are nonetheless a material repository of histories which preserve the *potential* for their remaking, even if limited to remembering the traumas which have formatively shaped them. But what if trauma takes place not in a specific place or spaces, but throughout the body politic of a particular community, a society, or society at large? How might placemaking address these non-site specific, collective wounds, particularly when they are rendered less visible by the mandate to carry on despite the injury, such as in the aftermath of the devastation of COVID-19? Given the cumulative effect of these wounds, how might placemaking heal the deeper fractures that cripple the social infrastructure foundational to a healthy, inclusive civic life?

The multiplication and intersection of societal traumas – from pandemic isolation to race riots, to the deterioration of infrastructures of societal support at the level of community, democratic processes at the national level, and indeed our shared, planetary conditions – make these questions of increasingly urgent concern. Beyond the debilitating effect on individual and collective wellbeing of more recent events, there is the growing awareness of the toll that living in the aftermath of long histories of structural violence and injustice brings to the equation. Anne Cvetkovic’s description of depression as a cultural, social and political phenomenon or ‘public feeling’, rather than an individual or chemical malady, illuminates the psychological burden we all carry by virtue of a shared inheritance of trauma, regardless of whether we are conscious of it (Cvetkovic, 2012, pp. 1–2). There is little doubt that more recent traumas are doubled by a sense of fatigue in the face of long historical chains of social violence – intractable and seemingly without easy solution – further draining our capacity to address them. Yet as Cvetkovic explains, such an investigation, which is part of a larger ‘affective turn’ across disciplines that recognises the importance of the life of

feeling, presents the possibility to regenerate the hopeful foundations for political agency (ibid., pp. 2–3).

In searching for a means to undertake the healing of these invisible, collective wounds, we might also turn to the sociological perspective of Jeffrey Alexander in his exploration of ‘cultural trauma’, when ‘members of a collectivity [sic] feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways’. Alexander notes that social scientists stress the importance of ‘public acts of commemoration, cultural representation, and public political struggle – some collective means for undoing repression and allowing the pent-up emotions of loss and mourning to be expressed’, as methods of amelioration and healing (Alexander, 2004, pp. 1–30).

In describing the experiential operation of an artwork dedicated to recently exhumed remains from the Spanish Civil War by Hrair Sarkissian, whose family history was shaped by the Armenian genocide, critic Vali Mahlouji gives richer definition to this otherwise generic set of sociological principles, which also brings it into the affective realm. The artwork under discussion is Sarkissian’s *Deathscape* (2021), described by the artist as ‘a temporal sound installation that enables the audience to experience transmitted soundscapes made by forensic archaeologists during the exhumation of mass graves that hold the bodies of those executed by the authoritarian regime headed by Francisco Franco from the time of the 1936–1939 Spanish Civil War until his death in 1975’ (Mahlouji, 2023, p. 244):

Moving from materiality to immateriality, and from evidentiary truth to experience, [Sarkissian’s] artwork shifts the focus away from the absent-present object-to-be-salvaged into an immaterial sensorial field, and then into a field of mnemonic and affective experience.

(ibid.)

In order to mitigate the damage of traumatic experience transmitted intergenerationally and inherited through history, against those who caution against reopening closed wounds, Mahlouji emphasises the importance of the act of witnessing: ‘There is no possibility of healing without the truth, and no possibility of healthy reconciliation with history in the absence of the collective acknowledgement of truth’ (ibid., p. 245). What is made possible by the physical artwork in question is an archaeological re-presentation of trauma that is effectively a double operation: first of witness or recognition, aiding the recovery of the repressed, or in this case, suppressed, memory, followed by an active form of recovery through ‘somaesthetics’: what Richard Shusterman has described as ‘thinking through the body’ (Shusterman, 2012, p. X).

Such approaches explicitly reference an understanding of trauma and theories that have their origins in psychoanalytic theory. When trauma studies emerged in the 1990s, it was initially primarily shaped by Freudian thought, particularly

regarding the mechanism of repression and the deleterious effects of traumatic events inaccessible to the individual patient or *analysand*. While the sociological and social constructivist methodologies with a basis in psychoanalysis described above do emphasise the material and experiential, they are also focused to a large degree on the retrieval of memory, and therefore to processes strongly allied with conscious thought, even if through somaesthetics or ‘thinking through the body’. But there is another strand of origin for the term ‘trauma’, literally ‘wound’, which offers a different point of entry for consideration; this lies in Ancient Greece. Turning to that linguistic and cultural source, I would suggest that beyond the deictic and experiential dimension of psychoanalytic approaches to trauma, the importance of communal ritual and performance, as they present the potential for catharsis, offer a valuable contribution as well. Within this frame, we might note the interest of contemporary artists in Ancient Greek tragedy as the foundation for addressing histories of trauma, such as Grada Kilomba’s *Illusions* Vol. II (2018) and Vol. III (2019), which re-stages the stories of Oedipus and Antigone to unpack the violence of a colonial past, or Edmund Clark’s *Oresteia*, which documents his work as artist-in-residence in Britain’s only therapeutic prison, through a retelling of the play by inmates.

Extending these approaches more broadly, we begin to see the potential of cultural gatherings that draw upon performative rituals of witness and catharsis to heal the collective wounds which we have earlier described. The positive capacity of festivals to bring people into a shared experience of wonder and joy through the arts, and rituals of healing, capture a further dimension of these gatherings (Alvarez, 2020). Joining together these methodologies, we can now return to the initial question of how placemaking might address collective trauma that is not specific to place, but affects the larger body of society, trauma which is furthermore left to the individual to address in relative isolation, as in the case of COVID-19 and the continuing pain and loss left in its wake (Schupbach, 2020). The case study we have chosen as exemplary, *Sanctuary* (2022) commissioned by Artichoke, adds a further dimension to specifically address the absence of a site as historic *locus* for these processes. This is the intentional creation of a temporal architectural structure and space that presents the possibility of publicly sharing and memorialising the trauma of COVID-19 and its aftermath: a building co-constructed by artist and community, providing both a process and an infrastructure for communal healing (see also Beinart and Lugalía-Hollon & Quintara, this volume). In further articulating the operation of such an artwork, we might invoke what theorist Mechthild Widrich defines as a ‘performative monument’, one which is constituted in relation to its interactive audiences, temporal rather than permanent, processual rather than fixed (Widrich, 2014, p. 6). However, the temporal nature of the intervention, its constitution of being led by an artist rather than co-designed with a community, and its seeming disassociation with the particularity of its chosen site, all raise questions of potential importance for not only this volume but for placemaking as a whole, which the following section seeks to articulate and to address.

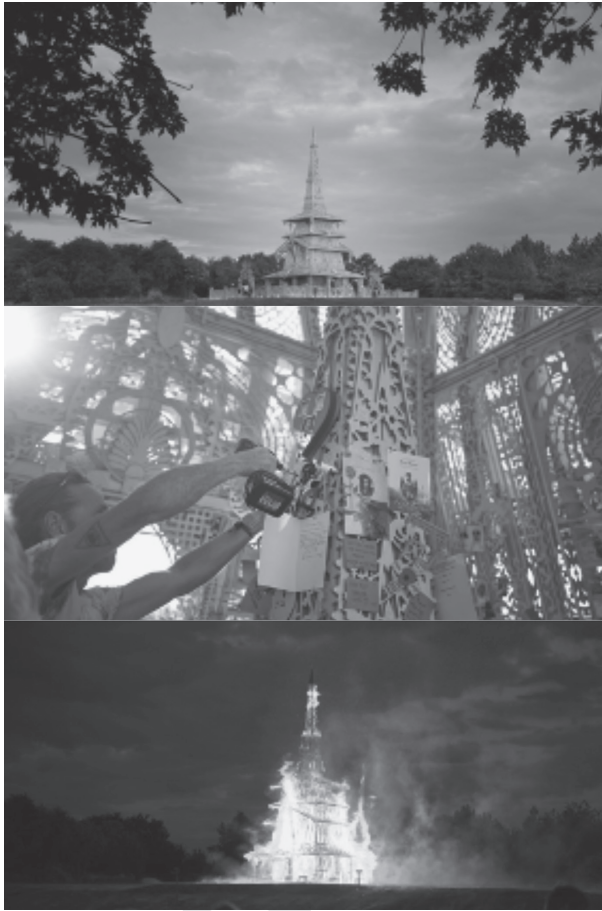


FIGURE 23.1 Top, the built structure of *Sanctuary*; middle, participatory engagement in *Sanctuary*; bottom: The burning of the structure of *Sanctuary*, an Artichoke project in association with Imagineer. Created by David Best and the Temple Crew, 2021. All images courtesy of Artichoke.

JLS

Produced by Artichoke in collaboration with Imagineer and Nuneaton & Bedworth Borough Council, Warwickshire, UK, in May 2022, *Sanctuary* (Figure 23.1) was a participatory work created by the US artist David Best in Miners' Welfare Park in close collaboration with members of the local Warwickshire community. A temporary memorial to COVID-19 victims, a wooden architectural structure of monumental proportions (65ft/19.8m high) was erected to stand for the duration of a week. Throughout this period, visitors were invited to inscribe wooden pieces with messages dedicated to loved ones lost during the pandemic and attach these to

the structure. As an act of collective catharsis, the week-long duration culminated in the spectacular act of setting the structure on fire, intended as a way of closure in the traumatic experience of grief. An estimated 16,700 people visited during the week and 10,000 the burning event, with further dissemination achieved through features on the national press and the BBC.

My research with Artichoke began in 2021, looking at the impact of COVID-19 on the changing perception of mass gatherings and their cultural value in reclaiming public space, post-pandemic. In an article co-authored with Kirsten Jeske Thompson (Scarso & Thompson, 2022), we looked at three case studies from Artichoke's body of work since its debut with the itinerant performance *The Sultan's Elephant* in 2006. Alongside the latter, our research explored the recurring light festival *Lumiere* (biennially, 2009–) and the participatory production *Processions* (2018), commemorating one hundred years of women obtaining the right to vote in Britain. The aim of the publication was to analyse the unique potential and resilience of these case studies in involving large audiences in mass-scale acts of performance. These acts, we argued, would at once need to adapt to the locations used, responding to the complexities of multiple sites and the countless logistical restrictions inherent to these; at the same time, they would creatively disrupt, for a temporary period, such contexts, their daily routines and social conventions, in the creation of spectacular experiences that would radically shift the perception of the city and of the individual's role within it. The argument here was that, in a moment of deep social change and unprecedented restrictions as those caused by global lockdowns, the process of gradually reclaiming public space could be informed by the learnings developed over the years by companies like Artichoke, that have made public space their stage and art gallery.

Across this research, with Kirsten Jeske Thompson (Scarso & Thompson, 2022), Artichoke posed an interesting example of what could be defined as 'ephemeral urbanism': a way of relating to the built environment by highlighting what happens in between the buildings, in the 'soft city', that is in the intangible ways in which we may creatively 'mis-use' a city environment. To follow the 2022 study, which used the pandemic as a starting point, it is particularly poignant to now look at the way this artistic approach has been used as a memorial gesture to directly address COVID. Somehow significantly, the piece analysed here is set apart from the urban context that provided the backdrop to so many projects by Artichoke: an almost symbolic decision of moving away from the hustle and bustle of the city and to look for a contemplative space that transcends the meaning of a specific locality, while directly engaging with its local community: a place to ponder on the human loss of COVID-19 and, in doing so, to meditate on the fragility and on the value of life.

The relationship between Artichoke's work and the concept of placemaking is not without the need for problematisation. As an organisation commissioning and producing public art events, placemaking may not be straightforwardly applied to Artichoke's projects (nor indeed does Artichoke consciously reference placemaking

in its work). Yet, placemaking does provide a lens through which to appreciate their potential and impact further. If we use Courage's definition of placemaking as putting a community 'front and centre' in deciding how a place looks and functions (2020, p. 2), we may see Artichoke's approach as sitting at odds within this framework: here, the public is most certainly a participant in the project, but the commissioning process used by Artichoke, actively selecting artists, curating the artistic production of the work and the modes in which participation takes place, could be regarded as only partially co-creative. This is a deliberate choice by Artichoke: when we interviewed its CEO, Helen Marriage (Scarso & Thompson, 2022), she emphasised that co-creation should not be at the expense of the artist's expression: that the apparent default application of co-creative strategies (Marriage was referencing current trends in public funding in this respect) risks inadvertently contributing to an implicit dismissal of what an artist can do and bring. Thus, Artichoke operates as a facilitator of a dialogue between creative professionals and a community, drawing on the expertise of the former and the experience and insight of the latter, to generate new possibilities of artistic exploration.

It is also important, in this respect, to consider the scale of Artichoke's projects. With *Sanctuary* creating a temporary place for multiple thousands of participants over the space of a week, there is a clear need for the organisation to supervise operations in a highly structured way, whilst also ensuring active engagement by the public in the creative process. Discussing this with Beth King, Head of Participation and Learning at Artichoke (interviewed on 25 November 2022), projects like *Sanctuary* require long-term planning in order to be logistically feasible. The project had to be postponed several times due to COVID restrictions and, in addition to the complex practicalities of its installation, it also entailed a range of preparatory activities engaging the public in its making: for instance, local schools were invited to create designs for some of the wooden panels that would be eventually incorporated in the structure, and this took place months before its realisation. Furthermore, Artichoke actively engaged local job centres to provide paid employment for members of the community to work in the creation of the main structure, in addition to training volunteers to take part in the hosting of the week-long installation.

Inevitably, the large-scale format discussed here, in relation to Artichoke and more broadly across this chapter, leads to the question of whether such scale, combined with the ephemerality of projects like these, can indeed be conducive to actual placemaking. King conveyed that there was some initial resistance amongst the community of Nuneaton & Bedworth when originally consulted on the making of *Sanctuary*, with many questioning why public money should be used for an artistic intervention of this scale that was designed to be only temporary. This was in direct contrast with the overwhelmingly positive response that the project received once realised, including by many of those who had opposed it initially. This leads to complex questions with regards to the process of consultation in relation to creative risk taking. Artichoke's ethos is about creating 'extraordinary

and ambitious ephemeral events' that 'invade our public spaces' (Artichoke website); their approach champions innovative artistic ideas that may be difficult to fathom until they are materialised. Public consultation should of course take place, but to what extent should an artistic vision be trusted regardless, informed but not potentially blocked by this?

According to these complexities, it may be worth considering the different phases of co-creation in a project like *Sanctuary*. In the first phase, a site is created through the commissioning process, hence positioning the producing organisation and the artist involved as leading such creation in a structured way – undoubtedly, here notions of hierarchy are at play, notwithstanding the collaborative ethos that has always been championed by Artichoke. Indeed, it could be argued that the work is created *for* participants, as opposed to *with* participants at this stage (Page, 2020, p. 157). This however changes once the situation is created: participants join in and begin to take ownership of the location, 'making' this a 'place' through the act of sharing and commemorating their lived experience, giving meaning and collective purpose to what up until that point can be seen as a spectacular artwork.

King communicated the team's surprise at just how deep the engagement by the public was in *Sanctuary*. Thousands of participants visited the site, sharing very personal stories of loss, bringing photographs, memorabilia and in some cases even the ashes of dear ones, to the point that the piece quickly transcended the specific context of COVID and became a powerful vehicle for a collective expression of grief. While this testified the sheer impact of the project, it came with complications too. King remembers that the team began to refer to the project as the 'temple of tears' and many would feel overwhelmed by the participants' sharing of so many stories of emotional pain. While NHS counsellors were present at the site for part of the project and useful contacts were actively disseminated for further psychological support where needed, it was clear that additional aid would be necessary, and Artichoke followed this up by providing counselling for the team involved in the aftermath of the project's conclusion.

The healing of traumatic lived experience is central to projects like *Sanctuary*, and this process necessitates that such experience is remembered and possibly relived. This implies further responsibility for its creators as to the safeguarding of participants. While, inevitably, a key point we may want to interrogate is whether further measures in this respect would have been necessary, including more specialist support in mental health or more training for staff present at the art event, it is important to consider that a project like this is about nurturing mutual support in a community. It is by encouraging this communal support, made of a genuine exchange of personal experiences, that a project like this can be seen within the frame of placemaking. Indeed, we may ask whether, should the presence of mental health specialists have been more visible, the project may have been perceived differently and its immediacy and community spirit may have been somewhat lost. This is an important question in trauma-informed creative practice: to what extent should strong emotions, which may be key to artistic engagement and active

dialogue, be mitigated by the need to safeguard the participant from the very feelings that the project is designed to address?

Numerous citations from participants as well as quantifiable data of engagement with the project (Artichoke, 2022) testify to *Sanctuary*'s overall success. Significantly, while any initial reluctance to this piece appeared to be overcome in its positive realisation, more controversy arose in the actual act of burning the Sanctuary structure, as the culmination of the project. King recalls the disappointment that this caused for many participants, though the burning event was indeed powerfully symbolic in relation to the cathartic concept of the work. Aside from this event being always intended as the climax of the piece according to David Best's vision, King observes that making *Sanctuary* a permanent memorial would not only have had substantially different logistical implications, but, crucially, may have created a very different relationship with its participants. We may indeed contemplate whether the temporary nature of this work was itself integral to the enabling of a deep engagement with its community. That said, this does raise the issue of community legacy for ephemeral projects, one that we will return to later in this chapter.

Reflections

AMK

As Cara Courage notes in her introduction, 'Placemaking represents a paradigm shift in thinking about planning and urban design, from a primary focus on buildings and macro urban form to a focus on public space and human activity – what happens in these spaces, why, how, and with and by whom, and not: this is all the stuff of placemaking'. (Courage, 2021, p. 3). Within this expanded framework, we might understand temporal artistic interventions such as *Sanctuary* not only within this category of activity in the public realm that aims to reconfigure it: the 'soft city', as Thompson and Scarso have described with regard to other creative works by Artichoke, such as processions and festivals. More radically, it might also be viewed as a form of tactical urbanism, which seizes upon the opportunity presented by temporal incursions by its inhabitants into public space, with the potential for more permanent reclamation and agency in that sphere. In an earlier volume, architect and commons practitioner Torange Khonsari explicates the operation of temporary spatial objects and architectures as a tactic in citizen-led placemaking: the role of 'disobedient objects' as a means to resist the increasing diminution of public space from 'the waves of city-development, supported by capital interests moving at high-speed' (Khonsari, in Courage & McKeown, 2019, p. 127). Such tactics, according to Khonsari, can have the effect of encouraging the chance encounters that build a sense of community, which I have argued is a crucial first step in fostering the civic agency that empowers individuals and communities to effect change (Kim & Yates, in Courage & McKeown, 2019).

Placemaking's role in creating 'the commons', in the many ways it is defined, is clearly important. But historically examples tend to focus on the urban realm, for a variety of reasons: because of the focus on cities as the primary, and increasingly growing, site of inhabitation for the majority of the population, a concern of UN Habitat and other organisations, from grassroots to government; cities as the traditional seat of political power and governance and the greater impact on communities and society; and the rapid change (ranging from gentrification to dereliction) exerted by global capitalism in the urban realm. But what of the extra-urban spaces and landscapes of our countries, the countryside, which at times has truly been forgotten in these discussions? A shift in thinking in urban design from centre to periphery was clearly signalled by AMO and Rem Koolhaas' 2022 *Countryside. A Report*, a title that might be juxtaposed with the ground-breaking work that established the architect as a leading intellect and visionary in the field, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (1994). Since then, and even before, if we take *Countryside* as a bellwether of significant cultural shifts in the landscape, there has been an increasing interest in the towns and rural communities outside the hubs of our cities. This is particularly true in Great Britain, which has shifted its priorities from continued cultural investment by government in powerhouses such as London to those which have been left behind: at attempt to 'level up' opportunities for creative placemaking and the creative industries across the country. Similarly in the United States, there are signs of a shift in government investment, from the nation's prize cities to areas outside of them in the reinvigoration of the manufacturing industries. As the example of *Sanctuary* makes clear, the role of temporary, creative placemaking without further tangible infrastructure in areas of relative deprivation, such as the mining town which was its chosen site, raised serious concerns. How placemaking will be engaged in and take on meaning for the communities in these areas, in the wake of economic and other traumas, remains to be seen.

JLS

One of the key challenges in the case study explored in this chapter is measuring its impact in relation to the concerns of our discussion. This is particularly so, due to the ephemerality of the events and, in the case of *Sanctuary*, their one-off nature. As often is the case with festivals and large-scale events, we may get trapped in the tendency to measure impact only in terms of quantifiable data (audience numbers, statistics, financial return, etc.), but these are precisely what trauma-informed practice should not be reduced to. When researching the project featured here, we have come across a wide range of audience comments affirming the success of these events and the importance of these in their lived experience. Of course, how do we measure personal responses other than simply citing these anecdotally? Notions of trauma and healing are inherently difficult to define, and we must remember that the events studied here are, first and foremost, artistic projects: they are not

intended to ‘solve’ problems, but, arguably, to provide a creative opportunity for dealing with such problems through respite, contemplation, thought provocation or even simple escapism.

If we cannot approach the impact in case studies such as *Sanctuary* in terms of how much the ‘problem’ they explore is ‘resolved’ as a result, how do we make a case as to the necessity of these? The answer may have to stay open-ended: like the ephemeral nature of such projects, their impact must be understood as fluid, changeable and indeed subjective. Most importantly, such impact may be noticeable beyond their actual duration. As Alvarez states in relation to festivals, which, by extension, may be applied here too:

instead of thinking of the event as the final product, the festival inspires a horizon of impact that includes the multiple ways artists and communities might ‘use’ the festival as fuel for activities of cultural autonomy and renewal. Most of those activities will be after-effects, carried out beyond public view and statistical reach, or outside the curatorial guidance of event organizers.

(in *Courage* (2021), p. 476)

Conclusion

We see through our chosen case study, *Sanctuary*, the potential to heal collective and individual trauma through ephemeral, performative, placemaking strategies, whereby new creative structures, spaces and ritual invite communities to participate in a process of public witness and emotional sharing, with the ultimate aim of catharsis. While such an intervention at first seems to fall outside principles of placemaking as traditionally construed, whether because of its ephemeral nature or beginning from traumas that are not specific to place, we have sought to show how this might contribute to a further development of the field by its methodology of creating *place*, not only in the sense of the temporary structure co-constructed by artist and a particular community, but by providing, through their narratives, a ‘supplementary layer’ (Schipper, 2014, p. 24) through which familiar spaces are re-imagined and re-discovered by their inhabitants under a different light. Here, the locations used are symbolically transformed in temporary sanctuaries, an idea that our case study directly references, where personal and societal traumas can be addressed through artistic practice.

As we have seen, projects like *Sanctuary* entail mass-scale operations, involving large numbers of facilitators and attendees (in both cases, exceeding the tens of thousands). Such scale necessitates careful planning, which at face value may seem to contradict the notions of co-creation and anti-hierarchy that are inherent to an understanding of placemaking; on the other hand, our case study encourages a level of spontaneity and active dialogue, according to which the public functions as more than spectators, becoming participants, whose personal stories and experiences help shape the events. As we navigate the aftermath of the COVID pandemic, this

mass scale becomes all the more poignant, reminding us of the power of large gatherings in creating an alternative social dimension that is activated through creative expression.

In this sense, projects like *Sanctuary* may be seen in relation to the possibility of healing traumas, but such healing should not be understood in an art-therapy context: the art experiences entailed here are not to be confused with those that may be designed specifically with a therapeutic aim, thus based on the technical methodologies of application that are inherent to these. Rather than aimed at providing healing to the individual, it is in the communal dimension they promote through artistic expression, that, using placemaking as a reference point, these projects can provide an opportunity to collectively acknowledge trauma and transcend this through the power of art and participatory performance.

Hence, ephemerality should not be seen as an obstacle to legacy and impact. In fact, it is in the impermanent nature of our case study that its significance is amplified. Returning to King's observation, a project like *Sanctuary* may be perceived as all the more meaningful, precisely as it is only temporary, making its duration and presence precious. This lack of permanence and the changeability of these events reflects the nature of the traumas they address, which are also never monolithic experiences, but are just as variable, from person to person, from place to place, from time to time. Impermanence allows for new ideas to follow, highlighting a sense of dialogical community as opposed to static institutionalisation. And particularly in discussing trauma, impermanence is indeed a poignant reminder of the idea, sobering and reassuring in equal measure, that 'this too will pass'.

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