

COMMUNITY, EPHEMERA, AND ARCHIVES

by

Diane Daly

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Diane Daly, titled *Community, Archives, and Ephemera* and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____ Date: (Enter Date)

Catherine Brooks

_____ Date: (Enter Date)

Kay Mathiesen

_____ Date: (Enter Date)

Vincent Del Casino

_____ Date: (Enter Date)

Ricardo Punzalan

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

_____ Date: (Enter Date)

Dissertation Director: Catherine Brooks

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DEDICATION

For Bruno and Stella. May your memories always convince you that the future you have chosen was waiting for you, all along.

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ABSTRACT

Community expressions – specifically, annual events manifested by groups other than official organizations– can be sites for transmission of crucial understandings of the past that have not achieved representation in formal archives. In this dissertation, to locate the minor narratives of history I analyze a community expression with my focus honed on the ephemeral matter used within it, to imitate and question the reliance in archives on evidence, and explore ephemera as important focus points for the transmission of collective memory. The ephemerally embodied event I studied as an “archive” was the All Souls Procession, a grassroots annual celebration and parade in honor of the dead in Tucson, Arizona.

To convey and interpret perspectives from the community enacting and participating in this event through engagement with ephemera, I have used three questions as my guide: How are ephemera used in All Souls Procession events as commemorative community expressions? How has the history of the All Souls Procession been shaped around the commemorative use of ephemera in relationship with recorded documents? And, What are the implications for archives of this case of commemoration through ephemeral community expression?

Through qualitative methods of data collection including participant observation, document analysis, and unstructured interviews with thirteen current and former All Souls Procession organizers, I have found two overarching themes in the discourse around ephemeral commemoration in this event: *processing the*

past and *softening community boundaries*. I found that through these themes of use, ephemera in the All Souls Procession anchor collective memory while constituting community boundaries, meeting a growing need to define and connect “members” of a rapidly expanding “community.” With community membership defined as volunteerism in ASP events, ephemera function as iconic draws toward this event, attracting people to a unified theme and then engaging them in constructing it anew, as its ephemeral building blocks must be regularly recreated. Ephemera in this study were also found to help claim ownership and authority for the All Souls community, through occupation of space and memory.

Concluding this work are three propositions: First, that in such community expressions, competing “archives” may face off against one another in the online arena, which is both ephemeral and enduring; Second, the use of ephemera as commemorative matter may give a community leverage in controlling records about the past, yet in increasingly transparent ways. Third, as they adapt to the model of participatory archives seen increasingly in the digital archival landscape, users can deploy strategies – forging alliances and “communities” that result in effacements and master narratives, the latter of which are then celebrated as community histories through new cycles of ephemeral commemoration. I ultimately retheorize the archive as collective action to construct, efface, and build community around history, supporting the notion that the more collective, or massive, or spectacular the telling of a story, the better it competes to become a history.

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

How can the histories of people who coalesce in “unofficial” structures like communities be represented in archives? This dissertation work focuses on a community event studied as an archive, and on ephemeral objects and performances as its records. In this introductory chapter of the work, I first make the case for opening archives to matter and histories other than those archives traditionally include. I then introduce the role of ephemera as a popular fabric of community existence and therefore a key phenomenon in nontraditional archiving. Next I outline the case study research I have conducted that considers an event as an archive. After introducing the research site of the All Souls Procession in Tucson, Arizona in the United States, I provide an overview of my research questions, participants, methodology, and data organization and analysis. Following this overview, in the next chapters I focus on the framework of theory, literature, and general understandings that support my inquiry, and then proceed to detailed chapters on inquiry, analysis, and conclusions.

RATIONALE

There are important reasons it is worthwhile to focus on community memory as it plays out in events in general and in event ephemera in such expressions in particular. First, for some decades now it has been acknowledged that the public and also archivists increasingly value stories other than the master

narratives long defined as archival material.¹ As Bastian has argued in multiple works including her exploration of carnival, cultural expressions – specifically, annual events – can be sites for transmission of crucial understandings of the past that have not achieved representation in formal archives.² Second, an imperative of archives is to represent all histories, yet many are left out on the grounds that the records representing them do not have enduring value. The rationale for examining cultural expressions as archives is that such events enact, transmit, and store minor narratives, broadening the “sliver”³ of the past that is archived history.

Within this rationale for locating minor narratives, I focus on ephemera both to imitate and to question the reliance in archives on evidence. The term “ephemera” here does not mean only those definitions typically utilized in library and information science or archival studies, those referencing paper-based materials that are transient or difficult to classify. Instead, my use of the term “ephemera” here is inclusive of what ephemeral objects *are* as well as *the actions they facilitate*, encompassing the material and the immaterial so often used

¹ AM Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India*, 2003; C Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*, 2002; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past* (Beacon Press, 1995).

² Jeannette a. Bastian, “‘Play Mas’: Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival: Records and Community Identity in the US Virgin Islands,” *Archival Science* 9, no. 1 (2009): 113–25, doi:10.1007/s10502-009-9101-6; Jeannette Allis Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History* (Libraries Unlimited, 2003).

³ Verne Harris, “The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa,” *Archival Science*, 2002, doi:10.1007/BF02435631.

together in community expressions. Ephemera thus include paper-based ephemera, nonunique materials, materials not intended to last, and performances involving ephemeral objects – all of these categories overlapping one another. Whereas the master narrative is evident in documents and records typically construed as important or having long-term value, minor narratives are evident in matter commonly considered unimportant or transient – *ephemera*, which are collected, constructed, displayed, performed, and then destroyed or discarded in the course of action.

I foreground ephemera here as important tools for the transmission of collective memory. Since Maurice Halbwachs began writing on collective memory in the 1950's, many branches of scholarship have acknowledged the importance of specific sites of meaning, often *things* – monuments, documents, and artifacts – as anchors through which individuals and groups come to understand the past.⁴ Examining archival scholarship, Jacobsen, Hedstrom, and Punzalan have identified multiple ways in which archival scholars seat collective memory in archival *documents* and *records*. Themes they found range from the positing archives as essential foundations of collective memory, to critical focus on archives' limitations as surrogates for memory.⁵ I embarked on this work

⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, ed. with an introduction by M. Douglas). (F. J. Diddler Jr., & V. Yazdi Ditter, Trans. (New York: Harper & Row, n.d.).

⁵ Trond Erik Jacobsen, Ricardo L. Punzalan, and Margaret Hedstrom, "Invoking 'collective Memory': Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science," *Archival Science*, 2013, <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10502-013-9199-4>.

theorizing that ephemera within cultural events are sites of transmission of those elusive, minor narratives of history – both broadening the narrow pool of records representing collective memory, and posing evidential and structural alternatives to that pool.

Community is also central in this work, as the label through which nonprofessional archivists increasingly join and promote their own counternarratives of history –the term “community” often used to refer to individuals who voluntarily cohere around shared histories, ethnicities, sexual preferences, and other connections outside of official organizations.⁶ I therefore set out to engage with collective memory in an ephemerally-embodied event I have labeled an “archive,” and to convey and interpret perspectives from the community enacting and participating in that event through engagement with ephemera.

Overall, this work can be framed most simply as a contribution to archival studies, yet the true nature of my inquiry is complex and interdisciplinary. I approach this inquiry on the dynamic construction of community histories by moving through areas of archival studies that overlap with humanism, and I present what I find through the lens of my personal experience, subjectively interpreted. Recognizing as a humanist the need to open the archives to include all

⁶ A Flinn, “Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges,” no. November 2014 (2007): 37–41, doi:10.1080/00379810701611936; M Stevens, a Flinn, and E Shepherd, “New Frameworks for Community Engagement in the Archive Sector: From Handing over to Handing on,” no. November 2014 (2010): 37–41, doi:10.1080/13527250903441770; JA Bastian and B Alexander, *Community Archives*, 2009, <http://fketelaa.home.xs4all.nl/ALivingArchive.pdf>.

human histories, I have worked to learn how community events function as archives to enrich archival science with new theory around what archives can be and do. More personally, as a former organizer and participant of multiple community events including the All Souls Procession, I have studied this event as an archive to help me understand the construction, transmission, and erasure of histories swirling around me. In short, my own reasons for pursuing this research are humanistic, scientific, and personal.

THIS RESEARCH

The research site for this study of community event-as-archive is the All Souls Procession (hereafter also referred to as the ASP), a grassroots celebration established in November 1990, which now draws tens of thousands of participants to parade through downtown Tucson each year in collective commemoration of the past. Three questions have guided this study of the ASP as an archive:

RQ1: How are ephemera used in All Souls Procession events as commemorative community expressions?

RQ2: How has the history of the All Souls Procession been shaped around the commemorative use of ephemera in relationship with recorded documents?

RQ3: What are the implications for archives of this case of commemoration through ephemeral community expression?

Thus my inquiry has focused in how ephemera are used to commemorate in the ASP, and how the history of this event been shaped by this use. Furthermore, I have drawn implications for archives around this commemorative use of ephemera that I discuss in the final chapters of this work.

I have focused my inquiry on current and former organizers and participants of the ASP whom I have found to be rich sources of knowledge concerning event meanings, objectives, and histories, even as the event has grown and changed across time. In terms of organizational structure, the ASP has always been loosely organized, with most participants given few explicit instructions except to honor the dead and the past in whatever ways they choose. Since 2006 All Souls organizers have coalesced under the moniker Many Mouths One Stomach, and while a handful of these individuals have official titles, many are still untitled volunteers. In this work I have gathered organizers' and participants' perspectives with a focus on ephemera in collective commemorative practices.

This study is situated in the case of the ASP through the interpretive lens of the research participants with whom I co-construct knowledge, and through my own lens as researcher or “human instrument.”⁷ I call participants in this event a *community*, because that is a member meaning they put forward in observed event activities and in interviews – that is, many interviewees referred to “the community” as those with whom they perform and for whom they work in this event. I also use the term “community” because I identify with it; I feel I have had some degree of membership in the All Souls *community* since the early 2000s when I helped organize the event, and this research has been facilitated by my rapport with participants whom I have considered fellow community members.

⁷ YS Lincoln and EG Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, 1985, <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=2oA9aWlNeooC&oi=fnd&pg=PA7&dq=%22human+instrument%22+Guba&ots=0snCYbRcxo&sig=U-N2zouBOiRKbDr55T8nWuj23EM>.

I do not believe in the epistemology of the objective investigator, and in this qualitative work I have not followed positivist research paradigms such as validity and reliability because these are ill suited for naturalistic inquiry. Instead I have worked reflexively, looking back upon my own position as an Anglo woman of particular cultural perspectives and privileges, and as a member of an academic culture. I have worked to bracket biases and assumptions I had built up in these roles as I collected and prepared to analyze data. Still, I do not intend for the resulting findings to be generalized beyond the natural environment in which they were constructed. Instead I present my findings as the interpretations of a situated and subjective researcher who has taken apart and reassembled experiences credibly, dependably, transferably, and confirmably.⁸

Guided by the questions and methodological benchmarks outlined above, I have deployed three qualitative methods of data collection and analysis: participant observation, unstructured interviewing, and document analysis. More specifically, between October 1st, 2013 and January 31st, 2016, I spent 20 hours as a participant observer of All Souls workshops, parades and events, 13 hours in unstructured interviews with participants, and an unquantified but substantial number of hours analyzing paper and online documents including films, social media posts, and grant proposals. Furthermore, beyond these quantities I have thoroughly immersed myself in the emic, or insider, discourse around the ephemera-centered memory practices in this event, and in some etic, or outsider, critiques of this event as well.

⁸ Ibid.

Working with the corpus of data built using these methods and methodology, I have conducted analysis in pursuit of themes drawn from and theory grounded in the data. I have focused on the ASP as an archive through the visual methodology of discourse analysis, by suspending preexisting categories, and identifying worlds, inconsistencies, absent presences, and social contexts.⁹ From the discourse generated by this event studied as an archive, I have arrived at conclusions presented in the final chapter that I hope will enrich theory around not only what archives *do*, but around what archive *are* – or at least, what they can be, depending on whom you care to ask.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Substantial work already exists claiming archival gaps and absences and the need to remedy these. Acknowledging that such gaps exist in formal archives (and reviewing some of the literature on these gaps in the next chapter), I invite the reader to consider the body of histories excluded from archives alongside those included within them, by offering the conceptualization of *negative [archival] space*.

⁹ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies : An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials* (Los Angeles [i.e. Thousand Oaks, Calif.]: SAGE Publications, 2012), <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/766264330>.

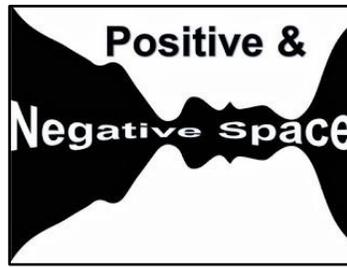


Figure 1: Positive & Negative Space. Image credit:
<http://artwithmrst.blogspot.com/2015/10/aboriginal-artwork-storytelling.html>

As the first component of the conceptual framework for this study, I conceptualize formal archives as occupying positive archival space and the many excluded histories as existing in negative space. In the visual arts, negative space is that which is not the subject of an artistic work but which defines the boundaries of the subject. The use of the *negative space* metaphor thus allows the reader to keep both the included and excluded in view as constituting constructed history. Yet this conceptualization simultaneously keeps a focus on the distinct privilege archives offer to the histories of static groups like institutions – those with clear lists of who does what - while relegating dynamic groups such as communities to negative space because they change too fast for the fixed record, the stored artifact. Parallel to Keats’ concept of *negative capability*, “when man is capable of being in uncertainties,”¹⁰ my concept of *negative [archival] space* also reflects the archival theorist’s capability to recognize historic value in media that lack the hallmarks of certainty – including clear provenance, uniqueness, and fixity – traditionally associated with recordness.

¹⁰ J Keats, “Letters of John Keats to His Family and Friends. Ed. Colvin, Sidney,” 1891, 48.

As a second component of the conceptual framework supporting this work, I have honed my focus on negative archival space as active space in which communities construct their own histories. Community members perform the role of the archivist – a role not modeled on archives as a professional practice but on “the archive” as a concept, or what Caswell has called a “hypothetical wonderland.”¹¹ Interpreting archives’ negative space three-dimensionally and stepping within it, I examine connections between community commemoration and archiving through the lens of performance studies, particularly through two concepts by performance studies scholar Diana Taylor. One of these concepts is *scenario*, as when I say, “Communities are performing the archival scenario.” To frame a situation as a scenario is parallel to calling something other than written words a “text” – as scholars call so many things today – but a scenario gives the actor more agency than does a text.¹² Each actor understands the scenario as a familiar framework, but that actor is enacting it locally, parodically, even resistantly. I also use Taylor’s idea of “the archive” as commonly conceived in three roles by the public and communities: that is, for common people the archive is simultaneously understood as a thing, a place, and a practice.¹³ Through these

¹¹ Michelle Caswell, “ARCHIVES ON FIRE: Artifacts & Works, Communities & Fields,” *Reconstruction* 16.1, 2016, <http://reconstruction.eserver.org/Issues/161/Caswell.shtml>.

¹² Diana Taylor, “Chapter 1,” in *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 2003, 28–52.

¹³ Diana Taylor, “Save As ... Knowledge and Transmission in the Age of Digital Technologies,” *Imagining America’s 2010 Convergence Zones: Public Cultures and Translocal Practices*, 2010.

understandings I construct the argument that when communities play archivists, their performances of the archive fill and interpret these three roles of thing and place and practice, using ephemeral matter and imagination.

As a third part of the conceptual framework supporting this research, I accept that in communities' archival scenarios, collected memory is transmitted through ephemeral performances and grounded in ephemeral objects. Puppets made out of papier mâché, prayer slips, signs – these commemorative artifacts are made of materials easily assembled and then destroyed in a large urn and other ritual burnings that occur at the end of the Procession or afterward.

Finally, the fourth component of my conceptual framework for this research is the notion that community events can and should be viewed as archives – performances of the archival scenario in negative archival space. My understanding of such events as archives is influenced by the community archive movement in Britain, and more specifically, by archival scholar Jeannette Bastian's work studying events as archives in the Virgin Islands. Bastian has considered events within what she has called a society's "community of records," as an alternative to the troubling association between writing about a people and colonizing or controlling them – because events are one way people whose voices are not in formal archives transmit their own histories.¹⁴ As Bastian articulated in her 2009 work on the Carnival festival, "Some cultural manifestations are so complex, so evocative, and so self-contained, that within themselves they hold a

¹⁴ Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*.

critical array of information about the society that produced them.”¹⁵ The All Souls Procession is a growing channel for a critical array of information about Tucson and the US-Mexico borderlands –based on the use of ephemera in commemoration – and is therefore a compelling case to study for this work.

MOVING FORWARD: REMAINING SECTIONS AND CHAPTERS

In the next chapter of this work, Chapter 2, I track the theoretical underpinnings and literature at the foundation of my inquiry and offer contextual justification for my advancement of new understandings in archival scholarship – of *negative archival space* and *ephemera*, respectively. In Chapter 3, I introduce my focus on ephemera in community expressions as storage and transmission of history, and I work to shed light on dynamic community play within negative archival space. Chapter 4 offers an in-depth description of my interpretive case-study methodology and the methods utilized in this study. In Chapter 5, I present analytical findings around the commemorative use of ephemera in the All Souls Procession as themes. In Chapter 6, I discuss found themes and analyses in the context of current understandings of history construction, as well as direct archival implications of these. In Chapter 7, I conclude by reviewing findings and broader implications, acknowledging limitations, and offering directions for related future work.

¹⁵ Jeannette a. Bastian, “‘Play Mas’: Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival: Records and Community Identity in the US Virgin Islands,” *Archival Science* 9, no. 1 (2009), 115: doi:10.1007/s10502-009-9101-6.

CHAPTER 2: THE ARCHIVAL BODY'S NEGATIVE SPACE

In studying *ephemera* in community commemoration, I am working with a framework of existing and new theory to reverse a pattern of exclusion from the body of formally archived histories. In this chapter I first trace the theoretical underpinnings of this work, and then follow the roots of archival cycles of exclusion, to construct a background for what I conceptualize as archives' *negative [archival] space* - that which is excluded from archives, considered alongside archived history. I analyze formal archiving traditions as forces which reinforce a corpus of history bounded by systematic exclusions and colonial power dynamics. I then mark the domains of memory outside of the traditional archival boundaries as negative archival space, while showing that negative space is still active thanks to efforts in community archiving. I close this chapter with interrogation of Cook's¹⁶ claim that *community* is a new archival paradigm, a claim that helps direct archival studies toward more inclusive theories, yet is optimistic when common archival practice is considered.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF THIS WORK

In recent years there has been a great increase in informal local- and interest-based archives internationally, also known as the community archive movement. According to research by scholars studying this movement, one reason communities construct and keep their own histories is to channel their collective memory to sites other than the formal, traditional archives typically closed to their

¹⁶ Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms," *Archival Science* 13, no. 2-3 (2013): 95-120.

subjectivity.¹⁷ This exclusion persists despite notable work by archivists and archival scholars to make collections more inclusive. These important efforts notwithstanding, archival tradition remains based on cyclical power dynamics including archives' history of service as a tool of colonial conquest. This history has shaped the body of modern archives around privileged histories surrounded with *negative [archival] space* – a conceptualization I offer to train focus on that which is excluded from archives, while keeping the backdrop of archival tradition in view. Parallel to Keats' concept of *negative capability*, “when man is capable of being in uncertainties,”¹⁸ my concept of *negative [archival] space* reflects the archival theorist's capability to recognize historic value in media that lack the hallmarks of certainty – including clear provenance, uniqueness, and fixity – traditionally associated with recordness.

Many histories missing from archives are connected within negative archival space through the informal framework of *community*¹⁹ – a term that scholars have noted can be defined in many ways, but which is always dependent on fluid boundaries and documentation ill-suited for traditional archival practice. Among efforts by archival scholars to better represent community histories is

¹⁷ Flinn, “Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges.”

¹⁸ J Keats, “Letters of John Keats to His Family and Friends. Ed. Colvin, Sidney,” 1891, 48.

¹⁹ Stevens, Flinn, and Shepherd, “New Frameworks for Community Engagement in the Archive Sector: From Handing over to Handing on,” 2010; Flinn, “Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges”; Jeannette Allis Bastian and Ben Alexander, *Community Archives* (Facet, 2009).

scholarship that has ignited new interest in the archival value of communities' embodied expressions (i.e. parades) as vehicles of collective memory.²⁰

Community archives and expressions have thus caught the attention of archivists and have even led some to argue that *community* is a new archival paradigm.²¹ However, so far little of this interest has culminated in close, critical analysis of these collections and expressions, in or as archives.

For archivists to work effectively with community collections and expressions – for *community* to truly become an archival paradigm - archivists must understand both the ways in which communities' commemorative work resembles traditional work in historic collections, and the ways in which it may fundamentally differ. Negative archival space is rich with commemorative activity, yet communities perform the archival scenario using diverse elements to play the archival place/thing/practice.²² One key player in community-based archival scenario play is *ephemera*. I trace the history of ephemera both a

²⁰ Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*; Jeannette Allis Bastian, "Reading Colonial Records through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation," *Archival Science* 6, no. 3–4 (2006): 267–84, doi:10.1007/s10502-006-9019-1.

²¹ Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms," *Archival Science* 13, no. 2–3 (2013): 95–120, doi:10.1007/s10502-012-9180-7.

²² I have interpretively drawn these concepts of scenario and archives as place/thing/practice from the work of performance studies scholar Diana Taylor in the following texts, respectively: *The Archive and the Repertoire*, Duke University Press, 2003; "Save As ... Knowledge and Transmission in the Age of Digital Technologies," *Imagining America's 2010 Convergence Zones: Public Cultures and Translocal Practices*, 2010.

classification in archival studies and library science under which short-lived or “difficult” materials are classified,²³ and as central to communities’ historic collections. In this work, therefore, I recast ephemera in the archival purview as a material and immaterial locus of engagement at the center of communities’ dynamic commemorative practices.

Considering the crucial role played by history in the formation of both individual and collective memory, my study of the commemorative use of ephemera has important implications for history construction, for community archivists and the professional institutions that would partner with them. I situate my study in an annual community event in honor of the dead that is centered in commemorative ephemera, which has transmitted local histories including those that (re)define the event itself since 1990. Through this analysis, I map one area of negative [archival] space by drawing an analytical guide to one community’s archival scenario play through ephemeral commemoration. Through this work, I intend to illuminate a growing subcultural form of commemoration for archival professionals to consider in the drive toward more inclusive histories.

Furthermore, I intend for this work as a whole to enrich understandings of commemorative expressions at points of “disciplinary convergence.”²⁴ That is, by

²³ Chris E. Makepeace, *Ephemera* (Gower, 1985); Alan Clinton, *Printed Ephemera* (Bingley, 1981); Timothy G. Young, “Evidence: Toward a Library Definition of Ephemera,” *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage* 4, no. 1 (2003): 11–26, doi:VL - 4.

²⁴ CF Brooks, “Disciplinary Convergence and Interdisciplinary Curricula for Students in an Information Society,” *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, 2016, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14703297.2016.1155470>.

deploying concepts from multiple disciplines – including information, performance studies, geography, and sociology – I hope to question archives’ dependence on fixed records, and to connect the values of archival theorists with those of dynamic communities, networks, and disciplines.

Community of records via Bastian

In the work of rethinking or redefining archives, Jeanette Bastian is an archival scholar who frames memory as an extension of past actions. As a methodological framework for this work, Bastian’s groundbreaking scholarship is among the earliest in the field of archives to recognize the recordness in popular annual commemorations. Bastian framed archival consideration of such events in combination with traditional records as potentially offering “one way to augment, enhance, and contextualize the records, a way to fill in some of the undocumented and underdocumented space.”²⁵ One conceptual vehicle for recognizing the recordness of events in postcolonial societies in particular was her metaphorical notion of a “community of records,” through which Bastian acknowledged and offered an alternative to the troubling association in written records between writing about a people and colonizing them, and which I revisit here as one of the best efforts in the archival field thus far to reshape archival practices around community. Bastian served as director of the Territorial Libraries and Archives of the US Virgin Islands from 1987 to 1998, and in her book *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*, she has—in the

²⁵ Bastian, “‘Play Mas’: Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival: Records and Community Identity in the US Virgin Islands,” 119.

words of Archivistics Professor Eric Ketelaar—“enriched archival discourse with the notion of a 'community of records', referring to a community both as a record-creating entity and as a memory frame that contextualizes the records it creates.”²⁶ My work here on community expressions as archival hinges upon this changed discourse.

Bastian’s book presents her study of the relationship between Virgin Islanders and their nation’s archives. Virgin Islanders lost custody to most of these archives with disruptions wrought by seizure of the Virgin Islands by the Spanish, occupation by the Dutch, colonization by Denmark, and then transfer to France and, finally, the US in 1917. Yet even had they been accessible to Virgin Islanders the archives could hardly have been called *their* archives—despite the majority of the records being “*about*” Virgin Islanders—because most Virgin Islanders could not read the language in which the records were written and played no role in the records' creation or perspectives. In subsequent works Bastian has gone on to propose that archivists consider cultural expressions and their transmission of cultural information over time as records. In her analysis as archives of annual celebrations in the small island communities of the Caribbean, including Carnival, Bastian has written, “Their annual celebrations find oblique ways to tell the tales of suffering and determination, despair and joy that endure

²⁶ Eric Ketelaar, “Sharing Collected Memories in Communities of Records” 33 (2005): 1; for impacts of the communities of records concept on the archival profession see also Sue Mckemmish, Anne Gilliland-Swetland, and Eric Ketelaar, “‘ Communities of Memory ’: Pluralising Archival Research and Education Agendas.”

through the enslavement of the eighteenth century to the independent nations and postcolonies of the present day.”²⁷ These celebrations activate negative archival space with dynamic histories.

In view of the history of the Virgin Islands and to work toward an inclusive archives for the Virgin Islanders, Bastian proposed in her 2003 book a reconsideration of *provenance*. *Provenance* is a key archival concept defined as the contexts around the formation and history of records; Bastian however argued provenance could be “fully realized only within the expanse of this creator’s entire society,” suggesting that archives may be incomplete without knowledge of the cultural expressions within that society.²⁸ In my study, I resist the notion that archives can ever be “complete,” but I nonetheless embrace the need to study cultural expressions toward the constructions of “more complete” histories. The consideration of such histories within communities of records forms a methodological lens for my study of community expressions, which make archived histories more complex, but also more complete.

The concept of *community* in this work

The concept of *community* in this work is important, and influenced by an interdisciplinary array of scholarship that I have filtered through my personal experience. Communities know and do things in this work; here I follow scholars

²⁷ Jeannette a. Bastian, “The Records of Memory, the Archives of Identity: Celebrations, Texts and Archival Sensibilities,” *Archival Science* 13, no. 2–3 (2013): 122.

²⁸ Bastian, “‘Play Mas’: Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival: Records and Community Identity in the US Virgin Islands,” 115.

of information and philosophy including Mathiesen “in taking social groups seriously as epistemic agents.”²⁹ I also consider communities as transmitting receptacles – sites of sharing for knowledge and histories. It is not one theory of community, but numerous understandings taken together interpretively, that underlie this work. Therefore, in the next several paragraphs I endeavor to anchor my approach to community in scholarship and interpretive historic context.

Community can be defined in many ways – ninety-four ways, according to George Hillery’s study in 1955 that measured its definitions across academic literature.³⁰ *Community* and its role in society has been the lynchpin of compilations of scholarship even as it has defied definition and clear articulation by those compiling said collections. In perhaps the most notable example of *community*-focused collections in archival scholarship, editors Bastian and Alexander introduce their 2009 book *Community Archives* by noting that the strength of the concept of *community* is in its versatility:

How do you ask authors to write essays about community when the concept is so ambiguous, so difficult to define? How do you construct a collected volume around ideas that are generally “understood” but not well articulated, that essentially are agreed upon to be fundamentally subjective? While the subjectivity of ‘community’ initially lay at the heart of the editors’ concerns it also proved to be the glue, binding all definitions together and resulting in rewarding analyses as well as inspired and unexpected insights.³¹

²⁹ Kay Mathiesen, “On ‘Collective Knowledge and Collective Knowers,’” *Social Epistemology* 21, no. 3 (2007): 209, doi:10.1080/02691720701673934.

³⁰ George A Hillery, “Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement,” *Rural Sociology* 20, no. 1 (1955).

³¹ Bastian and Alexander, *Community Archives*, 2009, xxii.

Within the context of community archives, Bastian and Alexander's book offers understandings of community that vary considerably, though with the shared sense throughout that *community* is good for society.

Community is often, but not always, seen as a benevolent phenomenon in social science scholarship. The understanding of community as a positive force or what Yar calls a "normative" approach to *community* has a long history in the social sciences, characterized by literature extolling the virtues of communities and frequently lamenting their disappearance from industrialized societies.³² In analyzing *community*-focused literature, the mid-20th century sociological works of Tönnies³³ and Durkheim³⁴ are seminal this normative approach, in contrast with Calder's critique of 'communitarianism',³⁵ a critique based on the notion that "the insistence upon a society bound together [through] shared values and traditions implies a significant degree of intolerance towards 'difference'."³⁶ To complicate the binary positioning of approaches to *community*, it should be noted

³² M Yar, "Community:" Past, Present and Future," *Journal of Social Issues*, 2004, https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&q=%27Community%27%3A+Past%2C+Present%2C+and+Future+by+Majid+Yar&btnG=&as_sdt=1%2C3&as_sdtp=#0.

³³ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Allen and Unwin: London, 1954; *The Division of Labour in Society*. New York: Free Press, 1964; *Suicide*. New York: Free Press, 1970.

³⁴ Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Association*. Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1957.

³⁵ G Calder, "Communitarianism and New Labour," *Social Issues*, 2004, https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&q=calder+communitarianism&btnG=&as_sdt=1%2C3&as_sdtp=#0.

³⁶ Yar, "Community: Past, Present and Future."

that although deviant behavior is generally emphasized in this latter, more critical type of *community*-focused literature than in the former, normative type, communities must be at least somewhat exclusive to create intimacy among those in their membership.³⁷

In today's highly connected digital landscape, *communitarianism* and related constraints of community membership emphasized in Calder's work may influence even further shifts toward dynamic, individually-controlled membership boundaries, a fluidity that has distinguished communities from organizations more suited for formal recordkeeping. Furthermore, Rainie and Wellman's theory of *Networked Individualism* supports the possibility that the dynamic nature of communities has grown more pronounced with the "Triple Revolution" of internet, social networking, and mobile technologies.³⁸ Communicators' increasing uses of these mediating technologies in combination have displaced former generations' "densely-knit Little Boxes,"³⁹ foregoing group membership with membership in multiple, dispersed communities with fewer demands. In participatory cultures with open membership online such as Reddit forums – or as in the case to be studied in this event, in subcultures composed of people who

³⁷ Calder, "Communitarianism and New Labour"; David W McMillan and David M Chavis, "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory," *Journal of Community Psychology* 14, no. 1 (1986): 6–23, doi:10.1002/1520-6629(198601)14:1<6::AID-JCOP2290140103>3.0.CO;2-I.

³⁸ L Rainie and B Wellman, *Networked* (MIT Press, 2012).

³⁹ B Wellman, "Little Boxes, Glocalization, and Networked Individualism," *Digital Cities II: Computational and Sociological ...*, 2002, http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/3-540-45636-8_2.

show up to perform in a commemorative event - individuals activate their membership through engagement or deactivate it by discontinuing their participation. Through these shifts and engagement-based phenomena, our society is reshaping *community* to minimize its constraints.

Community, amid these shifts, may come down to an individual feeling that one belongs. This individual centering of *community* is supported by the seminal work of McMillan and Chavis.⁴⁰ McMillan and Chavis' seminal 1986 article includes a definition and theory of "sense of community" as well as the Sense of Community Index (SCI), a widely-used measure in psychological and sociological inquiry. In this work McMillan and Chavis' identify and locate a "sense-of-community force" in four elements:

The first element is *membership*. Membership is the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness. The second element is *influence*, a sense of mattering, of making a difference to a group and of the group mattering to its members. The third element is reinforcement: *integration and fulfillment of needs*. This is the feeling that members' needs will be met by the resources received through their membership in the group. The last element is *shared emotional connection*, the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together, and similar experiences.⁴¹

The definition McMillan and Chavis ultimately proposed in 1986 is as follows:

"Sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and the group, and a shared faith that members'

⁴⁰ McMillan and Chavis, "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory."

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

needs will be met through their commitment to be together.”⁴² With thousands of works citing their 1986 article, McMillan and Chavis’ scale and definition have filled the need for precise understanding of the sense of community. I take on and apply here their understanding of “feeling” part of a community to signify membership in a community.

Finally, my approach to *community* in this research is deeply informed by my participation in communities, and in particular my participation in a community that has organized the event in this work’s case study research, the All Souls Procession. Regarding the definition of *community* in this work, I proceed from archival tradition’s prioritizing of the histories of organizations over communities, and thus define *community* broadly in response: *Community* here signifies as a social grouping in which people organize themselves around shared activities or goals but which is not a named organization. I acknowledge that communities do sometimes coalesce as organizations while remaining dynamic communities on some level; however, these coalescences are often compelled by the inorganic need to produce records, bypassing more organic traces of action. The approach I take to the concept of *community* in this work is pragmatically normative – that is, prescriptive for archival practice – in arguing that because communities exist, their histories must be analyzed toward inclusion and culture change in formal archives.

The archival scenario via Taylor

⁴² Ibid.

Also underlying this study is my understanding of negative archival space as active space, with those in it as “performing” the work of archivists. This performance takes place in “the archive” as conceived in *The Archive and the Repertoire* by performance studies scholar Diana Taylor.⁴³ Taylor expanded her notion of “the archive” in her 2010 lecture “Save as,” and her articulation there of the roles of *place*, *thing*, and *practice* is important in this work. She writes:

An archive is simultaneously an authorized place (the physical or digital site housing collections), a thing/object (or collection of things — the historical records and unique or representative objects marked for inclusion), and a practice (the logic of selection, organization, access, and preservation over time that deems certain objects ‘archivable’). Place/thing/practice function in a mutually sustaining way.⁴⁴

In my work, “the archive” is also conceptualized across the mutually sustaining roles of *place/thing/practice* that constitute it in the public imaginary. The interdependence of these three roles becomes clear when you imagine a layperson mimicking an archivist in a game of charades: that person might pick up a *thing*, dust it off, inspect it, and suddenly feign great interest in it, “selecting” it. Then the “archivist” might place the thing very carefully – *somewhere*, taking care in placing it there to signify the archival *place*. Thus for the pretend “archivist,” the archival *place* is required to make sense of the archival *thing* – and then the charade is complete, as the two together signify archival *practice*.

⁴³ In her book *The Archive and the Repertoire*, Taylor juxtaposes “the archive of supposedly enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones) and the so-called ephemeral repertoire of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, ritual).” Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 2003, 19.

⁴⁴ Diana Taylor, “Save As ... Knowledge and Transmission in the Age of Digital Technologies,” *Imagining America’s 2010 Convergence Zones: Public Cultures and Translocal Practices*, 2010.

Recently archival scholar Michelle Caswell has directed valid criticism at conceptualizations of “the archive” by humanist scholars like Taylor; yet the general basis of Caswell’s critique – humanist scholars’ lack of engagement with archival practice and scholarship in their writings on “the archive” – is also a reason Taylor’s work functions well as a theoretical underpinning for my own study of negative archival space. That is, Taylor deploys a metaphoric “inflation”⁴⁵ of the term “the archive” that Caswell has noted is distinct from “archives” in archival scholarship:

The two discussions-of “the archive” by humanities scholars, and of archives by archival studies scholars (located in library and information studies departments and schools of information) – are happening on parallel tracks in which scholars in both disciplines are largely not taking part in the same conversations, not speaking the same conceptual languages, and not benefiting from each other’s insights.⁴⁶

I find Taylor’s work on “the archive” useful precisely because she views “the archive” as what Caswell has described as “a hypothetical wonderland,”⁴⁷ also the perspective of those in negative archival space: to nonprofessional community archivists “the archive” is likely similarly understood as a vague, inaccessible collection that authorities have formed to represent the past, absent of the substantial labor performed by archival scholars to reform the body of preserved

⁴⁵ Marlene Manoff, “Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines,” *Portal: Libraries and the Academy Project Muse* 4, no. 1 (2004): 9–25, doi:10.1353/pla.2004.0015.

⁴⁶ Caswell, “ARCHIVES ON FIRE: Artifacts & Works, Communities & Fields.”

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

histories. “The archive” as *place/thing/practice* is indeed distinct from “the archives” – and the former has more pronounced influence over the public imaginary than the latter. The public is simply not very familiar with the world of archival practice and scholarship – perhaps, as I will argue in the next chapter, because they so rarely see themselves reflected there.

Deploying this outsider perspective, then, and in view of the mutually sustaining roles of *place/thing/practice*, I view archives through the scenario-based framework also theorized by Taylor:

Instead of privileging texts and narratives, we could also look to scenarios as meaning-making paradigms that structure social environments, behaviors, and potential outcomes....Scenario, “a sketch or outline of the plot of a play, giving particulars of the scenes, situations etc.,” like performance, means never for the first time.⁴⁸

In the game of charades I described earlier, the actor is performing the archival scenario; in communities, organizers of community expressions and archives are enacting that same performance: the archival scenario.

One strength of Taylor’s conceptualization of scenario here is that I can use it critically, for as she notes, placing a viewer’s perspective into a familiar scenario “allows for occlusions”⁴⁹ that inform collective decisions. For example, murder as a singular act is commonly viewed as criminal, *except* in the scenario of war, in which a witness is more influenced to accept that type of murder as universal. In communities’ archival scenarios, occlusions can take the form of

⁴⁸ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 2003, 28.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

collective decisions to rewrite or forget histories en masse, because that is simply *how it is done* in that community – figuratively, “the archive.”

Another strength of the concept of scenario as a lens is in its presentation of each role as playable by an actor who retains agency. While scenarios do fix our perspectives on universal notions such as murder-in-war, they are also frameworks enacted locally, offering opportunities for play within each customizable role because each scenario performance is situated in a space. While scholars deploy the terms *narrative* and *text* as similar frameworks, a distinct feature of performance scholarship is agency in choosing *how* to view and play a role – agency first seen in work by Goffman as symbolic interactionism.⁵⁰ Taylor describes this in terms of detachment, noting, “the irreconcilable friction between the social actors and the roles allows for degrees of critical detachment and cultural agency.”⁵¹ By working within the *archival scenario* we as actors can play, repositioning our own perspectives relative to others, and we can place surrogates into other roles.

In terms of negative archival space, the archival scenario allows us to see “the archive’s” roles of place/thing/practice enacted in diverse *places*, around various *things*, using a spectrum of *practices*, both when the term “archive” is

⁵⁰ E Goffman, *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face to Face Behavior*, 2005, https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=qDhd138pPBAC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=goffman+symbolic+interactionism&ots=9i0_LZfJBm&sig=tI-tbsDZOBYT2b9QkzLpwv2o2CE; See also Catherine F. Brooks, “Role, Power, Ritual, and Resistance: A Critical Discourse Analysis of College Classroom Talk,” *Western Journal of Communication* 80, no. 3 (December 7, 2015): 348–69, doi:10.1080/10570314.2015.1098723.

⁵¹ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 29.

used and when it is not. Understanding the archival scenario as modeled on but detached from archives helps decode communities' commemorative work.

Furthermore, through tracking the histories in negative archival space as produced within archival scenarios, we can be reminded that archiving is professional and formalized work but also a playful act, particularly now in the era of digital content management systems. Individuals and communities play at archiving in countless digital contexts, in the same virtual landscape as professional digital archives— and professional archivists find new avenues for 'play'. In turn, the professional archivist's online collection in visual display may borrow style hints from a web designer's nonprofessional gallery of images, or include finding aid descriptions inspired by a novelist's tropes disseminated via social media. Play at archival scenarios is important for archivists to understand because over time that play influences archival practice, as seen in the trend in archives toward "testimonial culture" in the last chapter of this work.

Unfixing records and recasting of *ephemera*

Considering performed community expressions in the role of records in the archival scenario is part of a bigger shift in the profession questioning the tradition archival criterion of record fixity,⁵² and in this work I conscript

⁵² Important work questioning record fixity has included Terry Cook, "The Concept of the Archival Fonds in the Post-Custodial Era: Theory, Problems and Solutions," *Archivaria* 35 35, no. Spring (1993): 24–37; Sue McKemmish, "Are Records Ever Actual?" (Ancora Press, 1994), <http://arrow.monash.edu/vital/access/manager/Repository/monash:155356>; Sue McKemmish, Anne Gilliland-swetland, and Eric Ketelaar, "Or I Would Argue a

scholarship in performance studies in this endeavor. Archival scholar Bastian's conceptualization of "communities of records" including dynamic expressions stems in part from tensions between contested memories and narratives, tensions she has found to be societally destructive in the absence of fixed records.⁵³ This humanistic concern is doubtless grounded in her years working as archivist in a relatively undeveloped society, in which written recording practices were historically neither part of Virgin Islanders' privileges nor their common practices.⁵⁴

Nonetheless, community expressions push against the archival ideal of fixity with considerable tension. This tension is initially raised by the use of ephemera as records and then elevated considerably with the spread of recordness to performing bodies. Through performances, community expressions transfer repertoires of knowledge from the bodies of performers to other sensing bodies present.⁵⁵ Therefore, following Bastian in consideration of these expressions within communities of records calls for radical reconsideration of fixity in the concept of what can be a record – "recordness" – and aligns the work of locating

Different Remembering , a Sense Made Remembering" 33, no. May (2005): 1–15.

⁵³ Bastian, "Reading Colonial Records through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation"; Stuart Hall, "Un-settling 'the Heritage', Re-imagining the post-nationWhose Heritage?," *Third Text* 13, no. 49 (1999): 3–13, doi:10.1080/09528829908576818.

⁵⁴ Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*.

⁵⁵ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*.

recordness in dynamic performance within a larger movement interrogating fixity around dynamic information.⁵⁶

The crucial tension around dynamic commemoration is evident in this work in the transfer of recordness from fixed thing (object, document) to unfixed thing (ephemeral object) to unfixed non-thing (ephemeral performance). The methodological classification *ephemera* that results from these transfers is inspired by scholars from the field of performance studies, particularly the late queer theorist José Esteban Muñoz (1996) in his introduction to the book *Queer Acts* entitled “Ephemera as Evidence”:

I want to take some time to reflect on what I'm calling “ephemera” as modality of anti-rigor and anti-evidence that, far from filtering materiality out of cultural studies, reformulates and expands our understandings of materiality. *Ephemera*, as I am using it here, is linked to alternate modes of textuality and narrativity like memory and performance: it is all of those things that remain after a performance, a kind of evidence of what has transpired but certainly not the thing itself.⁵⁷

To reimagine the classification *ephemera* around crucial dynamic tension is to study what Román and coauthors, also scholars of performance studies, have called “a kind of critical residue” of embodied activity. This reimagining extends

⁵⁶ “The loss of physicality that occurs when records are captured electronically is forcing archivists to reassess basic understandings about the nature of the records of social and organizational activity, and their qualities as evidence. Even when they are captured in a medium that can be felt and touched, records as conceptual constructs do not coincide with records as physical objects.” McKemmish, “Are Records Ever Actual?,” 8.

⁵⁷ José Esteban Muñoz, “Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to *Queer Acts*,” *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 8, no. 2 (January 1996): 5–16, doi:10.1080/07407709608571228.

to the methodology of this work, involving the strategic design of a method to study *ephemera* defines as follows:

what is either deliberately or inadvertently left behind [which] then serves as the proof or evidence of the lost or forgotten performance [but] is neither interchangeable with the lost performance, nor can it fully replace it. It is the traceable remains of what had once transpired.⁵⁸

Ephemera in this study is a broad methodological category encompassing why and how communities dynamically commemorate and how such commemoration matters in relation to archival scenarios. Through this analysis I endeavor to find ways for formal archives to acknowledge and include community performance in archives, and I interrogate the classification *ephemera* as central to this endeavor. Tension around fixity, ever-amplified in the digital archival landscape, is seen in this work as a crucial criterion of recordkeeping for communities due to their dynamic identities. With such tension as a criterion I reimagine the classification *ephemera* as desirable for transmitting dynamic community histories, not in spite of but due to *ephemera*'s lack of fixity. Again, *ephemera* in this work, then, encompasses the material and the immaterial, often used together in commemorative acts.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND MOVING FORWARD

Taken together, the theories discussed above underpin this work and forge foundation of knowledge beneath the research outlined in the next chapters. That

⁵⁸ David Román, Paula Court, and Richard Termine, *Performance in America: Contemporary U.S. Culture and the Performing Arts*, vol. 2 (Duke University Press, 2005), 83, <https://books.google.com/books?id=JE4P8JWfCNAC&pgis=1>.

is, the concept of “communities of records” justifies my archival study of a community expression, which is grounded in my interpretive concept of community as a dynamic grouping of member-sensed involvement. Then, I analyze the commemorative acts within the community expression I study through the theoretical lens of scenario, tuned to focus on community performances of "the archive" as place/thing/practice. Finally, I view the ephemera in the community expressions I study as material and immaterial evidence and transmission of histories. In the next chapter I trace the roots of patterns of privilege in histories transmitted by archives, and construct a background for what I conceptualize as archives’ *negative [archival] space* - that which is cyclically excluded from archived histories.

NEGATIVE SPACES IN THE ARCHIVED BODY OF HISTORY

“The archival record is but a sliver of social memory. It is also but a sliver of the documentary record.... I would argue that in any circumstances, in any country, the documentary record provides just a sliver of a window into the event. Even if archivists in a particular country were to preserve every record generated throughout the land, they would still have only a sliver of a window into that country’s experience.”

Verne Harris⁵⁹

The histories of the dominant recordkeeping and archival traditions are populated with remarkable thinkers, scholars, and practitioners who have dedicated their lives to preserving and exhibiting histories and to filling the gaps between them. The ensuing critical discussion of some of their influences is thus not intended to disparage seminal works in archival tradition, but rather, to explore historic practice in order to gain perspective on some of the normative or exclusionary assumptions that underpin contemporary archival work. Through critical analysis of the foundations of modern archival practices, I hope to understand the persistence of privileges and exclusions in which we as modern archivists are also implicated. While not extensive, my own work as an archivist has operated within these same paradigms I critically analyze here, and I acknowledge my role, as Harris has footnoted in his own critical work quoted above: “I was, and am, an active participant in virtually every process which I critique.”⁶⁰ Indeed, we shape our archives as we do while situated in social and

⁵⁹ Verne Harris, “The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa,” *Archival Science*, 2002, 64-65.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 64.

political contexts, in response to our own human desires as archivists, and as social beings in relationships with others and with the archives themselves. So closely are we involved in our relationships with history construction that our relationship cycles may remain invisible to us unless we step reflectively out of them. Therefore, in this section focused on archival tradition, my goal is to step temporally and critically outside of archival thinking, to see the cycles in which we work, and to understand more of where and how the archived corpus is (and is disallowed from being) composed.

The case for a new metaphor

Archival discourse is self-reflective; there is no shortage of critical perspectives in archival scholarship in terms of either the profession's development or its present state. Notable critical analysis of archives from within the field has yielded conceptualizations of history along at least three sensory themes. The first of these uses visual analogies: Harris' conceptualization of the "archival sliver" uses that image to challenge another visual metaphor, the modernist view that "that archives, mirror-like, reflect reality."⁶¹ Rather than directly rebuke that notion of a reality to be seen, Harris directs the eyes of those who "see" it to the window glass before them. By seeing archives not as a reflection of an entire reality but as "a sliver of a window," the viewer also sees

⁶¹ Ibid, abstract.

the archival apparatus as “constructed windows onto personal and collective processes.”⁶²

Other analogies for archived histories or their exclusions are aurally emulative, speaking in terms of *voices* and *silences*: Caswell’s “Archiving the Unspeakable” is a notable recent example of the conceptualization of archives as sound and voices. Caswell evokes the repressed history of Khmer Rouge atrocities as “the Unspeakable,” and the subsequent quest for justice by victims’ families using the regime’s mug shots of victims as a form of speaking out.⁶³

Harris, Caswell, and others who use visual and aural metaphors for archives guide their readers to experience their writing with the urgency of the sensing body. However, in my view neither visual nor aural metaphors capture the use of space that is paramount in archival practice; it is only the third type of sensory metaphor, involving touch, that begins to demonstrate the power over space needed for traditional recordkeeping. Lee has written of the archival body, at time in erotic terms.⁶⁴ On the other hand, Lee does not discuss at length the

⁶² Harris, “The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa,” 63.

⁶³ Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable : Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2014); See also Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past* (Beacon Press, 1995), as Trouillot's book provides an important framework for Caswell's analysis.

⁶⁴ Jamie Ann Lee, “Be/longing in the Archival Body: Eros and the ‘Endearing’ Value of Material Lives,” *Archival Science*, 2016, <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10502-016-9264-x>.

ways in which occupation of public space reinforces histories as truths.⁶⁵ That centrality of space in archives is the focus of my metaphor of negative archival space.

In terms of Del Casino's definitions of space in social geography,⁶⁶ the view of space at the foundation of negative archival space is the humanistic view “that spaces are repositories of human meaning.”⁶⁷ I acknowledge the importance of other views of space in social geography, including the radical view that space is constructed through societal mediation and control, and the poststructuralist view of space as constructed through language.⁶⁸ However, I rely on ephemeral objects and performances as well as narratives to temporally define and control spaces in this work, and I find the humanistic view of space attributes agency and meaning-making to its occupants in ways that accommodate these participant-constructed meanings. I conceptualize that which is excluded from archives as archives’ *negative space* in order to evoke geographical space and the

⁶⁵On the social construction and valuations of *space* see Michel Foucault, “Space, Knowledge and Power,” in *The Foucault Reader*, 1984, 239–56; of *place* see C Rodman, “Empowering Place : Multilocality and Multivocality,” *American Anthropologist* 94 (1992): 640–56.

⁶⁶ V Del Casino Jr, *Social Geography: A Critical Introduction*, 2009, 23, <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=v4Cms5wqepAC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Vincent+Del+Casino&ots=Y048AS4Vio&sig=nTEhxVfs7bMVKIOs-pGB6f39pb0>.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 24.

understanding of space as rival property⁶⁹ with the potential to be reenvisioned and controlled through active occupation that may include performance. My notion of negative archival space begins with the understanding of archives as a socially constructed corpus or as a body of histories,⁷⁰ and the negative space as all the space around that body, populated by histories which do not or cannot adhere. My intention is to conceptualize that which is excluded from archives as unified by that exclusion into a dynamic shape, and to illuminate and map commemorative activities in negative archival space.

CYCLES PRODUCING AND ACTIVATING NEGATIVE ARCHIVAL SPACE

The formal archival corpus is shaped by patterns and cycles corresponding to what Saldaña has named the five R's of social behavior patterns: *rules*, *routines*, *rituals*, *roles*, and *relationships*.⁷¹ There are *rules* of what can adhere to the archival corpus as well as authorities enforcing the rules; there are *routines* for how archives treat curation processes, with the more prized and persistent of these becoming *rituals*. Furthermore archives are inseparable from the societies in which they operate – they play crucial *roles* in social memory and identity, and as their agents archival professionals are engaged in *relationships* that carry

⁶⁹ The two-dimensional notion of negative space commonly employed in visual art adds a familiar ring to the idea of negative archival space in this work, but otherwise there is no intended connection between these concepts.

⁷⁰ For a thorough analysis of this corporeal conceptualization of archived history see Jamie Ann Lee, “A Queer/Ed Archival Methodology: Theorizing Practice Through Radical Interrogations Of The Archival Body,” Dissertation, University of Arizona School of Information Resources and Library Science, 2015.

⁷¹ Johnny Saldaña, *Thinking Qualitatively* (SAGE, 2015).

expectations of behavior, rewards, and censure. In the remainder of this section I first locate structures of power and colonial control at the root of traditional archives. I then draw on Cook's four archival paradigms⁷² and other theory relevant to archives to analyze patterns within and across these paradigms and to locate themes and constructs, toward a better understanding of negative archival space: Why we who inform the archival corpus shape it as we do, how we persist in exclusionary practices when we do not intend to, and what happens to the histories left out.

Power and conquest at the root of the archive

“It is needful to know how they practiced them in the time of their idolatry, for, through [our] lack of knowledge of this, they perform many idolatrous things in our presence without our understanding it.”

16th century Spanish friar
Bernardino de Sahagún, who wrote
of Mexican indigenous practices in
order to eradicate them⁷³

To write of a culture is to “know” it – fixing the culture in a “known,” controlled present – and to subsequently fix that record in an archive is to extend the conquering grip to control over that culture's past. As Derrida emphasizes in *Archive Fever*, from the roots of the Greek *arkheion*, “[the archive was] initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, those who commanded.” It was the privilege of the *archons* or archivists

⁷²Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms.”

⁷³ Book 1, 45. Quoted in Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 41.

to “not only ensure the physical security of what is deposited and of the substrate” but to also “have the power to interpret the archives.”⁷⁴ While modern archival tradition is considered by leading scholars including Cook to be rooted in seminal texts no more than 150 years old,⁷⁵ archives instruments of power can still resemble those of the *archons* when viewed through a critical lens. Critical scholars from numerous disciplines have written of the use of archives as constructed by authoritative bodies to control and colonize populations. The ensuing analysis focuses on the past 150 years of European, North American, and Australian traditions that mark the foundations of archival practice today,⁷⁶ spread across the globe in part by these nations’ establishment of archives as routines of colonial reification.

British archival tradition may be the most seminal of national archival traditions in terms of its influence over the now-powerful traditions of the US and Australia. This is due in part to the work of Sir Hilary Jenkinson in the early 20th century, and in part to far more systematic influences. The US and Australia were influenced by the routines imposed upon them as British colonies; their earliest archived histories fell within the British imperial narrative, or what Richards calls

⁷⁴ Derrida, “Archive Fever, A Freudian Impression,” 2, emphasis in original.

⁷⁵ For more dedicated discussions of challenges facing postcolonial or anticolonial archivists see Jeannette Allis Bastian, “Reading Colonial Records through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation,” *Archival Science* 6, no. 3–4 (2006): 267–84; GC Spivak, “The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives,” *History and Theory* 24, no. 3 (1985): 247–72.

⁷⁶ For more on this history see Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms.”

“a fantasy of knowledge collected and united in the service of state and Empire.”⁷⁷ The maintenance of power has remained a key consideration in British archival selection through professional routines-become-rituals that filter evidence through what Lee has called “the urgency to belong.”⁷⁸ Commenting on such rituals, Stuart Hall writes that for artifacts to be deemed valuable under the British notion of 'Heritage' they have had to “take their place alongside what has been authorized as 'valuable' on already established grounds in relation to the unfolding of a 'national story' whose terms we already know.”⁷⁹ Through archives the British Empire passed down not only histories that reinforced British power but also archival traditions of power reinforcement.

Archival practices that have been cyclically passed down from colonizer to colonized have often remained intact not only during colonial rule but after, following independence. In his study of the National Archives of the Philippines, Punzalan has documented the ways in which archives-as-colonial-instrument have become a rite of passage in the making of a nation, in that “[t]he origins of a ‘national archives’...can be traced in the early American colonial efforts to establish itself as the new imperial order and to take administrative control of the

⁷⁷ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (Verso, 1993), 6.

⁷⁸ Lee, “Be/longing in the Archival Body: Eros and the ‘Endearing’ Value of Material Lives,” 2.

⁷⁹ Stuart Hall, “Un-settling ‘the Heritage’, Re-imagining the post-nation, Whose Heritage?,” *Third Text* 13, no. 49 (1999): 23.

new insular possession.”⁸⁰ This ritual of possession is shown through Punzalan’s study to be not only an act upon the colonized, but also an integral part of the establishment of Filipino “national consciousness,”⁸¹ in that the archives-as-colonial-instrument “ironically reinforces the idea of nationhood of the formerly colonized territory.”⁸² In this conquest-activated archival world there can be no nation without a history of possession.

The conquest-activated archival model has placed indigenous cultures in a perilous position. These cultures do not fit within the norms of established archives, yet participation in dominant recordkeeping rituals has been a prerequisite in achieving recognition of their nationhood, particularly amid the fever of social Darwinism in the early 20th century.⁸³ When indigenous people refused to participate in the dominant culture’s recordkeeping rituals, Anglo anthropologists wrote their cultures off as dying or dead, placing considerable burdens on their ancestors to lay historic claim to cultural spaces and places.⁸⁴ As

⁸⁰ Ricardo L. Punzalan, “Archives of the New Possession: Spanish Colonial Records and the American Creation of a ‘national’ Archives for the Philippines,” *Archival Science* 6, no. 3–4 (June 1, 2007), 388.

⁸¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Verso, 1983).

⁸² Punzalan, “Archives of the New Possession: Spanish Colonial Records and the American Creation of a ‘national’ Archives for the Philippines,” abstract.

⁸³ R Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought*, 2010, <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=bzANHSAo60cC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=aboriginal+%22social+darwinism%22&ots=6xRBy9UegE&sig=KLLQpnYRDrX8W76S75I4dbIF-dg>.

⁸⁴ G Kelly, “The Single Noongar Claim: Native Title, Archival Records and Aboriginal Community in Western Australia,” *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*. Facet, 2009.

Glen Kelly writes of title claims for the aboriginal Noongar people near Perth, Australia, “The white record in relation to aboriginal people is full of...myths, which have somehow converted to truth. Why then, when this happens, is the indigenous record seen as unreliable or untruthful?”⁸⁵ Indigenous cultures and communities have long kept their own records, yet even those with robust archival traditions of their own may be absent or struggling to find a place in formal archives.

From its conceptual formation through its crucial role in the practice of conquest, then, the archive was formed to present only archive histories “written by the winners.”⁸⁶ In the next section, through analysis of paradigms in archival theory I demonstrate ways in which this grave systematic imbalance has continued to influence archives through the present day. My goal is to make explicit how it is that “winners” have remained at the center of our archives - despite considerable work by archival scholars and practitioners toward new perspectives and more inclusive histories.

Modern archival paradigms and their shaping of negative archival space

Much of what we believe about the nature of archives is based upon Western ideas about the kinds of objects that a record can comprise, and the characteristics and circumstances that make that record either reliable or authentic, or, preferably, both. Little or no space exists within this paradigm for cultures with nontextual mechanisms for recording

⁸⁵ Ibid., 57.

⁸⁶ Bastian, “Reading Colonial Records through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation.” 269-70.

decisions, actions, relationships, or memory, such as those embodied in oral, aural, or kinetic traditions.⁸⁷

Anne Gilliland et al., “Pluralizing the Archival Paradigm”

In the remainder of this chapter, my analysis of cyclical exclusions in archives is based on Cook’s history of shifting archival paradigms,⁸⁸ which are interrogated and found to be largely supported by other scholars’ discussions of archival theory and practice. I also analyze key concepts in European, North American, and Australian archival traditions as the dominant traditions guiding archival practice, to show that archival theory has shaped the archival body to systematically exclude the histories of many communities. This reading for exclusions is prompted by their continuing to shape archival bodies and their negative spaces, and by the work archivists committed to social justice have performed and continue to perform. In particular I trace these exclusions according to Cook’s argument that four dominant paradigms – framed not as discrete phases but as overlapping mindsets forming discursive tensions in the archival profession – have driven formal archiving.⁸⁹ However, the first section below is a *pre*-paradigm in that it established what a record and indeed an archive

⁸⁷ Anne Gilliland et al., “Pluralizing the Archival Paradigm: Can Archival Education in Pacific Rim Communities Address the Challenge?,” *American Archivist* 71, no. 1 (2008): 90.

⁸⁸ Terry Cook, “What Is Past Is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift,” *Archivaria* 43 (1996): 17–63.; Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms”.

⁸⁹ Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms.”

could *be* and *not be* as well as the purpose of archives. Following discussion of this pre-paradigm I then relate the remaining four dominant archival paradigms identified by Cook to negative archival space.

1898 onward: The Dutch Manual and the record as colonial instrument

Archivists emphasize fixity, and this emphasis activates a system of custody and control that assumes control of meaning through *space* - a crucial consideration in archives that is foregrounded in this work. Traditional archives' emphasis on fixity can be traced back to the Dutch *Manual* of 1898 in its establishment of seminal archival principles that included the definition of archivable material as "printed matter...officially received or produced by an administrative body or one of its officials"⁹⁰. Fixity as a prerequisite excludes from archives the many forms of recording and transmission that are not physically manifest, and it excludes communities who do not own space over sufficient time for record storage or preservation – and who sometimes do not own space over any length of time at all.⁹¹

Additionally, the exclusion of unfixed and unprinted matter and of non-administrative records restrict the act of record-keeping to the literate and the authorized, an exclusion discussed in the quote above by Gilliland et al in the quote that begins this section. Galloway expounds upon the exclusion of the

⁹⁰Eric Ketelaar, "Archival Theory and the Dutch Manual," *Archivaria*, 1996..

⁹¹Rodman, "Empowering Place : Multilocality and Multivocality."; See also P. O'Toole and P. Were, "Observing Places: Using Space and Material Culture in Qualitative Research," *Qualitative Research* 8, no. 5 (2008): 616–34.

unwritten from the archival body by noting that “[a]lthough few communities in the early 21st century completely lack some kind of literacy, it is also true that few are completely documented by the written word, or will ever be so.”⁹² Restricting the archival body to the written centers not on the forms in which we encounter our histories but on assumptions of an object – textual, tangible, and available for summoning within what Phelan calls “the smooth machinery of reproductive representation necessary to the circulation of capital”⁹³ – thus situating archivist and product in the logic of social reproduction.

Early 20th century onward: Jenkinson and the guardianship of evidence

Within the considerably limited notion of the nature of a record discussed above, a series of archival paradigms have shaped the dominant archival tradition: through notions of record value, the professions those notions guide, the bodies of histories they construct, and the negative spaces around the resulting bodies. The first paradigm, *juridical legacy*, Cook notes was guided in the early to mid-20th century by the theories of the Englishman Sir Hilary Jenkinson.⁹⁴ Jenkinson’s central focus was identity-focused and role-based, allowing a clear view of the relationship between the new profession he named “English Archivist” and the

⁹² Patricia Galloway, "Oral tradition in living cultures: the role of archives in the preservation of memory." In Jeannette Allis Bastian and Ben Alexander, *Community Archives* (Facet, 2009), 65-86.

⁹³ Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (Routledge, 2003), 148.

⁹⁴ Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms.”

commanding Greek *archons*, albeit within a revised scenario: The authority granted the Archivist was a surrogate for that of the state, and the authority was construed not as interpretation but as brute protection of *evidence*, a key concept. “His Creed,” wrote Jenkinson in 1922, was “the Sanctity of Evidence; his Task, the Conservation of every scrap of Evidence attaching to the Documents committed to his charge.”⁹⁵ Jenkinson’s notion of evidence and the neutrality of the archivist remains a core archival concept, one which Kaplan contextualizes as a positivist rebuke to Freud and Einstein’s 20th century unsettling of the ideal of objectivity.⁹⁶ The broad applications of *evidence* in the practice notwithstanding, Archivist and Social Justice Advocate Randall Jimerson writes scathingly of the failure of contemporary archivists to move beyond Jenkinson’s paradigm of evidence due to its grounding exclusion at multiple levels.⁹⁷ One of these is the level of archival appraisal; Jenkinsonian evidence “favoured the senior policy records of the state, the actions of the elite, the story of national and international activity rather than local or regional or social programmes.”⁹⁸ The Jenkinsonian paradigm of evidence pushes into negative archival space all but evidence of the transactions of the powerful.

⁹⁵ Jenkinson H, “The English Archivist: A New Profession” (1947). In: *Ibid*, 106-07.

⁹⁶ Elisabeth Kaplan, “Many Paths to Partial Truths’: Archives, Anthropology, and the Power of Representation,” *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 215.

⁹⁷ Jimerson, “Embracing the Power of Archives.”

⁹⁸ Jenkinson H, “The English Archivist: A New Profession” (1947). In: *Ibid*, 106-07.

Exclusions stemming from Jenkinson's view of evidence can also be seen in the accessibility of formal archival bodies and their custodial spaces. Jenkinson wrote that the preferred treatment of evidence was rigid "guardianship" requiring custody. It was under this paradigm that routines of guardianship were codified with the significance of rituals, many of which remain practiced in the profession today. Responding to these rituals of guardianship, Randall Jimerson begins his essay "Embracing the Power of Archives" recounting a dream in which the archives have become a prison.⁹⁹ In a testament to the remnants of archival paradigms that persist across time, Cook notes that guardianship of the juridical legacy has remained an archival imperative even as subsequent, less protection-oriented paradigms have taken hold:

the profession developed more sophisticated means by which archives were managed, and evidence protected. Here, rigid consistency of professional practice was sought...for archival description (ISAD-G) or digital records metadata (MoReq2), from guidelines for the best acid-free containers to optimum storage environments, from design specifications for entire archives buildings to models for all archival digital preservation processes¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, rules for consistency, materials, and practice have continued to dominate and drive archival activity. The "guardianship" of evidence paradigm persists in the archival edifice, as Mary – a community archivist – tells Stevens after a first visit to a formal archives:

⁹⁹ Ibid, 21.

¹⁰⁰ Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms," 111.

I can't find the entrance when I first arrive at [the repository] and walk all the way around the building before a sign directs me back to gate 'A', an entrance that I had assumed could not possibly be for public access since there is only a narrow turnstile, topped with barbed wire, and no indication that you have arrived at the archives. I press the button for entrance a few times, but it takes a while before anyone replies and even when I am through it is not obvious how to get to reception. Fortunately another visitor who arrives just after me has been here before: 'it's a bit intimidating, isn't it?' she remarks, 'it's just so huge'. The reception area is staffed by three security guards and has the feel of a sorting office [...] rather than any sort of public space. There are very few chairs in the designated waiting area, which is lit by very bright fluorescent strip lights. [...] We are asked to wait, but it is not clear that anyone has in fact been contacted to let them know that we are here.¹⁰¹

Mary's description emphasizes the ritualistic patterns of evidence "protection" that have persisted in the archival field, including tacit forms of control tied to contextual cues like door size, hallway width, lighting, and furniture placement.

Jenkinson's "guardianship of evidence" paradigm has left a chilly perimeter negative space not only around formal archival body but also around the archivists themselves. Flynn has found in his research among community archivists in Britain that many regard professional archivists warily for fear they will lock artifacts away from the community.¹⁰² Newer practices that might address this fear and place the work of archivists *in situ* in these communities include archival ethnography¹⁰³ and "flexible working practices [which] cover

¹⁰¹ Stevens, fieldnotes, 28 April 2008. In M Stevens, A Flinn, and E Shepherd, "New Frameworks for Community Engagement in the Archive Sector: From Handing over to Handing on," no. November 2014 (2010), 71.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Karen F. Gracy, "Documenting Communities of Practice: Making the Case for Archival Ethnography," *Archival Science* 4, no. 3–4 (2004): 335–65, doi:10.1007/s10502-005-2599-3.

custodial arrangements, collections policy, curation and dissemination, training and consultancy.”¹⁰⁴ Yet notwithstanding these important efforts the legacy of Jenkinson remains firmly in place in emphases in formal archival institutions: of protection over access; and of isolated custody of archived collections over engagement with the vast majority of the people who produce, use, and interpret them.

Mid- to late-20th century onward: Schellenberg and the hierarchy of memory

The second paradigm of the dominant archival traditions, *cultural memory*,¹⁰⁵ took hold in the mid-20th century with the explosion of records around two world wars among other pivotal flurries of documentation. Yet the triumph of evidential record *quantity* over *quality* obscured a simultaneous emphasis in this era on selection and appraisal, for example selection decisions with the American archivist T. R. Schellenberg’s establishment of “academic research, primarily by historians” as their basis.¹⁰⁶ Categorizations designed to expedite record organization within the paradigm of cultural memory included a Private Manuscript Tradition distinct from Public Records Tradition¹⁰⁷, and the

¹⁰⁴ Stevens, Flinn, and Shepherd, “New Frameworks for Community Engagement in the Archive Sector: From Handing over to Handing on,” Abstract.

¹⁰⁵ Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms.”

¹⁰⁶ TR Schellenberg, “Modern Archives. Principles and Techniques,” 1956.

¹⁰⁷ Luke Gilliland-Swetland, “The Provenance of a Profession: The Permanence of the Public Archives and Historical Manuscripts Traditions in American Archival History,” *The American Archivist*, August 23, 2009.

withholding of description for only the highest level records.¹⁰⁸ These shifts allowed the selective memory within the archives to be framed as cultural memory - ostensibly representative of all culture(s) rather transparently rendered through acknowledgement of selection decisions.

This misrepresentation of archives as universal thanks to large (but uneven and gap-filled) collections has only been exacerbated with mass digitization efforts.¹⁰⁹ Regarding digital archival exhibits, Hedstrom noted as early as 2002 that curators devoted “little effort to leave clues about the basis for their appraisal decisions or the contexts in which they are made.”¹¹⁰ The thoroughness of metadata is another area in which selection decisions are enacted without being made transparent; for example in 2009 survey of digital archival collection in which the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) found that fewer than half of digital collections were described sufficiently to be discoverable.¹¹¹ Thus, through the paradigm of cultural memory the corpus of records to be archived grew and

¹⁰⁸ Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms,” 108.

¹⁰⁹ P Botticelli, P. Montiel-Overall, & A Clark, A. “Building sustainable digital cultural heritage collections: Towards best practices for small-scale digital projects,” 2012. In Duranti, L & Shaffer, E. (Eds.), *The Memory of the world in the digital age: digitization and preservation* (pp. 1205-1218).

¹¹⁰ Margaret Hedstrom, “Archives, Memory, and Interfaces with the Past,” *Archival Science*, 2002, 37–38, doi:10.1007/BF02435629.

¹¹¹ Jackie M. Dooley, “The OCLC Research Survey of Special Collections and Archives,” *LIBER Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2011): 1435–5205.

the negative space of the archives grew alongside it, populated now by records from the bottom of the hierarchy, skeletal and underdescribed.

Late 20th century onward: Hans Booms, Helen Samuels, and the distant archivist

The dominant archival traditions focused archiving toward a new paradigm near the end of the 20th century with a focus on social engagement; a key concept was *Identity* for archivists and for the macro-level of society they were increasingly concerned with representing.¹¹² Prior to this era records had been the purview of the state; with Hans Booms' theoretical influence, focus broadened to society as a whole. Booms' legacy is grounded in institutional accountability to society, including his work imposing a 30-year limit on the confidentiality of records in Germany after World War II – crucially, during the lifetimes of many of the decision makers in the records. Meanwhile, Helen Samuels' documentation strategy¹¹³ also advocated broadening the archival focus, through analysis of the subject to be documented followed by strategies towards its adequate and lasting archival coverage. More than ever before, the archivist's mission was aligned with social justice.¹¹⁴ The identity of “the archivist as professional expert” was solidified in this era as well through the establishment of

¹¹² Ibid, 109.

¹¹³ Helen Willa Samuels, “Who Controls the Past,” *The American Archivist* 49, no. 2 (1986): 109–24; Philip N Alexander and Helen W Samuels, “The Roots of 128: A Hypothetical Documentation Strategy,” *American Archivist* 50, no. 4 (1987): 518–31.

¹¹⁴ Randall C Jimerson, *Archives Power* (Society of American Archivists, 2009).

academic training programs, scholarly journals dedicated to archival scholarship, and national and international professional societies and standards.¹¹⁵

The shift toward professionalizing archives as a society-level apparatus led to a more explicit focus on broad representation, yet the accompanying shifts in fundamental archival relationships undercut this goal. As archivists broadened their focus to a macro-perspective on society their relationships with both what their collections held and whom they served grew remote. Exacerbating this distancing of focus was the establishment of national and international shifts in archivist's professional identities. The concept of *community* would soon become a preoccupation of the profession,¹¹⁶ yet many archivists would have forgotten by then what *community* felt like, uprooted as they were from the places and communities where their lives had been lived and memories created in social contexts.¹¹⁷ Developments under this paradigm had the common quality of emphasizing the archivist's distance from – rather than maintaining communion with or care for – the record or the people in it; they directed archival efforts toward symbolizing imagined communities¹¹⁸ instead of engaging with local communities.

Community as a frame in negative archival space

¹¹⁵ Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms," 109.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ A caveat to this argument is the involvement of archivists in scholarly communities, the definition and dynamics of which are compelling but beyond the scope of this work.

¹¹⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

Recently, as a representative of a small community archiving project, I visited an institutional archive that included local matters tied to a particular place. I met with two archivists there to propose a partnership with the community archive project, which was based on a local event. The archivists listened to my proposal and then the senior of the two responded by first pronouncing with gravity, "This event is very important." She then explained to me that they would not be able to partner with the community archive at that time, because such a partnership would require space and labor for which there was no funding. "However," she said a second time, "This is very important." Two lessons came out of that meeting. First I learned that the institutional archive found this community archive to be "very important," a fact the professional archivist felt it was necessary to emphasize. However, the second lesson I learned was that acknowledging a community archive project's importance does not mean that project or any related history will be included in that archive. Communities do not fund, so they are often not allotted space.

Cook asserts that *Community* is the newest paradigm of archival theory and practice; however, based on my experience of what is and is not in formal archives, I fear that community-as-paradigm is wishful thinking on Cook's part. Cook bases his assertion of this paradigm on the recent blossoming of archival scholarship on *community* in general and community archives in particular,¹¹⁹ and

¹¹⁹See for examples Michelle Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach to Records Documenting Human Rights Abuse: Lessons from Community Archives," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3–4 (April 30, 2014): 307–22; Kathy Eales. "Community Archives: Introduction," South African Archives

on the mass sprouting and networking of local archives and interest-based informal archives known as the community archive movement in Britain.¹²⁰ Yet although studies by leading archival theorists on *community* are helping the profession understand communities' relationships with archiving, and notwithstanding that professional archivists are beginning to envision and occasionally enact partnerships with communities, in my view *community* is not an archival paradigm – at least not yet. The concept of *community* is not sufficiently understood to shift the foundations of archival theory, and actual communities are not in enough contact with formal archives to influence archival practice (even as archival exhibits adopt populist models for histories as discussed in Chapter 6.) Instead, I see Cook's assertion that *community* is a paradigm of archival tradition as his optimistic nudge to make it so. Furthermore, through the present work I endeavor to join him in that important effort.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND MOVING FORWARD

More realistic than calling it the next archival paradigm is to say that *community* is one theme that unifies and activates those relegated to the archival

Journal, 40, 1998, 11; Andrew Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges," no. September 2014 (2007): 37–41; Eric Ketelaar, "Sharing Collected Memories In Communities Of Records" 33 (2005): 1–12; Stevens, Flinn, and Shepherd, "New Frameworks for Community Engagement in the Archive Sector: From Handing over to Handing on". For work outside of the archival field on this topic before the turn of the century see Len Garrison, L. 'The Black Historical Past in British Education', in P.G. Stone and R. MacKenzie (eds) *The Excluded Past: Archaeology and Education* (2nd edition), London: Routledge, 231–44.

¹²⁰ Andrew Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges," no. November 2014 (2007): 37–41, doi:10.1080/00379810701611936.

body's negative space. An important goal of this dissertation work is to explore commemorative activity in negative archival space, exploration that must precede any work to include excluded communities in traditional archives. Communities archive, but in ways the archival profession is only just beginning to see, get a sense of, or be directly involved with. Andrew Flinn, engaging in substantial study around community archives in the UK, notes that community archives' "very existence challenges and subverts the authority of mainstream histories and archives."¹²¹ Such subversion is the activation of negative archival space. As formal archives have excluded their histories, communities and their archivists have filled and continue to address voids and spaces without professional archival attention. Indeed, community archivists have commemorated these erstwhile-excluded histories in distinct manners far afield of the dominant archival paradigms and standards. In particular, informal archivists – often working with ephemera – have filled these acute voids in formal archival attention and work.

In the next chapter I move from this chapter's analysis of the shaping of archives in history to an examination of one key player in negative archival space, *ephemera*, interrogating its problematic history in collecting professions. I then trace the history of *ephemera* in communities, including informal traditions around ephemera societies and scrapbooks, and connect this to recent archival consideration of community expressions. Overall, I endeavor to demonstrate that the negative space around the archival corpus is actually fertile ground for the

¹²¹ Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges," 165.

keeping of histories, and that the dynamic nature of contemporary communities leads to the production and use of ephemera in commemorative activities. Finally, I make the case for my methodological use in this study of the broadened definition of *ephemera* introduced in the theoretical framework in this work, to include material and immaterial ephemera.

CHAPTER 3: EPHEMERA IN COMMUNITIES

This chapter chooses a path toward better archiving for and with communities. I worked to justify the need for this path in the previous chapter, by tracing cyclical, patterned exclusions in archival practice, and locating the results of these in negative space around the formalized collections in the archival body. Even as archivists form new theories toward inclusion of new histories, to legitimate their work archival professionals are compelled to model their collections and practices on the hegemonic foundations of the past. As these patterns have organized the corpus of archivable histories, they have also created and shaped negative archival space.

In this chapter, by revisiting ephemera use in community expressions as the storage and transmission of history, I work to shed light on negative archival space and dynamic, empowering archival play within it. To this end I now turn focus to a key player emerging from consideration of negative archival space: *ephemera*. I explore the definitions and historic understandings of *ephemera* as a classification, and ephemera play a key role in archiving the transactions of ordinary people. At the end of the chapter I introduce the use of ephemera as a reimagined concept through which to analyze a community expression, and I introduce the next chapter's case study of the All Souls Procession as ephemera-centered community commemoration happening in negative archival space.

My uses of the term "ephemera" in this chapter require some explanation. Unless specified otherwise, when written in italics *ephemera* is used as a singular

noun to signify a concept, often the classification of paper-based materials presumed to be transient or otherwise “difficult” to collect.¹²² This italicized classification is examined here as it is used in collecting institutions including libraries and archives, though it is certainly connected to scholarship around *ephemera* from other academic fields including the fine and photographic arts.¹²³ In this chapter I also use “ephemera” unitalicized as the plural of the noun “ephemeron,” signifying multiple items or instances that fit within the information science classification *ephemera*. Finally, I use the adjective “ephemeral” here to describe matter or activity that is “short-lived” in some sense.

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Why should archivists study negative archival space?

There is value in examining histories excluded from professional archives – or in postmodern terms, histories excluded from the possibility of being constructed in legitimate archival space – for three reasons. The first fits squarely within contemporary archival practice in its focus on gaps: Archivists should, and do, attend to negative archival space to locate histories excluded from our

¹²² Makepeace, *Ephemera*.

¹²³ See Kate Palmer Albers, *Uncertain Histories* (University of California Press, 2015), for a discussion of the ambiguity of photographs as reliable historic records.

¹²⁴ “ephemeral, adj. and n.”. OED Online. September 2015. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/63199?redirectedFrom=ephemeral> (accessed October 30, 2015). 2a.

archives and work to include them; in other words, to fill historic gaps. As discussed in the second chapter of this work, there are many sensory conceptualizations of the bodies of history within and outside of archives. These include the “archival sliver” versus what lay beyond that sliver,¹²⁵ and the notion of inclusion in the archive as being given a voice, versus exclusion as being relegated to silence.¹²⁶ These conceptualizations reflect the emphasis in the archival profession of filling in gaps, since one must conceptualize the whole to recognize its gaps. The study of oral history is founded on the premise that when a history is vocalized and heard, a gap in the archive is addressed.¹²⁷ A similar foundation underlies the analysis of ephemeral commemoration here. Ephemeral histories are likely to fill in gaps in archives.

A second impetus for attending to negative archival space in archives-focused scholarship is to understand the processes that go into the nonprofessional construction of histories – processes quite different from traditional archival

¹²⁵ Harris, “The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa.”

¹²⁶ Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), <http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy1.library.arizona.edu/lib/arizona/detail.action?docID=10840097>; Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*; Eric Ketelaar, “Archives as Spaces of Memory,” *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 29, no. 1 (2008): 9–27, doi:10.1080/00379810802499678; RGS Carter, “Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence,” *Archivaria*, 2006, <http://journals.sfu.ca/archivar/index.php/archivaria/article/viewArticle/12541>.

¹²⁷ J Fogerty, “Filling the Gap: Oral History in the Archives,” *The American Archivist*, 1983, <http://americanarchivist.org/doi/abs/10.17723/aarc.46.2.r775717748477g34>; Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford University Press Oxford, 2000).

practices. As I will explain further in the next chapter, stewards and informal collectors of histories activating negative archival space are performing archival *scenarios*.¹²⁸ Understanding the perceptions and practices of participants within these scenarios and examining their resulting histories can illustrate considerations around archival practice for underrepresented groups.

Third, I recognize temporal community expressions as history construction and study them to ensure the archival profession's relevance across dynamic information landscapes. Archival tradition based on *evidence* lingers today amid a rising deluge of automated process-based "archiving" of primary sources. Collections resulting from this deluge are ubiquitous online: Forgotten drafts of content, broken links, and information-turned misinformation are indeed collections of *evidence* prompted by evolving technological abilities regardless of human need or filter. By contrast, commemoration through live human engagement disrupts the privileging of primary sources, locating value not in permanence but in persistence.¹²⁹ The inclusion of archives in the broad field of information has led to intersecting lines of concern, over preservation in one direction and metrics collection in another.¹³⁰ Dynamic archives work in both of these directions simultaneously.

¹²⁸ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*.

¹²⁹ Geoffrey Yeo, "Concepts of Record (1): Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations," *The American Archivist* 70 (2007): 315–43, doi:10.2307/40294573.

¹³⁰ See for example J Priem, P Groth, and D Taraborelli, "The Altmetrics Collection," 2012, <http://dx.plos.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0048753>; and J Priem,

Despite comprising that which is excluded from formal archives, negative archival space is nonetheless activated space, in which histories are constructed unencumbered by the formalities of traditional archives. Those whose histories are left out of formal archives are likely aware of the archive as a general construct, but may be unfamiliar with many traditional archival practices. For example, the archives associated with the library at my university has been compelled to create “how-to” videos for visiting their archival collections. Histories constructed in negative archival space thus tend to be free of both the demands and privileges of histories formally documented in archives, freedoms evident in community history construction in particular: Communities more concerned with *doing* than recording do not stop to assess who is in or who is out of their group’s boundaries at any given time, so they generate histories dynamically, through community expressions intertwined with ephemeral documentation.

EPHEMERA

Ever the river has risen and brought us the flood, the mayfly floating on the water. On the face of the sun its countenance gazes, then all of a sudden nothing is there!

From *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 2100 BCE¹³¹

HA Piwowar, and BM Hemminger, “Altmetrics in the Wild: Using Social Media to Explore Scholarly Impact,” *arXiv Preprint arXiv:1203.4745*, 2012, <http://arxiv.org/abs/1203.4745>.

¹³¹ Translation by A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 87.

To understand one implement for archiving within negative space – the *ephemeron*, singular form of *ephemera* – we must first follow the flutter of its etymological origins across centuries of writing spaces and places. *Ephemeron* comes from the Greek *ephēmeros*, “lasting only a day.” Two forms of the term were captured in the 17th century Dutch booklet *Ephemeri vita, or, The natural history and anatomy of the Ephemeron, a fly that lives but five hours* (Swammerdam & Tyson, 1681), describing the insect we know now as the mayfly or day fly—the same insect standing in for the passing of human generations in the passage above from *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. The ephemeron in its fly form is a living body that is almost simultaneously the passing of a body, its veinous wings conjuring absence more than presence in their brittle transparency. Transmitted to us through human writing from a sunny river in ancient Mesopotamia, across entomologists’ lenses in Holland and into the present, the ephemeron as a fly has lodged within the human psyche not only because it never lives long, but because it has lived so many short lives again and again attended by human reflection.

Flouting the archival demand for uniqueness, fixity, and organizability, ephemera of a related sort continue to buzz disruptively across our archival purview because they are uncanny – so uncanny in fact that they are the basis of a category. In contemporary information science and archives, *ephemera* has become the classification under which collecting institutions group a paper-based spectrum of items that do not fit well within their systems of preservative storage and bibliographic control: bus tickets, wine labels, circulars advertising sales, and commemorative balloons, to name but a few. The criteria by which matter can be

labeled *ephemera* is rather arbitrary; once they are labeled however, ephemera are often segregated from other aspects of the collection and processed less comprehensively than books and the other formats of materials around which archival tradition has evolved.¹³² Young laments that in information science and archives ephemera are often only defined by example, and he locates this lack of clear definition at the heart of the problem these fields have with handling ephemeral materials.¹³³ In lieu of a clear definition, *ephemera* has become shorthand for “difficult materials” for librarians and archivists,¹³⁴ a curiously liminal label denoting that some materials – however they have ended up in a collection – should be considered by their handlers as “other.”

Questions prevail about whether ephemera are unfairly devalued by collecting institutions, or whether their inherent qualities invite their distinct treatment. Librarians and archivists who fret over handling ephemera may be responding at least in part to the conditions of the ephemera that arrive in their care. As noted by the Conservation Center for Art and Historic Artifacts,

Often, ephemera were produced using the cheapest papers and printing processes available. Newspaper, cardstock, and coated papers are made of short, weak, acidic wood-pulp fibers, which discolor and degrade with time. Low-quality printing results in media that are friable, or easily lifted, as they sit on the surface of the paper rather than within the paper fibers. To make matters worse, ephemera have usually suffered heavy use, as well as poor housing and storage, prior to their arrival in a collection. A

¹³² Makepeace, *Ephemera*.

¹³³ Timothy G. Young, “Evidence: Toward a Library Definition of Ephemera,” *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage* 4, no. 1 (2003): 12, doi:VL - 4.

¹³⁴ Alan Clinton, *Printed Ephemera* (Bingley, 1981), 13.

poster taped to a storefront window, a playbill crumpled up and stuck in a pocket, and letters shoved in a drawer: all could end up with tears, folds and creases, media fading, staining, or water damage, among other condition issues.¹³⁵

The high level of popular engagement with ephemera is shown here to be a direct cause of its “condition issues,” creating an inverse relationship between that with which people engage and that which collection institutions find easy to preserve.

On the other hand, well-preserved ephemera can cause professional consternation. A confounding of interpreted value, longevity, similarity to other materials in a collection, and accessibility are embedded in the formation of *ephemera* as a category. Illustrating this, Micah Hoggatt of Harvard University Libraries and coauthors have written about issues related to the ephemera in the Harvard Theatre Collection. In a 2015 interview with me at Harvard’s Houghton Library, Hoggatt explained how classification can predict treatment in a rare books collection, noting, “In general, we have tended to treat books and manuscripts much better because they’re much easier to describe....In the past we haven’t necessarily known what to do with ephemera.”¹³⁶ The Houghton Library functions more like an archive than a library in terms of security screens visitors must pass through to access the collection, and Hoggatt and fellow librarians there do preserve their ephemera collections with great physical care. However,

¹³⁵ Conservation Center for Art and Historic Artifacts, “Challenged and Strategies in Preserving Ephemera.” CCAHA Newsletter, Fall 2012, retrieved October 31, 2015 from http://www.ccaha.org/uploads/media_items/art-i-facts-fall-2012.original.pdf.

¹³⁶ Micah Jared Hoggatt, “Personal Interview, June 7th,” 2015.

Hoggatt and his coauthors noted in the article, “The issues of irregular size, fragile condition, and quantity [of ephemera] continue to make bibliographic control of them elusive.”¹³⁷ One result is that some collections of ephemera in the Harvard Theatre Collection “have remained unprocessed for 20 years or more, essentially inaccessible.”¹³⁸ It seems that even preserved ephemera disappear, at least from public access.

Viewed historically, the classification *ephemera* was created as a segregating mechanism, based on subjective assessment but justified by circular claims of inherent transience. McDowell documents perhaps the earliest use of the classification *ephemera* by authors of “fine writing” including Samuel Johnson, Alexander Pope, and John Swift. Their uses of the term fall within a strategy to distinguish theirs from what they argued were more impermanent printed works following the end of prepublication censorship in England in 1662.¹³⁹ These literary giants’ efforts to dissociate their writing with less respected works led to the formation of both *literature* and *ephemera* as reciprocal classifications. *Ephemera*’s construction as a classification was a necessary division amid the “great heaps” of printed matter being churned out in England, according Samuel Johnson’s “An Essay on the Origin and Importance of Small Tracts and Fugitive

¹³⁷ Micah Jared Hoggatt, James Michael Capobianco, and Susan C Pyzynski, “So Many Playbills, So Little Time: A Case Study in Fugitive Theatrical Material,” 2014, 31.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹³⁹ Paula McDowell, “Of Grubs and Other Insects: Constructing the Categories of ‘Ephemera’ and ‘Literature’ in Eighteenth-Century British Writing,” *Book History* 15, no. 1 (2012): 49.

Pieces.”¹⁴⁰ – “fugitive pieces” serving as a common synonym for ephemera in the 18th century in England as well as *piece fugitive* in France.

The classification in turn influenced the use of the term *ephemera*, as evidenced in an Oxford English Dictionary’s defining example of *ephemera* from H. Francis Lester in 1886: “[A charwoman is] a kind of domestic ephemera which flutters briefly in the scullery and then is seen no more”¹⁴¹. The charwoman is ephemeral not in the sense that she ceases to exist, but in the sense that she has ceased to be seen by the speaker, likely because her employers expected her to work quickly and disappear. Like the use of the term here, the classification *ephemera* enacts that which it names: When collecting institutions treat ephemera poorly based on presumptions of temporality, ephemera become more likely to disappear or disintegrate.

Redefining ephemera

Like so many occupants of negative archival space, however, *ephemera* have their devotees. Studied since 1900 in the French journal *Le Vieux Papier*—literally, “old paper”¹⁴² – the classification *ephemera* found its best known champion in Maurice Rickards, who founded the British Ephemera Society in

¹⁴⁰ Samuel Johnson An Essay on the Origin and Importance of Small Tracts and Fugitive Pieces. *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. 1. 1744.

¹⁴¹ H. Francis Lester, 1886, *Under Two Fig Trees* (London: Ward and Downey, 1886), 33, qtd.in OED Online, s.v. ephemera, n.2, 2. In McDowell, “Of Grubs and Other Insects: Constructing the Categories of ‘Ephemera’ and ‘Literature’ in Eighteenth-Century British Writing,” 54.

¹⁴² Sally De Beaumont, “The Ephemera Society - A Detailed History,” *The Ephemera Society*, 2010, <http://ephemera-society.org.uk/articles/ephsoc.html>.

1975 and helped establish ephemera societies in numerous other nations out of affection for its evocation of the “everyday.”¹⁴³ Among the British society’s founding members was John Lewis, who in 1962 had written a guide to recognizing ephemeral materials (including posters, tickets, broadsheets, handbills, and menus) and whose second book on ephemera in 1976 focused on their collection.¹⁴⁴ Redefined by Rickards as “minor transient documents of everyday life,”¹⁴⁵ ephemera collected by the British Ephemera Society for an early exhibition included a poster of a butter-yellow duckling in a stroller beneath text hawking Easter eggs, alongside other imagery many archivists as well as art critics might dismiss as eclectic, popular, or low art. If librarians and archivists increasingly found these ill-fitting materials in their collections in the late 20th century, they likely had the coddling approaches of Lewis, Rickards, and their respective societies to hold responsible.

To summarize *ephemera* from a collection-focused perspective: *Ephemera* in information science and archives is a classification for materials that may be evanescent, referring both to those that land in negative archival space and those that exist in formal archives. In these collecting institutions the labeling of materials as ephemera may justify decisions not to fully process or welcome them, though that same labeling may lead ephemera societies to treasure

¹⁴³ Maurice Rickards, *Collecting Printed Ephemera* (Abbeville Press, 1988); Makepeace, *Ephemera*.

¹⁴⁴ John Lewis, *Printed Ephemera; the Changing Uses of Type and Letter Forms in English and American Printing*, 1962; John Lewis, *Collecting Printed Ephemera* (Studio Vista, 1976).

¹⁴⁵ Rickards, *Collecting Printed Ephemera*.

ephemera for their evocation of the everyday. Because ephemera are treated as disparate, there is much those focused on the management of information do not know about connections among them. If ephemera are to be taken seriously as the *thing* in the archival scenario, the archival imperative for *respect des fonds* must ask of their collection, “Where do all these ephemera come from?”

COMMUNITY AND EPHEMERA

Dynamically ordinary people

In archival practice, much less attention is given to community records than to the records of official organizations. Yet communities exist, engage in transactions, and produce evidence of many kinds collective histories and shared stories. As Thompson notes in his groundbreaking work on oral histories,

Until (the 20th century), the focus of history was essentially political: a documentation of the struggle for power, in which the lives of ordinary people, or the working of the economy or religion, were given little attention except in times of crisis.... This has remained true even after the establishment of local record offices. Registers of births and marriages, minutes of councils and the administration of poor relief and welfare, national and local newspapers, schoolteachers’ log books—legal records of all kinds are kept in quantity; very often there are also church archives and accounts and other books from large private firms and land estates, and even private correspondence from the ruling landowner classes. But of the innumerable postcards, letters, diaries, and ephemera of working-class men and women, or the papers of small business like corner shops or hill farmers, for example, very little has been preserved anywhere.¹⁴⁶

Most experiences of “ordinary people” are conspicuously absent from our archival records. Thompson makes the case that this is in part because the records

¹⁴⁶ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford University Press Oxford, 2000), 3-4.

of ordinary people have been seen as unimportant, an argument I also make in chapter 2 of this work. Here I also advance another explanation: the exile of ordinary people to negative archival space exists because humans tend to engage important activities in dynamic groups, outside of established structures and scripts. As I discuss further in the next section, ordinary people organize themselves and engage in shared activity as part of and within dynamic communities. Particularly in this era of what Rainie and Wellman call Networked Individualism,¹⁴⁷ day-to-day life and even more formalized shared events increasingly happen outside of recordkeeping entities such as institutionalized environments and static organizations, and even family structures, resulting in community histories too dynamic for archives as traditionally understood.

To illustrate the difference between organizational and community transactions underlying this work given the similarity across types of work or engagement, I use meeting minutes as a microcosmic example of recorded *organizational* work. In the case of a professional meeting, those present are counted and named, rules of order are followed, and someone present is required to write down what transpires. Each of these moments requires an inorganic freezing or displacement of action (names and rules) and the intent to preserve (by writing it down) in order to create a record. By contrast, *community* transactions are more likely to leave ephemeral paper content as an organic byproduct of action. In posters advertising events and in periodicals including newspapers and

¹⁴⁷ Rainie and Wellman, *Networked*.

magazines, for example, there is a clear temporal focus on the actions of their creators and audiences, a prizing of the current moment. Active communities are continuously constructed through participation in such current, prized moments. Comprising the shared community, then, are notions of current happenings (e.g., a parade, a block party) and behavior, rather than the recordability and records of such activity.

Ephemerists



Figure 2: From the Ephemerist Society of Australia. Credit: <http://ephemerisociety.org.au>.

Intriguing connections exist between ephemera and the community histories in our negative archival spaces, which may be why ephemerists (collectors of ephemera) were some of the earliest community archivists, known then as “folk historians.” Jim Burant of the National Archives of Canada noted in 1995 that he had a colleague in archives who

has placed ephemerists in a category that he has termed “folk historians,” who “have found value in objects which archivists have missed or disdained.” He also includes military enthusiasts, train and ship lovers, philatelists, collectors of all kinds, and genealogists, and comments that

"these interests--these usages of the past--have found a place in archives only grudgingly."¹⁴⁸

The grudging attitude his colleague refers to is evident in Burant himself elsewhere in the article, as he reacts to a presentation at an archives conference by an “informal” collector of military ephemera which Burant did not deem sufficiently unique for archiving.

What would other, less knowledgeable audiences have thought about this man's ‘archive’? Archivists have to be aware that such misconceptions arise for various reasons, and should learn to respond to such problems within the field of ephemera collecting.¹⁴⁹

Burant draws a stark line between nonprofessional collectors – “ephemerists – and archivists. However, while Burant would not refer to them as community archivists—and may have been loath to call them archivists at all—he recognized early that ephemerists’ collections were a rebuke to archives’ exclusivity:

[Archivists] must become more aware of the perception of exclusivity that has taken shape and form through the ephemeral. The ephemera movement represents an intellectual challenge to what I believe to be generally held concepts of what constitutes “essential evidence,” as well as a concern, in that public perceptions and attitudes towards, and confidence in, public record-keeping bodies appears to be changing--not necessarily for the better.¹⁵⁰

Burant was sensing a movement by ephemerists to reclaim the historicity of everyday material ephemera, which ephemerists were steeped in as the fabric of their existence.

¹⁴⁸ J Burant, “Ephemera , Archives , and Another View of History,” no. September (1992): Notes.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 191.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 190.

People whose perspectives and transactions are not typically recorded in archives have special relationships with ephemera because ephemeral matter constitute highly organic records, gleaned through the transactions that those who occasion them elect (as in shopping receipts) rather than through what may be atypical transactions compelled by governments (as in arrests.) Ephemera evoke activities in which ordinary people choose to engage, in their everyday lives and in the extraordinary moments they experience or, better, orchestrate. For many in negative archival space playing in the archival scenario, ephemera play the role of the *thing*. One of the most noteworthy examples of this archival scenario play is in the American and European histories of scrapbooking.



Figure 3: Scrapbook commemoration. Photo credit: <http://angielucas.com>.

Scrapbooks: Sharing ephemera in communities

Historically, scrapbooks have served those in negative archival space as a system both for archiving ephemera and representing their personal histories through it in social exhibition. Scrapbooks were particularly popular in late 19th century America, where the industrialization of printing through steam power, chromolithography, and embossing as well as rail transport¹⁵¹ led to an explosive new tradition of ephemera, less textual than preceding print traditions and considerably more colorful and graphical.¹⁵² For European immigrants accustomed to collections as symbols of old world wealth, this influx of flashy print materials enabled aristocratic roleplay through cheap collectibles: Tucker and coauthors in writing of elite families' collections of treasured objects described the scrapbook as "the equivalent of a poor family's cabinet of curiosities" or *Wunderkammer*.¹⁵³

Scrapbooks are often viewed as private archives of ephemeral materials, but as Good has found, scrapbooks performed important social functions, including their role within a continuum of traditions of shared commemoration

¹⁵¹ Casper SE, Groves J, Nissenbaum S, et al. (eds) (2007) *A History of the Book in America: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

¹⁵² Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life* (Temple University Press, 2006).

¹⁵³ "Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler, Editors. The Scrapbook in American Life. :The Scrapbook in American Life," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1650–51, doi:10.1086/ahr.111.5.1650c.

that continue today in social media platforms.¹⁵⁴ Good also compares scrapbook collections to media assemblage via the social network platform Facebook, some of the features she discusses circulate around a specific topic – for example, collecting media related to a popular actress – signifying a desire to belong to a community by posting content to share with others who share that interest.¹⁵⁵ Good found the scrapbooking tradition to have functioned to socially navigate and filter new media,¹⁵⁶ an important selective nuance of the archival scenario – when an influx of media exists the purpose of an archival collection is not only to preserve but to pare it down, a function increasingly performed socially.

Community expressions as “communities of records”

All human archiving is selective. To consider community transactions in archives, archives must realistically practice selectivity across the spectrum of community transactions, from the ad hoc transactions at the less salient end of this spectrum to community expressions at the more salient end. An ad hoc grouping of passengers created in the context of a bus trip may have little in common beyond matching itineraries and ephemeral bus tickets. In these ad hoc transactions and their residual ephemera there may still be informative traces of human experience, such as the choice of destination and bus line, which reflect

¹⁵⁴ K. D. Good, “From Scrapbook to Facebook: A History of Personal Media Assemblage and Archives,” *New Media & Society* 15, no. 4 (September 30, 2012): 557–73, doi:10.1177/1461444812458432.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

acceptable travel options from the perspective of an ordinary person in that era, but not necessarily communities.

Stronger – that is, more cohesive – communities are more salient, and community cohesion may be measured by repetition in members’ choices of activities in common. As a community continues to engage in the same activities together and to grow in levels of participation, its activities begin to constitute *community expressions*, which in this work are organized by the most cohesive communities at the stronger end of the spectrum. Community expressions include large annual festivals, parades, and other highly attended repeating events organized by people outside of dominant governmental organizations.

Community expressions is the term used to describe the phenomena that archivist Bastian analyzes as performances of memory in her studies of festivals in the Virgin Islands,¹⁵⁷ inspiring the analysis of community expressions in this work.

This work rests on an assumption that when we analyze their functions in negative archival space we find that ephemera often play the *thing* in the community archival scenario, providing material centers for community expressions. Ordinary people create ephemera to construct iterations of community, and then save those ephemera to document that community context within which they advertise, visit one another, pay for things, and engage in a host of other day to day transactions. These transactions stand out as more ordinary

¹⁵⁷ Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*; Bastian, “‘Play Mas’: Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival: Records and Community Identity in the US Virgin Islands.”

people do them, becoming community expressions as what members do together becomes more distinct and as such more uniquely evocative of that community. Despite their grounding in strong communities, community expressions are fluid; they do not stop to assess who is in or who is out of the community's boundaries at any given time. Instead, their ephemera are evidence of the activities through which members engage and participate, because communities are entities of action.

RECASTING *EPHEMERA*: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY OPPORTUNITY

Looking ahead in this work, *ephemera* will be used methodologically to signify not only transient material but also transient activity centered around that material. In particular, I make the case for my methodological use in this study of the broadened definition of *ephemera* introduced in the theoretical framework in this work to include material and immaterial ephemera. I interpret Bastian's "community of records" concept, as the consideration of a collection (community) of activities preserved through both material and immaterial means (records). I conclude this chapter by justifying this strategic recasting of *ephemera* as interdisciplinary concept and terminology.

There are four reasons I have chosen to expand the concept *ephemera* beyond the collecting professions' material-based classification. First, the material understanding of *ephemera* is anachronistic. Collecting professions have long problematized transitory matter, potentially abridging the community histories we build with summary exclusions around impermanence, but also, relying on an increasingly anachronistic understanding of information as physically palpable. In

the conclusion of her study of the classification *ephemera*, McDowell calls for its reevaluation, noting that one reason *ephemera* is “becoming especially visible right now is because it is breaking down,” due to digital systems that present texts upon our screens with no hierarchical classifications, subject to post-print considerations around what will preserve them or lose them to us.¹⁵⁸ Ephemera are classified in libraries and archives as temporal and are devalued in connection with this temporality. Yet in the increasingly dynamic atmosphere of information exemplified by anti-archival communication platforms like Snapchat, temporality is a complex and at times highly-valued quality that extends from the material to the immaterial, making the classification feel increasingly outdated and meaningless.

The second reason I justify broadening the concept of *ephemera* beyond its collection-focused classification is that meaning of *ephemera* as a classification is increasingly unlike the use of the term in other fields. Recognizing the value potential of all forms and formats of information as archivable is imperative for archives in this era of interdisciplinary reorganization. In a growing number of information science and archival studies departments, professional training for the collecting fields is being absorbed within the more dynamic field of Information.¹⁵⁹ In these “iSchools” students are taught to

¹⁵⁸ McDowell, “Of Grubs and Other Insects: Constructing the Categories of ‘Ephemera’ and ‘Literature’ in Eighteenth-Century British Writing,” 65.

¹⁵⁹ M Seadle and E Greifeneder, “Envisioning an iSchool Curriculum,” 2007, <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/docviews/abstract.php?id=30120>; A Dillon, “What

recognize the potency in dynamic transmissions of matter we might call “ephemeral” not in the sense of “old paper” but according to one of its other definitions: “short-lived.” In these fledgling partnerships between collection-based and information-based theorists, the dismissal among collectors of transitory matter labeled *ephemera* threatens to drag the collecting fields out of sync with information scientists, potentially shutting out future interdisciplinary opportunities. To ensure the archival profession’s relevance in a dynamic world, recognizing innovative approaches to dynamic matter in all forms is essential.

The third reason I broaden the concept *ephemera* here to include the immaterial is corroborative. Studying ephemera in the context of community expressions in particular can shed light on negative archival space and the dynamic archival play within it, but there are caveats to the use of ephemera in archival research. Ott notes that ephemera evince “more drama, magniloquence, and wild claims than any other kinds of primary sources,”¹⁶⁰ a tendency that leads Young to warn that

any historical research with ephemera must be counterbalanced with post-event documentation to answer new questions such as: Did the actors listed in the playbill appear on stage as indicated? Did a six ton Indian elephant really amaze crowds at the circus? Did Abraham Lincoln show up for the advertised debate? Printed ephemera that present advance knowledge of events must be corroborated with other sources.¹⁶¹

It Means to Be an iSchool,” *Journal of Education for Library and Information ...*, 2012, https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~adillon/Journals/jelis_paper/jelis2012.htm.

¹⁶⁰ Ott, “Reading Paper Ephemera,” *Popular Culture in Libraries*, Vol. 4. (2), (1997)14.

¹⁶¹ Young, “Evidence: Toward a Library Definition of Ephemera,” 21.

Ephemera can be misleading; *quality* of experience should be preserved by other means whenever possible. Corroboration is important to discern the differences between an arbitrary and a planned transaction or between a relatively mindless decision and a mindful one. Peeling labels from bottles absentmindedly during wine-drinking signifies an experience distinct from the peeling of labels that happens after wine-drinking, with the latter suggesting that it was a notable experience overall. To understand the nature of that wine-drinking session, the archivist may need to understand other aspects of it such as if, how, and why it was planned, who attended and who did not attend, how that wine smelled, and even how it tasted. The post-imbibing label peeling suggests there occurred something salient – that it was peeled off to purchase again, or perhaps was an experience remembered by a group of people. These shared moments are recorded, remembered, catalogued, but not at the level of institutionalized practice. Viewing that ephemeral wine label within a community of records could decode this experience and that is why it is the focus of this project.

Finally, I expand the concept *ephemera* to include the immaterial here because ephemera cannot be severed from the live and the performed, particularly in commemorative community expressions. Although communities are more personally involved than archivists in the histories they are constructing through archival scenarios, in addition to paper-based ephemera communities play at archiving with myriad forms of information and knowledge transfer including ephemeral performances. Indeed, as I will show in the analysis of the All Souls

Procession, use of ephemera in performances forms the basis of that community's most crucial commemorative repertoires.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND MOVING FORWARD

On the basis of the four justifications above, from this point forward in this work, I broaden the concept ephemera to include both transient material and the transient immaterial. My intention is to recast the classification *ephemera* as a methodological category for archival science that considers paper-based ephemera and embodied performance together as community expression, and together these play the *place, thing, and practice* in the archival scenario. This redeployment of the classification breaks *ephemera's* yoke to print culture and follows instead the role of the term as it is used in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and the Dutch *ephemeron* study, evoking the mayfly which never lives long but which sufficiently haunts our human senses that we draw, speak, write, or perform it again and again ourselves.

In the next chapter, I give a detailed roadmap for the case studied in this work, in which I examine one case of a community expression as an archival scenario. I ground the research in the use of Bastian's "communities of records" concept, with ephemera playing the role of archived material but also standing in as "critical residue" of performed community expressions. I outline the interpretive methodologies deployed in this research, framing within them detailed descriptions of research site, participants, and methods. I address the questions of trust and credibility as I lay out the design by which I analyze data in

this research. Finally, I provide an extensive context for this case of a community expression.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS

In this chapter I explain the case study research informing this work. I open with an illustrated epigraph about community commemoration in the All Souls Procession (henceforth referred to as the ASP). After this illustration, I introduce the research and justify the research questions guiding this study. Then, I include a brief overview of the research site and context for this case, as well as my own background related to this site and this research. Next, I offer an in-depth description of my interpretive case-study methodology and the methods utilized in this study including data collection, organization, and analysis. Finally, I endeavor to provide a comprehensive context for this case of a commemorative community expression.

COMMEMORATING *LOS BRACEROS*: AN ILLUSTRATED EPIGRAPH

In the leadup to the 2015 All Souls Procession, organizers determined a loose theme for the costumes of the fifteen parade “Ambassadors.” The theme was “Forgotten Ghosts of the Road,” described as follows in an article in the *Tucson Weekly*:

The Ambassadors [are] the folks who give out pieces of paper and pencils to others walking the procession, so that they can write a prayer or message that's later burnt in the urn. During this procession, the group is honoring [what one organizer calls] “the forgotten ghosts of the road, the people who helped build this country. Slaves, convict laborers, braceros, farm workers, miners, child workers, Chinese railroad workers—who

“built the streets we walk on, the food we eat, the monuments in our nation's capital, the railroad tracks that bring our food and goods to us.”¹⁶²

That year all ambassadors wore simple white tunics upon which they affixed photographs, imagery, and text to commemorate a person (often an ancestor) or a group from within that chosen theme. Ambassador Lupe Lopez, a Latina woman in her forties, responded to the theme by honoring her father and his fellow *Braceros*, seasonal farm workers from Mexico brought to the US to labor in place of men fighting in World War II. The article describes the costume she created within that theme as follows:

Lupe’s costume is decorated on the front with photographs of her father, Ramiro, from different phases of his life. The tree is railroad tracks, and each branch represents a trip he made to to the USA to work. On the back of the tunic, she has photographs of *Braceros* being sprayed with DDT, saying goodbye to their children as they board a train for the USA, hauling cotton bags through fields. And a “We serve Whites only. No Spanish-Mexicans” sign.

At the finale of the procession, all of the ambassadors removed their tunics and placed them in the urn along with other participant creations to honor the dead; these objects were laid upon a nest of thousands of small white prayer slips amassed during the parade and online. Mounted on a crane, the urn was lifted above a stage where the Spirit Group performed movements similar to Japanese *butoh* and other ritual dances – each dancer performing a distinct movement created in honor of someone they had lost.¹⁶³ As the crowd of attendees –

¹⁶² María Inés Taracena, “Los Olvidados: All Souls Procession 2015 Remembers Our History’s Forgotten Ghosts,” *Tucson Weekly*, 2015, <http://www.tucsonweekly.com/tucson/los-olvidados/Content?oid=5954755>.

¹⁶³ Rachel, “Personal Interview, December 18th,” 2015.

estimated by organizers this year to have included over one hundred thousand people – watched the spectacle, the urn was set alight as it is each year. The prayer slips, the tunic honoring Ramiro Lopez and other *Braceros*, and ephemera commemorating countless other histories burned in the air.



Figure 4: The urn in 2008¹⁶⁴

THIS RESEARCH

In the story above, photographs and objects of the *Bracero* program – pasted and sewn onto tunics, worn in a two-mile parade, and then ceremonially burned – were *ephemeral* in the sense that they were neither designed nor

¹⁶⁴ Image from Oddio Overplay via Flickr, retrieved April 16th, 2016 from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/oddio/3023086644>.

intended for longterm preservation. Yet these material and immaterial ephemera were central to the practices by which members of the ASP community to commemorate and emotionally process the past. By using transient materials and performances to construct a local past that informs community identity, ASP participants play at and exist as part of the archival scenario, asserting community histories while resisting the cycles that would lock those histories away from their voices and control. Memories like Lupe's of her *Bracero* father are shared locally in free public space among a community of mourners, celebrants, and organizers.

In this work I study ephemeral commemoration in the ASP as a case of a community expression. Considering the crucial role played by history in the construction of both individual and community identities, I show that communities reinforce their boundaries by transmitting histories through ephemeral objects and ephemeral performance. For archives to work with and include the histories of communities, these ephemeral commemoration practices must be understood by archival professionals and theorists. To illustrate my arguments, I frame the use of ephemera in the ASP as a particularly salient case of commemorative expression. ASP performances and installations manifest the past on many levels: historic, genealogical, geographical, visual, and artistic. Poignantly, they manifest contested cultures of and within this community less than an hour's drive from the US-Mexico border.

While the ASP encompasses multiple public gatherings both are stationary and mobile, it may be best classified as a 'parade' as that is the nature of its most highly-attended event. Conceived as a parade, it constructs the participating

community's past and informs a local identity.¹⁶⁵ The notion of the ASP as a celebration of a "borderlands" identity is reinforced by a video recently produced by the National Endowment for the Arts in which the ASP features heavily among selected "stories" manifesting the arts for the entire state of Arizona.¹⁶⁶ (See Figure 5 for a still image of the video.)

¹⁶⁵ For compelling discussion of parades as contests of identity see Sallie Marston, "Making Difference: Conflict over Irish Identity in the New York City St. Patrick's Day Parade," *New York* 21 (2002): 373–92. Parades and cultural expressions have been viewed as contests of identity politics through lenses of feminist cultural theory (J Butler, "Gender Trouble and the Subversion of Identity," New York et Londres: Routledge, 1990.), geography (VJ Del Casino and SP Hanna, "Representations and Identities in Tourism Map Spaces," *Progress in Human Geography*, 2000; SP Hanna and VJ Del Casino, *Mapping Tourism*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003) and other disciplines.

¹⁶⁶ National Endowment for the Arts, "United States of Arts: Arizona," *YouTube*, accessed December 10, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dhLk4hx_164&feature=youtu.be.



Figure 5: Still from the National Endowment for the Arts video, "United States of the Arts: Arizona"

The stationing of the ASP as a representation of identity at the borderlands is a common refrain among its supporters, and it raises the stakes around controversy over the nature and origins of the ASP. There is dispute – which I discuss in Chapter 6 – around the ASP’s relationship to the Chicano *Día de los Muertos* holiday, and there are also issues of ownership, origination, and cultural appropriation tied to the event. Though these disputes are not the sole focus of this study, these identity-related issues relative to community memory – and the role of ephemeral commemoration in their development – are among the empirical foci analyzed in this work.

Research questions and timeline

Guiding my interrogation of the ASP as a case of community

commemoration are three research questions. First, my focus for this study is on the nature of ephemera in a community setting, exploring the ASP as a case of community commemoration in a particular place that exists near a large cultural and geographic border. Given the fluidity and popular nature of ephemera, and in light of scholarly and theoretical attention given to ephemera across disciplines and studies as described previously, this study interrogates how ephemera function by addressing the first research question:

RQ1: How are ephemera used in All Souls Procession events as commemorative community expressions?

Second, given the historic and socially constructed nature shaping commemorative experiences in both archives and in negative archival space, the development of commemorative tradition has significant import for archives as well as understandings of social behavior around information. I consider history based on recorded documents around the ASP as a point of comparison for ephemeral history construction of and within the event. Thus, the second research question asks:

RQ2: How has the history of the All Souls Procession been shaped around the commemorative use of ephemera in relationship with recorded documents?

Third, this study is grounded in scholarly inquiry into community expressions. This inquiry is ultimately meant to inform contemporary archival practice by illuminating one commemorative community expression in negative archival space, for the consideration of archivists, archival scholars, and interested

scholars of information on a more dispersed scale. Thus the third research question asks:

RQ3: What are the implications for archives of this case of commemoration through ephemeral community expression?

These questions have been addressed interpretively, centering on knowledge, truth, and meaning, and on producing “defensible perspectives” rather than “the single, correct answer”¹⁶⁷ toward the goals of contextual understanding.

To answer these questions I have deployed three qualitative methods of data collection and analysis – participant observation, unstructured interviewing, and document analysis – between October 1st, 2013 and January 31st, 2016. As part of working interpretively, I have taken a grounded theory approach. In the next paragraphs I first describe my role and history in relation the ASP community and then describe the process by which I have conducted research for this inquiry. Then, I describe the methods used for data collection and analysis. Next, I show the ways in which I have worked to address the questions of trust and credibility as an interpretive scholar engaged in this research. Finally, I endeavor to present a comprehensive, subjective context for this case.

Research site: An historic overview of the asp

There are multiple origin stories of the ASP, the archival implications of which I discuss as forgotten histories later in this work.¹⁶⁸ In media and general

¹⁶⁷ Ian Baptiste, “Qualitative Data Analysis: Common Phases, Strategic Differences,” *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 2, no. 3 (2001): 8, <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/917/2002>.

discourse in the ASP community, however, the most well-known history or “master narrative” of the ASP is grounded in the Lydia’s account. This origin story of the event begins in 1990 at Café Olé¹⁶⁹ in downtown Tucson, where Lydia was organizing a ritual for the dead and for the living who mourned them.¹⁷⁰ Earlier that year she had lost her father, a veteran who had survived the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Lydia remembered her father as a loving, gregarious musician but also as a man who suppressed his emotions until they bubbled over in rage. He had written his war experiences in a journal Lydia read after his death, but he had never spoken of them. Lydia had studied art therapy in Chicago following Jungian practices based on rituals as expressions of the unconscious. In fashioning a ritual that involving friends and public spaces, Lydia hoped to honor her father but also to express her conflicted memories of him.¹⁷¹

Lydia was in a good position to organize a ritual in 1990. She was a member of a densely-knit artist community with a known geographic center – Café Olé, which was next door to Lydia’s studio, and more broadly, downtown’s “warehouse [arts] district.” Ample leisure time and radical art happenings were

¹⁶⁸ This brief history is included here to provide an introduction to the ASP as a research site. A more analytical history later in this chapter in the section A CONTEXT OF THIS CASE. Then, I discuss history-related issues in the context of found themes (in Chapter 5) and archival implications (in Chapter 6.)

¹⁶⁹ The names of ASP organizers and participants have been changed. The names of places and organizations have not been changed.

¹⁷⁰ Lydia, “Personal Interview, August 28th,” 2015; Thomas, “Personal Interview, December 17th,” 2015.

¹⁷¹ Lydia, “Personal Interview, August 28th.”

part of everyday life within that well-traveled, bohemian community, and ritual celebrations and art forms were familiar sources of inspiration.¹⁷² The influence of Mexican celebrations and the Chicano *Día de los Muertos* holiday was particularly strong in Tucson, due to the flow of people and goods across the US-Mexico border.¹⁷³ It was in this context that Lydia invited her friends to participate in a three-day ritual to honor someone or something they had lost.

Lydia's organizational efforts were successful, gathering roughly 30 people in a ritual which lasted for three days – from Halloween through All Souls' Day - as it moved from Café Olé along public streets and into private spaces. The All Souls Parade – Lydia's name for the ritual¹⁷⁴ - involved events in private spaces including Lydia's studio, in the quasi-private space of the café, and in public spaces including sidewalks. The participants carried sculptures, wore costumes, played musical instruments, and engaged in discussions, creative building activities, and performances to “process”¹⁷⁵ their feelings about the loss they honored.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Thomas, “Personal Interview, December 17th.”

¹⁷³ One informant, Cody, has asserted that he introduced a Mexican *Día de los Muertos* tradition to Lydia after he witnessed it as celebrated in Guanajuato in the 1980s. (Cody, “Personal Interview, November 2nd,” 2014.) Lydia disputes this assertion. The interplay of these conflicting accounts is discussed further in Chapter 5 of this work.

¹⁷⁴ Lydia(pseudonym) Coleman and Tucson Partnership Inc., “Festival and Event Grant Proposal” (Many Mouths One Stomach, 1991), <http://manymouths.org/2011/09/a-bit-of-history/>.

¹⁷⁵ The verb “process” has two meanings relevant in this work, with differing pronunciations. In this footnoted usage the accent is on the first syllable (/ˈprə,ses/), an important member meaning of *process* signifying to work

Afterward, nonparticipants who witnessed or heard about the ritual were intrigued, and afterward some slipped notes under Lydia's door asking if they could be involved. This outside attention along with the feel that the event had accomplished what was intended led Lydia and her community to designate the ritual an annual event, timed to coincide with *Día de los Muertos* on November 1st.¹⁷⁷ By the mid-1990s Lydia was able to cede organizational control of the annual procession to other artists residing in the warehouse spaces. In 2006 many of these organizers coalesced as Many Mouths One Stomach (MMOS), a nonprofit organization led by Tiana and her partner Rodd.¹⁷⁸

For the ASP's first fifteen years, most participants continued to flow out of the warehouse district, but by 2015 the event had grown to over 100,000

through a challenging or complex experience; I will discuss this meaning further in the found themes of this research. When the accent is on the second syllable, to *process* (/prə'ses) means "to walk in a procession." The Oxford English Dictionary relates the term "procession" to funeral processions and defines it as "the action of moving forward as part of a ceremony." Oxford Dictionaries. Oxford University Press.
http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/process (accessed February 02, 2016); . procession. Oxford Dictionaries. Oxford University Press.
http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/procession (accessed February 02, 2016).

¹⁷⁶ Lydia, "Personal Interview, August 28th"; Thomas, "Personal Interview, December 17th."

¹⁷⁷ Lydia, "Personal Interview, August 28th"; Coleman and Tucson Partnership Inc., "Festival and Event Grant Proposal."

¹⁷⁸ Tiana, "Personal Interview, January 6th," 2016; Leslie Ann Epperson, *Many Bones, One Heart* (SmallWheel Films, 2015).

participants,¹⁷⁹ converging from countless areas in and beyond the city. Still nurtured in many doomed warehouse spaces but now also increasingly mobile and networked, the ASP has continued to grow in both the numbers of participants and the objects and subjects of commemoration.

This research focuses on the ASP as a case of commemoration because it provides a particular window into archival scenario play and maintains a long history within a community. Additionally, the ASP offers a rich case for study of commemoration because it imposes far fewer explicit restraints and demands than more formal engines of commemoration such as monuments, memorial services, or archives. Remarkably, participation in the ASP is mostly *free*, in both senses of the term – *libre* (without restriction) and *gratis* (meaning it does not demand financial contributions from participants or spectators). To keep it *gratis* MMOS markets the event, plans the route, coordinates performances including the finale, pays the considerable police presence mandated by the city, and hawks donations from attendees so that attendance is not constrained by cost. To keep it *libre* the network of ASP organizers professes to manage – not control or censor – the masses who participate as well as the multitude of objects and identities those participants perform and display in their commemorations. Remaining free in both of these manners is one way the ASP has been able to maintain its community focus over time.

¹⁷⁹ Nigel Duara, “100,000 in Tucson Embrace Mexican Approach to Death with All Souls Procession - LA Times,” *LA Times*, 2015, <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-ff-all-souls-tucson-20151111-story.html>.

Research timeline and participants

I devoted two years and three months intensively to this study, from October 2013 through January 2016. Twelve interviewees participated in unstructured interviews, and many more participants attended events in which I was a participant observer.¹⁸⁰ I conducted much of my observation at artist-led workshops. Sometimes these workshops hosted between five and fifteen people, and other times there were just a few instructors working on projects while waiting for community members to drift into the warehouses or studios housing the workshops. Participants in other observed event activities including the large parade are difficult to quantify because, as previously stated, it is estimated that tens of thousands of people attended each of the main events. Although these event attendees were not interviewed or solicited for this research, they were participants in public events I observed as part of this project.

In addition to interactions through participant observation I have conducted unstructured interviews with current and former ASP organizers and participants. I focused on primarily on organizers after determining that they had the most knowledge about commemorations across the history of the event. I also interviewed participants who were not organizers when organizers referred me to them and said that those participants' accounts were particularly meaningful. I have given all research participants pseudonyms to protect their identities in

¹⁸⁰ In all I have conducted participant observations, interviews, and discourse analysis of documents around the ASP over a period of three years, from mid-February 2013 through mid-February 2016, in conjunction with several courses along with two research projects for which I received IRB approval.

response to recommendations I received in the process of applying for IRB approval.¹⁸¹

In terms of gender, interview participants included seven female interviewees and five male interviewees. Participants included four Latino-American interviewees (two with Native American heritage), six Anglo-American interviewees, one Asian-American Interviewee, and one interviewee who preferred not to disclose her ethnicity. Interviewees included the ASP Founder who is still a former organizer, a former ASP participant and organizer, three former workshop instructors who were also organizers, the current organizer of the main event, one workshop instructor who was a former organizer, and two workshop participants. I conducted five of the interviews somewhat spontaneously during participant observation at ASP-related events, and arranged the remainder in advance in the location the interview participant preferred provided it was in the downtown area so as to be easily accessible by all involved.

Preliminary research and reflexivity

¹⁸¹ This research has been performed with approval of the University of Arizona IRB. Multiple participants expressed a preference to be directly named because from their perspective, revealing their identities can be, in certain circles, a way for them to receive credit for their work. Furthermore, information from many of the accounts discussed here is repeated on public websites. For this reason websites and organization names related to this case have not been obscured or pseudonymized. I have interpreted these decisions to be ethical within the recommendations of the Association of Internet researchers, via Annette Markham and Elizabeth Buchanan, "Ethical Decision-Making and Internet Research Recommendations from the AoIR Ethics Working Committee," 2012, 19, doi:Retrieved from www.aoir.org.

In preliminary research for this study done with Dr. Catherine Brooks¹⁸² for a conference presentation, we drew from in-depth qualitative interviews with artists—both expert and novice—to examine the narratives of All Souls artists and performers, asking how artists learn about, share information on, and make meaning through a large-scale event and in their art. This project also involved participant observation through workshop and event attendance, drawing on observational notes taken at differing temporal points leading up to the event, across two years of parades, preparation, and celebration. We focused in particular on objects in the event as a center point in the meanings attached to as well as the learning processes involved in the performance itself. Findings suggested that participants’ narratives embody processes that move from the object performance as text, to the personal in the representations of those texts, to the social and community—artistry and related information going socially viral.

¹⁸² D. Daly and C. F. Brooks, “Imagery and Meaning Making: Preparing for and Learning about a Large-Scale Object Performance Event in Community.,” in *Presented at the Annual iConference, March 24-27* (Newport Beach, CA., 2015).



Figure 6: The author with puppets worn during 2013 performance research. Image credit: Jaime Chandler.

I have also studied the procession in conjunction with another study of artist communication in 2013 and 2014, deploying methods including performance research.¹⁸³ I assessed participant responses to my own performance of a giant puppet in the event each year—a lighthearted dancing skeleton in 2013,

a somber figure representing murdered women in Ciudad Juarez in 2014. The contrast allowed

me to gauge reactions to object performances distinct in imagery and tone. I found that as a repertoire¹⁸⁴ the ASP embodies local notions of death, festivity, and identity at and along the US-Mexico border, and that parade-goers feel particularly driven to interact with puppets painted as *calaveras* (skulls), but keep their distance from those with more serious messages.

Data collection via “the human instrument”

The interpretive approach and also the epistemology underlying this work have centered on knowledge, truth, and meaning, and on producing “defensible

¹⁸³ Johnny Saldaña, “Playwriting with Data: Ethnographic Performance Texts,” *Youth Theatre Journal* 13, no. 1 (1999): 60–71, doi:10.1080/08929092.1999.10012508.

¹⁸⁴ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*.

perspectives” rather than “the single, correct answer,”¹⁸⁵ toward the goals of contextual understanding including rich, “thick description,”¹⁸⁶ thematic analysis, and theory grounded in data. I have subjected all data collected through my tentative interpretations as the “human instrument”¹⁸⁷ of this work, perceiving through my sensory awareness, recording in cameras, recorders, and fieldnotes, and then tentatively analyzing. I have endeavored to access knowledges that are both explicit and tacit and to frame what I learn from participants in community “members’ meanings”.¹⁸⁸ Ontologically, in this study the *real*—which I present interpretively and in context—is that which I have observed sensorily or to which participants or materials analyzed have referred. I present implicit cultural meanings as real when I observe evidence of them and they are confirmed by multiple data sources. I have endeavored to honor overlapping notions of reality along a spectrum of negotiations, from conflicts (generating substantial tension) to plural understandings (when they coexist peacefully), rather than resolving them.

¹⁸⁵ Baptiste, “Qualitative Data Analysis: Common Phases, Strategic Differences,” 8.

¹⁸⁶ C Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” *Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science*, 1994.

¹⁸⁷ YS Lincoln and EG Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, 1985.

¹⁸⁸ RM Emerson, RI Fretz, and LL Shaw, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, 2011, University of Chicago Press, 134.

Among the interpretive methodological goals underlying this work is grounded theory,¹⁸⁹ an approach through which I construct new theories and modify existing ones through the analysis of data. As noted by Starks and Trinidad, grounded theory generates theory from a range of participant experiences of a social process.¹⁹⁰ This methodology is therefore a good fit for this study's focus on social processes that influence memory leading to the construction of a shared past. One threat I have worked to control considering the importance in grounded theory of maintaining meanings "grounded in the data"¹⁹¹ is to reflect upon, analyze, and in many cases, bracket my own values and subjectivity in my field notes and in this report.¹⁹² The benefit of using a grounded theory approach for this study is that it has allowed me to construct a theoretical framework or "explanatory scheme" about an important social phenomenon¹⁹³ - here, ephemeral commemoration within a community, and related activities that fit within the scope of archival scenario play.

¹⁸⁹ Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990).*, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury, vol. 3, 2008, doi:10.4135/9781452230153.

¹⁹⁰ Helene Starks and Susan Brown Trinidad, "Choose Your Method: A Comparison of Phenomenology, Discourse Analysis, and Grounded Theory.," *Qualitative Health Research* 17, no. 10 (2007): 1373, doi:10.1177/1049732307307031.

¹⁹¹ Strauss and Corbin, *Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990)*.43.

¹⁹² S Kvale and S Brinkmann, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*, 2009.

¹⁹³ Corbin, Juliet, and Anselm Strauss. *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, 1998, 22-25.

My own reflexivity in this work as a participant observer is a central tenet of interpretive work and is, therefore, a salient component in this project. I practiced reflexivity in the selection of methods used here, which have allowed variations in the roadmap to access participants' explicit and tacit understandings. This study has thus been designed to be robust by drawing from multiple methods, theories, and *funds of knowledge* – best understood as acknowledgment of the rich, diverse competencies and knowledge people gain through their life experiences.¹⁹⁴ To triangulate methods, I have collected data via participant observation, unstructured interviews, and discourse analysis of documents.

In this study I use grounded theory, approaching my data inductively.¹⁹⁵ I drew coding categories directly from the corpus of data, though looking for ephemeral commemoration specifically. While original grounded theory assumes objectivity, I assumed an acknowledged subjective, interpretive role in this research.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, the grounded theory methodology provided tentative theories to be tested as the research continued. Additionally, my engagement with participant cultures has also been reflexive, defined not by a script but by

¹⁹⁴ LC Moll et al., “Funds of Knowledge for Teaching: Using a Qualitative Approach to Connect Homes and Classrooms,” *Theory into Practice*, 1992, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00405849209543534>.

¹⁹⁵ BG Glaser and AL Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, 2009, <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=rtiNK68Xt08C&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=glaser+and+strauss+constant+comparison&ots=UVyRRj0E0J&sig=cOYjRvEclOOy6rOuIVfuq5D4xh8>.

¹⁹⁶ JM Corbin and A Strauss, “Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria,” *Qualitative Sociology*, 1990, <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF00988593>.

awareness of social environments and *funds of knowledge* – the meanings people bring that can also be fortified by these environments.¹⁹⁷

DATA COLLECTION AND ORGANIZATION

Participant observation

Table 1: Participant Observation Log

Date	Location	Length of Participant Observation (minutes)
10/12/2013	Workshops	120
10/13/2013	Workshops	120
10/20/2013	Workshops	45
11/1/2014	Workshops	120
11/2/2014	Workshops	120
11/8/2014	Little Angels	120
11/9/2014	Walking in small procession	120
11/9/2014	Workshops	15
11/9/2014	ASP	120
11/3/2015	ASP	120
11/7/2015	Workshops	40
11/7/2015	Little Angels	60
11/8/2015	ASP	120
		1240 minutes
20 hours of participant observation conducted		

As Boellstorff notes, for qualitative researchers the method of participant observation is the “cornerstone” of our work, “the embodied emplacement of the researching self in a fieldsite as a consequential social actor. We participate in

¹⁹⁷ Moll et al., “Funds of Knowledge for Teaching: Using a Qualitative Approach to Connect Homes and Classrooms.”

everyday life and become well-known to our informants.”¹⁹⁸ I have conducted 20 hours of focused participant observation for this research. During these participant observations I have engaged in ASP-related activities – building and helping at workshops, visiting installations, and walking with my daughter in the Procession of Little Angels. To be a full participant in my observation I have also performed, costumed, in the parade: inside a large puppet (2013), pushing a puppet-based installation I designed on a cart (2014), and sharing homemade food in exchange for memories (2015), comprising about one third of the total hours of participant observation.

The decision to conduct participant observation including performance in this research was both ontological and tactical: Following González’¹⁹⁹ (2000) circular ontology regarding qualitative inquiry, I have presumed no entitlement to information from my sources and no opportunistic urgency. Instead, through naturalistic involvement including the practice of performance as an arts-based research method,²⁰⁰ I have embodied the ritual participation in this event in ways that drew participants to want interact with me as a member of the culture. During all participant observation activities I have taken time during or after observations to record observations. In this manner I have written approximately seventy pages

¹⁹⁸ Tom Boellstorff, *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 65.

¹⁹⁹ María Cristina González, “The Four Seasons of Ethnography: A Creation-Centered Ontology for Ethnography,” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 24, no. 5 (2000): 623–50, doi:10.1016/S0147-1767(00)00020-1.

²⁰⁰ Patricia Leavy, *Method Meets Art* (The Guilford Press, 2015).

of jottings, memos, and field notes²⁰¹ including thick description,²⁰² recording roughly two full hours of occasional audio or video clips, and taking and examining photographs over time and across events. These forms of documentation have been included in the corpus analyzed for this research. I have organized all field notes for this corpus in a collection of notebooks with marks corresponding to a spreadsheet in which I have recorded codes.

One focus of my participant observation has been on material culture including materials used to build objects and the objects that result, including puppets, masks, altars, and costume pieces. At times this focus has also included the spaces and places in which participants have performed ASP-related activities. While observation directed toward material culture is simply a focused tactic of observation,²⁰³ it can offer “tacit insights” enabling “new perspectives on the social world.”²⁰⁴ Gracy has noted attention to material culture could also serve as a model for ethnography of record provenance in complex community settings,²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*.

²⁰² Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture.”

²⁰³ Thomas R Lindlof and Bryan C Taylor, *Qualitative Communication Research Methods* (SAGE, 2011).

²⁰⁴ P. O’Toole and P. Were, “Observing Places: Using Space and Material Culture in Qualitative Research,” *Qualitative Research* 8, no. 5 (2008): abstract, doi:10.1177/1468794108093899.

²⁰⁵ Gracy, “Documenting Communities of Practice: Making the Case for Archival Ethnography.”

and the use parallels the attention of material culture in my interrogation of
commemoration through ephemera.

Unstructured interviews

Table 2: Log of Interviews

Date	Pseudonym	Gender	Ethnicity	Approx age	Office	Location
10/13/2013	Linda Fuentes	female	Latino-American	30s	Workshop participant	Workshops
2/13/13 and 12/16/2015 (2 interviews)	Todd Cooper	male	Caucasian-American	40s	Former workshop instructor and organizer	Art studio
10/13/2013	Paul Ferrera, Rhonda Eaves, Cody Simms	1 male (2 interviewees involved in other interviews)	Caucasian-American	40s	Former workshop instructor and organizer	Workshops
11/6/2015	Stephen Albero	male	Caucasian-American	40s	Former workshop instructor and organizer	Mobile Interview
10/13/2013	Esperanza Fuentes	female	Latino-American	50s	Workshop participant	Workshops
11/02/14	Rhonda Eaves	female	Caucasian-American	50s	Workshop instructor	Workshops
11/2/2014	Cody Simms	male	Caucasian-American	50s	Workshop instructor and former organizer	Workshops
12/18/2015	Maya Zapata	female	Latino-American	50s	Former participant and organizer	Library room
12/18/2015	Rachel Sun-Parker	female	Asian-American	50s	Finale Performer	My home
8/28/2015	Lydia Coleman	female	Caucasian-American	50s	Founder and former organizer	Café
12/17/2015	Thomas Carranza	male	Latino-American and Native American	60s	Former parade participant	Interviewee's home
1/6/2016	Tiana Lerner	female	Preferred not to identify	50s	Main event organizer	Interviewee's home

I conducted 768 minutes (12.8 hours) of unstructured interviews in total with twelve interview participants as part of this research. I began each interview not with a set script of questions but with an initial topic area in mind. I began the interview introducing the topic conversationally or with an open-ended question (e.g., “tell me about how you became involved in the ASP”), and allowed the interviewee to respond freely. To keep our “focused, purposeful conversation between two or more people”²⁰⁶ on track, I helped guide the interview at times by following up responses with either probing questions or open-ended questions in different topic directions. I recorded all interviews and also took fieldnotes before, after, and in some cases during the interviews.

In every interview, I used approaches designed to make the experience beneficial for participants and to respect their agency. In guiding our conversations I approached topic areas patiently, focused on shared trust and rapport,²⁰⁷ and approached the sensitive or taboo with tact and care.²⁰⁸ In terms of axiology, through naturalistic inquiry taking place where participants chose to be²⁰⁹ I endeavored to have participants share only what they chose to, as “subjects

²⁰⁶ Bonnie S Brennen, *Qualitative Research Methods for Media Studies* (Routledge, 2012), 27.

²⁰⁷ M. J. Pitts and M. Miller-Day, “Upward Turning Points and Positive Rapport-Development across Time in Researcher--Participant Relationships,” *Qualitative Research* 7, no. 2 (2007): 177–201, doi:10.1177/1468794107071409.

²⁰⁸ Herbert J Rubin and Irene Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing* (Sage Publications, 1995), 134.

²⁰⁹ Lincoln and Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*.

with an active decision-making role.”²¹⁰ Because one participant was interested in walking as we talked, we co-conducted a mobile interview, walking through downtown Tucson to three locations that were sites our ASP-related memories, and allowing movement through place and space to guide the interview.²¹¹ It should be noted however that interviews at workshops also seemed to relax participants and give them an enhanced sense of agency, particularly when the participant and I talked as we worked on an artistic project together such as the application of papier mâché - a process requiring consistent hand movement but only passive focus. I have organized all audio interviews and their complete transcripts from this corpus in a digital directory, corresponding to a spreadsheet in which I have recorded codes.

²¹⁰ Baptiste, “Qualitative Data Analysis: Common Phases, Strategic Differences,” 9.

²¹¹ Lyndsay Brown and Kevin Durrheim, “Different Kinds of Knowing,” *Qualitative Inquiry* 15, no. 5 (2009): 911–30.

Document collection and organization

Table 3: Document log

Type	Year	Title or description
Video/film	1989	Wisdom of the Dream
Scanned document	1991	Grant proposal
Collection of print documents	1999	Flyer collection
Website	2012	Blog post, “Dear White People/Queridos Gringos: ...”
Website	2012	Blog post, “Alright I don’t know if anyone will come across...”
Video/film	2014	<i>Many Bones, One Heart</i>
Photography	2014	Yelp review. “All Souls Procession ,”
Photography	2015	Photograph of recipe bowl used as mourning object
Multimodal Web-text	2015	Under the Mask: Creative Dis/Possessions of Borderlands Remembrance Practices
Video/film	2015	United States of Arts: Arizona
News article	2015	“Los Olvidados”
Website	2006-2015	All Souls Procession website, various pages
Website	2008-2015	Many Mouths One Stomach website, various pages
Website	2010-2015	All Souls Procession Weekend Facebook page, various posts

Also within the corpus analyzed for this work are ten documents I have gathered, including drawings, photographs, newspaper articles, videos, books, and webpages created by others to advertise or document ASP activities. In addition I have studied many pages of three websites: The All Souls Procession website and Facebook page and the Many Mouths One Stomach website. Data collection has been based upon relevance to the parade and this project. One area on which I have chosen to focus is the discourse around the 2015 ASP and therefore many of

the documents concern the procession that year. Those that concern prior years' processions were salient for reasons that will be clear in their analysis.

I located the documents using four methods. One method was internet research searching for pivotal documents related to aspects of ASP discourse that emerged as salient during the course of my research. Another method was auspicious discovery of documents in public shares of social media news that appeared in my feed while using Facebook. A third method was through revisiting a print-based archive of ASP-related documents. I had previously begun to build the archive during the years when I was a core organizer of the event, from 2001 to 2004, and one of the event's current organizers had taken over the building of the archive and allowed me to access it. A fourth method was in asking for documentation of items discussed during an interview. I have organized the corpus of documents through digital representations with codes recorded in a spreadsheet list, and stored these together in digital directories.

DATA ANALYSIS

Overview of data analysis

Similar to the data collection processes, my methods of data analysis have been guided by the interpretive and reflexive methodology of this work. I have taken for granted that analytical findings are contextual and situated. Baptiste has noted that "all research attempts to draw associations between ideas, people,

and/or events.”²¹² However, this research proceeds from the approach to naturalistic inquiry by Lincoln and Guba, which concludes that causality has little utility in a world construed interpretively.²¹³ Instead, the associations I have drawn in this study include evoking, influencing, inspiring, responding to, learning, teaching, building, celebrating, and transforming.

My analysis of all data in this research has been based on the “constant comparative” method of analysis,²¹⁴ working through a process of iterative formation of categories known as “coding,” toward themes and eventual grounded theory. As modeled by Dye, Schatz, and Rosenberg, this process can be viewed as a kaleidoscope of diffusion and rearrangement of data bits.²¹⁵ The method of constant comparative coding involved, first, comparing as bits the incidents applicable to each category; second, integrating categories and their properties to regroup bits by theme formation; third, comparing themes and solidifying groups of bits to delimit the theory; and fourth, writing the grounded theory around the bits. This process is not exclusive of other types of analysis, however. It was also instrumental in this work for me to combine data sets at the level of thematic

²¹² Baptiste, “Qualitative Data Analysis: Common Phases, Strategic Differences,” 10.

²¹³ Lincoln and Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*.

²¹⁴ BG Glaser and AL Strauss, “The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis,” *Social Problems*, 1965, <http://socpro.oxfordjournals.org/content/socpro/12/4/436.full.pdf>.

²¹⁵ JF Dye and IM Schatz, “Constant Comparison Method: A Kaleidoscope of Data,” *The Qualitative ...*, 2000, <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol4/iss1/8/>.

coding and then analyze across sets using discourse analysis as defined by Rose²¹⁶ and adapted by Berg.²¹⁷ This process is further explained in the section describing the data set *Documents*.

Field notes

I have written and analyzed 87 pages of field notes for this research. As Emerson has noted, the first step in moving from recording to analyzing field notes is to read them.²¹⁸ I read all of my field notes individually one time to begin organizing them as one data set, and once they were organized I read them all again as a data set, *Field notes*. When reading and re-reading all field notes collected, I looked for insights and patterns around ephemera and commemoration as programmed into the ASP, at the moment of observation and historically since the inception of the event in 1990, in order to address my first two research questions. I also reflexively analyzed moments in field notes that contained salience for archival practice in order to address my third research question.

Interviews

I analyzed interviews on two levels, aural and textual. On the aural level, I re-listened to all recorded interviews two times. Re-listening to interviews at the aural level allowed me to hear intonations and other nuances and to remember

²¹⁶ Rose, *Visual Methodologies : An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*.

²¹⁷ L.D. Berg, "Discourse Analysis," *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2009, 215–21.

²¹⁸ Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, 171.

gestures and emotions that accompanied the words. Additionally, at the aural level I was able to access our conversations while bypassing decisions made during the transcription process, which are inevitably selective.²¹⁹ On the textual level, I transcribed all interviews and read each through one individually and then read through all interviews again as a data set, called *Interviews*. As was the case when analyzing my field notes, I examined the interviews with a particular eye on how ephemera seemed to emerge in participants' experiences and stories to address my first research question. Also, I listened and looked particularly for insights around commemorative experiences, guidelines, patterns, and processes in the history of this annual community expression to address my second research question. Furthermore, I looked for implications of participants' insights and revealed patterns for archives to address my third research question.

Documents

Documents I have analyzed in this work include drawings, photographs, newspaper articles, videos, books, and webpages created by others to advertise or document ASP activities. Two documents in the corpus – a grant proposal and a 1989 film – were analyzed as documentation of pivotal moments in ASP history. According to Marshall and Rossman, “analysis of documents is potentially quite rich in portraying the values and beliefs of participants in the setting.”²²⁰ However,

²¹⁹ Audra Skukauskaite, “Transparency in Transcribing: Making Visible Theoretical Bases Impacting Knowledge Construction for Open-Ended Interview Records,” *Forum Qualitative Social Research* 13, no. 1 (2012): 14.

²²⁰ Catherine Marshall and Gretchen Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 5th ed., 2011, 160.

following Hodder I approach the text of these documents critically and contextually, knowing that “different types of texts have to be understood in the contexts of their conditions of production and reading.”²²¹ These documents are ephemera, after all, recalling Ott’s reminder that ephemera make “wild claims”²²² and Young’s proscription that in particular, ephemera presenting advanced knowledge of events should be corroborated with other sources.²²³ I have therefore grounded my analysis of these documents in my immersion in the discourse around the ASP from participant observation and interviews and from years of membership in communities that participate in the event. I have followed the methodology for discourse analysis including visual materials recommended by Rose because this methodology does not require a break in analysis between the textual and the visual.

Once I selected documents for analysis, I displayed these prominently on the screen in my analysis workspace to facilitate immersive grounding in the data. For analysis I then applied Rose’s methodology as adapted by Berg 2009 (218-20), analyzing this data set, *Documents*, according to these seven steps:

1. suspend preexisting categories
2. absorb oneself in the matter under study

²²¹ I Hodder, “The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture,” 156, In D Silverman, N Denzin, and Y Lincoln, “Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials,” 2003, Thousand Oaks, Sage.

²²² Ott, “Reading Paper Ephemera,” *Popular Culture in Libraries*, Vol. 4. (2), (1997)14.

²²³ Young, “Evidence: Toward a Library Definition of Ephemera,” 21.

3. code themes
4. identify what Stuart Hall has called "regimes of truth" or "worlds"²²⁴
5. identify inconsistencies
6. identify absent presences
7. identify social contexts (for example, audience, or performer.)

This process of analysis aligned well with the constant comparative process of analysis in which I processed all data in the corpus, in that I was able to combine data sets. That is, I combined the *Documents* data set with the and *Fieldnotes* and *Interviews* data sets for the third step of the constant comparative and discourse-focused analytic process, bringing coded themes I could then analyze across all data sets. Again, throughout this process my analytic focus was on ephemera use, patterns in the practice of commemoration in a community expression, and implications for archives, in order to address my research questions.

Coding of Data Sets

To code data for this study I first read thoroughly through each of my data sets: *Fieldnotes*, *Interviews*, and *Documents*. I browsed them all together as a corpus and recorded my impressions in preliminary analysis notes; then read them again line by line or inch by inch. Then I began open coding²²⁵ or tagging with a

²²⁴ Stuart Hall, 1973. A world at one with itself. In S Cohen and J Young, "The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media," 1973, London, Constable.

²²⁵ BG Glaser and AL Strauss, "Grounded Theory," *Strategien Qualitativer Forschung. Bern: ...*, 1998, 101, <http://www.ssnpstudents.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/THE-DISCOVERY-OF-GROUNDED-THEORY-Glaser-Strauss.docx>.

focus on ephemera use, the processes of commemoration as they developed over time in the ASP, and implications for archives. Accordingly, open codes might be specific people, family roles, places, attitudes, or colors. From this early conceptual level I moved on to axial coding; as examples, these might include connection of family roles of grandmother with uncle and brother; or “In vivo” codes which “are taken from the respondents themselves.”²²⁶ I then decided which were the most important of my codes and categorize by bringing multiple codes together under a preexisting code or a new one; and discarding some of the initial codes.

From the most important remaining codes, I then categorized and began to theorize based on relationships. To assist in this process I asked questions, make comparisons about their properties and dimensions, and sketched to visually represent theoretical configurations.²²⁷ At the end of this process I recombined the data into tentative relationship-based themes, some of which would lead to theories, and I subjected these themes to discourse analysis to identify critical assumptions, processes, relationships, absences, and presences. This entire process was performed iteratively at multiple times during the study, with theories built, checked, kept if tentatively supported, and checked for theoretical saturation against future data.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 105.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

Broadly conceived, my analytical process was steeped in theoretical notions of the social construction of history with an eye toward the use of these notions to build better theory. While analyzing my data, I looked for moments that showed ephemera-based history construction processes at the individual, community, and cultural levels. Grounded in the data themselves, I looked for connections between ephemera use and cultural roles, rituals, patterns, and processes. Once those analytic moments were achieved I considered implications for archives as place/thing/practice in terms of the archival scenario.

TRUST AND CREDIBILITY

Criteria for naturalistic inquiry in this work

Criteria for naturalistic inquiry formulated by Lincoln & Guba²²⁸ have informed the design of the study, continue to influence study-related decisions, and will be presented in reports to correspond with commonly referenced positivist benchmarks for trustworthiness. These criteria have been formed in parallel with positivist benchmarks for scientific inquiry, in acknowledgment that such benchmarks are necessary but not neutral, and that for qualitative work can be assured through more suitable ideals. In keeping with these criteria benchmarks – *credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability*²²⁹ - the goal of this research will not be generalizability but instead meaningful data and transferable findings that may apply across similar contexts.

²²⁸ Lincoln and Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

In this study I have worked toward *credibility* (which parallels positivist validity) using techniques recommended by Lincoln and Guba including prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, and member checks.²³⁰ I have remained engaged with the culture under study and continue to engage them as a community and discuss my findings with them as informal member checks. To further enhance credibility I have had a peer “debrief” (p. 308) to review the credibility of my findings. As a related benchmark, Lincoln and Guba suggest that *dependability* which parallels positivist reliability can be addressed by “overlap methods” which “essentially represent...triangulation,”²³¹ and I have designed this research around multiple methods with this in mind. As another benchmark, *transferability* parallels external validity in qualitative work, and will be addressed by inclusion of thick description to “enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility.”²³² Finally, *confirmability* of “the data themselves”²³³ takes the place of the positivist ideal of objectivity of the researcher. Lincoln and Guba have noted that audit checks address both confirmability and dependability. I have kept meticulous fieldnotes, memos, and reflexive journals for committee audit checks, transparency, and data curation.

²³⁰ Ibid., 328.

²³¹ Ibid., 316-17.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid., 318.

This research has involved intense interplay with the social world of the participants in this research and in the ASP, through involvement in the field and targeted interviews. The importance of rapport cannot be overstated. In this study I have been privileged to gain access to tacit knowledge, implicit meanings, and intimate memories—matter rarely revealed outside the context of a trusting relationship. My relationships with research participants have evolved across what Pitts and Miller-Day have written are positive turning points in the development of rapport,²³⁴ each of these points deepening the insights and tacit understandings to which I as human instrument of the research could access. I am grateful to the participants in this research for rich moments of interpersonal connection, mutual respect, sharing of humor and a sense of both inclusion and partnership.²³⁵ These, as much as enrichment of scholarly discourse, are treasured rewards in qualitative fieldwork.

A CONTEXT OF THIS CASE

Overview of this section

In the following section I provide background for the reader's understanding of the ASP. I begin with my personal history with this event. I then relate a more general but still subjective presentation of what I refer to as the three phases of its history, which figure significantly in my analysis in the next chapters

²³⁴ Pitts and Miller-Day, "Upward Turning Points and Positive Rapport-Development across Time in Researcher--Participant Relationships."

²³⁵ Ibid.

of this work. Finally, I exemplify ephemeral media use in the event but examining the use of two types of ephemeral media, paper and performance.

My history with this event

Prior to and including this research period, I have participated in the ASP for sixteen years as an artist, organizer, and giant puppet performer, and this experience informs how I see, interpret, and reflexively analyze this event. When I moved to downtown Tucson in 2000 many of Tucson's downtown artists rented inexpensive studios and lived out of crates in Tucson's downtown warehouse district, just north of the Union Pacific tracks that screamed with a few cargo trains every hour. In these warehouses, artists replaced dwindling use by industry with wood- and metal-working shops, rehearsal spaces, and live-work studios. The rooves of these studios leaked enough to fill buckets in the summer monsoons, and in many places the warehouses' cement walls had crumbled to sprout sharp rebar edges or live electrical wiring. Yet these spaces were cheap and occasionally communal; one warehouse hallway had shared refrigerator where anyone could select from cases of dumpster-dived fruits and even packaged foods.

The spaces and culture in and around downtown Tucson were crucial ingredients in the creation and growth of the ASP, and their existence attests to the perseverance and even thriving of cultural processes in disappearing space. Beginning in 1991, by Lydia's account she began organizing workshops and other educational activities to increase the attendance and public presence of the ASP. The warehouse district where most ASP activities then took place was located along the tracks and northeast of the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad, just

north of downtown Tucson and west of the 4th Avenue retail district.²³⁶ This set of hulking building was originally designed for industrial use, then purchased by the Arizona Department of Transportation (ADOT) in the 1970s and 1980s in order to be destroyed, eventually, to level space for a planned highway. As plans for the roadway inched through delay after delay in the 1980s and 1990s, artists began moving into the warehouses, paying low rents to ADOT or squatting.

It was thanks to the infusion of new energy drawn in part from new artists in the warehouses that by the mid-1990s, Lydia was able cede organizational control of the annual procession to other artists residing in the warehouse spaces. From 2002 to 2007, three collectives of artists – BICAS, Flam Chen, and Tucson Puppet Works – organized the event working out of two neighboring warehouses that all shared one outdoor parking lot/workspace.

By 2001 I had moved among the artists in the warehouses, paying \$150/month to live in a 100-square-foot room shut in by an industrial refrigerator door, as mosquitoes that buzzed in and out through a single unscreened window. It was the only place in Tucson I wanted to live, because it felt like a *place*, given meaning by the low income artists who filled its spaces. Furthermore I felt welcomed there – part of the *community* – which was a term those who lived and worked in the warehouse district frequently used to refer to their network of

²³⁶ The buildings in the warehouse district are described at length in Morgan Rieder and Inc. Aztlán Archaeology, “National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Tucson Warehouse Historic District,” 1999, 1, Section 7, <https://www.tucsonaz.gov/files/preservation/TucsonWarehouseHD1999.pdf>.

residents, artists, and event participants. Collectively that community created performances and raucous happenings which they would “stage” in the otherwise ghostly quiet of downtown Tucson: In small April Fools’ Day parades, for friends’ weddings or art openings, and for bigger events like the ASP which numbered a few thousand participants – very few of them spectators – in the year 2000.

I first participated in the ASP in 2000 and 2001 and I volunteered as an administrator and grant-writer for the event for several years after. I have participated in most of the ASP annual events since then, and so I have witnessed parade’s growth to tens of thousands of attendees, and its finale’s transformation from a circle of perhaps 20 giant puppets and fire spinners to a highly technical performance – with amplified music pumping from speakers, video projections, and a brightly illuminated stage beneath a crane-suspended urn. I have watched the event change radically over the past sixteen years, and I have not always felt comfortable with its changes. Yet in my view it has retained its core as a community expression of commemoration.

While the ASP presents an intriguing case of ephemeral commemoration for archivists, my decision to study this event for my dissertation also stems from my desire to understand the role of the ASP in my community and in our construction of the past. I was immensely proud of my artistic and organizing roles in this event from the years 2000 through 2004, but that legacy has grown heavier over the last decade, as the ASP’s mostly white organizers contest its origins in *Día de los Muertos* celebrations in connection with charges of cultural

appropriation. I have also been drawn to study the ASP again now because it has grown extraordinarily large, and seems to serve at this point as a massive public negotiation of identities at the border between two nations, “in the cultural hybridity of globalization.”²³⁷ Within the context of archives in particular this event is deeply resonant in my experience, because amid the ASP’s rapid flow across organizing and celebrating communities with their differential perceived meanings, threads of the event’s history disappear from local memory. Analyzing these histories constructed by community expressions alongside the disappearances they orchestrate are of interest of me as an ‘insider’ as well as a researcher. As Behar suggests, studying one’s familiar surroundings can, analytically, be so strange.²³⁸

Three phases of history in the ASP

The following analysis of ephemeral commemoration in the ASP begins with the history I now present of the event. While I have made every effort to corroborate my own memories with supporting “data” in the interviews, observation, and document-based research, some of the following history and analysis of the ASP is inevitably interpretive and derived from my memories of the years since I first participated in the event in 2000.

²³⁷ Sallie a Marston, “Making Difference: Conflict over Irish Identity in the New York City St. Patrick’s Day Parade,” *New York* 21 (2002): 390.

²³⁸ R Behar, *An Island Called Home: Returning to Jewish Cuba*, 2007, <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ZKrMxwecYlgC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=ruth+behar+returning+to+jewish+cuba&ots=2Gl2PkLXIU&sig=AVsjlZOEUQM4rMRVFWKsRcUgeF8>.

The ASP has been run by individuals or groups that have self-organized in three overlapping phases. While some values and concepts have been emphasized across all these phases, each new group of organizers has imbued the event with particular motifs including the types of ephemeral media used to commemorate histories in the event and the nature of these commemorations.

In the first phase of ASP organization, from 1990 until the late 1990s, Lydia was the primary event organizer. In my interviews and online, Lydia and Cody give conflicting accounts of whose ideas inspired the creation of the event; however, it is undisputed that Lydia planned and organized the first ASP in 1990. Lydia says that she also made all of the masks, costumes, and musical instruments used in the first ASP. It was a three-day celebration in which roughly 25 to 35 friends joined her in commemorating Lydia's father and his service in Pearl Harbor, along with other losses in their lives.

Beginning in 1991, numerous artists worked with Lydia in organizing the parade, including creation of masks and artistic objects, holding workshops, and organizing the parade and ancillary events. According to a grant proposal authored event organizers in 1991, artists and workshop instructors involved in the event would include Cody as a lantern workshop instructor along with instructors of workshops in movement, costume and body painting, and the playing of "bamboo flutes and drums from many cultures." 1991 was both the first and the last year Lydia would apply for grant funding for the ASP, she says, because the planning of the event "became a nightmare, because the city wanted all the money back for the fire and the police department right from the initial

second year.” However, Lydia was still the head organizer of the ASP throughout this first phase. Thomas, another informant, says that Lydia “put a lot of energy into that parade. A lot of her went into the founding of it, and keeping it going for years.”⁹

The first historic phase of the ASP began giving way to the second phase in the mid-1990s, when Lydia began to cede her central role in organizing the ASP to a group of artists intent on expanding the event. This dispersal of leadership initiated the second phase of ASP organization which began in the mid- to late-1990s and lasted until the mid-2000s. Puppeteers led by Todd held free workshops teaching attendees to make masks and puppets for the growing procession, the bicycling collective BICAS welded floats using bicycle parts, and fire performers led by Tiana taught a new generation of students performative techniques to be featured in a fiery procession finale.¹⁰ While from the outset the ASP had culminated in a circle of puppets and fire performers that had been involved in the event, in this second phase Tiana and the fire performers also began organizing and performing in a live finale spectacle.¹¹

The third phase of organization began in the early- to mid- 2000s and continues to the present day. In this phase the approximate number of attendees rose from 5,000 to tens of thousands and perhaps over 100,000.¹² This phase solidified when Tiana and her partner Rodd spearheaded the formation of the non-profit organization Many Mouths One Stomach (MMOS), with input from two of the puppeteers who had been organizing the parade and other artists and organizers who had been involved in the past.¹³ Today Tiana and Rodd have

become the central figures organizing and representing the ASP. Cody has returned as an organizer directing sculpture workshops in which the primary material is cardboard.¹⁴ Much of MMOS's energy and resources are now devoted to performances catering to the many thousands of new attendees watching and participating in the event. A DJ, a video projection team, and the Hungry Ghost troupe in charge of busking for street donations serve as both entertainment and fundraisers. MMOS has a highly active online presence, creating and curating content related to the ASP. The finale performance is watched by tens of thousands and is designed around the climactic moment when an iron-and-paper urn, full of paper memorial slips filled out by participants, is raised into the air by a crane and burned.

Ephemeral media ASP participants use to commemorate

Through ethnographic study of the commemorative practices in the ASP, I have found the practices around ephemeral media coalesce in specific categories or types of use. For the sake of brevity and saturation in analytical findings, in this study I have focused on three of the categories of ephemera used. The first type of ephemera use I describe is paper, which participants use to commemorate in the forms of papier maché sculptures, cardboard sculptures, signs, flyers, prayer cards, and messages to be burned in the urn. The second type of use I describe is performance, including live music, movement including dance and fire performance, and puppetry. Finally, I will describe the use of live music as an ephemeral medium in the ASP. While these three types do not include all forms

of ephemeral media used in this event, I believe they convey the extent to which this event is reliant on dynamic action centered on objects not intended to last.

Paper

Paper is a core ingredient in most material objects used to commemorate in the ASP, and its use as a basic ingredient in the ASP workshops has influenced both workshops attendees and a general aesthetic around objects created for procession activities. The paper used in the ASP is not acid-free and does not afford lasting preservation or even short-term preservation in the event of rain; indeed, one of its affordances cited by informants in this research is the quality of some forms of paper to lose their structure rather than preserving it.

Throughout ASP history but particularly in its second era, instructors taught students to create puppets and masks of papier maché. To create one of the “big head puppets” that are iconic images of the parade, you first sculpt a form with clay - or inflate a balloon for a quicker, head-shaped form - and then cover it with a papier maché made of newspaper shreds or toilet paper pulp mixed with other ingredients such as glue, flour, and water. The ephemeral nature of paper is crucial in papier maché, as explained by Rhonda when she stated that she prefers to create maché out of “toilet paper, which is engineered to fall apart when it gets wet. It’s lovely that the paper pulp just falls apart, so you can mix it into any other component ingredients. It’s nice and goopy, and you can get a very smooth texture.”²³⁹

²³⁹ Rhonda, “Personal Interview, October 13th,” 2015.

Once the papier maché loses its structure almost entirely it affords the creation of “sexy curves,” to quote former workshop instructor Stephen.²⁴⁰ A completed papier maché object is theoretically durable enough to last through multiple years of the parade, but practical reasons exist to make durability problematic, including the difficulty of securing space and the likelihood that the maché will be eaten by another group of Tucson warehouse-dwellers: mice. A final affordance of papier maché that should be noted, which I observed and experienced during participant observation, is the meditative quality of the repetitive motions required to apply maché all over a large object, motions which can fall within the theme of “processing” as a commemorative technique (discussed in the next section.)

²⁴⁰ Stephen, “Personal Interview, November 6th,” 2015.



Figure 7: Cardboard at the 2014 ASP

Another paper-based material used frequently to commemorate in the ASP is cardboard. In the workshops in the first and third eras of the ASP, instructors taught most attendees to create objects from cardboard, sometimes affixed to

other paper-based components. Examples of these cardboard-based objects include costume pieces (such as crowns), replicas of deceased subjects or death-related objects (including pointy-eared dogs and a giant motorcycle) and altars.

The most popular and iconic cardboard form seen in the procession is the lantern, which affords light and therefore visibility to the act and subjects of commemoration when an inexpensive plastic tealight is placed within. The 1991 ASP grant proposal listed lantern workshops taught by Cody among the activities funding would support. One popular design of lantern today in the ASP today is based on a 2009 design by artist Paul Bagley for a lantern he made of wood. Cody adapted the design to feature a cardboard frames and windows made of tissue paper or printed photographs and made it the basis of many workshops, not only for ASP activities but for events held in other cities by a network of artists connected to the ASP community, as will be revisited in the discussion of themes below.



Figure 8: Ephemeral commemoration, with calavera face paint and costuming. Photo credit: http://meredithaz.images.worldnow.com/images/9199216_G.jpg

Some uses of paper in the ASP have not been taught in workshops but have evolved based on the affordances of paper that are useful in the commemorative process. For example, paper is an effective method of simple broadcasting of the subject of one's commemoration, for a community of fellow mourners and witnesses. To maximize local witnesses reached by their commemorative acts, many participants carry or install homemade signs made of poster paper, featuring printed photographs which they have blown up or assembled as collages. For more intimate interactions with community, participants hand out paper-based flyers or prayer cards informing the reader of their commemorative purpose or memorializing the deceased.

Finally, beginning in the third phase of ASP history, an extremely popular use of paper has been in writing messages of remembrance to burn in the urn, an ornate, globular steel vase which at 8 feet in both width and breadth has been

designed to accept a practically infinite number of paper offerings. According to the MMOS website:

The Urn is the large steel vessel that is pulled at the front of the Procession. The Urn is a receptacle for our mementos, prayers, messages, and remembrances of those we have loved and lost. Escorting the Urn, you will see the Urn Attendants—members of the Community Spirit Group. They are there to silently receive your messages and remembrances and place them in the Urn for you.

At the culmination of the Finale, the Urn is burned, and our collective hopes, prayers, love, grief, memories, tributes, and remembrances are consumed by the flames and dissolve into the ether.²⁴¹

On another page of the website it states that ASP organizers decided to create the urn when “we realized that there was a communal need for a focal point: a place to channel all the energy, grief, and joy of the Processants.”²³ The burning of the urn has become the climax of the entire “All Souls Procession Weekend,” in part because it is designed to provide a unified experience around ephemeral media as well as one visual spectacle to be shared by tens of thousands of attendees.

Relating to the theme of processing as a commemorative technique to be discussed in the next section, the urn is designed in part for the growing number of attendees who have not prepared for the ritual in advance, as the previously cited urn page notes: “Feel free to use the paper form to write your remembrance on.... The Urn Ambassadors will walk ahead of the Procession with paper and pencils for anyone who didn’t bring their own.”²⁴² The urn remembrance form is

²⁴¹ Many Mouths One Stomach, “The Urn - All Souls Procession,” *All Souls Procession Weekend*, accessed February 15, 2016, <http://allsoulsprocession.org/projects/the-urn/>.

²⁴² Ibid.



Figure 9: Puppetry and performance in the 2014 ASP (Puppet built by Susan Furr, stylized by Matt Cotten, and performed by Diane Daly)

also available online for parade attendees to fill out and print at home and then bring to the parade, underscoring one of multiple examples of interplay among print and digital ephemera in this event.

Affordances of all of the paper forms used in the ASP is that they are inexpensive, easy to imprint with shapes or messages, and relatively light and easy to carry (although one subtheme I

have found is the “burdensome” quality of carrying large, heavy object in the parade, a treasured aspect of some participants’ commemorative acts.) In all themes drawn across this work I have found that the use of paper to commemorate in the ASP is transformative, changing material of little value into objects of engagement with the past and into witnessed commemorative transmissions.

Performance

The nature of artistic performance in the ASP has included music, dance and body movement, puppetry, theatrical performance including costume, and fire performance. Performances have included acts across the spectrum of preparation

from spontaneous to rehearsed. Some of these performances have assumed a serious or even religious tone while others have been more playful. Individual and small group performances have always been involved in the ASP, and in recent years large group such as school extracurricular organizations have also participated.

Several key influences have shaped the use of music for ephemeral commemoration in the ASP. Leadership phases, for one, have heavily influenced the nature of performances in the event, whether or not those performances were officially organized by any MMOS leaders or groups. Other strong influences have been community structure including the number of attendees, and the affordances of place and space. Review of ASP performances across historic phases is useful in conveying what this event has looked and felt like.

In the first phase of the ASP, Lydia and those parading with her designed most performances to be fully participatory, to train attendees in the event as a participation-based ritual. Attendees of ASP events in its first phase learned performance techniques and received workshop instruction in designing parade objects and costumes. They then used what they learned to perform together as a loose “ensemble” in the culminating parade, which moved along sidewalks until it ended at a public space such as the 1991 procession’s ending at Armory Park.

In the ASP’s second phase the number of participants had swelled so that the prior model of a unified performance ensemble gave way to a “guerilla” event multiple, decentralized performances distributed along the event at various times. In this phase, many performers used street theater to draw spectators in as

spontaneous participants, and performance groups set up along key points to entertain the mass of the parade itself. For example, in the second phase countless performers used the top of the Fourth Avenue underpass as a stage on which to be seen by the parade passing through the underpass beneath, entertaining those in the parade and compelling many spectators on the sidewalks to join in.

In the third phase of ASP history including the present, MMOS functions centrally both to coordinate individual and group placement in the parade and to organize movement-based performances. MMOS's is not a comprehensive organizational strategy - countless individuals and small groups still show up outside of MMOS coordination and there is no restriction of their performing in the parade – but centralized coordination of performances functions to space apart large groups with high visual or aural impact. Since the ASP reached a threshold of popularity in the beginning of the third phase, it has drawn the participation of large institution-based groups, such as high school mariachi ensembles and flanks of folklorico dancers in swirling skirts.

In addition to outside performances the ASP features scores of MMOS-organized performances, which advance the MMOS mission in several highly visible channels. One of these channels is the Hungry Ghost Busking Troupe, tasked with collecting donations for MMOS and entertaining attendees with performative acts including stiltwalking and street theater. A second highly visible channel of performance for MMOS is the Urn Attendant Spirit Group, a group in ornate, themed costumes who walk alongside the urn in the procession and wordlessly collect papers to be burned in the urn. A third MMOS

performance channel which combines nearly all MMOS performers is the finale performance, in which all MMOS-organized subgroups appear together on a stage in a performance that culminates in the burning of the urn and its contents.

Live music

Music in the ASP is interpretively derived from the traditions of various subcultures and cultures, including the developing culture of the ASP community itself as the event has grown. That is, the many musical performances fall in line with one of two signature sounds of the ASP: either amateur musicianship or reverent world music. Amateur musicianship was a defining feature of the first two phases of the ASP, when many of its musicians were either self-taught or learned their craft in short workshops; for example, Thomas remembers that Lydia recruited some participants in the early processions by simply handing them instruments.²⁴³ Perhaps following this cue, by the first year I participated in the ASP in 2000, the music of growing numbers of untrained musicians lent the parade atmosphere a giddy offkey wobble, reminiscent of swirling around on a musical carousel or playing a warped vinyl record.

However, this amateur musicianship grew less pronounced as the second phase of the event morphed into the third and the event attracted more established musical groups to participate, including the University of Arizona Marching Band in 2011. Additionally, at least since 2015 the assembling of the parade has become a street party with a well-known local Mexican-American DJ playing

²⁴³ Thomas, "Personal Interview, December 17th."

cumbias and other Latin American styles including new artists from Mexico City and speaking to the crowd in Spanish and English.

The reverent world music style has been favored by performers since at least 1991, the second year of the ASP when the grant to Tucson Partnership was submitted. In the proposal were details of a music workshop as follows:

The main musical instruments used for the procession and workshop will be small transverse (side-blown) bamboo flutes and drums from many cultures....The emphasis of the workshop will be creative individual expression within a group setting, producing a global ensemble sound - a blending of the contemporary American individual with the roots of many world cultures.²⁴⁴

The emphasis on the music of “many world cultures” has remained consistent across the phases of ASP history to the present day. Groups of bagpipers have been part of the ASP since I witnessed their participation in the second phase of the event, and possibly before. While not all the imported cultural musical traditions are reverent or dramatic, by the mid-2000s the drama has been consistently high at the finale, with heartstrings played in recent years by renowned performers of didgeridoo, taiko drumming, and Tibetan throat singing.

Several similarities mark the use of live music across the event’s history and represented cultures. First, both the amateur and dramatic styles have favored resounding percussion, with participants using drums, bells, and vocal rhythms sung or shouted in unison. Second, the fluctuation of sound has played a crucial role in the event for participants due to the architecture of an important passageway in the parade: The underpass. Downtown Tucson has two tunnels that

²⁴⁴ Lydia and Tucson Partnership Inc., “Festival and Event Grant Proposal.”

pass under the Union Pacific railroad tracks, the Fourth Avenue underpass and the Sixth Avenue underpass. Since at least the beginning of the second phase of the ASP the parade has passed through one of these underpasses every year. In the underpass the sound of the parade is amplified as it resounds against the cement walls, and participants add to the cacophony by emitting thunderous noise including shouts, screeches, whistles, and by furiously pummeling or honking their instruments. Through these acts of soundmaking, participants and organizers of the ASP have constructed immersive moments and sites in which to commemorate.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND MOVING FORWARD

In this chapter, I have worked to provide a detailed overview of this study as well as its personal and historic context, and to give a descriptive overview of the use of ephemera in the ASP. In the next chapter, I share my findings. Focusing on the nature and use of ephemera in this community setting, I explore what I have observed and learned as a case of community commemoration imbued with meanings related to its location as a large cultural and geographic border. Additionally, I contextualize what I have observed and learned of the historic development of the ASP in the use of ephemera as social history construction.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

In this chapter, I present findings from my case study of the ASP as an event in which community membership boundaries are fluidly drawn by commemorative use of ephemeral objects and performance. I present analytical findings around the commemorative use of ephemera as themes, situated in the ASP as a case study that I have analyzed through immersion in the ASP community, interviews with ASP organizers and participants, and discourse analysis of documents. I focus my interpretive analysis of these themes on the roles, rituals, and meanings that underlie commemorative uses of ephemera in the ASP, and contextualize them within the three historic phases of the ASP described earlier in this work. In the next chapter, Chapter 6, I discuss these themes and analyses in the context of current understandings of history construction and explicate the implications of this study's findings for archives.

THEMES IN THIS WORK

I have identified two overarching themes around ephemeral commemoration evident in the fieldnotes, interviews, and documents I analyzed for this dissertation. In the first of these themes ephemera are vehicles for a commemorative technique that members of the ASP community call *processing* – contextualized here as *processing the past*. I define *processing the past* as interpreting and transmitting experiences of loss through bodily participation in community rituals. The second theme hinges on the ways these rituals *soften ASP community boundaries*, easing their crossing in terms of both inclusion and

rejection of members. For the remainder of this section I present these themes – processing the past and softening community boundaries – and their subthemes individually while also noting how they have built upon and connected to one another since the ASP’s inception in 1990. I close the chapter by pointing to the many ways ephemeral commemoration functions for the ASP community as a means for challenging outside definitions of their event and for creating their own historic records using objects, performance, and the claiming of cultural and geographic territory.

COMMEMORATING JANUARY 8TH, 2011: AN ILLUSTRATED EPIGRAPH

I first began to understand why ephemeral commemoration was important in the ephemera-based ASP when speaking with Rhonda²⁴⁵, a volunteer instructor for ASP mask- and puppet-making workshops. She was talking about commemoration around a local tragedy: Three years before my 2014 interview with Rhonda, a shooter had stormed into a Tucson Safeway grocery store toting a semi-automatic pistol, shot Representative Gabrielle Giffords in the head and killed six other people including a nine-year-old girl, Christina-Taylor Green.²⁴⁶

The shootings and the community response that followed were poignant for the small city of Tucson, and was taken up in public political discourse for years beyond that tragic afternoon. For months after the shooting, visitors left

²⁴⁵ I refer to all named interview participants and informants in this study by pseudonyms unless otherwise noted.

²⁴⁶ I refer to all named deceased persons in this work by their real names unless otherwise noted.

heartfelt ephemeral memorial items – cards, drawings, stuffed animals, balloons, photos – on the lawn of the hospital where Giffords, Green, and other victims had been rushed from the scene. Eventually a foundation that had been established to build a more permanent memorial gathered the ephemera from that hospital lawn and, acknowledging the importance of the ASP in commemoration of local events, gave some of the ephemera to Rhonda and other ASP volunteers.

When I first individually interviewed Rhonda, she was building a float to feature these ephemera. Rhonda is a former science teacher in her fifties with short hair in graying waves, and as she spoke of the float she attended to the details of it like a chemist: “It’s lovely that the paper pulp just falls apart, so you can mix it into any other component ingredients.”²⁴⁷ Then her talk turned to the permanent memorial, in a way that revealed how deeply ephemeral commemoration was integrated with her sense of community in Tucson.

Memorials, they’re interesting in the sense they’re static. They don’t necessarily move. They’re monumental. They’re a place of reflection. They can do all kinds of things, but a float is more of a celebration, in a way. It’s more of a remembrance. It’s moving. It has the chance to allow all kinds of different people to participate. To either work on it to observe it, to interact with it, to put their hearts into it.

I don’t see that in a regular architectural memorial monument. There’s a handful of Tucson artists, apparently, that are putting designs proposals in [for the permanent memorial]. Then the rest are from the outside. I wonder about that because I just keep thinking of that week the shooting happened, and then I had to go to Phoenix for a week. It was the most aggravating heart-wrenching thing I have ever been through, seriously, being separated from my community. I never, ever felt part of a community that I needed to be-I was horror stricken, and I needed to be with my people. I needed to be with people who were processing the same thing.

²⁴⁷ Rhonda, “Personal Interview, October 13th.”



Figure 10: Counterclockwise from top: Ephemeral January 8th memorial items. (Credit: <http://chronicle.northcoastnow.com>); Ephemera donated to the ASP; The “Guardian” puppet built by Rhonda to stand at the helm of the 2014 January 8th float, which was built of the memorial ephemera.

Up there [in Phoenix], it's just a difference. It wasn't cruelty. It wasn't in the sense of, "Who cares? That was a democrat." It wasn't that. It's just it didn't happen to them. I find that really interesting. It's like the people who are putting in design proposals, it didn't happened to you. It's not your hurt to express.²⁴⁸

My analysis of interviews like Rhonda's and my immersion in the ASP uncovered some of the ways that the commemorative use of ephemera – whether material or performed – runs in a dynamic circuit with personal and cultural healing, community boundaries, and living histories. By recognizing and expressing the past through ephemera, the ASP community takes control over all aspects of this dynamic healing circuit: constructing, acknowledging, and transmitting histories participants commemorate.

PROCESSING THE PAST THROUGH EPHEMERAL COMMEMORATION

One salient theme in my study of ephemeral commemoration in the ASP is that community members engage in and promote cathartic building processes, and refer to these activities as *processing the past*. As a number of interviewees suggested, *to process* signifies taking control of personal experiences of the past through engagement of the body in ephemeral expressions, such as papier-mâché assembly of a giant puppet or carrying a 25-lb puppet throughout the two-mile Procession.²⁴⁹ In the next sections, I demonstrate that processing the past is a

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Lydia, "Personal Interview, August 28th," 2015; Rhonda, "Personal Interview, October 13th"; Rachel, "Personal Interview, December 18th," 2015; the term "process" with a similar meaning was also used by two other

ritual act through which community members take control of their own memories of the past, deepen their own involvement in the ASP, and acknowledge the histories of others as fellow community members.

The ASP as personal and cultural processing of the past

The notion of processing the past through a ritual was a seed in the creation of the ASP according to Lydia. A professional artist and student of Jungian art therapy techniques, Lydia is commonly known as the ASP's primary creator. As I interviewed her over iced teas on a hot August morning in 2015, Lydia's memories of organizing the ASP over two decades ago tumbled out in quick sentences punctuated with humor. An Anglo woman in her sixties, with flowing grayish hair, large eyes, and a raspy voice, Lydia is someone I have considered a distant friend since I moved to Tucson in 2000. During the interview we occasionally helped one another remember the names of places and the precise years of events, yet it was not until this interview that I learned how deeply influenced Lydia had been by Carl Jung when she organized the first ASP in 1990, and how essential processing the past became in the event as a result.

Lydia had attended the School of the Art Institute in Chicago in the 1970s and 1980s and had earned both a bachelor's and a master's degree there, focusing on art therapy and education. During our interview she said that she had disseminated Jungian notions of art therapy through ritual to the early ASP

interviewees in Leslie Ann Epperson's documentary film about the ASP entitled *Many Bones, One Heart* (SmallWheel Films, 2015).

participants she recruited, by showing them the 1989 film *Jung: The Wisdom of the Dream*.²⁵⁰

At the beginning I used to show this video to people that were participating in the workshops and stuff like that, so that they had some kind of idea of ritual being connected to them and also being connected to some kind of death. It didn't have to be a person, it could be a place or a thing or whatever. A house.²⁵¹

The film, which I was able to find online after the interview, documents Jung's belief in the human unconscious as present in human creative processes and rituals, and traces the development of Jung's therapeutic use of art in psychoanalysis.²⁵² In one 20-minute section the film focuses on Jung's lifelong interest in the Swiss *Fasnacht* festival. In it, participants in cliques, toting floats, and in musical groups dress in masks and puppet heads, celebrating in the streets for three days. The film frames these as expressions of each individual's unconscious. Lydia's interview suggested that this connection with the individual unconscious was at the root of her desire to *personally* process the past through a ritual.

Yet there is another level of processing the past that stands out in other sections of the film, that of *cultural processing*. An intention toward cultural healing appears in the film's documentation of Jung's travels outside of Europe to

²⁵⁰ Lydia, "Personal Interview, August 28th." I have not been able to corroborate this claim with any other sources

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² S Segaller, M Berger, and PLC Border Television, "Jung: The Wisdom of the Dream," 1989. Streamed September 16th 2016 from opravdový člověk, published February 15th, 2014, at https://youtu.be/c-_RF8zjUhc.

study rituals across the globe, including tribal ceremonies in Kenya and the American Southwest. Contextualizing these travels in the film is a narrative about Jung's quest to find "what European culture lacked."²⁵³ It is clear by the end of the film is Jung's propensity to adapt a blend of native cultures' and nations' spiritual rituals in his psychoanalytic practice, in order to help patients living within and experiencing disjointed cultures.

Lydia's father died the year after *The Wisdom of the Dream* was released, and the film inspired her to confront her own conflicted feelings about her father. Her account of the time period after his death suggests that she wanted to model a ritual for her father on the practices and concepts in the film and in Jung's work in general.

When I did the procession I was really trying to not just to honor his life which I was trying to do because I loved my dad very much. But also trying to also process these other feelings that were going on in me, that were really mixed feelings that are hard to put your finger on. And nobody wanted to talk about because it's not really nice stuff. But I was making artwork, it was coming out in my artwork and it was kind of frightening me, and I'd do some work and then I buried it in the back of my studio. You know, put things over it because it really frightened me. Because we as kids I can kind of remember, we were not allowed to be angry as girls, me and my sister. My brothers weren't really allowed to be, you know, crybabies. I think it's a military thing. So a lot of your emotions just get pushed down inside. And then at some point when you're more mature or you are ready to somehow deal with it, it comes in all kinds of ways that you have no control over you know. And that I think was going on before

²⁵³ Ibid. This provocative statement, a paraphrasing from the film's narration of Jung's intentions in his study of rituals, is mirrored in statements by ASP organizers in this corpus. I discuss the implications of this tradition of mining rituals for the healing of European culture in the Conclusion of this work, as a potential avenue for future research.

my father passed away but it really started getting even more intense when he died.²⁵⁴

Hoping to willfully channel her own unconscious in order to take control of it, Lydia organized the first ASP out of the desire to personally process her understanding of and feelings about the past, particularly her past relationship with her father. She wanted to proactively take control over her emotional responses to her father's passing not by repressing these responses as her veteran father might have done, but by conducting these responses into a ritual involving the creation and performative use of objects. Furthermore, her decision to perform this ritual with other members of her artistic community in public space signifies her intention to broaden its impact. Lydia's intention in organizing this first procession appears to have transcended individual transformation to function as an act of cultural healing, or *cultural* processing of the past.

The intentions toward both personal and cultural processing of the past would remain central to the ASP as it turned into an annual event. Lydia organized the ASP throughout its first historic phase, and focused on intimacy to nurture personal processing, and education to enact cultural processing. Thomas, an interviewee in his sixties of Latino and native American descent who participated in the ASP in its first phase, described the considerable work Lydia put into the event for its first several years as coming "from a really heartfelt kind of spot."²⁵⁵ During Lydia's years organizing the ASP and in the years since, she

²⁵⁴ Coleman, "Personal Interview, August 28th," emphasis mine.

²⁵⁵ Thomas, "Personal Interview, December 17th."

has focused on teaching small groups of participants to use their hands to create sculptures and displays, including building altars with high school students and then displaying the altars in Tucson's central downtown art museum.²⁵⁶

Meanwhile, every ASP organizer I interviewed (nine in total, of twelve interview participants) had taught ASP workshops specifically to help youth connect to the past beyond their personal relationships,²⁵⁷ including two interviewees who taught workshops in their classes while working as full-time public school teachers. In Rachel's high school class one year, for example, students made kites honoring murdered transgender people the students had never met, while in Maya's elementary school class students built an installation in honor of a dwindling local watershed most students had never seen running, the San Pedro River.²⁵⁸ While working as a student-teacher a third participant, Stephen, helped instruct his high-school students in creating a massive skeleton commemorating migrants who had died at the US-Mexico border. Through this educational work directed at personal and cultural histories these teachers have continued to enact, respectively, personal and cultural processing of the past with ASP activities.

²⁵⁶ Lydia, "Personal Interview, August 28th."

²⁵⁷ For the list of interview participants who were workshop instructors, see Chapter 4, Table 1 of this work. Interview participants in this study who were not workshop instructor are Thomas, "Personal Interview, December 17th"; Esperanza, "Personal Interview, October 13th," 2013; Linda, "Personal Interview, October 13th," 2013.

²⁵⁸ Rachel, "Personal Interview, December 18th"; Maya, "Personal Interview, December 18th," 2015.

In interviews with all of the head organizers (sometimes called “Artistic Directors”) who participated in this study, both the personal and cultural senses of the verb *to process* are evident or explicit.²⁵⁹ In an interview for the 2015 documentary film of the ASP entitled *Many Bones, One Heart*, Todd located the dual roles of processing the past at the root of his decision to volunteer to lead ASP workshops in the mid-nineties, as one of the artists taking the organizational helm from Lydia.²⁶⁰ A professional puppeteer and painter who volunteered for years as an ASP workshop instructor, Todd served as “Artistic Director” alongside Tiana in the second phase of ASP history (the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s), but then ceded leadership to Tiana entirely in the third phase (the mid-2000s to the time of this writing). Todd is a boyish Anglo man in his forties with a deep voice and a slow, deliberate style of speaking, who with fellow members of his puppetry collective taught many newcomers to the ASP community – including myself in 2000 – to create giant wearable papier mâché puppets. Over time this practice became not only a community repertoire but a key ritual for processing the past for ASP participants, and there is evidence that this was due to Todd’s layered approach to the event.

In the film as in interviews with me, when explaining his initial drive to teach the workshops Todd approached the ASP more through the lens of an artist

²⁵⁹ Lydia, “Personal Interview, August 28th”; Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th,” 2015; Tiana, “Personal Interview, January 6th.”

²⁶⁰ Epperson, *Many Bones, One Heart*. I discuss this film as an important document in ASP-related discourse later in this work.

taking an interest in its aesthetic structure, than through any interpersonal connection with event rituals:

What drove me to start to hold workshops was an interest in adding some structure to the All Souls parade. I quickly learned - we quickly learned - that making something in honor of a loved one or even in the image of a loved one was really helpful for people to process their grief.²⁶¹

Participants learning in workshops from Todd and his co-instructors often chose to model the puppets they built in the image of a lost family member, friend, or pet, and they engaged in personal processing of these past losses as they did so. Simultaneously, and more explicitly than in Lydia's accounts, processing the past as discussed by Todd here plays as cultural processing while acknowledging the draw of the personal for participants.

Overall, the ASP as a scenario rich with ephemera functions to heal its participants personally and culturally. The ASP as a ritual creates a space for participants to process personal histories and learn techniques to makes histories social, to interact and integrate with the histories of other participants. Meanwhile, organizers of the parade look beyond the personal; ASP organizers view the ASP as an aesthetic cultural form, and its educational aspects as shaping the community of ASP celebrants as a culture. In this way the ASP continues to manifest the inspiration Lydia found in Jung's quest to channel "what European culture lacked."²⁶² This quest is grounded in the creation and performance of

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Segaller, Berger, and Television, "Jung: The Wisdom of the Dream."

ephemera, and as demonstrated in the next section, the cultural influence and healing it enacts are important enough to organizers to function as capital.

Benefits of processing the past

1. Cultural currency as capital

Processing the past is also shaping of the present and future. The value of shaping the culture that informs and contains the ASP community is salient enough in the organizers perspectives I analyzed that it has become a form of capital. In four interviews I analyzed (including the interview with Todd from the *Many Bones, One Heart* discussed above), the value created by cultural processing of the past is connected to the present and the future. The shaping of culture is an impetus volunteer ASP organizers cite as the reason they do that unpaid work.

One informant who connected the shaping of culture with capital was Cody, an Anglo, curly-haired professional artist in his fifties. In a 2014 solo interview with me, Cody said that he was “creating a culture” through teaching ASP art workshops. He called the work “cultural engineering,” to help people “experience the creative experience and the process...so that they understand that it’s valuable.”²⁶³ Cody made this valuation process more explicit in a 2013 group interview with me, in which he expressed hope that by shaping a culture that values artistic creation he would sell more of his own paintings.²⁶⁴ Cody’s

²⁶³ Cody, “Personal Interview, November 2nd.”

²⁶⁴ Paul and Cody, “Group Interview, October 13th,” 2013.

“cultural engineering” work has also included the creation of free digital educational resources such as a video of his lantern workshop, which has spread widely enough on the internet that another participant in that group interview, Paul, called it “a lantern virus.” Yet when Paul warned against the encroachment of financial capital in this interview, Cody laughed it off.

PAUL: The problem is like when you see it on Comedy Central and somebody’s making a million bucks off of it. You’re like—

CODY: I know, you’re like “Oh!” [imitates himself crying] “Oh no!” So you know, I just love watching ideas just spread, you know? That’s kind of cool.

Cody’s lack of concern that others might gain financially from resources he offers for free signifies that he feels sufficiently compensated by the capital he gains through the shaping of local culture – and via the lantern “virus”, through the shaping of national or even global culture. For Cody, cultural processing can be engineered in a way that makes it differentially valuable as a kind of capital for people involved (e.g., organizers, art facilitators, workshop participants).

While echoing Cody’s valuation of cultural processing, Tiana has discussed the volunteer nature of the ASP as a cultural anomaly:

It's not a profit-making venture. You're not going to make money out of it. You may break even and that's as good as it's going to get. We get other things back that to us are intangible. (*musical interlude*) For the majority of people in this society, what is wealth is money, and they do not calculate cultural currency. They don't calculate what they consider to be precious or important in this culture in any other way but through money. And this organization doesn't make a lot of money.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁵ Epperson, *Many Bones, One Heart*. In view of the arrangement of this scene it is possible that the filmmaker put these two excerpts together out of context. However, the meaning that comes through is consistent with the

Multiple ASP organizer-artists have reported spending substantial amounts of their own money to fund the ASP.²⁶⁶ By labeling the “intangible” reward they get for this work as “cultural engineering” or “cultural currency,” these volunteer workers demonstrate that cultural processing works not only as a form of capital for ASP organizers, but that it is earned through ephemera-centered work and experience. Furthermore, as a tool for attendees’ personal processing of the past, ASP activities constitute a site for the securing of labor in the form of deepening community involvement, a phenomenon that plays out amid the backdrop of the parade discussed next.

2. *The parade as rite of passage*

Another benefit to processing the past through ephemera is the function of processing activities as rites of passage for the ASP community. Through its constitution in ephemeral materials and experiences, the parade itself is seen by some of its organizers as a self-renewing cultural product that also functions as a ritual validating community membership and drafting volunteer labor. For example, in an interview with me in his studio in December 2015 Todd asked me repeatedly during our interview to convey to Tiana and Rodd - the current ASP organizers - his concern that in recent years, “the dynamic of the parade itself has

philosophies around money and culture that Tiana presented in a 2015 interview with me. (Tiana, “Personal Interview, January 6th.”)

²⁶⁶ Lydia, “Personal Interview, August 28th”; Cody, “Personal Interview, November 2nd”; Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th”; Tiana, “Personal Interview, January 6th”; Epperson, *Many Bones, One Heart*.

been neglected, while so much emphasis and resources go into the finale spot.”²⁶⁷

Todd was referring to the ASP’s increasingly massive finale spectacle, which has grown larger and more highly attended each year; perhaps as a result, the parade has become more clogged with nonparticipating spectators, causing walking traffic jams in the parade itself.

Todd then suggested this problem might be due to one or both of the current organizers’ skipping a crucial stage of cultural processing: walking in the parade behind others who intimately understand the importance of its rhythms and collective movement.

TODD: Rodd has never walked in the parade. He has no idea how it’s changed....I mean, that’s not true. People tell him....But, he doesn’t have a real, full understanding of how good it was back then—and how shitty it is now.

DD: Has Tiana walked in the parade?

TODD: Tiana has walked in many parades—

DD: Okay.

TODD: -but she’s always in the front. She’s always at the head of the parade.²⁶⁸

Walking in the parade – preferably following others who do the same and perhaps have done so longer, as one’s leaders – comes through in the above excerpt as a ritual or even a cultural rite of passage toward understanding the ASP as an overall shared and community-based experience. Todd questions the legitimacy

²⁶⁷ Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th.”

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

and labor of core organizers who have not walked the parade and ties this potential illegitimacy to the weakening of the parade as a cultural product. Also in his talk is a sense of importance tied to the legitimacy of the event, showing the cultural product does exist as a kind of capital, cherished and meant to be maintained and protected. Todd presents the parade as performing multiple, connected roles in cultural processing, and through these connected roles, the personal and cultural forms of processing of the past are distinct but not opposing values. Instead, and relative to the parade, the personal and the cultural are enacted in tandem – within, through, and around ephemeral objects.

3. The “burdensome” ephemeral object: connecting physical and emotional weight in embodied commemoration

Commemoration of the *Braceros* by a woman in the ASP in 2015 (as discussed in the beginning of Chapter 4) illustrates an important benefit of processing of the past: embodied, physical connection with those commemorated. The conscripting of Mexican men as US labor in the Bracero Program was also the subject of a national historic museum exhibit. According to a comment on an ASP blog post about the *Braceros*, a local art museum would begin hosting the Smithsonian’s bilingual exhibit on the Bracero Program the month after the 2015 ASP.²⁶⁹ Unlike the Smithsonian’s exhibit, however, the honoring of *Bracero* history in the ASP was personalized in a physical way, through the commemorating body with the aid of ephemera. (*Bracero* literally means “he who

²⁶⁹ “Forgotten Ghosts of the Road,” *All Souls Procession*, accessed April 15, 2016, <http://allsoulsprocession.org/forgotten-ghosts-of-the-road/>.

swings his arms.”) The woman who remembered the impact of that grueling work on her father centralized the physicality of the *Bracero* experience as she described it on the ASP website:

My dad worked primarily in California picking cotton. That was hard work because they had long bags that they carried across their chest and dragged across the fields filling them up with cotton. They weighed so much that it was very tiring. Another time he worked cutting ice. He was taken to a frozen lake and workers had to cut large cubes of ice. My dad always blamed that job for his problems with arthritis, because he said it was so cold that he could feel the cold go through his work boots and socks.

Through bodily participation in the ASP the woman honored her father’s bodily contribution to the Bracero Program. The body – often costumed and performing ephemeral objects – is a crucial site of commemoration in the ASP, an aspect that distinguishes this commemorative event from exhibits like the Smithsonian’s, and indeed from most human interactions with archives, in which document weight, mass, and contact with human bodies are minimized.

Tucson Puppet Works – a puppetry collective including Todd, Stephen, and Paul – emerged as guides for the community in processing the past in the second phase of ASP history, particularly in the highly physical arts of constructing and carrying commemorative ephemeral objects. In Todd’s 2015 interview with me, he offered a striking articulation of the role of ephemeral experience and material in individual healing, by connecting physical and emotional forms of work and weight. Noting that he was echoing Stephen, Todd drew these connections when I asked about the first time he had ever commemorated a deceased person in the ASP. Todd initially remembered his father as the first person he had commemorated; then he remembered his earlier

commemoration of his grandmother, which he had momentarily forgotten.

Explaining that oversight, Todd acknowledged that the figurative weight of his grandmother's death was much lighter than that of his father, who had died of illness and to whom Todd was very close.

DD: I've seen you mourn a few people in the parade....When was the first time that you were personally mourning someone in it?

TODD: When my dad died.

DD: Okay. So, that was—

TODD: I had—actually, I had mourned my grandmother....But, it wasn't—honestly, it wasn't emotionally heavy. She was 96...and I had been close to her. I didn't miss out on her, you know... and I made a nice puppet and that was all fine, and it felt just right....My dad, it felt much heavier, and the puppet, I made it heavier, much heavier.

DD: Hm-hmm. [affirmative]. Physically?

TODD: Physically, yes.

DD: Well, wait. Compared—can you tell me what you did for your grandmother that wasn't as physically heavy—

TODD: I just made a lighter puppet....For my dad, I made him really big. He was a big man. He had a big head, so I made this head that just so—it was so heavy and durable and strong, way too many layers of paper and paint on purpose.

DD: Really?

TODD: Yeah. Because I remember, previously to that, you know, people complaining about how uncomfortable a puppet or mask was and Stephen reminding me that—or us that that's part of it, carrying something that's burdensome....you know, you don't want to get injured, but you—part of the process of walking in the parade is the labor and the physical challenge it is on your body. And if you're carrying some big thing, you know, you got to realize that's part of it, is the discomfort. So, my dad's puppet was really big and fairly uncomfortable. And I was, also, pulling my kids in a cart, too....I felt like I was embodying my dad, you know, all

the energy he put into pulling me. Raising me, leading me, and all the while having a smile—which the puppet certainly had a big smile.²⁷⁰



Figure 11: Todd's puppet of his father. (Photograph by Joanna Carichner.)

The personal processing of the past Todd undertook while commemorating his father depended upon numerous acts involving ephemeral media, including: the application of layer upon layer of first papier mâché and then paint; pulling a cart weighed down literally and symbolically with the responsibilities of fatherhood; and performing the role of his own father, by smiling through the entire ritual act.

Todd's ephemera-centered performance in honor of his father was massive and heavy, with both physical and emotional weight. In his description of that act, Todd's mention of smiling was purposeful, lending to a sense of familial performance. The heavy design of the puppet was also purposeful; as an

²⁷⁰ Todd, "Personal Interview, December 16th."

experienced puppet builder at the time of his father's passing, his use of "too many" layers of mâché and paint was intentional. His phrase that he did not "miss out" on his grandmother juxtaposed with his description of commemorating his father shows Todd felt he did "miss out" due to his father's unexpected passing. Through building and carrying an ephemeral puppet in his father's image, Todd honored and personally processed that lost time. Furthermore, through the high visibility of the ephemeral giant puppet, this personal processing enhanced the parade as a cultural product.

EPHEMERAL COMMEMORATION AND COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES

Senses of community in the ASP

In addition to *processing the past*, a second overarching theme I have found through analysis of ASP-related activities, documents, and interviews is that ephemera-centered rites of passage keep the ASP community's boundaries permeable, so that the community is able to easily reject outsiders or former members and invite newcomers. As stated in the Introduction to this work, I call participants in this event a *community*, because that is a member meaning they put forward in observed event activities and in interviews – that is, many interviewees referred to "the community" as those with whom they perform and for whom they work in this event. I also use the term "community" because I have sensed my own membership in that community while working to organize the event on a volunteer basis.

If any criterion for community membership can be claimed around the ASP it is in the willingness to do unpaid work for it – first, creating ephemeral objects that would be part of the event’s aesthetic structure (while experiencing the pleasure of *personal processing* as a byproduct); then, organizing the event around the ephemera-based commemorations of the wider set of celebrants, the “community.” The All Souls Procession has grown tremendously in the fifteen years since I first encountered it, so that the “community” at its center became more of an imagined community than a proximate one.²⁷¹ The need to define and connect “members” of that “community” emerged as an unexpected rationale for community use of ephemera as evidence. Like the archival record according to McKemmish, ephemeral matter is “always in the process of becoming,” continuously being destroyed and rebuilt to involve newer community members in the anchoring of collective memory.

I learned through this research that through the informal but “burdensome” acts involved in both personal and cultural processing of the past, participants engage in the building of mutual trust that helps them become important members and even organizers of the ASP community – but only as long as they deeply commit and participate. Ephemeral commemoration thus cultivates a dynamic, fluid sense of community in the ASP.

The ASP *sense of community* occurs alongside the dual practices of processing described in the previous section, and is forged through them. To rephrase, personal processing of the past involve participants’ interpreting and

²⁷¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Verso, 1983).

transmitting experiences of loss through bodily participation in community rituals, and cultural processing of the past – and for the present and future – is the more conceptual consideration of the event and its body of participants as one aesthetic cultural form. Distinctly, *sense of community* involves the dynamic interplay between individual members' feelings of belonging and combined members' collective sense of community composition.²⁷²

In this section, I interrogate the sense of community in the ASP and its relationship to ephemera used in the event. In particular, I analyze key meanings of *community* conveyed by informants in this study, and demonstrate the reasons fluid community boundaries are crucial in this event. Furthermore, I document the ways in which engagement with ephemeral commemoration and parade work pulls and pushes participants across ASP community boundaries.

Fluid, permeable community boundaries are important for the survival and growth of the ASP. As the event has grown by thousands each year it has demanded proportional growth in its collection of organizers and volunteers, and these are drawn from the wider community of ASP attendees. The changing demographics and cultural interests of Tucsonans have also demanded that the ASP community grow in specific directions, to connect with demographic, economic, ethnic, and cultural populations that may not have been involved in the

²⁷² I form this construct through my interpretive approach to the sense of community of discussed in the theoretical framework for this work, informed by McMillan and Chavis, "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory"; David W. McMillan, "Sense of Community," *Journal of Community Psychology* 24, no. 4 (1996): 315–25, doi:10.1002/(SICI)1520-6629(199610)24:4<315::AID-JCOP2>3.0.CO;2-T; Wellman, "Little Boxes, Glocalization, and Networked Individualism"; Rainie and Wellman, *Networked*.

ASP historically. The term “community” itself has many overlapping meanings across the interviews and documents in ASP-related discourse, and analyzing all of those meanings could be a dissertation on its own. However, in the data I have analyzed in this study I have found two *senses of community* particularly salient due to their distinct functions relating to ephemera and histories. One of these is *rejecting community*, and the other is *inviting community*. Following these two distinct senses and using ephemeral expressions as tools, ASP organizers and participants promote beliefs and histories to support the assertion that the community at the core of the ASP is not permanent; that it can and should change.

Rejecting community

Rejecting community is a subtheme I found in my study of ephemeral commemoration in the ASP, reflecting a rejection of or by outsiders or inactive members, while leading active insiders’ membership to deepen or become salient. While rejection can be a cruel component of community life, without rejection community membership is meaningless.²⁷³ One facet of *rejecting community* is the adherence to one community in response to comparison with an outside group or place. For Rhonda, processing the aftermath of the January 8th shooting while traveling outside of Tucson led directly to her sense that Tucson had become her home, and soon after to her decision to commit significant time to the ASP community as a volunteer.

²⁷³ McMillan and Chavis, “Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory.”

January 8th when this horrible thing happened and I was separated from my community and I couldn't be here, I was alone up in this ugly ass hotel in Phoenix where they didn't give a damn. I was just horrified. That's when I really—I stopped asking [my partner], “Do you wanna return to Washington, DC?” cuz that was always a possibility to go home. I was like, “No, I don't wanna go home. This is my home.” So... I cleared more of my life so that I could be more a part of the procession, engaging in more other types of volunteer opportunities here.²⁷⁴

As a volunteer workshop instructor Rhonda clearly values the creation of objects as an important practice for ASP participants. However, in this excerpt of our interview she shows the importance of performing those commemorative acts through physical engagement with one's *community* – a word she uses to describe all of Tucson. She notes further that Tucson's place as her community became salient during immersion in Phoenix, a place she rejects as a potential community. Through ephemeral engagement, Rhonda's life in Tucson also overtook her sense of community in her former home, Washington.²⁷⁵

Another facet of *rejecting community* I found in my analyses occurs when participants' feelings of belonging are activated in response to their rejection by more traditional groups, including their own families. This sense of belonging in response to rejection is articulated in the film *Many Bones One Heart* by Marisol, a stocky, ponytailed Latina woman who appears to be in her forties, who builds

²⁷⁴ Rhonda, “Personal Interview, October 13th,” 2013.

²⁷⁵ In my memory, the events of January 8th 2011 left a feeling of collective devastation among Tucsonans, and Phoenix – the larger city two hours north of Tucson – became the backdrop for this sense of community by dint of the common sense that it was the nearest city to Tucson and yet utterly outside of our community's boundaries.

papier mâché puppets in ASP workshops each year. In the film, as she tells the following to the filmmaker her voice grows thick with emotion:

This time of year, it's all I do. After work, when I wake up, weekends, I live and breathe the All Souls Procession. My puppets are made for two reasons. The ones are - the ones of the past. Then the [other] ones are relationships with family. And they are still living, but I don't have the relationships anymore. So in a sense those are also - dead relationships. It's based on my sexual preference. They've chosen to push me aside. And it just amazes me how I get more respect from complete strangers than my family.

Marisol does not refer to herself as being part of any community, but she nonetheless practices ASP rituals faithfully and devotes massive amounts of work to them. I remember her from the mask- and puppet-making workshops in the early 2000s learning puppet-building from Todd and Stephen, and have noted that elsewhere in the film she echoes their philosophy valuing the “burdensome” qualities of key event activities, as when Marisol says the following of herself and her partner in the film:

Seems like every year we seem to go with a big head puppet. We tried a couple of years to go with a mask. But it's not the same as wearing that puppet, putting that weight on you.²⁷⁶

Marisol’s earlier words about “respect” from “strangers” and then her echoing of Todd’s sentiments on puppet weight, suggest that building and walking with a burdensome ephemeral object is not only a cultural rite of passage but also a ritual of entry toward community membership. Contrasted with the more rigid boundaries of behavior and sexuality evident in Marisol’s remarks about her

²⁷⁶ Epperson, *Many Bones, One Heart*.

family, the ASP community boundaries – crossed by participation in ephemera-based rituals – stand out as permeable by comparison.

A third facet of *rejecting community* is rejection via replacement of former community members. While ASP organizers define the event as inclusive of all who want to be involved, some replacement of former core organizers has been necessary for the ASP community. One reason is that as time has passed, some core organizers of the ASP have moved away, or passed away. Other former ASP-community members have remained in Tucson but become occupied with other activities like childrearing that leave them little time for ASP volunteering. The capacity to easily replace former ASP organizers with newer members could face interference if there were a tradition of preservation of “permanent” records around ASP organization; by contrast, replacement of core organizers and even event histories is organic when ephemeral history construction which anchors living histories to currently active organizers.

The replacement capacity of the ASP community was illuminated when I watched the debut of the 2015 documentary film about the ASP, *Many Bones, One Heart*, with Todd during the 2015 Arizona Film Festival. While the film was primarily the filmmaker Leslie Ann Epperson’s²⁷⁷ vision of the ASP’s history, its reception that night before a raucous audience of hundreds made the story it presented feel keenly like an articulation of today’s ASP community – and made its disappearance of identities and histories feel more absolute. The film’s primary

²⁷⁷ I use the filmmaker's real name in this work because she is not a participant in this research and to credit her for her work.

focus was on the lives of the current organizers of the ASP, Tiana and Rodd. The film devotes very little time to the first phase of ASP history; it devotes even less time - just a minute or two - to the decade-long second phase of ASP history when Todd was its Artistic Director and a crucial organizer, from the mid-1990s to around 2005.

As a researcher of ASP history, I knew that a lack of records from that time period may have led to the scarce representation of the second phase of ASP history in the film; yet as a former ASP community member who has treasured memories of the that era, I was reflexive in my experience of this film and noted my own reaction to the near deletion of a large time period in the story. I was also keenly aware of Todd watching the film next to me, imagining it might feel worse to him – he had devoted much more time than I had to those years of the ASP’s development, when he had even accrued personal student loan debt to fund the growing event.²⁷⁸ Yet the film and its reception offered a sense that Todd’s importance in the event’s history was being forgotten by the changing ASP community. Todd himself does appear as an interviewee very briefly in the film – but for much of his brief time on the screen he is dourly explaining why he chose to lessen his involvement in the event:

When I stepped down, it was really like, This feels too big for me, and it feels like we're spending out of our means. I don't want half the year trying to pay for one thing that happened in the fall.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th.”

²⁷⁹ Epperson, *Many Bones, One Heart*.

When we discussed our viewing experience after the screening, Todd told me that when the stepping-down storyline was presented in the film, “I wanted to boo myself,” reflecting his recognition that he was depicted as someone no longer suited for ASP community membership. Yet however unkind such exclusion might feel, the survival of the ASP in its current form has depended upon the fluid boundaries of its community and the dynamic representation of its history. These have been negotiated in part through the rejection of some former understandings and organizers of the ASP like Todd – a capacity for replacement easily achieved when evidence of the past was built with ephemera.²⁸⁰ Yet the growth of the ASP by tens of thousands since the third phase of its history began in the mid-2000’s shows that for everyone the community rejects, multiple new members are welcomed to the fold; I discuss this grand welcome in the next section.

The inviting community

I found another *sense of community* in my study of ephemeral commemoration in the ASP. This sense, which facilitates permeable community boundaries and the growth of ASP, is the *inviting community*, extended by ASP organizers and insiders toward those who are outsiders but invited to be involved. I learned of the first collective effort to expand the ASP beyond Lydia’s small circle from Maya, a Colombian-American activist artist and teacher in her fifties

²⁸⁰ I discuss disappearing and changing ephemeral histories further in Chapter 6, along with implications for archives.

whose elementary school students commemorated the San Pedro River.²⁸¹ Maya said she attended meetings around 1995 in which expansion was the explicit goal.

MAYA: I think that the group had, you know, that kind of a small group of artists that new each other, centered around Lydia, is her name? Had already kind of done this little procession and were deciding kind of to try to build this in the community. So, when I came in, there were these gatherings and meetings that were happening about the parade. And all – everything from, you know, what shall we call it to? you know, how do we reach out in the community? or what is this going to mean for people? you know. So, it was still relatively small then, but even though, I think the first one that we walked in that year after kind of having those meetings and doing some outreach about it.... I think that that next procession was certainly, I don't know, over 100 people.²⁸²

While Lydia had included students and fellow artists in the first phase of ASP history, which by numerous accounts had around thirty people,²⁸³ this effort at expansion seems to have been designed to include those who were not artists. This series of meetings lowered the bar for participation and softened ASP community boundaries.

There is still an explicitly welcoming, come-as-you-are quality to ASP workshops that in my observations has drawn many members of society excluded from traditional structures to get involved. ASP events tend to draw participants who are poor or mentally ill, perhaps because these events have always been free and located near areas where the impoverished congregate, such as downtown

²⁸¹ Maya, “Personal Interview, December 18th.”

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Lydia, “Personal Interview, August 28th”; Thomas, “Personal Interview, December 17th”; Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th”; Tiana, “Personal Interview, January 6th.”

Tucson’s Main Library and the Ronstadt Transit center bus depot. The workshop instructor Rhonda demonstrated *inviting community* during our interview near the bus depot, in a bakery by the railroad tracks downtown. Our interview was interrupted when a woman who was muttering to herself - whom I later learned had Turrets syndrome - wandered into the workshop. Rhonda quickly stopped speaking to me to offer the woman a resounding, “Welcome!” which is captured in my recording.²⁸⁴ At the time I was unaware of this woman’s broader background and presumable societal rejection, given her Turrets-related behavior that is considered antisocial in countless social situations. Yet her appearance that day immediately illuminated the ASP community’s ritual-based boundaries: I observed that day as she wandered into a roomful of strangers and was unconditionally invited to stay.



Figure 12: Free workshops advertised in the Warehouse District. Credit: <http://allsoulsprocession.org>

²⁸⁴ Rhonda, “Personal Interview, October 13th.”

The subtheme *inviting community* also emerged as related to particular groups and, at times signified a drive to make the ASP less white and more inclusive of Tucson's growing Latino population.²⁸⁵ Across interviewees, the nature of their talk on people in the community was, at times, racialized. Organizers frequently emphasized the need to reach out and involve "the community" in ASP activities in interviews, and as I indicated in my fieldnotes after interviewing Stephen, who is Anglo, 'community' was often synonymous with 'Latino' groups.²⁸⁶

The meaning of *community* as a reference specifically to local Latinos was echoed by Cody in our group interview in 2013. The two workshop participants making the largest ephemeral float that year were Esperanza and Linda, a Mexican-American mother and daughter. They were building a motorcycle to commemorate the accident that had killed Linda's fiancé as a weeks-long project guided by Cody. Cody referred to "community" when I asked him why he volunteers for the ASP, and he brought up Linda and Esperanza when questioned further.

²⁸⁵ Tucson's Hispanic population was 29.6% in the 2010 census, up from 25% in 2000, making Hispanics the fastest growing population in Tucson over the previous decade. At the time of that census, Hispanic children under 18 years of age also outnumbered white children in Tucson for the first time. Alyson Zepeda, "Arizona's Hispanic Population Grows in 2010 Census," *Inside Tucson Business*, accessed March 4, 2016, http://www.insidetucsonbusiness.com/news/top_stories/arizona-s-hispanic-population-grows-in-census/article_2c0b0a18-50dd-11e0-bff5-001cc4c002e0.html; United States Census Bureau., "QuickFacts: Arizona: Tucson," 2010, <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/RHI705210/04>.

²⁸⁶ Stephen, "Personal Interview, November 6th."

DD: What the purpose of doing the workshops for you?

CODY: Community.

DD: Community.

CODY: Community building, yeah.

DD: Mm-hmm. I mean you can community build with a party. Why an object workshop?

Cody: Well... I'm an artist, right? And I love creation and I know how powerful the act of creativity is and how transformative it is and how it just really makes lives better, right? You know this, you've experienced this too. Okay, if I have parties it's always my friends who show up and do these things with me which is fine, I love my friends. But I want to be more inclusive. Like they've never made anything in their life – those girls who are making that motorcycle in there, they've never made anything in their lives, you know? And so like that to me is where it's really cool cause you're like "Check this out," you know? That's where the magic happens.

To Cody, having positive relationships with and influence on “workshoppers” like Esperanza and Linda was the reward for *inviting community*. Later it became clear to me that Linda and Eperanza’s Latina heritage was salient for Cody, not only for including them but for supporting his own cultural identity, evident during the following exchange:

DD: Do you know what you're going to be doing in the parade this year if anything?

CODY: No, I haven't had any time so I'll probably... You know, I really enjoyed hanging out with Linda and Esperanza who are making the motorcycle so I'll probably walk with them, you know? Like I grew up on the South Side of town. You know, they're my people, you know?
[chuckles]²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ “Personal Interview, October 13th”. During the 2013 parade the next week, Cody did indeed walk with the “girls” - Esperanza who was in her fifties and Linda who was in her thirties.

To me it is clear that Cody used term “community” in reference to Esperanza and Linda in part because they were novices in this type of artistic creation; this idea was further supported later that day by my brief interview with Linda in which her first words were, “I’ve never done anything like this before.”²⁸⁸ Yet their racial identity was also salient for Cody, judging in by his words. In Tucson, “the South Side of town” means South Tucson, an independent municipality with a population over 80% Latino and under 10% Anglo. Similar to Stephen’s use of the term “community,” Cody’s usage of “community” worked as a reference to the general population of Latino residents of Tucson and South Tucson.

Two years later, at the 2015 ASP parade gathering point I noticed a distinct but connected meaning to the use of *community* in reference to Tucson’s Latino population. *Comunidad*, the Spanish equivalent of *community*, was spoken multiple times by the Mexican-American DJ into the microphone, as he hyped up the crowd in Spanish and English and reminded them to donate to ASP organizers. “Look around you,” he pronounced between *cumbias* and shout-outs for the notable dead including Tucson-born Chicano musician Lalo Guerrero (“¡Presente!” he shouted after each of the deceased was named.) The DJ told the crowd, “You made this. This is your event and this is your *comunidad*.”²⁸⁹ I interpreted these words – directed at a crowd with thousands of Anglos and Latinos – as a reinforcement and follow-up of the meaning of *comunidad* used by

²⁸⁸ Linda, “Personal Interview, October 13th.”

²⁸⁹ Fieldnotes written during All Souls Procession, November 8th, 2015.

Stephen and others: *You were invited, you came, and now it is time for you all to donate, to process the past...and to work across cultures to come together.*

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND MOVING FORWARD

In this analysis of one case of community expression, I have analyzed the roles of ephemera as vehicles for a commemorative technique that members of the ASP community call *processing the past* – interpreting and transmitting experiences of loss through bodily participation in community rituals. I have demonstrated that these rituals soften ASP community boundaries, easing their crossing in terms of both rejection and inclusion. Overall, I have found that the ASP is an event in which community members keep membership boundaries fluid and dependent on engagement through commemorative use of ephemeral objects and performance. In this work I have uncovered the processing and boundary blurring that happens for a population in the Southwest U. S. I have argued that this case of a community expression exemplifies how communities exist in negative archival space, and how in spite of their existence in that particular space, they perform archival scenarios that transmit their histories.

Drawing on ephemera's placement at the center of personal and cultural processing rituals and its role in keeping the ASP community boundaries permeable, in the next chapter, Chapter 6, I discuss these themes and analyses in the context of current understandings of history construction and explicate the implications of this study's findings for archives and archival work. I show that through ephemeral commemoration hinging on *processing the past* and *permeable community boundaries*, the ASP community challenges outside

definitions of their event constructs new histories through ephemeral objects and performance, along with their resulting occupation of territory. Through these ephemera-based processes, this community creates their own historic records as an archival scenario with ephemeral objects and performances, persistently claiming agency over community identity and culture as they do so.

In the next chapter, too, I reconsider existing theory around archives and *community* given the findings presented in this chapter. Archival theorists are working against the history of exclusion in archives by envisioning *community* as a new archival paradigm²⁹⁰ and acknowledging community expressions as records of the past.²⁹¹ However, effective archival work with communities that would advance communities inclusion in and relationships with archives must proceed from a foundation of understanding of community memory practices, particularly for populations historically left out of archives.

²⁹⁰ Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms."

²⁹¹ Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF THE ASP-AS-ARCHIVE

Populations excluded from archives and not aligned with formalized record-keeping processes are those relegated to *negative archival space*. However, those processing the past and working across traditional social boundaries as has emerged from this analysis are indeed performing work relative to formalized community records. Drawing on themes around ephemeral commemoration that I presented in the previous chapter – specifically, ephemera’s placement at the center of personal and cultural processing rituals and its role in keeping the ASP community boundaries permeable – in this chapter I discuss the direct historic implications of this case community-based ephemeral commemoration considered as an archive.

In particular, I first argue that the ASP represents community performance of a holistic archival scenario, situating the archive as a place, a thing, and a practice. This discussion of practice offers a way to think about how the community imperative to “remember the right way” aligns with current trends in modern commemoration. I support this articulated connection in two ways. First, I reconsider moments in the data – tracing two of the event’s forgotten histories – in order to demonstrate the areas of concern for archives in negative archival space and the concurrent opportunities and challenges in remembering “the right way.” Second, I conceptually connect the ASP to a larger trend toward “testimonial culture” in the form of populist archives online and offline.

THE ARCHIVE AS PLACE, THING, AND PRACTICE

From my study of the ASP I have learned that the community expression in negative archival space functions as an archive in several important respects. As presented in the previous chapter, the ASP community is formed through rituals of processing the *past* and fluid negotiations of community membership around the ASP event. Overall, these rituals enable persistently engaged community members to frame the past in ways that fit within current community objectives.

On a more granular level, the ASP event itself represents holistic archival scenario play, or performance of the archive as *place/thing/practice*.²⁹² The ASP community ephemerally projects the archival place across local spaces as an annually renewed store of community memory. With place established, the community then locates memory in the remembered ephemeral thing as it occupies that place. Finally, core members of the ASP community play at archival practice, selecting and creating records to transmit their desired histories within the temporal spaces they persistently define. In this section, I demonstrate all of these types of scenario play, and argue that through them the ASP community retains dynamic agency over its own identity and history, through explicit resistance of outsiders' frames of the past.

Constructing the archival *place*

Commemoration using ephemera in the ASP occurs in public spaces – in the streets, parks, parking lots, and underpasses of downtown Tucson. In keeping

²⁹² Taylor, “Save As ... Knowledge and Transmission in the Age of Digital Technologies.”

with the humanistic definition of *space* in social geography, I view spaces here as “not simply...backdrop[s] to social relations, but [as] repositories of human meaning.”²⁹³ I rely on ephemeral objects and performances as well as narratives to temporally define and control spaces as places in this work. The humanistic view of space attributes agency and meaning-making to its occupants in ways that accommodate these participant-constructed meanings. I interpret the humanistic definition of *space* to grant that spaces are often defined by the empowered and authorized – though I also acknowledge the potential for spaces to be reimagined and reconstructed by collective action and memory.

For community expressions like the ASP, collective memory is anchored in the occupation of public space. Schwartz has argued that collective memory “performs two functions: it embodies a template that organizes and animates behavior and a frame within which people locate and find meaning for their present experience.”²⁹⁴ By performing ephemera as a “template” for shared memories and doing so within public spaces, ASP participants use those public spaces as frames within which to write personal and collective memories. Tiana and Todd public performance as collective defining of social spaces – that is, places – for those who live in Tucson.

I think just walking on the street with like a crap ton of other people who made things—They didn’t just go out on the street and walk. They made beautiful things and they transformed themselves into creatures from myth and from their own subconscious and from things that they *love* that are

²⁹³ Jr, *Social Geography: A Critical Introduction*, 23.

²⁹⁴ Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (University of Chicago Press, 2000), 18.

very personal and really internal. And they're willing to share all those things and everybody walks together in that. I think that's a body experience that you don't have to intellectualize. Or that it doesn't-it's unimportant. I think that just that feeling of connection is enough to just move you through the rest of the year and move you through your culture in a different way. You know, just knowing that your relationship to all these people in this weird little city was *that* one night.²⁹⁵

Tiana credits the making of ephemeral things and performances in the renewal of relationships within and to the city. From her account we can interpret the archival place as a figurative reservoir of memory projected onto public space. This is construction of the archival place.

Todd also speaks of renewal when recounting his early involvement in the ASP, describing its writing of history on public spaces as transformative of the spaces themselves:

You know what was most exciting for me, throughout that whole early process, was just creating–re-creating these common urban spaces, just for a moment, you know, just for a moment let's make some very different energy in these everyday spaces that are so utilitarian. Let's use poetry, and sound, and movement, and intention to re-define these boring downtown spaces into something mysterious and maybe even metaphysical. Who knows? But, so that we can see these spaces like children–and it's something new and fresh–or in a way kind of possess the city for a moment.

DD: Why just for a moment?

Todd: Just as long as the parade is. But, I suppose it does help you understand that space forever, really–the redefinition of the space makes you feel–gives you some kind of attachment, you know. Even the shitty alleyway full of dumpsters, but you walk through that two years later and you say, “I remember when so and so did an amazing performance during the parade right here, and it was beautiful. Even though it was just a crappy little alleyway, it was something special.” And so, in our daily

²⁹⁵ Tiana, “Personal Interview, January 6th,” 2016, italics added to reflect Tiana's spoken emphasis.

lives, throughout the rest of the year, we feel different about moving, living in those—working in those spaces.²⁹⁶

In these accounts ephemeral commemorative rituals are perceived as projections with lasting images for those who use the spaces afterward. These projections become a form of urban renewal in the eye of the occupant when structural urban renewal changes are slow in coming. In the downtown Tucson area there are many alleys, lots, and abandoned loading docks sprouting unruly grass and rebar. It is across these broken landscapes that participants construct and project memories of the ASP, and upon these “weird” docks that they stage performances and commemorations.

Projecting ephemeral images onto Tucson’s public spaces has also functioned to preserve these spaces in the community’s memory as the spaces themselves have disappeared. Most activities involving the ASP community have transpired in a set of edifices known as the warehouse district, located along the tracks and northeast of the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad, just north of downtown Tucson and west of the 4th Avenue retail district.²⁹⁷ This set of hulking cement-block structures was originally designed for industrial use, then purchased by the Arizona Department of Transportation (ADOT) in the 1970s and 1980s in

²⁹⁶ Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th.”

²⁹⁷ The buildings in the warehouse district are described at length in Rieder and Aztlan Archaeology, “National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Tucson Warehouse Historic District,” 1, Section 7.

order to be destroyed, eventually, to level space for a planned highway.²⁹⁸ As plans for the roadway inched through delay after delay in the 1980s and 1990s, artists began moving into the warehouses, paying low rents to ADOT or squatting in these spaces slated for impending destruction. Thus in the years since ASP-related activities began, many of the spaces that hosted the event's most memorable activities have been destroyed.

I remember many of structures that hosted ASP activities. I remember that the parade gathered at the headquarters of a local nonprofit called Muse in 2000 and 2001, and ended at the Mat Bevel Institute during those years; both of those buildings have now been leveled, one eventually replaced with student housing and the other with nothing but flattened earth. I also remember that, beginning in 2002 or 2003, raucous art workshops took place in the north building of the Sixth Street Studios; that site is now also leveled. For me, some of these structural disappearances were jarring: Muse, where I embarked on the procession for the first time 2000, was not only leveled within several years – it was *obliterated* into a giant, canyonlike hole in the ground that induced vertigo in me each time I passed. These physically shifting landscapes were enacted by the empowered who owned them and endured by the powerless who used them.

Maurice Halbwachs has written that “... most groups ... engrave their form in some way upon the soil and retrieve their collective remembrances within the

²⁹⁸ At the time of this writing, construction of the planned highway has still not begun or been scheduled.

spatial framework thus defined.”²⁹⁹ Most organizers and participants in the ASP community have never had the privilege of “engraving their forms upon” the shifting landscapes and properties hosting their memories. Instead, for them, collective remembrance has been assured through ephemeral “records,” projected upon but unyoked from the disappearing spaces of downtown Tucson.

The archival thing: Todd’s pig bike

Temporary occupation of space is often a sign of counterculture, as the privilege of writing “permanent” memory on the places in which one lives comes with ownership and control of property and with authority over the messages that property can convey or transmit.³⁰⁰ Conversely, in the case of the ASP ephemeral expression has enabled countercultural histories and messages to be written onto these places, using ephemera as the archival thing and thus determining the standards by which that thing is treated. In early years when Lydia led the event as a small, intimate procession, those who participated in it walked or bicycled on the sidewalk or in privately owned spaces such as Lydia’s studio.³⁰¹ In the mid-1990’s however, when Todd and Tiana took over leadership, the parade remained nonmotorized yet increased rapidly in size –due both to these two new leaders’

²⁹⁹ Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*.

³⁰⁰ Claire Colomb, “Pushing The Urban Frontier: Temporary Uses Of Space, City Marketing, and The Creative City Discourse in 2000s Berlin,” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34, no. 2 (May 25, 2012): 131–52, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9906.2012.00607.x.

³⁰¹ Lydia, “Personal Interview, August 28th”; Stephen, “Personal Interview, November 6th”; Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th”; Tiana, “Personal Interview, January 6th.”

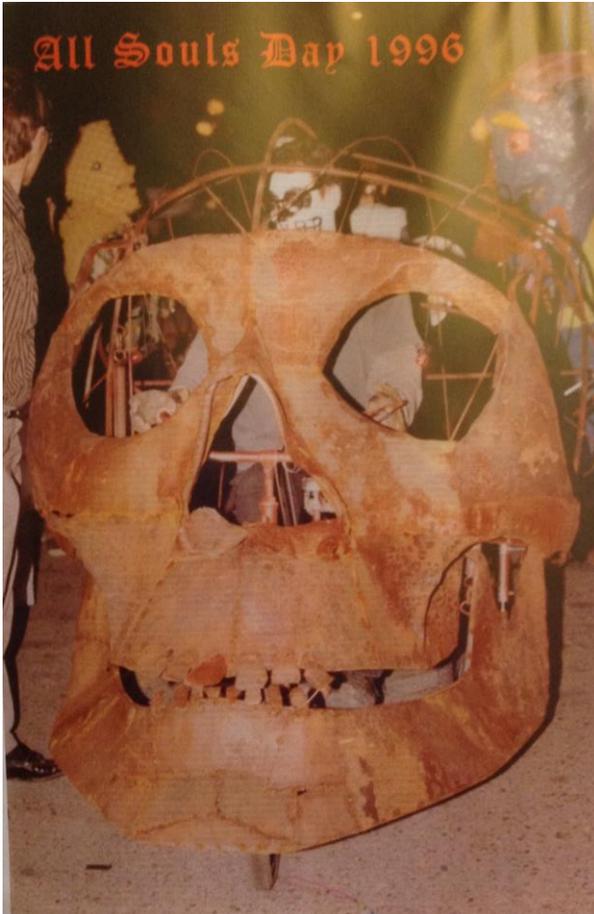


Figure 13: Ephemeral sculpture occupying a large amount of space in the 2006 ASP. Sculpture by Matt Marcus.

recruitment of participants³⁰² and to its increasing mass of ephemera in the forms of giant puppets.³⁰³ As a result of this growth of archival things the parade began to occupy contested public space, its bulky ephemeral objects and performances spilling off the sidewalks and onto the streets.

Tiana has described the ASP as “guerilla” since its inception, but notes that its countercultural nature became

clearer at a key moment when the parade outgrew the sidewalk.

Tiana: I think once you've stepped out of your house onto the sidewalk it's political and it's social because you're not in your own little bubble anymore. You've taken it out and that was always, the mission was that it doesn't exist in a private sphere. Not interested in that. It's not inside a gallery where you pay the ticket. It's not a gated event. It's not any of those things. It's really important that it's out in the public sphere. And so it absolutely is political because that space doesn't belong to us. You know, whatever First Amendment rights we think we have we're completely

³⁰² Maya, “Personal Interview, December 18th”; Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th.”

³⁰³ Stephen, “Personal Interview, November 6th”; Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th”; Lydia, “Personal Interview, August 28th.”

mistaken. And that became really obvious when we stepped off the sidewalk and we wanted to use the streets.

DD: Hm-hmm [affirmative]. Can you tell me about that a little bit more?

Tiana: Sure. So actually it was Todd and his pig bike. He made a bike with a pig that, I don't know if it had a cop hat but I think it might have.... I mean the cops hated it. There was a lot of people and there was a lot of floats and the floats were really big. I think Todd and Gregory had built a skull so it didn't fit on the sidewalk. And because it was so big and everybody was assembling, I remember on Fourth Avenue in particular everybody just started spilling out onto the streets because it was so big. But I didn't have a permit for us to use the streets so the cops came in and started to actually hit, started hitting Todd's bike with the cruiser, with the cop car.³⁰⁴

In a separate interview Todd (unprompted) also spoke of the incident involving his “pig bike”, and although he did not remember creating it with “cop hat” or as a “cop thing” he did remember it as a key moment in the relationship between the ASP and local authorities:

Todd: So, the police would chase us and—

DD: They would?

Todd: Yeah. Tell us what to do, get on the sidewalk. We'd get on the street with our giant puppets, and I remember being chased through the original 4th Avenue underpass by a motorcycle cop. You know, I was wearing this giant pig – papier maché –huge, giant, paper mâché pig that was riding a farmer, because I was really into this idea of the world in reverse.

Todd later told me that in sculpting a pig riding a farmer, he was emulating illustrations from an “old book in French” he had seen, in which submissive characters turn the tables on figures of authority (such as a wife beating her

³⁰⁴ Tiana, “Personal Interview, January 6th.”

husband).³⁰⁵ It is fitting, then, that his “pig bike” sculpture and the combined space occupancy of all of the ephemeral components of the parade did turn the tables in a sense on the local authorities: Beginning the following year, organizers were able to sufficiently capitalize on the growing popularity of the parade to help them pay the local police to patrol (or rather, not interfere with) the ASP on the streets beginning the following year.³⁰⁶ The ASP-as-archival collection had grown and gained access to the street.

As Tiana’s words above suggest, organizers in the ASP recognize that their performances have deeper cultural resonance when they enact them in public (as opposed to private) spaces. It could also be that their ephemeral expressions will better perform as records that transmit histories if in doing so they meet the resistance of authorities.³⁰⁷ Through writing countercultural histories onto downtown spaces the ASP community is locally influencing what Del Casino and Jocoy have called “an American geographical imagination, which is deployed in the organization of the spaces of citizenship to narrowly identify who is ‘deserving’.”³⁰⁸ The memory of Todd’s “pig bike” is a record marking a turning

³⁰⁵ Todd, “Personal Interview, February 13th,” 2013.

³⁰⁶ Stephen, “Personal Interview, November 6th”; Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th”; Tiana, “Personal Interview, January 6th.”

³⁰⁷ Further discussion of the “pig bike” below contradicts this possibility, although other circumstances are offered as possible reasons why the pig bike has not appeared in ASP histories.

³⁰⁸ Vincent J. Del Casino and Christine L. Jocoy, “Neoliberal Subjectivities, the ‘new’ Homelessness, and Struggles over Spaces Of/in the City,” *Antipode*, 2008, 195, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2008.00583.x/full>.

point in this imagination. Through such ephemeral sculpture playing the role of the archival thing, the ASP community enacts their own “world in reverse.” In this world, their countercultural memories perform one night per year as central within the collective memory – not only of their community but of a growing segment of the population of Tucson.

Playing at archival practice

Through projecting the archival place across public spaces and locating memory in the archival thing, the ASP community plays at archival practice: By selecting and creating records, the ASP community retains dynamic agency over its identity and history. This is most clear in their resistance of outside attempts at defining the event's history, in favor of dynamic definitions from within. When ASP participants play the role of archivists, there is little focus on society at large; instead, their community plays the role of the society they serve. Viewed as a case of a community expression, this retention of dynamic authorship over accounts of the past can empower communities to construct prized histories, but it can also distort the past, by erasing histories that do not suit current community objectives.

Place-based commemoration represents a contest of the desires to remember and to forget. Archival theorist Kenneth Foote has written of these negotiations as they play out in “the interrelationship between cultural landscape and collective memory”:³⁰⁹

³⁰⁹ K Foote, “To Remember and Forget: Archives, Memory, and Culture,” *The American Archivist*, 1990, 385, <http://americanarchivist.org/doi/abs/10.17723/aarc.53.3.d87u013444j3g6r2>.

The value of turning to episodes of violence and tragedy lies in the fact that the memory of such events is so prone to be held in tension. A society's need to remember is balanced against its desire to forget, to leave the memory behind and put the event out of mind.

In archival practice the tension between remembering and forgetting plays out as many decisions regarding which aspects of an event to commemorate and which to leave out. In constructing histories of events through rituals of *processing*, ASP participants replay the past like an internal reels of film, and wield selective agency over which scenes to replay. In my 2014 interview with Rhonda, she acknowledged such agency as she described the evolution of her ephemeral sculpture commemorating the January 8th shootings.

At first, it was going to be kind of like a graceful, sinewy puppet that had some whirling movement to it when you're walking down the street. Then, I had this soapbox problem. It's not enough to just roll a float down the street, and recreate a scene using authentic materials, and have a pretty puppet. Because I think if we're going to remember, we have to remember the right way. And that is the terror and the horror that was induced into our community. That's when I started thinking about the shadow animations, the shadow puppetry and the lantern going on...there will be a shadow of a gun, a shadow of a head exploding. A message, a story being told using puppetry. At first when I came up with that idea, I was horrified at myself because that just is gross, violent. But that's what it was.³¹⁰

Rhonda's wording reveals a great deal about an approach to the past I found was shared by many in the ASP community. Her phrase "if we're going to remember" shows she is aware of not only the desire to forget that follows such tragedies, but of her ability to help society forget through creation of incomplete records - what Foote has described as "effacement."³¹¹ Rhonda is acknowledging that she could

³¹⁰ Rhonda, "Personal Interview, October 13th."

³¹¹ Foote, "To Remember and Forget: Archives, Memory, and Culture," 384.

have created a beautiful puppet that effaced the violence of the shootings.

However, her plan for commemorating the shootings evolved through *processing* to include that violence as well as perceived emotional responses to the tragedy.

Rhonda was empowered as an archivist when she chose to write violent imagery onto the puppet, the ephemera-as-record she was creating. To “remember the right way” in the community archive is to fold perceived feelings around evidence of the past, so that events are remembered in context.

The community imperative to “remember the right way” aligns with practices that scholars of history and archives have discussed as trends in modern commemoration. Some of this scholarship, discussed at length in the second chapter of this work, focuses community archives and expressions, lauding them for empowering previously disenfranchised communities.³¹² Other scholarship is more critical of community- and user-centered collections - particularly of the expectation embedded within them that current perceptions should be folded around evidence of the past. In this study I have found that both the supportive and critical views of community archives and expressions are important to keep in mind if archival scholars are to work effectively with community archives in co-constructing community histories. Using this complex approach, in the next section I review critical scholarship around modern populist archiving, apply it to

³¹² Bastian, “The Records of Memory, the Archives of Identity: Celebrations, Texts and Archival Sensibilities”; Stevens, Flinn, and Shepherd, “New Frameworks for Community Engagement in the Archive Sector: From Handing over to Handing on,” 2010.

my findings around the ASP-as-community archive, and offer implications for archives that would work with communities.

PROCESSING HISTORY AND MOVING TOWARD
“TESTIMONIAL CULTURE” IN ARCHIVAL WORK

The tendency I have found in the ASP community to construct histories based on individual perspectives and responses to these runs parallel with trends in the formal world of archives using online exhibits. As online platforms create informal digital archives “almost [as] a byproduct,”³¹³ museum curators and digital archivists increasingly hand off commemorative content creation to the public using digital technologies attached to their institutions’ websites or social media pages.³¹⁴ Community expressions enacting archival scenario play are not only related to these populist online archives; in recent years, as images and videos of ASP commemorations appear online in social media sites, user-generated content overlaps with physical sites of ASP activity and blurs the boundaries between online and offline spaces.

For example, the organizers running the All Souls Procession Weekend Facebook page shared a publicly-posted image with the text, “Recipes from a life long friend,” depicting a bowl of recipes brought by a participant to an ASP event called the Personal Altars Vigil. (Figure 14) Linked in a comment on that post by the same user is another image depicting one of the handwritten recipes from the

³¹³ Timothy Recuber, “The Prosumption of Commemoration” 56, no. 531 (2012): 538.

³¹⁴ Recuber, “The Prosumption of Commemoration.”

bowl on a yellowing index card. Viewers responded to the latter photo with comments of gratitude and remembrance of sharing recipes in relationships in the past. In this example, offline and online sites of commemoration merge, and all who participate in the conversation curate its exhibit.



Figure 14: Recipes shared offline and online. (Photograph by Rick Meineke, Lights View Photo.)³¹⁵

Online and offline, archivists who would work with communities in co-constructing their histories may need to negotiate the ephemeral community archive as both a reservoir of memory and a place of personal processing. Scholars of archives as well as historians have questioned whether populist trends in institutional archives suit the society-level mission of memory institutions. The rapid development of informational and social media technologies has helped

³¹⁵ Rick Meineke, Lights View Photo. Retrieved November 7th, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/AllSoulsProcessionWeekend>

archives connect to some communities,³¹⁶ but it may have also changed the purpose of archival collections from the preservation of society histories to the provision of public platforms around “processing” or personal healing, as part of what Edkins has called a “testimonial culture.”³¹⁷ In a study of online disaster commemoration in digital archives around September 11th and Hurricane Katrina, Recuber has found that populist archives privilege inclusion as the expense of cohesion:

rather than crafting a coherent story about disaster, as mainstream media outlets tend to do, the sum total of online disaster commemoration is much more descriptive and fragmentary; its model is the database rather than the narrative.³¹⁸

Trends in institutional commemoration offline suggest that the populist “database model” followed by online archives is tied to a general trend in which “ordinary people”³¹⁹ long excluded from archives expect to write history, online and offline.

Furthermore, the trend in expectations for popular authorship of history and “testimonial culture” is now mirrored by a trend among memory institutions to host popular histories – at times without contextualizing them. Visitor-centered histories are dominate some memory institutions’ physical commemorations, as

³¹⁶ Stevens, Flinn, and Shepherd, “New Frameworks for Community Engagement in the Archive Sector: From Handing over to Handing on,” January 12, 2010.

³¹⁷ Jenny Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 18.

³¹⁸ Recuber, “The Prosumption of Commemoration,” 538.

³¹⁹ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*.

Fried found when she studied development of the Smithsonian's in-museum exhibit around September 11th:

In describing events, staff involved in the September 11 project personalized collective memory. The exhibit emphasized individuals' stories, casting each person—including exhibit visitors—as a witness to the attacks and immediate aftermath. In focusing on what each person witnessed in a discrete period of time, exhibit designers eschewed historical and geopolitical contexts.³²⁰

These trends can be seen as evidence that the archival paradigm Cook identified as *cultural memory* remains a dominant force in archives.³²¹ As seen in the second chapter of this work that under the paradigm of *cultural memory*, the inclusion of large quantities of evidence allows archives to present their collections as universal and elide transparency in selection decisions. Just as Tiana noted above that performing on the street is always political, so have scholars shown that public online spaces are always political;³²² yet by enabling user-uploaded content, curators who manage these populist archival spaces can present façades of neutrality.

³²⁰ Amy Fried, “The Personalization of Collective Memory: The Smithsonian’s September 11 Exhibit,” *Political Communication*, February 24, 2007, 388, <http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy1.library.arizona.edu/doi/full/10.1080/10584600600976971>.

³²¹ Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms.”

³²² VJ Del Casino Jr and CF Brooks, “Talking about Bodies Online: Viagra, YouTube, and the Politics of Public(ized) Sexualities,” *Gender, Place & Culture*, 2015, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0966369X.2013.879106>.

The All Souls Procession is a participatory archive, similar in their user-centered design to American digital archives collecting witness narratives around September 11th terrorist attacks and around Hurricanes Katrina and Rita.³²³ Recuber has noted that such participatory archives follow the database model, inviting any member of the public to be involved in the commemoration of an historic moment.³²⁴ Both these digital archives and the All Souls Procession present invitations to the public to contribute their memories and to be seen doing so, in a digital archive's website and physical exhibits, or in a parade that is watched, photographed, and filmed by thousands of viewers.

Participatory digital archives; for example, for ceding the role of expert interpreter to the fragmented public;³²⁵ for inviting what Edkins has called "testimonial culture"³²⁶ in place of sociopolitical analysis of the past; and for enabling formal archives to appear to represent all histories around an event without selective decisions. What should be transparent formal archival decisions about selection are thus deferred and obscured in the participatory archive model, leading to a digital wash of individual memories that few ever see.

Study of the ASP through the lens of critiques of online archives reveals how empowering it can be to be included in the archive for individuals and

³²³ Recuber, "The Prosumption of Commemoration."

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Fried, "The Personalization of Collective Memory: The Smithsonian's September 11 Exhibit"; Recuber, "The Prosumption of Commemoration."

³²⁶ Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*.

communities. The perceived empowerment of inclusion in the archive can obscure exclusion from the archives at more nuanced levels: Whether in the ASP or in historic exhibits like the Smithsonian's around September 11th, visitors' accounts can become part of the archive – albeit without being described, subjected to any serious historic contextualization, or even necessarily seen by a professional curator. There is a feeling of empowerment as spectators become participants – a transformation at the root of the ASP mission³²⁷ – whether what they join is a parade, a museum exhibit, or an archive. Furthermore, acting as a *community* using ephemera to engage collective memory plays out in the All Souls Procession as a strategy by which individuals achieve more power in defining the past. Archivists endeavoring to work with communities will have to negotiate these expectations of both individual and community-level empowerment with their mission to preserve histories – for in the populist model of archives, some histories are still forgotten.

Forgotten histories

Collective memory of events changes as events fall further into the past. As Pennebaker and Banasik have noted, “The ways people talk and think about recent and distant events is determined by current needs and desires,”³²⁸

³²⁷ Todd, “Personal Interview, December 16th.”

³²⁸ J.W Pennebaker, J. W., & B.L Banasik. On the creation and maintenance of collective memories: History as social psychology. 1997. In James W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez, and Bernard Rim., *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives* (Psychology Press, 2013), 3, <https://books.google.com/books?id=-oz5gzucZSUC&pgis=1>.

Wieviorka has written about the difficulty of representing “a vanished world,” in which the cultural framework that supporting the understanding of events is gone.³²⁹ The ASP has served in this work as a case of community archiving in which some histories constructed and transmitted in it focus on the development of the event itself. Because this history is recent – beginning in 1990 its – the cultural framework supporting it is still somewhat intact. Yet there are events and time periods, remembered by some participants, which do not appear in recent histories of the event embraced by the wider ASP community. Examination of a few of the ASP’s disappearing events and eras reveals competing and disappearing histories that archivists must navigate carefully when working with communities. In the next section, I highlight two of these and their implications for archives.

The disappearing second phase of ASP history

Based on my study of the ASP I surmise that the second phase of its history is disappearing from collective memory. In addition some of the data presented in previous chapters, many accounts of the ASP that I have seen for the last several years show this jump over the second phase of its history, describing the beginnings of the event and then focusing on more current descriptions. One of these is the film *Many Bones, One Heart*, and this discussion elaborates on

³²⁹ Annette Wieviorka. From survivor to witness: Voices from the Shoah. 1999. In Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), <https://books.google.com/books?id=ZK2A5x7E8IkC&pgis=1>.

moments of the film described in chapter five.³³⁰ The jump from the parade's origin to the ASP in the present day is also made in many recent stories in Tucson's local media and in the historic account on the current ASP website.³³¹ One explanation for the disappearance of the second phase of ASP history before the first phase is that origins hold more importance in cultural and sociopolitical identity than does historic development.³³²

A second explanation I offer for the forgetting of the second phase of ASP history is that the reliance on ephemera to transmit histories predicts ephemeral disappearances of those histories – both because ephemera may not last long and because those who commemorate with ephemera tend to do so in the spirit of immediacy. The mask- and puppet-making workshops were the center of the event in the second phase of the ASP, run by organizers in their twenties in leaky warehouses that discouraged preservation of any sort. These years are the phase the interviewee I call Stephen describes as the “creative peak” of his puppetry collective's work in the ASP.³³³ Yet as we walked around downtown spaces during our interview on chilly a November night in 2015, it became clear that the

³³⁰ Epperson, *Many Bones, One Heart*.

³³¹ Laura Markowitz, “Who Funds Tucson's All Souls Procession? - Arizona Public Media,” *Arizona Public Media*, accessed April 9, 2016, <https://radio.azpm.org/p/azspot/2014/10/23/47723-who-funds-tucsons-all-souls-procession/>; “What Is This? - All Souls Procession,” accessed April 9, 2016, <http://allsoulsprocession.org/about/>.

³³² Joanne H. 1966- (Joanne Harriet) Wright, *Origin Stories in Political Thought* (University of Toronto Press, 2004); Fried, “The Personalization of Collective Memory: The Smithsonian's September 11 Exhibit.”

³³³ Stephen, “Personal Interview, November 6th.”

raucous creativity I also remember well from this period was inseparable from a subcultural taste for cleansing and renewal by core ASP organizers at the time.³³⁴

Stephen reminded me that much of the evidence of that period perished not because of its inherent composition but because the workshop organizers periodically burned their creations. I asked:

DD: Why did you burn puppets?

Stephen: Because they're big and hard to store and that's part of the reason. We kind of had a psychic reason to get rid of the old stuff to make room for the new stuff....And I think we all shared this idea that papier maché puppets have a real impermanence about them. So we wouldn't let them live longer than a couple of years.

The perceived impermanence of ASP puppets predicted their destruction, some of it based on a shared philosophic text. Stephen and Todd – both core organizers in this second phase – also spoke of their dedication to Hakim Bey's philosophy of *Immediatism* for much of the time they led ASP workshops.³³⁵ According to *Immediatism*, experience should be as unmediated as possible, leading Stephen, Todd, and other organizers to encourage participants to “enjoy the moment” and “be present” rather than recording their experiences.³³⁶

A third reason the second phase of ASP history is fading may be technological and based in cultural changes around recording and preservation

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ H Bey, *Immediatism*, 1994, https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=FIKN__HHPTMC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=immediatism&ots=L923186-BT&sig=jy1zen8QL1UfyOKdkR4IO-N2570.

³³⁶ Stephen, “Personal Interview, November 6th.”

through photographs. In my search for documentation of the first phase of ASP history (from its beginnings in 1990 through approximately 1995), I have seen a fair number of print photographs or scanned versions of them online, and I believe these reflect the cultural attitude in those years that photographs were prized evidence to be printed, retained, and occasionally shared for posterity. Later, in the ASP's third phase from around 2005 through its most recent year at the time of this writing (2015), recorded and shared documentation of experience has become the paramount method for manifesting one's identity online.³³⁷ The picturesque nature of ASP events has made it a magnetic backdrop for such identity work; Maya and Tiana both complain in their interviews about attendees posing for "selfies", which Tiana disparagingly calls "the duck lips."³³⁸ Thus both the first and third phases of ASP history are somewhat well-documented. However, the second phase of ASP history may have coincided with a cultural gap between printed and digital photographic documentation.³³⁹ Digital photography had proliferated enough to eclipse prints during this period, but these

³³⁷ Amparo Lasén and Edgar Gómez-Cruz, "Digital Photography and Picture Sharing: Redefining the Public/Private Divide," *Knowledge, Technology & Policy* 22, no. 3 (August 15, 2009): 205–15, doi:10.1007/s12130-009-9086-8.

³³⁸ Maya, "Personal Interview, December 18th"; Tiana, "Personal Interview, January 6th."

³³⁹ J. van Dijck, "Digital Photography: Communication, Identity, Memory," *Visual Communication* 7, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 57–76, doi:10.1177/1470357207084865.

digital photographs remained mostly in the private sphere, with few shared repositories to lodge them in the collective memory.³⁴⁰

The challenge this forgotten history presents for archivists

Considering the disappearance of the second phase of ASP history, archivists working with communities may best serve them by performing archival ethnography³⁴¹ and retaining context, however distracting the emotional layers of that context in a “testimonial culture.” To “remember the right way” is to elicit personal responses around what was important to community members, which may provide more important histories than that which has survived in terms of documented evidence. I have been unable to locate any photos of Todd’s “pig bike,” and I have never found it in any historic accounts of the ASP other than the two interviews presented above. Yet according to Tiana and Todd and to other informal accounts, that sculpture represents a pivotal moment in the ASP’s relationship to public space. As an archival thing, Todd’s “pig bike” transmits a community history that is powerful and contextual, but still ephemeral.

Forgetting the influence of *Día de los Muertos*

The second and final disappearing history I will discuss relates to the influence of *Día de los Muertos* or Day of the Dead on the ASP’s development. According to the account of Lydia, who is generally credited with founding the

³⁴⁰ Lasén and Gómez-Cruz, “Digital Photography and Picture Sharing: Redefining the Public/Private Divide.”

³⁴¹ Gracy, “Documenting Communities of Practice: Making the Case for Archival Ethnography.”

ASP in 1990, her original ritual celebration of the ASP was inspired by Jungian art therapy techniques and by rituals from many cultures, including but not limited to *Día de los Muertos*. Yet the ASP has another origin story, voiced by Cody in interviews with me in 2013 and 2014.

Back in the '80s and '90s I came back after living through the *Día de los Muertos* in Guanajuato and I grabbed Lydia. I said “Lydia, I just saw the most amazing thing in Mexico – we have to do this here.” And Lydia said “What’s that?” in Lydia’s typical fashion, and I was like “It’s so cool!” And then she found a, I think it was like a National Geographic article over at uh Tanya Sperling’s house, and she came over like a couple weeks later. She’s like “Cody, I’ve had the most brilliant idea! We’re going to do an All Souls...” you know, and I was like “Fuck yeah, let’s do it!”³⁴²

(Lydia, who had learned of Cody’s claims from a source other than this research, insisted in my interview with her that Cody was not involved in the early years of the ASP.³⁴³) Cody repeated the same account of his early involvement in another interview with me in 2014, when he also acknowledged its cultural implications.

Día de los Muertos is at the heart of the procession. It really is. That’s what inspired it. That’s what brought it here. It was that amazement from me, seeing this experience, and experiencing this and saying, “We need this here.” I still think we need it here... I still think we need it here. [Pause] I think that when our Mexican friends are going—they take our traditions, but they don’t want us. I don’t think we stole their traditions, but I do think that they have a right to be angry because they’re not being treated well....

I don’t really know how to address the greater issue of this, because I have mixed feelings about it. I hate to be the gringo who went down and stole their tradition. [Chuckles] I’m the guy. That’s me.”³⁴⁴

³⁴² Cody, “Personal Interview, October 13th.”

³⁴³ Lydia, “Personal Interview, August 28th.”

³⁴⁴ Cody, “Personal Interview, November 2nd.” Please note that with the phrase “they take our traditions, but they don’t want us,” he is referencing this blog post, which we discussed earlier in our interview: Aya de Leon, “Dear White

I interpret Cody's "mixed feelings" on two levels. At the surface, Cody is happy the ASP is in Tucson, yet he does not want to alienate "our Mexican friends" who are troubled by its associations with *Día de los Muertos*. On a deeper level, his words reflect both celebratory and critical approaches to "scenarios of conquest," which Taylor has shown are deeply embedded in US culture. Cody is both the heroic *conquistador* and the thief of tradition in his account of the ASP origin.

Cody's account of the involvement of both *Día de los Muertos* and himself in the origins of the ASP is not found in most accounts of the history of the ASP. Although some of his story is included in the film *Many Bones, One Heart*, as well as on a page of the website of MMOS,³⁴⁵ it is far less popular than origin stories crediting Lydia with founding the ASP alone. Lydia's leading role in the ASP is remembered by many participants in this research and documented in many media accounts, and the only evidence I found of Cody's early involvement other than his own claims is a 1991 ASP grant proposal listing him as a workshop instructor.³⁴⁶ I retrieved this grant proposal from the MMOS website, where the page author wrote that the proposal was provided to MMOS by Cody. The page also stated that Cody co-authored the proposal with Lydia –

People/Queridos Gringos: You Want Our Culture But You Don't Want Us – Stop Colonizing The Day Of The Dead," *Aya de Leon on WordPress.com*, accessed March 7, 2016, <https://ayadeleon.wordpress.com/2014/10/31/dear-white-peoplequeridos-gringos-you-want-our-culture-but-you-dont-want-us-stop-colonizing-the-day-of-the-dead/>.

³⁴⁵ Epperson, *Many Bones, One Heart*.

³⁴⁶ Many Mouths One Stomach, "A Bit of History," 1991, <http://manymouths.org/2011/09/a-bit-of-history/>, retrieved April 10th, 2016.

which if true would support his claim of deep involvement in the early years of the ASP. However, Cody's authorship of the proposal is disputed by Lydia, who is listed as an author at the bottom of the grant narrative.³⁴⁷

Regardless of whether Cody's account corresponds with actual events, it evokes 'truths' about the ASP's historic development that are not explained by more widely known and documented event histories. One of these many 'truths' is that many participants and some event organizers have always understood the ASP as a celebration of *Día de los Muertos*. Cody's phrase "We need this here" also recalls explicit an aspect of the work of Carl Jung that came through in the film *Wisdom of the Dream: The mining of cultural rituals across the globe for the primary purpose of healing European culture*.³⁴⁸ Evoking the practice of projecting one time-space onto another that I discussed above, when Cody says "We need this here," "here" clearly does not signify the Mexican city in which he was standing in his account, but rather the Tucson-based community in which he has worked as a "cultural engineer."

In this way the omission of Cody's account from most ASP histories seems connected with a larger effacement of the influence of *Día de los Muertos* on the ASP. The narrative in the 1991 grant proposal does present a strong case

³⁴⁷ Lydia(pseudonym) Coleman and Tucson Partnership Inc., "Festival and Event Grant Proposal" (Many Mouths One Stomach, 1991), retrieved April 10th, 2016 from <http://manymouths.org/2011/09/a-bit-of-history/>. Please note I have listed only Lydia as an author on this proposal because Cody's name is spelled incorrectly on the proposal, suggesting he did not participate in its authorship. The grant proposal with identities obscured is included as Appendix A: THE 1991 GRANT PROPOSAL of this work.

³⁴⁸ Segaller, Berger, and Television, "Jung: The Wisdom of the Dream."

that the event was named the All Souls Procession rather than a Day of the Dead event because it was intended to be multicultural, engaging the local art community in distinct ways, and drawing on a variety of traditions. Yet *Día de los Muertos* remained a popular framework for understanding the event; I remember that the ASP was sometimes referred to as a Day of the Dead parade by organizers and participants when I first participated in 2000, and documentation of this naming history includes advertisement in 1999 as both Day of the Dead and *Día de los Muertos*, found in a notebook of old ASP flyers and media (Figure 15) currently in the custody of Tiana. Whether or not the roots of this public understanding and naming history are with Cody, they are deeply embedded in this parade.³⁴⁹ Again, what can be seen here is a particular casting of the nature of the ASP, one linked with *Día de los Muertos* – and one that would be disavowed in ASP-related literature by organizers, for numerous and complex reasons.

³⁴⁹ For a recent account that explicitly presents the *Día de los Muertos* iconography in the ASP, see Duara, “100,000 in Tucson Embrace Mexican Approach to Death with All Souls Procession - LA Times.”

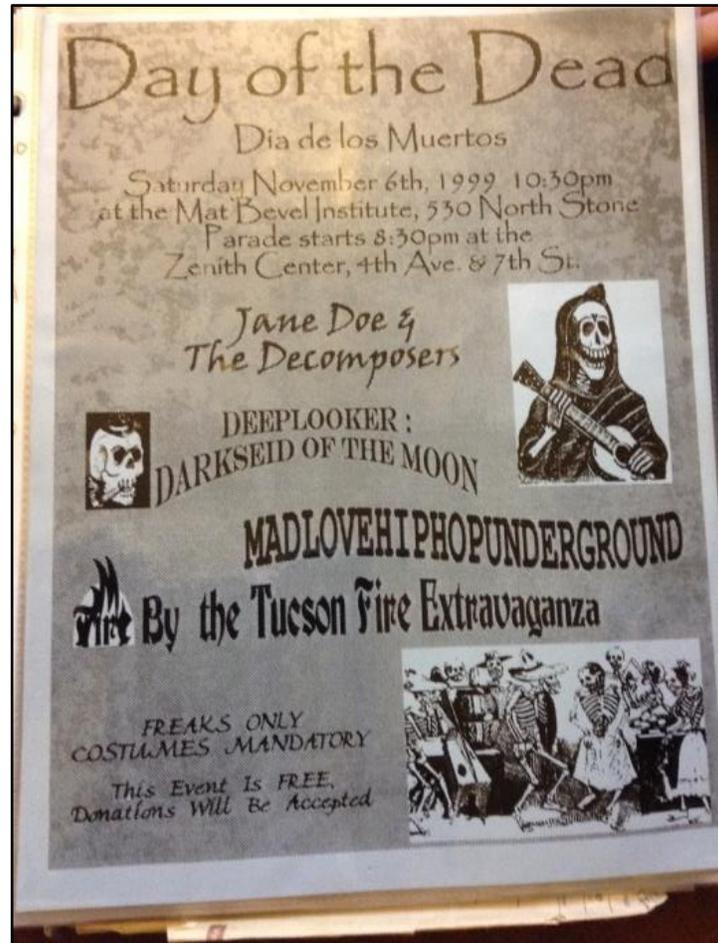


Figure 15: 1999 Flier advertising the ASP as Day of the Dead and Día de los Muertos

Debates around the ASP's relationship with *Día de los Muertos* are almost as old as the ASP itself. The origins of the ASP as organized primarily by Anglos, juxtaposed with the sea of *calaveras* and other Mexican-inspired iconic images parade goers have increasingly chosen to wear and carry, have challenged public support of the event. Maya, a Latina musician and activist, spoke in a 2015 interview with me of a series of organizational outreach meetings she attended around 1995, that were dedicated to growing the event and deciding what it should be called.

The thing that I remember the most about [that series of meetings]...was the question of what to call it. And how to really present it as an eclectic sort of celebration in the community, that really was inviting people from all ways of thinking and believing and cultures and cities and even religions to participate in. The debate that I still hear going on was happening then and it was interesting. And that was the debate over whether to call it *Día de Muertos* or Day of the Dead.....

And I was pleasantly, I don't know if I should say surprised, but I was happy to see that there were a few of the core people that were really strong and staunch in their understanding that, because the Latino community was really not represented.

I mean, I'm Latino, but Colombian-American and I appear to be white. And, you know, I think maybe there were a couple of other people with heritage Latino Mestizo heritage there, rich kind of heritage. But just a couple of us, you know. So, I was very appreciative of the fact that there were people there who were not Latino, who were really clear that that was cultural appropriation. And it was difficult conversations, you know. But it's a conversation that continues today.³⁵⁰

Maya said that the group decided to omit reference to *Día de los Muertos* at those meetings.³⁵¹ However, these efforts did not end the ASP's association with *Día de los Muertos* in the eyes of the public, or the media. Recent online searches still turn up spectators and participants referring to the ASP as a Day of the Dead celebration. In 2014 one reviewer on Yelp – who included an image of herself and a friend in *calavera* makeup – gave the ASP five stars and called it “the largest day of the dead parade in the US.”³⁵²

These associations of the ASP *Día de los Muertos* have made it the target of direct academic criticism as “Hispanicization” and cultural appropriation, and

³⁵⁰ Maya, “Personal Interview, December 18th.”

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² 2014 review. “All Souls Procession ,” accessed April 9, 2016, <http://www.yelp.com/biz/all-souls-procession-tucson>.

online there have been popular critiques of Anglo participation in “Day of the Dead” celebrations. One 2014 academic article directly targets ASP organizers’ occlusion of the event’s association with *Día de los Muertos*, accusing the ASP community of “columbusing” – purporting to “discover” a phenomenon by ignoring its long history of human engagement.³⁵³ In the same year, a widely circulated post by an Hispanic blogger likened Anglo participation in Day of the Dead celebrations to colonizing of the hispanic tradition.³⁵⁴ These critiques track wider cultural trends that pertain to the ASP, an important function in an era in which cultural “products” can be copyrighted and appropriated in public discourse.³⁵⁵ Because organizers are quick to respond to media representations of the ASP, critiques of the event shape the way organizers present it in the future.

Such charges of cultural appropriation underlie one explanation for the disappearance of *Día de los Muertos* associations from ASP histories: ASP organizers respond to critiques of cultural appropriation by trying to distance their

³⁵³ Adela C Licona, A.C. “Experiencing Tucson & Día de los Muertos through Michael Keith’s ‘Racialization and the Public Spaces of the Multicultural City’” Text in Visual Context video produced as part of a graduate seminar on Racialized Rhetorics, 2007, Tucson, AZ.; L Bentley and J Sanchez-Avila, “Under the Mask: Creative Dis/Possessions of Borderlands Remembrance Practices,” *Harlot: A Revealing Look at the Arts ...*, 2015, <http://harlotofthearts.com/index.php/harlot/article/view/306>.

³⁵⁴ de Leon, “Dear White People/Queridos Gringos: You Want Our Culture But You Don’t Want Us – Stop Colonizing The Day Of The Dead.”

³⁵⁵ On May 11th, 2013, the Disney corporation filed a claim to trademark “Day of the Dead” to secure the rights to merchandise related to their film about the holiday. In response to public outcry, Disney withdrew the application later that year. Source: “Day of the Dead Trademark Request Draws Backlash for Disney - CNN.com,” *Cnn.com*, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/05/10/us/disney-trademark-day-dead/>.

event from the Mexican/Chicano holiday. In social media conversations, ASP organizers respond to posts that connect the ASP with *Día de los Muertos* by emphasizing a diversity of cultural influences in the ASP and challenging the perspectives of ASP detractors. For example, a 2012 blog post described the ASP as “sort of a weird conglomeration of traditions vaguely borrowed from the Day of the Dead rolled into a ball and mashed together with a bunch of other stuff,” and asked whether it was cultural appropriation, to which an ASP organizer replied as follows:

Our proximity to MX--creates a natural fusion of cultures--for sure--but I can say that we get no City Support--because it is viewed as “too brown” and on the other side we have over educated white folks who question it's whiteness-and potentially see it as inauthentic-so go figure....

Some more quick beta: We do not hold the event on Nov 1 or 2---to avoid any pitfalls with our Latino friends--this point; however, does make our biggest critics--anglo folks--very upset.

Many other cultures celebrate and honor their dead at this juncture of the year as well.

Any outlet to remember our ancestors is good--esp for westerners who lack that ability and/or outlet for that expression. thanks for the conversation!³⁵⁶

This type of organizational response shows that organizers are aware of critical discourse around the event, and work to manage criticism of the ASP online. ASP attendees and organizers take advantage of the populist nature of the online archive, to ensure records of the ASP reflect the perspective of current community leaders.

³⁵⁶ Blog, “(Living on the outside of Your Skin.),” 2012, <http://thehoneybean.tumblr.com/post/33262864632/alright-i-dont-know-if-anyone-will-come-across>.

The challenge forgotten histories present for archivists

Overall, the controversy around ethnicity and the ASP reveal that communities present distinct challenges for archivists and scholars due to their fluid structures. Addressing the effacement of association with *Día de los Muertos* in the ASP would require tentative work by archivists engaging with the ASP community. First, the archivist might acknowledge that organizers have been working to diversify the body of ASP participants and organizers, through *permeable community boundaries* and *inviting community* found in my recent study of the ASP as analyzed in the previous chapter. The archivist might then measure in earnest whether the work of those organizers has been successful, keeping in mind that there has not yet been any serious demographic survey of ASP participants' ethnicities. Viewing the ASP's enormous crowd of costumed participants today, it is difficult to judge who is participating.

I conclude by offering an anecdotal perspective on what I perceive as notable changes in demographics of the ASP community, and a perspective on how archivists can learn from this case of a dynamic, ephemera-centered event. I offer this perspective in order that readers can consider these findings in relation to other forgotten histories. In the 2013 ASP, I took on and modeled *Día de los Muertos* iconography when I wore a giant *calavera* (skull) puppet constructed by Todd. I had worn large puppets in the ASP before, but never until I performed the *calavera* had I been stopped by so many parade goers to pose with them in photographs – and never had such a large portion of those I interacted with at the ASP been Mexican-American families. As these groups of parade goers posed

beside me, they did not seem concerned that an Anglo woman was performing the puppet; they were much more interested in the role I was playing and how that came through in the photograph. While I recognize the critiques tied to issues of cultural appropriation and see the merit of those concerns, my own performance in this instance illuminated the personal meanings and potential importance of the mask, the ritual, and the display for parade goers.

The ASP grows by thousands of participants each year, transmitting countless histories through ephemeral commemoration. In this complex scenario, community proclamations of inclusivity characterize the path organizers have chosen toward making this event more inclusive. Archivists who would work with communities will likely witness many tensions around culture that are similar to those already in play between organizers, academics, performers, and community members. In any case, accounting for the past is an essential step toward community empowerment. Overall, the mission of archivists working with communities should be in ensuring that a community's histories are remembered *and* that they retain societal context, all the while allowing that community to define its own culture and to change that definition.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND MOVING FORWARD

In this chapter I have discussed the direct historic implications of this case community-based ephemeral commemoration considered as an archive. As discussed in preceding chapters of this work, archival theorists are working against the history of exclusion in archives by envisioning *community* as a new

archival paradigm³⁵⁷ and acknowledging community expressions as records of the past.³⁵⁸ However, the effective archival work with communities that would advance this paradigm must proceed from a foundation of understanding of community memory practices, particularly for populations historically left out of archives and therefore relegated to *negative archival space*. This work has been based on my assertion that communities whose histories are excluded from formal archives – communities in negative archival space like the ASP community of organizers and participants – still perform archival scenarios that transmit their histories. Through analysis of these histories and communities, I have worked to advance *community* as a new archival paradigm and to anchor communities of records as veritable archives. In the next and final chapter I raise areas of inquiry for the future, and I also point to ways to build on this early scholarship and move it forward.

³⁵⁷ Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms.”

³⁵⁸ Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

In this work I have analyzed an annual community event, the All Souls Procession, as ephemeral history construction, or an ephemeral archive. Using *scenario* as a theoretical lens and archives as a backdrop, I have found two overarching themes in the discourse around ephemeral commemoration in this event: *processing the past* and *softening community boundaries*. Through these techniques around ephemeral commemoration, the ASP community builds dynamic membership, resists authority, and constructs new histories through ephemera and their resulting occupation of space. Thus a community can enact their own archival scenario with ephemeral objects and performances, and persistently claim agency over community identity and culture as they do so.

ANSWERING QUESTIONS RAISED BY THIS WORK

In this section, based on the research I have conducted and presented here, are tentative answers to the three research questions guiding this study. My first question raised previously focused on how ephemera are used in ASP events as commemorative community expressions, and this work finds that they are used to anchor collective memory while constituting community boundaries. Those who hold, construct, and perform ephemeral objects and documents in the event – slips of paper, puppets, photographs printed at home, to name a few – signify their intention to participate in the transmission of collective memory through this event as an “archive.” Furthermore, the number of participants in this “archive” has grown tremendously in the fifteen years since I first encountered in it, so that

over time the “community” at its center has become more of an imagined community than a proximate one.³⁵⁹ The resulting need to define and connect “members” of that “community” emerged as an unexpected rationale for community use of ephemera as evidence. Like the archival record according to McKemmish, ephemeral matter is “always in the process of becoming,”³⁶⁰ continuously being destroyed and rebuilt to involve newer community members in the anchoring of collective memory. With community membership defined as volunteerism in ASP events, it is essential that the anchor for community be iconic of this event yet persistently updated to reflect those who work and contribute at the moment. Iconic ephemera thus anchor the community, attracting newcomers to a unified theme and then engaging them in constructing it, as its ephemeral building blocks must be regularly recreated.

The All Souls community has also used ephemera to occupy property and authority. Abandoned warehouses and public streets and alleys have offered ostensible space for the ASP community to gather and build, but these spaces (or at least the community’s access to them) have always been precariously available, and have often disappeared with little warning. Filling such fraught spaces with large ephemeral objects and memorable performances has allowed the ASP community to claim territory across space (through object mass) across time (through collective memory of the event’s standout spectacles.)

³⁵⁹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

³⁶⁰ McKemmish, “Are Records Ever Actual?”

The second research question posed for this project focused on how the history of the ASP has been shaped around the commemorative use of ephemera in relationship with recorded documents. This study finds that this ASP history is most frequently presented in media and in organizational literature in a single master narrative centered around highly visible and memorable ephemera-based artistic traditions. That narrative begins with one woman's desire to honor her father through "processing the past," which involves constructing and parading with ephemera-based objects and costumes. The narrative ends with the event as a freeform culmination of diverse new mourning traditions, with tens of thousands of eventgoers honoring the past in whatever ways they choose and then parading, united by small pieces of inscribed paper, together toward a finale spectacle and ritual burning of ephemera organized by a small number of magnetic performers.

Yet there is evidence of past events relating to the ASP that reveal a far more complex story of cultural flows, including Jungian mining of indigenous rituals to heal modern European culture, and scenarios involving the "discovery" of the Chicano *Día de los Muertos* holiday. In terms of existing records about ASP history, these minor narratives are largely absent from ASP in textual media "archives;" yet highly present in the structure of the ephemeral event itself. Around the tradition of *Día de los Muertos* in particular, in visual iconography the influence of the Chicano tradition is pronounced.

The recorded documents and ephemeral event structure of the ASP thus function as competing "archives," and the place where these face off against one another most transparently is in the online arena, which is both ephemeral and

enduring. There, when writers of online content draw overt connections between *Día de los Muertos* and the ASP, ASP organizers refute or downplay the influence of the Chicano tradition on the ASP, suggesting intentions toward effacement, which would be facilitated by the disappearance of ephemeral evidence connecting the two traditions. Thus the use of ephemera as commemorative matter in this event gives current organizers an upper hand in controlling records about the past, yet in increasingly transparent ways as these struggles sometimes play out in public sites that ASP organizers do not control.

Finally, the third research question raised early in this work considers the implications of this case of commemoration through ephemeral community expression. In its freeform, inclusive nature, the ASP operates similarly to a participatory archive – that is, in the manner of database-focused digital archives such as those commemorating user experiences around 9/11 and Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. When an unlimited number of users can upload experiences around the past, the digital wash of memories that results offers them the opportunity to “process” as they participate in “testimonial culture,” yet gives them little real agency in defining the history of the past event for the culture as a whole. However, in this study I found organizers had grander aspirations, desiring to shape memory on a cultural level, and that they pursued these goals through the use of ephemera to create and recreate histories that performed for wider audiences. These findings revealed that as they adapt to the model of the participatory archive, users can deploy strategies – forging alliances and “communities” that result in effacements and master narratives, the latter of which

are then celebrated as community histories through new cycles of ephemeral commemoration.

A NEW THEORY OF ARCHIVES

To complete the circle of grounded theory and retheorize the archive as it emerges from this work, I must first trace what the archive could have been. In “‘Play Mas’: Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival,” Bastian analyzes Carnival as an archive by relating aspects of Carnival to glossary definitions of archives and records and to the archival constructs of structure, context, and content.³⁶¹ Bastian’s innovative exploration of event-as-archive inspired my initial interest in this study. However, in this work, because I endeavored to afford interpretive agency to my research participants I was reluctant to define what they did and said with meanings that might not resonate with or make sense to them. As a longtime participant-observer in ASP activities, I recognized their understanding of “the archive” would better correspond with constructs more abstract than any found in the SAA glossary. So I diverged from Bastian’s model relating an event to archival constructs and chose a different approach, one designed to channel perspectives in negative archival space. I framed “the archive” not as an archivist would but according to a more simplified understanding of archives: That is, according to the scenario of *place/thing/practice*. Through analysis of participants’ ephemeral commemorations in the ASP as performances of the archival scenario – that is, as

³⁶¹ Bastian, “‘Play Mas’: Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival: Records and Community Identity in the US Virgin Islands.”

place, thing, and practice – their archive emerges as both an annual iteration of community membership and a claim over the space required for community proximity. The archive that emerges from this study is collective action to construct, efface, and build community around history.

This study accordingly calls into question the interplay between individualism and collective action in digital participatory archiving trends criticized for being fragmentary.³⁶² From findings in the current study, we can surmise that in at least some cases of participatory archiving, individuals jockey for position to define, efface, and create the past by acting collectively as communities. I found forming and performing within a community to be a crucial component of a strategy, to create remembered records of the past and give them more weight. The spectacle, the crowds, and annual repetition of a community event emerged as crucial components of this strategy, suggesting that ephemeral memories need to perform and engage again and again if they are going to define the past at a cultural level. In the digital participatory archive, much attention has been paid to the preservation standards designed to keep each artifact, but little to the social and communal activities taking place ephemerally around these histories. This study has suggested that the more collective or massive or spectacular the telling of a story, the better it competes to become a history.

The re-theorized definition of the archive as constituted in collective action also calls for reconsideration of ideals around the archival *thing*,

³⁶² Fried, “The Personalization of Collective Memory: The Smithsonian’s September 11 Exhibit”; Recuber, “The Prosumption of Commemoration.”

specifically *fixity*. A common thread in archival scholarship is to “attach memory to fixed objects in order to perpetuate it over time and distance.”³⁶³ On the other hand, the archive is always being constituted, and in postmodern models such as the records continuum, this constituting process continues even as users interact with the record.³⁶⁴ In this work ephemeral matter have been found at the center of negotiations among competing views of history, and while these negotiations may have led to effacement and master narratives, the same can be said of the traditional processes leading to professional archives.³⁶⁵ The crucial difference is that in ephemeral archives, negotiations between competing views of the past were transparent – as when an ASP organizer argued to downplay *Día de los Muertos* influence in the ASP in a public blogging forum. As the archival profession builds digitally-based or -enhanced archives for the future, it is worth probing further how fixed objects might better afford obscuring of such memory negotiations, whether ephemeral matter offers increased capacity for transparency, and what the ideal level of *fixity* is after all.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

There are multiple avenues for future research, and certainly there are a number of limitations relative to this project. First, though I was continually

³⁶³ Jacobsen, Punzalan, and Hedstrom, “Invoking ‘collective Memory’: Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science,” 224.

³⁶⁴ Frank Upward, “Structuring the Records Continuum - Part One: Postcustodial Principles and Properties,” *Archives and Manuscripts* 24, no. 2 (1996): 268–85.

³⁶⁵ Foote, “To Remember and Forget: Archives, Memory, and Culture.”

reflexive in my interpretive scholarly work, I conducted this study individuals whom I have identified as members in my community, relationships that may have resulted in bias on my part. In addition, the number of documents I fully analyzed is small, although following Rose's guidelines for discourse analysis I immersed myself in a much larger world of documentation.³⁶⁶ I also chose to interview current and former organizers of the ASP as my primary participants in this study; as a result, the purposeful sample likely does not reflect the racial diversity of the research site as a whole, and certainly does not reflect the perspectives of all ASP participants who commemorate histories year after year through this event. These are some of the limitations I will consider as I continue to analyze this case and other similar cases around ephemeral content.

While I believe my personal connection to this work has enhanced my understandings of the culture around this case, my work should be viewed alongside other studies of this or similar events from a variety of perspectives to infer how these findings may 'speak to' what is happening in other, similar cases. In terms of community archives, and community expressions, I hope to see many future studies that engage both supportively and critically with communities that commemorate so that we might reach a point involving multiple cases and many studies that align with this one.

Methodological extensions of the current project

³⁶⁶ Rose, *Visual Methodologies : An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*.

I am eager to move ahead with this project along several distinct avenues.

First, taking into account the limitations I have identified, I would study an additional case of a community expression, one less ‘close’ to me as a researcher. Interpretive work can be of great value when happening in one’s own familiar territory, but an additional case would function comparatively, offering an additional example to consider methodologically and practically.

Additionally, there would be value in investigating this case through an interpretive framework modeled more closely on Bastian’s analysis of Carnival as an archive, with attributes related to archival constructs including context, structure, and content.³⁶⁷ As the investigator of such a study, I would place the ASP in the context of Appadurai’s global cultural flows,³⁶⁸ as a lens through which to span from Jung’s work exploring rituals to “heal” Europe³⁶⁹ to the Mexican Government’s branding of *Día de los Muertos* as a prize for discovery by tourists in search of more holistic rituals around dying.³⁷⁰ In terms of structure, it could also be worthwhile to consider how the ASP has evolved to model

³⁶⁷ Bastian, “‘Play Mas’: Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival: Records and Community Identity in the US Virgin Islands.”

³⁶⁸ Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 7 (1990): 295–310, doi:10.1215/08992363-2-2-1.

³⁶⁹ Segaller, Berger, and Television, “Jung: The Wisdom of the Dream.”

³⁷⁰ Regina M. Marchi, “Latinidad : Transnational Cultures in the United States : Day of the Dead in the USA : The Migration and Transformation of a Cultural Phenomenon. New Brunswick, NJ, USA: Rutgers University Press, 2009. ProQuest Ebrary. Web. 10 February 2015. Copyright © 2,” no. February (2015).

the database in the participatory digital archive, with visual analysis of its coalescence in the end – while relating its performances to marches of content across a screen.

The field of critical cartography offers an additional route for parallel future study. In questioning the notion that archives can be inclusive or exclusive - which is at the foundation of any idea of memory as representative of an actual past – a future consideration of events as archives might instead explore the notion that archives are part of how we constitute the past, and that any events that offer “the past” as content compete for value in temporal and spatial economies.³⁷¹

Finally, future work on ephemera in archives is needed, particularly as material ephemeral overlaps with digital information. This is certainly not the only study on ephemera in the field, but given recent shifts toward increasingly critical scholarship in archives, future attention to ephemeral communication, and the impact of the database as a model of public engagement are needed. Finally, an additional arm of research might consider digital community archives, and I acknowledge that this study of the case of the ASP could be broadened considerably through research focused on online interactions around the ASP. Certainly additional studies in these areas would contribute to ongoing conversations around communities, ephemera, histories, memory, and notions of culture and place relative to archival scholarship and work.

³⁷¹ Vincent J. Del Casino and Stephen P. Hanna, “Representations and Identities in Tourism Map Spaces,” *Progress in Human Geography* 24, no. 1 (2000): 23–46, doi:10.1191/030913200673388638.

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Appendix A: THE 1991 GRANT PROPOSAL

PROCESSIONS OF THE SEASONS

Fall Processional Parade: (ALL) SOULS' PARADE

Most cultural traditions include a fall processional celebration dedicated to harvest, ancestral death, and a decay which forebodes rejuvenation. That celebration has numerous expressions world wide, such as *Samhain* in the Celtic tradition, the *Procession of Lanterns* in Japan, and is familiar as *Dia de Los Muertos* in Mexico and locally.

The natural pattern of life, the seasons, are the same for all people and are universally celebrated. Traditional fall processions acknowledge these transitions by honoring those who have gone before leaving more fertile circumstances for those coming after them; a celebration of bounty and history from which the future emerges.

Melting pot society has eroded cultural identities, resulting in a loss of personal identity. In modern society, many long for a greater sense of community. For thousands of generations the seasonal processions were a means of establishing a cultural context for personal identity, and this procession is also meant to serve that purpose. The seasonal processions present a event in which people may participate to get more in touch with their inner selves and some of the universal natural phenomenae of life.

We wish to fashion a framework in which old and new cultural traditions will find processional expression. A series of workshops will be offered including community planning of the event, mask and costume making, body painting, lantern making, making and learning to play music on processional instruments, etc. Other workshops will be added as the program develops. These workshops will be coordinated to culminate in a procession and creation of a community shrine to which people will bring their art, food, and other things to share with the community. The processional and sharing events are planned to occur on the traditional All Saints' and All Souls' Days. Participation in the workshops and actual creation of the event will itself bring people more in touch with their experience of community and passage.

We are creating a framework in which a larger multi-media transcultural event will occur. Tucson is endowed with people of many cultures, and this characteristic permits re-synthesis of various traditions common to them all. Last year, this Procession began with a few people who planned and worked hard for it to occur. In the coming year, we hope to include the larger community as generally as possible in the event.

We intend to create an annual festival in which individuals can get in touch with the past, present and future, the natural pattern of life, the seasons, and will at the same time develop a structure for this kind of community activity. Once the skeleton for the fall seasonal festival process is executed, it might also be used for other community processions.



2) If this project is an ancillary event associated with an existing annual event, give a brief description and history of the existing annual event: This is a new festival in which the art community will connect with the community as a whole. Parts of it are celebrated traditionally. The festival is seen as a means of drawing significant contribution from existing events as well as enabling contribution from individuals and cultures which do not have their own event. As the idea of a Fall Celebration is a tradition in all cultures, a community transcultural celebration will be unifying.

3) List any event co-sponsors and their responsibilities: Tucson Arts Coalition serves as the umbrella organization and will be responsible for fiscal management of the festival. The Extended University, as co-sponsor, will present additional workshops on mask making, bookmaking, storytelling, and myths of various cultures. An exchange of artists, as instructors, will take place between the Extended University and the core group.

4) Will there be an admission charge? If so, Specify: There will be a registration charge of \$8.50 for each 3 hour workshop participant, generating funds for next year's event and pay some of this year's costs.

5) Describe your organization's mission and how this event relates to that mission:

The Tucson Arts Coalition contributes to the vibrancy of the arts community by providing services that enable and expand artists; access to working, living, performance and exhibition space in Southern Arizona. The Tucson Arts Coalition actively educates the public and private sectors about the benefits of art, the quality of life, and the economic growth of the community.

Participation in this event fulfills this mission by developing closer, more functional and direct ties between the arts and general communities, by nurturing the creative processes, and by expanding opportunities for artists to work, perform and exhibit.

6) Describe your organization's structure and management capabilities: Tucson Arts Coalition is managed by a 10 member Board of Directors, two-thirds of whom are artists.

7) What artistic resources will you use? List specific artistic activity as well as specific artists who will be involved:

See attached resumes, slides and video tapes.

Other artistic resources will be provided by Shane House, Extended University and other art and community organizations.

8) Will the event involve downtown retail participation? If so, describe: Congress Street Alliance, Tucson Public Market, The Tucson Partnership, and the Downtown Saturday Night Committee have been contacted to coordinate retail participation consistent with the festival theme.

9) What size audience are you projecting? How will you attempt to reach new audiences not currently served by your organization?

Armory Park Shrine Exhibition	1,000
Fremont House Museum Exhibition	1,000
Workshop Participants	250
Processional Parade	500
Extended University Workshops	250
Downtown Saturday Night Participants	5,000

This will be the first time Tucson Arts Coalition has combined to this extent with the Fremont House Museum and Extended University. Efforts will be made both through the media and through community organizations to increase involvement by various ethnic and cultural groups, as this is the essence of the Festival.

10) How will this project enhance the image of the Tucson Arts District? The event will bring artists and the community together in a direct joint effort to create a new expression of community art. This effort will be networked and promoted through the Arts District, Extended University, and Fremont House Museum communities.

11) Please describe in detail your promotional strategy for this event: Promotion of the festival will take place through each organization's newsletters, flyers and press releases, by extended networking in the arts community, through KXCI radio announcements, and Tucson Community Cable video programs to be aired on The Arts Channel.

12) If applying for funds in category B, describe how you plan to sustain this project as an annual event in future years: Funds for next year's festival will be generated through registration fees for the workshops. A video production of this year's festival will be available for promotional purposes. Grants will be sought from the Tucson Community Foundation, Arizona Commission on the Arts, and New Forms Regional Initiative Grants Program. Private donations and in kind services and materials will be sought.

SECTION D: BUDGET INFORMATION**Project Revenue**

- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| 1) | Admission to project workshops:
\$8.50 each for 15 participants in 16
3 hour workshops. Proceeds will be
allocated to promotional, technical,
space rental and materials costs, with
remainder to seed next year's workshops. | \$2,125.00 |
| 2) | Other | |

Support:

- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| 3) | Corporate Contributions) | |
| 4) | Grants) see attached "in-kind" sheet | |
| 5) | Applicant cash) | |
| 6) | Total Revenue | \$2,125.00 |
| 7) | Amount requested from Tucson Partnership, Inc. | \$2,000.00 |
| 8) | Total cash revenues (lines 6 & 7) | \$4,125.00 |

Expenses:

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------|
| 9) | Artist Fees: (TUCSON PARTNERSHIP, INC. GRANT)
4 artists' pay for 16 workshops, each
3 hours long, with 15 participants
plus video artist, shooting and editing | \$1,850.00 |
| 10) | Technical Production: ()
pay light and sound artist | \$250.00 |
| 11) | Promotion (see also attached "in kind" sheet) | \$300.00 |
| 12) | Supplies:
glue, rope, paste, tape, film, paint
(see also attached "in kind" sheet) | \$500.00 |
| 13) | Space rental: (2 days, Armory Park)
(see also attached "in kind" sheet) | \$150.00 |
| 14) | Equipment rental:
(see also attached "in kind" sheet) | |
| 15) | Security:
(see also attached "in kind" sheet) | |
| 16) | Insurance: | |
| 17) | Other: administrative costs \$725.00
seed money for next year \$350.00 | \$1,075.00 |

TOTAL CASH EXPENSES:**\$4,125.00**

ALL SOULS DAY FESTIVAL IN KIND CONTRIBUTIONS

This project has wide-spread community support as indicated by the In Kind commitments generated in anticipation of the Festival.

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------------|
| 3) | Corporate Contributions:
Extended University: KAREN DAHOOD; admin. services, | |
| 4) | Grants:
Tucson Community Cable Corp: mini-grant, video tapes
City of Tucson Development Services Ctr.: (below) | \$100.00 |
| 10) | Technical Production:
Dennis Dorling: light and sound system for Armory Park
Robert Pomeroy: writing and legal
core group: organization and coordination | \$500.00
\$500.00 |
| 11) | Promotion:
Extended University: brochures to 20,000 people; flyers,
posters and press releases to all Festival events | \$1,800.00 |
| 12) | | |
| 13) | Space Rental:
City of Tucson Development Services Center.
Steve Eye
Downtown Performance Art Center
Tucson Museum of Art | \$1,500.00+ |
| 14) | Equipment rental:
TCCC: video taping and editing, light and sound eqt | \$1,500.00 |
| 15) | Security:
City of Tucson Development Services Center.
Downtown Saturday Night Committee. | |
| 16) | Insurance:
City of Tucson Development Services Center. | |
| 17) | Other:
City of Tucson Development Services Center.
Tucson Public Market: vendor food coordination
Downtown Saturday Night Committee: entertainment coordination
Congress Street Alliance: retail coordination | |

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

SEPTEMBER							OCTOBER						
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
									1	2	3	4	5
							6	7	8	9	10	11	12
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
29	30						27	28	29	30	31		

OR
orientations

TENTATIVE WORKSHOP
Workshop title. :

date time location

MASK MAKING:

5, 12, 19, 26 1-4 pm Downtown Performing Arts Center

LANTERN MAKING:

2, 19, 26 1-4 pm "

PROCESSIONAL MUSIC

2, 19, 26 5-8 pm "

COSTUME AND RYTHEM (DANCE

(BODY PAINTING): DENISE BEY 5, 12, 19, 26 9-12 am "



COMMUNITY SHRINE: Nov. 1st and 2nd (Friday & Saturday)

Day one. The bringing together of the community shrine will be on Friday Nov first at pm (an hour before sunset), in coincidence with all saints day. People from workshops, the extened university, and the community at large will contribute things to decorate and celebrate the shrine. Core group performances will be put on along with other artists. Candles, food, photos and, other art objects made for the shrine will be put up. Other artists will be invited to participate -but must work with core group so that concept of event stays foremost in mind.

DAY TWO: Nov 2nd Saturday

All persons participating in the parade will bring things they have made in the workshops to Armory Park. The masks costumes ect, will be put on by participants just before sun down. The community will share in the ritual of transformation, symbolized by the setting sun. There will be a moment of silence in remeberance of those who have come before us. The lights in the masks and lanterns will be turned on, the procession begins! Along parade route performances within the percession will be enacted. The parade route is cicular and returns to armory park, symbolizing the cyclic nature of the seasons.

AFTER THE PROCESSION: There will be an open breaking of breads ceremony, by core group members and others. A sharing of the harvest. Interested members of the community will be invited to join in this event. Performances, dance, music and, story telling will be encouraged. People interested in preforming may contact the core group to sign up. The community will be greatly encouraged to bring food to share or, donations for the food bank. People may bring a candle to light or whatever they wish to share.

MUSIC WORKSHOP FOR FALL SEASONAL PROCESSION

This workshop is presented by musician Daniel Moore in collaboration with Susan K. Johnson for the seasonal Fall procession on Souls' Day.

The Workshop will be on the performing of ritual musical instruments. The playing and proper use of ritual sound devices will be the stressed, including the learning of musical technique, ways of allowing intuitive and spontaneous expression, and the handling of these ritual instruments.

The emphasis will be on the playing of the instruments in a group processional setting, but will also include the possibility of performing in other milieus.

The main musical instruments used for the procession and workshop will be small transverse (side-blown) bamboo flutes and drums from many cultures. There will also be use of many other percussion devices, horns, etc. Students will be allowed to bring appropriate instruments of their own to participate in these events. Daniel will provide a number of small flutes as well as many instruments from around the world - Oriental Gongs, African and South American shakers, rattles and wood blocks, Dunbak and Tar drums from the Middle-East, Javanese Bamboo shakers, to name just a few - which he will share with the workshop participants. The emphasis of the workshop will be creative individual expression within a group setting, producing a global ensemble sound - a blending of the contemporary American individual with the roots of many world cultures.

The participants will be encouraged to attend at least two of the four workshops, so that a good musical ensemble sound may be developed. The last two workshops will be in collaboration with Denise Bey, the movement workshop instructor, in order to co-ordinate the music and dance for the procession.

resynthesis of old and new traditions. The function of the core group is to provide a coordinating framework for this transcultural event.

COSTUME, DANCE and BODY PAINTING

DANCE FOR MASK AND PROCESSION WORKSHOP

A 3 hour workshop in mask dance movements based on contemporary, improvisational and African examples. This workshop can happen up to 3 times. The first half will use recorded music, with the second half accompanied by Daniel Moore and his music classes.

COSTUME AND BODY PAINTING WORKSHOP

A 3 hour workshop in design of costume and body painting. Sheets will be donated. Participants will be responsible for paint or dye or found objects to be used for decoration. This workshop may happen up to 3 times.

PARADE ROUTE

