Collective memory and identity narratives at the 20th and 25th anniversary events of the fall of the Berlin Wall

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ABSTRACT

Acts of commemoration construct narratives of collective memory and identity, shaped by organisers' agendas. Existing literature presumes that organisers primarily use commemoration for national political, social and cultural outcomes. Contemporary commemoration, however, takes place in times of a contested role of the nation for collective memory and identity, while events are commonly used for economic outcomes in addition to political, social and cultural ones. There is hence not enough research that explores the roles and uses of contemporary commemorative events.

Drawing primarily on literature from the nascent fields of memory studies and event studies, this qualitative constructionist research explores how narratives of collective memory and identity emerge at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in the major anniversary years of 2009 and 2014. These events are an interesting and suitable context for the research as they were the first events of this kind and commemoration of the Wall poses various challenges due to the Wall's shifting meanings.

Findings from a semiotic analysis of the events suggest that these events construct narratives beyond the national dimension. By interpreting the historical events to be rooted in Berlin and of international significance, strong local and international identity narratives are constructed. Findings from a thematic analysis of documents and interviews with organisers illustrate that organisers use the events for branding and event tourism development. This research argues that such emerging uses of commemoration play a significant role for the commemorative narrative. The findings further illustrate the permeable nature of the state-sponsored narrative in Berlin and the now consolidated role of Wall-related memory for local identity construction. The research contributes to the theoretical understanding of commemorative events in general and Berlin Wall commemoration in particular, as well as of contemporary German national identity. It further makes a methodological contribution on the use of semiotics in this context. An applied contribution on implications for the management of commemorative events is also made.

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…the Wall as both a symbol and structure was a complex, multi-faceted entity representing many things to many people: for some it was a grossly-extended cinema screen on which the projected anxieties of the West flickered and danced, for others, a gallery of graffiti art, a locus of death and tragedy, a ruin, an absence, a memory, a void – the Berlin Wall is, in effect, a text: there is no single reading.

- Polly Feversham and Leo Schmidt (1999, p. 14)

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1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

On 9th November 2009, a large-scale event to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Wall was staged in Berlin for the first time. Five years later saw a similarly large-scale event for the 25th anniversary. This thesis explores narratives of memory and identity that are (re)constructed at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in the anniversary years of 2009 and 2014 and in doing so explores whether existing research on commemoration, commemorative events and events more generally is sufficient to illuminate these large-scale anniversary celebrations in Berlin.

This chapter firstly provides the background to the research in terms of existing academic literature with the overall rationale for this study. Based on this, the aim and objectives are presented. Following that, the context of this research is outlined. This includes a description of the events that took place in 2009 and 2014 as well as of the main organisers. This chapter concludes with an outline of the structure of this thesis.

1.2 Background, rationale, aim and objectives

This research is interdisciplinary in nature, drawing on literature primarily from memory studies and event studies which are themselves nascent fields of research built on various disciplines. Memory studies is primarily concerned with the 'forms and functions of representing the past' (Roediger and Wertsch, 2008, p. 9). While disciplines such as history, psychology, literary studies or education are important for memory studies, for this research it is particularly the sociological approach which is of relevance. This considers, for example, the role of powerful groups and the role of monuments and ceremonies for the shaping of collective memory (Roediger and Wertsch, 2008). Event studies, as a field that is 'focused on the phenomenon of events in society' (Getz, 2002, p. 13), can be distinguished from event management which is concerned with the application of managerial principles (Getz, 2002). Studies of events which are concerned with the meanings of celebrations primarily build on the disciplines of

anthropology, human geography and sociology (Getz, 2002). In this sense, this thesis draws on literature from memory studies in relation to commemoration, collective memory and identity, as well as event studies in relation to commemorative events specifically, as well as events and various forms of identity (re)constructions more generally.

Collective memory and identity are concepts that are inextricably linked and that can be (re)constructed at acts of commemoration (e.g. Connerton, 1989; Gillis, 1994; Olick, 1999a; Spillman, 199; White, 1997a). In this regard, commemorative events are seen to be particularly powerful as they can create a strong sense of cohesion and foster solidarity among members of a collective (Bowdin, et al., 2011; Gapps, 2010; Getz, 2007; Turner, 2006). It is not surprising that commemorative events are a popular and powerful tool for governments to use them for political, social and cultural outcomes such as nurturing patriotism, educating younger generations and reaffirming the status quo in order to consolidate their power (e.g. Bell, 2003; Connerton, 1989; Elgenius, 2011b; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Frost 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Gillis, 1994; McDonald and Méthot, 2006; Turner, 2006). Commemorative practices are thus by their very nature political and subject to potential dispute, with the emerging narratives of memory and identity influenced by organisers' agendas (e.g. Barthel, 1996; Chronis, 2006; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Gillis, 1994; Park, 2011; Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Tint, 2010; Turner, 2006).

In the Western world, however, contemporary[1] commemoration takes place in times of globalisation, increasingly significant regional identities, growing multiculturalism and overall an increasingly contested role of the nation for notions of collective memory and group identity (e.g. Assmann, 2010b; Assmann and Conrad, 2010; Bell and de-Shalit, 2011; Billig, 1995; Erll, 2011; Featherstone, 1990; Guibernau, 2007; Habermas, 2001; Levy and Sznaider, 2002; Misztal, 2010; Smith, 1991; 1995; Soysal, 1994). These developments may influence the ways in which commemoration takes place and how memory and identity are constructed and contested at such acts. So far,

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[1] The word 'contemporary' is used in this thesis to refer to post-1989 conditions in relation to the end of the Cold War and the resulting development from a bipolar to a multipolar world, as well as further concurrent influences such as globalisation or the growth of the Internet.

however, in memory studies very little consideration has been given to the role of commemoration in contemporary times and these practices are still primarily considered within the national dimension. Some authors explicitly point out this shortcoming and call for more research (Conway, 2008; West, 2008; 2010; 2015). At the same time, many places increasingly use events for economic outcomes as part of event tourism development and branding strategies and as resources for cultural policies in order to create eventful cities (e.g. Atkinson and Laurier, 1998; Crespi-Vallbona and Richards, 2007; Dinnie, 2011; Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016; Hughes, 1999; Johansson, 2012; Picard and Robinson, 2006; Richards and Palmer, 2010), indicating that organisers' priorities for commemorative events may be changing as well. Although the links between events and various forms of identity (re)constructions are a common area of research (e.g. De Bres and Davis, 2001; Derrett, 2003; Devismes, 2014; Jeong and Santos, 2004; Liao, 2011; McCabe, 2006; Merkel, 2014; 2015b; Picard and Robinson, 2006; Roche, 2000; Whigham, 2014), commemorative events have so far received marginal attention. With only limited previous research on commemorative events in event studies (most notably Frost and Laing, 2013), the roles and uses of commemorative events remain under-researched and little is known about the ways in which organisers' potentially shifting priorities may influence how identity and memory are constructed at such events. Furthermore, no in-depth research has been conducted on the commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 2009 and 2014. There is thus a strikingly clear gap in the literature, where an in-depth qualitative study, such as this one, can make a contribution to the understanding of contemporary commemorative events and their associated commemorative narratives.

The commemorative events staged for the 20th and 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall are particularly interesting to consider in this context as commemorating the Wall poses various challenges due to its shifting meanings (e. g. Harrison, 2011; Knischewski and Spittler, 2006). At the same time, the Berlin Wall has considerable potential for tourism development purposes as the city's most famous landmark and the demands of the tourist industry played an important role for the development of Berlin Wall

commemoration (Tölle, 2010). While the Berlin Wall itself as well as places of permanent commemoration are the subjects of a large body of existing literature (see, for example, Feversham and Schmidt, 1999; Frank, 2009; Harrison, 2011; Henke, 2011; Klausmeier and Schlusche, 2011; Knischewski and Spittler, 2006; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010; Ullrich, 2006) the recent commemorative events associated with it have so far barely received any academic attention. With the 2009 and 2014 anniversary celebrations being the first and only large-scale public commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall, they constitute an interesting and relevant context in which to explore commemorative narratives and how these are shaped by potentially shifting or conflicting priorities of the organisers.

Based on this background, the aim of the research is to explore how narratives of collective memory and identity emerge at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in the major anniversary years of 2009 and 2014. The corresponding objectives are as follows:

1. To review existing literature on commemoration, collective memory and identity in general and Berlin Wall commemoration in particular.
2. To explore through semiotic analysis what narratives of memory and identity are communicated at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall.
3. To investigate through thematic analysis of documents and interviews how key event organisers may have shaped these narratives.
4. To reflect upon the theoretical, methodological and applied contribution of this research in the context of event studies, event management and memory studies.

This thesis at its core is thus not about the Berlin Wall as a physical structure or a memorial, nor does it have tourism as its focus. Further, it is not an in-depth stakeholder analysis. Finally, it is not an analysis of collective memory and identity 'as a whole'. Rather it focuses on two individual events and how these function as (re)constructions of memory and identity, taking into consideration the role of the most important organisers.

This research is conducted from a constructionist philosophical perspective and thus qualitative methods were chosen. It is based on the belief in the existence of multiple, subjective realities of which no objective truth is knowable or waiting to be discovered. In order to address the objectives and achieve the overall research aim two different methods were used: a semiotic and a thematic analysis. A semiotic analysis was conducted first in order to explore what narratives of memory and identity are communicated at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall. This analysis deconstructed the narrative from the author's perspective and was conducted prior to the interviews in order to avoid bias through information received from the organisers. The semiotic analysis focused on the events themselves but is based on a variety of material published by the organisers, in addition to other sources such as television broadcasts and the author's own observations made during a two-week stay in Berlin during November 2014. The thematic analysis was conducted as the next step and aimed at investigating how key event organisers may have shaped these narratives. This part of the research was based on some of the same material as the semiotic analysis, but focused on textual information and in addition to that drew on semi-structured interviews with four key organisers. Findings from both methods of analysis were synthesised in order to address the overall research aim.

1.3   A brief introduction to the research context

Prior to 2009, there were only few established traditions on the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9th November. This included, for example, a service at the Chapel of Reconciliation which is located in the former border strip, and the laying of wreaths by representatives of local government at the Berlin Wall Memorial at Bernauer Straße (Harrison, 2011). However, the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall saw the first large-scale celebration in the form of a theme year held throughout the city (please see Appendix A for a summary of all events). Three main activities were included in the theme year: First of all, there was an open-air exhibition on the Alexanderplatz focusing on the Peaceful Revolution, which opened 7th May 2009 and, due to its popularity, remained there until October 2010. Secondly,

there was a hybrid event called 'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin'. This consisted of a combination of exhibitions and activities such as guided tours that showcased the changing nature of Berlin since the fall of the Berlin Wall at 14 different locations throughout the city. The locations were indicated through a big red inflatable arrow floating above them. These events also showcased changes in the city that were not directly related to the Wall, such as the plans for the new international airport. Finally, the anniversary on 9th November 2009 was celebrated with a commemorative event called the 'Festival of Freedom', taking place at the Brandenburg Gate. This was considered to be the big finale of the theme year and included the fall of painted domino stones along parts of the route of the Berlin Wall as well as speeches by international heads of government and various forms of entertainment. These dominoes had been painted by a large number of people – primarily school children – prior to the event in an initiative called the 'Domino Campaign'. The 'Festival of Freedom' received the most attention internationally and attracted the largest number of tourists. It was attended by 250,000 people and was broadcast live on national and international television (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a). Overall, the celebrations were considered a great success by the organisers (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a). Approximately two million tourists came to Berlin because of the theme year (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a). The year 2009 was the most successful year for the tourism industry in Berlin up to then, with an increase of 4.5% in visitor numbers (Berlin Tourismus Marketing GmbH, 2010). Furthermore, the official website of the theme year received an average of 170,000 visits each month and two million visits on 8th November (Harrison, 2011). The global media coverage achieved by the 'Festival of Freedom' was unanticipated (Harrison, 2011).

The 25th anniversary celebrations in 2014 were staged on a much smaller scale and the events focused on the anniversary weekend of 9th November. The celebrations were staged around a key element called the 'Lichtgrenze'. This was a 15km-long installation through Berlin's city centre which marked the former route of the Wall with illuminated white balloons from 7th to 9th November 2014. In the run-up to this weekend people were able to adopt balloons. On the evening of 9th November, these 'balloon patrons' attached

personal messages and released their balloon in highly publicised and well-attended 'balloon release event'. The 'Lichtgrenze' was accompanied by a variety of other elements. Yet again, there was an open-air exhibition, however, this year it was staged along the route of the balloons and presented individual anecdotes from times of division. Furthermore, there were various main locations along the 'Lichtgrenze' which functioned as visitor centres, with information points, short guided tours in the vicinity, shops selling souvenirs, as well as food and beverage outlets. Additionally, there were large screens which broadcast short films, for example, about various locations in Berlin to illustrate how they had changed by contrasting pre- and post-unification[2] imagery. Another film briefly retold the history of the Wall from construction to its fall. These events in Berlin were furthermore accompanied by an online campaign called 'Fall of the Wall 25'. This campaign encouraged people worldwide to share their personal stories or memories of both the Berlin Wall as well as other still existing literal and metaphorical walls. These stories were collected on social media and published on a dedicated website (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, nd).

The events in both years were organised by four main institutions: The Berlin Senate, Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH[3], Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V.[4] and the Berlin Wall Foundation. The Berlin Senate, and in particular the Cultural Affairs Office, played an important role for the events in both years, as it functioned as the key patron and sponsor of the events. The events thus had governmental approval and support, rather than being a private initiative. Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH is a state-owned organisation which conceptualises and manages large-scale cultural events and cultural education projects in the city on behalf of the Senate (Kulturprojekte Berlin

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[2] The term 'unification' is used throughout this thesis, but the author is aware of the contested nature of the terminology for the events of 1989/1990 and of the debates about whether this was truly a unification or perhaps rather a colonisation or annexation (e.g. Cooke, 2005; Thomaneck and Niven, 2001). The author is also aware of the common usage of the term 'reunification' but has opted against this term as it implies that 'two areas which had at one time in the past been made one through an act of union were now being united again' which is inappropriate given that the Germany that was created in 1990 had not previously existed (Thomaneck and Niven, 2001, p. 69). Please see Chapter 4 for a more in-depth discussion about the contested interpretations of the historical events.
[3] GmbH stands for 'Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung', which is approximately the German equivalent of a private limited company.
[4] e. V. stands for 'eingetragener Verein', which is a German legal status for a registered not-for-profit association, making it a legal entity.

GmbH, 2015). They were the main planners and organisers of the events in both years. The Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V. is an association which administers an archive of the citizens' movement in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The association arose directly from people involved in the influential East German oppositional group New Forum ('Neues Forum') and was founded in November 1990, shortly after German unification (Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V., nda). Finally, the Berlin Wall Foundation administers the Berlin Wall Memorial at Bernauer Straße which is seen by the Senate to be the 'official' memorial site for the Berlin Wall. The foundation came into existence based on legislation passed by the parliament of Berlin in late 2008 and also administers the museum at the Marienfelde Refugee Centre, which documents the history of flight and emigration during times of German division (Berlin Wall Foundation, 2015). However, it only came into existence in its current form when plans for the 20th anniversary celebrations were already underway. Thus, while the Berlin Wall Memorial itself is a key location and of high importance in 2009 due to its closeness to the Senate, the Foundation as such was technically not an official event organiser in this year. In 2014, however, the Berlin Wall Foundation is listed as a key organiser in all relevant documents.

Overall, there is some complexity to the events in both years in terms of involvement of various levels of government and sources of funding. Furthermore, many smaller, grassroots type of events took place in both years. However, this research focuses exclusively on those events which were planned collaboratively in both years by aforementioned local institutions. These institutions were the most important organisers as identified by the interviewee and staged the most highly publicised events in both years.

1.4   Structure of the thesis

The previous section of this chapter provided an introduction to the research by outlining background and rationale, the research context as well as the aim and objectives of this study.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 constitute the literature review and address the first research objective. Chapter 2 considers literature on collective memory and identity and how notions of these can be (re)constructed at events more generally. Chapter 3 reviews literature on commemoration and commemorative events more specifically. Chapter 4 discusses commemoration of the Berlin Wall. In doing so, it provides an overview of the contextual backdrop, the development of Berlin Wall commemoration as well as inherent conflicts over memory and identity.

The fifth chapter is a discussion and description of the methodological approach and outlines and justifies in detail the choices made. It starts with the presentation of the conceptual framework, developed from the literature review. It then continues with a discussion of the constructionist philosophy. Subsequently, it outlines and justifies the two different chosen methods: A semiotic analysis of the commemorative narrative and a thematic analysis of documents and interviews, which each address one of the research objectives. It also considers research quality and research ethics, and addresses notions of subjectivity and reflexivity.

The sixth chapter presents findings from the semiotic analysis and addresses the second objective of this research. In doing so, it deconstructs the commemorative narratives of the two anniversary years from the author's perspective.

The seventh chapter presents findings from the thematic analysis of documents and interviews related to the role of the organisers for the shape of the narrative and thus this chapter addresses the third research objective.

The eighth chapter functions as a separate discussion of the findings. Here, the commemorative narratives and the role of the organisers are discussed in detail. The chapter concludes by synthesising findings from the research in relation to the overall research aim.

The final chapter concludes this thesis. It firstly considers how aim and objectives were met. It continues with a consideration of this research's theoretical, methodological and applied contribution to knowledge and in this way it addresses the final research objective. This chapter furthermore also

considers limitations of the research and suggests potential areas for further exploration.

2. COLLECTIVE MEMORIES, IDENTITIES AND THE ROLE OF EVENTS

2.1 Introduction

Collective memory and identity are both highly elusive and contested concepts. Some scholars call for their deconstruction, or at least a more careful and reflexive use of the terms (e.g. Bell, 2003; Handler, 1994; Klein, 2000). However, both terms remain ubiquitous in both academic and popular discourse, and thus they seem to continue to carry meanings for a wide range of people. While this is not a study of collective memory or identity 'as a whole', but rather one particular expression thereof, namely commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is still of importance to outline what is meant by these terms throughout this thesis. This is the aim of this part of the literature review, and particularly of the first two sections which review origins of and debates surrounding the concepts of collective memory and identity. With this study being rooted in the field of event studies, the final section outlines some relevant debates surrounding the links between events and identity.

2.2 Collective memory: Origins, debates and implications

Collective memory is a term that is widely used throughout different disciplines, yet it has considerable potential for dispute as there is no agreed definition (Confino, 1997; Olick, 2008; Wertsch, 2002). Even the terminology is often contested and includes terms such as collective memory (Halbwachs, [1925] 1992), collected memory (Olick, 1999b), cultural memory (Erll, 2011), communicative memory (Assmann, 2011), public memory (Bodnar, 1992) and social memory (Jedlowski, 2001). Sometimes these are used to essentially refer to the same phenomenon, sometimes authors argue for specific differences between them. Further, collective memory has been studied from a variety of different disciplines, including sociology, history, cultural studies, literary studies and psychology. Overall, the concept of a shared memory and the 'ways in which people construct a sense of a past' (Confino, 1997, p. 1386) remain a popular research subject. This section

therefore aims to provide the theoretical background for the use of the concept throughout this thesis. It is structured in the following way: First, it reviews the origins of the term, and subsequently, it briefly reviews key debates surrounding the role of forgetting, the discussion around memory and history, notions of power and politics, and the differences between individual and collective memory. It concludes with an explanation of how the term collective memory is used within this thesis.

The term collective memory can be traced back to the work by Émile Durkheim ([1912] 2001) and his student Maurice Halbwachs ([1925] 1992). In 'The elementary forms of religious life' Durkheim focused on religious commemorative rituals and their impact on collective consciousness without explicitly referring to collective memory. Nevertheless, this work is important for the discussion as it outlines the significance of historical continuity for unity and solidarity (Misztal, 2003a). Subsequently, Halbwachs introduced the term collective memory with the first landmark study 'The social frameworks of memory', which was published in 1925 and translated into English for the first time in 1980.

While Durkheim ([1912] 2001) concentrated on society as a whole, Halbwachs ([1925] 1992) referred to different social groups, for instance, families, professions, religious groups and different social classes. The membership in these groups provides people with a collective memory that is based on historical continuity and that constitutes a resource for fostering a sense of belonging. Halbwachs ([1925] 1992) therefore engages in detail with the relationship between collective memory and identity, even though this is mostly done implicitly (Middleton and Brown, 2011). Taking into consideration that it is indeed the individual that remembers, Halbwachs ([1925] 1992) nevertheless places the main emphasis on the process of remembering on the collective. Halbwachs ([1925] 1992) states that 'it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories.' (p. 38). An individual only has the capacity to remember as a member of a certain social group, as society provides the required framework for the recollection of even the most intimate

events. Without the support of society the memory will fade, which is Halbwachs' explanation of forgetting.

Having conducted the first landmark study in the field, Halbwachs' work is still the point of departure for most research on collective memory. Nevertheless, there are several common criticisms of his conceptualisation. Ryan (2011), for instance, states that most researchers point out his 'complete negation of any autonomous individual agency or resistance' (p. 155). Furthermore, Halbwachs' argumentation is in line with 19th century sociological thought that the collective and the individual are two separate and unrelated phenomena (Misztal, 2003a; Olick, 1999; Ryan, 2011). Schwartz (1982) bases another criticism on Halbwachs' claim that people completely reconstruct the past based on the needs and concerns of the present. He argues that it is more suitable to analyse how the past is 'selectively exploited' (Schwartz, 1982, p. 396). Thus, while Halbwachs' work is important to acknowledge, it does not sufficiently consider notions of agency, power and politics as well as the construction of potentially multiple opposing narratives within the same collective. Such notions are important for contemporary memory studies more generally and this thesis in particular.

Any such selective exploitation implies that certain elements of the past are excluded. Thus, the role of collective forgetting is equally important for this study. Collective forgetting is defined by Misztal (2010) as the 'outcome of society's need to eliminate segments of its social memory which are interfering with the society's present functions' (p. 30). Halbwachs ([1925] 1992) already declared the disappearance of social frameworks of remembering as the reason for social forgetting. Similarly, according to Zerubavel (1996) forgetting is part of a process called mnemonic socialisation. During this process new members of a community are told what to remember and what to forget through rules of remembrance.

Since remembering and commemorating are usually regarded as being a virtue and a societal obligation, forgetting is consequently often considered as a collective failure (Connerton, 2008; Misztal, 2010). Indeed, the fear of forgetting often causes increased commemoration (Connerton, 2009). However, several authors highlight that in some instances forgetting is

actually a necessity for individuals and societies in order to cope with the present and the future. Misztal (2010), for instance, states how contemporary societies are overloaded with information and as such, forgetting becomes an increasingly important skill in order to conduct one's life. Connerton (2008) agrees that this type of forgetting stems from a ubiquitous surfeit of information. Elsewhere, Connerton (2009) further argues that the characteristics of contemporary society including capitalist production and consumption processes indeed encourage forgetting.

However, there are other types of forgetting that stem more obviously from oppression and discrimination. Such arguments consider more closely the role of powerful actors within society which are important in this thesis. Ryan (2011) argues that 'events and historical figures that are deemed historically unimportant very often embody what is most threatening to the established order' (p. 158). This may lead to repressive erasure by states, governments and ruling parties (Connerton, 1989; 2008). This process is often associated with totalitarian regimes as a means of consolidating their power (Connerton, 2008). However, Ryan (2011) also emphasises how a society's integrity 'is now evaluated on its ability to confront and resolve past wrongdoings' (p. 161). Consequently, it is less likely nowadays for dominant groups to successfully discard certain parts of its history as irrelevant, particularly as many people have access to a large amount and variety of information and international pressures of accountability have increased (Assmann and Conrad, 2010).

Nevertheless, particularly if a community was the victim of atrocities in the past, people might 'not forget past events, but rather ignore them, treating them as irrelevant in shaping future conduct' (Takei, 1998, p. 63). This is done so that 'the wounds of conflict can heal' (Takei, 1998, p. 63). In this way, forgetting as humiliated silence (Connerton, 2008) is a form of survival, and this silence may represent the desire to bury past events beyond the reach of memory. This type of forgetting is also important for the process of reconciliation, as it may allow the restoration or improvement of social relations (Misztal, 2010). Esbenshade (1995) even negates the opposition of remembering and forgetting, instead forgetting should be considered as

'remembering otherwise' (p. 87). Different versions of memory should not be judged as true or false, rather they constitute different narratives, and they are all different versions of remembering otherwise. It is thus important to acknowledge that within any collective, there will be multiple, potentially conflicting memory narratives where none can claim ultimate truth.

Related to Esbenshade's (1995) argument that there is no true and false in remembering and forgetting, is the discussion about the differences between collective memory and history. The most common, yet simplistic and misconstrued, distinction between history and memory is the claim that the former is the objective search for truth, while memory is seen to be highly subjective (Alonso, 1988; Wertsch, 2002). Influential work by Nora (1989) further discusses the differences between memory and history. He states that the rise of historiography has led to a dissociation of history and memory. Whereas in pre-modern societies memory was almost congruent with history, history has now become a science with a claim for universal authority that threatens the existence of memory (Nora, 1989). In this context, he poignantly claimed that '[w]e speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left' (Nora, 1989, p. 7). According to him, this development caused an increasing interest in 'lieux de mémoire', such as museums, archives and commemorations, as they help restore a memory that no longer occurs naturally. Nevertheless, Olick and Robbins (1998) also state that '[h]istory is written by people in the present for particular purposes, and the selection and interpretation of "sources" are always arbitrary' (p. 110). The distinction between memory and history and history's claim to truth are thus no longer comfortably accepted. In line with this, history is to be seen as another narrative which can be contested.

Another important concept that is discussed particularly in sociological research is the role of power and politics in the construction of collective memories (Jedlowski, 2001). Earlier it was already indicated that forgetting can be imposed by dominant groups as part of power consolidation processes. This 'manipulation' of collective memory is a key concern in much research in memory studies and of importance to this study, too. Zerubavel (1996) discusses the existence of rules of remembrance - these rules tell

group members which events to remember and which to forget - yet without much analysis of the exertion of power that creates these rules. Nevertheless, he suggests that this might lead to mnemonic battles, which indicates the potential for dispute about the 'correct' way to remember. Ryan (2011) furthermore states that collective memory 'constitutes an immensely valuable tool in any power consolidation process' (p. 154). Takei (1998) also argues that collective memory can be used by political leaders to mobilise the masses and authors such as Bell (2003), Billig (1990), Confino (1997), Gillis (1994), Olick (1999a) and Schwartz (1982) all highlight how collective memory is selectively constructed in order to serve the interests or ideology of the dominant group. Ryan (2011) further emphasises how this dominance by powerful institutions may lead to 'mnemonic resistance' by individuals or repressed groups. Bell (2003) also supports this view, emphasising that memory can be used to 'function as a counter-hegemonic site of resistance, a space of political opposition' (p. 66). This opposition to dominant collective memory may lead to public social action of the repressed group, again underlining the multiplicity and inequality of memory narratives that are bound to exist within any collective.

Another final idea to consider is the discussion around the distinction between individual and collective memory. It has been widely discussed whether memory is something entirely individual that can be exclusively analysed as processes in the human brain or whether it is a characteristic that can somehow be attributed to a collective (e.g. Halbwachs, [1925] 1992; Olick, 1999b; Sutton, 2008; Wertsch, 2002). In regards to the latter, extreme views attribute the human capacity to remember to a presumed collective mind, whereas 'weaker' views are more interested in how representations of the past are shared, complementary or contested among a collective (Wertsch, 2002).

Reacting to the differing views in the literature on whether memory is something individual or collective, Olick (1999b) suggests using different terms: collected and collective memory. Whereas collected memory refers to an aggregation of individual memories of members of a social group, collective memory implies that this social group can construct its own shared

memory which explains the existence of public discourses, myths and traditions. Erll (2011) supports Olick's (1999b) distinction between collected and collective memory but further sees these two approaches as fundamentally different perspectives for the study of collective memory, rooted in different disciplines. Social psychologists, for example, are more likely to be interested in the social contexts of individual memory, thus collected memory, whereas social scientists tend to research memory on the collective level (Erll, 2011).

As this section has so far shown, although collective memory is a widely discussed concept, it remains rather elusive. While the input of Durkheim and Halbwachs is important for the discussion, and more recent theorists such as Nora or Olick are widely cited throughout the literature, collective memory still lacks a generally agreed definition of its nature and content, and is still approached from many different perspectives and disciplines. Having introduced the origins of the term collective memory as well as some of the key debates, it is now of relevance to conclude this section by illustrating how the concept is used within this thesis. In order to cope with the elusive character of collective memory without dismissing it completely, it can be best employed in the following sense. It is important to note that the human capacity to remember should not be transferred onto groups. Equally, it is more appropriate to see collective memory as a process and not a property: 'it is something people do but not something people have' (Roudometof, 2007, p. 8). It is a concept that is best described as a process of constant (re)construction and negotiation, embedded within a social, cultural and political context characterised by a struggle between dominant, marginalised and oppositional groups. Based on these ideas, collective memory is understood in French's (2012) terms, who defines it as follows:

> *Collective memory is a social construction constituted through a multiplicity of circulating sign forms, with interpretations shared by some social actors and institutions and contested by others in response to the heterogeneous positions in a hierarchical social field in which representations of the past are mediated through concerns of the present. (p. 340)*

In this sense, it is primarily the sociological approach to collective memory that is of relevance to this thesis, as this approach concerns itself with

questions about the social construction of collective memory, the role of commemoration, notions of politics and the importance of memory for identity (re)constructions (Erll, 2011; Roediger and Wertsch, 2008; Wertsch, 2002). As Erll (2011) further points out, this approach to collective memory is interested in the 'symbols, media, social institutions, and practices which are used to construct, maintain, and represent versions of a shared past' (p. 98). In agreement with this, this thesis is not about the processes of how individual memory is socialised, but rather how the use of symbols and other semiotic resources[5] by various actors in society contributes to the construction of a shared past of a collective. Further, as Erll (2011) states, attempts to study or capture a whole collective memory are futile because of the plurality, complexity and constant (re)construction of memory narratives. Thus, one can only ever research particular expressions or performances thereof. Hence, this thesis is particularly concerned with the social dimension of collective memory, which, as defined by Erll (2011), refers to the social practices of memory, including commemoration, by studying a specific example thereof.

2.3 (National) identity, memory and the imagining of community

As Halbwachs' work already pointed out, collective memory is important for providing a community with a sense of historical continuity and belonging. While he did not explicitly link his understanding of collective memory to group identity, there is a significant body of literature that does link these two concepts, and indeed, the study of how collective memory contributes to identity (re)constructions is a key concern in memory studies (Erll, 2011). The basis of this link is that an idea of historical continuity contributes to self-understanding of both the individual and the group; hence, memory is important for the construction of the 'self' but also the 'other' (Guibernau, 2007). Thus, a sense of a shared memory often constitutes the foundation for the construction of a shared group identity, but an assumed shared group

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[5] As semiotics is one of the chosen methods of analyses, please see Chapter 5 (Methodology) for a discussion on the nature of signs, including a description of symbols and other semiotic resources.

identity may also impact what is remembered and what is forgotten. Gillis (1994), for example, states that '[t]he core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely a sense of sameness over time, is sustained by remembering, and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity' (p. 3). Memory and identity are thus mutually constitutive (Ryan, 2011). Assmann (2010b) defined memory as 'knowledge with an identity-index' (p. 123), in that it is knowledge of one's own individual or group identity. Such a shared memory of the past helps group members to define 'inside/outside, self/other, us/them boundaries' (Bell, 2003, p. 64). The concept of identity thus refers to 'the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relations with other individuals and collectivities' (Jenkins, 2014, p. 19). This identity is furthermore always 'subjective, a social construction that depends on the perceptions of both in-group and out-group members' (Takei, 1998, p. 60).

A group sharing an identity can be any 'plurality of individuals who […] see themselves as similar' (Jenkins, 2014, p. 105). Thus, such identities can be constructed in relation to, for example, gender, ethnicity, religion, nationality, locality, occupation or lifestyle. Similarly to collective memory, the construction and maintenance of such identities is often underpinned through the use of semiotic resources, such as emblems and uniforms or, more abstractly, shared customs and rituals which communicate a sense of community and belonging (Cohen, 1985; Jenkins, 2014). Such semiotic resources 'are symbolic markers of the community which distinguish it from other communities' (Cohen, 1985, p. 19).

In discussing the identity of groups, it is particularly national identity that receives a lot of attention. Indeed, Smith (1991) states:

> *Of all the collective identities in which human beings share today, national identity is perhaps the most fundamental and inclusive. […] Other types of collective identity […] may overlap or combine with national identity but they rarely succeed in undermining its hold, though they may influence its direction. (p. 143)*

Considering the link between memory and identity, it is thus not surprising that the nation constitutes a common research subject for memory studies. Whilst this is not a study of the origin and nature of nations and national

identities in a Western context, it is still relevant to consider foundations of and contemporary debates surrounding national identity due to its dominance and significance for memory studies. In this regard, it can be said that there are different schools of thought for conceptualising national identity, including primordial, perennial and modernist understandings (Bell, 2003; Guibernau, 2007). The primordial school of thought bases national identity on notions such as kinship ties, ethnicity, language and ancient traditions. In a related vein, perennialists support the idea that the nation is an enduring phenomenon that has arisen from historical developments. In contrast to that, the modernist school of thought considers national identity based on the nation as a modern phenomenon and a construction. In this sense, modernists see the nation as a development that arose during a certain period of the last five centuries, depending on author. Considering the constructionist nature of collective memory as defined in the previous section, these constructionist notions of national identity are of particular relevance for this study. Key constructionist authors whose work on national identity plays a role for contemporary memory studies include Ernest Renan ([1882] 1990), Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner and Anthony D. Smith. Due to these authors' prevalence in memory studies, their work and its links with collective memory is considered here.

Renan's lecture in 1882 was one of the first influential attempts to define the modern nation. Renan ([1882] 1990) specifically argued that the Western nation has to be seen as a modern phenomenon and that notions such as dynasties, ethnicity, religion or language cannot explain the existence of nations and people's loyalty to them. Instead, Renan ([1882] 1990) explained the nation as 'a soul, a spiritual principle' (p.19), which is constituted by two main elements: 'One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form' (Renan, [1882] 1990, p. 19). For Renan ([1882] 1990), thus, the essence of the modern nation is rooted in both past and present and is essentially characterised by solidarity among its people which stems from shared past glories and common future endeavours alike. However, Renan ([1882] 1990) not only placed importance in memory, but also forgetting: 'the

essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things' (p. 11). Past instances of violence that threaten present unity need to be discarded. This already indicates the importance of a socially constructed collective memory for a collective identity.

In a similar vein, Gellner and Anderson see the Western nation and national identity as social constructions. In his influential work from 1983, Gellner (2006) states that national identity nowadays seems an inherent feature of all people: 'A man [sic] must have a nationality as he [sic] must have a nose and two ears' (p. 6), when indeed, national identity is a contingency not a necessity. In defining the modern nation, Gellner (2006) argues that two aspects are essential: first of all, the people share a culture, where culture is defined as 'a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating' (p. 6), and second, members of a nation must recognise each other as such. At the same time, however, Gellner (2006) contends that these two aspects are insufficient to explain the nation. In addition, the nation is a result of specific social conditions brought about by the processes of industrialisation that made the political construct of the nation the most 'natural' source of identification and administration (Gellner, 2006). It is only under these conditions that culture and voluntary mutual recognition suffice to explain the existence of nations (Gellner, 2006). He further states that to celebrate the nation, self-worship takes place which 'borrows […] from a folk culture which it fondly believes itself to be perpetuating, defending and reaffirming' (Gellner, 2006, p. 57). There is thus a process of self-deception, because modern nations are not sustained by folk cultures but instead replaced them with a widespread imposition of high culture on society which may then revive or invent elements of previous local folk culture (Gellner, 2006). This argument entails a statement about the importance of collective memory – if a collective has no shared past as expressed through, for example, rituals and traditions, then it must invent them or revive old ones to provide itself with a sense of historical continuity and legitimacy.

In another seminal piece of writing from 1983, Anderson (2006) famously defined the modern nation as an imagined community. He described it as such because most members of a nation will never know, meet or hear of each other; yet appear to share a deep sense of comradeship (Anderson, 2006). National identity, then, is the 'symbolic elaboration of this imagined community' (Spillman, 1997, p. 3). Anderson (2006) explains the rise of this new national awareness with the decline of privileged sacred languages, such as Latin, as the only access to truth, the decline of monarchy and changes in the conception of temporality that no longer see the origins of the world and people as identical. Consequently, there was a 'search for a new way of linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together' (Anderson, 2006, p. 36). The rise of print media in the form of newspapers or novels using vernacular language then allowed for people to relate themselves to others in new profound ways. Anderson (2006) thus attaches high levels of importance to the development of nation-wide print languages for the imagining of the new national community. Similarly to Renan ([1882] 1990), Anderson (2006) also emphasises the role of memory and forgetting for the national narrative: 'All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives.' (p. 204). Collective memory is thus crucial for the imagining of the national community and the construction of a shared identity (Alonso, 1988).

In contrast to Gellner's and Anderson's work, Smith's (1991) view on the nation and national identity is not purely constructionist, indeed, his work constitutes a 'middle-way approach' (Guibernau, 2007, p. 14) between perennialist and modernist understandings. Smith (1991) defined the Western nation as 'a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members' (p. 14). Thus, Smith (1991) draws on both perennial elements such as historic territory but also modern elements such as political institutions as well as social constructions such as myths. As one element of national identity, Smith (1991) argues that it is 'common historical memories, myths, symbols and traditions' (p. 11) that unite people and create a sense of community in the

modern Western nation, further demonstrating the importance of collective memory for shared group identity. Smith (1991) also highlights that a sense of community among members of a nation can be fostered through semiotic resources: 'By the use of symbols – flags, coinage, anthems, uniforms, monuments and ceremonies – members are reminded of their common heritage and cultural kinship and feel strengthened and exalted by their sense of common identity and belonging' (pp. 16f.). Despite the disagreement about the origin of nations, Smith (1991) agrees with modernist notions about the importance of memories and semiotic resources (Simon, 2009).

While these authors' work is widely considered as seminal, there is 'hardly any acknowledgment of the contested nature of many identity projects' (Merkel, 2015a, p. 15). As with collective memory, any identity (re)construction, for example at memorials or at events, is thus subject to potential dispute. Hence, it is important to consider the contested nature of identity narratives as well as the plurality and inequality of such narratives within collectives.

Additionally, there are now various interrelated developments in contemporary Western society that are challenging the predominant role of the nation for identity and collective memory, including supranational integration, globalisation, cosmopolitanism, strong regional identities and multiculturalism. Whilst it is beyond the scope and scale of this thesis to explore these complex ideas in detail, the following section briefly discusses their potential implications for contemporary group identity and collective memory.

In regards to supranational integration, the expansion of the European Union, for example, led to a questioning of the potential demise of national identity within Europe (Guibernau, 2007). In a similar vein, globalisation is seen as a process that could lead to international forms of group identity (Delanty, 2000; Guibernau, 2007). Globalisation refers to a series of processes that lead to the transformation of the world into a networked and interconnected, yet fragile and uncertain place (Delanty, 2000; Habermas, 2001; Jenkins, 2002; Juergensmeyer, 2002). Although some globalising processes started

earlier, globalisation defined much of the 20th century (Jenkins, 2014), and the concept became particularly relevant in the 1990s with developments such as the end of the Cold War, European integration and the expansion of the Internet (Delanty, 2000). The related notion of cosmopolitanism is a contested term but often refers to 'a set of principles and values destined to attain global social justice' (Guibernau, 2007, p. 159), as well as an 'openness, eagerness, and ability to engage with different cultural traditions and orientations' on the global scale (Kosnick, 2009, p. 36). Overall, like globalisation and supranational integration, it implies a potential weakening of the role of the nation. In the case of cosmopolitanism, this occurs for the benefit of international identification based on shared rights, values and ideals, where individuals consider themselves 'citizens of the world' (Bell and de-Shalit, 2011, p. xi). Moreover, developments such as strong identification with sub-national communities (e.g. cities or regions) as well as growing cultural diversity further complicate national identity from within (Bell and de-Shalit, 2011; Delanty, 2000; Guibernau, 2007; Habermas, 2001; Paasi, 2003; 2009), and challenge particularly primordial and perennialist understandings of the national community.

There is no agreement in the literature in regards to the role of the nation for group identity amongst such developments. Some scholars argue, for example, that individuals may adopt a cosmopolitan, postnational or transnational[6] identity based on the emergence of communities beyond the political borders of the nation as well as the belief in universally applicable rights, values and ideals (e.g. Giesen and Eder, 2001; Habermas, 2001; Soysal, 1994). Bell and de-Shalit (2011) contend that cosmopolitanism may be too abstract and broad as a source of identity, but instead cities can function as an alternative to the nation. Similarly, broader geographical regions, despite being ambivalent in nature and boundaries, can also function as meaningful collectives for group identities (Paasi, 2009). Indeed, the role of regional identities is noted to become increasingly important in

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[6] Please note that the use of such different terms in this context is often 'more a matter of terminology than of substantial theoretical disagreement' (Jenkins, 2002, p. 68). Whilst the author of this thesis uses the original terminology when referring to previous work, in other cases she opted for the term 'international' to refer to collective memory and identity beyond the nation.

various parts of the world, for example, Scotland or the Basque Country (Paasi, 2009).

On the other hand, Smith (1991; 1995) argues that such developments are unlikely to diminish the importance of the nation for group identity, but may indeed strengthen national identity instead. He further contends that 'human beings have multiple collective identifications, whose scope and intensity will vary with time and place' (Smith, 1991, p. 175). Other authors may see the role of the nation as less stable, but nonetheless agree with Smith's (1991) idea that individuals have multiple identities (e.g. Delanty, 2000; Featherstone, 1990; Guibernau, 2007; Jenkins, 2014; Levy and Sznaider, 2002; Misztal, 2010). Thus, for instance, a growing sense of cosmopolitanism in the Western world, an expansion of the European Union or strong regional identities such as in Scotland do not necessarily replace national identity but may exist alongside it. In this sense, the emergence of a new imagined community (Anderson, 2006) does not necessarily lead to the disappearance of another. Nevertheless, in contemporary society, national identity has become more complicated and open to aforementioned external, uncontrollable influences (Guibernau, 2007; Habermas, 2001; Smith, 1991; 1995).

In memory studies, it is particularly the notions of globalisation and cosmopolitanism that are considered. In this context, Smith (1991) states that 'a global culture could only be a memory-less construct' and that 'a memory-less culture is a contradiction' (Smith, 1991, p. 159). Cosmopolitanism, he argues, thus lacks the sense of a shared past that is so crucial for national identity. Assmann (2010b) agrees, claiming that global identity cannot exist and thus global memory is a paradox.

In contrast to that, Erll (2011), Levy and Sznaider (2002) and Misztal (2010) suggest that globalisation may foster a global, cosmopolitan or transcultural memory, which overcomes national boundaries and strengthens universal solidarity. Levy and Sznaider (2002) specifically argue against the view that the nation is the only authentic 'container' of collective memories. If the national community is imagined (Anderson, 2006) then why can the international not do the same? Indeed, national collective memory was never

limited to those who have first-hand experience of the historical event, and thus, the collective can easily be extended to the international dimension. Assmann and Conrad (2010) agree that there are now memory communities that go beyond national borders. Such an international memory is said to unify people from different nations, religions, or ethnic backgrounds, therefore enhancing international identification among individuals (Levy and Sznaider, 2002; Misztal, 2010). This international memory thus helps to foster an international sense of community. The Holocaust has been considered for its role in international memory and the fostering of international solidarity and cohesion (Assmann, 2010a; Assmann and Conrad, 2010; Levy and Sznaider, 2002). However, Misztal (2010) also states that one might argue that an international memory is only inherent in privileged groups, such as frequent travellers. Additionally, such a memory tends to favour significant events from the Western world, therefore lacking the input of developing countries (Misztal, 2010). Thus, for many other people, the nation may still be the main source for solidarity and identification. However, as this section has illustrated, supranational integration, globalisation, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism as well as local and regional identities not only make national identity more complex but also impact the study of collective memory as this can no longer be seen to be primarily influenced by and constructed within the political boundaries of the nation (Assmann and Conrad, 2010).

Nonetheless, with this thesis not being a study of nations and nationalism, here it can be concluded that national identity and collective memory are being made more complicated and contested in a variety of ways. Further, despite the disagreement in the literature about the nature and origin of modern nations, what is essential here is that a sense of community stems from perceptions of a shared past (whether real or imagined). This can be fostered through widely understood semiotic resources that communicate shared values and ideals. Indeed, perceptions of a shared past are essential for the construction of the imagined community and thus, group identity. Moreover, forgetting is just as important for the formation of group identities as is remembering.

Overall, while the nation still appears to be a powerful source for group identity, individuals can have multiple identities and possess a sense of belonging to several collectives. In Anderson's (2006) words, these collectives are mostly imagined, because members rarely know each other and because their boundaries are socially constructed. Subsequent identities are also imagined and constructed, and thus another important notion is that, similarly to collective memory, identity has to be seen as 'a process, not an essence, which is continually being remade' (Edensor, 2002, p. 24). Importantly, memory is a crucial resource for the construction of identity and when a shared past is perceived to be missing or not sufficiently evoked, the imagining of a community may not be as powerful.

2.4   Festivals, events and identity (re)constructions

With this study partially rooted in event studies and the existing body of literature in this field that considers the link between festivals, events and identity (re)constructions, it is of relevance to review key ideas here. This link is characterised by three main aspects. First of all, festivals and events are seen to possibly enhance feelings of social cohesion through a shared experience, thus fostering identification with the community. Secondly, festivals and events can function as outward manifestations of identity. Lastly, festivals, events and their interlinked identities can be used (perhaps exploited) as a means for achieving economic outcomes through branding, event portfolio and event tourism development strategies. This section outlines these issues in more detail.

Festivals and events have always been a popular means to foster community cohesion long before the rise of modern society (e.g. Andrews and Leopold, 2013; Durkheim, [1912] 2001; Roche, 2000). Religious rituals, for instance, served this purpose in pre-modern societies, especially due to their regular recurrence which ensured continuity (Durkheim, [1912] 2001). In this regard, Bowdin et al. (2011) quote the Policy Studies Institute:

> *A festival was traditionally a time of celebration, relaxation and recuperation which often followed a period of hard physical labour, sowing or harvesting of crops, for example. The essential feature of these festivals was the celebration of reaffirmation of community or*

culture. The artistic content of such events was variable and many had a religious or ritualistic aspect, but music, dance and drama were important features of the celebration. (p. 5)

Falassi (1987) defines the festival as a 'periodically recurrent, social occasion' (p. 2) in which all members of a community participate. He furthermore argues that at the core of the festival is a celebration of a community's values, social identity, historical continuity and physical survival. The festival is thus seen to be a particular type of event which is rooted in the local community. Traditionally, festivals and events are both results and signifiers of the communities and places in which they are located (Elias-Varotsis, 2007). They are often considered 'celebrations of the specificities of social groups and communities' (MacLeod, 2006, p. 228) and are used to 'reinforce a collective view of society and to strengthen social cohesion' (Azara and Crouch, 2006, p. 33). Increased social cohesion and related notions such as a heightened sense of community identity or civic pride are still an often desired positive outcome of a diverse range of festivals and events, often classified under the heading of sociocultural event impacts (e.g. Bowdin et al., 2011; Dwyer et al., 2000; Fredline, Jago and Deery, 2000; Getz, 2007; Robertson, Rogers and Leask, 2009; Small, Edwards and Sheridan, 2005; Small, 2008).

Furthermore, festivals and events can contribute to the (re)construction of group and place identity by functioning as an outward manifestation thereof. Festivals and events are seen as platforms for presenting characteristics of the local community, such as their skills, traditions or produce (Derrett, 2003). The practice of showcasing a version of community identity is subject to several criticisms, as elevating a few key characteristics of local culture to markers of identity may raise questions of commodification, simplification and misrepresentation (De Bres and Davis, 2001). Furthermore, Derrett's (2003) work leaves questions on power relations and contested identities unanswered. Indeed, these official versions of distinctiveness may take the form of invented traditions, constructed by elites and powerful groups (Hobsbawm, 1983) and the selection of certain characteristics over others thus reflects the ideology of dominant groups (Jeong and Santos, 2004; Merkel, 2014; 2015a). Hence, festivals and events are always 'authored

landscapes, where dominant groups promote particular sets of values, attach specific meanings to place and attempt to reproduce hegemonic meanings' (Quinn, 2003, p. 332). Thus, festivals are a platform for the promotion, contestation and resistance of identity discourses (Jeong and Santos, 2004; Merkel, 2014). In this sense, festivals can be used to reaffirm social and political orders (Merkel, 2014; Mudford, 2015; Picard and Robinson, 2006). This underpins previously made points about the contested nature of identity narratives.

Here, the role of the nation becomes important again. Roche (2000) argues that with the growth of the nation-state, mega events such as Expos or Olympic Games were utilised as 'key occasions in which national tradition and community, including a national past, present and future […], could be invented and imagined' (p. 6). Particularly during the birth of the nation-state, they were used to foster a sense of national belonging and were consequently large-scale political projects (Roche, 2000). In this sense, festivals can also be used to pacify people and distract them from problems (Gotham, 2005).

Existing research suggests that in contemporary society, where globalisation continuously assimilates places and cultures, festivals and events can still play a crucial role in the (re)construction of group and place identity (e.g. De Bres and Davis, 2001; Derrett, 2003; Devismes, 2014; McCabe, 2006; Merkel, 2015b; Picard and Robinson, 2006; Roche, 2000; 2003; Whigham, 2014). In this sense, festivals and events can be a 'symbolic response or counter-action to the experiences of rapid socio-cultural change' (Azara and Crouch, 2006, p. 33). McCabe (2006) identified participation as crucial for community identity in his study of Ashbourne Royal Shrovetide Football. Here, participation through spectatorship, the organisation and participation in the event are the factors which strengthen community identity (McCabe, 2006).

In addition to identity (re)constructions and social cohesion purposes, festivals and events can be used for economic benefits as part of event tourism development; this may rely on the exploitation or appropriation of identities or traditional cultural celebrations but may also constitute a positive

opportunity to revitalise or communicate local culture (Liao, 2011). Nowadays, mega events, such as Expos or Olympic Games, but also festivals and events on a smaller scale, can fulfil various roles. While they may serve as a platform for constructing and contesting local identity, they can also be used as a means to stimulate the economy (Elias-Varotsis, 2007; Merkel, 2014; Roche, 2000).

In times of globalisation, festivals and events are often no longer inextricably linked with the community and place in which they arose (Elias-Varotsis, 2007). In line with this, festivals and events such as German Christmas Markets, the Oktoberfest from Munich or Dragon Boat Festivals from China can now be found all over the world. Due to the perceived loss of local 'authentic' culture but also due to the changing expectations of contemporary tourists and other event attendees, there is now a 'trend towards spectacle and the carnivalesque […], creating festivals that are global in appeal, ungrounded in local identity and demonstrate the characteristics of placelessness' (MacLeod, 2006, p. 229). For Gotham (2005) festivals do not just indicate cultural commodification, but also the commodification of time in a consumption-based society.

Event tourism thus plays an important role for the place festivals and events have within societies, as they are now products which tourists desire (Picard and Robinson, 2006). This leads to traditional festivals being revitalised whereas others are invented to suit this demand (Picard and Robinson, 2006). In this regard, festivals and events can be used for the development of an overall balanced event portfolio within a destination, which entails a strategic and goal-driven approach to the management of complementary events of different size, impact, theme and frequency (Getz, 2005; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016). Overall, festivals and events are an increasingly important consideration for the creation of eventful cities as part of cultural policy considerations (Crespi-Vallbona and Richards, 2007; Hughes, 1999; Richards and Palmer, 2010) as well as for explicit event tourism development goals (Bowdin et al., 2011; Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016). Event tourism goals may include attracting tourists in off-season, using events as a catalyst for urban (re-)development and animating specific areas

or attractions (Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016). Furthermore, in an image-saturated society and in a competitive globalised world, where effective destination brands are becoming increasingly important, events can be used for the construction of a desired destination image and brand (Atkinson and Laurier, 1998; Dinnie, 2011; Getz, 1991; 2008; 2012; Getz and Page, 2016; Gotham, 2005; Hughes, 1999; Johansson, 2012; Richards and Palmer, 2010). Particularly hallmark events, i.e. recurring events which are inextricably linked to their location, are seen as useful tools for destination brand development for external audiences with the potential of also fostering a sense of community among residents (Getz et al., 2012).

However, the use of festivals and events for such strategies does not mean that their meanings are no longer contested. Indeed, the construction of desired identities for branding purposes may require manipulation of the place and community (Atkinson and Laurier, 1998; Johansson, 2012). Consequently, features which are unsuitable may be excluded from the official identity, whether these are certain social groups or uncomfortable histories (Andrews and Leopold, 2013; Atkinson and Laurier, 1998). Quinn (2003) further emphasised that there may be discrepancies between official versions of group and place identity as communicated through a festival, and the unofficial versions as evident within the local community. Even if events aim to communicate inclusivity, they always construct an excluded group which is not invited with the organisers acting as gatekeepers (Andrews and Leopold, 2013; Jeong and Santos, 2004), reinforcing the political nature of festival and event production.

2.5   Summary

This chapter presented some of the conceptual contexts for this thesis by reviewing and discussing the relevant literature. It started by reviewing the origins of the concept of collective memory and relevant debates, and continued with a discussion of group identity with special attention to the role of the nation. In this section, collective memory was repeatedly referred to in order to illustrate the links between memory and identity. Contemporary developments that challenge the predominant role of the nation for collective

memory and identity were discussed as well. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the links between festivals, events and identity (re)constructions.

Important points to take forward are as follows. As discussed throughout, collective memory and identity are approached from a social scientific and constructionist perspective. This means that notions of shared memories and identities are seen as social constructions, communicated and maintained through widely understood symbols and other semiotic resources. The construction and use of such signs fosters unity and cohesion and thus contributes to the imagining of community. The nation is the most common framework within which the community is imagined, but its role is becoming increasingly contested. Festivals and events can contribute to the (re)construction of group identity, and indeed, they are often seen to be outward expressions thereof, fostering cohesion and unity. Nowadays, however, they are often a resource used for event tourism and branding strategies. Nevertheless, they are still seen as potentially powerful for identity (re)construction and social cohesion purposes, while at the same time they are also inherently political and exclusive, dominated by decisions made by powerful groups. While such uses and roles of festivals and events have been widely discussed in the event studies literature, commemorative events – the epitome, so to speak, of memory and identity (re)constructions at events – have not.

Having outlined these preliminary discussions and academic contexts of the study, the literature review now moves on to more specific discussions surrounding commemoration.

3. USES AND ROLES OF COMMEMORATION

3.1 Introduction

When an event or a person is commemorated it is 'invested with an extraordinary significance and assigned a qualitatively distinct place in our conception of the past' (Schwartz, 1982, p. 377). Gillis (1994) illustrates that these commemorative practices can take different forms; they might be expressed through commemorative events, or at museums, memorials or monuments. Turner (2006) argues that commemoration includes all devices through which a collective such as a nation 'recalls, marks, embodies, discusses or argues about its past' (p. 206). This repertoire of devices consists of 'public rituals of remembrance and individual acts of recollection, the building of monuments and dedication of places of memory, the construction of museums and the naming of streets, the visiting of such places [and] public debates over the meaning and significance of historical events' (Turner, 2006, p. 206). Although this thesis focuses on commemoration of political events, the literature on commemoration considers a wide range of subjects, including the 200th birthday of Hans Christian Anderson (Liburd, 2003) or the 50th anniversary of the Roswell UFO incident (Paradis, 2002). As the existing body of literature on commemorative events is limited, these events are considered throughout this literature review as well.

It is often argued that commemoration, whether it is through ceremonies or at museums, memorials or similar, is the selection of certain elements from the past which are used to underpin the needs and values of the present; or as Schwartz (1982) phrases it: 'Commemoration lifts from an ordinary historical sequence those extraordinary events which embody our deepest and most fundamental values' (p. 377). In a similar vein, Olick (1999a) argues that '[c]ommemoration is a way of claiming that the past has something to offer to the present, be it a warning or a model' (p. 381).

Overall, thus, commemoration evokes a memory of an event or a person because of its value for the present and the future in underpinning and constructing contemporary identities. Thus there is a strong link between

commemoration and the previously discussed concepts of collective memories and identities. This chapter explores the purpose of commemoration for society and its link with collective memory and identity. It considers common uses and roles of such practices discussed in previous studies. It furthermore discusses the political nature of commemoration and considers the specificities of commemorative events.

3.2   Commemoration, memory and identity: Constructing commemorative narratives

Previously the link between collective memory and identity was outlined, by portraying the importance of the past as a resource for contemporary identities. Commemoration provides a platform where this memory can be performed, participants can be reminded of it and a shared identity can be fostered. Indeed, the strong links between memory, identity and commemoration are often central in memory studies. White (1997a), for example, argues that 'in acts of remembrance and representation […] history becomes a vehicle for reproducing desired identities in the present' (p. 84). Olick (1999a) confirms that 'recollection is a central part of defining and legitimating identities' (p. 384). In this sense, Connerton (1989) contends that Halbwachs ([1925] 1992) neglected the significance of commemorative rituals for collective memory as it is exactly these rituals that convey and sustain selected shared images of the past and foster group identity. Overall, commemoration produces group membership and contributes to the construction of the self and the other (Park, 2011), hence promoting group identity of those represented. The sharper these boundaries between self and 'other' are portrayed, the stronger it makes commemorative practices as a resource for group identity (White, 1997b).

With collective memory and identity often being discussed in the context of the nation (see Section 2.3), it is not surprising that commemoration is often seen as a means to foster national identity by evoking a national collective memory (Jedlowski, 2001). Indeed, Elgenius (2011b) mentions national commemoration as one of the most important resources for the celebration of national identity. National commemoration can draw on semiotic resources

such as flags and emblems, which evoke the past to justify the nation's existence (Elgenius, 2011b). In this sense, commemoration is a key element to make the nation 'visible' and helps to establish continuity and validity of the nation while fostering solidarity and national identity (Elgenius, 2011b). Guibernau (2007) and Merkel (2015a) also argue that the use of semiotic resources is one of the key strategies of governments for the communication and reinforcement of a sense of community, and Smith (1995) further emphasises the importance of ceremonies and symbols: 'through them nations are formed and celebrated' (p. 150). However, other social groups may equally commemorate events from a shared past, such as ethnic minorities, regions, cities, or religions. All such social groups employ symbols to 'mark, celebrate and glorify' themselves (Elgenius, 2011a, p. 397). The use of symbols and other semiotic resources at commemorative practices is thus key for memory and identity (re)constructions.

In the previous chapter, collective memory was already defined as a collection of signs that represent a shared past, and identity to be constructed based on this memory, and vice versa. When reconsidering these definitions and seeing commemorative practices as one particular platform for memory and identity (re)constructions, these practices thus selectively employ those signs of memory and identity to construct a particular commemorative narrative. In this sense, Ryan (2011), for example, describes collective memory as a narrative construction, in which unrelated and unordered events are forced into a particular structure. Commemorative practices are one particular means to do so. This idea is very much present in the relevant literature. Park (2011), for example, sees commemoration as a means to reconstruct shared memories and identities through the use of symbols which communicate values and sentiments that are of importance to the group. Spillman (1997) also sees commemoration as a celebration employing a selection of symbols that express group identity and the meanings and values associated with it. Connerton (1989) states that through commemoration 'a community is reminded of its identity as represented by and told in a master narrative' (Connerton, 1989, p. 70). He moreover describes commemoration as the process of 'making sense of the past as a kind of collective autobiography' (Connerton, 1989, p. 70). Tint's

(2010) argument is similar, stating that cumulatively the dominant narrative constructs a master commemorative narrative which is also a resource for the development and strengthening of group identity. This commemorative narrative may be particularly powerful when it contains a moral connotation (White, 1997b) or is communicated in unconventional forms (Wagner-Pacifici, 1996).

Overall, memories and identities are (re)constructed and sustained through a commemorative narrative which is communicated at each act of commemoration:

> *Each act of commemoration reproduces a commemorative narrative, a story about a particular past that accounts for this ritualised remembrance and provides a moral message for the group members. […] commemorations together contribute to the formation of a master commemorative narrative that structures collective memory. […] The master commemorative narrative focuses on the group's distinct social identity [and] on the event that marks the emergence of the group as a distinct social entity. (Zerubavel, 1995, pp. 6ff)*

This commemorative narrative is always a narrative of memory and identity and may entail several such narratives, depending on what memories and identities are (re)constructed. This idea of a commemorative narrative is crucial for this thesis. In this sense, a narrative is constructed through a selection of semiotic resources and is not necessarily 'a linear story with a plot, but rather, abstractly, […] a set of ideas and values embedded in the chosen [semiotic resources] and understood by the audience' (Avraham and Daugherty, 2012, p. 1386). As stated previously, one cannot attempt to grasp a 'whole' collective memory of a social group and consequently, any commemorative narrative constructed at individual acts of commemoration should merely be seen as one particularly instance of memory and identity (re)constructions. However, such an analysis can give insight into how imagined communities are constructed and maintained (Spillman, 1997).

3.3   Common roles and uses of commemoration

Apart from the aforementioned use of these practices for (re)constructions of narratives of memory and identity, the existing literature on the role of commemoration within society can be seen to have three different dominant

focal points. These relate to commemoration as an expression of social solidarity, the use of commemoration to consolidate power, and commemorative practices as platforms for the expression and negotiation of plural memories. The purpose of commemoration is primarily seen to be of social, cultural or political nature and these three key roles are explored in this section. Furthermore, the end of this section will consider some emerging literature on how these roles may be affected in a globalised world. It should be said that these different ways of understanding the role of commemoration are not mutually exclusive.

One perspective for approaching commemoration is in relation to how it provides members of a community with a sense of belonging and functions as an expression of social solidarity. In this sense, commemoration is mostly seen as a bottom-up social activity driven by the intrinsic needs of the community but commemoration can also be used by powerful groups in the hopes that it will nurture social cohesion.

According to Durkheim ([1912] 2001), repeated commemorative rituals strengthen group solidarity. By keeping group memory alive they ensure a sense of historical continuity, leading to an emphasis of group identity: '[commemorative] rites are, above all, the means by which the social group periodically reaffirms itself' (Durkheim, [1912] 2001, p. 287). The most important aspect in this process is that group members come together for a shared experience. As he did not explicitly link these rituals to group identity, the exact content of these rituals and celebrations for the purpose of enhancing group solidarity was seen to be negligible:

> *The essential thing is that individuals should be reunited, that common feelings should be re-experienced and expressed by common acts. As to the particular nature of these feelings and acts, that is something relatively secondary and contingent. To become conscious of itself, the group does not need to produce these particular gestures rather than those. It must commune through the same thought and the same action; but the kinds of thought or action in which this communion takes place are of little importance. (Durkheim, [1912] 2001, p. 287)*

According to Durkheim ([1912] 2001) commemorative events are staged by religious communities in order to 'prevent [the beliefs] from fading from memory' and to 'revive the most essential elements of the collective

consciousness' (p. 279). With the help of these commemorative rituals the community 'periodically reanimates the feeling it has of itself and its unity' (p. 280). Thus keeping the memory alive through commemoration strengthens group cohesion and solidarity. The need for historical continuity becomes clear when Durkheim argues that commemorative rituals are used to 'link the present to the past, the individual to the collectivity' (p. 282): 'One is more certain of one's faith when one sees its relation to the distant past and the great things it has inspired' (Durkheim, [1912] 2001, p. 280). Even though his work focuses on religious communities and the distinction between the sacred and the secular, Cladis (2001) states that this dichotomy can be transferred to the distinction between the common life of the community and the private life of the individual.

However, Durkheim is not the only scholar who attributes outcomes of social cohesion and social solidarity to commemoration. Frijda (1997) also sees the main purpose and rationale of commemoration in the strengthening of social order and coherence that stems from an inherent need to symbolically mark significant emotional events from a community's past. Such a bottom-up approach to commemoration is considered by Bell (2003) as the purest and only true expression of collective memory; for example, when survivors of a war come together to collectively mourn the dead. Furthermore, Misztal (2003b) states that the main purpose of commemoration is the construction of a uniform version of the past that provides people with a sense of community. Smith (1995) describes commemorative rituals to arise out of the need to preserve a nation's uniqueness and celebrate fraternity, thus fostering social cohesion among the population. Turner (2006) further argues that commemorative practices 'are intended to create or sustain a sense of belonging' (p. 206). In a related vein, Elgenius (2011a; 2011b) argues that governments often hope that state-sponsored commemorative practices will lead to heightened feelings of social cohesion and solidarity by promoting a shared identity, adopting a Durkheimian approach to commemoration. In this sense, however, it is no longer a bottom-up approach to commemoration but very much top-down with the overall aim of justifying the current social order and consolidating power structures. Commemoration can thus be used for power consolidation purposes.

In line with this, Gillis (1994) as well as many other more recent theorists place an increased emphasis on the political aspect of commemorative practices. As Roudometof (2003) states:

> *[I]t is necessary to view commemorative rituals not simply as expressions of Durkheimian social solidarity, but also as political projects whose goal is to cultivate and promote specific understandings of the past as part of an on-going political agenda. (pp. 162f)*

This exploitation of the past by powerful groups for political agendas is a common consideration in studies of both commemoration and collective memory, particularly in relation to state-sponsored commemoration (e.g. Foote and Azaryahu, 2007). From this perspective commemoration can be seen as one of a variety of channels to instil a desired collective memory within a community that favours one version of the past over others. In this regard, scholars often again refer to Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) work in 'The invention of tradition'. Through the invention of commemorative rituals, dominant groups can foster a specific interpretation of the past that justifies the status quo (Elgenius, 2011b). Turner (2006) further explains that supporters of this theory emphasise 'the delay – possibly of centuries – between the event and the decision to mark it and the manipulative or hegemonic relationship between actors who make the decision and those expected to agree to participate in its marking' (p. 206). This further underpins the idea that commemorative practices do not occur 'naturally' but are always imposed on a social group by dominant elites for their own gain.

In this regard it is relevant to refer back to Chapter 2 where the politics of memory more generally where discussed, as it further illustrates the ways in which commemoration can be used to consolidate power through the construction of a dominant 'official' version of collective memory that is communicated through acts of commemoration. This illustrates how commemoration can function as a tool in the process of the construction of dominant collective memories by communicating what is to be remembered and what is not. State-sponsored commemoration in the context of monuments, museums, ceremonies, national days or military parades is often considered in such a context (e.g. Bodnar, 1992; Elgenius, 2011b; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; White, 1997a; 1997b).

The dominance of powerful elites such as the government can lead to resistance and commemorative practices that support an 'official' collective memory can be opposed. In this sense, Cressy (1994) argues that commemoration can simultaneously function as a unifying and a divisive force. Elgenius (2011b) also states that while national commemoration may foster cohesion among the majority, there will be marginalised minority groups who feel excluded.

A final approach to understanding the role of commemoration in society revolves around its role as a platform for the expression and negotiation of plural memories. This is particularly discussed in the existing literature in relation to developments in the late 20th century. Gillis (1994) states that, since the late 1960s, commemorative practices have become less ritualised and instead happen at times and places of people's own choosing. Particularly since the 1970s, new debates on commemoration have come into existence, alongside an increasing scholarly interest in the notions of memory and identity. The public debates particularly focused on the notion of the counter-monument (Gillis, 1994; Lupu, 2003; Ryan, 2011). This movement claims that traditional memory sites encourage forgetting rather than remembering by not providing enough space for interaction and it challenges the notion of memory as a knowable fact. According to Gillis (1994), the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall, erected in 1982, constituted a turning point in commemoration. It implied a change as the American public was deeply divided over the meaning of the historical event being commemorated and because the memorial encourages people to actively engage with the long list of names of fallen soldiers (Gillis, 1994; Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz, 1991). Therefore it is argued that monuments should provide more possibilities for interaction such as those available at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

This is also linked with a change in memory culture during the 20th century which saw an increased emphasis on plurality, mnemonic minorities, as well as previously forgotten memories to be included within commemorative practices (Elgenius, 2011a; 2011b; Ryan, 2011). This change may address the desire for reconciliation and equality, and can be seen in a variety of

studies. Walvin (2010), for example, states that many British museums nowadays attempt to include nuanced and multi-vocal displays. Dwyer et al. (2013) and Foote and Azaryahu (2007) also note a move towards more inclusive approaches which incorporate previously marginalised memories. In a related vein, even commemorative practices that are reinforcing dominant memories can inadvertently initiate processes of negotiation or reconciliation, thus raising awareness of inequalities or functioning as platforms for discussions between dominant and minority groups (White, 2004).

Apart from these commonly discussed roles and uses of commemoration which often consider these practices in the context of the nation, there is only a small body of research that discusses the role of commemoration in contemporary times, where such practices have become more ambiguous under influences of globalisation, multiculturalism and other developments such as technological advancements. In today's world, where the role of the nation for the imagining of communities is seen to be weakened by some (see Section 2.3), state-sponsored commemoration is sometimes considered to potentially be diminishing in significance.

Overall, however, while there is an emerging body of literature in memory studies that considers the development of an international memory (see Section 2.3), there is very little existing literature about the consequences of this development for commemorative practices. Gillis (1994), for instance, states that commemoration has become more global, with a growing number of places of global significance, such as Hiroshima or Auschwitz, yet at the same time there is also a growing interest in local and family memory, consequently leading to a weakening of the role of national collective memory. Gillis (1994) argues that due to this development state-sponsored commemoration constitutes a less powerful tool to reconstruct a single national identity. Edensor (2002) also emphasises how official ceremonies are no longer the most powerful resource for memory and identity (re)constructions, as nowadays everyday life and popular culture are just as important.

West (2008; 2010; 2015) is one of the few authors explicitly considering the role of commemorative practices in a globalised world. He suggests that in a

time where some researchers may see globalisation as a threat to the nation and national identity, commemoration can lead to an increased engagement with national history. For example, in his analysis of young Australian backpackers' experiences at Gallipoli, he suggests that this travel is a type of pilgrimage that can foster cross-cultural understanding and the reimagining of national memory in a global context (West, 2008). The widespread interest in Gallipoli in contemporary times has also been accredited to a need for rituals in a secular world (Frost, Wheeler and Harvey, 2008). Further research into commemoration and globalisation was conducted by Conway (2008). His work on commemoration of Bloody Sunday in Derry, Northern Ireland, outlines how shifts in, for example, the local political environment and transatlantic relations turned the commemoration into practices with a more global outlook that draw comparisons with existing human rights and injustice issues around the world. In regards to recent developments of national days, Elgenius (2011b) notes 'landmark changes' (p. 174) from a ceremonial point of view, with an increasing focus on reconciliation strategies that may involve the invitation of foreign dignitaries to the celebration. However, she says that such national days can still foster national identity as indeed, by definition, they are designed to do so (Elgenius, 2011b). In addition to that, Winter (2009; 2015) conducted research into the role of commemoration in times of globalisation and outlines that international tourists can nowadays play a role for the (re)construction of collective memories at permanent memorial sites. Nonetheless, it can overall be concluded that the aforementioned common roles of commemoration in a contemporary globalised world remain under-researched.

3.4 The politics of commemoration and the role of organisers

Inherent to all acts of commemoration is an element of politics. Politics, in this sense, is not exclusively concerned with government involvement but, more generally, with 'the processes by which groups of people make decisions' (Merkel, 2014, p. 3). The debate in the literature on the politics of commemoration focuses on two main aspects: controversies and conflicts over the meaning and interpretation of events or persons being

commemorated and the role of organising institutions in relation to their priorities and intended uses of the commemorative efforts. In this regard, even the most laudable of intentions are not immune to public scrutiny and conflicts over 'appropriate' representation.

Overall, public acts of commemoration never happen 'without an accompanying agent or agents', hence they are 'always organized in some way' (Turner, 2006, p. 211). More specifically, Turner (2006) argues that commemoration is always the outcome of an organisational network, which consists of 'complex relationships between central government, regional authorities, civil society associations, business people and intellectuals' (p. 211). Foote and Azaryahu (2007) note 'survivors, veterans, their families and descendants, political organizations and their constituencies, community groups, nongovernmental organizations, and activists' (p. 129) as potential organisers with varying motives for the support of commemoration and competing interpretations of its meaning. Tint (2010) emphasises how commemoration in any society is subject to a combination of various constructive forces, such as the government or the media, which selects the aspects of the past that are to be remembered. This selectivity is almost always influenced by the current political agenda (Tint, 2010).

Barthel (1996) emphasises how any type of commemoration is subject to the processes of selection, contextualisation and interpretation, independent of how 'historically accurate' it attempts to be. Park (2011) also claims that for any form of commemoration the 'past can be purposefully selected, modified and re-appropriated to meet the political agendas and ideological frameworks concerned' (p. 523). Each of these processes shapes the construction of memory and identity. Chronis (2006) calls this process memory management, stating that organisers of commemorative practices, in his particular case the museum organisers of a Byzantine exhibition, are always involved in the production of a controlled version of the past. Barthel (1996) claims that, no matter how laudable their intentions, organisers 'can never hope to rise above politics, to reach a point where all people share the same sense of what must be preserved and how it should be contextualized and interpreted' (p. 362). Witz (2009), for example, outlines conflicts in relation to

the staging of the 1988 Dias Festival in South Africa which illustrated the challenges of organising an inclusive and multicultural festival during Apartheid.

Overall, the political nature of commemoration and its potential to cause conflict are now generally recognised. Roudometof (2003), for instance, claims that '[c]ommemoration itself is a political act' (p. 162) as well as 'a field of social, cultural, or political contestation and dispute' (p. 163). Similarly, Gillis (1994) described commemoration to be 'by definition social and political, for it involves the coordination of individual and group memories, whose results may appear consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and, in some instances, annihilation' (p. 5). It is particularly the involvement of the government in the processes of commemoration that calls for investigation. Barthel (1996) argues that when a nation's achievements are commemorated, the government will have an interest in how these achievements are presented and interpreted. According to Turner (2006) it is particularly in nations with an unsettled or violent political past that commemoration has the potential to cause public controversies, such as post-war Germany, modern Israel, or the United States. In addition to that, White (1997b) investigates the 50th anniversary of the Pearl Harbor bombings and claims that those historical events, which were personally experienced by parts of the population, are particularly likely to cause emotional and political conflict with regard to appropriate commemorative practices. National commemoration of national historical events will be monitored by citizens, the media and others to check whether they can 'get it right' (White, 1997b, p. 11); thus they become sites of contestation.

Olick (1999a) argues that studies on the politics of commemoration often take an approach that sees commemoration exclusively as a product of present contexts. Instead, he argues, commemoration should be seen as an 'ongoing dynamic process' (Olick, 1999a, p. 400) that considers the development of commemorative practices over time. In reaction to that, Conway (2008) found that past commemorations do not necessarily constrain commemorative practices in the present but also argues that

changes in the wider political, economic and demographic context are important to organisers.

Overall, organisers play an important role for the shape of the commemorative narrative – although they naturally cannot control the audiences' interpretation thereof. Organisers, however, selectively choose those semiotic resources that make up commemorative narratives and (re)construct memory and identity. As such, these narratives 'are influenced by the goals, constraints, resources, conventions, and technologies' (Spillman, 1997, p. 8) of the organisers. Preceding sections outlined commonly discussed uses of commemorative practices which lie predominantly in the social, cultural and political domains. As such, organisers may prioritise outcomes such as social cohesion and nation-building, reconciliation through portraying plural memories, or they may try to consolidate their power. Overall, organisers' priorities and their intended uses of commemorative practices, potentially influenced by a number of contextual issues, are crucial for the commemorative narrative.

3.5   The particularities of commemorative events

Commemoration at places of historical significance differs from commemorative events in that these places permanently 'fix' collective memories by providing tangible links to the past they refer to and are available for people to visit at any time (Barthel, 1996; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Turner, 2006). In contrast to that, commemorative events tend to mark crucial dates instead of places in a community's history. Furthermore, some argue that monuments can develop into unnoticed banal features of the urban landscape and can encourage forgetting more than remembering (Gapps, 2010; Turner, 2006), expressed aptly by Robert Musil: 'there is nothing so invisible as the monument' (cited in Kattago, 2015, p. 179). In contrast to this, ceremonies have the potential to generate a strong sense of belonging through creating a shared experience (Turner, 2006). Gapps (2010) also illustrates how events can create more widespread interest in historical events through focused attention on key anniversaries as well as through offering an immersive entertainment experience. However, their

temporary nature might make these events easily forgettable, only involving short-term impacts. Furthermore, there is more scope for ambiguity in regards to the meaning of commemorative events, and places of permanent commemoration are often considered to be clearer and more direct in their messages through their 'fixed' nature (Gapps, 2010). It has to be acknowledged though, that the meaning of places of permanent commemoration is also by no means 'fixed', as meanings are subjective and can shift depending on context (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007). Gapps (2010), however, argues that this may be a positive way forward for contemporary commemoration in that commemorative events can offer open-ended, inclusive and participatory approaches. In the following section, the nature and purpose of commemorative events is considered in more detail.

Commemorative events are defined by Getz (2007) as 'memorial services, specific ceremonies or broader events (even festivals) designed to honour the memory of someone or something' (p. 34). He states that they mostly take place in the context of national days, birthdays of kings or queens, battles or wars. However, Getz (2007) also emphasises that commemorative events have not received much attention in event studies.

Frost and Laing (2013) published the first book on commemorative events. They define commemorative events as those events that 'are staged so that society may remember and reflect upon past occurrences and their relationship to today' (Frost and Laing, 2013, p. 1). They furthermore argue that commemorative events can be similar to other types of planned events in terms of form and organisation; however, it is the focus on remembering which makes them distinctive. These authors present a typology of commemorative events, consisting of:

- National days and anniversaries
- Major anniversaries of independence or nationhood
- Foundation days
- Religious anniversaries
- Protest or oppositional events
- War remembrance days

- Anniversaries of battles
- Anniversaries of other historical events
- Cultural anniversaries
- Anniversaries linked to the construction or completion of buildings and other structures
- Corporate and product anniversaries

Connerton (1989) discusses the nature of commemorative events in more detail from a sociological perspective. Similarly to Durkheim, he compares commemorative events to rituals. In order to define rituals, he cites Lukes (1975) who stated that rituals constitute a 'rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance' (Connerton, 1989, p. 44). Rituals tend to be a repetitive activity and in that, they imply continuity with the past. According to Connerton (1989), commemorative events can be set apart from the general category of rituals because 'they do not simply imply continuity with the past but explicitly claim such continuity' (p. 45).

Generally, the purpose of commemorative events is most often considered in relation to commonly discussed uses of commemorative efforts as outlined in this chapter which relate to social solidarity or power consolidation through identity (re)constructions, for example, and the conflicts that may arise due to their political nature. However, particularly from an event studies and event management perspective, these events have also occasionally been considered for other uses such as their economic impacts and potential for event tourism development. This section discusses the purpose of commemorative events taking into consideration these different uses.

Regarding the common uses, Frost and Laing (2013) suggest that commemorative events are effective for promoting unity, loyalty and a sense of belonging. Frost and Laing (2013) claim that organisers of commemorative events usually prioritise positive outcomes in these areas as key objectives. St-Onge (1991) states that particularly governments' interests include education and the fostering of social cohesion or national morale. Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) 'The invention of tradition' is of relevance here again to

understand the purpose of such events. Their approach examines 'the manner in which inventive ceremonial practices propagate a sense of authenticity and historical depth for the imagined communities of nationhood' (White, 1997a, p. 66). Hobsbawm (1983) claims that invented traditions are 'responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition' (p. 2). In particular these invented traditions are used to provide structure to social life in a modern world of constant change and innovation (Hobsbawm, 1983). Connerton (1989) agrees and states that 'whenever the social institutions for which "old" traditions were designed begin to crumble under the impact of rapid social change, a widespread and instant invention of new rituals occurs' (p. 51). Although they do not necessarily have to be of commemorative character these invented traditions do imply continuity with the past. According to Hobsbawm (1983) there are three main purposes of invented traditions: to establish or symbolise social cohesion, to establish or legitimise authority, and to inculcate beliefs, values and behavioural conventions. In agreement with the modernist approach to understanding nations, invented traditions such as the Scottish kilt or Coronation rituals are a key resource for constructing national identity (Billig, 1995). In line with this, commemorative events can be considered such invented traditions, existing for the purpose of fostering the imagining of the (national) community by evoking a shared past.

In this regard, it is the state-sponsored commemorative event of national significance which again received a lot of attention in the literature. McDonald and Méthot (2006) look at the purpose of centennial celebrations in particular, stating that these events are often hosted to foster nationalism, especially in young nations where the notions of patriotism and nationalism are still nascent. Bodnar (1992), Spillman (1997) and White (2004) further studied centennial and bicentennial celebrations in the United States and Australia as instances which constructed national identity and fostered patriotism in relatively young nations. Gillis (1994) also observed that commemorative events are particularly used in fragile new nations. In support of this, Gilbert (1976) states that 'the observances of the anniversaries of crucial years in the history of a nation […] have a justification

in revealing values on which a society was built and strengthening the bonds that hold it together' (p. 653). Frost (2012) argues how particularly celebrations of the founding of a nation are used to foster national identity and pride. Authors such as Spillman (1997), Misztal (2003b) or Hall et al. (2010) support this stance. Spillman (1997) analyses the importance of the moment which is perceived as the foundation of the nation for the celebration of national identity in the United States and Australia. Misztal (2003b) states that 'the myth of origins [is] one of the most powerful means of establishing a community's unity' (p. 125). Hall et al. (2010) investigated Anzac Day which is the national day of commemoration in Australia and New Zealand to remember those who fought at the Gallipoli battlefields during World War I. These authors emphasise that many attendees are attracted by the possibility to 'connect with a place that is considered to be a birthplace of nations' (p. 246).

Official annual national days are another type of commemorative event of national significance that received particular attention in the literature in relation to their contribution to the construction of national collective memory and national identity (e.g. Elgenius, 2011a; 2011b; Frost and Laing, 2013; Fuller, 2004; McCrone and McPherson, 2009). Such national days are often also based on the founding myth related to political events such as independence, liberation, unification, the constitution and the formation of the state (Elgenius, 2011b).

Re-enactment events which are classified as a type of commemorative event by Frost and Laing (2013) have also received a certain amount of attention in the academic literature. These events particularly aim at presenting aspects of the past to an audience during the course of an event (Carnegie and McCabe, 2008). Carnegie and McCabe (2008) claim that they can strengthen community identity. However, in their choice of histories to present, these events are selective and can create a version of the past that serves the purpose of 'edutainment' (Carnegie and McCabe, 2008; Turner, 1989). Even if an 'accurate' representation of historical events is the goal, the past can never be fully recreated, and thus it can be asked whether these events distort people's understanding of the past (Gapps, 2009; Hunt, 2004; Turner,

1989). However, Carnegie and McCabe (2008) and Halewood and Hannam (2001) emphasise that these views are often too negative, and that the playful experience of the past is often valued by all participants.

The second type of use of commemorative events refers to their inclusion in event tourism and event portfolio development strategies for benefits such as place branding and economic gain. Overall, Frost and Laing (2013) argue that commemorative events may be difficult to include in such plans and there is limited literature around this topic. Frost, Wheeler and Harvey (2008) suggest that it is the potential for conflict over the meaning of such events that makes them difficult to be used for economic purposes. In this regard, McDonald and Méthot (2006) stress that the potential for financial gain from centennial celebrations was detected as early as the second half of the 19th century, which contributed to an increasing popularity of such events. However, McDonald and Méthot (2006) do not explicitly refer to event tourism as a cause for this economic gain. By analysing the role of commemorative events in former capitals, Frost (2012) underlines that economic benefits can be aimed for by using commemorative events to promote a destination for attracting tourists. Laws and Ferguson (2011) analysed a small-scale community-run commemorative event on Canadian National Day and outlined how the local community may benignly use the events for the construction of a certain destination image, but with limited reach and strategic implementation.

Particularly historical re-enactment events have received academic attention for their role and potential in this context (e.g. Carnegie and McCabe, 2008; Ryan and Cave, 2007). Furthermore, cultural anniversaries and anniversaries of other 'popular' historical events (i.e. secular and non-political events) can be used specifically as a means to develop event tourism and place branding strategies as indicated by the bicentenary celebrations of Hans Christian Anderson (Liburd, 2003), the 50th anniversary of the Roswell UFO incident (Paradis, 2002) or the centenary of the sinking of the Titanic (Frost and Laing, 2013). In contrast to these studies, Grundlingh (2004) outlines how the centenary of the South African War in 1999 was planned with hopes of

increased tourist numbers, but that the celebrations only reached a niche market.

Overall, in reference to the typology developed by Frost and Laing (2013), the event tourism and place branding potential of these events seems to be limited to certain types of commemorative events. Due to limited research into commemorative events and event tourism development, Frost and Laing (2013) speculate that the following types of events may be able to attract tourists: international exhibitions, museum and gallery special exhibitions, historical re-enactments, national pageants, parades and ceremonies, diaspora events, and participatory events. Commemorative events held in national capitals that mark events of national significance may involve the spectacle required to attract tourists, although these may be primarily domestic (Frost and Laing, 2013). Consequently, many types of commemorative events, as argued by Frost and Laing (2013), may be subject to what they term a 'tourism paradox'. This paradox entails the idea that in order to gain public funding many events nowadays are expected to bring along tourism and economic benefits, but commemorative events are primarily aimed at a local or national audience. Thus, these events may attract domestic tourists under the most favourable circumstances, but are of limited appeal to international visitors. Overall, Frost and Laing (2013) consider tourists as outsiders that mostly do not share the memories and identities that are reinforced at the events and thus may be difficult to attract. If 'outsiders' do attend or acknowledge such events, this primarily validates national identity by reinforcing the international standing of the country and the significance of the event commemorated (Frost and Laing, 2013; Spillman, 1997).

The development of commemorative events for event tourism purposes naturally does not diminish the political nature of these events. Frost (2012) argues that even such rather commercialised commemorative events are nevertheless politicised and can therefore cause conflict. He analysed the Australian Centenary of the Federation in 2001 and found that the organisers tried to present one single national identity, when in reality a variety of such identities exists within one nation. Thus, commemorative events developed

for event tourism or other economic 'banal' purposes still constitute the same potential for dispute as other commemorative efforts. Additionally, Hall et al. (2010) state that organisers of large-scale commemorative events face several other challenges. On the one hand these events have become commercial operations that attract a large number of visitors who have to be catered to, but on the other hand organisers have to ensure that the ceremonies do not lose their meaning. This is related to concerns about commodification and distortion of the past, which organisers may be accused of when staging such events for economic benefits (Gillis, 1994).

McDonald and Méthot (2006) see the future of major commemorative events as complex – there are more and more national events that would require commemorating but the authors suggest that such celebrations might only be successful when they have a link to an existing notion of patriotism and nationalism within the community. This argument indicates that staging commemorative events purely for the sake of event tourism and economic outcomes may be unsuccessful. Additionally, the big centennial celebrations of the past now compete for resources and attention with international sporting events as well as other mega events. Although being different in nature and focus, these events fulfil similar purposes as they are also used for economic gain as well as for fostering national pride as outlined in Section 2.4.

Overall, this section showed some parallels between the nature and purpose of commemorative events and the discussion of festivals and events more generally in Section 2.4. Like other festivals, commemorative events can (re)construct identities and foster social cohesion. However, while many traditional cultural celebrations were reinvented or appropriated for event tourism development or destination branding, commemorative events have rarely been considered a resource for this.

3.6   Summary

This chapter of the literature review concentrated on commemoration with a particular focus on its uses and politics. The chapter finished with a consideration of the literature on commemorative events.

At the start of the chapter, the link between memory, identity and commemoration was outlined, and how each act of commemoration constructs a commemorative narrative through a selection of semiotic resources. The review of the literature further illustrated that commemoration is generally a well-researched area, particularly in relation to how it is rooted within communities, how it can be exploited, contested and (re)negotiated. Commemoration is often seen as a tool for the anchoring of a dominant collective memory and identity among a community. State-sponsored commemoration within the national realm received particular attention by scholars. In this context, the literature indicates that commemorative practices may be changing, by being a less influential resource for nation-building purposes, with the nation potentially declining in significance. In regards to commemorative events more specifically, the literature suggests that they are a particularly powerful tool for creating a shared experience and thus fostering social cohesion in the national realm, but the existing literature also indicates the potential use of such events for event tourism or destination branding purposes. However, this potential appears to be limited to certain types of commemorative events, with the majority still seen to be primarily staged for social, cultural and political outcomes aimed at an 'internal' audience and with limited appeal to tourists. In this regard, tourists are often seen as outsiders and potential change agents for commemorative practices, thus creating a dichotomy between locals and tourists.

Overall, however, the existing literature only provides very limited insight into the role of commemoration in contemporary society and into the commemorative narratives that these events communicate. Furthermore, commemorative events are generally under-researched in memory studies, event studies and event management, but particularly little is known about how they are affected by changes in commemorative practices as well as increasing concerns in destinations in relation to event tourism and event portfolio development strategies. The limited existing literature appears not to agree on why these events are staged apart from commonly discussed uses such as nation-building and other social, cultural and political uses. However, in contemporary times, these uses appear to be of diminishing impact, thus,

the question remains why new commemorative events appear and what the organisers' priorities may be.

Having considered the literature on commemoration more generally, the literature review now moves on to consider the context of this particular research, i.e. Berlin Wall commemoration.

4. COMMEMORATION OF THE BERLIN WALL: CONTEXTS, DEVELOPMENTS, CONTROVERSIES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter of the literature review discusses the research context in relation to Berlin Wall commemoration. This requires the consideration of a variety of issues, such as the development of its commemoration and the role of the Wall in collective memory and identity. The latter immediately provokes the question: Whose memory and identity? As it is one of the objectives of the research to investigate what narratives of memory and identity emerge, at the stage of the literature review, this question can only be answered from existing literature on commemoration. As the previous chapter demonstrated, one would suspect national identity and collective memory to be of importance. One of the following sections thus provides a brief overview of German memory and identity debates. However, with the commemorative events under investigation primarily organised by local organisers in Berlin, the local context is also of importance. The role of Berlin is thus also considered in terms of local identity construction. Subsequently, Berlin Wall commemoration more specifically is outlined. In doing so, the Wall's development from border fortification to memorial is considered and afterwards, conflicts of memory and identity are presented. At the beginning of this chapter, however, a brief overview of the history of the Wall is presented. While this is not a piece of historical research, a brief reminder of the potential causes and contexts of the construction and fall of the Wall are helpful for understanding its commemoration.

4.2 The history of the Wall: From the end of the Second World War to German unification

The shape of Germany after the end of the Second World War was decided at international conferences when the country was divided into four zones to be occupied by the Allies. However, Germany's eventual division into two states was an unintentional outcome of the emerging Cold War (Fulbrook, 2000; 2004). The three West German occupied zones started to slowly

merge, alongside increasing tension with the Soviet East German zone, as communism became the new enemy of the Western Allies. The Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) came into effect on 24th May 1949. It was called Basic Law instead of constitution in order to avoid acknowledging German division as permanent (O'Sullivan, 2004). On 7th October 1949 the GDR reacted with the promulgation of its constitution. Whereas the FRG was turned into a capitalist democracy, the GDR was modelled after Soviet authoritarian socialism with a state-planned economy.

As a result, Germany became the focus of an ideological and economic battle of the opposing systems of the Cold War (Flemming and Koch, 2008). The first chancellor of the FRG, Konrad Adenauer, followed a policy of strict Westernisation and speedy integration into Western alliances (Fulbrook, 2000; Weisbrod, 1996). Consequently, the economy of the FRG soon started to boom, largely due to the Marshall Plan and further support by the Western Allies (Fulbrook, 2000; Roesler, 1991). Citizens enjoyed a relatively wide range of consumer goods, cultural diversity, and a modern way of life inspired by the American consumer society (Flemming and Koch, 2008). At the same time, GDR citizens had to adapt to a system of political paternalism, repression, expropriation, and a lack of consumer goods (Flemming and Koch, 2008).

Soon living standards of the GDR were lower than those of the FRG (Fulbrook, 2000). This caused high numbers of East Germans to migrate to the FRG, approximately 200,000 a year in the late 1950s (Detjen, 2009; Roesler, 1991). While the main inner-German border was closed, it was still possible to cross the border within Berlin, making it the most popular crossing point (Fulbrook, 2004). The Basic Law of the FRG ensured that GDR citizens would immediately be eligible for citizenship (Hirschman, 1993). The substantial number of emigrants and refugees constituted a serious problem for the GDR due to the brain drain and loss of work force (Detjen, 2009; Fulbrook, 2004; Hirschman, 1993; Roesler, 1991; Weisbrod, 1996). The governing Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) failed to permanently reduce these high numbers of emigrants and in order to avoid economic collapse which threatened the GDR's existence, the border in Berlin was

closed and the Berlin Wall was constructed in August 1961 (Fulbrook, 2000; 2004; Roesler, 1991; Weisbrod, 1996). This measure helped to ensure the further existence of the GDR but there was still growing discontent among the East German population regarding their living conditions (Roesler, 1991) and despite the Berlin Wall and large-scale border controls, there was still a considerable flow of refugees (Hirschman, 1993). The GDR border guards had orders to shoot escapees, if necessary (Flemming and Koch, 2008; Heinemann, 2011). The exact number of deaths at the inner-German border is unknown; however, at least 1,000 deaths are estimated, including at least 136 victims along the Berlin Wall (Deutsche Bundesregierung, 2010).

In the 1980s, the GDR experienced further economic difficulties, while at the same time the FRG's economy continuously performed strongly (Fulbrook, 2000; Roesler, 1991; Steiner, 2009). However, the whole extent of the GDR's poor economic condition was unknown to its citizens and other countries, and in the 1970s and 1980s German division appeared established (Fulbrook, 2000). In 1987, Erich Honecker was the first GDR leader to visit the FRG and receive a full official reception as foreign head of state (Knischewski, 1996). At the same time Mikhail Gorbachev introduced a number of reforms and liberalisation processes in the Soviet Union and the rest of the Eastern bloc (Fulbrook, 2000; Knischewski, 1996); governments which were challenged by increasing oppositional movements (Flemming and Koch, 2008). These changes were known as the policies of 'perestroika' (restructuring) and 'glasnost' (openness), which constituted a major change in communist politics (Fulbrook, 2000; Henke, 2009; James, 1991). These reforms, however, were not implemented by Honecker in the GDR (Fulbrook, 2004; Schröder, 2009). Thus the GDR experienced further mass emigration to the FRG via Hungary (which had opened its borders to Austria), Poland or Czechoslovakia (where West German embassies were filling up with East German refugees) and increased political opposition to the GDR government, but also internal pressure within the SED to introduce reforms (Detjen, 2009; Fulbrook, 2000; Knischewski, 1996). Regular protest demonstrations calling for bottom-up reform of the GDR's political system increased in cities such as Leipzig and Dresden (Fulbrook, 2004; Hirschman, 1993). Ignoring all problems, the GDR celebrated its 40th anniversary on 7th October 1989,

causing similar large-scale protests in Berlin where people had placed hope upon Gorbachev's visit on this occasion (Fulbrook, 2004; Hirschman, 1993).

All of these developments 'signalled a novel, serious, and general decline in state authority' of the GDR (Hirschman, 1993, p. 187) and by autumn 1989 there were widespread protests and organised mass demonstrations demanding political change (Fulbrook, 2000). While initially there was fear among the population of a violent suppression of the protests, 9th October 1989 saw a turning point when large-scale demonstrations in Leipzig remained largely uninterrupted by the state (Eckert, 2009b; Fulbrook, 2004; Süß, 2009). On 18th October 1989 Honecker was replaced by Egon Krenz, and reforms were regularly announced in order to regain control over the constant flow of refugees and the protests (Fulbrook, 2000; Henke, 2009). During a press conference on the evening of 9th November 1989, a poorly informed Günter Schabowski, spokesperson of the SED, unwittingly declared the inner German border to be open by announcing the possibility of unrestricted travel to the West (Flemming and Koch, 2008; Fulbrook, 2000; 2004). Upon hearing the news, large crowds of East Germans gathered at the crossing points along the Berlin Wall, an impetus the unprepared border guards were unable to stop (Flemming and Koch, 2008), thus leading to the opening of the borders and the fall of the Berlin Wall on the evening of 9th November 1989. The night was characterised by euphoria on both sides of the now redundant Wall:

> *The effects of the announcement were electric. […] By midnight, people were dancing on the top of the Wall, helping each other over – in both directions – and drinking bottles of champagne, as Berliners were reunited over what was rapidly becoming merely a piece of concrete, rather than the ultimate boundary of the habitable universe. (Fulbrook, 2004, p. 247)*

This signalled the end of the SED and the GDR. In the year following the fall the Berlin Wall, the GDR state structure disintegrated quickly and the appeal of the West was too strong to find popular support for a reform of an independent GDR (Fulbrook, 2000; Henke, 2009; Hirschman, 1993). The first free East German parliament election in March 1990 resulted in a victory for the 'Allianz für Deutschland' (Alliance for Germany) which aimed at quick unification (Glaab, 2002). Unification was officially achieved on 3rd October

1990 under Article 23 of the FRG's Basic Law which allows for accession of new federal states (Knischewski, 1996).

4.3   A brief introduction to East, West and pan-German memory and identity conflicts

Germany had been fragmented into many small states since the Holy Roman Empire as well as under the German Confederation in the 19th century, often with unclear boundaries, lack of clearly defined territory and an ethnically mixed population (Knischewski, 1996). In contrast to that, France and Great Britain, for example, developed national political institutions and practices (Weisbrod, 1996) which played an important part in the development of French and British national identities (James, 1991). Thus, during the 18th and 19th centuries, which saw the rise of the nation-state in Europe 'as the predominant entity for the execution of political and economic power', Germany had difficulties establishing itself, as it did not exist as such a political entity (Knischewski, 1996, p. 125). Germany's constituent states were formally unified for the first time in 1871, when the German Empire was proclaimed in a ceremony in Versailles on 18 January (Fulbrook, 2004). In line with this background, Germany is to be considered a young nation which lacked the institutions and shared past that defined the identity of more established nation-states of the time (Knischewski, 1996; Weisbrod, 1996).

German national identity consequently has always been a particularly complicated issue, and due to the World Wars of the 20th century it became increasingly equated with aggressive nationalism (Knischewski, 1996), while the period of division added another layer of complexity. Perennial or primordial approaches to defining German national identity are thus particularly challenging to establish. This section explores some of the more recent, constructionist debates on German national identity, focusing on the period of division after the Second World War. By no means does this section attempt to give a complete account of this complex topic, the focus of this thesis does not allow enough space for this. However, some of these issues are of relevance for decoding the meanings and uses of Berlin Wall commemoration.

Memory and identity in the FRG after the end of the Second World War were dominated by having to come to terms with the Nazi past (Esbenshade, 1995; Kattago, 2001; Knischewski, 1996; Misztal 2010; Moses, 2007; Ryan, 2010; Olick and Levy, 1997). However, several circumstances provided people with substitute identities (Weisbrod, 1996): Due to its newly established democratic nature and booming economy, the FRG was considered by the Western capitalist world to be the 'legitimate political embodiment of the German nation' (McKay, 2002, p. 15). The new shared identity among West Germans was thus based on pride in the booming economy and democracy combined with strong regional identities and Europeanism (James, 1991; Knischewski, 1996; McKay, 2002; Verheyen, 2008; Wittlinger, 2010). The substitute identities of the post-war period were also characterised by strict anti-communism and the ideological bloc thinking of the Cold War (Knischewski, 1996).

Nevertheless, as part of their identity formation, the FRG faced the burden of the Holocaust and the process of coming to terms with the Nazi past. Collective memory and identity as well as foreign and domestic policy in the post-war period were a response to the legacy of the Holocaust (Ryan, 2010; Olick and Levy, 1997). The initial period after the Second World War was characterised by forgetting, where the main goal of this was to avoid claims of collective guilt as well as to rebuild the country and enable West Germany to become a stable democracy (Kattago, 2001; Misztal 2010; Olick and Levy, 1997). The aggravating Cold War also made the processes of confronting the German population with the crimes of the Nazis a less important priority for the Allies (Kattago, 2001). This forgetting became apparent, for example, in a strong future orientation in political speeches and the many significant buildings and places of the Nazi past which were reused or left unmarked (Fulbrook, 1999; Kattago, 2001). The 1960s then saw the first post-war generation of sceptical young adults who started to raise critical questions of historical responsibility and disagreed with considering 1945 as a 'zero hour', i.e. a new beginning without links to the past (Kattago, 2001; Olick, 1999). In the 1980s a desire for normalisation became increasingly present among German politicians and citizens (Olick and Levy, 1997). One example of the search for normalisation is the 'Historikerstreit' (historians' dispute) from the

1980s (Esbenshade, 1995; Kattago, 2001; Knischewski, 1996; Moses, 2007; Olick and Levy, 1997) – an exchange of opinions of major historians and sociologists. This debate was about 'the status of the Nazi past in German history and its implications for contemporary German identity' (Olick and Levy, 1997, pp. 931f). One side of this debate argued that the Holocaust was comparable to evil that had occurred in other places such as Stalin's gulags, and in line with the desire for normalcy, whereas the other side agreed with the traditional view on the Holocaust, claiming that it was evil that was 'fundamentally different from all others in history and implied special burdens for Germany' (Olick and Levy, 1997, p. 932). This particular debate was settled by a speech of President Richard von Weizsäcker in 1988 in which he addressed the German historians and indirectly agreed with the traditional view on the Holocaust, stating that Germany must face its historical responsibilities (Olick and Levy, 1997).

In contrast to the FRG's preoccupation with the memory of the Holocaust, in the GDR the SED attempted to create a new identity for GDR citizens without links to the Nazi past (McKay, 2002). In the beginnings, this was particularly based on anti-fascism, claiming that the capitalist and imperialist system of the FRG was a continuation of the conditions that allowed the Nazis to gain power (Esbenshade, 1995; Kattago, 2001; McKay, 2002). This view officially divorced the GDR from any potential historical responsibility for the Holocaust. This new post-war identity was often also explicitly based on a common hatred against the old Nazi regime or Western capitalists (Bessel, 2005). However, this emotional bond of hatred faded after the post-war years among new generations that had not experienced the Nazi past (Bessel, 2005).

Following that, the main focus of the SED in terms of identity creation was placed on socialism. Socialist ideals such as egalitarianism and collectivism were instilled into citizens from Kindergarten age and continued in school education until adulthood (McKay, 2002). Encouraging adults to participate in various official organisations allowed considerable control of the SED over most structures in society, leaving very little space for organised opposition (McKay, 2002). This helped the state cultivate their official version of GDR

identity. In the 1960s this official new identity was named socialist national consciousness which emphasised socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism (McKay, 2002). Sports and national events commemorating days such as the founding of the GDR or the deaths and births of Marx and Lenin were exploited to foster this identity (McKay, 2002).

Generally, however, the SED failed to forge a new identity for the citizens of the GDR because it lacked support from the people (McKay, 2002). While the SED failed to instil its official versions of GDR identity, a sense of a shared identity did develop among citizens during its 40 years of existence, particularly due to the growing number of people that had never lived in another society. This identity, however, did not correspond with the social national consciousness advocated by the SED, but instead was based on a sense of community relating to ideas of equality and solidarity (McKay, 2002).

After unification, the new Germany was facing two new key issues: Fostering national unity and coming to terms with the GDR and the history of division. Often the process of German unification was regarded as a natural development that ended an unnatural and artificial national division (Kattago, 2001; Moses, 2007). This was famously expressed by Willy Brandt: 'Jetzt wächst zusammen, was zusammengehört' ('What belongs together will now grow together') (Glaab, 2002). However, the attempts to shape a new national identity proved difficult and the claims to a shared identity were challenged (Moses, 2007). Several relevant notions in relation to identity and memory in united Germany are further explored here.

Initial optimism about a unified Germany soon started to fade and tensions and resentment accompanied a growing sense of difference between East and West Germany (Glaab, 2002). One reason is that citizens of East and West Germany had developed different attitudes to work, money and state entitlements (Moses, 2007). Many East Germans faced difficulties adapting to life in a market economy due to mass unemployment, a new individualistic environment and widespread political, social and economic restructuring (Grix, 2002; Häußermann, Gornig and Kronauer, 2009). Taxes were increased in the West in order to cover the high costs of unification, for

instance to pay for reconstruction aids for the new federal states. These transfers to the East caused resentment among West Germans (Moses, 2007). Furthermore, there were heated debates on multiculturalism, refugees and the status of the primarily Turkish 'guest workers' that had arrived in the 1960s and 1970s in relation to their role for contemporary German identity due to the relatively high levels of racist and right-wing activity throughout the country in the 1990s (Fulbrook, 1999; Knischewski, 1996; Moses, 2007; Ross, 2002).

Nowadays, there is still much public dispute in Germany on the division between East and West Germans: Indeed, both 20 and 25 years after unification, the German Federal Government still identified some striking differences between East and West Germany (Deutsche Bundesregierung, 2009; 2014): For example, there are still significant differences in terms of economic performance, and the unemployment rate is almost twice as high in the East. This indicates that the debate on German national identity as well as East and West German distinctiveness is still a sensitive issue in contemporary Germany. East German distinctiveness is also due to a 'one-sided nation-building' (Ross, 2002, p. 69), dominated by West German interests where East German citizens are often depicted as second-class citizens and feel colonised by the West (Glaab, 2002; Häußermann, Gornig and Kronauer, 2009; Knischewski, 1996; Ross, 2002). Generally, East Germany and its citizens faced 'a one-way adjustment process' (Knischewski, 1996, p. 143) in which they had to reach West German levels of consumption, liberty and democracy. Often, East Germans are accused of having a 'wall in their heads' which is displayed as a hindrance to true unity (Knischewski, 1996; Ross, 2002). Grix (2002) argues that in a unified Germany, "East Germanness' can be perceived as a distinctive phenomenon and a level of identification that exists alongside local, (traditionally) regional and national identities' (p. 1). In public and academic discourse this distinctiveness, Grix (2002) states, is often described to be an identity of defiance, 'fundamentally rooted in a nostalgic rejection of the realities of living in a Western market economy' (p. 1). Grix (2002), however, argues that it is the combination of pre-1990 values and the transformation of East German

society that causes on-going perceptions of distinctiveness within a unified Germany.

Nevertheless, both East and West Germans still carefully distance themselves from an overly patriotic and nationalistic view (Ross, 2002). This is a wide-spread phenomenon in all of Germany as national pride is too often associated with the Nazi past, and indeed, research suggests that citizens of the FRG still have a very weak sense of patriotism compared to other European countries (Ross, 2002). This is also reflected in the lack of a strong national day: Elgenius (2011b) argues that German Unification Day (3rd October) is a prime example of an unsuccessful national day, seen to be an elite event that lacks mass participation. Fulbrook (1999) explains that in all such commemorative efforts 'Germans trod through a minefield of exploding sensitivities' (p. 79). Simon (2009) further contends that Unification Day draws on constitutional patriotism which is characterised by rational rather than emotional identification with the nation. In line with the lack of patriotism, supranational integration is important for pan-German self-understanding, as internationally, German unification was met with differing opinions because it had changed power structures in Europe and worldwide (Weisbrod, 1996). For instance, Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at the time, was opposed to unification, worried that it would create a Europe with a dominant Germany (Bush et al., 2010; Heydemann, 2009). These fears thus shaped German foreign policy and national identity construction after unification as the German government's European policy further aimed at supranational integration in order to counteract any accusations of nationalism (Knischewski, 1996; Verheyen, 2008). Additionally, with the lack of a strong national identity, identity of the regions and federal states became increasingly important (Elgenius, 2011b).

Furthermore, collective memory of the GDR is a concern in united Germany. Due to the challenges of the unification process the GDR was soon seen in a softer light by some (Glaab, 2002; Hogwood, 2013). This becomes obvious in the often debated 'Ostalgie', i.e. a sense of nostalgia for life in the GDR (Glaab, 2002; Hyland, 2013; Knischewski, 1996). This nostalgia mostly refers to the lost sense of social solidarity which was replaced by a capitalist 'elbow

society' (Fulbrook, 2000; 2005). Counteracting any sense of nostalgia often requires the GDR to be presented purely negatively by labelling it as an 'Unrechtsstaat' (i.e. a state not operating under the rule of law) (Gallinat, 2013). Indeed, throughout the 1990s, in an intense and multifaceted process of state-sponsored coming to terms with the socialist past, the GDR was predominantly interpreted as the second German dictatorship of the 20th century (Beattie, 2011; Richter, 2011). However, Fulbrook (2004; 2005) states that this increased feelings of nostalgia in the East as it questioned the authenticity of people's memories of their ordinary lives in the GDR. This interpretation of the GDR as a dictatorship is thus controversial (Holtmann, 2010) and there are consequences of this portrayal (Knischewski and Spittler, 2006): For example, if the GDR is remembered primarily as a state of socialist oppression, will this undermine the legitimacy of contemporary German left-wing parties? Does it leave East German citizens with a feeling of compliance or even collective guilt? Do West German parties have to justify their cooperation with the GDR in the 1970s and 1980s? Furthermore, a portrayal of the GDR as a dictatorship is seen by some as an inappropriate elevation of the GDR government to the same level of the Nazis (Harrison, 2011; Wüstenberg, 2011). Others claim that collective memory of the GDR is dominated by West German perspectives (e.g. Knischewski and Spittler, 2006; Manghani, 2008; Schmidt, 2011). Memory of the end of the GDR is equally controversial, with contested interpretations of the role of the citizens' movement for the fall of the Berlin Wall. This dispute is reflected in a terminological debate in regards to the use of the term Peaceful Revolution to refer to the movement. The dispute primarily revolves around whether the events of 1989 deserve the status of a revolution or not and to what extent they contributed to the demise of the GDR which was already politically and economically instable and suffered from dwindling external support from Gorbachev (e.g. Eckert, 2009a; Fulbrook, 2000; Jarausch, 2009; Kaiser, 2013; Sabrow, 2008). Further controversy is related to the extent to which the citizens' movement should be linked with German unification, as this was not necessarily the aim of the movement which initially campaigned for bottom-up democratic reforms in the GDR (Henke, 2009; Kaiser, 2013).

Overall, '[c]ontemporary German identity is multi-dimensional' (Grix, 2002, p. 12). It consists of a combination of European, national, and strong regional and local identities (Grix, 2002). Key memory debates that are important for the construction of contemporary German identity surround key events of the 20th century, including the Holocaust, division and the fall of the Wall. Many of these debates are of importance to commemoration of the Berlin Wall which is explored later in this chapter.

4.4 Berlin's identity: Divided city, united capital?

As the historical events of 1989 and the commemorations in 2009 and 2014 are rooted in Berlin, it is of relevance to consider the city's context in this regard instead of purely focusing on pan-German contexts. The city of Berlin 'has always been a restless site of political, social and cultural transformation' (Manghani, 2008, p. 116), firmly rooted as a key site within changing German and European political frameworks. As Cochrane and Jonas (1999) explain:

> *Berlin began the century as the capital of an imperial nation within a Europe of independent states; for a brief moment in the 1940s it became capital of a Nazi Europe; after 1945 it was a symbol of a divided Europe in the context of the Cold War; and in 1989 it took on a new symbolism with the collapse of communism and the apparent integration of Eastern Europe into what used to be called Western capitalism. (p. 147)*

During its division it was characterised by its exceptional status as a divided city and was home to key events such as the Berlin blockade and airlift (1948-49) and the stand-off between US and Soviet tanks in 1961 (Flemming and Koch, 2008). Its identity thus became inextricably linked to its status as a city at the frontlines of the Cold War with the Berlin Wall at its core (Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010).

The construction of the Wall along boundaries that were determined rather arbitrarily by the Allies after the War cut off 'long-established paths of inner-city circulation' (Ladd, 1997, p. 13): severing employees from their workplace, neighbours from neighbours, people from their nearest park and shops from their regular customers. Not surprisingly, East and West Berlin developed in very different ways, with East Berlin functioning as the communist capital and the centre of power, and West Berlin an 'island' and frontier city. With Bonn

as the seat of government in the FRG, West Berlin was a marginal location. While it benefited from the economic upturn in the capitalist FRG, the proximity of the Wall in some districts devalued these neighbourhoods and West Berlin attracted large numbers of 'alternative societies': 'self-styled dropouts, artists, musicians, punks, anarchists, and squatters in abandoned buildings' (Ladd, 1997, pp. 14f). From the 1960s onwards, West Berlin also attracted many Turkish migrant workers (Ladd, 1997). With the lack of a governmental presence, the new city centre of West Berlin developed into 'a genuine capitalist showcase' with extensive spaces for consumption in the shape of expensive shops, cafés, cinemas and discotheques (Ladd, 1997, p. 181). In the East, the government constructed tangible examples of socialist power, for example, a grand socialist boulevard that is today still known as Karl-Marx-Allee (Ladd, 1997). Furthermore, residential buildings made from prefabricated concrete slabs became the norm in the East (Ladd, 1997). Overall, during the Cold War, both East and West Berlin blamed each other for division and tried to distance themselves from the other side's ideology (Ladd, 1997).

With the fall of the Wall, Berlin lost its special status in two ways: it was no longer the Western outpost of the 'free world' in the communist East, which received special subsidies, and it was also no longer the main metropolis and capital of the GDR (Häußermann and Kapphan, 2005). The fall of the Wall and German unification forced the city to reinvent itself (Cochrane and Jonas, 1999; Huyssen, 1997; Marcuse, 1998). The removal of the Wall left voids in the centre of the city which had to be filled as part of this process (Huyssen, 1997). In the 1990s Berlin was turned into the biggest construction site in Europe (Marcuse, 1998). According to Cochrane and Jonas (1999) the city attempted to reinvent itself in three ways: As a European metropolis, the German capital as well as an ordinary place. This required wide-spread developments and construction sites that did not only construct buildings but also meaning (Marcuse, 1998). Developments such as the new governmental district that would house the Federal Government after its move from Bonn to Berlin in the late 1990s as well as corporate developments at the new Potsdamer Platz and new spaces of consumption such as the new Friedrichstraße functioned as expressions of political power,

economic power as well as capitalist consumption (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Marcuse, 1998). Widespread removal of all traces of division and 'forced forgetting' of East Berlin's socialist past with the renaming of streets alluding to socialism and the removal of socialist monuments further underpin the city's enthusiasm to reinvent itself in the early 1990s (De Soto, 1996; Häußermann and Kapphan, 2005; Huyssen, 1997; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010). In many ways these developments were a reflection of broader German wishes to become a 'normal' united Western nation (Till, 2005). It was hoped that Berlin was now back on a path to European metropolis similarly to Paris and London and a Golden Age of the 1920s was evoked – a time before the 'normal' development of the city was interrupted by the Nazis and the Berlin Wall (Tölle, 2010). Indeed, after unification there were widespread predictions of strong economic growth for the city (Häußermann and Kapphan, 2005).

In regards to local identity construction and city branding, the notion of change was central. In the 1990s an official city branding campaign included the slogan 'Berlin wird', i.e. 'Berlin becomes' (Huyssen, 1997), thus using the processes of transition as a key theme. In order to gain acceptance for the widespread change among the local population, large-scale construction sites were staged as attractions with guided tours and accompanying exhibitions and information centres (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Colomb, 2012; Huyssen, 1997; Till, 2005).

In the late 1990s the hope for Berlin to become a global, or even European, metropolis more and more clashed with reality when, in economic terms, Berlin even struggled to compete with smaller West German cities (Tölle, 2010). Many West German cities had taken over and successfully expanded central functions of the divided city after 1945, for example, Frankfurt had become home to the financial sector, and Hamburg and Munich media centres (Häußermann and Kapphan, 2005). Thus, there was significant national competition in economic terms. Indeed, Cochrane and Jonas (1999) contend that even in the early 20th century Berlin was never close to the status of cities like Paris or London as it was never a similarly significant national metropolis of an established nation-state. The euphoria of the early

1990s was thus based on myths and false hopes. In the late 1990s this euphoria was replaced with a growing sense of dissatisfaction among the local population caused by 'massive de-industrialisation, increasing urban poorness, a still existing mental and socioeconomic East-West divide, a dramatic situation of the city's budget, and the absence of any decisive economic effects deriving from the return of the German government' (Tölle, 2010, p. 352).

In the early 2000s the city had to yet again reinvent itself. This time, its history as a divided city became an integral part of local identity construction (Tölle, 2010). The city thus focused again on its role as a place of change and constant transition by using the Berlin Wall as a key resource to communicate this identity (Tölle, 2010). The early 2000s saw significant political change in the city as well. Various scandals related to local finances led to the demise of the long-standing existing coalition and the first so-called 'Red-Red coalition' consisting of the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) and PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism – a successor of the East German SED and now called 'Die Linke') (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Colomb, 2012). Overall, from the 2000s onwards, Berlin was a city that was essentially bankrupt but perceived from the outside as 'hip' and 'cool', famously expressed by ex-Mayor Klaus Wowereit when he claimed that Berlin was 'poor but sexy' (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Kosnick, 2009; Lisiak, 2009). The city became partially reliant on tourism as one of the few economic growth sectors (Tölle, 2010). Further areas of economic growth in the city revolved around knowledge- and innovation-based sectors such as the software industry and research and development as well as the media industry (Krätke, 2004). Indeed, Berlin became a prime location for start-ups and the creative industries (Anheiner and Hurrelmann, 2014; Krätke, 2004; Schneekloth, 2009), due to 'cheap living and working spaces, pre-existing artistic and cultural networks, and the relocation of influential global media corporations 'setting the trend' such as MTV Europe' (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010, p. 183).

In 2008 a new official city branding campaign was launched based on the slogan 'be Berlin' (Lisiak, 2009). This new campaign was heavily reliant on

the contribution and presentation of the diverse population and was used to 'advertise the city predominantly to Berliners and aspire to create an image of a hospitable metropolis inhabited by diverse, creative, and successful people, wisely sidelining [sic] the city's many social tensions and economic problems' (Lisiak, 2009, p. 77). Whilst the campaign was described as innovative because it gave voice to the inhabitants, it also involved appropriating Berlin's subcultures, alternative lifestyles and underground sectors for marketing purposes to emphasise the city's potential for creativity and individuality (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Colomb, 2012), and indeed, there is now remarkably significant resistance against tourism coupled with fears of gentrification (Anheiner and Hurrelmann, 2014). This new campaign was launched just before the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Wall to promote the image of Berlin as a place of change with the Berlin Wall as a key element to this identity (Lisiak, 2009; Tölle, 2010).

Contemporary local identity in Berlin is thus multifaceted and draws upon themes of creativity, diversity and the history of division. Generally, its residents have high levels of attachment to the city (Gensicke, 2009; Anheier and Hurrelmann, 2014). At the same time the city still battles problems such as high levels of unemployment and debt, divisions based on socio-economic status and ethnic background as well as continuing perceptions of an East-West divide (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Krätke, 2004; Schneekloth, 2009). The next section now explores in more depth how commemoration of the Wall has developed since its fall.

4.5   Berlin Wall commemoration: From collective forgetting to managed landscape

Commemoration of the Berlin Wall has changed significantly within the years after German unification. Although elements of Berlin Wall commemoration existed prior to unification (the Checkpoint Charlie museum, for instance, opened in 1963), this section focuses on the development following the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Approximately the first fifteen years after unification were shaped by a lack of public forms of commemoration of the Berlin Wall and thus dominated by

collective forgetting. There are several reasons for this as outlined by Harrison (2011). First of all, the history of the Berlin Wall 'is uncomfortable history for almost everyone involved' (Harrison, 2011, p. 80), i.e. for citizens both in East and West Germany. For many East Germans it was an unpleasant reminder of the communist government. On the other hand, West Germans were uncomfortably reminded of their relatively passive reaction to the construction of the Wall. Additionally, Germany already had to come to terms with the Nazi past and find appropriate forms of commemoration, and it was feared that a reinvestigation of the GDR and the Berlin Wall would downplay the atrocities of the Nazis and elevate the importance of the communist government, thus indicating a comparison of the two governments. Additionally, as aforementioned, unification of East and West Germany in many ways proved to be more complicated than anticipated. There was also the need to gain normalcy and reinstate Berlin as a modern capitalist city as well as to rebuild a united city and country which required eliminating traces of the Wall (Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010). This was done by a large number of individuals who took parts of the Wall as their own souvenir, as well as foreign governments, institutions and private individuals who purchased larger parts of the Wall and shipped them to various locations around the world, while the East German government undertook the official demolition in June 1990 (Harrison, 2011). Generally, there was very little public support for and even opposition to keeping parts of the Wall as memorial sites (Harrison, 2011; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010); indeed, there was a 'delighted destruction' taking place (Knischewski and Spittler, 2006, p. 282). Even more than ten years after unification there was still only limited public support of Berlin Wall commemoration. According to Glaab (2002), who refers to a national opinion poll from 2001, 'only 11 per cent of West Germans as opposed to 14 per cent of East Germans think it is worthwhile commemorating the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989' (p. 81).

However, approximately fifteen years after unification, a change process in regards to commemoration of the Berlin Wall commenced. Again, several key reasons for this development can be identified. According to Harrison (2011) a turning point in public debate about Berlin Wall commemoration took place around the 15th anniversary of the fall of the Wall when many newspapers

featured elaborate stories on this topic. A major trigger around the same point in time that caused increased public debate about Berlin Wall commemoration was a controversial memorial at Checkpoint Charlie; the memorial's role for Berlin Wall commemoration has been widely discussed in the literature (e.g. Drechsel, 2010; Frank, 2009; Harrison, 2011; Klemke, 2011; Richter, 2011; Tölle, 2010; Ullrich, 2006; Wüstenberg, 2011). Shortly before the 15th anniversary of the fall of the Wall, the head of the Checkpoint Charlie Museum, Alexandra Hildebrandt, erected 1,065 wooden crosses outside the venue which were claimed to represent the number of victims that died at the borders of the GDR. Hildebrandt criticised the Berlin government in her opening speech for the lack of public commemoration of the victims of the Wall (Harrison, 2011). Checkpoint Charlie is one of the most popular museums in Berlin and the installation received widespread attention from national and international tourists as well as the media, however, at the same time it was also widely criticised for being based on historical inaccuracies (Klemke, 2011; Harrison, 2011; Richter, 2011). This installation thus caused conflict between the Senate and the private Checkpoint Charlie Museum and was eventually removed (Frank, 2009; Klemke, 2011; Tölle, 2010). Nevertheless, it placed public pressure on the Berlin Senate to commemorate the Wall and its victims (Harrison, 2011; Wüstenberg, 2011).

There are several other reasons for increased commemorative efforts. First of all, there had been rising complaints from the tourism industry that there was nothing left of the Berlin Wall (Harrison, 2011; Tölle, 2010), and a financially struggling Berlin could profit from increased tourism revenue which was one of the few economic growth sectors (Tölle, 2010). Furthermore, there was a growing awareness that young German people had a lack of knowledge of German division (Tölle, 2010) and that these young people should study this history to learn about tyranny and freedom (Harrison, 2011). The passage of time also made the history of the division less emotional for many people and it was easier to focus on the peaceful fall of the Wall (Harrison, 2011).

These circumstances all caused the Senate to investigate the remains of the Berlin Wall which led to the publication of the important 'Overall concept of

memorial plans for the Berlin Wall' in 2006; a document that presents a strategy to connect all significant remains and places, aiming to tell a coherent story and to 'streamline information, documentation, and remembrance' (Tölle, 2010, p. 356). Existing remains were to be aligned to create an overall narrative that enables visitors to understand the meaning of the Wall (Flierl, 2006; Klemke, 2011). The official aims of the concept were to make the Wall visible again in public space and to establish appropriate forms of commemoration for its victims (Flierl, 2006; Klemke, 2011).

This concept is now most visible at the official 'Berlin Wall Memorial' at Bernauer Straße. The memorial was established in 1998 but struggled to gain widespread acceptance alongside accusations by both media and politicians that the location is too remote and the concept too abstract, lacking emotional appeal (Camphausen and Fischer, 2011; Frank, 2009). As part of the strategic plans from 2006, this site was partially rebuilt and extended to establish and underpin its role as the main site of Berlin Wall commemoration in the capital. Overall, the concept highlights six main sites, links 30 sites via a cobblestone trail, and catalogues a further 140 sites in the appendix (Bach, 2013). Different parts of the concept focus on different stories: Bernauer Straße, for example, illustrates local personal tragedies, Brandenburg Gate focuses on national division and unification, Checkpoint Charlie retells world politics, Potsdamer Platz showcases change and urban renewal, the 'Palace of Tears' at Friedrichstraße focuses on the pain of separation (Bach, 2013; Klemke, 2011; Tölle, 2010). Some of the new additions to make the story of the Wall more visitor-friendly included '[m]aps, an Internet portal, easier public transportation service connecting the various sites in the form of a special "Wall ticket", and a GPS MauerGuide [i.e. GPS Wall guide]' (Harrison, 2011, p. 87). The Senate further established a 'Wall logo' which functions as a seal of quality for appropriate institutions or initiatives (Senatskanzlei Berlin, nda). The state-sponsored commemoration of the Wall within the city has hence become a managed landscape, and while it includes various sites and stories, thus being pluralistic in nature, the Senate re-established itself as the key authority. The 'Overall Concept' helped the Senate to counteract private initiatives that are claimed to be historically inaccurate and not based on the same scholarly background,

such as the installation in 2004 (Klemke, 2011), and these private initiatives now no longer possess the same power.

All these new developments then culminated in the 20th and 25th anniversary celebrations of the fall of the Wall in 2009 and 2014 which are at the core of this research. There is limited academic literature that considers these fairly recent festivities, with a few studies briefly considering the 20th anniversary and in particular the 'Festival of Freedom' celebrations on 9th November 2009. Harrison (2011), for example, states that the 'Festival of Freedom' was a 'joyous acknowledgement of something in German history finally to be proud of' (p. 95). It was a grand celebration, with dramatic elements such as the toppling of the domino stones and fireworks (Harrison, 2011). Ganeva (2011) similarly describes it as a 'mixture of euphoria, playfulness, and political pomp' (p. 93). According to Gook (2011) the 'Festival of Freedom' at Brandenburg Gate, was a 'dramatic, well-catered commemoration […] at the end of a long year of remembrance' (Gook, 2011, p. 13). Gook (2011) argues that main events at the Brandenburg Gate seemed highly choreographed, comparable to Olympic opening ceremonies, 'the ideological and historical messages seemed tightly stage-managed by policy advisers and bureaucrats' (Gook, 2011, p. 14). Overall, the event created the feeling of being staged as a television spectacle where the people were just faces in a crowd for the broadcast (Gook, 2011). Apart from these analyses of the 'Festival of Freedom', Eckert (2009a) commends the organisers of the open-air exhibition for its focus on the citizens' movement. Although not providing a detailed analysis, Eedy (2010) gives a more holistic view of the theme year and argues that the events in 2009 were a celebration of the continuation of West German democracy and the integration of East Germany into an existing and ongoing success story, lacking East German memories.

This increased importance of Berlin Wall commemoration is to be seen in strong connection with the development and construction of local identity as outlined in Section 4.4. Since 2004, the meaning of the Wall was spun to represent a 'happy ending' and became a positive theme for Berlin's identity in line with the 'be Berlin' campaign (Tölle, 2010).

4.6 Berlin Wall commemoration: Conflicts of memory and identity

The troubled history of 20th century Germany and the debates on the country's complicated relation with the notions of identity and memory indicate that commemoration of recent historical events is a particularly highly disputed subject. Berlin Wall commemoration also faces various controversies, which are explored in this section. A key issue here is that while the Wall stood, it carried very different meanings for East and West Germany, as well as internationally.

The Wall can be seen, for example, 'as a symbol of the inherent systemic weakness of the GDR, […] as a constant reminder of the unnaturalness of the division of Germany, [or as] a symbol of the Cold War division of Europe and a bipolar world' (Knischewski and Spittler, 2006, p. 287). Its peaceful fall and the national and international impacts of this development added yet another complexity. Hence, there are debates on the focus of Berlin Wall commemoration, in terms of whether the focus should be placed on victims or perpetrators, on the peaceful fall or the brutal reality before, on the history itself or the lessons for the future (Harrison, 2011). This section firstly reviews the shifting meanings the Wall may carry before turning to particular controversies about Berlin Wall commemoration.

In regards to the different meanings the Wall carries, it can be said that, as mentioned earlier, for many East Germans it was a symbol of communist repression, of being imprisoned in the GDR, as well as a site where fellow citizens died while trying to escape (Harrison, 2011). In stark contrast to that, the official East German interpretation of the Wall was as an 'antifascist defence wall' which protected the nation and its people from the capitalist Western world which was considered a continuation of the Nazi regime (Demke, 2011; Detjen, 2011; Diers, 1992; Feversham and Schmidt, 1999; Schmidt, 2011). Border guards who died were celebrated as heroes by the state and given a special place in its official mythology (Drechsel, 2010; Ladd, 1997; Ullrich, 2006). From the government's perspective, the Wall was an expression of its power and sovereignty. In reality, however, the Wall's primary function was to keep people in rather than to keep people out. Thus,

the Wall also symbolised the weakness of the GDR's political and economic system (Knischewski and Spittler, 2006). Overall, the Wall was a taboo in the East; people were not allowed near it or to photograph or even mention it (Demke, 2011; Diers, 1992; Drechsel, 2010; Feversham and Schmidt, 1999; Ladd, 1997).

Whereas in East Germany the public interpretation of the Wall remained rather stable throughout its existence, the West German interpretation of the Wall was more pluralistic (Demke, 2011). From a West German perspective the Berlin Wall functioned as a continuous reminder of the scandal of unnatural and painful German division (Demke, 2011; Drechsel, 2010), underpinned by the interpretation that only force could continue to divide Germany (Ladd, 1997). Along the West German side of the border, the border deaths were widely commemorated and contributed to the construction of West Germany as the 'better Germany' (Ullrich, 2006), emphasised by the continuous flight of East Germans into the West on their search for 'freedom' (Demke, 2011). The Wall was also seen as a 'wall of shame' and a symbol of a government that had to imprison its citizens (Diers, 1992; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010). However, it was further a symbol of defeat, as the West had not been able to prevent its construction (Tölle, 2010). At the same time, the Wall also functioned as an indirect reminder of the Second World War and the Nazi past which were prerequisites for German division (Tölle, 2010). Despite that, in West Germany the Wall was sometimes referred to as a 'concentration camp wall' which placed the GDR government in direct comparison to crimes of the Nazis (Demke, 2011; Drechsel, 2010). Furthermore, during times of division the Wall functioned as a tourist attraction in West Germany, with look-outs being constructed near the border to enable a glimpse into the East for curious 'border tourists' (Ullrich, 2006). Additionally, in the West the Wall became a canvas for graffiti (Diers, 1992; Drechsel, 2010; Feversham and Schmidt, 1999; Ladd, 1997) which underpinned its draw as a tourist attraction (Ladd, 1997). Feversham and Schmidt (1999) argue that by functioning as a canvas 'the graffiti, by reflecting the Western world, were, in effect, rendering the Wall invisible' (p. 154). In the West, it was thus a much more mundane urban feature which also enabled the people to forget what was behind it.

Internationally, the Wall functioned as the prime symbol of national and international division into two blocs (Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010). It was the most tangible and visible manifestation of the 'Iron Curtain'. During times of division the symbolism of the Wall was a 'key resource for political rhetoric' (Manghani, 2008, p. 44), used for propaganda by both sides in the ideological oppositions between West and East, capitalism and communism (Ladd, 1997). Consequently, the fall of the Berlin Wall has a universal symbolic function, in that it refers to the establishment of normalcy, freedom and unity in Europe (Bach, 2013). Internationally, 9th November 1989 is seen as the end of the Cold War (Drechsel, 2010) and the international messages of this day were those of optimism, hope and joy (Manghani, 2008). The well-known imagery of crowds celebrating on top of the Wall is in stark contrast to its off-limits nature prior to this day (Drechsel, 2010). According to Manghani (2008) these images and their instant international broadcasting immediately engrained the unexpected fall of the Wall as a defining moment in history in its global audience. Due to its peaceful overcoming the fall of the Wall has now become a symbol for both oppression and liberation and the idea that any government or ideology can be overcome (Detjen, 2011). In this sense, on a national level it symbolises the 'unbreakable unity of the German people' (Ladd, 1997, p. 32). The fall of the Wall thus completely revised its meaning (Schmidt, 2011).

With all these different meanings attached to the Berlin Wall, it is not surprising that its commemoration involves a variety of controversies. Knischewski and Spittler (2006) and Schmidt (2011) argue that often the story of the Wall is remembered from a Western viewpoint, lacking the perspective of East Berlin citizens that had to live with the harsh reality of the Wall. In fact, this does not only apply to commemoration of the Wall but to commemoration of the GDR more generally. Debates presented in Section 4.3 about memory of the GDR are thus closely related to Berlin Wall commemoration. Manghani (2008) further argues that the fall of the Wall has been appropriated by the West as a celebration of the victory over communism which does not give any voice to the East and possible alternatives to a Western capitalist society. Not surprisingly, the celebrations on 9th November 2009 caused protests by left-wing groups, which claimed

that the celebrations were nationalist and celebrating a false freedom (Gook, 2011).

Furthermore, a topic of debate is the fact that the fall of the Wall shares the date with the Reichskristallnacht (also known as the 'Night of the Broken Glass' or the November pogroms) which took place on 9th November 1938. Questions were being asked as to how the peaceful unification of Germany can be celebrated on the same day as commemorations for an event that took place under the Nazi regime and played a crucial role for the beginning of the Holocaust (Harrison, 2011).

Overall, there are significant debates regarding the nature of appropriate commemoration of the Wall and its fall. This is also shown in the conflict between the private Checkpoint Charlie Museum and the Senate's 'official' commemorative practices, as already indicated in Section 4.5. Frank (2009) investigated this conflict further and outlined striking differences between the very popular private initiative's and the Senate's approaches to commemorating the Wall. Whereas the Senate claims historical accuracy and assigns importance to documentation and information, Checkpoint Charlie appeals to visitors with a more accessible, emotional approach (Frank, 2009). Indeed, the two approaches are in opposition to each other, with Checkpoint Charlie having been criticised for its 'Disneyfication' (Frank, 2009). As Checkpoint Charlie is one of the most popular museums in Berlin, Frank (2009) argues that the Senate is under pressure to make the Berlin Wall Memorial at Bernauer Straße more appealing to a broader audience by considering a more emotional approach. She contends, however, that the Senate is still favouring an approach that claims accuracy, objective preservation and transfer of knowledge in order to avoid accusations of trivialisation or distortion (Frank, 2009). In this regard, however, Tölle (2010) argues that although any commercialisation and trivialisation was explicitly to be avoided when developing the 'Overall concept', this is clearly taking place. Due to focusing on the 'happy ending' of German division and the Cold War, tourists can now 'take their happy snapshots with the Wall's installed remains in the background – possibly in the arm of an actor dressed in the uniform of one of the West Allied forces, of the Red Army, or of the East German border

troops' (Tölle, 2010, p. 356). It is also possible to take trips along the Wall in East German Trabant cars; this can all be considered part of the aforementioned 'Ostalgie' which has considerable economic potential (Hyland, 2013; Tölle, 2010; Wüstenberg, 2011). In this respect, however, Tölle (2010) considers city-wide developments, some of which not taking place under the Senate's responsibility. Nevertheless, tourists play an important role for Berlin Wall commemoration, but how to best address their expectations is contested.

4.7 Summary

This chapter outlined and discussed the context of the research. In doing so, it outlined the history of the Wall, relevant memory and identity conflicts in divided and united Germany, the role of the city of Berlin and developments and conflicts in relation to Berlin Wall commemoration.

As this chapter illustrated, there is a rather large existing body of literature on Berlin Wall commemoration, particularly in relation to the Wall as a physical structure and memorial, its shifting meanings, its development since unification and conflicts throughout that time. The Senate and its 'Overall Concept' as well as the establishment of the Berlin Wall Memorial have received attention. There is also some literature on the Wall and its role for local identity and branding.

There is very little academic literature, however, on the commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall. While the events in 2009 have occasionally been considered, the recent events in 2014 have not. Consequently, little is known about these events, and if and how they can be illuminated with existing concepts and theories on commemoration and commemorative events. One might assume that social, cultural and political uses of the events motivated organisers and led to a certain commemorative narrative. However, there is no research that investigates these narratives in more detail and how they may have been shaped by organisers. Looking back at the literature review in the previous two chapters, this is thus an interesting context in which to study organisers' uses of contemporary commemoration and how such events (re)construct narratives of memory

and identity. The next chapter discusses and justifies the methodological approach chosen for this study.

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1   Introduction

This chapter describes, discusses and justifies the methodology of the research. Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) claim that methodology is the 'theory of method, including its epistemological and ontological assumptions' (p. 67). Thus, methodology is more than the choice of methods. Consequently, this chapter includes an in-depth discussion of the philosophy underpinning the research as well as the chosen methods and research design.

Chapter 1 explained that the research aim is to explore how narratives of collective memory and identity emerge at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in the major anniversary years of 2009 and 2014. The objectives which this methodological chapter addresses in more detail (Objectives 2 and 3, as presented in Chapter 1) are to explore what narratives of memory and identity are communicated at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall and to investigate how key organisers may have shaped these narratives.

This chapter starts by discussing constructionism as the adopted research paradigm and outlining debates about ontology and epistemology. The next section presents semiotics as the chosen research method to analyse the commemorative narrative. The subsequent section outlines the thematic analysis of interviews and documents, which was chosen to investigate the role of the event organisers. This chapter concludes with some reflection on research quality, ethics and reflexivity. First of all, however, this chapter briefly reviews the main ideas from the literature review and in doing so, presents the conceptual framework.

5.2   Literature review revisited and conceptual framework

This section illustrates the conceptual framework which underpins the research outlined in this chapter. Figure 1 presents this framework in visual form.
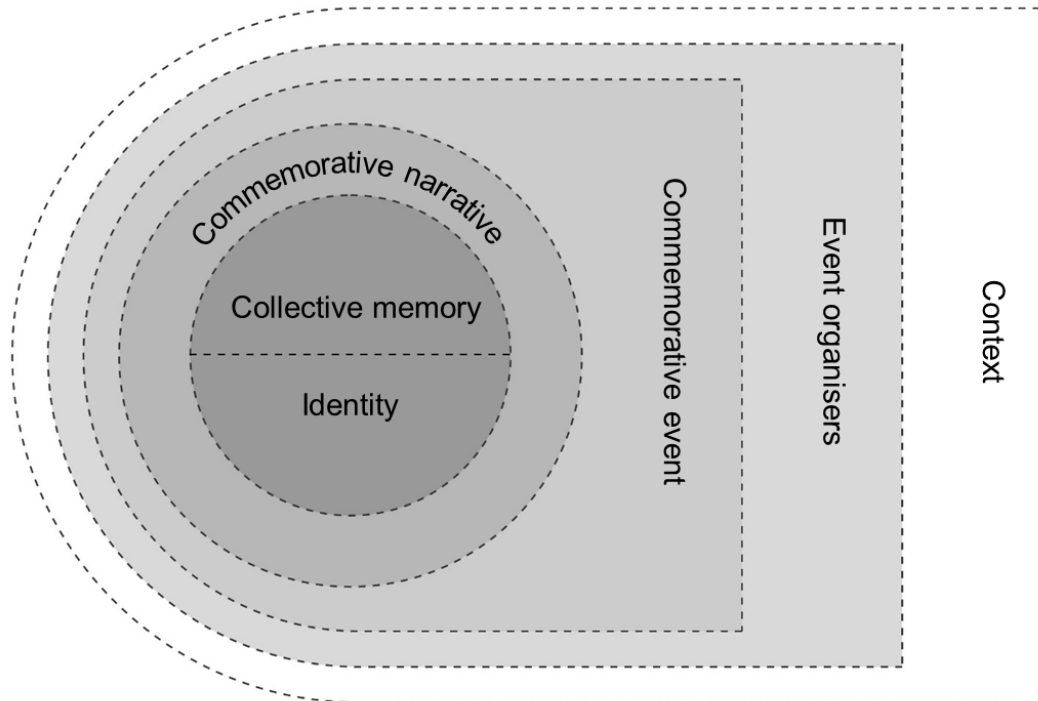
Figure 1: The conceptual framework

As outlined in Chapter 3, acts of commemoration, such as commemorative events, construct a commemorative narrative (Zerubavel, 1995). This narrative entails a story about a collective's past and interlinked contemporary identity, thus communicating narratives of collective memory and identity (e.g. Connerton, 1989; Gillis, 1994; Ryan, 2011; Spillman, 1997; Tint, 2010). This is represented in the core of the above framework. Due to the interlinked nature of collective memory and identity, they form equal parts of the same circle, making up the commemorative narrative that arises from and within the commemorative event.

This commemorative narrative is influenced by organisers' agendas (e.g. Barthel, 1996; Bell, 2003; Chronis, 2006; Connerton, 1989; Conway, 2008; Elgenius, 2011b; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Frost 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Gillis, 1994; McDonald and Méthot, 2006; Olick, 1999a; Park, 2011; Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Tint, 2010; Turner, 2006; White, 1997b; Witz, 2009), and as such, organisers' priorities and intended uses for the events play a significant role for the shape of the commemorative narrative. Thus, the shape representing the event organisers is surrounding the event and its narrative in the visual framework, illustrating the organisers' shape-

giving nature. At the same time the framework acknowledges that commemoration does not take place within a vacuum and that organisers operate within a broader context (e.g. Conway, 2008; Olick, 1999a). This context entails pre-existing debates on collective memory and identity such as those presented in Chapter 4, but may also include other contextual issues such as current political agendas, for example. In the visual framework, the context thus functions as the backdrop within which all other elements operate. A final point to make is that dashed lines are used to represent the interlinked nature of all elements within the framework.

The research findings that stem from the methodological approach outlined in this chapter will help to elaborate on and specify the framework presented above.

5.3   Constructionism as a research paradigm

Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies constitute 'belief systems that attach the user to a particular worldview', and it is not easy to move between them (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p. 4). These belief systems can also be referred to as paradigms. Guba and Lincoln (1998) furthermore describe paradigms as:

> *a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the "world", the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts […] The beliefs are basic in the sense that they must be accepted simply on faith (however well argued); there is no way to establish their ultimate truthfulness (p. 200)*

For any social science researcher it is important to reflect on such worldviews as these will impact the research process. Consequently, it is important to not only outline the chosen methods, but to furthermore discuss the overall approach of the researcher, including in what kinds of assumptions the research is taking place (Crotty, 1998). To this end, this section outlines the philosophical perspective underpinning this research project with a discussion of constructionism and its link with qualitative methods in more detail. Common criticisms of the paradigm are also considered.

5.3.1. Constructionism and qualitative research: Ontological and epistemological underpinnings

As Guba and Lincoln (1998) point out, all paradigms constitute human constructions: 'they are all inventions of the human mind and hence subject to human error' (p. 202). Researchers cannot prove that their paradigm is incontestable and as such one has to rely on persuasiveness and utility (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). To this end, this section discusses and justifies constructionism as a research paradigm.

Any research paradigm entails certain ontological and epistemological positions. Ontology refers to the assumptions of the researcher regarding the nature of reality (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). It includes the researcher's beliefs about things and entities that exist or may exist (Pernecky, 2012). As such, the assumptions about the nature of reality are directly linked to what the researcher thinks can be known about this reality – what counts as knowledge, truth or evidence. This is what is called the epistemological position. Epistemology thus is concerned with the nature of knowledge and truth (Macionis and Plummer, 2008). It is directly related to ontological questions as any researcher's assumptions on the nature of reality will inform the views on what can be known about this reality and ultimately how it should be studied. As such it can be said that '[t]he ontological shapes the epistemological' (Williams and May, 1996, p. 69). Pernecky (2012) defines epistemology as 'the nature, origins and limits of knowledge' (p. 1121). Epistemology also includes the question on the relationship between the researcher and what is being researched, i.e. whether objective detachment and value freedom are possible and the researcher can be separate from the researched (Guba and Lincoln, 1998).

Constructionist qualitative research draws on Berger and Luckmann's (1971) seminal work on the social construction of reality which states that 'social order is a human product, or, more precisely, an ongoing human production' (p. 69). However, Pernecky (2012) critiques how nowadays constructionism can be employed in a variety of different contexts and is thus not self-explanatory. The terminology is also contested, as the terms constructivism, naturalism, interpretivism and hermeneutics are sometimes used to refer to

the same paradigm (Pernecky, 2007), whereas at times they are discussed as distinct approaches in social science research (Crotty, 1998). Schwandt (1998) thus argues that the 'particular meanings [of constructionism and related terms] are shaped by the intent of their users' (p. 221). Furthermore, there are various nuances within constructionism. Patton (2002) emphasises how constructionist approaches range from 'the radical "absolutely no reality ever" to a milder "let's capture and honour different perspectives about reality"' (p. 101). As such Pernecky (2012) states that 'unless we are told by the author what it means and how it features in the research, constructionist notions will remain ambiguous' (p. 1119). In this thesis, the author opted for the term constructionism, and only uses different terminology in direct quotes if used so by the original source. Furthermore, a less radical form of constructionism is adopted.

In line with Goodson and Phillimore (2004), the author supports the view 'that the complex social world can be understood only from the point of view of those who operate within it' (p. 36). Furthermore, it is believed that '[m]eaning is not discovered, but constructed' (Crotty, 1998, p. 9). Crotty (1998) defines constructionism as follows:

> *…the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context. (p. 42)*

Constructionism is described by Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011) as a paradigm that employs a relativist ontology and a subjectivist epistemology. This means that the ontological position is that realities are assumed to be 'multiple, intangible mental constructions' (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, p. 206). Constructionist researchers assume that reality is subject to individual interpretation and constructed in social interaction instead of assuming that there is one true reality waiting to be discovered. Consequently, it is not assumed that there is no reality at all, but that there can be multiple social realities which may be conflicting (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). However, in this research it is not assumed that there is an infinite number of subjective realities of equal status (the view of extreme subjectivists (Chandler, 2007)),

instead the different realities can be far from equal and are constantly contested.

Furthermore, the epistemological position of constructionism is that there is no objective knowledge of the social world which can be proven with facts, but knowledge is subjective and will be impacted by the researcher's worldviews. Research findings are interactively created during the inquiry process as the researcher and the researched are assumed to be linked (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). Therefore, constructionism does not aim at explanation and prediction but its aim is to 'gain understanding by interpreting subject perceptions' (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, p. 102). The aim of the inquiry is to 'elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors' (Schwandt, 1998, p. 222).

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 already argued that collective memory and identity are socially constructed, contested concepts and that commemoration is a political practice with multiple, potentially conflicting interpretations of the historical events. Considering this abstract and socially constructed nature of the concepts explored in this research, constructionism is the most appropriate paradigm to employ in order to describe the researcher's position.

Generally speaking, researchers following a constructionist paradigm tend to favour qualitative research methods as they provide better access to people's subjective meaning (Lazar, 2004). This is also emphasised by Denzin and Lincoln (1998):

> *Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationships between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasize the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. (p. 8)*

Qualitative research does not result in quantified findings or involve measurement or hypothesis-testing and is thus different from quantitative approaches (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). Generally, qualitative research aims at making sense of and interpreting various social phenomena and their

meanings (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). In this sense qualitative methods are seen as the most appropriate approach for this study.

It is worth noting that there are a variety of alternative paradigms which could have been adopted for this study. In this regard, Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011) outline a distinction between five major paradigms: Positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, constructionism and the more recently added participatory or postmodern perspective. An overview of key characteristics of these paradigms can be found in Table 1.

Paradigm	Positivism	Post-positivism	Critical theory	Construction-ism	Participatory/ postmodern
Ontology	Realist	Critical realist	Historical realist	Relativist	Participative
Epistemology	Objectivist	Modified objectivist	Transactional/ subjectivist	Subjectivist	Critical subjectivist
Inquiry aim	Explain, predict	Explain, predict (as closely as possible)	Critique, transform, emancipate	Understand, interpret	Transform based on democratic participation

Adopted paradigm (pointing to Construction-ism column)

Qualitative methods: Semiotic & thematic analysis

Table 1: Overview of research paradigms (adapted from Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011)

Generally it is important to note that transitions from one perspective to the other are fluid and as such researchers do not always have to operate within extremes of any of the outlined perspectives, as these are no 'watertight compartments' (Crotty, 1998, p. 9). However, the other four paradigms were dismissed for the following reasons. Most importantly, the constructionist paradigm is compatible with the author's worldview more generally. The research aim and objectives were thus formulated within the constructionist paradigm. A constructionist researcher is unlikely to develop objectives that want to explain or predict as positivist research based on quantitative methods, such as the survey, often does (Botterill, 2001; Goodson and

Phillimore, 2004). However, constructionist qualitative research is also considered the most suitable approach for the topic. Considering that abstract concepts such as memory and identity are considered, it is unlikely that a positivist quantitative approach would be able to provide the required depth – the same applies to postpositivism. Critical theory and the participatory or postmodern paradigm are also not considered suitable for this research. This is primarily because such research aims to transform or emancipate which is not the aim of this exploratory research. Overall, constructionist qualitative research is seen to be the most appropriate choice for this study.

5.3.2. Criticisms of constructionism and qualitative research

Constructionist qualitative research is subject to various criticisms and has weaknesses and limitations. These are acknowledged and discussed here.

Constructionism and qualitative methods have often been criticised for their lack of rigor and their non-scientific approach due to the lack of 'scientific' methods and quality standards (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). This criticism primarily originates from researchers that operate within other paradigms, particularly the positivist one. Phillimore and Goodson (2004), however, argue that in most disciplines qualitative research is now no longer seen as inferior to quantitative research and indeed functions as a critique of positivist research based on natural science methods, and it has also been seen as an approach which seeks to oppose the deficiencies of quantitative research (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). Constructionists and qualitative researchers thus argue that their research should be judged by different quality standards discussed further in Section 5.6.1.

Due to the supposed relativist ontological position, it is often assumed that 'constructionism collectively proposes that things are not real, or that there is no reality at all' (Pernecky, 2012, p. 1117). However, Pernecky (2012) claims that this is not necessarily the case because constructionism is not primarily concerned with the nature of the physical world but more with how people understand the world. Crotty (1998) also argues that '[t]o say that meaningful reality is socially constructed is not to say that it is not real' (Crotty, 1998, p. 63). For example, the rules of a football match are real, but they are socially

constructed and can, in theory, be changed at any time. In this context it is of importance to state again that there are various nuances of constructionism that can take different stances on the nature of reality.

Vidich and Lyman (1998) pose the question of '[h]ow is it possible to understand the other when the other's values are not one's own?' (p. 47). Hollinshead (2004) describes this key question to be the ontological and epistemological dilemma of qualitative research. However, within the constructionist paradigm the researcher's impact on the interpretation of findings is acknowledged and it is not attempted to produce an unbiased account of others' reality. Indeed, constructionist qualitative researchers do not make claims about representing others' views objectively, but always acknowledge their own subjective interpretation.

It can be concluded that each paradigm comes with its own beliefs and assumptions as well as approaches to judging 'good research'. Thus, the intention of this clear outline of the underpinning ontology and epistemology as well as associated quality concerns in Section 5.6.1 is that potential criticisms are appropriately addressed.

5.4   Semiotic analysis

This section discusses semiotics as the chosen method to explore the commemorative narrative. Semiotics is 'not widely institutionalized as an academic discipline […] involving many different theoretical stances and methodological tools' (Chandler, 2007, p. 4). This becomes apparent in the many different definitions that can be found in the literature. The most basic definition of semiotics is as 'the study of signs' (Chandler, 2007, p. 2). Furthermore, it was defined as 'the science of signs' (Morris, 1938, p.1, cited by Griggs et al., 2012, p. 343), the investigation of the 'action of signs' (Deely, 1990, p. 22), as well as 'the analysis of symbols in everyday life' (Bryman and Bell, 2011, p. 560). According to Eco (1976) '[s]emiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign', where '[a] sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else' (p. 7). Semiotics can also be defined as the study of systems of signs (Echtner, 1999).

Although semiotics has traditionally often been used in a structuralist and linguistic context (Chandler, 2007), it can be used to analyse a wide range of data besides language because it generally treats phenomena as texts (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Signs and sign systems can consist of words, images, sounds, odours, flavours, acts or objects (Chandler, 2007). Hannam and Knox (2005) state that '[t]he value of semiotic analysis is in the fact that it recognizes that there are usually several layers of meaning within any textual or visual analysis and that these are usually arbitrary but bound by particular cultural contexts' (p. 25).

This section first provides an overview of the origins and development of modern semiotics. It then discusses why semiotics is suitable for this research project in order to analyse narratives of memory and identity that emerge at commemorative events. Subsequently, it is outlined in detail how semiotics was employed within this research. The section concludes with a consideration of common criticisms of semiotic analysis.

5.4.1. Origins and concepts of modern semiotics

Modern semiotics is based on two main scholars: Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 – 1913) and Charles Sanders Peirce (1839 – 1914) (Chandler, 2007). Griggs et al. (2012) explain that Saussure's and Peirce's theses are now seen to have merged into what is understood as modern semiotics and thus, Saussure's and Peirce's theories are briefly outlined here.

Saussure mainly used a linguistic approach to semiotics and analysed words and language as sign systems. Saussure stated that a sign consists of a signifier and a signified (see Figure 2). In the context of language the signifier is the spoken word, such as the word 'tree'. As such, in the Saussurian tradition the signifier specifically refers to a 'sound pattern' (Chandler, 2007, p. 16). The signified is the object or the concept the signifier represents, such as the mental image of a tree after hearing the word. Eco (1976) defines Saussure's signified as somewhere between 'a mental image, a concept and a psychological reality' (pp. 14f.). Together, the signifier and the signified make up the sign, as represented in the illustration below.
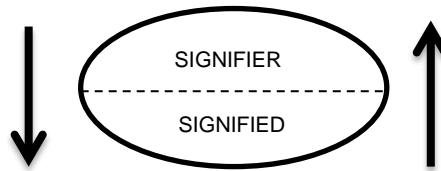
Figure 2: Saussure's sign (Chandler, 2014e)

The signifier in the example of the tree is completely arbitrary. It only signifies the object of the tree because of common social agreement. As such, if enough people agreed, the object of a tree could be called something completely different (Hall, 1997). Consequently, according to Saussure, signs and their meanings have to be learned 'through a process of semiotic socialization' (Echtner, 1999, p. 48).

Peirce studied systems of signs from a more philosophical approach. He defined semiotics as the 'formal doctrine of signs' (Peirce, 1931-58, cited in Chandler, 2007, p. 3). Peirce created the semiotic triangle (see Figure 3) in which he adds an interpretant to the signifier and the signified, indicating that signs and objects do not exist independently of the person interpreting the sign. Consequently, 'a sign not only stands for something, but it also *stands for something to somebody* in a certain respect' (Echtner, 1999, p. 48, emphasis in original).
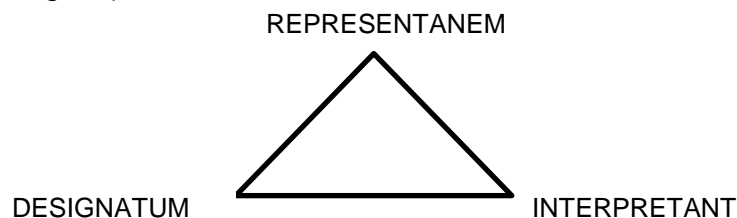
Figure 3: Peirce's semiotic triangle (Echtner, 1999)

The designatum refers to the object or concept that is signified, whereas the representanem is the signifier used to represent the object. The interpretant in Peirce's theory does not refer to the person interpreting the sign, but instead it 'is Peirce's term for the meaning of a sign' (Nöth, 1990, p. 43), 'the resulting thought or action' (Metro-Roland, 2009, p. 272) or 'the sense made of the sign' (Chandler, 2007, p. 29).

Furthermore, Peirce also proposed various classifications of signs. One of these classifications refers to the relationships between the representanem and the designatum, and consists of icon, index and symbol (Nöth, 1990).

The icon is a sign which resembles the object (Echtner, 1999; Metro-Roland, 2009), such as a miniature souvenir replica of the Berlin Wall. An index has a causal relation to the object; it has an actual or physical connection to the object (Echtner, 1999; Metro-Roland, 2009). For example, a smile can be an index of happiness. Finally, a symbol only refers to a signified by arbitrary social agreement (Echtner, 1999; Metro-Roland, 2009). National flags, for example, are such a symbol. These types of signs are not mutually exclusive and dependent on cultural context.

There are several other theorists who are important for modern semiotics, including scholars such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Jacques Derrida, Charles Morris, Louis Hjelmslev, Roman Jakobson, Thomas Sebeok, Umberto Eco and Roland Barthes (e.g. Cobley and Jansz, 2004; Echtner, 1999; Nöth, 1990). However, within the scope of this thesis it is only Barthes' semiotic theory that is outlined further here as it is of particular relevance.

Barthes is described by Culler (1990) 'as the founder of a semiotics aiming at demystification or culture criticism' (p. 1). One of Barthes' key contributions to semiotics is his distinction between denotation and connotation (Nöth, 1990). He was interested in layers of meaning and distinguished between primary and secondary sign structures (Barthes, [1957] 2000; Echtner, 1999). The primary sign is at the denotative level which is a straightforward sign as defined by Saussure (Barthes, [1957] 2000; Echtner, 1999). It is what is understood as the literal meaning of the sign (Carson et al., 2005). The secondary sign at the connotative level refers to implicit content of the sign (Barthes, [1957] 2000; Nöth, 1990). It refers to the 'social and cultural meanings which can be attached to the sign' (Carson et al., 2005, p. 165). According to Barthes ([1957] 2000), systems of secondary connotative signification can be defined as myths where the literal meaning is appropriated.

Another more recent strand of semiotics is social semiotics as advocated by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. Social semiotics is concerned not just with the analysis of signs but also with how people make use of semiotic resources in order to communicate meaning in particular social situations (van Leeuwen, 2005). As such social semiotics is not primarily focused on

uncovering laws and inherent systems of signs, but instead considers how people actively 'regulate the use of semiotic resources' (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. xi). Social semiotics also considers how new signs are made, instead of focusing on how pre-existing signs are used (Kress and Mavers, 2005). Social semiotics furthermore considers the social and cultural context of meaning making (Kress and Mavers, 2005). It is also concerned with comparing and contrasting different semiotic modes such as language, images, music etc. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) termed this approach multimodal social semiotics – the combination of images, photographs, colours and words.

The strand of social semiotics is relevant because it is evidence of a development away from the Saussurian structuralist model towards an approach more focused on the notions of human agency as well as questions of power and politics. Its multimodal approach implies going beyond speech and writing for the semiotic analysis of meaning. As such, social semiotics is of relevance for this research, as the data is multimodal, and notions of the construction of meaning through motivated choices are important considerations which are addressed further through the thematic analysis.

5.4.2. Suitability for this study

Looking back at the aim and objectives of this research, a semiotic analysis for this project is employed in order to explore what narratives of memory and identity are communicated at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall. As such it is concerned with the narrative as a sign system, or a system of representation, and aims to investigate how memory and identity are represented in this narrative. The following section outlines in more detail why semiotics is a suitable method for this research by also referring to previous studies in similar contexts or related fields.

Events are very much concerned with the visual and representation. There is wide ranging research on festivals and events and how they may represent place and group identity, as outlined in the literature review. Many events employ a range of signs as a means to represent the host community in terms of its history, traditions and contemporary identity. In line with this, Getz (2012) and Berridge (2007), for example, suggest semiotics as a useful

approach to uncover the meanings conveyed through events. Some further examples include Griggs et al. (2012) who, although not analysing the events themselves, analysed mascots in an events context by looking at the Olympic Games 2012 in London. Furthermore, White (2006) employed a semiotic analysis for the study of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games opening ceremony. A further relevant study was conducted by Arning (2013) who suggests semiotics as a suitable method to analyse ceremonies, arguing that the ceremony can be read as semiotic text. He conducted a semiotic analysis of the ideological underpinnings of opening ceremonies of Olympic Summer Games since 1980, outlining how these ceremonies communicate and construct meaning.

Additionally, commemorative practices have previously been analysed by using semiotics to decode meanings (e.g. Abousnnouga and Machin, 2010; Bowcher and Yameng Liang, 2014; Edensor, 1997; Laws and Ferguson, 2011; Schwartz, 1982; 1998; Violi, 2012a; 2012b; Wall, 2013). As presented in the literature review, identity and collective memory can be seen to be communicated and contested through a collection of signs which further illustrates why semiotics is a useful approach for this study. Palmer (1999) emphasises the usefulness of the semiotic approach to analyse symbols of identity. She argues that it 'enables the underlying, and perhaps less obvious, meanings behind the images on display to be more fully understood' (Palmer, 1999, p. 319). A similar argument applies to studying collective memory, and semiotics is proposed by various researchers as a suitable method for understanding and deconstructing representations of collective memory (Brockmeier, 2002; French, 2012; Keightley, 2010; Wertsch, 2002).

Semiotics is furthermore compatible with the constructionist worldview. Ontologically, semiotics sees social realities as dependent on human interpretation (Chandler, 2007). Social reality is a construction in which signs and sign structures play a pivotal role (Echtner, 1999). However, there can be multiple social realities and these constructions of reality are contested and as such their representations in signs and sign systems are 'sites of struggle' (Chandler, 2007, p. 65). As such, it is not assumed that signs are simply mirrors of an external reality. Signs are not labels for pre-existing

objects or concepts (Chandler, 2007); instead signs are actively used to construct meaning (Hall, 1997). Epistemologically, the aim of semiotics is thus not to uncover 'the truth' or to investigate whether the use of signs and representation is 'correct'. Instead, semiotics aims at understanding how signs are used to construct and communicate meaning (Echtner, 1999).

Overall, due to its compatibility with the constructionist paradigm, its suitability to deconstruct narratives of memory and identity, as well as its usefulness to deconstruct meaning communicated at events, semiotics is considered a helpful approach and is believed to provide the necessary insight.

5.4.3. The process of semiotic analysis

Methodologically, contemporary semiotic analysis does not need to follow a certain prescribed procedure, similar to other non-positivist, qualitative research approaches (Echtner, 1999; Hannam and Knox, 2005). However, Echtner (1999) suggests a helpful six step approach to semiotic analysis which can be adapted to the needs of particular research projects. Echtner (1999) developed this approach in the context of tourism marketing material and follows a Saussurian structuralist approach. Nonetheless, because of the scarcity of similarly detailed frameworks for semiotic analyses, this six step process was chosen, and adapted to suit the context and sources of data. The adapted semiotic process is as outlined in Table 2.

Step 1	Choose relevant sources of data for each event
Step 2	Specify and segment the relevant elements of analysis
Step 3	Examine the significance and dominance of elements within each event
Step 4	Decode the meaning of the elements within each event
Step 5	Examine the combinations of elements within the events and develop common themes
Step 6	Penetrate surface meanings and extract underlying meanings based on combination of elements and themes across the events

Table 2: A six step approach to semiotic analysis (adapted from Echtner, 1999)

As a first step, as suggested by Echtner (1999), the researcher should choose a data set which is 'a static, distinct and self-sufficient system' (p. 50), such as all current tourism brochures for a particular destination. The data for this analysis consists of the commemorative events themselves in the anniversary years 2009 and 2014. However, the analysis of these events

was conducted with a variety of supporting material which is listed in Appendix B.

The second step as outlined by Echtner (1999) is guided by the aims of the research as well as the theoretical background. A framework needs to be developed which consists of the elements that are investigated within the data. These elements may be words and phrases or actions and objects portrayed in images. The important question to be answered here is: what are the most important signifiers (and what do they signify) (Berger, 2012; Chandler, 2014a)? The author identified elements for this semiotic analysis which describe what she looked out for in the data set, but this framework was refined throughout the familiarisation and analysis process. Importantly, all the events had to be seen separately at this stage, as they are of different nature and may communicate separate narratives. For each event, the initial elements for analysis were identified as follows:

- Event title
- Dominant visual sign
- Dominant space
- Dominant elements in the event programming

As a third step, Echtner (1999) proposes a quantitative step which documents the frequency of occurrence of the elements identified in step two, similar to a content analysis. This step helps in identifying the most important signifiers in the texts. As the data for this research is different from Echtner's (1999) printed marketing material, counting of elements is not always appropriate. However, in terms of the events, frequency, length of time or visual dominance of elements may be an indicator of significance. For instance, for the programming of the 'Festival of Freedom', frequency and length of speeches may be an indicator of their significance as opposed to potential less frequent and shorter elements, whereas fireworks may be particularly dominant visually and thus be of significance.

Although the fourth step proposed by Echtner (1999) aims at understanding the relationships between elements, the author adapted this step to be concerned with the underlying meanings of individual elements in terms of

what they signify. This includes, for example, an application of Peirce's typology of signs or the consideration of rhetorical tropes such as synecdoche[7], metonymy[8], antonym[9] and metaphor[10]. However, this step also includes the analysis of the relationships in terms of Saussure's syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes (Chandler, 2007). The syntagmatic structures refer to 'creation of meaning through combination' (Echtner, 1999, p. 51). It is 'the various ways in which elements within the same text may be related to each other' (Chandler, 2007, p. 85). Contrary to that, paradigmatic structures are concerned with 'the creation of meaning through selection' (Echtner, 1999, p. 51), i.e. what other elements may have been possible in the same context. An analysis of paradigmatic structures is based on contrast and comparison of the signifiers present in a text with absent signifiers that could have been chosen in the same context, as well as a consideration of the significance and implications of the choices made (Chandler, 2007). For the paradigmatic analysis it is important to consider which type of text medium is used to convey meaning as it results in different paradigms one has to consider (Chandler, 2014a). For example, in the case of written language, one has to consider word choice, but when analysing photographs the paradigms consist of shot size and angle, among others.

The fifth step is concerned with the development of themes based on the analysis of individual elements as well as the combination of elements within events. Once this step was conducted for the individual events, the analysis also considered how these themes are apparent not just within the chosen data set but across cases (Echtner, 1999). This step acknowledges that it is important not to see semiotic texts as self-contained systems but to see them in the wider context in which they were produced. This step is also likely to include parts of the analysis of deeper meanings as in the next step (Echtner, 1999). For this research project it means that the themes identified in the

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[7] A figure of speech where the whole is referred to by a part of that whole, or vice versa, e.g. 'We need to hire some more hands' or 'Scotland played Wales in the World Cup' (Chandler, 2014d).

[8] A figure of speech that is very similar to a synecdoche, but where the substituting element is only associated with the whole rather than being a part of it, e.g. saying 'No. 10' to refer to the British Prime Minister (Chandler, 2014d).

[9] A word that is the opposite of another, such as 'good' and 'bad' (Chandler, 2014c).

[10] A figure of speech that emphasises similarities between two different concepts, e.g. 'Experience is a good school' (Chandler, 2014d).

separate events are compared with each other to reveal an overall commemorative narrative. Furthermore, themes need to be seen in the wider context of Berlin Wall commemoration as discussed in the literature review.

According to Echtner (1999), the sixth and final step involves uncovering the connotative meanings as indicated by Barthes in his denotative/connotative sign system, where one has to penetrate the various layers of meanings. As with all qualitative research, this step 'is not an exact science' (Echtner, 1999, p. 51), and is highly dependent on the researcher's subjective interpretation. It is furthermore important to consider that this step cannot be completely separate from the previous steps. In identifying elements and their relationships, deeper meanings are already considered. This final step involves the deconstruction and discussion of the commemorative narrative that emerges from the combination of elements and themes across the events. In this final step, it is furthermore important to ask what a purely structural analysis of the text might downplay or ignore (Chandler, 2014a). For example, particularly drawing on social semiotics, one should ask whose realities the signs represent, whose views are excluded and who the intended audience may be.

It should be said that the semiotic analysis was deliberately conducted prior to the thematic analysis to avoid bias through the interviews with organisers. In order to authentically represent this process, findings from the semiotic analysis are presented first in this thesis. More specifically, the findings of the semiotic analysis are structured as follows. Due to the scope of this thesis, the first four steps can be found in Appendix E. Steps 5 and 6, however, which directly address key themes and the deconstruction of the commemorative narrative are presented in Chapters 6 and 8 within the main body of this thesis while occasionally drawing on findings from the previous steps

5.4.4. Criticisms of the method

The semiotic approach is subject to various criticisms, and has its weaknesses and limitations. First of all, as it was outlined at various points in this chapter, there is no general agreement about the semiotic process and as such it can be challenging for the researcher to justify the approach taken.

Furthermore, semiotic theorists are often accused of writing full of jargon, making their writings only accessible to a small elite, overcomplicating semiotics (Chandler, 2007; Rose, 2007). Similarly, the semiotic process can be seen as too formalised and restrictive (Echtner, 1999).

Additionally, semiotics is criticised for its emphasis on structure rather than agency (Hannam and Knox, 2005). In reaction to this, Carson et al. (2005) argue that semiotics can be employed in order to analyse how various social groups appropriate signs and furthermore, particularly social semiotics considers how people make motivated choices. The notion of agency is further addressed in this particular research through the interviews with organisers.

In a similar vein, semiotics is sometimes accused of showing a lack of concern for historical context and power issues (Echtner, 1999; Hannam and Knox, 2005). These kinds of criticisms are mainly directed at a purely structuralist semiotic approach. Few contemporary semioticians still follow such an approach, with more and more researchers acknowledging the importance of social semiotics (Chandler, 2014b). Indeed, many scholars outline the potential of semiotics to uncover ideological underpinnings of representations (e.g. Carson et al., 2005; Chandler, 2007; Harrison, 2003; Tresidder, 2011; Waterton, 2009). In this sense, a semiotic analysis 'can reveal whose realities are privileged and whose are suppressed' by considering how particular social groups construct and maintain reality (Chandler, 2007, p. 11). As such the criticism about a lack of consideration for notions of power and politics is mostly unjustified and these are certainly addressed in this research.

Another criticism of semiotics is expressed by Ribeiro (2009) who argues for a more scientific approach towards semiotic analysis, i.e. semiotic studies under a positivist research philosophy aiming at replicability. He assumes that the use of software for qualitative data analysis would make semiotics less subjective and as such – under his terms – more scientific, which would avoid semiotics falling short of its potential as a research method. This arguably is an unfounded assumption as any interpretation of deeper meanings conveyed through semiotic resources is always subject to the

researcher's experiences, assumptions and the more general cultural and social context. In this context, Chandler (2014b) criticizes those semioticians who present their findings as objective truth when all semiotic analyses are indeed highly subjective. Likewise, he criticizes those researchers who do not make transparent how they reached certain findings. By taking a reflexive approach, not claiming objectivity and transparently outlining findings from all six steps, the author of this thesis addressed these potential criticisms.

5.5 Thematic analysis

A second method of data analysis used was a thematic analysis. The objective of this thematic analysis is to investigate how key event organisers may have shaped the commemorative narrative. As such, it is important to gain further insight into their agendas for the inception and design of the events. For this purpose two different sources of data were used: official documents and interviews with organisers. The following sections outline this process in detail by describing and discussing the sources of data used as well as how these sources were analysed.

5.5.1. The nature and purpose of thematic analysis

Boyatzis (1998) describes thematic analysis as 'a way of seeing' (p. 1), which helps with recognising important moments, encoding, and interpreting them. Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as 'a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (p. 79). In this context, a theme can be defined as an idea that 'captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Boyatzis (1998) states that a 'theme is a pattern found in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon' (p. 4).

Thematic analysis is a useful method, because it is a relatively easy means to get a rich and detailed, while complex, account of data and provides a significant amount of flexibility to the researcher (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Boyatzis (1998) states that a thematic analysis can be used for a variety of overlapping or alternate purposes. Such purposes include 'making sense out

of seemingly unrelated material' and 'analyzing qualitative information' (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 4). According to him, thematic analysis could even be used for turning qualitative information into quantitative data, similar to what other authors would call a content analysis. Thematic analysis is thus a widely flexible tool which can be used in a variety of ways and contexts. This already alludes to the unstandardized use of the analysis which can go under a variety of different names and which is being used across various disciplines often without the process being described in detail (Boyatzis, 1998). However, thematic analysis is a useful tool for the communication of findings to a potentially diverse audience (Boyatzis, 1998).

Thematic analysis is beneficial for the analysis of a variety of qualitative data, such as interviews, focus groups, diaries or documents (Patton, 2002). The analysis can be inductive or data-driven (developing themes from the data) as well as deductive or theory-driven (analysing the data with pre-determined themes) (Patton, 2002). Notably, one analysis may employ both deductive and inductive approaches (Boyatzis, 1998). Furthermore, the analysis of themes can take place at two different levels: at the level of manifest or semantic themes or at the level of latent themes (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). The former is an analysis of explicit or surface meanings, whereas the latter focuses on underlying ideas, assumptions and ideologies that give shape to the semantic themes (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006).

5.5.2. Suitability for this study

As one of the objectives of this research is to investigate how key event organisers may have shaped the commemorative narrative, it was necessary to gain insight into their agendas, priorities and rationales. As thematic analysis aims at exploring patterns and themes across data sets, it is deemed a suitable approach to gain the required insight. The thematic analysis allows the author to attach data extracts to the thematic codes, thus aiding the search for information in relation to particular concepts. The flexibility of the approach as well as the possibility to employ the analysis across different sources of data made it a suitable choice to work towards this research objective.

Thematic analysis is a qualitative method and it is compatible with the constructionist research paradigm for a variety of reasons. The constructionist paradigm attempts to understand and interpret rather than to explain and predict (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). With the in-depth insight into complex data sets that can be gained from thematic analysis, such an in-depth understanding and interpretation can be supported. In line with the relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology of the constructionist paradigm, the underlying assumption for this analysis is not for meaning or truth to be discovered within the data set but for meanings to be actively constructed between researcher and the researched in the process of inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). Consequently, the author does not assume that the thematic analysis leads to a reflection of the truth.

As aforementioned, semiotic analysis aims at understanding how signs are used to construct and communicate meaning with an overall focus on the social construction of such meanings (Echtner, 1999). Thematic analysis conducted within the constructionist paradigm can contribute to the exploration of how meaning and experience are socially produced by considering in detail the contexts and conditions of such social construction (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Social semiotics in particular is concerned with how people make use of semiotic resources in order to communicate meaning in particular social situations (van Leeuwen, 2005). As the semiotic analysis deconstructs the narrative from the author's perspective, the combination with thematic analysis can give further insight into the context that led to certain semiotic resources being chosen, i.e. the potential organisers' role for the shape of the narrative. This approach of combining semiotic and thematic analysis is thus deemed an appropriate and complementary means to achieving the overall research aim.

5.5.3. Sources of data

Two different sources of data were used for the thematic analysis. One source consists of documents authored by the organisers and the other consists of four interviews with interviewees from these organisers. These two different types of sources are described and their selection is justified here.

5.5.3.1   Documents

The analysis of documents constitutes an unobtrusive research method and is 'a particularly interesting and innovative strategy for collecting and assessing data' (Berg, 2004, p. 209). In order to investigate how key event organisers may have shaped the commemorative narrative, documents are deemed a useful source for insight into the organisers' priorities and rationales, for example, through the way in which the organisers reported on the events. Two different types of documents were used in the analysis: Firstly, evaluative accounts published by the organisers after the 2009 theme year, and secondly, books that were produced by the organisers to accompany the events in both years as they were taking place. Please refer to Appendix B for an overview of all documents included in the analysis.

All documents used were openly and publicly available and access did not have to be negotiated. In fact, the books were sold as merchandise items at the events in both years, whereas the evaluative documents of the 2009 events were published on the event's website. All documents employed in this analysis were also already used for the semiotic analysis, but this time the analysis focused on textual information. It has to be said here that some content of the books was unrelated to the events. For example, more than one hundred pages in the 'Domino book' are dedicated to presenting hundreds of painted dominoes; the analysis of these was beyond the scope of this research and would reflect participants' rather than organisers' views. As a result of this, the author decided to exclude such sections from the analysis and focus on those which explicitly describe and discuss the events themselves. The analysis included all existing documents of this kind – at the time of research, no evaluative account of the events in 2014 had been published.

Nevertheless, there are limitations to the information which can be found in such publicly available documents authored by the organisers. As Hodder (2003) states, all documents 'are written to do something [and] can be understood only as what they are – a form of artifact produced under certain material conditions […] embedded within social and ideological systems' (p. 157). For this reason and in consideration of the constructionist paradigm it is

thus important to see these documents not as objective or unbiased accounts of truth, but to also consider their nature and purpose. The books where sold during the events among other souvenirs, with a focus on an emotive narrative appealing to potential buyers. The books as such were not books about the events but about themes relating to the events. The evaluative documents of the events in 2009 are short in textual information and rich in photographs and exclusively positive as if attempting to justify the events in hindsight rather than to present a holistic impact study or similar broader report. Due to this, both types of documents are limited in their information on pre-event processes as well as any conflicts or controversies experienced by the organisers. Although the information gained from the documents is rich and insightful, interviews were an integral complementary source of data for further insight into how the event organisers may have shaped the commemorative narrative.

5.5.3.2   Interviews

Interviews can be defined as 'a conversation with a purpose' (Berg, 2004, p. 75) and are a useful method for approaching the social world from the interviewee's perspective. Patton (2002) argues that interviews are used to gather information that cannot be gained from unobtrusive measures and thus they were used to complement the information readily available from the documents. Nevertheless, here it has to be emphasised again that within the constructionist paradigm, interviews are not considered 'neutral tools of data gathering but active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results' (Fontana and Frey, 2003, p. 62). The researcher thus influences both collection and interpretation of data and a reflexive approach is needed.

As outlined in Table 3, one interviewee from each of the event organisers was interviewed, resulting in four interviews overall. All interviewees can be considered top-level managers of their respective institutions and were key decision-makers for the events. The interviews were conducted in German and recorded, and a verbatim transcript in German was completed by the author. The interview with the interviewee from the Senate took place in October 2013 on an exploratory basis before final methodological decisions

were made, whereas all other three interviews took place shortly after the events in November 2014. Thus, the interviewee from the Senate was asked slightly different questions. Apart from constituting a source for the thematic analysis, this particular interview was also used for refining the aim and objectives of the study and identifying further key organisers. This interviewee acted as a gatekeeper through whom access to the other organisers was enabled.

Event organiser	Further information	Referred to as
Berlin Senate – Cultural Affairs Department	This interview took place over the phone in October 2013 and is the only interview which took place prior to the 2014 events. It has to be said that this institution played a crucial role in both 2009 and 2014, but the interviewee was only involved in the 2009 theme year and retired in 2012.	Interviewee 1 – 4 (for individual interviewees) and Event Organiser 1 – 4 (for corresponding institution), not representing the order in which they are presented here.
Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH	This interview took place over the phone in November 2014.	
Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V.	This interview took place face-to-face in a café in Berlin in November 2014.	
Berlin Wall Memorial	This interview took place face-to-face in the interviewee's office in Berlin in November 2014.	

Table 3: Overview of interviews conducted

The interviews conducted were semi-standardised or semi-structured (Berg, 2004; Flick, 2014). Berg (2004) notes that such an interview is characterised by a slightly flexible approach, in that questions can be reordered and reworded if needed, and that the interviewer may ask additional questions for further clarification. This flexible design gives the interviewee more room to express their viewpoints (Flick, 2014). Open questions were asked which allowed the interviewees to present knowledge they immediately had at hand (Flick, 2014). Due to the exploratory nature of this research, the questions were deliberately left broad. However, the majority relate to the idea found in the literature review that commemoration is political and that organisers have agendas and priorities which shape the commemorative narrative (e.g. Barthel, 1996; Bell, 2003; Chronis, 2006; Connerton, 1989; Conway, 2008; Elgenius, 2011b; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Frost 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Gillis, 1994; McDonald and Méthot, 2006; Olick, 1999a; Park, 2011; Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Tint, 2010; Turner, 2006; White, 1997b; Witz, 2009). The interviews aimed at further illuminating such agendas and

related negotiation and collaboration processes among the organisers. As the literature review also suggests an important role of the contextual backdrop (e.g. Conway, 2008; Olick, 1999a), the interviews furthermore explored the role of the context in regards to Berlin Wall commemoration and broader political, social and cultural issues. Questions were thus both theory- and context-driven. All questions can be found in Appendix C.

For purposes of confidentiality the informants are not associated with any of the institutions in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. The author would also like to point out that for reasons of simplicity she opted for the male pronoun to refer to the interviewees but this is not a reflection of the actual gender of the interviewees.

5.5.4. The process of thematic analysis

As stated previously, a thematic analysis aims at identifying key themes within the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that defining themes depends on researcher judgement and that there is no generally agreed method. Whether something counts as a theme depends on its prevalence in relation to the overall research aim, rather than quantifiable measures such as number of instances occurring (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

A variety of steps were taken to develop and identify themes, and to write up the findings from the analysis. As there is no generally agreed process for conducting a thematic analysis (similar to semiotic analysis), these steps are a combination of the description of the process of thematic analysis as outlined by Boyatzis (1998) and Braun and Clarke (2006). These authors' work was adapted for the purpose of this study. The steps are presented in Table 4.

Step 1	Choose sources of data and first familiarisation with data
Step 2	Develop initial coding framework
Step 3	First round of coding (theory-driven)
Step 4	Second round of coding (data-driven)
Step 5	Write up of 'rich description' of semantic / manifest themes
Step 6	Write up of separate discussion of deeper meanings based on 'rich description'
Step 7	Editing of 'rich description' as findings chapter of this thesis

Table 4: The seven steps of the thematic analysis

First of all, the author familiarised herself with the data gathered through interviews and documents. Verbatim transcripts were created from the four interviews which constituted a first major step in the familiarisation process (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Similarly, all of the documents were already used for the semiotic analysis, meaning the author was very familiar with the data when the thematic analysis was started. However, all sources were re-read entirely before coding was started.

After that, the coding framework for the first round of coding was developed. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) define coding as the process of 'assigning tags or labels to the data, based on our concepts […] condensing the bulk of our data sets into analyzable units by creating categories with and from our data' (p. 26). It is 'a way of relating our data to our ideas about those data' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996, p. 27). The starting point for the first round of coding can be a simple framework based on what the researcher is interested in, theoretical concepts, the conceptual framework or basic interview questions (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). The conceptual framework and the research objectives were particularly important for the coding process, and thus, this step of the analysis was more theory-driven than data-driven (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006) which means that the researcher approaches the data with specific questions in mind. Nevertheless, the coding process was flexible, developed after familiarisation with the data and open for additional codes to be developed. Appendix D outlines the coding framework which was developed and employed.

The third step of the analysis was the first round of coding using the initial framework by analysing all the sources line-by-line. The majority of the coding was done with the help of NVIVO 10; the use of this software is justified and discussed in more detail in the following section. Several documents were only available as hard copies and thus the author analysed these manually with highlighter pens. This first round of coding resulted in the organisation of relevant extracts of the data under the key headings.

Once the first round of coding was completed for all sources, a second round of coding took place which looked into all extracts coded under each heading. This second round included the development of inductive sub-codes

for each predetermined code. For example, for the predetermined code 'priorities', sub-codes such as 'marketing' and 'education' were developed. Figure 4 shows a screenshot from NVIVO 10 with all sub-codes developed within this theme.
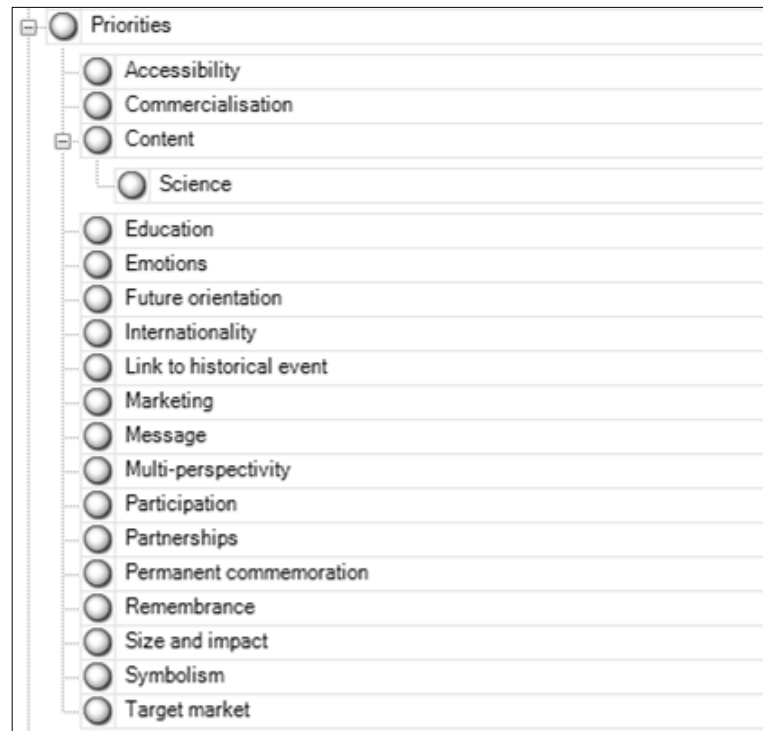
Figure 4: Example of codes and sub-codes

Subsequently, the next step involved developing a structure for the writing up of the findings. For this purpose some of the sub-themes had to be reconsidered. The prevalence and relevance of sub-codes were considered and some sub-codes were merged whereas others were discarded or renamed. Codes were discarded when they referred to an extract that was coded with more than one code and was thus included elsewhere in the writing up or was considered irrelevant upon more detailed consideration. Table 5 shows how the above sub-codes within the theme 'priorities' were reordered for the structure of the initial writing up of findings.

'Priorities' sub-codes	Reordered into structure for writing up
Commercialisation	Avoiding commercialisation and 'eventification'
Target market Participation Accessibility	Targeting a mass audience with accessibility and participation
Education	Education of the general public
Marketing Permanent commemoration	Marketing of particular institutions and places

Content
    • Science
    • Message
        o Internationality
        o Future orientation
    • Symbolism
        o Link to historical event
        o Emotions
	An emphasis on content
	    • A scholarly approach to event content
	    • Communicating key messages
	
	    • Intended symbolism

Multi-perspectivity	*Discarded (double-coded and included elsewhere)*
Partnerships	*Discarded (double-coded and included elsewhere)*
Remembrance	*Discarded (double-coded and included elsewhere)*
Size and impact	*Discarded (double-coded and included elsewhere)*

Table 5: Restructuring codes and sub-codes

Based on this structure, the writing up process was started as the fifth step of the analysis process. As almost all data is originally in German, extracts were translated into English by the author to the best of her knowledge for the production of this thesis. This process of writing constituted a substantial part of the analysis rather than merely reporting of findings (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Throughout the writing process, the author repeatedly went back and forth between the findings chapter, the data and the coded extracts in order to re-order or re-name themes. Once this was completed all sources were re-read to ensure nothing had been missed and no new themes or codes were identified. Overall, this led to a rich description of the overall data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This rich description was based on semantic or manifest themes rather than latent themes (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). Rich description is useful for under-researched areas with little pre-existing knowledge (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, rich description can lead to the identification of predominant latent issues across a dataset (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thus, the process of writing up this rich description of semantic or manifest themes was followed by a separate discussion of underlying issues.

Consequently, the next step constituted the writing of a separate discussion section. As the objective is to investigate how key event organisers may have

shaped the commemorative narrative, it was important to go beyond the semantic or manifest level to identify the intended uses by the organisers and any related issues that may have shaped the events. This step was based on an in-depth reading of the existing rich description of semantic or manifest themes. In this sense, it revolved around asking some of the questions Braun and Clarke (2006) outline as important for any thematic analysis, such as 'What does this theme mean?', 'What are the assumptions underpinning it?' and particularly also, 'What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic?'. This separate discussion aimed at identifying the key underlying issues across the various themes and their deeper meanings and by doing this, situating the findings in the context of the research as well as existing literature.

As a final step, the existing 'rich description' had to be edited. In its current form it was too long and broad for full inclusion in this thesis. Thus, the author had to re-read this analysis various times to eliminate unnecessary repetitions as well as information that was irrelevant for the overall discussion towards the research aim and objectives. Changes included the removal of the key themes 'impacts and outcomes' as well as 'organisers' memory and identity narratives'. The author decided that there was too much repetition and merged some of the analysis from these sections with the 'priorities' theme. Some further smaller sections were removed, some restructuring took place and several sub-headings were added or removed to improve the overall flow of the chapter. The version that resulted from this step is what is presented in this thesis.

5.5.4.1 Using NVIVO 10 for thematic analysis

The interviews and some of the documents were analysed with the help of NVIVO 10. The program was used only as a tool to help with the management and coding of the data in the process of conducting the thematic analysis. Any functions of the programme that go beyond coding data and viewing extracts coded in the same way were not made use of. There are various benefits and drawbacks in the use of software for qualitative data analysis. Some say that software may guide the researcher into a certain direction, create too much distance between researcher and

data, and encourage quantitative rather than qualitative analysis (Welsh, 2002). Benefits may relate to additional speed, accuracy and transparency in the process of analysis (Welsh, 2002). In this case, the programme was used for its benefits such as speed and convenience in the handling, managing, searching and displaying of data and codes (Flick, 2014). NVIVO 10 was chosen over similar programmes purely out of convenience as it is the only software offered by the institution.

There were various challenges to overcome in the process of using NVIVO 10. Flick (2014) states that a main concern in the use of such programmes is that they distract the researcher from the analytic work in regards to the reading, understanding and contemplating of textual material. Indeed, it is tempting to code data, view extracts coded under the same term and never re-consider the extracts in their original contexts. The author ensured that any quote that would be used in the findings chapter to underpin the analysis was reviewed in its original context to ensure that data and analysis match. Another challenge was that the same attention had to be given to electronic documents analysed in the programme and hard copies of other documents analysed manually. The author had to ensure that the convenience of the programme would not impact on the analysis of the hard copies. Once the analysis on NVIVO 10 was completed, the author ensured the hard copy documents are analysed with the same scrutiny and the same coding framework to ensure equal treatment of hard copy and electronic documents. Another important aspect to consider is that NVIVO 10 produces statistics outlining the frequency of codes used. From the perspective of the author these statistics give no insight into the prevalence of a code, and in this case they also do not include the codes in the hard copies. As such, these statistics were disregarded.

Overall, however, it was considered that the use of NVIVO 10 would be greatly beneficial for the handling of the majority of the data by outweighing its downsides, thus the author found the use of the programme to be justified.

5.5.5. Criticisms of the method

There are a variety of common criticisms addressed at thematic analysis as well as the more general use of documents and interviews. These are acknowledged and considered here.

Thematic analysis is widely used yet often considered poorly demarcated, thus criticised as an 'anything goes' technique (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Another criticism is related to the notion of 'themes emerging' or 'being discovered', as this denies the active interpretation by the researcher (Braun and Clarke, 2006). As such, it is crucial to outline in detail the processes of the analysis and how themes were determined. This chapter's outline of the various steps taken thus addresses these weaknesses. Furthermore, theory-driven coding can be criticised to be developed out of context and with some distance to the data (Boyatzis, 1998). However, as it was important to the author that the analysis is conducted in close relation to the conceptual framework and research objective, it was decided that a flexible theory-driven approach is appropriate for the first round of coding. Furthermore, the coding framework was developed after the familiarisation process, thus with significant closeness to the data. In this sense, there is thus no clear-cut distinction between theory-driven and data-driven coding. The second, purely inductive round as well as the separate discussion allowed for further issues to be interpreted in close consideration of the data, thus, removing any potential distance between author and data while simultaneously ensuring the link between data, findings and conceptual framework.

In regards to interviews, Fontana and Frey (2003) state that the influence of the researcher is often not given enough attention in the collection and interpretation of the data. Similarly, Hodder (2003) argues that documents are often considered an 'objective' or 'true' account of meaning, where the researcher does not pay enough attention to how meaning is constructed in the process of reading the documents within particular contexts. As this author places an emphasis on a reflexive approach, she intends to consider her role in the analysis in sufficient depth for the findings and conclusions to be insightful. The following section reflects upon the role of the author in more depth.

5.6   Reflections on methodology

As indicated throughout this chapter, the author aims for a reflexive approach in order to make this research convincing and transparent. This final section of the methodology thus considers notions of research quality, ethics and reflexivity in relation to the chosen approaches.

5.6.1. Research quality considerations

When judging the quality of research, concepts such as external and internal validity, reliability, objectivity and replicability are often used (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Seale, 2004). However, these standards are derived from the positivist tradition which strives for objective knowledge and the discovery of truth. As such these concepts only have limited applicability for qualitative research which is conducted from a constructionist perspective.

One of the ways in which qualitative research tries to convince others of its research quality is through the use of more than one method for the exploration of the same phenomenon (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). This approach 'is not a tool or a strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation', as it adds rigour, depth and breadth (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p. 4). Furthermore, Seale (2004) mentions various quality considerations that may apply to qualitative constructionist research. Validity can be replaced by depth of the research instead of breadth, originality and discovery of new phenomena which contributes to an existing body of knowledge. Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) identify transparency as a powerful tool for assuring research quality. Furthermore, the quality of a constructionist study can be judged by whether it achieved its objectives or not (Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001). A reflexive approach is also of importance in this context, as an awareness of one's own impact on the research process can add to the credibility of the project (Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001). Goodson and Phillimore (2004) agree and claim that '[o]nly through openly reflexive interpretation can validity be claimed for any research, regardless of whether it is quantitative or qualitative' (p. 36).

Overall, the author intends to increase and ensure the quality of this research in the following ways. First of all, this study's approach based on two

methods contributes to the quality of the research. Furthermore, the issues of reflexivity and subjectivity are important for this research and are discussed separately Section 5.6.3. The purpose of this discussion is to add to the quality of the research. Moreover, the author aims to make the research as transparent as possible. Within the constructionist paradigm, disclosing all steps in the research process contributes to research quality. To this end, in the sections relating to both the semiotic and the thematic analysis, the process was described and justified in detail. Findings and discussion are presented separately in this thesis in order to add to the transparency. Finally, the conclusion of this thesis outlines how the study met its own objectives and how it contributes to knowledge, thus adding to the worthiness and credibility of the research.

5.6.2. Research ethics

Punch (1998) outlines some ethical considerations related to qualitative research. These are related to issues of consent and deception, privacy, harm, identification, confidentiality, and trust and betrayal.

First of all, Punch (1998) states that it is generally considered crucial to inform people that they are being researched as well as to tell them about the nature of the research. Ideally an informed consent form should be signed. In line with this, for all interviews a signed consent form was obtained in line with the university's research integrity policy (Edinburgh Napier University, 2013).

The second set of ethical codes relates to privacy, harm, identification and confidentiality (Punch, 1998). Guba and Lincoln (1998) also identify confidentiality and anonymity as the main ethical concerns in constructionist qualitative research. It is important that the identity and privacy of the research subjects is protected by anonymising settings and respondents. This is to make sure respondents do not experience any harm as a consequence of taking part in research. Furthermore, all data collected should be treated confidentially. It should be noted that Berlin as the setting as well as the institutions involved cannot be anonymised in this case; however, all efforts were undertaken to make sure no people are identifiable. For this purpose, no names of interviewees are given at any stage of this

study, and the information presented in the form of quotes is not associated with any of the institutions.

Trust and betrayal are particularly relevant for researchers who enter the field but at some point leave and re-enter their normal social setting (Punch, 1998). This may cause a feeling of betrayal in the researched. Furthermore, this may limit the prospects of future researchers that want to study the same subjects. However, the notions of trust and betrayal are not considered to be of concern for this research. Interactions between interviewee and interviewer were brief and no in-depth relation-building took place. Apart from this, for the semiotic analysis and the thematic analysis only openly available information was included, thus there was no need to build up trust with interviewees to gain access to documents. With the anonymity and confidentiality of interviewees ensured, feelings of betrayal should be of no concern in this research.

Overall, after in-depth consideration by the author and in consultation with the institution's code of practice for researchers (Edinburgh Napier University, 2013) as well as with experts within the institution, it was decided that aforementioned ethical issues are of minimal concern for this study as long as informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality are ensured. In line with the university's code of practice (Edinburgh Napier University, 2013), no formal institutional approval was required.

5.6.3. Reflexivity

Related to the above section on how to judge the quality of research is the awareness of subjectivity and reflexivity. Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) state that:

> *[R]eflexivity is important, not to ensure some 'objective' distance between self and topic, but to demonstrate to the reader how the text is influenced by the researcher's own traditions and historicity, as well as how the researcher's understandings of the research topic evolve over time (p. 77)*

Generally, one should acknowledge that any social science research is not taking place in isolation, but instead research is influenced by the academic reward system, government and society (Hall, 2004). Furthermore, it is

important to acknowledge the impact the assumptions and experiences of the researcher have on the research process. This is particularly true for qualitative and constructionist researcher, as here it is acknowledged that it is impossible to exclude values from the research process (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). Part of a discussion of reflexivity should also be a consideration of 'why we research what we do' (Hall, 2004, p. 148). Partially this is related to one's experiences, values and assumptions, but may also be influenced by personal preferences in terms of where to live, work and/or study, for example.

The following paragraph reflects upon the author's impact on the research process and her connection to the research itself.

The first aspect which is important to mention is that the author is of German nationality. Being born in 1986, however, she was a small child when the Berlin Wall fell and Germany was united. Growing up in the very West of Germany, she has little personal connection to the political events of the time. Nevertheless, she grew up in Germany and was educated within the German school system and exposed to German media. As such she grew up in an environment which exposed her to what could be considered the state-sponsored interpretation of the political events in 1989/90. Furthermore, she was part of a society for which questions of division and unification were always directly relevant. In 2009 and 2010 she lived in Berlin for a year and as such witnessed some of the 20th anniversary events which are at the centre of this research – however, at that time the author had no plans to pursue a research degree on this subject matter. After graduating from school in 2006 she spent little time in Germany apart from the year in Berlin, studying in both the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. As such she has become more geographically and emotionally distant to her home town and home country, and there is no particularly strong connection to German identity or German collective memory. Rather the author feels connected to the ideas of European unity as well as global solidarity. Nevertheless, she follows German news, for example, and has an interest in what is happening in the country, which is partially shaped by the research. In November 2014, the author visited Berlin for two weeks to attend the 25th anniversary

celebrations. Thus, whereas the personal experience of the 2009 events is limited and the analysis primarily based on documents, in 2014 the author was able to immerse herself into the events while simultaneously making observations as part of her analysis. The semiotic analysis of the two anniversary years is thus based on slightly different sets of data and personal experiences. However, the purpose of using documents from both years is to allow for equally detailed and illuminating analysis.

Apart from that, the author's beliefs and values also play a role. The author considers herself as politically very liberal. Furthermore, she is an atheist. These views may impact the research as certain political and/or religious views necessarily lead to certain value judgements. Due to her experiences of travelling and living in various European countries, she places little importance on national borders and thus she opposes notions of nationalism. This is certainly of relevance in this research as a lot of studies on commemoration place the practice in a context of nurturing national identity. A genuine interest in academic research and event studies awakened during postgraduate studies eventually led the author into this PhD. During the doctoral studies, time constraints and teaching duties surely played a role for this research.

As outlined earlier, the constructionist paradigm is in line with the author's worldview. She believes that there are no truths about the social world waiting to be discovered. Thus the findings presented are the result of subjective interpretation. This is particularly relevant for the semiotic analysis. Here it has to be emphasised that this is very much an analysis of the commemorative narrative from the author's perspective, influenced by her values and worldviews. Additionally, being immersed into the research and the relevant literature on (Berlin Wall) commemoration means that the author approached the analysis from a very different perspective than many of the attendees at the events who experience the events more casually.

While having previous experience in conducting qualitative research in general and interviews in particular, the four interviews conducted for this research certainly came with their own set of challenges. All of these were conducted under different circumstances, some on the phone, some face-to-

face. Whereas there is a lack of facial expression and body language with the former, the latter interviews involved, for example, music and informal chat in the background when conducted in a public space. No doubt there are also certain power dynamics in a situation where a young female researcher interviews, for example, a mature male interviewee who may be an authority in his area of expertise and a successful top-level manager. The author wants to point out though, that overall the interviews were very positive experiences and all interviewees open, friendly and helpful. However, none of the interviews can be seen as a one-way 'information-extraction process', but are influenced by the author's appearance and behaviour as well as further contextual issues.

One final comment to be made is that translating from German to English as part of the thematic analysis constitutes a strong influence of the author which she is aware of. The author, however, is fluent in both languages and all translations were made with great care in order to represent the original German in idiomatic English.

Overall, the author intends to have provided a transparent overview of her choices made, aiming at an insightful overall thesis.

5.7   Summary

This chapter described, discussed and justified the methodological approach chosen for this research. It started by outlining constructionism as a research paradigm with related discussions of ontology and epistemology. The employed paradigm was described to constitute a relativist ontology and a subjectivist epistemology. To summarise, this means that the underlying assumptions are that there are multiple subjective realities which may be contested and conflicting and that no objective knowledge of the social world exists that can be 'discovered' through research.

In line with the constructionist paradigm, the chosen methods are qualitative as these allow for greater understanding of social phenomena and do not aim at the 'discovery' of knowledge but underpin the social constructionist nature of knowledge. Two different methods were chosen: a semiotic analysis and a

thematic analysis of documents and interviews. The semiotic analysis was used to explore what narratives of memory and identity are communicated at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall, whereas the thematic analysis of documents and interviews helped to investigate how key event organisers may have shaped these narratives. Both these choices were described and justified in detail in this chapter and the processes of the analyses were outlined.

The chapter concluded with a variety of reflections on the choices made in terms of research quality, ethics and reflexivity. Overall, the transparency and the reflection upon the author's own role within the research should add to the quality of this project.

The following chapters now present and discuss findings. The sixth chapter is related to the semiotic analysis and deconstructs the commemorative narrative from the author's perspective. The subsequent chapter investigates how key event organisers may have shaped the narrative and presents findings from the thematic analysis. The eighth chapter is a separate discussion of findings which also synthesises these in relation to the overall research aim.

6. DECONSTRUCTING THE COMMEMORATIVE NARRATIVE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings from the semiotic analysis of the commemorative events in the two anniversary years of 2009 and 2014. The objective of the semiotic analysis was to explore what narratives of memory and identity are communicated at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall. This analysis is based on Echtner's (1999) six step framework for semiotic analysis which was adapted for this study as outlined in the methodology chapter. As explained there, this chapter focuses on steps five and six, i.e. the development of themes and the deconstruction of the commemorative narrative, whereas the previous steps can be found in Appendix E. In doing so, it firstly presents themes from the individual events while occasionally bringing in elements from the previous steps for illustration purposes. In the final section of this chapter, the commemorative narrative is then deconstructed based on key themes from both anniversary years, with an in-depth discussion to be found in Chapter 8.

6.2 Themes of the 2009 theme year events

6.2.1. 'Festival of Freedom'

As presented in the introduction, the 'Festival of Freedom' was a large-scale public event on 9th November 2009. It took place in front of the Brandenburg Gate and consisted of various elements. A key element are the speeches by politicians, including Klaus Wowereit (then Governing Mayor of Berlin), Nicolas Sarkozy (then President of France), Dmitry Medvedev (then President of Russia), Gordon Brown (then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom), Hillary Clinton (then United States Secretary of State), Barack Obama (President of the United States – via a pre-recorded video message) and Angela Merkel (Chancellor of Germany). Thus, the speeches are given primarily by current heads of state of the four former occupying countries. The event further includes interviews with a variety of actors and live music. It also contained the toppling of the dominoes, which had previously been

painted, and culminated with fireworks. Based on the analysis of the dominant elements of the 'Festival of Freedom' including title, visual signs, spaces and programming elements (see Appendix E) this section presents themes that were identified.

The first theme relates to the presentation of the Western world as champions of freedom, justice, democracy and human rights. In this sense, the nations represented at the event are portrayed as advocates of these values and ideals and the event is staged as a celebration thereof. This is communicated primarily through the title of the festivities ('Festival of Freedom'). As a synecdoche, this title signifies the freedoms gained by living in a Western society – free movement, free speech, free elections, free markets, and similar. The title of this event signifies that the fall of the Wall brought about freedom for the people in the GDR and possibly other countries of the Eastern bloc. The political change hence liberated the people living in these countries. Paradigmatically, thus the title implies that prior to this liberation the people were unfree in the sense of being oppressed and being denied basic human rights. Celebratory elements such as the musical performances and the fireworks further underpin this message (see Figure 5). The songs performed contribute to an atmosphere of pathos, while thematically, they mostly align with the messages of freedom and unity: one band, for example, performed a song called 'Freiheit' ('Freedom'), and another a song called 'We are one' which was specifically composed for the occasion. Fireworks, as an uncontroversial and highly generic semiotic resource (Aiello and Thurlow, 2006), are widely understood around the world and can be effective in evoking a sense of celebration in the diverse audience. On a more symbolic level, in the context of this event the fireworks are perceived by the author as a potential signifier of the victory of the Western world over Soviet communism at the end of the Cold War, and the dominance of associated Western values in today's international community.

Figure 5: Fireworks over the Brandenburg Gate (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

The message is further emphasised through the speeches by and presence of heads of state. Towards the beginning of the event, all speakers, heads of state and other foreign dignitaries walk across the stage together, all wearing formal black clothing (see Figure 6). The appearance of this group of politicians is seen by the author as a symbol of unity of the Western nations represented, yet at the same time underpinning the formal and solemn character of the celebration. Interviews with actors such as Hans-Dietrich Genscher (West German Foreign Minister in 1989), Mikhail Gorbachev (President of the Soviet Union in 1989), Miklós Németh (Prime Minister of Hungary in 1989), and Lech Wałęsa (leader of the Solidarność movement in Poland in the 1980s) are also of relevance. Syntagmatically, the speakers throughout the event produce a narrative of 'then' and 'now'. The 'then' includes the periods of political change and upheaval which ultimately led to the fall of the Wall, and the 'now' referring to a united Europe – leading to the second theme.

Figure 6: Guests at the 'Festival of Freedom' (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

The second theme thus refers to the portrayal of the European Union as a positive outcome of the fall of the Wall and the end of the Cold War, overall presenting it as an integral post-1989 achievement. This message is communicated particularly through the presence of heads of state from EU countries. According to the organisers, over 30 heads of state attended the event, including most heads of the EU member states (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a). The presence of heads of state signifies that the fall of the Wall is not only a local or national matter but of significance internationally. The fact that only two German politicians speak (Angela Merkel and Klaus Wowereit) may mean that the international dimension is even more important than the national dimension. However, the majority of the heads of state came from European Union countries, alluding that the historical event may carry less significance for Asian, African or South American countries, for example, or even European countries which are not EU members. Indeed, even the heads of state of Switzerland and Norway were not invited as the countries are not EU members (Nauer, 2009). The heads of state can function as a synecdoche for their respective countries. This further emphasises their presence as a symbol of unity of European nations and a showcasing of the achievements of the European Union which the fall of the Wall made possible. Thus, unity of certain nations is again communicated through imagery such as in Figure 6. Furthermore, José Manuel Barroso (President of the European Commission) and Jerzy Buzek (President of the European Parliament) are interviewed during the event. Barroso and Buzek synechdocally represent the European Union and thus further underpin the celebration of the new Europe which was created after the fall of the Wall. This theme is related to the previous one as the European Union is presented as an achievement of unity and solidarity but simultaneously its member states are advocates of aforementioned values and ideals.

Another main theme relates to the moral message of the fall of the Wall. In this way, the events present the fall of the Wall as a universal model for overcoming injustice. At various points throughout the event, parallels are drawn between life in the GDR during German division and existing injustice and division in the world. The idea that the fall of the Wall happened peacefully allows for it to be used as a model for people to aspire to when

trying to overcome injustice. This idea is promoted throughout the event with the use of various signs. For example, a concrete block is used to stop the falling dominoes towards the end of the event, which functions as a symbol of still existing walls in today's world. A moral message of work still needing to be done to break done existing walls and borders around the world is communicated through this. Furthermore, interviews are conducted with Muhammad Yunus (Noble Peace Prize laureate from Bangladesh) and Ahn Kyu-Chul (a Korean artist), synecdoches for countries which still live with injustice or division, constructing a moral message and a message of hope.

Moreover, prior to being toppled on 9th November 1989, the dominoes were painted by a variety of individuals and institutions (see Figure 7). A lot of the painting of the dominoes was explicitly aimed at young people and functioned as the basis for various educational projects. The paintings on the dominoes thus function as an indexical sign, and signify

Figure 7: Children painting dominoes as part of the 'Domino Campaign' (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

participation and education. Furthermore, some dominoes were sent around the world to be painted by people that still live with division (e.g. in Korea or Cyprus). The journeys of the dominoes around the world is perceived by the author as an additional signifier of the moral message of the fall of the Wall relating to the continued existence of divided communities but also of the international dimension of the fall of the Wall. This moral message is furthermore also communicated to generations born after 1989 that are seen to require education about the value of freedom and this is achieved by involving them in the painting of dominoes.

The final major theme is the portrayal of Berlin as a city of historical importance. Although previous themes focused on the international dimension of the festivities, a local dimension is present. The main sign that communicates this message is the chosen space, i.e. Brandenburg Gate. The Gate is a synecdoche for the city of Berlin, similarly to how the Eiffel Tower can signify Paris or the Big Ben can signify London. Simultaneously, it is a symbol for Berlin's status as a city of historical importance. As a symbol

of both division and unity it was suitable for the anniversary of the fall of the Wall. Having been located within the border strip, it is a space that both East and West Berliners can relate to (Lisiak, 2009). More generally, staging an event

Figure 8: The logo of Berlin (Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, 2014a)

at such a historically important location underpins the significance and status of the event. It may give the event a sense of grandeur. Furthermore, with the Brandenburg Gate widely known around the world and associated with Berlin, it also fulfilled a place branding function. The imagery of the festival, such as in Figure 5, will have been seen around the world with people easily recognising the location. The Gate is part of the official logo for the city of Berlin (see Figure 8) which underpins the place branding aspect of this location. Further relevant elements are the speech by the Governing Mayor of Berlin as well as aspects of the musical performances. The song performed by Plácido Domingo, for example, is called 'Berliner Luft' ('Berlin air') and was composed by famous Berlin composer Paul Lincke, a song which is sometimes called the unofficial anthem of the city (Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, 2014b). Thus, although not linked to the meaning of the events in 1989, it can be interpreted as a symbol of local patriotism in Berlin, a showcasing of local pride to the world. In this sense, the celebrations brand Berlin as an important city for recent history and promote it internationally.

In terms of the paradigmatic analysis, it can be said that the main absent signifier within this event is the people. Although there was a large audience, it had a passive role, was spatially removed from the action and mainly functioned as a backdrop. Thus there is a stark contrast between the role of the people in the historical events of 1989 and the commemoration of these events. The only sign of the citizens' movement is the interview which takes place with three activists from the GDR (Katrin Hattenhauer, Roland Jahn and Marianne Birthler); however, in combination with the other elements of the event, the protests are contextualised within international change processes and not singled out as a key event. It was also noted in this semiotic analysis (see Appendix E) that the musical performances have limited direct links to the historical events. In combination with the meticulously stage-managed character of the festivities it can be concluded

that there was very little room for spontaneous celebration by and with the people in Berlin as important actors. Another key consideration in this context is that, although the historical events in Berlin in November 1989 are significant for the end of the Cold War and German unification, the Peaceful Revolution was not limited to Berlin. In fact, citizens' movements in many other East German cities, particularly Leipzig, contributed significantly to the political change of the time, and there is very limited recognition of this throughout the event.

6.2.2. 'Peaceful Revolution 1989/90'

Having presented themes from the 'Festival of Freedom', this section now outlines key themes in relation to the semiotic analysis of the open-air exhibition. This exhibition focused on the citizens' movement in the GDR and was located on Alexanderplatz, a busy square in central Berlin. The author identified the following themes based on the detailed analysis which can be found in Appendix E.

The first theme relates to the emphasis the exhibition places on the importance of the citizens' movement for the demise of the GDR and, as a result, for German unification. Although unification is part of the exhibition content, the focus is on the process of self-liberation from a suppressive regime which in the end led to German unification. This is communicated through signs such as the title of the exhibition, the main themes in the programming as well as the dominant visual sign in the design of the exhibition. With the choice of title ('Peaceful Revolution 1989/90'), in terms of the paradigmatic structure, the organisers are making a statement about the status of the citizens' movement. As already outlined in the literature review, the term Peaceful Revolution has been widely discussed in the past, and many authors debate as to whether the historical events were a revolution or not (e.g. Damm and Thompson, 2009; Eckert, 2009a; Sabrow, 2008). At the same time the title is framing the content of the exhibition for the visitor by implying that the focus is on the grassroots citizens' movement and their contribution to political change. The main themes under which the exhibition was organised were 'Aufbruch', 'Revolution' and 'Einheit' (translated by the organisers as 'Awakening', 'Revolution' and 'Unity'). The 'Awakening' section

highlighted various citizens' movements throughout Germany and the Soviet bloc during German division, such as the uprising of 1953 in East Germany or the Prague Spring in 1968. It focused, however, on events in the 1980s, the rise of oppositional groups and citizens' movements in East Germany which eventually culminated in the revolution. The 'Revolution' section focused on the events in 1989 in the lead up to the fall of the Wall. It included the flight of people from the GDR via embassies as well as the increasing number of public protests, culminating with the events on 9th November 1989. 'Unity' portrayed the journey to German unification from November 1989. In terms of content, the exhibition finished with the first German federal election after unification in December 1990.

Several observations can be made in terms of the choice of these sub-headings of the exhibition. First of all, the term 'awakening' is used as a metaphor that implies that more and more people suddenly came to the realisation that they lived in a state of injustice and were deprived of many basic human rights. Using the term 'revolution' as a sub-heading aligns with the overall title of the exhibition and associated debates as aforementioned. The final section places the first pan-German elections in December 1990 at the end of the exhibition. This underlines that the focus of the exhibition is on portraying the successful Peaceful Revolution as a prerequisite for German unification, rather than the process and implications of unification itself. Overall, the themes put the focus on the East German people as active agents of change rather than displaying top-down political processes and thus constitute a strong contrast to the political emphasis in the 'Festival of Freedom'. The dominant visual sign, the stylised banner which is used in the design of the exhibition, also signifies the protests that took place in in 1989 (see Figure 9). As such, the banners are used as a synecdoche to stand for the entire movement including the many individuals involved in it, but reduces these to the banners as creative expressions of their political demands.

Figure 9: The banner in the exhibition and in the protests (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

The second theme relates to the portrayal of the East German citizens that became active in the protests as the event constructs these activists as universal role models. In this sense, the theme is closely related to the previous one. This message is again communicated through signs such as the themes in the programming, the title of the exhibition and the design, particularly through the use of famous slogans for the stylised banners. By highlighting various movements and individuals that contributed to the revolution, East German citizens are portrayed as peaceful fighters for a good cause, thus making them role models that can be applied internationally.

Furthermore, related to the second theme is the more universally relevant message about the potentially powerful role of the people in the process of overcoming injustice. By using the East German activists as role models, it is showcased how ordinary citizens can contribute to peaceful protest and overcome injustice through communal action. The exhibition portrays the revolution as a process of self-liberation of people living under an oppressive regime. Additionally, it displays individuals and movements who actively and peacefully fought for human rights and democracy and as such present model behaviour of civic engagement and the fight against injustice. The exhibition thus uses the movement as a symbol for the power of the people and the power of peaceful protest. The story of the East German Peaceful Revolution can be used a universal metaphor for the power of the people and the hope that democracy, freedom and human rights will eventually prevail.

The final theme relates to the ideals and values that are promoted through the exhibition, such as nonviolence, human rights, democracy and civic

engagement. These values and ideals are again communicated through signs such as the exhibition title, the programming and the design, which all revolve around the citizens' movement and associated values and ideals (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: A view into the exhibition - the banner reads 'democracy and human rights' (Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V. & Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2010)

The story of the citizens' movement is thus not only a story of local or national significance but also a reaffirmation of universal values based on the victory of 'good' over 'evil' by the means of peaceful protest. In this sense, the exhibition portrays the East Germans as universal role models of activism and the pursuit of these universal values and ideals. Overall, the exhibition functions as a reaffirmation of these values and ideals by portraying the citizens' protests against the GDR government as a worthy cause.

The concept of an exhibition mainly refers to the public display of a collection of objects usually in combination with interpretative media, with the aim of illustrating certain phenomena or processes to the visitors (Aumann and Duerr, 2013). As such, exhibitions often aim to function as an educational tool (Aumann and Duerr, 2013). Taking into consideration this function of exhibitions, the main themes discussed above and the notion that the location and design of the exhibition all aim to appeal to a mainstream audience (located on a busy square, free of charge, open day and night), it can be argued that the exhibition functioned to educate about and raise mainstream awareness of the important role of the East German citizens for the fall of the Wall and unification. At the same time, the exhibition reaffirms

pan-German values and ideals. By presenting the peaceful fight against the GDR regime as a worthy cause it simultaneously legitimises the FRG both pre- and post-1990 as a state that already ascribed to the ideals and values the East German activists were fighting for. These ideals and values are furthermore of relevance internationally as well, and confirm the FRG as a member of a community of nations with shared moral concepts.

6.2.3. 'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin'

The final event of the theme year, 'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin', showcased 14 different locations throughout the city by combining exhibitions with guided tours and other locally based activities. The main themes that were identified from the semiotic analysis of this event (again, please see Appendix E) are as follows.

The first theme relates to the notion of inviting both locals and non-locals to explore the changing cityscape of Berlin as attractions. The combination of signs such as the event title, the arrow, the staircase and the various locations suggest that the changing cityscape is to be seen as an attraction worth visiting and exploring. The title of the event ('Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin'/'Schauplätze – 20 Jahre Berlin im Wandel') signifies that unification triggered a change process which is still ongoing; the city is not in its final shape. More specifically, the German title ('Schauplätze') is perceived by the author as an invitation for people to come and view original locations, authentic evidence of the changing character of Berlin. 'Schau' can be show, but also look or gaze, and 'Platz' is a place or location. In its broadest sense a 'Schauplatz' is a location where certain actions or events took place. Additionally, the English title ('Perspectives') could imply that the different locations portray different aspects of change in Berlin, told from different points of view and including a multitude of voices. In terms of graphical perspectives it can be interpreted to refer to the fact that the objects and locations included in the event can literally be viewed from different angles. Perspectives could also entail a view on future prospects, and thus the chosen locations can be interpreted to be those that have a bright future ahead of them, places that have not only changed in the past 20 years but

will continue to prosper in the future. As such, these places give an idea of what Berlin is now, but also what it is going to be in the future.

The second half of the title of the title of this event ('20 years of a changing Berlin'/'20 Jahre Berlin im Wandel') singles out the period of 1989 until 2009 and implies that in 1989 a relevant process of change started in the city of Berlin. Most evidently, the title signifies that the city has changed since the fall of the Wall; there is no indication as to whether for the better or worse and it applies to the entire city, not just East or West. There is also no indication that this change process is now complete, it seems to be more a snapshot of the 'change so far'. However, it also creates a paradigmatic opposite, in that it appears to imply that prior to 1989 the city was of a completely different nature. This is in line with the view that the fall of the Wall was the beginning of a new era, or even the end of history or the end of the short 20th century as coined by Fukuyama and Hobsbawm, respectively (Siebold, 2014). The fall of the Wall thus gave the city the opportunity and freedom to prosper and re-invent itself. The notion of change entails an element of excitement but also uncertainty. People can come and witness this process in a few select representative locations. They are invited through the oversized, floating arrow and the staircase (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: The red arrow and staircase (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

The arrow, as a sign that is topo-sensitive (Eco, 1976), gains meaning through its location, in this case in combination with the locations it is pointing at. Overall, the shape, colour and size of the arrow indicate that its main purpose was to attract attention from as many people as possible to a certain location in Berlin. At the same time, the arrow tells the viewer which places in Berlin to investigate to find out about how it has changed and thus also which not to. The staircase, with no higher level to be reached except a very small

platform, was an invitation for the people to gaze upon the cityscape – literally from a different perspective. Although some of the locations are already popular tourist attractions (e.g. Potsdamer Platz, Museumsinsel), many other locations are more mundane spaces such as residential areas and transport hubs. But even the more popular and well-known locations are to be explored from the perspective of 'change', thus inviting people to investigate well-known and/or mundane places from a different angle.

	Location	Type
1	Marlene-Dietrich-Platz	Redeveloped urban quarter, public square
2	Museumsinsel	Museum district
3	Olympiastadion, Olympiapark	Sports and events venue
4	Heidestraße, Kunst-Campus	Redeveloped urban quarter
5	Helle Mitte	Redeveloped urban quarter
6	Hauptbahnhof (Berlin Central Train Station)	Public transport hub
7	BBI (Berlin Brandenburg Airport)	Public transport hub
8	Band des Bundes	Government buildings
9	Gedenkstätte Berliner Mauer	Museum, memorial
10	Neues Kranzler Eck	Redeveloped urban quarter
11	Deutsches Technikmuseum Berlin	Museum
12	Adlershof	Business park (media, science, technology)
13	Potsdamer Platz	Redeveloped urban quarter, public square
14	Mediaspree, Osthafen	Business park (creative industries)

Table 6: The 14 locations included in the 'Perspectives' event

The choice of locations (see Table 6) leads to the emergence of a second theme which relates to the portrayal of Berlin as a modern and progressive metropolis in the centre of Europe. Through the combination of locations, the city is depicted as a place which is constantly evolving, but this evolution happens for the benefit of residents, businesses, education and research. At the same time, Berlin is no longer a place on the margins of Europe, but now located in its very centre where the processes of growing together have been successfully taking place. In line with the title of the event and the overarching theme of 'change', all locations are places that either did not exist at all in 1989/90 or have undergone significant change since unification. Many of these, naturally, are used to showcase how Berlin has changed for the better since unification and how it is now a modern metropolis with infrastructure one would find in any major European city. Notably, some of the places included are 'unfinished', such as the airport, or have major changes planned for the future, such as the Museum Island, or have

development potential, such as the area around the central train station. This underpins the notion of an ongoing change process within the city.

The final theme is also based on the choice of locations and consists of the argument that Western capitalism, consumerism and globalisation were the solutions for the inferior conditions of life in the GDR. Generally, the locations underpin the 'then' and 'now' dichotomy created by the event. For example, Marlene-Dietrich-Platz, Olympiastadion and Olympiapark, Helle Mitte, Neues Kranzler Eck, Potsdamer Platz and Mediaspree are locations with new or improved leisure facilities, such as cinemas, casinos, public parks or (mega) event venues. Furthermore, Marlene-Dietrich-Platz, Helle Mitte, Berlin Central Train Station, Neues Kranzler Eck and Potsdamer Platz all are characterised by new or improved shopping facilities which are also emphasised in the descriptions by the organisers (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009b). The train station, for example, is described by mentioning the 80 retail outlets which are open from 8am until 10pm. Potsdamer Platz is characterised by the shopping centre which is said to be its centrepiece. These improved leisure, entertainment and shopping facilities are a synecdoche of improved living conditions in Berlin since unification. Furthermore, such locations reaffirm the values of commercialism, consumerism and capitalism of contemporary German society. Opposites such as 'liveable' and 'unliveable' housing which are used to describe the redeveloped residential district 'Helle Mitte' (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009b) also emphasise the achievements since 1989 and the benefits of living in contemporary German society in contrast to the inferior living conditions of the GDR. Overall, by repeatedly referring to facilities such as cinemas or shopping centres, an emphasis is placed on Western economic models and ideologies.

The themes from this event heavily depend on the paradigmatic structure consisting of the central opposition of 'then' and 'now', or similarly 'before' and 'after'. The benefits of life in contemporary Berlin are emphasised through references to times of division. However, the 'now' is not portrayed as static, but as still evolving and improving. The author perceives Berlin's youthful and multicultural nature and that it is known to be the home of many

alternative lifestyles (e.g. Bell and de-Shalit, 2011; Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Colomb, 2012; Kosnick, 2009; Ladd, 1997) as crucial absent signifiers in the paradigmatic analysis. Another absent signifier relates to the financial situation of Berlin as despite constant economic growth, Berlin struggles with high unemployment rates and a significant amount of debt (Schneekloth, 2009). Having previously been an industrial city, Berlin is now mainly benefitting from tourism, creative industries, media businesses and start-up companies (Anheiner and Hurrelmann, 2014; Krätke, 2004; Schneekloth, 2009). It is thus not surprising that this event singles out successful examples such as Adlershof or Mediaspree which help to blend out the city's financial struggles. Nonetheless, the notion of change which is prominent in this event implies that the city is still evolving and improving which allows for certain imperfections in its current state.

It is furthermore interesting to note that the organisers use similar semiotic resources employed in previous events and marketing strategies, such as the 'Schaustelle Berlin' events and the official logo of the city. The 'Schaustelle Berlin' events between 1995 and 2005 carried a similar title and employed a structure similar to the red staircase. A temporary red container-type building, called the INFOBOX, was placed adjacent to Potsdamer Platz while the square was undergoing major change to showcase its future development. Due to its popularity, it was the origin of further 'Schaustelle Berlin' events to stage other construction sites as attractions (see also Section 4.4). Furthermore, the red colour of the arrow and the staircase is reminiscent of the red official logo of the city. This gives the event a particularly strong marketing and branding character on the one hand, and on the other hand it appears this event may function to fulfil a similar purpose as the 'Schaustelle' events, i.e. gaining acceptance of widespread construction and change among the local residents.

6.2.4. The overall theme year narrative

This section considers how the three events form an overall narrative for the theme year through their syntagmatic and paradigmatic structure. A brief overview of themes and other findings that emerged from the semiotic analysis of each event is provided in Table 7.

	'Festival of Freedom' & 'Domino Campaign'	'Peaceful Revolution 1989/90'	'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin'
Type	Public celebration	Exhibition	Hybrid
Themes	• The Western world as champions of freedom, justice, democracy and human rights • The European Union as an integral post-1989 achievement • The fall of the Wall as a universal model for overcoming injustice • Berlin as a city of historical importance	• The citizens' movement as a prerequisite for the demise of the GDR • East German activists as universal role models • The people as powerful actors for overcoming injustice • A reaffirmation of freedom, democracy and human rights	• Changing cityscape as attractions for locals and non-locals • Berlin as a modern and progressive metropolis in the centre of united Europe • Capitalism and globalisation as resources for high-standard living conditions
Absent signifiers	• The East German people • Non-EU/Western countries	-	• Youthfulness • Multiculturalism • Alternative lifestyles • Financial situation
Potential audience	• International	• Locals and non-locals but primarily passers-by (place-bound)	• Locals and non-locals in Berlin

Table 7: Overview of themes developed from 2009 theme year

The table illustrates that absent signifiers in one event can be compensated by present signifiers in another event. Particularly in the case of the East German citizens and activists, which were noticeably absent from the 'Festival of Freedom' (and thus this highly publicised event could be accused of presenting a top-down and Western view on the historical events), they are at the core of the open-air exhibition, so that they are not absent from the overall theme year narrative. However, these two events address two very different audiences, as the 'Festival of Freedom' was broadcast live internationally and the exhibition had to be visited in person. It can be argued that elements of youthfulness and multiculturalism which are absent in the 'Changing Berlin' event are to some extent communicated in the 'Festival of Freedom' through popular music, high levels of involvement of young people and an international audience. Not surprisingly, the city's financial situation and its post-unification struggles as negative elements remain absent throughout the theme year.

It becomes clear that there are different dimensions to the narrative in terms of whether a local, national or international relevance dominates. Particularly dominant are the local and international narratives, whereas the national dimension is less obvious. The following section considers how the overall theme year constructed three different layers of narratives; however, all of these ideas are discussed and developed further in Chapter 8.

Present throughout the theme year is a local narrative about the city of Berlin. On the one hand, the city is portrayed as a place of historical importance; a city where events took place that changed the shape of the world. There is also an element of depicting the local citizens as agents behind this change although the movement was geographically more widespread than just the city of Berlin. On the other hand, Berlin is portrayed as a modern and progressive capital, which is still undergoing change. This process makes the city appear unconventional, exciting and unpredictable. This combination of historical and modern/progressive appears to some extent incompatible and contradictory. Overall, Berlin is depicted as a city which is attractive to visit, live in and do business in. A particular emphasis is placed on its attractiveness for the service industry, media businesses, creative industries, research and innovation. Although the city used to be divided, this division is now so far in the past that it is being commemorated at memorials and is barely visible in the cityscape. Whereas Berlin used to be a place on the margins of Europe, it is now a modern metropolis with facilities one would encounter in any major Western city.

Although there is no strong explicit national narrative present in the theme year, it can nonetheless be found. This national narrative is primarily based on a reaffirmation of ideals and values of the FRG, but not of ideals and values that are particularly nationalist but those that resonate internationally such as freedom, democracy and human rights. Thus, the FRG is depicted as a well-respected member of the international community. Another important element is the portrayal of the FRG as the only alternative to East German communism, this way justifying German unification and reaffirming the West German government as well as the 'Rechtsstaat' (i.e. a state operating under the rule of law). The FRG and its political and economic

systems provided the democracy, freedom and human rights the people in the GDR were being denied and fighting for; thus German unification was the appropriate solution for people's demands. Finally, the fact that the Peaceful Revolution took place on German grounds gives the FRG the moral high ground as a nation whose citizens celebrated a peaceful victory over a suppressive regime.

The international narrative of the overall theme year focuses on the depiction of the Western world as a community of values. It reaffirms not only the European Union, but also transatlantic relations and the NATO. Member states of this international community are portrayed as being committed to the protection of freedom, justice, human rights, democracy and rule of law. In this context, the local historical events, i.e. the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the Wall, are used as international symbols for the victory of the values of the Western world and as potential models for overcoming existing injustice elsewhere. The European Union in particular is being used to showcase the achievements of Europe after the end of the Cold War. Whereas Europe used to be divided because of opposing ideological systems, it is now a growing community of shared values. It is thus a narrative of political and economic partnership but also of shared moral obligations. The event promotes the Western world as champions of ideals and values that should apply internationally. To an extent it portrays the Western community as morally superior and as role models other nations should aspire to. This superiority can be used to underpin the dominance of the Western community in the world. Naturally, this narrative excludes a vast number of 'non-Western' nations and the Peaceful Revolution that took place in Germany may not be replicable elsewhere making the moral message seem overly simplistic. Furthermore, the focus on the community of Western nations excludes new boundaries that formed after the 'Iron Curtain' disappeared. Most strikingly, this ignores the external borders of 'Fortress Europe' which, protected by Frontex (Laitinen, 2007), now constitute a new impenetrable and deadly border for many (Carr, 2012) and which may render the moral superiority of the EU countries questionable.

6.3 Themes of the 2014 'Lichtgrenze' event

In 2014, only one key event took place – the 'Lichtgrenze'. As presented in the introduction, this was a 15km-long art installation which marked the former route of the Wall with illuminated white balloons. Based on the analysis of the dominant signs relating to the 'Lichtgrenze' and associated activities (yet again, to be found in Appendix E), the following themes were identified.

The first main theme relates to the involvement of the people and the presentation of the general public as powerful actors for overcoming injustice. In the evening of 9th November 2014, the 'Lichtgrenze' was opened by releasing the balloons. The balloons were released one after the other by sponsors who had adopted them in the run-up to the event. Sponsors were able to attach a personal message to their adopted balloon relating to their memory or experiences of the Berlin Wall or the meanings they personally attach to the celebration. The release of the balloons in this context is perceived by the author as an icon of the fall of the Wall and the opening of the inner-German border. As in 1989, the people are essential in the process of the border opening. The scheme for adopting balloons thus functions as an index of citizens' participation and communal action. At the same time it can be perceived as a symbol for the power of the people which can help overcome walls and borders, thus communicating a universal message of hope and optimism. Having the general public widely involved in releasing the balloons portrays the people as important actors in the process of overcoming injustice. Furthermore, people were able to cross the 'Lichtgrenze' without problems, as walking among the balloons was possible, thus not being spatially removed from the main event (see Figure 12). Generally, the event was highly dependent on the people as actors becoming involved, rather than limiting the people to passive spectators. It thus places an emphasis on the communal action in 1989 as well as its potential in the present and the future.

Figure 12: 'Lichtgrenze' 2014

The role of the people and individual narratives is further underpinned by the exhibition which accompanied the 'Lichtgrenze', consisting of 100 blue boxes placed along its route, one every 150m. Each box portrayed anecdotes related to that particular location. As the title '100 Wall Stories' already indicates, the focus of the exhibition was on individual anecdotes which are tied to their respective locations, rather than retelling the grand narrative of the fall of the Wall. Although the exhibition constitutes an educational element, it does not focus on the big picture. It is not about educating people about causes and outcomes of major historical events or about providing a chronological overview of events. Instead the exhibition portrays independent stories that gave an insight into life with division. In this way it allows for lesser-known stories and individual biographical snapshots to emerge.

The Western ideals and values that are communicated throughout the event constitute the second main theme. They relate to the notions of democracy, freedom and human rights and are primarily communicated through the balloons as the dominant visual sign (see Figure 12) and the title of the event. The white, light and fragile balloon which was free to sway in the wind can function as a symbol to signify the contrast between the heavy burden of real life with the static Wall and current life in post-Wall society which is lighter, brighter and less threatening. Hence, the balloons create a paradigmatic opposite, the antonym of 'then' and 'now'. At the same time it can also symbolise the idea that the benefits of today's society are precious and need to be protected carefully. Furthermore, the colour of the balloons and in particular its night-time illumination created the paradigmatic opposites of the antonyms of light and dark (or similarly also white and black, day and night). In an iconic way, the colour white can be seen to represent a neutral blankness, such as a blank canvass to be written upon, but also lightness

and transparency. As an index, white can signify bright light or cleanliness. Finally, in terms of its symbolic meanings in a Western context, the colour white is normally associated with a sense of purity, goodness and innocence (Wright, 1995). It is often seen to be the colour of new beginnings (Caivano, 1998). Whereas in the contemporary Western world white mostly has positive connotations, darkness and black often signify the opposite such as evil, death or danger (Gage, 1999; Fehrman and Fehrman, 2004; Wright, 1995). The white illuminated balloons thus signify the 'good' in the antonym of good and bad. The author perceives this as a metaphor to represent the contrast between the suppressive regime of the GDR (the darkness) and the freedom, democracy and human rights of the FRG (the light). These ideals and values were fought for by the human rights activists in the GDR and they can now be found in united Germany as well as the European Union and more generally the Western world. The citizens' movement and associated values and ideals are further signified through the balloons as an iconic sign of the candles which were often used by activists in 1989 as an expression of peaceful protest.

The title of the event is also of relevance here. The term 'Lichtgrenze' (i.e. 'light border' or 'border of lights') clearly refers to German division and the inner-German border. Interestingly, it does not directly refer to the Wall as another possible name for the event could have been 'Lichtmauer' ('wall of lights'). Although the balloons did temporarily reconstruct the Wall in an abstract way, using the word 'Grenze' / 'border' makes it appear significantly less threatening. Whereas the Wall was an impenetrable type of border, many contemporary inner-European borders are relatively easy to cross. Although borders between European nations still exist, the EU and particularly the Schengen Agreement have made them penetrable and almost unnoticeable for European citizens. As such, for Europeans the word 'Grenze' may carry fewer negative connotations than the word 'Mauer' as the symbol for ultimate division. Particularly coupled with the word 'Licht' (light) which signifies mostly positive ideas, the title of the event evokes the idea of something non-threatening and light-hearted. Thus, although the title refers to division, it simultaneously evokes the idea of being able to overcome this division – a template for a new, modern type of border which does not exist

to keep people apart. Indeed, as aforementioned, people were able to cross the 'Lichtgrenze' without problems. This way, the 'Lichtgrenze' created a paradigmatic opposite; the impenetrable Wall and today's penetrable borders within Europe making up the antonym of 'then' and 'now'. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that there are still plenty of borders in today's world which are impenetrable. Whereas many inner-European borders have become easy to cross in the years following the fall of the Wall, the borders surrounding EU territory, for example, still constitute an impenetrable Wall-type border for many (Carr, 2012). Thus, while the event title refers to a celebration of non-existing, or at least penetrable, non-threatening borders, this clearly is a privilege only relatively few people experience.

The third and fourth theme relate to the depiction of the city of Berlin. First of all, it is portrayed as a city at the centre of key historical events which are of international significance and have positively changed the world. This is underpinned by interpreting the commemorative event to be of international interest as well as the open-air exhibition which reminded people of the history as they strolled along the balloons. Additionally, contemporary Berlin is depicted as a modern and united city where evidence of the previous division is hard to find. The route of the balloons followed 15km of the 155km-long border around West Berlin with a focus on what is now the city centre of united Berlin. People were encouraged to wander along the 'Lichtgrenze'. Such a walk could visualise where the Wall used to be, which is one of the most common questions of visitors to the city (Klemke, 2011; Senatskanzlei Berlin, ndb). Particularly considering the vast changes the cityscape has undergone since unification and the fact that only small sections of the Wall were preserved makes a physical reconstruction of the Wall, which guides visitors through the city, an effective way of

Figure 13: The 'Lichtgrenze' at Potsdamer Platz

showcasing the extent to which Berlin has grown together and overcome division. Indeed, in many places along the route traces of division disappeared and the route of the Wall is no longer visible (see Figure 13).

In addition to the route of the 'Lichtgrenze', seven main locations functioned as hubs and visitor centres throughout the weekend. The seven main locations are all well-known places and easy to reach by public transport, some of them popular tourist attractions, including Potsdamer Platz, the Berlin Wall Memorial and Checkpoint Charlie. Facilities at these locations included visitor information, merchandise shops, food stalls, viewing platforms, seats and large screens (see Figure 14).
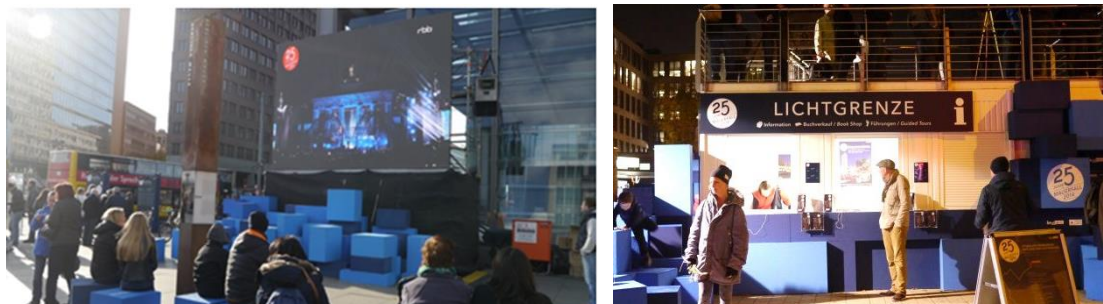
Figure 14: The main locations Potsdamer Platz and Berlin Wall Memorial

The choice of main locations naturally was restricted to suitable spaces along the 15km-long route of the Wall throughout the city centre. To some extent all of these locations exemplify how the space which used to be the border and the death strip has undergone change and is now part of a thriving modern and Western city. For example, the area may have been completely rebuilt for modern shopping centres or still be open space used creatively by the community. Furthermore, the spaces exemplify how historical events are commemorated and adapted for tourist consumption. Due to the length of the route of the 'Lichtgrenze' and the many local stories presented along its route, Berlin's diversity is also portrayed.

The final theme relates to the universal moral message, i.e. the idea that a peaceful way of overcoming injustice is possible through the power of the people and the idea that this is the best possible way. This is most clearly communicated through the social media campaign 'Fall of the Wall 25'. In this campaign, people around the world were invited to send in their messages in

relation to the fall of the Wall and the Peaceful Revolution in order to become virtual balloon sponsors. These messages were collected and displayed via Facebook, Twitter and a dedicated website (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Screenshot from the event's website (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, nd)

This campaign clearly signifies the international applicability of the values and ideals connected with the citizens' movement and the fall of the Wall and the idea that the significance of the historical events goes beyond the local or the national. It underpins the thought that the meaning of the events can be transferred to contemporary times and situations where people still live with injustice or division, and thus the positive ending of the fall of the Wall can function as a message of hope. The moral message also includes the obligation of Western nations, particularly Germany, to protect the values and ideals communicated, as the white balloons signify fragility.

	'Lichtgrenze'
Type	Art installation
Themes	- The people as powerful actors for overcoming injustice - A reaffirmation of Western values of democracy, freedom and human rights - Berlin as a city of historical importance - Berlin as a diverse and modern united capital - The fall of the Wall as a universal moral message
Absent signifiers	- Non-Western countries - Struggles involved in overcoming injustice
Potential audience	Local, national and international

Table 8: Overview of themes developed from the 2014 event

Table 8 summarises the main findings from the 2014 commemorative event. The main absent signifiers here are perceived to relate to non-Western or less developed countries and particularly the struggles and efforts that are involved in overcoming injustice. The social media campaign, for example, while attempting to be inclusive and universal, is exclusive of those who lack Internet access or whose access to social networks is blocked and might

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thus have silenced some of those people who suffer most from suppression and injustice in this world outside of developed Western nations. The message of how to overcome injustice is thus imposed on them from a privileged Western point of view. Furthermore, the characteristics of balloons floating away and the fall of the Wall which they signify are opposites. Although both happened peacefully and the power of the people played a role, removal of helium balloons is easy and requires limited dedication, it is done by simply letting go or cutting a string. Helium balloons are seemingly unaffected by gravity and by their very nature have to be fastened not to disappear. Opposed to that are the characteristics of a concrete wall which due to its heaviness is something more durable and permanent requiring dedication and hard work for removal. Thus, while helium balloons require human intervention not to disappear, walls and borders require the opposite (although both are manufactured). When a signifier is interpreted to signify the opposite of its obvious signified, the receiver may perceive it as a lie or irony (Chandler, 2014d), independent of whether this was intended or unintended by the sender of the message. It could be interpreted by some people as trivialising or distorting the effort of the people taking part in the Peaceful Revolution as well as the fall of the Wall, thus leaving this effort in overcoming past and present injustice absent from the event.

6.4   Themes of the 2009 and 2014 events compared

This section compares the 2009 and 2014 commemorative events, seeking for any commonalities or differences.

The celebrations in 2014 were of a much smaller scale than 2009. Whereas the 20th anniversary was staged as a theme year with three events, the celebrations for the 25th anniversary took place over three days and focused on one main element. This has a variety of implications for the commemorative narrative, as throughout 2009 there was more scope for communicating a variety of messages. In contrast to that, in 2014 main messages had to be condensed into one event. The shared major themes primarily relate to the following:

1. Berlin as a city of historical importance

2. Berlin as a modern metropolis
3. The European Union/Western world as a community of values
4. A reaffirmation of Western values of democracy, freedom and human rights
5. The people as powerful actors for overcoming injustice
6. The fall of the Wall as a universal moral message

In both years there are emerging themes relating to the portrayal of two different elements of Berlin's local identity. The first one relates to the idea that Berlin was home to many key recent historical events, in particular the fall of the Wall which ended the Cold War. On the other hand, Berlin is also portrayed as modern and progressive. Whereas it used to be on the front line of the Cold War, it is now a modern capital with high living standards and an attractive location for businesses, where times of division are being commemorated and function as a tourist attraction.

The third theme relates to the portrayal of the European Union and broader Western world as a community of values which is present in both anniversary years. Although in 2009 the international political dimension of the fall of the Wall is more strongly emphasised through the presence of and speeches by politicians, this is still evident in 2014 as well, for example through the attendance of Martin Schulz (President of the European Parliament) and a performance of the anthem of the European Union. In both years the European Union is depicted in connection with ideals and values such as freedom, democracy and human rights and is thus portrayed as a positive development which was made possible through the fall of the Wall. Furthermore, its member states are portrayed as champions of internationally applicable values and ideals. Generally, however, in 2014 this community is extended beyond political frameworks. By using the social media campaign, for example, a more abstract and geographically dispersed international community based on Western values and ideals is constructed. In both years, people from around the world were able to take part in the events in celebration of these shared values.

Related to this theme is the general affirmation of ideals and values such as freedom, democracy and human rights. These are the ideals and values that

the citizens in the GDR fought for and which they achieved through the fall of the Wall and German unification. A celebration and recognition of these movements thus advocates these values and ideals. These values and ideals are generally seen as worth striving for globally.

In both years the people behind the Peaceful Revolution are acknowledged for their important role for the fall of the Wall, although this is done most directly in the open-air exhibition in 2009. Although the reasons behind the political change in 1989 are complicated and multifaceted, the role of the East German activists in bringing about this change is emphasised. Additionally, the movement is interpreted as a message that is still of value nowadays in that the power of the people for overcoming injustice more generally is emphasised and thus a message of hope and encouragement is sent.

The final theme relates to the overall moral message of the fall of the Wall that resonates universally and is of permanent relevance. This includes a message that the fight for Western values and ideals is a worthy cause, that political change can come peacefully and that unnatural division and injustice cannot be permanent.

There are several key differences between the celebrations in the two anniversary years. The first major difference is that the 2009 theme year and in particular the 'Festival of Freedom' portrayed political communities such as the European Union as communities of values. Transatlantic relations and a friendship with Russia were part of this community which was primarily expressed through the involvement of Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and Dmitry Medvedev. More generally, the political dimension of the fall of the Wall remained a lot more subtle in the 2014 celebrations, thus not necessarily focusing on political communities, but broader, more abstract ones based on shared values and ideals communicated through participation of the general public from around the world rather than foreign dignitaries. Another key difference relates to the depiction of contemporary Berlin. The difference between the two years in this respect is that the focus in 2009 was on commercial developments whereas the portrayal of modern Berlin throughout the decentralised events in 2014 allowed for more alternative and

diverse spaces to be included. Overall, in 2014 there was a stronger focus on a people's celebration with higher levels of involvement of the general public and less focus on international politics. Thus, the 2014 events gave more opportunity for individual narratives to emerge, emphasised by the social media campaign and the '100 Wall Stories'. Nevertheless, the same values were being communicated in both anniversary years.

6.5 Deconstructing the commemorative narrative

Based on the main shared themes presented above, the overall commemorative narrative that is constructed at these events is outlined in this section as the final step of the semiotic analysis which aims at penetrating surface meanings and extracting underlying meanings (Echtner, 1999), thus uncovering meaning at the connotative level (Barthes, [1957] 2000). Before doing that, a brief revision of what is meant by commemorative narrative is provided. Zerubavel (1995) describes and defines commemorative narratives as follows:

> *Each act of commemoration reproduces a commemorative narrative, a story about a particular past that accounts for this ritualised remembrance and provides a moral message for the group members. […] commemorations together contribute to the formation of a master commemorative narrative that structures collective memory. […] The master commemorative narrative focuses on the group's distinct social identity [and] on the event that marks the emergence of the group as a distinct social entity. (Zerubavel, 1995, pp. 6ff)*

As such, it is a story about a group's past and its contemporary identity that is interlinked with this shared past, however, this narrative can be constructed through a selection of semiotic resources and is not necessarily 'a linear story with a plot, but rather, abstractly, […] a set of ideas and values embedded in the chosen [semiotic resources] and understood by the audience' (Avraham and Daugherty, 2012, p. 1386). Thus, the semiotic analysis explored the signs that communicate the ideas about memory and identity that make up this particular commemorative narrative. For the final step, the key themes that were identified in the preceding section are analysed in relation to whether they correspond to the construction of memory or identity within the commemorative narrative. These themes are only briefly presented here, but are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

In relation to collective memory, the narrative that these events construct about the past represents the organisers' interpretation and thus a certain version of memory. Within this narrative, certain elements are singled out as especially important and this way a particular version of the past is favoured. Based on the themes identified in the events, the memory narrative emphasises the following aspects:

1. Berlin as the location of world-changing historical events
2. A Peaceful Revolution took place and was a prerequisite for the fall of the Wall
3. The fall of the Berlin Wall united Europe and the Western world
4. The fall of the Wall provided people with freedom, democracy and human rights

As illustrated throughout this chapter, the events communicate a narrative that emphasises the role of Berlin in the historical events of 1989/1990. In this sense, Berlin's role as the single most important location of these world-changing events is emphasised in international collective memory. At the same time, the importance of the citizens' movement for the demise of the GDR is clearly stressed throughout the events. The movement is constructed as an event that has to be seen as a prerequisite for the fall of the Wall and subsequent events in Germany, Europe and the world beyond. The narrative hence entails a story about a peaceful and heroic bottom-up overcoming of a dictatorship. In this sense, the narrative explicitly constructs the movement as a revolution. Furthermore, the fall of the Wall is emphasised as the single most important event that enabled a united Europe, an enlarged European Union and a united Western world. Finally, the historical event is interpreted as the event that provided people that previously lived under communism with Western standards of freedom, democracy and human rights. This narrative thus legitimises unification under West German terms, presenting it as the only sensible alternative.

Interlinked with this memory of the historical events from 1989/90 is a certain version of contemporary identity that is communicated through the events. Similarly to what was discussed in Section 6.2.4, different dimensions to this

identity can be identified on the local, national and international level. These identity narratives are as follows:

1. Local identity: Berlin as a city of change
2. National identity: A reaffirmation of the German democratic 'Rechtsstaat'
3. International identity: A community of shared values

Within this commemorative narrative, Berlin is thus constructed as a location of change. This refers both to its role in the historical events and its present identity as a city that is still developing towards modern metropolis. Furthermore, the narrative constructs a national identity for united Germany, which primarily relies on reaffirming the status quo and communicates the value of the German democracy and 'Rechtsstaat', particularly in relation to its communist opposite. In addition to that, however, the events construct a strong narrative about an international identity beyond political borders. This international identity is based on the construction of a geographically dispersed community of shared values and ideals which relate to Western ideas such as democracy, freedom and human rights. Members of the public and foreign dignitaries taking part in the celebration are constructed as advocates of these ideals and values. It is striking that the local and international narratives are particularly emphasised, with the national narrative remaining more subtle and reinforcing an existing modest patriotism in Germany.

As aforementioned, an in-depth discussion of and reflection upon the commemorative narrative can be found in Chapter 8.

6.6   The use of signs for the construction of the narrative

This section reviews findings in relation to the signs that are used for the construction of the commemorative narrative based on the detailed analysis in Appendix E. It is striking that in both anniversary years the Wall is temporarily recreated and then torn down in a highly publicised event, in both years with some level of involvement of the general public. Kaiser (2013) terms these kinds of commemorative events a 'performative happening and symbolic re-enactment' (p. 182) and argues that they are particularly effective

for the communication of values and ideals. Furthermore, according to Kaiser (2013) this results in 'the differentiation between first- and second-hand experiences' being blurred and high levels of emotional inclusion even for those who did not experience the historical event (p. 182). In this way, the commemorative events can function as an inclusive event, not only for those with personal memories, but also for young people, migrants to Berlin and Germany and people living elsewhere, creating an all-inclusive identity based on unifying values and ideals, engraining the historical events in those people's minds. In terms of Peirce's typology of signs consisting of icon, index and symbol (Echtner, 1999; Metro-Roland, 2009; Nöth, 1990) it can be said that all three are being used. However, the following main observation is made. Symbols, i.e. those signs whose meaning is arbitrary and dependent on social convention, are primarily used to convey universal moral messages, for example the white illuminated balloon in 2014 communicating hope and optimism. Icons, i.e. signs that carry meaning through similarity to their signifier, are used to replicate or refer to relevant elements of the historical events, such as the balloons referring to the candles commonly used by the protesters in 1989, or the red staircase resembling the viewing platforms placed along the Berlin Wall to view into the East (see Figure 16). Thus, it requires some level of knowledge of the historical events to decode the iconic signs within the events, whereas the symbolic signs are more easily understood internationally, at least in the

Figure 16: Viewing platforms at the Berlin Wall (Chronik der Mauer, nd)

Western world. This is in opposition to Arning's (2013) findings in his study of Olympic opening ceremonies where the symbolic messages are primarily aimed at the local community. In contrast to that, in this case the symbolic messages are widely and internationally understood throughout the Western world, whereas the iconic messages require knowledge about the historical events and may be more easily understood by the local community.

Two further semiotic concepts that are of relevance are Violi's (2012b) indexicality and Eco's (1976) topo-sensitivity. They are related concepts

because both state that the location of a sign is important for its meaning. Violi (2012b) discusses this in relation to trauma sites and argues that as an index, i.e. a sign that is caused by its signifier, these memorial sites can be more emotionally involving, as they are memorial sites that are located in the same space as the event they are commemorating. Related to this is Eco's (1976) argument that some signs are topo-sensitive, although topo-sensitivity also includes the importance of time and not only space for the communication of meaning. Both indexicality and topo-sensitivity are highly relevant for commemorative events as they imply that if these events are staged in the same location as the historical event, they may be perceived as more meaningful and authentic. Furthermore, the signs employed in the commemoration can gain meaning through the time and space of the event which is particularly relevant for signs that can communicate different meanings in different contexts, such as the dominoes or the balloons which, in the process of decoding their meanings, are only connected to the fall of the Wall and its wider meanings because of their spatial and temporal coordinates.

In terms of rhetorical tropes, synecdoches were employed at various points throughout the events, for example using three human rights activists to represent the entire citizens' movement in the GDR or using heads of state to represent their respective nations.

A final important concept that is being used is paradigmatic opposites, particularly those of 'then' and 'now', and 'bad' and 'good'. These paradigmatic opposites create dichotomies that are useful for underpinning the identities constructed in the events as outlined above.

6.7   Summary

The semiotic analysis aimed at exploring the commemorative narrative that is communicated at the commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in the two anniversary years of 2009 and 2014. The analysis was based on an adaptation of Echtner's (1999) framework for semiotic analysis. This chapter presented overall themes based on the detailed analysis from Appendix E

and finally concluded with the deconstruction of the commemorative narrative.

In conclusion, the events construct a commemorative narrative that interprets the historical events as internationally relevant, yet locally rooted, which results in local, national and international identity narratives with the local and international dimension particularly strong. However, the two anniversary years are quite complex and multifaceted, consisting of many different elements, particularly the 2009 theme year. In various respects the two years are also different, as in 2014 there was a stronger focus on the people and individual narratives. Nevertheless, all events were advocates of selected values and ideals and particularly the events that marked the actual anniversary on 9th November created simple, internationally understood imagery that combined messages about Berlin with universal moral messages related to the historical events.

It is now of interest to investigate how key event organisers may have shaped these narratives and this was researched with the help of a thematic analysis of interviews with organisers and relevant documents. Findings from this analysis are presented in the next chapter.

7. SHAPING THE COMMEMORATIVE NARRATIVE

7.1   Introduction

This chapter presents findings from the thematic analysis of interviews and documents. The objective of this analysis is to investigate how key event organisers may have shaped the narrative which was analysed from the author's perspective through a semiotic analysis. Findings are presented as follows. This chapter presents the 'rich description' that resulted from the analysis as outlined in the methodology chapter, with key themes functioning as subheadings. The following chapter (Chapter 8) then presents a separate discussion of these findings.

7.2   Contextual backdrop

This section considers a variety of issues from the contextual backdrop which were identified in the analysis due to their influence on the commemorative events in 2009 and 2014. Such contextual issues may have had an influence in various ways. They may have presented a stimulus for the development of the events, or they may have posed challenges to the organisers, for example. The following sections outline these issues by dividing them into political, economic and tourism, sociocultural as well as commemoration-related issues, although some of these issues are interlinked and the headings should not be seen as clear-cut boundaries. The contextual backdrop is presented first in this chapter in order to set the scene.

7.2.1. Political backdrop

First of all, and not surprisingly, the local political context played an important role. With the events being publicly funded, and the Senate being a key organiser, the political constellation in Berlin and their willingness to support such events is of high importance. One of the organisers outlines how changes in local government led to an increased focus on Berlin Wall commemoration which eventually led to the publication of the 'Overall Concept' and may thus have laid the foundation for the first large-scale commemorative events:

Let me put it like this. The 'Overall Concept for the Berlin Wall' was only possible with the red-red Senate[11], which was pressed for justification that it isn't SED-friendly, or that it, because it is left, puts the SED past into the background. That's why it was particularly motivated, as the first Senate ever, and interested in developing such an 'Overall Concept'. And the conservatives in the country, they are already anyway… They already have the SED opponents on their side, that's why they don't have to do much for it. They were never suspicious of disregarding this past. And it's the opposite with the NS past, there it is more the duty of a conservative government to show that it is dealing with this past. In this respect it is always a highly political topic which is exploited by parties, or where parties are trying to counteract this exploitation. (Interviewee 4)

The interviewee argues that the political orientation of the local government determines the level of support for various commemorative efforts. He states that the GDR and the Nazi regime are treated differently by the parties along the political spectrum. In order to gain legitimacy and trust, a conservative party tends to show efforts to commemorate the Nazi past to show that its current policies are different. In contrast to that, a left-wing party tends to commemorate the GDR to show that it is not a continuation of it. By commemorating, each party can distance itself from German dictatorships and show that it condemns all atrocities. Because Berlin had a left-wing government between 2002 and 2011, a stronger emphasis on GDR and Berlin Wall commemoration became possible. This general development of more in-depth engagement with the GDR past in Berlin enabled the realisation of the 'Overall Concept'.

When it comes to the first events in 2009 more particularly, long-term Mayor Wowereit played a crucial role. However, when plans were brought forward he was sceptical:

Because Wowereit, he was always accused of partying, he's always partying. So at the beginning he said 'Well, then they will accuse me of this again.' (Interviewee 2)

The interviewee outlines that the Mayor's scepticism was based on the concern that he would be accused of the wrong priorities as he had been in the past, because he has a public image that occasionally sees him as a 'socialite', spending a significant amount of time attending various parties,

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[11] The coalition is called 'rot-roter Senat' ('red-red Senate', referring to party colours) – a coalition between the SPD and the Left Party ('Die Linke', formerly PDS). This coalition existed in the Berlin Senate from 2002 until 2011 under Wowereit as Governing Mayor (see also Chapter 4).

events or appearing on television shows (see, for example, Gugel, 2014). His concerns thus stemmed from the thought that supporting the events might foster this image and cause criticism. The required political support was hence at risk over image concerns of the Governing Mayor as a key political figure.

In August of 2014, Wowereit announced that he would step down in December 2014 after 13 years in office. This led to uncertainties in regards to support in the future, as he was generally regarded as supportive of various commemorative efforts:

> *We were very lucky to have a Governing Mayor who was very interested in leaving a mark in terms of remembrance politics, we don't know whether it will continue like this. And whether perhaps interest will decrease at some point, I mean next it is 25 years of reunification, then it's 55 years after the construction of the Wall and at some point there will be 30 years after the fall of the Wall, I don't know. (Interviewee 3)*

Thus, future support will depend on who will become Mayor and what their priorities are, outlining the important role of the local political constellation for the support of such large-scale projects.

Another relevant issue is the source of funding and whether it stems from local or federal government. Unsurprisingly, the source of funding influences which priorities prevail. One organiser mentions this as follows:

> *Simultaneously [Event Organiser 1] is a state-owned institution and the message of the Governing Mayor was: 'Where is Berlin 25 years after the fall of the Wall?' Whereas the interest of the Federal Government is different, of course. (Interviewee 3)*

This statement confirms that, because an organising institution is owned by the local government, the events are more likely to reflect local rather than national interests. These local interests are related to branding and marketing Berlin and showcasing how it has changed since the fall of the Wall, whereas the national interest may be more focused on the nation-wide processes of unification and national political interests. Nevertheless, the exhibition in 2009 received federal funding and the corresponding document states:

> *With the support of this exhibition, the Federal Government is giving a clear signal about the state's appreciation and strengthening of civic involvement. Only this involvement can give our commemorative culture*

significance. The state cannot and must not prescribe a culture of remembering and commemorating, but may very well support its development. (Exhibition book, p. 8)

This quote reveals the state's intention of supporting and nurturing a culture of commemoration without prescribing what and how to remember, but simultaneously admits to a selective sponsoring of suitable initiatives which implicitly excludes other narratives. With supporting this exhibition, the Federal Government shows an interest in increased commemorative efforts in regards to the citizens' movement in the GDR as well as in increased awareness and acceptance of the movement as a Peaceful Revolution. While it may not have any interest in sponsoring local branding priorities it indeed has an interest in broader educational outcomes, and in this case, education to achieve a more positive view of the role of the Peaceful Revolution.

Besides the relevance of local and federal governmental interest, international politics were also debated by interviewees. The quote below refers very clearly to the conflict in Ukraine as well as the Arab Spring as having had an influence on event planning for the 25th anniversary.

… in 2014 we tried a lot more than in 2009 to make use of the symbolism of the fall of the Wall and to create a dialogue in relation to other events worldwide. We considered for a short time to draw a more explicit comparison with the Arab Revolution or other revolutions in the form of exhibitions or other aspects, but then we opted for the online projects and the online dialogue. But in the same vein, we were at the UN week with the Millennium Goals Advocacy Group with whom we launched this online project, or we staged an event in Dublin, where this international thought is also very important. And of course this was influenced by what has developed in the past five years and this has become more important. At the same time you notice this of course in traditional event planning independent of conceptual considerations, well, in 2009 at the event at the Brandenburg Gate the Federal Government – not the state Berlin – had invited various heads of state, all representatives of the former Allies were there, Medvedev, Gordon Brown, Sarkozy and so on and the heads of state of the EU. And there was a very different interest in this by Federal Government this year from the very beginning, for a very different concept, to say they stage a citizens' party and don't invite any heads of state. Of course, Berlin invited all the actors from the time, Gorbachev, Wałęsa, Nemeth and so on, but you notice that it is definitely influenced by the political side of things, because of course you can hardly invite Putin and a representative of the USA or even Obama to Berlin for such an

occasion, when at the same time the Ukraine conflict and so on prevails, and that of course changes the nature of the commemoration, for 25 years after the fall of the Wall. That definitely plays a role. (Interviewee 1)

This interviewee outlines that it was a conscious decision to change the narrative from the international political element included in the 2009 celebration to a more symbolic element related to the revolutions of the past few years. The local and federal levels of government also demonstrate a different approach to the invitations of foreign dignitaries, which again shows that different levels of government have different priorities for such events. Whereas the Federal Government is more interested in fostering and celebrating contemporary political relations between nations, the local government focuses on symbolic figures of importance for the historical events. This local approach demonstrates the international significance of the events, educates people about the political frameworks of the time and also showcases gratitude for people who paved the way for the fall of the Wall. The federal approach on the other hand is more a display of power and status in an international community, and whereas celebrating a Western community of nations appeared appropriate in 2009, international politics led to different priorities for 2014. A similar thought is expressed by one of the other interviewees:

[The context] plays an important role for us. Well, all this applause for Gorbachev, when he simultaneously says he supports Putin's direction… His historical contribution is one thing, and his current actions another. And I think that this should be taken into consideration. And just as us East Germans were happy when someone in this world noticed us, our situation, we should think of others, too. And when in the Ukraine there are people in difficulties because of power politics, then it is not the time to stand side by side with Putin but side by side with the people trying to build a democratic society. To name this as an example, you could continue this with others, but I think this fits well. (Interviewee 2)

This interviewee also explicitly refers to the conflict in the Ukraine and Vladimir Putin's foreign policy. He argues that the events are an opportunity for sending a message and taking up a stance on this issue. He takes it even further than the previous interviewee in that he is critical of Gorbachev as well due to his contemporary political opinion. He thus criticises the other organisers for their 'romanticised' view of figures such as Gorbachev who

accept their current political views uncritically because of their historical role. Thus, while organisers agree that the international political situation should be considered within the narrative, there is some disagreement in relation to how this should take place.

7.2.2. Economic and tourism backdrop

The economic context is not discussed in the same level of detail, although one of the interviewees refers to the economic situation of Berlin as having an influence on the level of financial support for the events:

> *And if there is a BER disaster[12], well, then you don't give money that easily, you become stingy. (Interviewee 2)*

It is argued here that the controversy surrounding the construction of the new airport may have made local government more cautious about spending money on large-scale projects. Exceeding the budget and delaying the opening of the new airport brought about accusations of incompetence, thus making financial support more difficult to gain. Berlin is struggling with major budgetary problems and the 'BER disaster', as the interviewee called it, aggravated the situation, thus making spending decisions an even more sensitive issue.

Notably, the appeal of these events for tourists was not discussed in too much depth by the interviewees, although marketing and branding of Berlin was a priority as is outlined later on. However, a related idea revolves around the national and international expectation that Berlin marks the occasion somehow, which also includes tourists' expectations. The three statements below illustrate this further:

> *… It's about answering the first question of all tourists that come to Berlin: Where was the Wall? That's the first question, for everyone. (Interviewee 3)*

Whereas this first statement specifically refers to the demands of tourists, the next statement argues that Berlin is now generally seen as *the* place of

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[12] BER stands for the new Berlin Brandenburg Airport, which is still under construction with no opening in the near future confirmed. The airport was originally planned to open in 2010 but has been mired by a series of delays as well as an accumulation of costs far in excess of the original budget. Thus, it is often criticised as a poorly planned mega-project with local government in Berlin carrying much of the responsibility for the mishappenings.

German history and that is why it is expected that certain special events will be organised:

> *It shows that Berlin is branded as* the *place of German history, where people naturally expect that it presents itself in a special way for occasions like this. (Interviewee 4)*

The final statement mentions that there were expectations both internationally and in Berlin that something will take place:

> *Two years ago when we had the first thoughts about how do we deal with this topic in 2014, of course we knew that now there was a bit of quiet and no one really dealt with the topic yet, but of course you can predict that internationally but also in Berlin people expect that the city of Berlin will mark the anniversary somehow and deal with this topic, and that's why you have to plan ahead in plenty of time even if at that moment it doesn't look like it, but you know that the interest will arise at least in the months or weeks ahead. (Interviewee 1)*

All these quotes refer to the expectations that have to be met. Notably it appears that a lot of these demands and expectations come from outside of Berlin, both nationally and internationally. These statements imply that it was a duty imposed on the organisers to commemorate the events rather than their inherent motivations. On the other hand, one might argue that there is an element of opportunism, in that organisers identified these expectations and then proceeded to stage these events for their own benefits.

At the same time, it is even stated by one organiser that the role of event tourism for the success of the events was not taken seriously by some of the institutions. In regards to the spread of events throughout the theme year, this interviewee says:

> *In the summer it is always a bit difficult, you can't do much in a big city, there's holidays and everybody is gone. The tourists are there, but only we took them seriously, together with [Event Organiser 1]. Everyone else did not attach any importance to that. (Interviewee 2)*

This can be seen as surprising as, for example, the 'Overall Concept' was partially developed in reaction to demands of the tourism industry. For the relevant institutions – apart from two of the organisers – not to focus on the tourism benefit of these events is thus unexpected. This may be due to the nature of the institutions involved which are not tourist attractions or similar businesses at their core. In opposition to institutions such as VisitBerlin, the

city marketing body, which was not identified as a key event organiser, the organising institutions focus on issues in relation to permanent commemoration or education. The event organisers' daily operations, missions and strategies may thus be of importance for the shape of the narrative.

7.2.3. Sociocultural backdrop

Various issues from the sociocultural backdrop were identified as important, and pre-existing memory and identity narratives are to be seen a part of this. As it is outlined later on, one of the organisers specifically wanted to influence and change public perception of the historical events through the staging of the large-scale anniversaries. This organiser's perceptions of levels of education and awareness of the historical events among the general public played an important role:

> *And now you have to think back to the time around 2003 and 2004, there was a very ill-tempered look back at 1989 in public perception and representation. […] And there were these Ostalgie shows on TV. Katharina Witt[13] performed in a FDJ shirt[14] and no one really said anything against it. So there was a certain kind of strange look back at the GDR. Combined with the fact that shortcomings within the schools were noticed. (Interviewee 2)*

The statement illustrates that this interviewee was motivated by a perceived lack of knowledge of life in the GDR and inappropriate forms of commemorating it. These inappropriate forms are characterised in this quote by Ostalgie – commonly referred to as 'sugar-coating' life in the GDR through overly positive commemoration without consideration for the cruelty of the government (see Section 4.3). This view undermines the necessity of the citizens' movement in the GDR as well as its fight for a worthy cause by presenting life in the GDR as 'not that bad'. The interviewee further refers to educational shortcomings stating that young people in Germany did not have sufficient knowledge of the GDR due to a lack of education on the topic in German schools. This is a commonly debated issue in GDR commemoration and one of the reasons for an increased commemorative effort (Harrison,

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[13] A retired successful figure skater from East Germany, after her athletic career she continued to be well-known in Germany as TV host and actress.

[14] FDJ stands for 'Freie Deutsche Jugend', i.e. Free German Youth, which was the official youth organisation of the GDR and an instrument for mass socialist education as the vast majority of young East Germans were members.

2011; Tölle, 2010). This is outlined further later on in relation to this organiser's priorities.

Another issue identified in relation to the sociocultural backdrop of the events is closely related to the political context outlined above. In relation to the contemporary topics of migration and refugees, the commemorative events in 2014 stimulated a debate that drew parallels between the Berlin Wall and the current EU borders. Based on this comparison, leftist groups utilised the anniversary to direct attention to the mistreatment of refugees and migrants at borders that were not removed but shifted:

> *Our institution deals with highly, highly topical issues. […] We are talking about democracy and dictatorship and we are talking about escape. There you go. Do I need to say more? These are the topics of today. And not for no reason these white crosses were stolen last week[15]. And of course these things play a role. (Interviewee 3)*

This incident illustrates that various interest groups within society use the anniversary to gain attention for their own interests and goals and that current debates have an impact on how the commemorative events are received. This is also debated further by one of the other interviewees:

> *And unfortunately, that's how I have to say it, there is another reason why [the 2014 event] has been so positively received. Because in the meantime the uprisings in the Arab World had taken place, because the events in the Ukraine had taken place and suddenly you can see, what is happening shouldn't be taken for granted. And the uniqueness and the value and the happiness, that there is a different perception of this… Well, whenever something goes well and is positive, well, that's just how it is. But that it could have gone very differently, that unfortunately became more obvious because of these events. And*

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[15] The interviewee is referring to a publicity stunt staged by the 'Centre for Political Beauty', a collective of human rights activists and artists. In November 2014, activists from this group had stolen white crosses near the Bundestag which commemorate several people who died at the Berlin Wall. These crosses were brought to the external borders of the EU to bring attention to the fact that people are still dying at European borders. It was announced that the collective would stage 'the first fall of the European Wall', for which they had organised coaches to bring volunteers to the EU borders to dismantle border fences. The campaign gained a lot of media attention, with the campaign being accused as a tasteless exploitation of tragic deaths but partially also due to the fact that no one had noticed the crosses were gone until the collective announced their project. The following statement is taken from the collective's website: 'The art installation of "white crosses" collectively left the city's government quarters to escape the commemoration festivities for the fall of the Berlin Wall's 25th anniversary. In an act of solidarity, the victims fled to their brothers and sisters across the European Union's external borders, more precisely, to the future victims of the wall. Since the fall of the iron curtain, the EU's border has taken 30,000 lives. The crosses escaped the Oktoberfest-like commemoration ceremonies in order to be with those whose lives are put at risk by the EU's external wall. In doing so, they expanded the self-involved German tradition of commemorating by one decisive factor: the present.' (Centre for Political Beauty, 2014)

people didn't perceive this as a flaw anymore but as a great fortune. (Interviewee 2)

It shows that the international political context and related contemporary debates within society about 'hot topics' related to conflicts, refugees and migration are perceived to have impacted the way in which people engaged with the commemorative events. Due to the various international conflicts which took place after 2009, the events in 2014 suddenly became more relevant. Because of events such as the Arab Spring or the Ukraine conflict, the topics of democracy, freedom and human rights became a subject of daily debate. They illustrated that an uprising of the people does not always end peacefully, thus underpinning the uniqueness of the Peaceful Revolution. The organiser argues that this circumstance increased appreciation for the peaceful and successful nature of the citizens' movement and the fall of the Wall, demonstrating that democracy, freedom and human rights should not be taken for granted. He argues that this led to a more positive reception of the commemorative events. Thus, while these political conflicts influenced the shape of the narrative by drawing stronger parallels between Berlin and other locations and events, they also made the commemorations more topical and increased interest.

A final theme relates to the passage of time which enabled people in Berlin to recognise the significance of the fall of the Wall:

… the Berliners did not realise for a long time that the fall of the Wall in the night from 9th to 10th November changed their character. And for the Berliners, and that's why it was removed so quickly – physically –, because it was a symbol of division, of pain, of death and so on, and the awareness developed slowly and particularly of the international aspects. The images that went around the world, they were absolute images of joy and wherever you went, if you said you were from Berlin, everyone said something along the lines of, 'Why aren't you happy?'. There you go. And… This recognition, that it is an incredible message, stemming from German soil, finally something positive after all these catastrophes of the 20th century! For this to happen, many wounds had to heal first. And people had to recognise the national, European and international significance, because in that time… If you look at maps from 1988 and 2010, then you realise what became possible because of the fall of the Wall. And if you had imagined in spring 1989 that Poland would become a member of the NATO then people would have said that you're not quite right in the head. There you go. And that's the fall of the Wall. And that's the international significance of this fall of the

Wall, yes… And that took longer in Berlin than in international perception. (Interviewee 3)

From a German and particularly from a local perspective it required 'wounds to heal' before it was possible to recognise the significance of the historical events. The interviewee refers to the Wall as a 'symbol of division, of pain, of death and so on' and thus these wounds refer to the many negative sentiments attached to the Wall, such as the unnatural division, deaths at the border, suppression under the GDR government as well as the Nazi past of which the Wall is a reminder. This is in line with the hasty removal of the Wall after its fall and the long time it took for support for and interest in its commemoration to emerge (see Section 4.5). Interestingly, this interviewee also refers to the international dimension of the fall of the Wall and that internationally its benefits and its impact on the shape of Europe were recognised a lot earlier than nationally and locally. He also emphasises that it is the first positive historical event after 'all these catastrophes of the 20th century'. Once this was recognised, the events were able to be celebrated and thus foster positive self-understanding and perhaps even constitute liberation from constant feelings of guilt. Furthermore, they could then be used as a resource for the city and country to position itself positively in an international community by emphasising their role for positive change in Europe. Thus the passage of time and the changed perception of historical events by local people is a crucial issue for the events.

Overall, this section showed that existing intermingling memory and identity narratives from the wider context play a role. Such narratives relate to the memory of the Wall and the GDR more generally, but also the Nazi past. At the same time contemporary self-understanding is important. In this sense, for example, Interviewee 2 deemed the dominant collective memory of the fall of the Wall and the citizens' movement to be inaccurate. In a similar vein, contemporary identity narratives based on values such as democracy and freedom can reinforce the relevance and appeal of the celebrations.

7.2.4. Commemoration backdrop

A final area relates to wider Berlin Wall commemoration in Berlin. It appears that existing and gaps in permanent forms of commemoration were of importance.

First of all, there was a gap in the commemorative landscape in Berlin in relation to the citizens' movement, which is particularly recognised and addressed by Event Organiser 2:

> *By then the 'Overall Concept' existed in Berlin. But that was about the Wall, the deaths at the Wall, the suffering and the division, not about '89. The aspect which got rid of this. The 'Overall Concept' was good and it was okay like this, that people worked on that. But this aspect got lost completely. And there was this other strange aspect, which is common now and which many people say, but back then not at all, it's a successful part of German history, because there was always this commemoration of all negative aspects, Germany was practised in that. There was a field of people and institutions that dealt with that. And now in terms of the GDR era, exactly the same was done. It was about the victims, the prisons, the Stasi, the Wall… And as I said, it is okay to do that. But the other aspect, that there were people that opposed all of this and that it was finally the East Germans who succeeded in the removal of this dictatorship with a revolution which in addition was non-violent. That was absent. (Interviewee 2)*

This quote discusses this gap in Berlin's commemoration landscape. Even though this interviewee approves of the work done as part of the 'Overall Concept', he still critiques this concept for being one-sided and incomplete. He mentions the idea that institutions in Germany were incapable of commemorating and celebrating positive elements of national history and the events of 1989 were overlooked. Again, this still reflects a strong notion of guilt stemming from the Nazi past – the German nation has to come to terms with the atrocities committed in its name with limited room for any positive national sentiments to emerge.

This existing work done as part of the 'Overall Concept' also played a role for the events in other ways. Particularly Event Organiser 4 had a specific interest in marketing the 'Overall Concept' through the commemorative events (to be outlined further in Section 7.4.3). This indicates that the events further the objectives set out through this concept. For example, the strategy explicitly aims to establish the Berlin Wall Memorial at Bernauer Straße as

the main space of commemoration in Berlin. It is thus not surprising that the memorial played a key role both in 2009 and 2014 and that the popular, yet privately run, Checkpoint Charlie Museum played no role. This situation is discussed by one the interviewees:

> *Well I would say that [the Berlin Wall Memorial] has outstripped the Checkpoint. [...] It is interesting that nothing took place at the Checkpoint except that Gorbachev was at the Blackbox, the forerunner of the Cold War Museum, on the 7th, they briefly brought him there. But of course the Checkpoint, you could say that the Checkpoint is the international location in Berlin. Stand-off of the tanks and so on and so on. But no. People didn't go there. Of course, the 'Lichtgrenze' went past there, but the big events were somewhere else. (Interviewee 3)*

This further underpins the friction between state-owned and privately owned places of commemoration. There has always been conflict, particularly between the Berlin Wall Memorial and the Checkpoint Charlie, which is reflected most notably in the erection of the crosses in 2004 (see Section 4.5). The state-supported commemorative events thus constitute a further resource for underpinning the Senate's interpretational authority and challenge any private initiatives that it does not approve of. Furthermore, particularly the extensive 'Lichtgrenze' in 2014 provided ample opportunity to showcase how spaces of commemoration are connected and what kinds of offers there are across the city and thus can be seen as a way of further marketing the 'Overall Concept'.

7.3 Rationales and event origins

This section outlines the rationales that were identified in the analysis in relation to why and how the ideas for the events came into existence in the first place.

7.3.1. Individual initiative: Changing public perceptions by challenging the status quo

The events in 2009 were the first major commemorative events of the fall of the Wall. These events were initiated by one of the organisers who pursued ideas for the events for several years and was convinced that something large-scale should take place for the 20th anniversary. The interview with this organiser revealed various reasons for this initiative.

The organiser seemed to be primarily concerned with changing public perception of the historical events, which was the key rationale for the events:

> *To keep it short, the topic in 2009 [started because we] approached [the Senate of] Berlin with our project ideas. And that was a longer process. We started this discussion in 2003 when we realised that perceptions of historical events can change because of anniversaries. There was the example of the uprising in 1953[16], until 2003 quite an inappropriate view on the events prevailed and with the year 2003, with this anniversary – and there were publications, books, events – there was a change in public perception. And so we thought, well, if you can use these kinds of anniversaries, that really was the starting point, if you do it cleverly, then you can do something with this. So we had a look in terms of our topics, what areas are there, and we said 2009 is an opportunity. If many people work together and an interesting focus is found, then you could achieve something. (Interviewee 2)*

It becomes clear that this organiser was unsatisfied with the predominant view on the GDR and the fall of the Wall and felt that representation thereof was inaccurate (see also Section 7.2.3). Because they had experienced a change in public perception of historical events following large-scale anniversary celebrations, this organiser developed strategic plans for the upcoming 20th anniversary of the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the Wall to also use these dates for changing public perception and in this sense, for influencing the dominant collective memory. The interviewee furthermore states:

> *And in the perception of what happened in 1989 the word 'Wende' was often used, or partial revolution, if at all. Actually no one said revolution, and if they did then only in the negative sense like partial revolution, aborted revolution, counter revolution. In the best case, societal upheaval. And what happened, it was not described correctly at all, neither in the media nor in research nor in public perception. And we said, that is something where it is important that we counter this with something else. (Interviewee 2)*

This statement illustrates more directly this event organiser's desire to oppose the dominant collective memory of the GDR. It is stated clearly that the established views across various fields in Germany, particularly views of the citizens' movement, were seen as incorrect and subsequently this organiser's goal was to oppose these established narratives. The

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[16] The interviewee is referring to the People's Uprising in East Germany in June 1953 which was violently suppressed by Soviet forces.

interviewee's view is reflected in the literature in the terminological conflict over the term Peaceful Revolution (see Section 4.3). Campaigning for the use of the term revolution may thus aim at increased appreciation of the importance of the citizens' movement.

The overall aim of this organiser was thus to achieve what they perceived to be a more accurate representation of the citizens' movement by 'adjusting' collective memory and thus changing the status quo. This adjusted memory involves an increased appreciation of the movement across Germany.

7.3.2. Origins of collaboration: Packaging the 'official' narrative

A further aspect of interest is how the collaboration between these organisers came about after the initial initiative by Event Organiser 2. Due to this persistence of Event Organiser 2, the overall theme year was developed as described below.

> *Then Wowereit said, well it [the event proposal] went through the committees and then Wowereit said, he doesn't decide it like that. He didn't want some people to ask for money and then the next people want money, and then again others approach him and want money for something. He wanted an overall concept for the year. […] And the exhibition became a part of the theme year. And the other parts were a project which was supposed to present change in the city of Berlin and then the event on 9th November with the dominoes. [Event Organiser 1] did that, this overall package, and the exhibition was a part of it. (Interviewee 2)*

The above statement explains that the initial event proposal for 2009 was rejected by the Governing Mayor as he was concerned about the potential number of similar event ideas asking for funding. Because of this, he requested an overall concept for the year in the form of a theme year and commissioned Event Organiser 1 to develop this and incorporate Event Organiser 2's ideas. This theme year was thus making the statement that this is what the city of Berlin is staging to mark the anniversary and that no funding will be available for any other plans by third parties, and Event Organiser 2's persistence allowed them to be included in these plans. This process gave the planned events legitimacy and further underpinned the Senate's interpretational authority over how the historical events should be commemorated. The incorporation of the exhibition into the theme year was

thus the foundation of the first major commemorative events in 2009 as well as the collaboration that formed the basis for this theme year. The collaboration was seen as successful:

> *The strategic collaboration with [Event Organiser 2] developed as a perfect foundation for the planned major project. The cooperative organisation of the open-air exhibition on the Alexanderplatz was the origin and focus of all projects of the theme year 2009 in Berlin. (Theme year document, p. 10)*

It is not a surprise that this collaboration was taken forward for 2014 in addition to a more prominent role for Event Organiser 3:

> *We met very early, [Event Organiser 1] and me, one and a half years ago already or two years ago, to think about what can be done. […] And because [Event Organiser 1] had worked closely with [Event Organiser 2] in 2009, they got [Event Organiser 2] involved again. It was obvious for them from the beginning. (Interviewee 3)*

Thus the exceptional collaboration for the first large-scale anniversary celebrations was drawn upon again in 2014. One key difference in 2014 was that the event was not initiated by the Governing Mayor who commissioned Event Organiser 1 to develop a concept as in 2009, but was developed and proposed by the organisers and brought forward to the Mayor for approval.

> *And then the Bauders approached us with their light idea. […] And that was when we said, that is something we can try it with. And we took it and developed it further with [Event Organiser 1]. Or they with us, so we really developed it together. We created a concept, we bundled it, and [Event Organiser 1] submitted it. And they did something which they usually don't do. They work by order of the Senate, because the Senate commissions them to do this or that. […] And that was the case 2009 as well. But in this case it was different, they developed this with us and proposed it. So it went the other way round. (Interviewee 2)*

Two aspects of significance are mentioned here. First of all, the interviewee mentions that the original idea for the 'Lichtgrenze' stems from the artists Marc and Christopher Bauder who approached the organisers with their proposal. This then helped the organisers create an event concept. The second aspect further outlines the process of the event ideas in 2014 which took an unusual route compared to the usual nature of Event Organiser 1's work. Overall, this section showed that in both years, the commemorative events took place due to the organisers' initiative, rather than top-down ideas having been developed by local government.

7.4   Priorities

This section considers the priorities of each of the organisers as expressed in both interviews and documents. It was found that appropriately themed event content is a key priority of all of the organisers although there are differences in what this content should contain. Furthermore, marketing of places and institutions, education of the public and reaching a mass audience were identified as priorities. All of these are presented below.

7.4.1. An emphasis on a scholarly approach to event content

All organisers seem to show a level of concern in relation to ensuring that the events contain appropriately themed content with suitably themed messages. This seems to be based on the assumption that the event could take place without content at all or be too ambiguous. Thus, appropriate actions need to be taken to 'fill' the event with content, which emerges as a top concern for all organisers. Even staging the event on 9th November, the anniversary of the fall of the Wall, is not enough 'content' to link the celebration with the historical events. Emphasis is put on scholarly background and validation of the content by appropriate institutions. Each organiser also described the messages they want to convey through the events. Although all interviewees used the word 'content', the event management literature discusses such concerns in relation to, for example, event programming, theming and design (e.g. Berridge, 2007; Bowdin et al., 2011; Getz, 2007). Getz (2007) states that '[t]he purpose of any event is to suggest what experiences might be had (through theming and interpretation), facilitate positive experiences (through design of setting, programme, services and consumables), and to enable everyone concerned, as much as possible, to realize their goals' (p. 210). Thus, the role of the organiser is to set the context for any desired experiences.

The following four quotes from all the different organisers illustrate the concern with appropriate content of the events:

> *For us it was important in both years that we had the support of both partners for the projects we were planning in terms of its content. Of course, [Event Organiser 3] is important for this, so that we have the historical knowledge, the advice and their validation for what we are doing by constantly receiving feedback on the content. (Interviewee 1)*

Here, Interviewee 1 indicates the importance of appropriate content and the role of the other organisers in 'validating' this content through their historical knowledge. The importance of suitable content is further emphasised by Interviewee 2:

> *Celebrating, of course, that is important. But it always has to be linked to the content. It has to be clear what we are celebrating. (Interviewee 2)*

Interviewee 3 expresses a similar concern to Interviewee 2, in that he argues that the commemorative events have to go beyond the celebratory atmosphere and striking visual imagery:

> *For me it was more interesting and more important to raise the question about the content. What is the message? That is critical. [Event Organiser 1] is very much concerned with visual imagery which is good. But our institution which is a state institution with federal funding and which claims high communicative and scholarly standards, for us it was all about checking, what is the message? What is this all about? (Interviewee 3)*

In a similar vein, Interviewee 4 also stresses the significance of providing more than just mere entertainment elements at the event:

> *…these event plans, which are not just about open-air food courts, but which always have a very strong connection with the topic and which invite people to engage with the topic in more depth. (Interviewee 4)*

Interestingly, these statements seem to indicate that there is a possibility of a commemorative event taking place without content and that there is a distribution of tasks in relation to either event management or content. The last comment seems to imply that the common street festival with food stalls is something that could be considered a 'meaningless' celebration. Getz (2007), in his typology of planned events, for example distinguishes cultural celebrations from entertainment events. He argues that the key difference between the two types of events is the underlying purpose. Whereas cultural celebrations communicate a message of cultural or historical significance, entertainment events are primarily staged for hedonistic consumption (Getz, 2007). It is thus important to the organisers to go beyond the entertainment and visual elements to develop the overall message. In event management terms, these concerns seem to be related to appropriately themed event programming on the one hand and the design of appropriate messages on

the other. Bowdin et al. (2011) define programming as the 'what's on' of any event, which is detrimental for the design of the overall event experience and has to be in line with the overarching theme. Furthermore, Berridge (2007) states that organisers can attempt to design messages of personal, national, cultural or historical significance through the selection of event features in terms of symbols, artefacts and other components, although naturally interpretation of such messages can and will differ. In this case, there are processes in place to determine appropriate themes and messages which include working together with partners who have the relevant knowledge about historical events because of the nature of their institution as well as making sure this knowledge is based on a scholarly approach. This scholarly approach appears to be linked to public funding as expressed by Interviewee 3 above and functions as an overall seal of quality:

> *… commemoration based on a scholarly approach and coming to terms with the past based on a scholarly approach are significantly different from some sort of entertaining, short-term spark of a heritage-type staged event and quality will simply prevail in this regard. (Interviewee 3)*

It is interesting that this interviewee uses the English word 'heritage' to refer to events in a sense that suggests a negative connotation. He seems to accuse such events to be a superficial and commercialised approach to commemoration. This is related to Frank's (2009) discussion of heritage versus history in her study of Checkpoint Charlie. Notably, Interviewee 3 explicitly refers to this study and describes it as 'very good'. Frank (2009) outlines the development of a heritage industry surrounding Berlin Wall commemoration based on competing offers from private and public actors (see also Section 4.6). She draws on Lowenthal's (2000) distinction between heritage and history, where heritage is the manipulation of the past for contemporary purposes and history the objective search for truth. This distinction is thus similar to the distinction made between memory and history as outlined in Section 2.2. Applying this to the context of commemoration of the Wall in Berlin, Frank (2009) argues that the state pursues the history approach, particularly at the Berlin Wall Memorial, whereas the private Checkpoint Charlie Museum represents the heritage approach. It appears that the perception of this distinction between heritage and history, inaccurate

and accurate is still prevalent among organisers and that all commemorative efforts funded and initiated by the state are still perceived to be in line with the accurate history approach which overall provides the Senate with interpretational authority.

7.4.2. Communicating key messages

Naturally, each organiser had specific ideas about what the content and message that give meaning to the celebration should look like. The documents make reference to various aspects:

> *From the beginning the focus was on the fall of the Wall, its causes and impacts, rather than construction of the Wall and the division of the city. The Peaceful Revolution as a prerequisite for the fall of the Wall, the anniversary of the fall of the Wall as an international symbol for the reclamation of freedom and Berlin as a city of change thus became the central topics. (Theme year document, p. 10)*

All of these three key aspects are also mentioned by the interviewees. In regards to the open-air exhibition in 2009 in particular, the following was said by the interviewees and found in the documents:

> *…to show the connection, that the Wall didn't just fall somehow, but that it happened because people became active. (Interviewee 2)*

For Interviewee 2, the role of the East German citizens is thus particularly important, which he further outlines in the following statement:

> *We ended up developing an event concept which included showing all facets and all aspects of the revolution, considering all activists, not the political sides and the level of the politicians, that also comes up where necessary: Gorbachev, the Americans, Reagan, Honecker and so on. But at the centre were those who became active, who caused the societal change, who carried the revolution. (Interviewee 2)*

A similar notion is expressed by Interviewee 4, who argues that the positive impact of the fall of the Wall overshadowed the role of the East German citizens:

> *…not reducing the anniversary to the fall of the Wall but also the prerequisite for the fall of the Wall, namely the Peaceful Revolution which got lost a bit. Due to the worldwide happiness about the fall of the Wall it was forgotten that there was a background to this and that's why we had the idea with the exhibition on the Alexanderplatz. (Interviewee 4)*

The documents further describe this intended message:

Our aim was to show the complex process of self-liberation in the GDR and also consider pan-German aspects. We wanted to tell the background of the revolution, to document the protests that emerged everywhere in the country in 1989, and to retrace the journey from the fall of the Wall to German Unity. And to do this from the perspective of the many often unknown protagonists. (Exhibition document, p. 13)

These statements indicate that the portrayal of the Peaceful Revolution was a key priority in 2009 for more than one organiser and that the detailed open-air exhibition focusing on the movement was a result of this. Decisions to place the activists of the citizens' movement in the GDR as centre stage in commemoration in 2009 were made very consciously. The key priority for these organisers was thus to 'adjust' collective memory by changing public perception of the movement's role in the GDR and increasing public appreciation of the people involved in it.

In contrast to that, Interviewee 3 makes statements that relate more closely to communicating the overall lessons drawn from the historical events and what these lessons mean for contemporary society:

For us it was primarily important to communicate that democracy and freedom should not be taken for granted. (Interviewee 3)

Here, he emphasises the ideals and values associated with the citizens' movement and the fall of the Wall, but he also stresses the international impact of the historical events:

From the beginning it was important for me to emphasise the international significance of the fall of the Wall and to make this the priority. (Interviewee 3)

This impact, he argues, is particularly relevant for Europe:

This fall of the Wall is unique, it has no predecessors, it is a peaceful overcoming of a dictatorship, a place and message of hope and so on, all these kinds of things. But 9th November is also the beginning of a political development which has turned Europe upside down. And communicating this – that is what it is all about. (Interviewee 3)

The above statements from Event Organiser 3 illustrate that his priority is to communicate the international significance of the fall of the Wall for the demise of communism in Europe and the continent's current political character, but also to communicate a reminder to the audience that current conditions should not be taken for granted.

Another interviewee also discusses the importance of communicating the meaning of the historical events to a worldwide audience, particularly in terms of using these events as a message of hope for people currently experiencing conflicts:

> *If you look at the revolutions of the past few years or decades, Arab Spring and so on, and then compare them to the absolutely unique Peaceful Revolution, then it becomes very remarkable, but it also illustrates that at the time it was successful and that because of the courageous human rights activists and also the ordinary citizens who took to the streets, who overcame their own fears, it is indeed possible to overcome dictatorships or to bring down certain systems. And that is certainly a message that is still very important today, which needs to be and should be passed on and which could possibly provide hope as well. As I said, looking back is always a part of the events, but that's why we tried to look ahead […] and ask which walls must and should still fall in the world, not only physical walls but also societal and ideological walls, walls in the mind, and to try and get people to engage with this. […] We tried to encourage a worldwide dialogue by using the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the Wall as a basis for further engagement with the topic. And of course, throughout the weekend [of 9th November], commemorating and looking back are the first priority also when you look at the media coverage, but in the background and in the run up to the event it was important for us to go beyond that and to look ahead and engage with that. (Interviewee 1)*

It becomes obvious that, in comparison to Event Organisers 2 and 4, this organiser's priorities are to place the emphasis on the topicality of the overall message and the international relevance of the historical events, which is also present in the documents:

> *May the power that opened the Berlin Wall provide permanent hope for the overcoming of still existing walls and barriers in this world! (Domino book, p. 14)*

This book from 2009 argues that the fall of the Wall can be a message of hope. This idea was still present five years later:

> *Although 25 years have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the symbolism of this seismic event has not waned. That a Peaceful Revolution successfully overthrew a dictatorship and ended the division of Germany, Europe and the world, continues to inspire hope across the globe that other barriers and walls can be surmounted in a similar fashion. ('Lichtgrenze' book, p. 148)*

The quotes express more directly the organisers' intention to transfer the meaning of the historical events onto contemporary times. The implicit

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assumption here is that the historical events in Germany can be used as a role model for the removal of injustice worldwide, presenting the East German people as role models in this respect. Furthermore, the description of the events as 'seismic' with the unity of the world as an outcome underpin the organisers' interpretation of the events as of truly global significance and unparalleled. In line with this interpretation, the organisers attempted to reach a global audience. In regards to the 2014 'Lichtgrenze' the corresponding document furthermore describes the accompanying online campaign as follows:

> *…a campaign, called 'Fall of the Wall 25' […], to stimulate discussion on how the ideological, economic, and religious walls, the walls between the generations and between rich and poor, which still separate people everywhere, could best be dismantled and surmounted by bridges of communication, tolerance, and mutual understanding. ('Lichtgrenze' book, p. 148)*

This quote shows that a key message of the events was related to transferring the historical events to contemporary society in regards to the importance of the removal of literal and metaphorical walls. This statement further underpins the notion that the organisers perceive the historical events to carry a positive topical message of international relevance, based on using the historical events as a universal model.

Furthermore, the change in Berlin is an important message:

> *And to showcase how Berlin has changed in the past 25 years, that is also very important to us. (Interviewee 1)*

With change and transition being an important element of Berlin's local identity this message alludes to a city branding priority. In this regard, it is said about the 'Lichtgrenze' and the accompanying exhibition that the aim was:

> *… to show once again exactly where this Wall stood for 28 long years, where it bisected the city, which dramas played out in its shadow, and what stories are to be told along its course. ('Lichtgrenze' book, p. 158)*

Here, the focus is again more on the route of the Wall and related historical events rather than the contemporary meanings of it. By retracing its route, the organisers can attempt to visualise how one city used to be split into two with opposing political systems which heavily impacted the lives of the

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general public. The audience is encouraged to envision the reality of German division and what kinds of stories may have unfolded on each side of the Wall. Thus, the overall intended narrative is less about the political frameworks of the time and more about everyday life with division and how much this life has changed for the better since the fall of the Wall.

Overall, this section illustrated that the organisers had clear and strong visions about the message that should be conveyed through the events which are reflected in the documents as well. It is evident that despite the emphasis on a scholarly approach, the underlying priority is not to tell a holistic story, but rather to focus on particular elements of the historical events and to make a statement on why these events are still significant today. One might argue that this might lead to a simplification of historical processes for the sake of packaging a certain message. Furthermore, emphasising the international contemporary meanings could be considered a usage of the historical events as a resource for branding purposes, in that the commemorative events are used to construct an internationally appealing, topical message. In this sense, the historical importance and resulting attractiveness of the city of Berlin are broadcast to an international audience. Related marketing priorities are further outlined next.

7.4.3. Marketing of institutions and branding of the city

The interviews revealed that some of the organisers strategically used the events to promote particular institutions and places. This includes the branding and marketing of Berlin and particular locations within the city, as well as marketing the Berlin Wall Memorial. The branding of Berlin was already alluded to before. However, the events are also used more broadly to promote the work done in the context of the 'Overall Concept'. The following quotes outline these priorities in more detail.

> *With these events we determine important topics for Berlin. And we are branding Berlin in the area of contemporary history, make people aware of what happened in the various places and how it is all connected and this way we make Berlin attractive for a lot of people who come to this city as the German capital and ask what happened here and where can I see it. […] We don't have any mountains and we also don't have the sea, there are loads of lakes, but not the sea, and instead Berlin lives on its history. (Interviewee 4)*

The interviewee outlines the importance of history for tourism in Berlin and the necessity of making this history visible to visitors. The rich history further functions as a resource to brand the city in this respect:

> *It [the theme year] is an additional way of branding Berlin as the capital city, as the Rome of 20th century history. (Interviewee 4)*

This marketing priority was thus particularly important for Interviewee 4, who outlines the role the events played for the branding of Berlin as a place rich in contemporary history. This interviewee specifically refers to the demands of tourists to see evidence of this rich history. The interviewee argues that history is the city's most important resource for attracting tourists and in this vein a commemorative infrastructure of events and memorials is required to fully make use of this resource. The Berlin Wall in particular continues to attract tourists as the most recognisable reminder of a recent historical event with international consequences which are generally associated with positive change. The Wall thus remains one of the city's most famous and most emotive landmarks despite its absence. The interviewee furthermore compares Berlin with Rome. Whereas Rome is a place that people visit for its status in ancient history, Berlin is said to play a comparable role for 20th century history. In this respect it is not only the history of the Wall and unification which contributes to this status, but also the city's role as the capital during the Nazi regime. Overall, this interviewee argues that Berlin needs to be branded as the place where the Western world's most important historical events of the 20th century unfolded. A final point made by the interviewee relates to branding Berlin as the capital city. Having previously been a city on the margins during times of division, the status as capital had to be re-established and was underpinned, for example, by the move of the government from Bonn to Berlin. As Berlin was struggling to become a modern European metropolis, these large-scale events drawing on its historical significance use history as a resource for branding. This process of branding Berlin also requires the highlighting of important locations within the city and the linkages between them as outlined above by the interviewee. The creation of an overarching network of places of permanent commemoration of the Berlin Wall is also something which was done through the 'Overall Concept'. The same interviewee further considers the

commemorative events in the context of the development of the 'Overall Concept':

> *We opened the 'Wall Information Space' in the subway station at Brandenburg Gate during the theme year, and as I said, the visitor centre [at the Berlin Wall Memorial] after only one year of construction, and the first part of the extension to the Berlin Wall Memorial, so that the people can see, things are really getting started now. Because before we developed and executed the 'Overall Concept' there were complaints that you can't see where the Wall used to be and what it meant for Berlin. That's why 2009 was a very important date for us to direct public attention to the actions taken regarding the 'Overall Concept' and provide a range of offers. (Interviewee 4)*

The events are thus also used to market and showcase the work done in the context of the 'Overall Concept' with particular focus on the Berlin Wall Memorial. As one of the rationales for the development of the 'Overall Concept' was the complaints about the shortcomings of Berlin Wall commemoration within the city, these large-scale celebrations are an effective way of addressing these complaints and gaining publicity for the completed work. Interviewee 4 furthermore refers to the importance of the Berlin Wall Memorial and outlines some of the work undertaken to enhance the Memorial and underpin its status as the central location of Berlin Wall commemoration. This is in line with the work of the 'Overall Concept' which determined the key role of the Berlin Wall Memorial and the requirements for its enhancement, again outlining how the events are line with the 'Overall Concept'. Furthermore, apart from marketing memorials, the interviewee also mentions using the anniversaries as an impetus for the creation and opening of memorials which is outlined further here:

> *Well, of course we want to create sustainable impacts with these theme years in that institutions are planned or completed, that places within the city are highlighted, that memorials are created, so that something remains from each year which continues to carry out this commemorative duty. (Interviewee 4)*

In this quote, this interviewee refers to the 'sustainable impact' of these commemorative events more generally in that the anniversaries are used to stimulate the planning and completion of places of permanent commemoration and the events can thus be used to raise awareness of and demand for these. Interviewee 3 mentions a similar priority:

Well, these memorial days are very important and if you have a look at Google how the numbers have gone up […], well, our website exploded at times and so on and so on, this is quite crazy. But the question is, what remains? And that's the interesting thing. And this cracker[17], it was important, but it was not just a cracker, it was a successful cohesive event, but yes, we are here permanently. (Interviewee 3)

This illustrates that some of the organisers may have used the publicity the events received to increase awareness of their own institution and direct public attention to their work in relation to places of permanent commemoration of the Berlin Wall. Overall, this section indicated an interesting interplay between permanent and temporary forms of commemoration, in that the events are strongly interlinked with memorials throughout the city.

7.4.4. Education of the general public

A key priority for all organisers is to use the events as an opportunity to educate the general public about the historical events. It was already outlined above that some of the organisers wanted to use the events to change public perception of the historical events by placing a particular emphasis on the Peaceful Revolution. This already indicates a priority of educating the public about 'what really happened'. Furthermore, it already emerged earlier that organisers were keen to encourage in-depth and long-term engagement with the topic and placed a strong emphasis on appropriate content of the celebrations which is related to the notion of education of the public. One of the organisers specifically says:

We have an educational mandate[18], that means all institutions involved have the task of not letting the past disappear and to draw lessons from it, thus to carry out political education. (Interviewee 4)

Sociocultural benefits such as community education are often a prerequisite for receiving government funding for events (Getz, 1991). The emphasis on the educational mandate of publicly funded institutions by this organiser underpins this priority. This educational priority seems to be particularly aimed at younger people who did not experience German division. This was

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[17] The German word used is 'Knallbonbon', i.e. Christmas cracker. This term is used by the interviewee to refer to an event that gains people's attention briefly, but leaves no lasting legacy.
[18] The German word used is 'Bildungsauftrag', which refers to the mandate associated with publicly funded institutions, such as museums, to develop and provide educational opportunities for the general public.

further emphasised by one of the organisers as well as the documents as presented in the following statements.

> *[One of our priorities was] to try and pass this on to a younger generation that possibly does not have many memories or no memories at all and this way to look into how can we not only develop retrospective commemoration with those who are constantly dealing with this topic anyway, but to design this at a larger scale and to consider how can we communicate this to a younger generation and deal with this topic in another way. (Interviewee 1)*

Here, Interviewee 1 emphasises the importance of reaching a younger generation with no first-hand experience of the events. The reasons for this are further outlined by this interviewee:

> *[It is important to us to communicate] especially to the younger generation, that it should not be taken for granted the situation that we live in today. When you speak to visitors who came with their children, they say 'My child asked if knights were still alive when the Wall fell', so it is something like the German Empire, very far away. That's why it is important to us that we can enable an engagement with this topic in an appealing way so that it becomes clearer for the younger generations. (Interviewee 1)*

It is argued that knowledge of the historical events is limited among young people and due to this, they are more likely to take the ideals and values of the FRG for granted. The importance of reaching young people is also evident in the documents:

> *For the anniversary day itself it was necessary to reach young people who have no idea what an inner-city Wall was like and for whom the fall of such a Wall remains abstract as well. (Theme year document, p. 11)*

In this regard, the 'Lichtgrenze' book does not only talk about young people but also about new residents in the city:

> *Only half of all Berliners remember the Wall from personal experience – the others are either younger than 25 or moved to the city after the Wall's collapse. With this in mind, the project organizers [decided to stage the 'Lichtgrenze']. ('Lichtgrenze' book, p. 158)*

Younger people as well as newcomers to Berlin have no first-hand experience and thus no memory of German division and the Berlin Wall. Organisers thus see the need to keep the memory of the Wall engrained in collective memory, whether first-hand experience exists or not. This way an all-encompassing identity can be created with the ideals of freedom and

democracy at its core which may strengthen social cohesion among the diverse population.

Another organiser also referred to the need to educate those that have no first-hand memory and no knowledge of the historical event, but does not necessarily restrict this educational priority to residents in Berlin:

> *And then there was the question, where should this take place and who do we want to reach? And we said, well, we don't have to show it to those who are already interested in this anyway. They buy books, visit exhibitions, watch films and documentaries on TV, they do that anyway. And we also don't want to do it for those who were active [in the citizens' movement] themselves. Instead, the first priority is to do it for those who did not experience it for themselves. They need to understand, because this group of people is growing, whereas the others are getting fewer and fewer. We want to communicate with those people who know nothing at all. This group of people is growing, those people born in Berlin but also the visitors. [...] But if it works and they [the activists] are satisfied as well, then that is the icing on the cake, but that is not really necessary. It's important that the others understand. (Interviewee 2)*

This quote also outlines the importance of passing on the memory to 'those people who know nothing'. Evidently, this interviewee is concerned about forgetting caused by a growing number of people born after the fall of the Wall. This forgetting could endanger the status of the East German activists and thus this organiser appears to pursue a permanent manifestation of these activists within German collective memory.

This section outlined the importance the organisers placed on passing on the memory and the knowledge to younger people with the particular aim to illustrate that contemporary society should not be taken for granted as well as to educate them about the role of the citizens' movement. This specifically assigns the commemorative events an important role for keeping the memory of a community alive by passing it on to younger generations and other newcomers. It involves a process of changing public perception of historical events to a more accurate representation of 'what actually happened' as interpreted by the authoritative institutions.

7.4.5. Targeting a mass audience with accessibility and participation

Related to the notion of education are the ideas of accessibility and participation. An important consideration was the ease of access in terms of being located centrally, free of charge, open-air and without any other barriers. These steps were taken in order to reach as wide an audience as possible and particularly those people mentioned above who do not generally show an interest in this topic. This may again be a prerequisite for or result of receiving public funding and help the organisers achieve the strong educational priority. The following statements illustrate this in more depth:

> *…we often develop projects that take place in public space in the city and appeal to the general public to limit all thresholds for visitors to engage with the topic, for example with the open-air exhibition on the Alexanderplatz, where we said, it is not something that takes place behind the walls of a museum which excludes several groups within society who do not visit museums, but instead we go where the people are. And that's what we did both in 2009 and now with the 'Lichtgrenze' and the accompanying exhibition which people experienced quite casually […] as well as the historical film collage shown on the screens along the 'Lichtgrenze' and so on. In the first instance people are attracted by something event-like or pass by coincidentally, but afterwards there will automatically be a more in-depth engagement with the topic, and that's why it is always very important to us to not necessarily do this in a popular way – although some people might call it that way – but to try and appeal to people in an open and accessible way. (Interviewee 1)*

This interviewee outlines how the 'event-like' elements such as the visual imagery and the entertainment elements are used to draw people in in the first place, where the deeper engagement follows as a second step. An interesting point is the 'casual learning experience' mentioned by this interviewee. It implies an unintended learning outcome for the attendee, who attends out of curiosity for the entertainment or visual elements, and might then encounter the educational elements such as the exhibitions or the films. Thus, the organisers are attempting to use a 'backdoor' approach to education, appealing with the spectacle and educating simultaneously. The other interviewees also underpin the importance of the accessible approach:

> *We have to take it outside, we have to go where people pass by anyway. We have to go to them and they don't have to be forced with a whip to come to us, but we have to go to them. (Interviewee 2)*

Interviewee 2 admits that the target audience may be difficult to attract and thus the organisers need to stage the events in public space where people may engage with the events unintentionally. The interviewee further emphasises the difficulties in reaching this audience with 'the usual events':

> *If you look at individual events between the anniversaries, then there's always a very limited audience that attends these. And it is basically always the same people. You have to try very hard if you want to reach a different audience. With the usual events, the usual things that happen, it is impossible. (Interviewee 2)*

Interviewee 3 also stresses the importance of accessibility:

> *…it was about making an accessible, emotional offer. (Interviewee 3)*

Finally, Interviewee 4 agrees with Interviewee 2 and argues that an accessible approach is needed to reach a different audience:

> *Usually, especially at the memorials and events you always encounter the same old people who go from one event to the next, and it is proper incest. And with our approach we try to reach a different audience and encourage a lasting excitement for the topic. (Interviewee 4)*

The organisers are thus aware of the difficulties in reaching their desired target audience. Because the aim was to educate people who know little or nothing about the topic and do not usually engage with commemorative activities, the organisers considered strategies to reach an audience which cannot be expected to put any effort into attending such a commemorative event. Allen el at. (2008) argue that free events have to consider the time, psychic, physical and sensory costs that may be involved in attending an event. Despite not having to pay for a ticket, people still need to be willing to invest leisure time, mental effort or travel effort. Thus, potential barriers for attendance need to be removed.

Furthermore, participation of the general public is seen as a means of encouraging deeper engagement with the historical events, interaction between participants and sharing of experiences and ideas, as well as potentially having a snowball effect, i.e. participants encouraging their family and friends to visit and engage. This is outlined in the following statements.

> *[T]hat is always important to us to say that it is not primarily about creating an art project or simply a symbol, but it is always about enabling a certain participation and achieving an engagement. And the dominoes did that in a nice way, in that in the months before the event many groups of youths, children, pupils, and so on painted them in the context of deeper engagement with the topic. And the balloons and the light steles also did that, on the one hand there was the static element of marking the route of the Wall for two days, but they could also be used in the balloon event through the ascent of the balloons and through the fact that the messages of the balloon sponsors could be attached and ascend to the sky, which communicated the hope and the future-orientation and the engagement, so on the other hand it also had a different effect to not just be a piece of art but to enable an interaction with the people. And that is always very important to us. (Interviewee 1)*

Here, the participatory approach is described as a means to encourage further engagement with the topic. It furthermore functions as a platform to exchange experiences:

> *But we notice, and we noticed this as well in 2014, that looking back on the one hand is still very important, because we noticed that many visitors still have a very emotional connection to the topic, and it is always important to create a platform where people have the opportunity to talk about this and to share and exchange experiences. (Interviewee 1)*

Finally, the interviewee argues that participation is particularly important when the event can engage people with first-hand experiences:

> *…and to make this participative element a priority, for people not just to passively engage with the topic but to be actively involved and to be able to bring in their own experiences and memories which is even more important for a topic that is only 25 years old because there are still enough witnesses who remember very clearly. (Interviewee 1)*

Overall, this interviewee strongly prioritises opportunities for the general public to participate in the events. This participation is seen as desirable because it can encourage in-depth engagement with the topic and thus create a more meaningful learning experience and address the educational priority more effectively. It may also provide people with a feeling of ownership rather than being confronted with a top-down commemorative approach. However, while the organisers may indeed place an emphasis on the participatory approach, people participate within the limits and contexts set by the organisers and are still reinforcing the overall messages as predetermined by the organisers.

In a similar vein, some of the other interviewees also talk about the importance of participation:

> *It wasn't one domino per person but there were more people per domino, sometimes it was a whole group of young people. And then there were also always the parents, grandparents, friends attached to that, because they talked to them about what they were doing. We noticed that with a few examples. One school had three dominoes and the entire school organised events around this, to introduce this and then some people painted them and then the paintings were presented. So very many people were involved in this and that was good. […] As many people as possible have to be involved in the planning, designing and staging. (Interviewee 2)*

This organiser also mentions the important role of a participatory approach and argues that it enables a wider reach through a snowball effect. This effect can further enhance the educational impact of the events in that those people directly involved in the events will discuss and debate their experiences with those around them, thus enabling a more widespread public awareness of and engagement with the topic. This is also mentioned by one of the other interviewees:

> *It was a metaphorical firestorm, we didn't even have enough dominoes prepared to match the demand, and then we had to consider how we would topple the line of dominoes, because suddenly there were a lot more. And it spread far beyond Berlin, because people from Israel wanted to take part and from Buenos Aires and from New York, and then the transport logistics, how do we get them there and back and can let them participate. And there is always a certain effect to things like this, and that's why choir concerts are always crowded, if you let young people do something, then they are proud of their work and bring their friends and families. And this way we suddenly had a quarter of a million people there [at the 'Festival of Freedom']. (Interviewee 4)*

This interviewee also refers to the snowball effect as a desired outcome of the participatory approach. He furthermore implies that the campaign was successful beyond their expectations. This was problematic as exclusion may have been offensive for willing participants. In the second half of the quote he furthermore refers to the potential to increase attendance numbers at events if participants bring along their friends and families, thus this snowball effect has a marketing function as well.

7.5   Problems, challenges and criticisms

A variety of problems, challenges and criticisms became evident in the analysis. It appears that key areas relate to a lack of support, particularly when event plans were first brought forward. Further challenges relate to the contested nature of the commemoration. Finally, the need to avoid an overly commercialised commemoration was identified as a challenge.

7.5.1. Lack of external support and contested commemoration

Initial ideas for the events were met with widespread scepticism. As already discussed earlier, the initiative for the commemorative events in 2009 can be traced back to one particular organiser, and the interview revealed that this organiser struggled to gain the support needed:

> *Apart from some close contacts who saw it the same way […] at best we were met with sceptical views. Not really supportive but sceptical. 'What are you trying to tell us, there was a revolution, no blood was even shed there.' That literally was said several times. And that continued until 2007. (Interviewee 2)*

These struggles are also reflected in the documents:

> *When in summer 2007 [ideas were presented] to stage an open-air exhibition about the Peaceful Revolution on the Alexanderplatz in Berlin, many reacted sceptically: 'Who cares about this topic nowadays', asked some. 'It's enough if there's an exhibition in Leipzig', complained others. Again others thought the term revolution was inappropriate in the context of the changes in 1989/90. Some doubted that [Event Organiser 2] would be able to cope with the task. (Theme year document, p. 13)*

The interviewee thus experienced very little support in the early stages. Scepticism emerged due to the content matter on the one hand, whereas others were unsure about the relevance and appropriateness of the exhibition in particular. Again, the conflict about appropriate terminology for the citizens' movement becomes evident. On the other hand, scepticism arose due to the short time frame available for the realisation of the project, which was considered unrealistic. Furthermore, this interviewee also mentioned that even close partners remained rather sceptical even after approval of the event concept:

> *And [Event Organiser 1] also sat in the committees where I kept saying that something has to take place, someone always sat there. But they*

always nobly refrained from getting involved. And after they had conceptualised the theme year they still were not very convinced by what we had suggested. Mr. Wowereit wasn't either. He said […] 'I am very sceptical'. He said that in a more drastic way, but I am not going to repeat that. (Interviewee 2)

Here, Event Organiser 1 and the Governing Mayor are referred to, claiming that they were not convinced of the event plans. The Mayor's importance for the events was already alluded to when outlining the political context in Section 7.2.1. The same interviewee further outlined that the scepticism of the exhibition remained until its opening day, but then diminished when the project turned out to be successful:

The scepticism, externally, it remained until 6th May. From the 7th May on, when we had put this all up on Alexanderplatz and the opening took place and the crowds immediately descended, everything was fine. From there on, everyone was enthusiastic and no one ever had said anything different. (Interviewee 2)

This initial scepticism is also outlined by one of the other interviewees:

Of course it can be a challenge, especially in the early stages of a project, to get the required enthusiasm and approval from the relevant partners or institutions that are important for you. (Interviewee 1)

Overall, the lack of initial support and the difficulty of convincing important partners of the event plans were a key challenge for the interviewees, particularly Event Organiser 2 who was instrumental in the creation of the events. A further challenge relates to the public bodies and receiving the required administrative support:

The main problems are always the public bodies, if you need a permit to stage an exhibition in public space, to put up a commemorative plaque, or stage an event, well, that was very troublesome and that has given me a lot of grey hairs. But apart from that the idea was well received by the audience, they opened all doors for me, but there were many bureaucratic obstacles to overcome. (Interviewee 4)

The focus of the commemoration itself also received some criticism, although according to the interviewees the events were generally successful and very positively received. Nevertheless, some of their statements indicate a certain level of concern about the topic being commemorated. As aforementioned, Event Organiser 2 experienced a lack of support for the initial ideas due to the fact that other institutions did not consider the historical events a

revolution and therefore did not support the idea for the exhibition. This already indicates a struggle over appropriate interpretation of the past, and is reflected in the widespread debate about appropriate terminology discussed at various points throughout this thesis. The following quote from another organiser further illustrates the struggle over the authority of interpreting the past:

> *And all of sudden many people occupied themselves with this, whether it was museums of certain districts, parishes, or other event planners, of whatever kind. Everyone picked something, also the big players, the Federal Agency for Civic Education, the Centre for Contemporary History in Potsdam, they all had to deliver something, they couldn't just say, no, they're not doing anything, and those hobby historians […] determine the perception of history. There was already some hostility from historians, because that's a no-go. But they hadn't brought anything forward, but we had. (Interviewee 2)*

Here, the interviewee outlines that after the theme year was approved by local government and started to take shape, other institutions were suddenly concerned that they might not have a say in how the past is commemorated. There were concerns whether the organisers involved were the right institutions to determine how commemoration takes place and what focus should be placed. Thus, the persistent campaigning of Event Organiser 2 and their success in eventually gaining support for their event plans seems to have stirred up the status quo. Established state-owned institutions such as the Federal Agency for Civic Education appear to claim interpretative authority over the historical events and may feel challenged by a small institution appearing in their domain by staging such a large-scale event.

One further aspect was mentioned by one of the organisers which further illustrates the contested nature of the commemoration:

> *The fall of the Wall was the first major political theme year. Well, we had done Fontane and the end of the war and several theme years, but the dictatorship topic, this was the first time and so everyone asked: 'Why have you done nothing yet about the Nazi time?' (Interviewee 4)*

This statement illustrates some concerns about the celebrations potentially overshadowing the commemoration of the Nazi past. Priorities of the organisers are questioned by people who fear that increased commemoration of GDR-related history may lead to increased forgetting of

the Nazi regime. Furthermore, the day of the fall of the Wall is also the day of the November pogroms, thus common concern relates to how these key historical events in German history can be commemorated on the same day.

7.5.2. Avoiding commercialisation and 'eventification'

Related to the need for appropriately themed content and an overall high-quality celebration based on a scholarly approach, some organisers expressed concerns about the commercialisation of the events. This seems to be something they do not want to be accused of. One organiser, for example, was concerned that commercialisation may reflect badly on his institution's otherwise serious and scholarly approach. The emphasis for this organiser is on the permanent commemoration that takes place within the city and not just on the large-scale celebration every five years. He was concerned about how this permanent commemoration can be best incorporated into the celebrations, which meant profiting from the additional visitors and publicity without seeming overly commercialised and without trivialising history.

> *I am very sceptical towards these mega events, because every day is a memorial day for us. (Interviewee 3)*

As his institution deals with commemoration of the GDR and the Berlin Wall on a daily basis, he is concerned about the focused attention on particular days. Eventification and exploitation of spaces that commemorate on a permanent basis play a role for him:

> *I was very, very sceptical towards the whole thing. Because […] I immediately see the eventification and exploitation of spaces. (Interviewee 3)*

This organiser is thus concerned about the use of certain spaces for these events which seems to imply an inappropriate use of spaces of permanent commemoration. It appears that permanent commemoration based on a scholarly approach is more desirable and potentially more appropriate than the large-scale events focused on particular anniversaries – perhaps a reflection of his distinction between history and heritage (see Section 7.4.1) with the events moving uncomfortably close to what he considers heritage. Here, an interesting tension emerges between temporary and permanent

forms of commemoration in regards to the legitimacy, accuracy and profoundness of such different forms. His usage of the terms mega event and eventification is noteworthy, as it suggests that such large-scale events may carry fewer meanings and be less profound than events on a smaller scale and permanent forms of commemoration. This organiser opposes these events and usages of certain spaces due to concerns over commercialisation of what is usually a profound scholarly-based commemoration. This eventification appears to be seen as negative because it implies a short-term and superficial way of commemoration, overly dependent on the use of emotive visual imagery and focused on short-term impacts, and could thus imply a commodification of a memory created through a spectacle staged for mass consumption. It stands in opposition to the solemn and scholarly permanent commemoration which could be seen as more 'accurate' and having more profound long-term impacts. Nevertheless, the interviewee recognises the economic and marketing value of these events:

> *No matter what we do, we have to be careful that a dignified commemoration of the victims is possible and that it doesn't turn into a jamboree. For me personally the large screens constituted the absolute limit. And I suffered when the stupid adverts were being shown. But… in for a penny, in for a pound. Either I don't have them here, and then I have one fewer main attraction, or I have to pay for them myself and we didn't have the money. And then you're immediately caught between a rock and a hard place. That's the way it is. (Interviewee 3)*

In this statement the interviewee refers to large screens that were situated at all the main visitor locations along the 'Lichtgrenze' in 2014. A short film summarising the history of the Wall with emotive imagery was shown repeatedly, as well as a film that contrasted the 'then' and 'now' of certain spaces along the Wall. However, the screens also showed advertisements for companies such as Hilton or PayPal. These companies are not listed as sponsors of the event but it can be assumed that advertising space was sold as an additional source of funding. This organiser clearly opposes the showing of these advertisements, as he perceives it to be incompatible with what he calls 'dignified commemoration'. At the same time, these screens attract visitors to the various locations and can thus function as a marketing tool for the permanent commemoration taking place along the route of the

Wall. He thus has to weigh up the benefits and drawbacks of the presence of the screens. He furthermore stated about this process:

They [the screens] were a crowd puller as well, they attracted people. And they showed films which communicated the content. Otherwise I wouldn't have supported this. And that is the essential element, it is always about the key message: Democracy and freedom are not to be taken for granted. But it is not about communication by all means, but it always has to be in line with a certain respect towards the location. (Interviewee 3)

Here it becomes clear that certain elements of what he would consider a commercialisation or eventification are acceptable under the condition that the desired content and message are not diluted and still communicated effectively. Furthermore, it is important that these elements function as a marketing tool for the permanent commemoration while at the same time still being compatible with the character of the space they take place in. Regarding these concerns another interviewee said:

I think that it is okay to stage[19] this, and it should be staged […]. It doesn't mean you have to distort anything, and that's always this black and white thinking. You don't have to put up this many crosses and say this is how many people died without having evidence. You don't have to lie. But that doesn't mean it can't be staged. (Interviewee 2)

This interviewee discusses concerns about commercialisation and eventification of Berlin Wall commemoration within the city where using the past to create a spectacle is considered as having a distorting effect. He specifically refers to the instance in 2004 where crosses were installed by the Checkpoint Charlie Museum (see also Section 4.5). The interviewee refers back to this incident, saying that the installation itself was not the problem, it was primarily the claims that were made by the head of the museum about what the installation represents. Each of the 1,065 wooden crosses was said to represent one person who died at the border, but critics complained about the lack of scientific evidence for the number of deaths (Harrison, 2011). Thus, inaccurate claims or even lies are deemed unacceptable, whereas staging itself does not imply any malicious intentions and does not automatically lead to a negative, distorted event.

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[19] The German word used was 'inszenieren' which is somewhat difficult to translate. On the one hand the word means to stage something in a theatre context, whereas on the other hand it is often used in a derogatory way for events (whether planned, public or of everyday life) that are perceived to be inauthentic or perhaps even a deception, usually so for the personal gain of someone involved.

This section demonstrated that there seems to be disagreement among the organisers as to what exactly constitutes appropriate commemoration as well as when an event can be characterised as too commercial or too staged. Taking into consideration the various backgrounds of the institutions involved it is to be expected that different perspectives on appropriate commemoration arise. Nevertheless, it implies a process of compromising. Finally, this section again hinted at the link between permanent and temporary forms of commemoration, in that event organisers may see permanent forms as important considerations for the design of the events.

7.6 Summary

The objective of this part of the research was to investigate how key event organisers may have shaped the commemorative narrative. This chapter presented findings from the thematic analysis of interviews and documents that was conducted to address this objective.

It was found that a variety of issues were influential in the creation of a narrative. This includes various aspects from the context of the celebrations. Furthermore, the chapter presented findings from an investigation into the origins and rationale for the event creation. It was outlined that the event origins can be traced back to one of the event organisers who consistently campaigned for a 20th anniversary commemorative event. Key priorities for the shape of the narrative were also identified in this chapter. Such priorities include appropriately themed event content based on a scholarly approach, communicating key messages, marketing the city and certain institutions within it as well as education and targeting of a mass audience. The chapter further presented key issues from the collaboration process among event organisers. This collaboration process was characterised by the organisers' expertise and daily operations. Finally, several key problems and challenges were identified.

The following chapter now presents a separate discussion of the findings in relation to the commemorative narrative and the role of the event organisers, while also synthesising findings in order to address the overall research aim.

8. DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

While Chapters 6 and 7 presented findings from the semiotic and thematic analyses, this chapter now discusses these findings. It begins with a separate discussion of the commemorative narrative and the role of the organisers. The final section of this chapter synthesises these findings and discusses them against the overall research aim. As explained in the methodology, presenting this discussion separately from the findings is an authentic representation of the research process and thus the intention is to add to the transparency of this thesis.

8.2 The commemorative narratives of the 20th and 25th anniversary celebrations

Having presented findings from the semiotic analysis in Chapter 6 and Appendix E, this section discusses the commemorative narratives that are communicated at the 20th and 25th anniversary celebrations. As a reminder, Table 9 below repeats the key findings in relation to collective memory and identity from Chapter 6.

Collective memory	Identity
• Berlin as the location of world-changing historical events • A Peaceful Revolution took place and was a prerequisite for the fall of the Wall • The fall of the Berlin Wall united Europe and the Western world • The fall of the Wall provided people with freedom, democracy and human rights	• Local identity: Berlin as a city of change • National identity: A reaffirmation of the German democratic 'Rechtsstaat' • International identity: A community of shared values

Table 9: Key findings from semiotic analysis

The following sections discuss this narrative, starting with the themes identified in regards to collective memory before turning to themes of contemporary identity.

8.2.1. Collective memory

As illustrated in Chapter 6, throughout both anniversary years Berlin is placed at the centre of the historical events of 1989. As the fall of the Wall is a

historical event of international significance and the commemorative events had an international audience, Berlin's role as the home of these key events is emphasised in international collective memory. Berlin is thus remembered as the single most important city for the positive change of 1989/90. Although a more holistic view is presented in the open-air exhibition in 2009, the city of Berlin is dominant overall in both anniversary years to the extent that it may overshadow the role of cities like Leipzig, Plauen and Dresden which were also central to the Peaceful Revolution. Although the importance of these places may be present in local and national memory, the imagery that was created during the events for an international audience may result in Berlin's role prevailing in international collective memory. It is worth noting that many East German towns and cities put on their own commemorative events of the protests in 1989. Particularly noteworthy is the 'Festival of Lights' in Leipzig staged on 9th October, although it is questionable whether such events achieve an international appeal comparable to anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Although these events may not have an international target audience, the impact of large-scale events in Berlin could lead to the significance of these cities being forgotten. This is supported by Kaiser (2013) who states that even West Germans have little knowledge of and interest in the events in Leipzig on 9th October. Eckert (2009a) also mentions the relationship between Berlin and Leipzig as two key locations of commemorative efforts as a potential area for conflict, as they may compete for recognition and awareness in national and international collective memory.

Eckert (2009a) claims that the events of 2009 established the term Peaceful Revolution. Indeed, the commemorative events reaffirm that the citizens' movement in the GDR in the lead-up to the fall of the Wall can be best described as a Peaceful Revolution which constitutes the second theme in the memory narrative. As opposed to the term 'Wende' which is frequently used to refer to the political change of the time, the term Peaceful Revolution elevates the role of the citizens' movement and presents it as a prerequisite for the fall of the Wall. The public debate that surrounds the use of the term Peaceful Revolution was already alluded to at various points in this thesis. The main cause for debate regarding the terminology is that the word

'Wende' was used by Egon Krenz in the GDR and mostly refers to top-down change and a simple change of course, whereas the Peaceful Revolution implies bottom-up radical change. There is also debate as to whether the combination of the words peaceful and revolution is an oxymoron (Sabrow, 2008). Simon (2014) argues that the use of the different terms could be the result of the fact that the revolution was experienced by East Germans whereas West Germans merely experienced a 'Wende', and this term prevailed due to West German dominance. Eckert (2009a) also argues that West Germans find it difficult to appreciate the significance of the citizens' movement as a pan-German and not exclusively East German event. According to this, particularly the open-air exhibition in 2009 clearly presented an East German memory and the attempt to stand up to West German dominance in this matter. Sabrow (2008) furthermore argues that the term Peaceful Revolution is more commonly used within the political sphere whereas the term 'Wende' dominates among the general public. This is primarily due to the fact that when framing the events as a revolution, the political elite of the FRG can frame the GDR as an 'Unrechtsstaat' which was overcome through the courageous citizens (Sabrow, 2008). This portrayal of the courageous citizens may also be in the interest of those who were involved in the citizens' movement in the GDR who want to achieve an acknowledgement of their important role for the political change of the time (Jarausch, 2009; Kaiser, 2013). Finally, a successful Peaceful Revolution based on a widespread citizens' movement may be perceived as a more suitable cause for large-scale celebrations of this kind, rather than celebrations of a 'Wende', and may more effectively communicate the value of freedom, democracy and human rights.

Particularly the theme year in 2009 communicated the message that the fall of the Berlin Wall cannot be celebrated without celebrating the Peaceful Revolution; thus presenting the citizens' movement as a prerequisite for the fall of the Wall and German unification and presenting the movement as a 'heroic self-liberation by the East German people' (Kaiser, 2013, p. 190). Related to the aforementioned terminological discussion around the term revolution, there may be disagreement with this portrayal. Others may prefer to emphasise the internal instability of the GDR that contributed to the

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collapse of communism as outlined in the discussions by Eckert (2009a), Jarausch (2009) and Sabrow (2008). Kaiser (2013) specifically points out that a focus on the Peaceful Revolution as a prerequisite for the fall of the Wall ignores the wider circumstances of 1989, i.e. Gorbachev's policies, changes in other East European countries and the instability of the GDR's political and economic system. Another line of argument states that the revolution was not successful, instead it was a revolution cut short through unification or even 'a revolution that was lost and betrayed' (Kaiser, 2013, p. 183). Simon (2014), for example, describes that many activists were disappointed by the outcome of the first free elections which led to German unification on West German terms, instead of a bottom-up reformation of the GDR. Kaiser (2013) also discusses that many activists consider the fall of the Wall 'as the abrupt end of a process of democratisation and reform within the GDR' (p.183).

The dominant memory within the anniversary years is not without contestation and serves some specific contemporary interests. Although an emphasis on the revolutionary movement can be interpreted as a stronger emergence of an East German memory, a discussion of the movement in the context of German unification and West German democratic tradition is still evidence of West German dominance in collective memory (Kaiser, 2013). The incorporation of the East German memory of the movement into an overall celebration of Western ideology could also be argued to be an appropriation of this memory (Eedy, 2010). The portrayal of overcoming an impenetrable Wall and a suppressive regime through collective action nevertheless allows the universal moral message to emerge – the idea that if the Berlin Wall can fall, then any injustice can be overcome (Detjen, 2011), thus making the narrative particularly appealing worldwide.

In terms of the third theme within the memory narratives, the fall of the Wall is presented as a key event in recent history that enabled a united Europe and a united Western world. Even though the fall of the Wall also united Germany, this is not at the focus of the celebrations. Instead the narrative focuses on how the fall of the Wall brought about positive change for Europe by subsequently enabling the expansion of the European Union. A wider, international perspective of how the fall of the Wall is of relevance outside of

Europe is also evident. Erll (2011), Levy and Sznaider (2002) and Misztal (2010) describe how some historical events can nowadays be part of an international memory that underpins international communities of shared values and fosters international solidarity. In line with this, the fall of the Berlin Wall is particularly suitable for the communication of certain ideals and values.

As the event which is commonly seen to constitute the end of the Cold War, an international conflict, it is not surprising that the commemoration of this event is of interest internationally and constructs an international narrative. The fall of the Wall and the end of the Cold War gave rise to the hopes of unifying the world under a Western model (Siebold, 2014). The interpretation of the fall of the Wall and the events in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 more generally as a peaceful and unifying turning point, however, is not without flaws (Siebold, 2014). This narrative excludes the consideration of new impenetrable borders that formed with the help of Western countries after 1989 such as the external borders of the European Union or the border between the USA and Mexico (Carr, 2012; Siebold, 2014). It also neglects the development of new opposing ideologies consisting of the Western world and Islam, where Muslims have now become the feared 'other' (Gebrewold, 2007; Siebold, 2014; Triandafyllidou, 2006). More generally, the division of the bipolar world into East and West during the Cold War provided an element of stability and straightforward frameworks for differentiating good from bad. The development of an unpredictable, multipolar world led to more instability than during times of the Cold War. To some extent, this is reflected in the initial international concerns about a powerful united Germany (Weisbrod, 1996; Wittlinger, 2010). Focusing on the turning point in 1989 can be criticised as a simplistic view of what happened. It has to be acknowledged, however, that during the 'Festival of Freedom' in 2009 and, particularly in the 2014 events, there are moments of solemn reflection in which existing borders and injustice are considered (e.g. the concrete domino used in the 'Festival of Freedom' or the online campaign 'Fall of the Wall 25').

Finally, the narrative entails a story about the fall of the Wall as the event which led to freedom, democracy and human rights. Prior to the end of the

Cold War, citizens in the GDR and other Soviet satellite states were deemed deprived of these rights and freedoms. During this time, the Berlin Wall functioned as a symbol of this oppression and thus its removal 'freed' the East German citizens. In this way, the narrative legitimises German unification under West German terms.

Although the lack of freedom, democracy and human rights in the GDR is generally acknowledged, there are still ongoing debates about the interpretation of the GDR as a state. These debates relate to the common portrayal of the GDR as an 'Unrechtsstaat' and a dictatorship as opposed to the West German democratic 'Rechtsstaat'. As already indicated in the literature review, the term 'Unrechtsstaat' is used to refer to nations which do not operate under the rule of law and there is still a significant public debate as to whether this was the case in the GDR. Holtmann (2010) outlines various aspects of this debate. Both sides of the debate are accused of either demonising or trivialising the GDR, although some commentators distinguish between the 'unjust state' and the domestic life of the general public (Holtmann, 2010). Furthermore, many East Germans in hindsight regard everyday life in the GDR as predominantly positive and object to the West German portrayal of the 'Unrechtsstaat', which can be interpreted as devaluating individual biographies of East Germans (Fulbrook, 2004; Holtmann, 2010). Eedy (2010) points out how the focus on the 'Unrechtsstaat' and the negatives of the GDR, as it was present in both anniversaries, instead of portraying everyday domestic life is a way of ensuring that there is little room for nostalgia ('Ostalgie') within the events. Nevertheless, this narrative ignores the fact that many East German citizens faced unemployment and a lack of social security after German unification, which quickly diminished the initial euphoria caused by the fall of the Wall (Glaab, 2002; Grix, 2002; Häußermann, Gornig and Kronauer, 2009; Moses, 2007).

There is another relevant dimension to the interpretation of the fall of the Wall as the starting point for freedom, democracy and human rights in a united Germany which relates to the large groups of migrants in Germany, particularly the large Turkish minority. From a minority perspective, the fall of

the Wall and German unification underpinned migrants' positions as outsiders (Detjen, 2011). When the 'We are the people' slogan of the citizens' movement turned into 'We are one people' to campaign for unification after the fall of the Wall (Ohse, 2009), migrants were not necessarily included in the enthusiastic vision of the united Germany. Cochrane and Jonas (1999) contend that the unification process further deteriorated the situation of those who were already disadvantaged, such as the large groups of Turkish migrants in Berlin who suffered from the economic restructuring as well as racist threats. This perspective is emphasised by an increase of racist motivated violence throughout Germany in the 1990s (Fulbrook, 1999; Knischewski, 1996; Moses, 2007; Ross, 2002).

However, this interpretation of historical events as providing people with freedom, democracy and human rights allows for the fall of the Wall to be used more effectively as a universal moral message and as a universal model for overcoming injustice.

8.2.2. Identity

Having discussed the memory narratives, this section now turns to identity narratives. As aforementioned, narratives at the local, national and international level were identified, and these are now discussed separately here.

The first dimension of identity refers to Berlin's local identity. It is not surprising that the events were used to market and brand Berlin for an international audience. There are two particularly dominant elements of this identity: the first portrays Berlin as a city of historical importance, and the second portrays Berlin as changing.

As discussed earlier the events anchor Berlin as the location of key historical events in international collective memory. This evokes a contemporary identity involving grandeur and status. However, the focus in this portrayal is not on Berlin's history and status as a capital but on its contribution to the collapse of the Soviet Union and thus to worldwide change. Tölle (2010) argues that a focus on Berlin's historic status is avoided due to associations with the Nazi past and thus Berlin is portrayed 'as a city making history' (p.

354). Thus, the notion of change is already present in Berlin's historically-grounded identity as well.

On the other hand, Berlin is showcased as presently still changing and progressing towards modern metropolis. In the case of many Central and East European cities, local identity creation after the collapse of the Soviet Union focused on modern, international and capitalist identities and a rejection of the socialist past (Tölle, 2010). Tölle (2010) outlines how Berlin was on a quest for a local identity throughout the entire 20th century, and that its divided nature and position on the front line of the Cold War made this quest more complicated than any other post-socialist city. Nevertheless, Berlin was another city where the socialist period was treated as an interruption and the 1990s saw Berlin's local identity interpreted to be back on its normal path as a modern metropolis (Tölle, 2010). Ward (2011) outlines how the fall of the Wall led to a commodified self-reinvention and an Americanisation of the city based on 'a sell-out in the name of democratic-capitalistic freedom' (p. 322). Indeed, the 2009 theme year focuses on commercial and capitalist spaces of consumption in its portrayal of contemporary Berlin. However, the economic struggles of united Berlin also forced the city to re-orientate itself, leading to a renewed focus on the history of the Wall which also responded to tourists' demands and the economic potential of tourism (Tölle, 2010). The notion of change that is used to create a local identity is a result of this renewed focus as it connects Berlin's recent past with its present and future: The fall of the Berlin Wall had brought about international political change as well as local urban change and the changing cityscape is evidence of a city growing together and becoming a metropolis. It is an identity that allows for imperfections such as the city's financial struggles as overcoming problems is part of the process of changing for the better. The idea of branding Berlin as a place of change, however, is not new, as already throughout the 1990s large-scale construction sites throughout the city were marketed and staged as attractions where the unification process could be witnessed (e.g. Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Colomb, 2012; Huyssen, 1997; Till, 2005). According to Till (2005) this is also a means of rejecting the negative images associated with Berlin's past as a divided city and instead focusing on the city's present and future in which the

city is marketed as cosmopolitan, open, youthful and energetic. The commemorative narrative thus aligns with wider city branding strategies and functions as a further resource for branding Berlin, while also constructing a positive, confident identity that can unite its diverse citizens.

Overall, the events show that the Wall has now indeed become an essential element of Berlin's local identity after over a decade dominated by forgetting (Harrison, 2011; Knischewski and Spittler, 2006; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010).

The dimension of national identity is evident in more subtle ways during both anniversary years. This is not surprising considering the nation's complex relation with national identity and the fact that the commemorative events in both years were organised by local organisations rather than federal ones. Nevertheless, through the labelling of the GDR as a dictatorship and an 'Unrechtsstaat' as discussed above, the FRG is reaffirmed as its positive opposite: a democracy and a 'Rechtsstaat'. Through the creation of this dichotomy and focus on East German failures and West German successes, unification under West German terms is legitimised (Eedy, 2010). Eedy (2010) further claims that '[t]he 20th anniversary was not only a celebration of the demise of the SED regime, but, more importantly, of the continuation of the Federal Republic' (p. 3). Ludwig (2011) furthermore remarks how the narrative of overcoming the GDR dictatorship helps to emphasise the West German success story and construct a national identity with the ideal of freedom at its core.

In line with this idea is that the German nation, on a quest for a post-1945 national identity, for obvious reasons does not draw on its history or culture, but instead on its current political and economic achievements and its support of democracy and human rights. As outlined in the literature review, post-1945 national identification in West Germany was based on a booming economy, the reinstating of democracy and human rights, underpinned by an opposition of West Germany to the Nazi regime and the 'illegitimate' GDR (e.g. Knischewski, 1996; McKay, 2002; Verheyen, 2008). As Wittlinger (2010) explains: 'As an alternative to patriotism based on the concept of the nation, German collective identity was to be based on a commitment to the democratic principles, values and institutions that had developed after and, to

some extent, because of Auschwitz' (p. 4). The current national identity of unified Germany which is constructed in the anniversary years is based on similar ideas, emphasised by the GDR-FRG dichotomy. However, the narrative of the Peaceful Revolution gives the contemporary FRG a positive foundation myth and thus even a resource for positive identification and national pride which can further explain efforts to establish the terminology of the Peaceful Revolution (Kaiser, 2013). Wittlinger (2010) even claims that in the 21st century German national identity sees the emergence of 'positive narrations of the nation' (p. 141) enabling certain levels of German patriotism for which the interpretation of the Peaceful Revolution plays an essential role. The fall of the Wall and the Peaceful Revolution function as a resource for a more positive self-understanding that is based on the presentation of Germany as nation that favours Western ideals and values.

However, it is worth noting that there are still perceptions of East and West German distinctiveness (see Section 4.3), complicating the development of a pan-German national identity and the celebration thereof. This may be another reason for the commemorative events to focus on positive elements that are mostly shared between East and West: the political and economic systems of the FRG and its resulting freedoms and human rights, as well as the positive emotions connected with the fall of the Wall.

As the final dimension to contemporary identity which is constructed in the two anniversary years, international identity is discussed here. This identity refers to the idea that the European Union, and the Western world more broadly, is a community of shared values and ideals.

Germany's political, military, economic and moral defeat of the Second World War led to West Germany's enthusiasm for the European Union and to reinterpret itself 'as a peaceful member of the family of nations' (Knischewski, 1996, p. 130). European integration has always been essential for German self-understanding and the nation's politicians have always been keen supporters of the European Union (Knischewski, 1996; Verheyen, 2008). Cosmopolitanism constituted an identity that was attractive for the FRG, resulting in a nation which could present itself as a modern nation that 'has moved beyond primitive notions of nationalism' (Wittlinger, 2010, p. 5). The

celebration of the European Union and broader united Western world and Germany's membership of this community in the commemoration of 'the event which united the world' can be seen as a logical outcome of this development. A celebration of this community is at the same time a celebration of German identity.

While the events in 2009 emphasised the European Union as a particularly strong community, it is noteworthy that in the year of 2014 the emphasis on the European Union was a lot weaker. This is to be seen in the context of the many post-2009 developments including the conflict in the Ukraine on European grounds, a rise of nationalist parties in the European Parliament elections as well as an aggravating refugee crisis. Indeed, Siebold (2014) states that the Ukraine conflict between the EU and Russia caused discussions based on worldviews that are still strongly influenced by the Cold War, thus eroding the unity of the continent. Additionally, the processes and outcomes of the Arab Spring may make the potency and applicability of the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the Wall as universal moral messages questionable. It can be seen how this celebrated European community of the 20th anniversary and its self-understanding as champions of universal ideals and values has been tested and challenged in the following years, leading to a different focus of the commemorative event for the 25th anniversary that focuses more on an abstract notion of a community of shared Western values. Nevertheless, overall this celebration of values and ideals is strikingly at odds with certain concurrent events, for example, the number of deaths at the borders of 'Fortress Europe' (Carr, 2012).

In both years, this international identity is not only communicated through the presence of foreign dignitaries representing certain nations but also through the participatory approach which was not limited to a local or national audience, but encouraged people worldwide to participate and contribute, for example, by painting a domino in 2009 or sharing messages through the online campaign in 2014. Participation at (commemorative) events can foster cohesion, solidarity and overall identity constructions (Elgenius, 2011b; Kaiser, 2013; McCabe, 2006) and participation is not limited by nationality. This international participatory approach contributes to the construction of an

international sense of community that transcends political and administrative borders. Thus, the event may appeal to individuals across the world who have adopted international forms of identification and community membership (Giesen and Eder, 2001; Habermas, 2001; Soysal, 1994). Yet at the same time this participatory approach can foster social cohesion at the local and/or national level, depending on participants' interpretation.

8.2.3. International collective memory and a three-layered identity narrative

As aforementioned, the memory narratives create an overall narrative of the fall of the Wall as a positive event of international significance which changed Europe and the world beyond for the better. The citizens' movement is interpreted as a Peaceful Revolution and placed at the heart of this change. Thus the heroic self-liberation of the East German people enabled positive international change. At the same time, these events are firmly rooted in Berlin, portraying the city as the origin of the positive international change. When reconsidering the literature these memory narratives are remarkable for a variety of reasons.

First of all, the literature on commemoration would suggest that the historical events lend themselves to an interpretation of national significance and a celebration of the birth of a nation (e.g. Frost, 2012; Hall et al., 2010; Misztal, 2003b; Tint, 2010). This clearly is not the case here. Rather than emphasising the fall of the Wall as the moment that enabled a united Germany, the memory narrative extends beyond national borders and, particularly in 2009, celebrates the birth of a united Western world.

This interpretation of the historical event as communicated through the memory narratives 'reverberates' as contemporary identity in three different layers: local, national and international. This is illustrated in Figure 17.
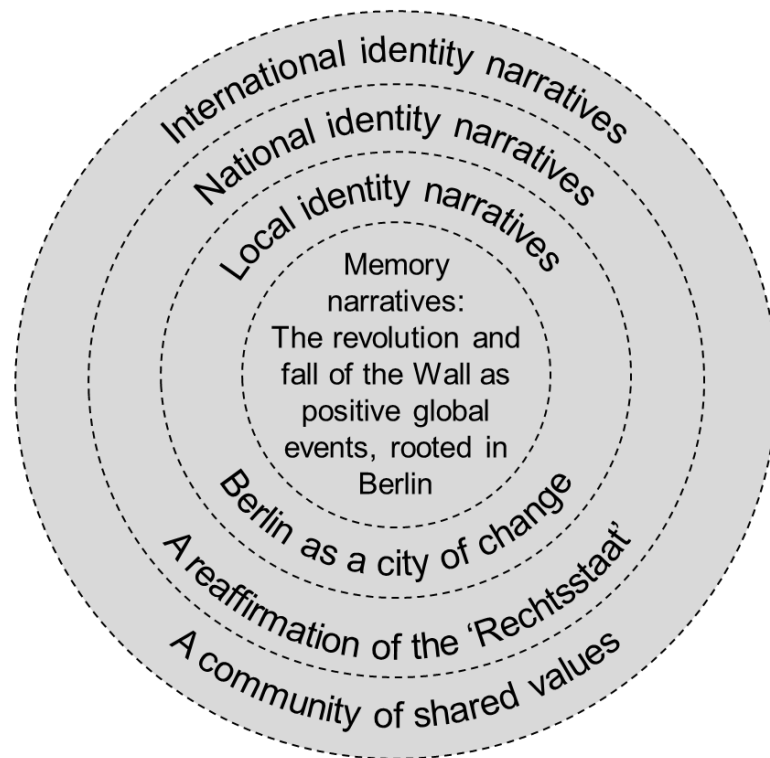
Figure 17: The commemorative narrative of the 20th and 25th anniversary events

The interpretation of the historical events to be of international significance, yet rooted in Berlin, allows for strong local and international identity narratives. Commemoration of national political events is not necessarily a celebration to nurture patriotism and social cohesion of the national imagined community. Many authors such as Elgenius (2011b), Frost (2012), Frost and Laing (2013), Gillis (1994), McDonald and Méthot (2006) or Spillman (1997) consider commemoration of political events primarily within the national realm. Here, this national dimension appears to be not as relevant.

Ideas about international solidarity based on an international collective memory as suggested by Assmann and Conrad (2010), Erll (2011), Levy and Sznaider (2002) and Misztal (2010) are very relevant for contemporary commemorative practices, more than has been considered in the academic literature so far. As Misztal (2010) suggests, such an international memory can overcome national boundaries and strengthen international solidarity. This memory is said to have the potential to unify people from different nations, religions, or ethnic backgrounds, in this way enhancing international identification among individuals and weakening national identification. Levy

and Sznaider (2002) suggest that in an age of uncertainty people require universal moral 'touchstones' and argue that the Holocaust functions as such by becoming a moral certainty, uniting people beyond borders. Perhaps the fall of the Wall has a similar potential and this way these events construct a sense of community that transcends administrative and political borders. The communication of and emphasis on shared values of human rights, freedom and democracy foster this sense of community, solidarity and cohesion. Solidarity is expressed between citizens of the 'free' Western world and citizens around the globe still struggling for justice and human rights. In this way, the findings are similar to Conway's (2008) findings in his study of Bloody Sunday commemorations in Derry, Northern Ireland. He found that contemporary commemorations of the historical event draw more heavily on global parallels of abstract human rights and justice issues and less on an interpretation of exclusively local significance. Naturally, the international sense of community is not all-inclusive. It excludes those who do not share its values and ideals, those who do not support Western democratic and capitalist systems. While not restricted to national boundaries, such an identity hence still constructs 'us' and 'them'. In times of Islamic State, the aggravating refugee crisis and conflicts such as in Ukraine or Syria, these boundaries between 'us' and 'them' become even sharper.

Furthermore, there is a strong local identity narrative which presents the city of Berlin to the international audience as a city of change, a narrative which consolidates the role of the Wall for local identity construction. Tölle (2010) argues that after 2004 the meaning of the Wall was spun to represent a 'happy ending' and in this way it became a positive element of Berlin's local identity. The findings from this study are in line with his claims and further illustrate the important role that the Wall still played in 2014, underpinning the Wall's significance for local identity construction. This suggests that these commemorative events were used for destination branding purposes, a notion that is discussed further throughout the following sections of this chapter.

The national dimension is thus not the most dominant. If it was, a stronger national identity would be constructed at these events, one that is not

dependent on internationally shared Western ideological frameworks and opposition with the GDR and communism, but one that creates stronger 'inside/outside, self/other, us/them boundaries' (Bell, 2003, p. 64) relevant to the construction of the German nation and its 'other'. In this sense, the events are in line with common conceptions of German identity as outlined in the literature review, which are not based on strong feelings of nationalism but on strong identification with Western values and the nation's membership in a community of nations (Knischewski, 1996; McKay, 2002; Verheyen, 2008; Wittlinger, 2010). Nevertheless, the celebration of the citizens' movement and the fall of the Wall based on the realisation that a positive event took place on German soil do indeed allow for a positive self-understanding as for example outlined by Kaiser (2013) and Wittlinger (2010). However, this does not happen at the expense of the nation's membership in the international community. In discussing international collective memory, Assmann and Conrad (2010) suggest that 'global structures may also reinforce national memory communities that at first appearance they seem to supersede' (p. 9). This appears to be happening here, emphasising the idea that multiple collective identities can exist simultaneously (Delanty, 2000; Featherstone, 1990; Guibernau, 2007; Jenkins, 2014; Levy and Sznaider, 2002; Misztal, 2010; Smith, 1991). While the events construct a sense of community beyond national borders, they simultaneously subtly underpin pre-existing notions of German memory and identity rather than replace them. This celebration could thus be seen as a resource for a move away from German notions of guilt common in self-understanding after the Second World War towards a positive self-understanding as an equal member in a Western community of nations. With the lack of a successful official German national day (Elgenius, 2011b), it can be argued that these commemorations celebrate German national identity more effectively than German Unification Day on 3rd October. Nonetheless, it has to be emphasised again that the organisers of these commemorations are local actors and are thus likely to pursue different interests than the Federal Government which may be an additional reason for the weak national focus of the events.

8.3 The role of the organisers for the shape of the narrative

After having discussed findings from the semiotic analysis, this section now discusses the findings in relation to the role of the organisers presented in Chapter 7. In doing so, it considers various key aspects identified in relation to the role of institutional agendas and the importance of the contextual backdrop. Most importantly, however, it discusses key intended uses of the events that played a role in the shaping of the narrative.

8.3.1. The role of institutional agendas and areas of expertise

The literature on commemoration generally considers the nature of these practices as political and as an outcome of the organisers' concerns and agendas (e.g. Barthel, 1996; Chronis, 2006; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Gillis, 1994; Park, 2011; Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Tint, 2010; Turner, 2006). Likewise, festivals and events are seen as large-scale political projects where meanings and values of organising institutions may be promoted (e.g. Gotham, 2005; Jeong and Santos, 2004; Merkel, 2014; 2015a; Picard and Robinson, 2006; Roche, 2000).

Not surprisingly, this is the case here as well. Organisers' institutional agendas significantly influenced the shape of the narrative and, jointly, led to complex celebrations in 2009 and 2014. When looking back at the key institutions involved in both years – local government, an organisation managing large-scale cultural events, and two institutions focusing on key aspects of Berlin Wall related history – some findings presented in Chapter 7 gain further context. For example, the background behind the priorities as well as the subsequent division of tasks become clearer. Whereas one organiser was responsible for all aspects of event management and marketing, others contributed their expertise on the various aspects of the historical events being commemorated. In this sense, organisers relied on processes of mutual validation of each other's work, as the institutions involved could provide the desired knowledge and expertise to ensure the highly-valued scholarly approach.

The findings also illustrate how the agenda and area of expertise of one small institution led to the staging of the theme year as the first major

commemorative event of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Thus, while these events are political, their final shape does not necessarily result out of the dominant institutions' initiative. The literature suggests that local or federal governments usually show high levels of interest in commemoration of political events (Barthel, 1996; Tint, 2010; Turner, 2006). In this case, however, it took one small institution's persistent campaigning despite all scepticism from government and dominant institutions that, eventually, led to the plans for the theme year. The ideas for the open-air exhibition on the Peaceful Revolution were subsequently incorporated into a more 'holistic' celebration that illuminated a selection of other aspects of importance to the other organisers, such as change in Berlin and the international dimension of the fall of the Wall. For the small institution it was a way of challenging and changing the status quo rather than resisting and opposing it. The events in 2014 were again not initiated by the government. This shows that the official commemorative narrative in Berlin is permeable and can function as a platform for previously marginalised views. The literature suggests that plural memories and minority views are increasingly represented at commemorative efforts (e.g. Dwyer, Butler and Carter, 2013; Elgenius, 2011b; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Gillis, 1994; Ryan, 2011). Here, however, it was not a conscious move towards reconciliation or equality, but the result of a small institution's struggle for increased awareness and appreciation of their efforts in the past and present. It is an interesting thought to wonder what might have happened without this institution's input – whether a small-scale commemoration might have been staged and whether there would have been any focus on the citizens' movement at all, however, this can only be speculation.

8.3.2. The importance of the contextual backdrop

Olick (1999a) argues that it is important to see commemoration not only as a mere product of the present or the past, but also to consider the changing contexts in which it takes place and how commemorative practices evolve and change over time. He thus describes commemoration as an 'ongoing dynamic process' (Olick, 1999a, p. 400). Conway (2008) furthermore found that past commemorations do not necessarily constrain commemorative

practices in the present but that changes in the wider political, economic and demographic context play an important role for organisers' choices.

The findings in this study underpin these authors' views on the importance of the contextual backdrop and changes therein. An important factor here is the political context. For example, Richter (2011) outlines how the PDS was accused of being a continuation of the SED government and when it came to power in Berlin in 2002, there were fears of it being a threat to the newly established democratic Germany. In contrast to that, however, the party contributed to the publication of the 'Overall Concept' and was thus an important actor for the increased commemorative efforts in the city (Richter, 2011). As the interviewee said in Section 7.2.1, by commemorating the Wall, the party gained legitimacy as it showed efforts to counteract accusations of trivialising or forgetting GDR-related atrocities. This illustrates the importance of the changing local political context, further emphasised by the uncertainties caused by the change in political leadership after long-term Mayor Wowereit stepped down.

However, the international context is also of importance. As the previous chapters have shown, changes in the international context led to changes in commemorative practices. Whereas in 2009 a focus was on the celebration of a community of nations underpinned by the attendance of a large number of foreign dignitaries, this was no longer a priority in 2014. Conflicts such as the Arab Spring and the Ukraine crisis changed the nature of the commemorative events in 2014, as organisers no longer had an interest in inviting foreign politicians but rather decided to emphasise the abstract and less controversial message of hope that can be communicated by transferring the meaning of the peaceful fall of the Wall to contemporary times.

However, not only the political context but also the social and cultural, tourism and economic as well as commemoration-related contextual backdrop played a role. For example, perceptions of the citizens' movement among the general public motivated organisers to emphasise particular elements from the historical events. In this way, existing memory and identity narratives are a part of this context, where organisers intend to use

commemorative events to either sustain or shape and adjust dominant narratives.

Thus, as Conway (2008) illustrates, changing local and international contexts indeed influence commemorative practices and may encourage organisers to favour certain interpretations of the historical events over others. This context (just as the institutional background from the preceding section) should not be seen as structural constraints or definitive causes of particular priorities, instead this analysis of the contextual backdrop helps to illustrate why organisers made certain choices over possible others.

8.3.3. Common and emerging uses of contemporary commemoration

A key concern of this part of the research is to investigate how the organisers may have shaped the commemorative narrative. In this sense, it is particularly the organisers' priorities and the intended uses of the events which are of importance. Naturally, these priorities do not arise in a vacuum, but are to be seen in strong connection with the institutions' agendas as well as the contextual backdrop as outlined above. Key priorities can be distinguished in terms of whether they are similar to commonly discussed uses of commemoration, or whether they are newly emerging. Common uses are those which aim at social, cultural and political outcomes as presented in the literature review. Underpinning the Senate's interpretational authority and using the events to change public perception and educate the general public are such commonly discussed uses. Linking events and places for event tourism and event legacy purposes, as well as using the events for branding are newly emerging uses of commemoration. The following section discusses these further based on this distinction, however, the author would like to point out that these priorities and uses are not distinct phenomena but strongly interlinked.

8.3.3.1 Common uses

The existing literature very much focuses on the roles and uses of commemorative practices in relation to their political, social and cultural contexts and intended outcomes. In this regard, it was discussed how

commemoration can be used for purposes such as social cohesion, power consolidation or 'education' by attempting to instil a certain collective memory and subsequent identity (e.g. Bell, 2003; Barthel, 1996; Billig, 1995; Connerton, 1989; Durkheim, [1912] 2001; Elgenius, 2011b; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Frost 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Gillis, 1994; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; McDonald and Méthot, 2006; Misztal, 2003b; Park, 2011; Roudometof, 2003; Smith, 1995; Spillman, 1997; Turner, 2006; Zerubavel, 1995). Notions of such common uses are very much present in this analysis.

In this sense, for example, commemorative events can be used by political elites or other dominant groups to construct the official narrative of what the events 'really mean' (e.g. Elgenius, 2011b; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Frost and Laing, 2013; Gillis, 1994; Roudometof, 2003). In this case, the events in 2009 and 2014 reflect the Senate's interpretational authority over appropriate commemoration.

As discussed at various other points, there is a certain level of conflict between the Senate and private initiatives in regards to appropriate forms of Berlin Wall commemoration. This conflict is most visible when looking at the Checkpoint Charlie Museum and the Berlin Wall Memorial (Frank, 2009). Prior to the publication of the 'Overall Concept', the Checkpoint Charlie Museum criticised the Senate for not doing enough to commemorate the Berlin Wall and the museum's installation of crosses in 2004 had a profound impact on this debate (e.g. Drechsel, 2010; Frank, 2009; Harrison, 2011; Klemke, 2011; Richter, 2011; Tölle, 2010; Ullrich, 2006). However, with the publication of the 'Overall Concept' and the developments that resulted from it, the Senate reasserted its leading role in interpreting the Berlin Wall related history. This research outlines how the two anniversary years function as an additional resource to underpin the Senate's authority as a continuation of the development started with the 'Overall Concept'. Despite the move towards a more emotional, 'staged' approach, the emphasis on a scholarly approach provides the Senate with legitimacy and intellectual superiority and gives the events an overall seal of quality, where the accuracy of the official narrative does not need to be questioned.

As previously mentioned, the officially sanctioned narrative was influenced by one surprisingly small institution that campaigned for the events in 2009 to take place. Thus, the narrative is not exclusive to the Senate's interpretation but gave voice to others as well. Nevertheless, packaging this smaller institution's initiative and historical expertise into the state-sponsored celebrations overall underpins the Senate's authority on the subject. Within the context of Berlin Wall commemoration within the city, the events very much helped the Senate to gain 'the upper hand'. After years of conflict and complaints (Frank, 2009; Harrison, 2011; Tölle, 2010), the Senate can now no longer be accused of neglecting commemorative efforts (Harrison, 2011).

A further important priority relates to the use of the events for the purpose of changing public perception which constitutes the second dimension to commonly discussed uses. Commemoration is often discussed in the literature as a means of 'manipulating' collective memory and subsequent contemporary identities (e.g. Elgenius, 2011b; Gillis, 1994; Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Zerubavel, 1995). This is what becomes evident here as well. Organisers used the events to promote a certain interpretation of the past which focuses on the role of the heroic East German citizens, as well as the positive change brought about by the fall of the Wall and the overall value of Western economic and political systems as opposed to communism. By anchoring these memories through the channel of large-scale commemorative events, contemporary identities based on values such as human rights, democracy and freedom can be instilled and social cohesion and solidarity among the diverse audience of the events can be fostered. Overall, this use of the events involves two key aspects: Firstly, the use of the events by one organiser to achieve a more accurate perception of the citizens' movement, and secondly, the use of the events to educate those who have no first-hand experience of the historical events.

The first notion represents a challenge to the status quo by an institution who felt marginalised. Through persistent campaigning, their view became incorporated into the official state-sponsored narrative. The literature indeed suggests that Berlin Wall commemoration is often conducted from a West German perspective, marginalising those East Germans who lived with the

reality of the GDR and the Wall (Knischewski and Spittler, 2006; Manghani, 2008; Schmidt, 2011; Wüstenberg, 2011). Clarke and Wölfel (2011) further point out that state-supported commemoration of the GDR often focused on ideology and suppression rather than opposition and resistance. This is reflected in the terminological debate regarding the events in 1989/90. The early dominance of the term 'Wende' marginalised the narrative of the revolution and undermined the significance of the citizens' movement (Simon, 2014). Finally, the relevant literature states that there is still a notion of East German distinctiveness within a unified Germany (Grix, 2002; Knischewski, 1996; Ross, 2002). East Germans had to adapt to the West German political, social, cultural and economic system, with the feeling that nothing East German is worth preserving (Glaab, 2002; Knischewski, 1996; Ross, 2002). All of these circumstances may have contributed to this particular organiser feeling marginalised, leading to their desire to offer a more accurate view of the citizens' movement by establishing its status as a Peaceful Revolution, achieving increased appreciation for the movement and thus counteracting the West German dominance in this respect. Indeed, Eckert (2009a) claims that the events of 2009 contributed to the establishment of the term Peaceful Revolution, indicating that this organiser's efforts may have been successful.

The second notion relates to the use of the events for educating those people who do not have first-hand experience of the historical events, such as people born after 1989/90 or people who moved to Berlin after the fall of the Wall. It emerged that the events were used to create a personal and emotional connection to the historical events even for those who did not experience them. The key priority mentioned was education and thus changing the perception of the historical events from no knowledge and no personal connection to a stronger in-depth engagement with the events. The implicit benefit here is creating a sense of community and social cohesion which is often discussed as a desired outcome of commemoration (e.g. Durkheim, [1912] 2001; Elgenius, 2011b; Frost and Laing, 2013; Misztal, 2003b; Smith, 1995; Turner, 2006), but also of events more generally (e.g. Azara and Crouch, 2006; Bowdin et al., 2011; Getz, 2007; Hall, 1992; MacLeod, 2006; Merkel, 2014). Thus an idea of a shared memory is created

by retelling the story that the unity of the city, the nation and the international community is based on the courageous resistance of the East Germans and the happy moment of the fall of the Wall. Through this approach, an inclusive identity based on the values and ideals of democracy, freedom and human rights can be instilled among the diverse audience. The events might thus fulfil the purpose of fostering a sense of community, based on shared values and ideals that is not restricted to political boundaries and could be sensed at local, national or international level. It is particularly the participatory approach that underpins this priority. Existing literature suggests that moving towards active immersion from passive absorption may indeed lead to more memorable experiences (Pine and Gilmore, 1998), and Elgenius (2011b), Kaiser (2013) and McCabe (2006) suggest participation as important for effective identity (re)constructions at events. Furthermore, this participation allows people to bring in their own experiences and provide people with a feeling of ownership as opposed to the feeling of being confronted with a top-down celebration.

Both of these aspects constitute interesting links of the commemorative events with pre-existing broader notions of collective memory and identity. In a way, organisers wanted to use the events to change the perceived dominant collective memory to a more accurate representation of 'what actually happened' and create a contemporary shared identity based on values and ideals communicated. In this sense, the findings of this study support much of the existing literature on commemoration.

8.3.3.2   Emerging uses

Several uses of the events were identified which are not commonly associated with commemorative events. These relate to the link between permanent and temporary forms of commemoration for event tourism and event legacy purposes as well as the use of the events for city branding purposes. Such uses have so far primarily been discussed in the academic literature in relation to other types of events.

A key priority in both years relates to the interplay between permanent and temporary forms of commemoration. Getz (1991) and Hall (1992) both already outlined the strategic use of events for wider outcomes and discuss

various purposes events may fulfil. Among them are animating static attractions and facilities (such as places of permanent commemoration) as well as functioning as a catalyst for urban development and renewal. Such purposes can be seen here in the link between events and places. This link appears to be twofold: Firstly, the need for the commemorative events can arise out of the nature of existing places of permanent commemoration in order to increase visitor numbers and publicity. Secondly, the need for further places of permanent commemoration can arise out of the events in the form of an event legacy.

The first notion relates to what Getz (1991; 2005; 2008) describes as using events as animators for static sites to encourage visitation and enhance publicity under the overarching term of event tourism development. This is clearly visible in this case, for example, the opening of the new permanent exhibition at the Berlin Wall Memorial was timed to take place on 9th November 2014 so that the media and public attention for the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall could be used. The link between the events and the 'Overall Concept' is particularly strong, with the 20th anniversary in 2009 already having been used for the opening of a 'Wall information space' within the underground station Brandenburg Gate and a new visitor centre at the Berlin Wall Memorial. Additionally, the 50th anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall was also used for this purpose with the opening of a new extension to the Berlin Wall Memorial having been completed in 2011. As the permanent exhibition constitutes the completion of the final major change as part of the 'Overall Concept' and the Berlin Wall Memorial is now seen as established by the organisers, the need for further large-scale events may only arise if visitor numbers decrease.

The second notion relates to an emphasis on 'sustainable commemoration', thus using the events as a catalyst for legacy purposes (Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Hall, 1992). An important question was what remains from such large-scale events. Frost and Laing (2013) consider the importance of such legacies. They argue that legacies in the form of permanent places of commemoration can fulfil a variety of functions, such as constructing public space or providing places of pilgrimage. These functions, however, are also

applicable for places of permanent commemoration that are created without the link to an anniversary. The question of why these legacies are important remains unanswered. For example, with the removal of the open-air exhibition in 2010, demands for a place of permanent commemoration of the citizens' movement arose. A potential explanation is that these places are seen to more effectively anchor the historical events in collective memory and determine their meaning and status on the long-term (Barthel, 1996; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Gapp, 2010; Turner, 2006), whereas the meaning of events can be more fluid and impacts tend to be more short-term. Nevertheless, Gapp (2010) and Turner (2006) argue that such permanent places can become unnoticed banal features of the cityscape whereas commemorative events can more effectively capture people's attention and create lasting sociocultural impacts. However, sociocultural event impacts are often intangible, abstract, highly subjective and difficult to measure (e.g. Bowdin et al., 2011; Dwyer et al., 2000; Getz, 2007), potentially making them less meaningful for the organisers on the long-term. Despite the notion that the exhibition appears to have had some positive impacts on the perception of the historical events, the need for it to become permanent reflects the need for these historical events to be permanently anchored and their status approved.

Richards and Palmer (2010) argue that in line with processes such as event portfolio development, events increasingly challenge the dominance of static sites for cultural and economic development in cities. They further state that events can lead to more vibrant and stimulating experiences in urban spaces. Although the overall impact of the events is recognised among organisers, permanent commemoration nevertheless appears to carry the highest priority. There is an interesting interplay between temporary and permanent forms of commemoration, which has not previously been considered in the literature on commemoration and where the events literature can be insightful.

In discussing the use of events for event tourism development and event legacy purposes, Getz (1991) states that commercialisation is a common concern particularly with the use of cultural events. This concern is related to

the commodification of cultural elements in the production of events explicitly aimed at tourists which may lead to a perceived lack of authenticity (Andrews and Leopold, 2013). Commodification and lack of authenticity may negatively influence the perceived meaning of the event (Andrews and Leopold, 2013). Authenticity, however, is a highly subjective concept and as such the level of 'acceptable commercialisation' will differ from person to person. This management challenge of catering to a large number of visitors while at the same time trying to preserve the inherent meanings of the commemorative events is pointed out by Hall et al. (2010). Furthermore, the increased usage of event portfolios for wider event tourism, destination branding or other goals (e.g. Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016; Richards and Palmer, 2010) as well as an increased awareness of the importance to provide experiences (stemming from Pine and Gilmore's original discussion of the experience economy in 1998) led to what Jakob (2013) terms eventification of place: 'the process with which the consumption of products and space is turned into an event' (p. 449). Thus, what happens here could be seen as an eventification or commodification of commemoration as part of wider event tourism and event legacy strategies (and branding, as is discussed later on this section). Frank (2009) argued that the Senate is under pressure to offer more appealing, emotional commemorative efforts in order to be able to compete with private initiatives. The events in both years show that key actors in Berlin are now more comfortable with a staging ('Inszenieren') of the Wall, whereas previously the Senate insisted on low-key approaches. This development is explicitly criticised by one organiser. In this interplay between temporary and permanent commemoration there is a level of disagreement among organisers in terms of what is most appropriate and what is most profound. Frost and Laing (2013) consider the question of when this eventification turns into disrespect, but also argue that the answer is highly subjective and that this may always be a resource for dispute. In a city like Berlin which is highly dependent on its history for branding and (event) tourism development strategies, it may be of importance to develop a balanced commemorative infrastructure or commemorative portfolio consisting of both permanent and temporary forms.

Due to the lack of previous studies on commemorative events, the event management literature has so far not considered how organisers may use commemorative events to either increase attention to places of permanent commemoration they are involved in, or to create demand and impetus for the development of further places of permanent commemoration, which they perceive to be missing. As outlined in this section, from an event management point of view such priorities can be described as event tourism and event legacy priorities and such uses and their implications are discussed in relation to other types of events by authors such as Getz (1991; 2005; 2008), Getz and Page (2016), Picard and Robinson (2006) or Richards and Palmer (2010). The intended outcomes here are certainly of economic nature but not exclusively. For example, the wish to permanently anchor the status of the citizens' movement in memorial form and the use of the events to create an impetus for this is more closely related to the common social, cultural and political outcomes discussed above. However, how such outcomes are worked towards by linking events and places is a new dimension to these common uses of commemoration. Additionally, the economic and event tourism benefits from linking events and places are new dimensions as such outcomes have not been considered so far in relation to commemorative events.

The second dimension of these new uses relates to the use of the events as resources for branding purposes. As outlined in the previous chapter, the organisers commonly transferred the meanings and values of the historical events to situations around the world by drawing parallels between injustice in the GDR and existing injustice elsewhere. By outlining the processes of heroic self-liberation from a suppressive government, the fall of the Wall is used as a moral message and potential role model, encouraging people around the world that injustice can be overcome in a peaceful manner. As this process has already been completed in Berlin, the city presents itself as a positive example to people around the world that aspire to the same freedoms. In this way, Berlin is presented as an appealing, desirable place to be. In a similar vein, a priority was placed on presenting Berlin as a city of change which is no longer a divided city on the margins but an exciting place of change that is attractive to visit, live in and do business in. The potential to

use commemorative events for the marketing and branding of places is considered in the literature (Frost, 2012; Grundlingh, 2004; Laws and Ferguson, 2011; Liburd, 2003; Paradis, 2002), and the general potential of events as image makers was already outlined by Getz (1991; 2005; 2008), but these ideas are not generally associated with commemoration of political events and the assumption appears to be that such events have limited appeal to 'outsiders' and thus limited potential for branding purposes (Frost and Laing, 2013). In this case, however, being the home to such a unique historical event helps present the appealing and attractive nature of the city.

The presentation of Western values such as freedom, human rights and democracy as something that is desirable internationally through the events in 2009 and 2014 contributes to the intended branding outcomes. Whilst successfully changing the reputation of a place through branding strategies is difficult (Anholt, 2009), positive and much-admired historical events are used here to position oneself positively in an international community. In this case the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the Wall are exploited for these purposes. By presenting the striving for freedom, democracy and human rights as international goals, Berlin is presented as having achieved what others may want. What is more, these ideals and values were achieved by the power of the people and in a peaceful way. Consequently, Berlin is presented as leading the way and branded as a positive role model. Thus, the commemorative events are used to brand Berlin to a national and international audience. This international attention is also used to present the city as a place of change and transition as a result of the historical events. This illustrates that it is not just cultural or non-political anniversaries such as the bicentenary celebrations of Hans Christian Anderson (Liburd, 2003), the 50th anniversary of the Roswell UFO incident (Paradis, 2002) or the centenary of the Titanic (Frost and Laing, 2013) that can be successfully used for destination branding purposes, but anniversaries of political historical events as well.

8.3.4. Contextual backdrop, institutional background and intended event uses

This discussion illustrated a variety of aspects that played a role for the shape of the commemorative narrative and this final section briefly draws all of these aspects together. First of all, naturally, the organisers' priorities and intended uses of the events are of crucial importance and the discussion showed that commonly discussed and newly emerging uses intermingle in the creation of the commemorative narrative. Nevertheless, as aforementioned, these intended uses need to be seen in connection with a complex interplay with local, national and international contextual issues as well as institutional backgrounds and areas of expertise.

In this sense, it became evident that the context is of relevance to the organisers in designing the shape of the commemorative narrative. Organisers may use the events in response to contextual issues they identified as important. For example, the character of the local landscape of permanent commemoration was a reason for linking places with events and for establishing the Senate's interpretational authority. Similarly, for example, perceived levels of education and awareness of the historical events, and in this sense the dominant collective memory, were important for the intended messages about the citizens' movement. International political and social contexts were of concern for the interpretation of the historical events as internationally relevant ones and emphasising the moral message. Changes in this international context through emerging conflicts between 2009 and 2014 further influenced organisers' priorities and intended uses of the events. This underpins Conway's (2008) observation that it is 'a combination of and interaction between shifting local conditions and a global political environment that helps explain the global turn in commemorative strategies' (p. 204).

The findings further illustrated that the organisers' priorities are strongly influenced by their institutions' daily operations and areas of expertise. This is not surprising and, as illustrated, the literature discusses organisers' agendas as important for the shape of commemorative practices (e.g. Barthel, 1996; Chronis, 2006; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Gillis, 1994; Park, 2011;

Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Tint, 2010; Turner, 2006). Educational mandates of publicly funded institutions, the support of the Senate, event management expertise as well as specialist knowledge about the historical events interacted to create a complex combination of priorities and intended event uses. For example, organisers who, in their daily operations, deal with a particular element of the historical events pushed for these elements to be prominent within the commemorative narrative. This piece of research illustrates how such specialist knowledge can be combined for the creation of the events and the corresponding commemorative narrative, but may also lead to areas where compromise is necessary.

Figure 18 summarises the key findings from this analysis in visual form. The figure lists important elements that were discussed in this chapter as well as in Chapter 7 in relation to the contextual backdrop, the role of institutional agendas and collaboration processes and the intermingling of common and emerging uses of commemorative events.
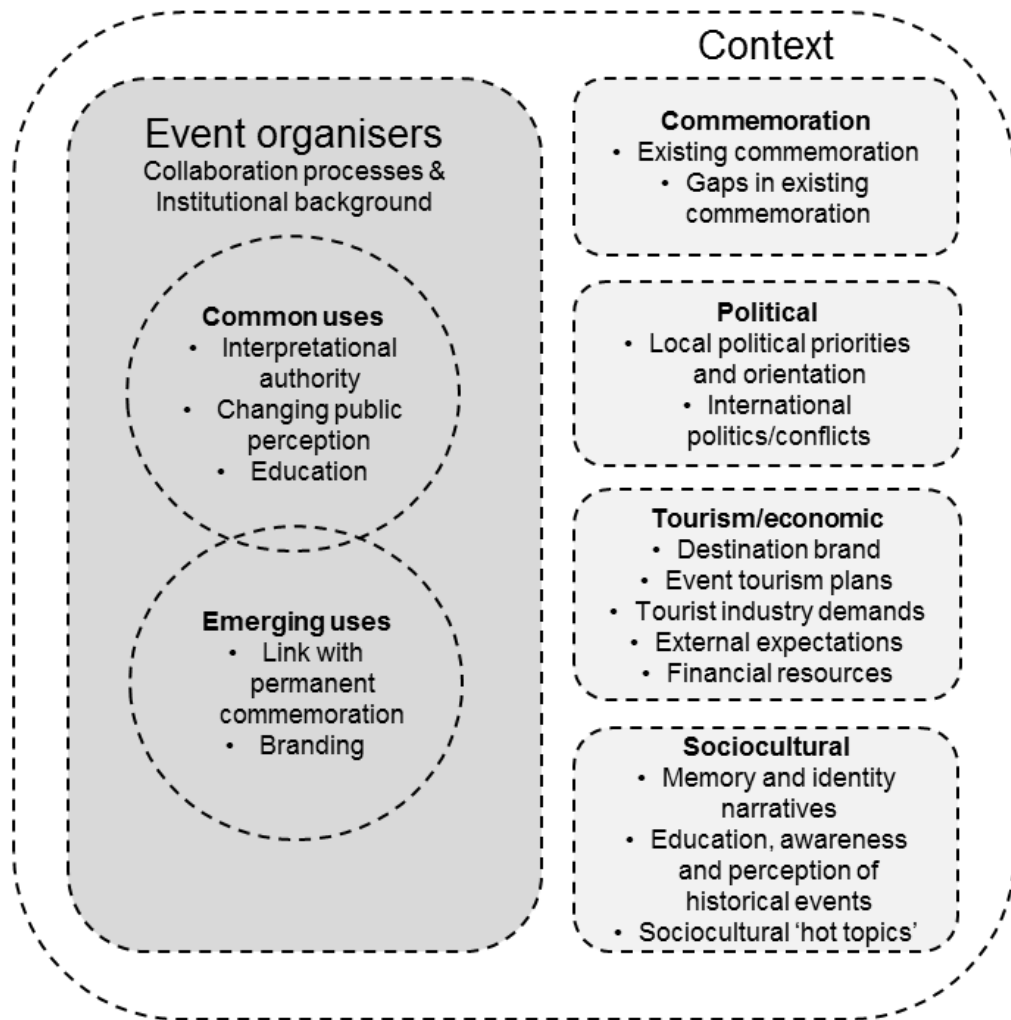
Figure 18: Event organisers' priorities and key contextual issues for the commemorative narrative

8.4 On the emergence of a layered commemorative narrative

Having discussed findings separately, this final section now synthesises findings in order to address the overall research aim. As a reminder, the aim of the research is to explore how narratives of collective memory and identity emerge at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in the major anniversary years of 2009 and 2014.

As the organisers used the events for purposes such as city branding or education, they constructed interpretations of the historical events which would allow them to achieve their aims. Cumulatively, these prioritised

interpretations lead to a memory narrative which then 'reverberates' as layered identity narratives within the three dimensions: local, national and international. In this sense, findings from this research suggest that commemorative practices are even more complex than previous studies assume. As illustrated throughout this chapter, the findings suggest this in two ways: First of all, the narratives communicated at these events go beyond the national dimension, and secondly, the analysis of the organisers' role for the shape of the narrative illustrated that the commonly discussed uses for social, cultural and political outcomes within the national realm intermingle with new uses aimed at broader audiences. In this final section of the discussion it is now of interest to synthesise findings and explore further how particular narratives may have emerged. Here it has to be emphasised again that the commemorative narrative identified is very much the author's interpretation rather than the organisers'. However, drawing together findings from both analyses can provide interesting insight into how the author's interpretation may have been shaped by the organisers' priorities – without any definitive claims about causal relationships between the two.

The events in 2009 and 2014 were approved and supervised by the Berlin Senate, i.e. local government. Although there were some activities and funding that originated from the Federal Government, the events overall have a strong local focus. It is not surprising that priorities of the organisers are directed at local benefits and create a strong local narrative. Intended uses of the events that are identified to possibly have caused this strong local focus relate to branding of the city, linking events and places, and underpinning the Senate's interpretational authority over appropriate commemoration. In this sense, Berlin is placed at the centre of these events, focusing on its historical role and particularly on a few select places. The selection of these places determines which places should be linked with the events, which places are representative of the change taking place in Berlin and which places are in line with the Senate's interpretation of appropriate commemoration. This, for example, is evident in the inclusion of the Berlin Wall Memorial to further its role as the main site of Berlin Wall commemoration as well as the specific selection of spaces to be included in the events in the form of the 'Changing Berlin' event in 2009 or the main visitor locations in 2014. The local identity

narrative that emerges here is the one of Berlin as a city of change, both in historic and present terms. As outlined previously, this notion of change and transition is nothing new in the branding strategies of Berlin (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Colomb, 2012; Till, 2005; Tölle, 2010) and the events are used as a further resource for this purpose. In line with the 'be Berlin' city branding strategy, which draws on the individuality and diversity of the population in Berlin (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Colomb, 2012; Lisiak, 2009), the participative events in 2014 further underpin this brand. This research illustrates how the Wall is now established as a key resource for the construction of this identity, presenting Berlin as a city of change, through the large-scale celebrations of its fall, as already indicated by Tölle (2010). Furthermore, this newly emerging use of commemorative events for branding purposes appears to have a significant impact on the commemorative narrative as it leads to a strong local focus in the memory narrative, leading to a pronounced local identity narrative.

The national dimension is what the literature would suggest as dominant in the commemoration of a political event of national significance which can be interpreted to constitute 'the birth of a nation' (e.g. Frost, 2012; Gilbert, 1976; Hall et al., 2010; Misztal, 2003b; Spillman, 1997; White, 2004). The literature on commemoration and commemorative events suggests that this 'happy ending' to German division would lend itself to a celebration of primarily national concern which aims at nation-building, social cohesion and nurturing patriotism. However, the national narrative was identified as rather weak and mostly implicit in the communication of values and ideals that are not restricted to the national community. Thus, the findings of this study depart from the assumptions of many previous studies. This is perhaps not surprising with the events being organised by local institutions rather than the Federal Government. Nevertheless, the commemorative narrative does reinforce some pre-existing notions on German national identity, related to weak patriotism and substitute identities based on abstract values and ideals as well as the nation's membership in a community of nations. This national narrative may have arisen from organisers' priorities and intended uses of the events as follows. The desire to increase awareness of the role of the citizens' movement is applicable particularly within the national dimension as

this had been dominated by the 'Wende' narrative, with the Peaceful Revolution being a minority perspective. As outlined in Chapter 7, the priority was to achieve a more 'accurate' perception of the citizens' movement by reshaping the dominant collective memory. Thus, a pan-German educational priority can be assumed. This priority contributed to the strong memory narrative on the role of the citizens' movement. The educational priority was also related to increasing awareness of the value of freedom, democracy and human rights, particularly for those who have no first-hand experience of the division or life in the GDR. Thus, a narrative of positive change and of regained rights and freedoms is constructed which underpins the dichotomies between the FRG and the GDR and between capitalism and communism. The identity narrative that emerges is primarily a reaffirmation and legitimation of the status quo and a celebration of the political and economic system of the FRG. This opposition and the construction of the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the Wall as the nation's positive foundation myth allow for the creation of a more confident self-understanding with values such as freedom, democracy and human rights at its core (Ludwig, 2011). Overall, this national identity is very much in line with previous studies about German national identity, in terms of low levels of national pride, but high levels of identification with its democracy and associated human rights as well as its membership in a community of nations (e.g. James, 1991; Knischewski, 1996; McKay, 2002; Verheyen, 2008; Weisbrod, 1996; Wittlinger, 2010).

Finally, the pronounced international dimension of the events in 2009 and 2014 is perhaps the most striking one. This can be seen as the outcome of the desire to use the events to appeal to and cater for an international audience. This again illustrates the important role of uses of commemorative events that have not received much attention in the literature, such as using these events for city branding strategies. The desire to educate not just a local or national audience about the role of Berlin and the citizens' movement is relevant for the striking international dimension as well. Primarily, the desire to reach more than a local or national audience required a memory narrative that emphasises the international significance of the historical events. In the case of the fall of the Wall, the construction of such an international narrative is not difficult due to the far-reaching implications of

the historical events. Thus, the narrative focuses on a new international community based on shared values and ideals as well as the unity of Europe enabled through the end of the Cold War as a direct consequence of the citizens' movement and the fall of the Wall. There is furthermore a focus on the international implications of the citizens' movement, i.e. if the ordinary citizens of the GDR can peacefully topple a government then anyone can. The international interest in the commemorative events is both addressed and aroused by transferring the processes, ideals and values of the historical events to current situations worldwide. Organisers hence created a narrative that emphasises the role model status of the citizens' movement and the fall of the Wall for overcoming injustice, thus broadcasting internationally appealing Western values and ideals in relation to freedom, democracy and human rights. The celebration of these positive developments allows for a sense of community to transcend the traditional national boundaries in order to construct an international community based on shared values and ideals.

This study thus supports ideas presented by authors such as Assmann and Conrad (2010), Erll (2011), Levy and Sznaider (2002) and Misztal (2010) who suggest that a globalised world may foster an international memory which overcomes national boundaries and strengthens international solidarity. This study further supports Levy and Sznaider's (2002) argument that it is not just the nation which can function as a container of collective memory but that such shared memories can indeed be constructed for more geographically dispersed collectives. In line with this, Conway (2008) identified an increasingly global orientation of commemorative practices. Whilst this study is unable to comment on whether any meaningful international identification amongst this geographically dispersed collective was achieved, it can, however, suggest that organisers of commemorative practices are incorporating an international orientation into their intended narratives and indeed benefit from doing so. In this way, the organisers use the Berlin Wall as a resource for the creation of such an international sense of community for outcomes such as branding and positively positioning the city of Berlin. International conflicts that started after 2009 such as the Arab Spring or the Ukraine conflict provided an 'opportunity' for the organisers to emphasise perceived shared values and ideals within the 2014 events. This further

enabled the construction of this abstract international community without explicit reference to political or administrative constructs such as the European Union. West (2008; 2010; 2015) argues that in times of globalisation, commemorative practices can lead to an increased engagement with the nation. Not having done any research into attendees' perceptions and experiences it is impossible to comment on whether this happened or not. It can, however, be suggested that this was not the primary goal of the organisers. Simultaneously, however, the events may have reinforced pre-existing notions of German national identity as aforementioned.

As this section demonstrated, it can be assumed that the newly emerging uses discussed in Section 8.3.3.2, particularly in relation to using the events for branding purposes, had a significant impact on the commemorative narrative. The desire to brand Berlin to an international audience required an internationally appealing and relevant commemorative narrative, while at the same time it required a strong focus on the role of Berlin. The local and international narratives are thus strongly interlinked. In order to not construct a narrative of purely national focus, a narrative of abstract ideals and values that uses the citizens' movement and the fall of the Wall as internationally appealing role models is created. Issues from the contextual backdrop, such as international conflicts or societal debates surrounding issues such as the status of refugees and policies of migration further strengthen the international relevance and appeal of this narrative in 2014.

At the same time, this chapter outlined the permeable nature of the state-sponsored narrative in Berlin. As the discussion on common uses of commemorative events in Section 8.3.3.1 illustrated, the events were used by one event organiser to achieve a more 'accurate' perception of the citizens' movement, thus his intention was to reshape the dominant collective memory. Furthermore, another event organiser saw the necessity to educate young people about the value of freedom and democracy, hence underpinning existing dominant memory and identity narratives. In the discussion of the commemorative narrative in Section 8.2, a strong focus on the citizens' movement within the memory narrative was identified by the

author. At the same time, the commemorative narrative emphasised Western values and ideals. Thus, commonly discussed uses of commemoration in relation to (re)constructing memory and identity for social, cultural and political outcomes still play an important role for the shape of the commemorative narrative. Nevertheless, such intended uses now intermingle with new uses where commemorative events are integrated into branding or event tourism strategies.

Overall, the commemorative narrative of the two anniversary years was shaped by a complex combination of priorities and intended uses interlinked with the context of the celebrations and the organisers' institutional expertise. In this sense, Figure 19 draws together the discussions from Sections 8.2.3 and 8.3.4 and presents a final adaptation and specification of the conceptual framework from Section 5.1.
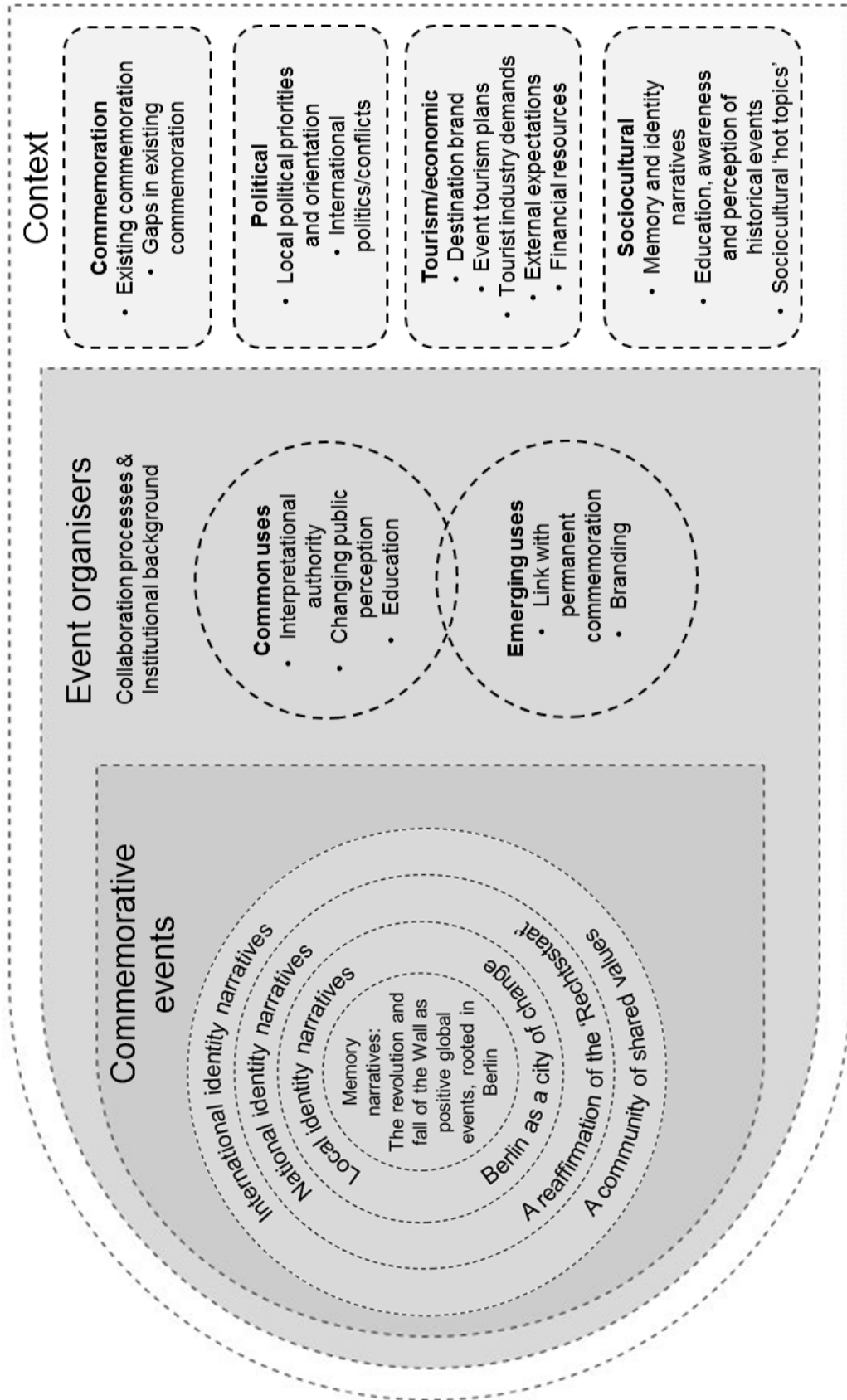
Figure 19: The adapted conceptual framework

One final connection to be made relates to the organisers' intended uses and the choice of specific semiotic resources. The semiotic analysis of the commemorative narrative considered the specific use of a variety of semiotic resources. One of the semiotic resources was the participatory approach to stage a symbolic re-enactment of the historical events. In the thematic analysis of the data it was found that this choice was made consciously to enable an in-depth educational impact through a bottom-up approach to commemoration.

Another finding from the semiotic analysis relates to Peirce's typology of signs, consisting of icon, index and symbol (Echtner, 1999; Metro-Roland, 2009; Nöth, 1990). It was found that symbols, i.e. those signs whose meaning is arbitrary and dependent on social convention, were primarily used to convey universal moral messages, for example the white illuminated balloon in 2014 communicating the spread of hope and optimism. Icons, i.e. signs that carry meaning through similarity to their signifier, are used to replicate or refer to relevant elements of the historical events, such as the balloons referring to the candles of the protesters in 1989. It was argued that these findings are exactly opposite of Arning's (2013) findings in his analysis of Olympic opening ceremonies. Taking into consideration the findings from the thematic analysis, this is no longer surprising. Because of new uses of these events such as branding which required the organisers to reach an international audience and emphasise the values and ideals of the historical events, the choice of such symbols is the most effective one for communicating appealing, internationally understood messages. On the other hand, the icons may carry meanings primarily for the local audience which has the required in-depth knowledge of the historical events to decode the meaning. For those people, the events may have a stronger connection to the historical events rather than just a symbolic one aimed at communicating contemporary ideals and values.

Two further concepts discussed in the semiotic analysis relate to Violi's (2012b) indexicality and Eco's (1976) topo-sensitivity, which both refer to the meanings created through time and location of the signs. Clearly and not surprisingly, time and location were chosen consciously by the organisers in

that events focused on 9th November and signs such as the balloons or the dominoes were placed along the former route of the Wall. In doing so, the organisers contribute to the construction of the symbolic meanings associated with the historical events. This way it is ensured that ideals and values such as freedom, democracy and human rights become interwoven with the citizens' movement and the fall of the Berlin Wall in international collective memory.

8.5   Summary

This chapter presented the discussion of findings. It firstly discussed the commemorative narrative before turning to the role of the organisers. The final section synthesised findings and discussed these in relation to the overall research aim.

This chapter showed how the events construct a multi-layered commemorative narrative which has a certain memory narrative at its core and then 'reverberates' in several layers of identity narratives. Strikingly, the local and international identity narratives are particularly strong. In this sense, the events communicate a narrative about the role of Berlin for the historical events as well as the international implications thereof. This interpretation then constructs a strong local identity narrative for the city of Berlin, presenting it as a place of historical and present change. Furthermore, an international identity narrative is constructed which is based on abstract values and ideals associated with the historical events.

The chapter furthermore discussed the role of the organisers. In this sense, it discussed the importance of the contextual backdrop, institutional agendas and intended uses of the events. In regards to the intended uses, the chapter distinguished between commonly discussed uses and emerging uses of commemorative practices. Underpinning the Senate's interpretational authority and using the events for changing public perception and education of the general public are such commonly discussed uses. Linking events and places for event tourism and event legacy purposes, as well as using the events for branding are newly emerging uses of commemoration.

The final section synthesised findings from this research in relation to the overall research aim. To summarise, it can be said that newly emerging uses of commemoration had a significant impact on the shape of the narrative. In this sense, the three-layered identity narrative particularly emerged from organisers' intention to use the events for branding purposes as well as to use the events for event tourism and event legacy purposes. Especially the desire to brand Berlin to an international audience led to emphasised international implications of the historical events and subsequent contemporary values and ideals. At the same time, commonly discussed uses of commemoration still play a role and intermingle with such new uses.

The following chapter now concludes this thesis and reflects in more detail on how aim and objectives were met.

9. CONCLUSION

9.1   Introduction

Having presented and discussed the findings, this final chapter now concludes the thesis. To this end, it reviews key findings in relation to the aim and objectives of the study in order to outline how these were met. Afterwards the chapter includes a reflection upon the theoretical, methodological and applied contributions of this research. The final section of this chapter considers the limitations of the study and potential areas for further research.

9.2   Aim, objectives and key findings revisited

The aim of the research was to explore how narratives of collective memory and identity emerge at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in the major anniversary years of 2009 and 2014. The corresponding objectives were determined as follows:

1. To review existing literature on commemoration, collective memory and identity in general and Berlin Wall commemoration in particular.
2. To explore through semiotic analysis what narratives of memory and identity are communicated at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall.
3. To investigate through thematic analysis of documents and interviews how key event organisers may have shaped these narratives.
4. To reflect upon the theoretical, methodological and applied contribution of this research in the context of event studies, event management and memory studies.

This section now reviews how the aim and objectives were addressed and achieved in this thesis and in doing so, presents the main conclusions.

The first objective was addressed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this thesis which constituted the literature review. These chapters considered previous studies from memory studies, event studies, event management as well as closely related fields. It was argued that, whilst the political nature of commemoration

is widely acknowledged (e.g. Barthel, 1996; Chronis, 2006; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Gillis, 1994; Park, 2011; Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Tint, 2010; Turner, 2006), these practices are predominantly considered in the context of the nation and as a means to achieve intended social, cultural or political outcomes (e.g. Bell, 2003; Barthel, 1996; Billig, 1995; Connerton, 1989; Elgenius, 2011b; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Frost 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Gillis, 1994; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; McDonald and Méthot, 2006; Misztal, 2003b; Park, 2011; Roudometof, 2003; Smith, 1995; Spillman, 1997; Turner, 2006; Zerubavel, 1995). In times of an increasingly contested role of the nation for collective memory and identity (e.g. Assmann, 2010b; Assmann and Conrad, 2010; Bell and de-Shalit, 2011; Billig, 1995; Erll, 2011; Featherstone, 1990; Guibernau, 2007; Habermas, 2001; Levy and Sznaider, 2002; Misztal, 2010; Smith, 1991; 1995; Soysal, 1994), the role of these developments for commemorative practices has not been considered in sufficient depth.

Some emerging literature on commemorative events begins to explore to what extent these events can function as an economic resource in the context of event tourism and event portfolio development (e.g. Frost, 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Grundlingh, 2004; Liburd, 2003; Hall et al., 2010; McDonald and Méthot, 2006). However, Frost and Laing (2013) argue that there is a 'tourism paradox' – that nowadays many events are only supported by the government if a positive economic and tourism impact can be expected, but that commemorative events are often not suitable for the generation of such impacts due to a limited appeal to tourists. The literature review thus concluded that there is limited research into the roles and uses of contemporary commemorative events in general, but particularly on how their narratives may be affected by potentially shifting priorities of the organisers.

It was further concluded that there is a significant existing body of literature on the Berlin Wall (e.g. Feversham and Schmidt, 1999; Frank, 2009; Harrison, 2011; Henke 2011; Klausmeier and Schlusche, 2011; Knischewski and Spittler, 2006; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010; Ullrich, 2006); however, this generally does not consider the recent commemorative events. Thus, the

commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 2009 and 2014 constituted interesting and suitable examples for this study.

The second objective – to explore what narratives of memory and identity are communicated at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall – was addressed with a semiotic analysis of the events in 2009 and 2014. Key findings were presented and discussed in the sixth and eighth chapters. Here, it was argued that a memory narrative which focuses on the role of the citizens' movement, the role of the city of Berlin and the positive international implications of the fall of the Wall led to the construction of three layers of identity narratives within the local, national and international dimension. This thesis thus outlined that, in the case of the commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the commemorative narrative goes beyond the national dimension which was predominantly associated with the commemoration of political events.

The third objective – to investigate how key event organisers may have shaped these narratives – was addressed in the seventh and eighth chapters which presented and discussed findings from the thematic analysis of documents and interviews. The discussion of findings outlined the importance of the institutional background and the broader contextual backdrop. It further focused on commonly discussed and emerging uses of commemorative events. Here, it was argued that the existing literature on commemoration and commemorative events is too limited and that such events can be used for intended outcomes that go beyond the commonly discussed political, social and cultural dimension.

The final sections of the eighth chapter synthesised findings from this research and in doing so, addressed the overall research aim. Here, it was discussed how it is particularly newly emerging uses of commemoration which led to the strong local and international narratives. At the same time, the national narrative may diminish in importance when such events are used by local actors for local benefits rather than by national ones.

To conclude, this study suggests that commemorative events may need to be seen in the wider context of commemoration within the city and as potential

resources for event tourism and branding strategies, as well as in relation to international contexts. In contemporary times, commemorative events may no longer be resources for exclusively social, cultural and political outcomes, instead in times of expanding notions of international solidarity based on international memories (Assmann and Conrad, 2010; Erll, 2011; Levy and Sznaider, 2002; Misztal, 2010) as well as increasing use of events for branding, event portfolio and event tourism development (e.g. Atkinson and Laurier, 1998; Crespi-Vallbona and Richards, 2007; Dinnie, 2011; Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016; Hughes, 1999; Johansson, 2012; Picard and Robinson, 2006; Richards and Palmer, 2010), commemorative events may be an often overlooked resource.

This is not to say that commemorative events are no longer political projects and that there may not be opposition to the communicated narrative. As the semiotic analysis demonstrated, the commemorative narrative communicated at the events is underpinned by Western ideological frameworks and legitimises contemporary governments while excluding and ignoring many conflicting narratives. However, these are aspects which are already well-reflected in the literature on commemoration – a politicised commemoration with potential for conflict is to be expected. Furthermore, this research does not claim that the commonly discussed social, cultural and political uses of commemoration within the national dimension no longer play a role for contemporary commemoration. Such common uses were still evident in this case and significantly influenced the shape of the commemorative narrative. The research, however, suggests that these uses may not be the primary priorities and that local actors may instead make further, newly emerging uses of such events. Naturally, the events may still have impacts of heightened social cohesion and national identification on the national audience. The communication of ideals and values through symbols still allows for this. Whether an attendee's experience and interpretation at the events focuses on the local, national or international dimension of the narrative is a subjective choice. Without research into audience perceptions, this study is unable to comment on whether meaningful identification took place within any of these dimensions. Moreover, individuals can identify with multiple collectives simultaneously (Delanty, 2000; Featherstone, 1990;

Guibernau, 2007; Jenkins, 2014; Levy and Sznaider, 2002; Misztal, 2010; Smith, 1991) and thus an individual sense of community may arise at local, national or international level or any combination thereof.

Overall, this study illustrates that although commemorative events construct narratives of memory and identity through a selection of semiotic resources, this does not mean that the events were conceived and designed for internal political, social and cultural purposes only. The study provides insight into potential contemporary roles and uses of commemorative events and emphasises the emerging literature on notions of international collective memory as an appropriate way forward for the study of commemoration. It furthermore illustrates how cities can benefit from such notions and use commemorative events for event tourism and branding purposes by targeting an international audience.

9.3 Contribution to knowledge

This research contributes to knowledge in a variety of ways. These are outlined here in terms of theoretical, methodological and applied contribution and in doing so, this section addresses the final research objective.

9.3.1. Theoretical contribution

The theoretical contribution relates to the more in-depth understanding of the role of commemorative events in contemporary society as well as commemoration of the Berlin Wall more specifically. The study also contributes to debates on nation, national identity and nationalism in Germany.

Primarily, the study illustrated that existing literature that predominantly focuses either on commemoration sponsored by the national government, commemoration taking place for political, social or cultural outcomes, or commemoration directed at a domestic (primarily national) audience is insufficient to understand contemporary commemoration, particularly commemoration of political events organised locally, such as the ones in Berlin. This new understanding adds to the general body of event studies literature which has so far very much neglected the study of commemorative

events. As Getz (2002) states, any development of the field of event studies is likely to benefit event management as well, thus there is a contribution to this field, too. It furthermore adds to memory studies literature where there is also limited insight into commemorative events and particularly their role in contemporary society. With event studies, event management and memory studies being nascent fields of research, an in-depth study such as this can contribute to the further development of the fields.

9.3.1.1 The role of commemorative events in contemporary society

This research contributes to a new understanding of the roles and uses of commemoration in contemporary society. It further adds to this understanding by outlining how organisers' priorities translate into certain memory narratives and contemporary identity narratives on three different layers. This new understanding contributes to the nascent fields of memory studies, event studies and event management. Contributions to all these fields are thus considered in this section.

The first key contribution in memory studies is that this project suggests that international notions of memory and identity are relevant, and that it may be necessary to move beyond national boundaries as restrictions of imagined communities as already indicated by several previous studies (Assmann and Conrad, 2010; Conway, 2008; Erll, 2011; Levy and Sznaider, 2002; Misztal, 2010). As this study illustrates, the events constructed a narrative that communicates internationally appealing ideals and values such as democracy, freedom and human rights. In doing so, the events constructed an international sense of community beyond national boundaries which is inclusive of those who support the Western ideological frameworks promoted through the events. In this sense, the findings of this study are in line with the work of Conway (2008) who noticed notions of international solidarity emerging in contemporary commemoration from interactions of international and local contexts. However, this study provides additional insight as Conway's (2008) work focuses on the historical development of collective memory at a long-standing commemorative tradition, whereas this study illustrates the constructions of three layers of contemporary identities based

on an international collective memory narrative at newly conceived large-scale events.

In a related vein, the study thus suggests to see commemorative events as a) not only aimed at internal, domestic audiences, and b) not only as outcomes of political, social and cultural priorities. In this sense, studies of commemoration may indeed suffer from a 'territorial trap' (Conway, 2008, p. 189, referring to Brenner, 1999), in which the overwhelming focus on the context of the nation leads scholars to research commemoration predominantly in relation to national collective memory and national identity. In line with this, for example, Elgenius (2011b) and Frost and Laing (2013) comment on the festivities in Berlin on 9th November 2009 from a national day celebration perspective, when these events were indeed never designed to be such a celebration. This thesis thus contributes to the understanding of contemporary commemorative practices and argues that studies of such events may need to look beyond (re)constructions of national collective memory and identity. In this way, it contributes to both memory studies and event studies, and thus adds to previous work which primarily considers audiences and intended outcomes within the national dimension (e.g. Bell, 2003; Barthel, 1996; Elgenius, 2011b; Frost 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Gillis, 1994; McDonald and Méthot, 2006; Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Turner, 2006).

Although there is a small body of research on commemoration in times of globalisation (Conway, 2008; West, 2008; 2010; 2015; Winter, 2008; 2015), this area is still under-researched and under-conceptualised. Particularly in event studies, political commemorative events were a largely unexplored phenomenon. The understanding of such events in relation to how they are used by event organisers and the subsequent commemorative narratives that are constructed thus adds to work published in this field, such as the studies by Frost (2012), Frost and Laing (2013), Frost, Wheeler and Harvey (2008), Hall et al. (2010), Laws and Ferguson (2011) and McDonald and Méthot (2006). As this study illustrates, commemorative events can indeed be interpreted and staged as internationally appealing events with more than just a domestic audience. The literature suggests these commemorative

events may have limited appeal to tourists (Frost, 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Frost, Wheeler and Harvey, 2008; Grundlingh, 2004; Turner, 2006). However, the events in Berlin were clearly designed to appeal to an international audience and serve a wide range of priorities. This further highlights limitations of previous studies and suggests that tourists should not be considered as outsiders to commemorative practices but may be key drivers for these events to take place in the first place. This implies that the dichotomy of locals and tourists which is common in studies of commemorative practices may be outdated. In interpreting the fall of the Wall as an event of international significance, this dichotomy is not applicable anymore. The existing literature is too narrow in focus by discussing commemoration primarily in relation to political, social and cultural uses and contexts. Likewise, by assuming that commemorative events are primarily directed at a domestic audience, their event tourism and branding potential has been overlooked in the literature.

Thirdly, the study suggests that it may be relevant to consider potential linkages between permanent and temporary forms of commemoration. Whilst some previous work in memory studies and event studies comments on such different forms (e.g. Frost and Laing, 2013; Gapps, 2010; Turner, 2006), to the best of the author's knowledge, there is no in-depth consideration of the interplay between them. These linkages imply a further newly emerging use of commemorative events as animators of static facilities that commemorate the same or related elements of the past. Such a use of the events can help to increase visitor numbers and broaden public attention and thus augment commemoration at static sites. The study suggests that organisers may favour permanent commemoration over temporary forms or at least place importance on a permanent 'legacy' of commemorative events.

Finally, the study contributes to knowledge in the field of event management by illustrating how commemorative events may function as potential resources for event tourism and place branding strategies. While the use of events for destination branding and event tourism strategies is a common consideration (e.g. Atkinson and Laurier, 1998; Crespi-Vallbona and Richards, 2007; Dinnie, 2011; Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016;

Hughes, 1999; Johansson, 2012; Picard and Robinson, 2006; Richards and Palmer, 2010), this has previously mostly been associated with other types of commemorative events such as re-enactment events or cultural anniversaries (Carnegie and McCabe, 2008; Frost and Laing, 2013; Liburd, 2003; Paradis, 2002; Ryan and Cave, 2007). Indeed, Frost and Laing (2013) argue that commemorative events may generally be difficult to include in such strategies, but also acknowledge that limited research has been conducted. This study thus provides further insight and suggests otherwise by outlining how commemorative events of political events can be incorporated into such strategies, i.e. by creating strong local and international narratives through the choice of semiotic resources. This is outlined further in Section 9.3.3 in relation to the applied contribution.

The outline of newly emerging uses, such as branding or event tourism development, is a key contribution to the understanding of contemporary commemorative events. As this study illustrates, these uses may play a significant role for the shape of commemorative narratives and strengthen the international orientation of the events while at the same time they create a strong local narrative about the role of the city. While commemoration organised by national governments may still be different in nature and purpose, this study suggests that locally organised events have moved beyond the commonly discussed uses and internal audiences.

The interdisciplinary nature of this research shows that combining existing knowledge from event studies, event management as well as memory studies can help to further understand commemorative events, and in doing so, address gaps in all of these fields.

In the previous chapter, the findings of this study were used to specify and enhance the conceptual framework developed from the literature. This new framework contributes to the understanding of contemporary commemoration in regards to how layered identity narratives may emerge based on certain memory narratives which result from collaboration processes among organisers who intend to use the events for their own agendas. This study does not claim generalizability of findings to other situations, but other researchers may find this framework useful for approaching the study of

other commemorative events. Therefore, a reduced 'blank' version of the framework is presented in Figure 20 below which can be specified and adapted in further studies.
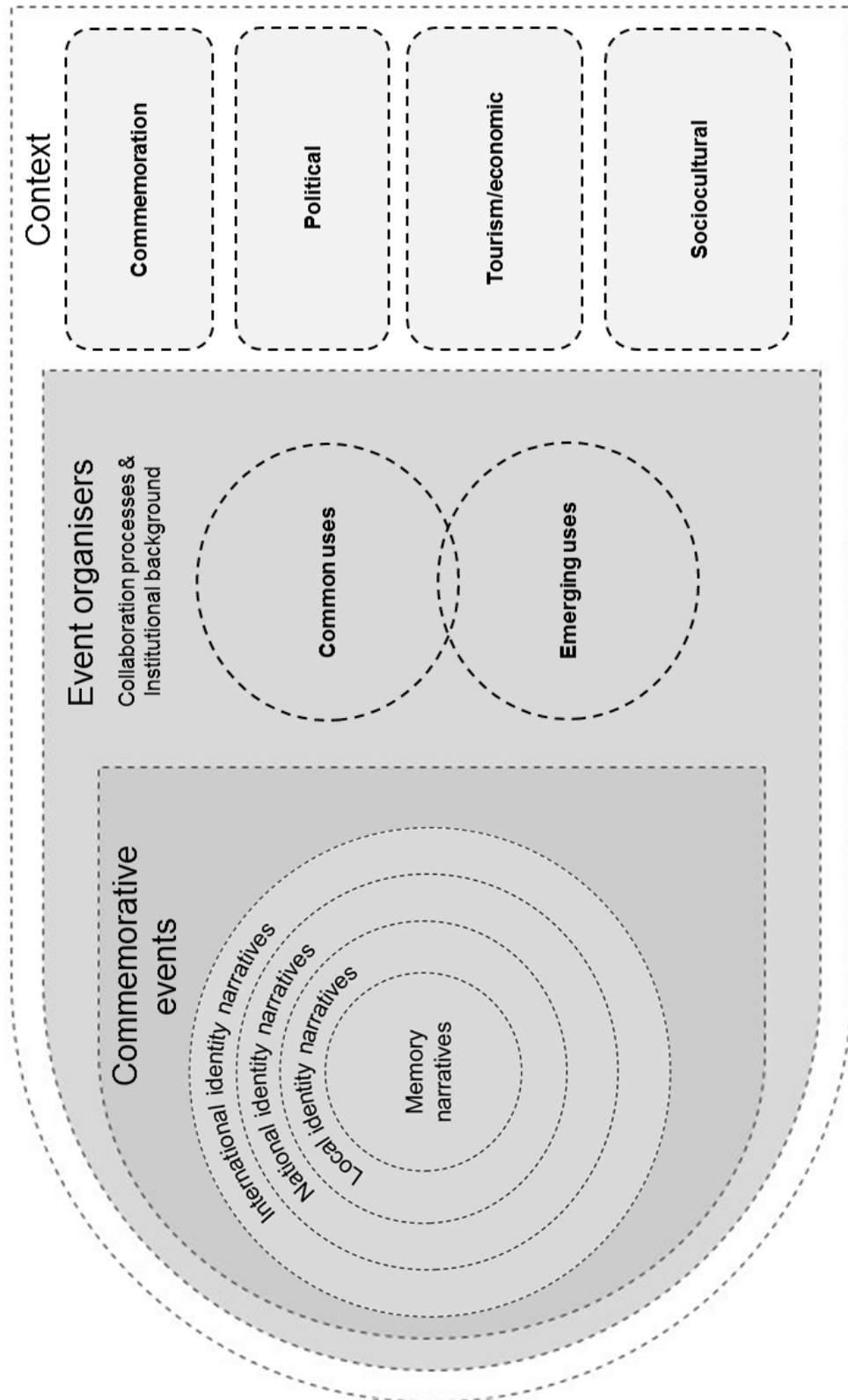
Figure 20: Generic framework for understanding commemorative events

9.3.1.2   Berlin Wall commemoration

Finally, the study contributes to knowledge in relation to Berlin Wall commemoration, thus adding to the understanding of the specific context. With very limited academic literature on the two anniversary celebrations in 2009 and 2014, this research adds to the understanding of the commemorative narratives and broader role of these events.

Permanent commemoration of the Berlin Wall and its development are fairly well-researched (Feversham and Schmidt, 1999; Frank, 2009; Harrison, 2011; Henke, 2011; Klausmeier and Schlusche, 2011; Knischewski and Spittler, 2006; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010; Ullrich, 2006). The findings contribute to this body of literature, by illustrating how these events 'fit' within the overall development of Berlin Wall commemoration within the city and how they are used by the different organisers for their respective priorities in this context. This research furthermore shows how the Berlin Wall is now established as a quintessential element of Berlin's local identity where organisers now more comfortably use the Wall to stage emotive spectacles. Whereas the 'Overall Concept' and recent city branding strategies indicated this, the two large-scale events from 2009 and 2014 further consolidated the Wall's role. In this way, the Senate further established its authority over Berlin Wall commemoration. Additionally, this research provides insight into the rationale for staging the events and in doing so, outlined how a small institution managed to influence the status quo in the city. This institution had an impact on the presentation of the role of the citizens' movement as inextricably linked to the fall of the Wall, thus potentially influencing the dominant collective memory nation-wide and contributing to a more positive self-understanding locally and nationally that draws on the values and ideals associated with the Peaceful Revolution. This research thus illustrates the permeability of the state-sponsored narrative in Berlin. However, with the more established character of the role of the movement and the fall of the Wall, it may become more unlikely for new institutions to gain equal influence.

9.3.1.3   National identity in Germany

A final aspect of this thesis' theoretical contribution to knowledge relates to the debates on nation, national identity and nationalism in Germany. The research shows how, through the medium of large-scale commemorative events, a positive image of the nation is broadcast to internal and external audiences. Whilst the dimension of national identity was identified as subtle, and the events were staged by local actors, the role of national identity in this research is nevertheless significant due to Germany's complicated history with the nation, national identity and nationalism caused, for example, by its status as a young nation, the Nazi past and the period of division.

In this sense, the research builds on existing studies which note a move away from constant notions of guilt towards a more positive self-understanding of the German nation in the 21st century (e.g. Kaiser, 2013; Wittlinger, 2010). The research underpins how the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the Wall help to construct this positive self-understanding, through the interpretation of these events as ground-breaking in the establishment of unity, freedom and democracy in Europe and the wider world. In this sense, Germany is presented as the home and origin of these world-changing events, constructing it as a champion and pioneer of Western values and ideals.

As already pointed out by Kaiser (2013) and Ludwig (2011) the interpretation of the events in 1989/90 as a Peaceful Revolution rather than a 'Wende', and an elevation of the role of the citizens' movement as part of nation-wide memory and identity construction help to construct a more positive narrative of Germany as a nation with freedom at its core. In this sense, the research contributes to such existing studies by showing that the large-scale commemorative events in 2009 and 2014 were a means to broadcast this positive narrative based on the events of 1989/90 to a variety of audiences. In regards to internal audiences, the events could potentially result in a heightened sense of national social cohesion, although this research is unable to comment on whether this successfully took place. In relation to external audiences, the events further manifest the role of Germany as a

peaceful and well-respected member of a Western community of shared values.

Whilst this can be considered an appropriation of East German memory for pan-German outcomes and is thus not without contestation (Eedy, 2010), the findings of this research in relation to national identity provide valuable additional insight into contemporary self-understanding in Germany. The nation now appears to be more comfortable and confident in positively presenting its past and associated current identity.

9.3.2. Methodological contribution

In addition to the theoretical contribution, the author also intends to make a methodological contribution.

This research adapted Echtner's (1999) six step framework for semiotic analysis to the analysis of commemorative events. With no similar research having been carried out before, the author thus had to be methodologically innovative. The adapted framework proved useful for the deconstruction of narratives of memory and identity emerging at these events. It provides six clear steps for the analysis of signs employed at such commemorative events and the analysis of their deeper meanings. Thus, the framework may be useful for other researchers planning to do similar research in relation to commemoration. Moreover, the framework can possibly be applied in the analysis of other events where the research aim is to deconstruct their meanings and underlying messages and ideological frameworks, for example in the analysis of representation at cultural events and festivals. The adapted six steps are shown again in Table 10, in generic format for further adaptation by other researchers.

Step 1	Choose relevant sources of data for the event
Step 2	Specify and segment the relevant elements of analysis (e.g. event title, key visual signs, spaces used, event programming)
Step 3	Examine the significance and dominance of elements within each event
Step 4	Decode the meaning of the elements
Step 5	Examine the combinations of elements and develop themes
Step 6	Penetrate surface meanings and extract underlying meanings based on combination of elements and themes

Table 10: A six step framework for the semiotic analysis of commemoration and (commemorative) events (adapted from Echtner, 1999)

Furthermore, in the context of semiotic analysis, the research illustrates how semiotic concepts such as Peirce's typology of signs (Echtner, 1999; Metro-Roland, 2009; Nöth, 1990), as well as ideas of indexicality (Violi, 2012b) and topo-sensitivity (Eco, 1976) can provide useful lenses for the analysis of meanings communicated at commemorative events. All of these ideas are presented in Table 11.

Semiotic concepts	Potential analytical use
Peirce's symbol	Internationally understood messages about shared values and ideals
Peirce's icon	Locally understood messages about the links with the historical events
Peirce's index Violi's indexicality Eco's topo-sensitivity	How meaning is communicated and constructed through temporal and spatial coordinates of the event

Table 11: Semiotic concepts and their potential analytical use

For contemporary commemoration with an international dimension, the study suggests that Peirce's idea of the symbol may be useful for decoding the internationally understood moral messages, where icons may be more useful for the locally meaningful historical links. Peirce's index, Violi's adapted idea of indexicality and Eco's concept of topo-sensitivity gave further insight into how meaning is communicated and constructed through location and timing of the event. Other researchers may find these concepts helpful for the deconstruction of meaning at commemoration, commemorative events or events more generally.

9.3.3. Applied contribution

Apart from the theoretical and methodological contribution, there is also an applied contribution stemming from this research which may benefit organisers of such events as well as destinations which may consider a similar use of such events.

For organisers of commemorative events more broadly this study illustrates that these events can possibly be incorporated into event tourism and event portfolio development strategies as well as be used for place branding purposes by targeting an international audience. The study investigated how this was done in the case of Berlin and this insight may be beneficial for organisers in other contexts. Based on the findings from this research, the

following can be suggested to organisers for a successful use of these events for such purposes. First of all, the historical event which is being commemorated needs to be interpreted as an event of international significance. To reach more than a local or national audience, the commemoration might thus focus on the communication of the international outcomes of the historical event as well as internationally appealing ideals and values. As this study shows, this can be done through the use of widely understood symbols that communicate such ideals and values and that are not exclusively of national relevance. These symbols, such as the balloon or the domino, are simple for the audience to decode in the context of the events while at the same time offering an appealing aesthetic element that adds to the 'spectacle' of the occasion. Secondly, as in Berlin, the theme of the events may have to be compatible with overall city branding and event portfolio strategies in order to be able to complement these. In the case of Berlin, the themes of 'change' and 'rich contemporary history' are of importance to the brand of the city and these were in line with the narratives of the commemorative events as well. Such complementary strategies can also help to link the events with permanent places as it was done in the case of Berlin. Finally, the participatory approach may be a contributor to success as well, since participation in certain elements of the events in 2009 and 2014 was open to international visitors and encouraged these to contribute, at least in the virtual context.

There may also be an applied contribution that is beneficial to the organisers of these specific events as well as organisers of similar events more generally. The study may provide them with further insight into how theming and design choices may lead to a particular commemorative narrative and how this narrative, through the lens of semiotics, may be deconstructed and understood by the audience. An understanding of this process may be beneficial for a more reflective approach to the theming and design of such commemorative events in the future.

9.4 Limitations and potential future research

This section reflects upon the limitations of this research and outlines potential areas for further research. Limitations of the specific methodological approach chosen were discussed in Chapter 5 and are not repeated here. However, several other potential limitations can be identified, and based on this, suggestions for future research can be made.

First of all, the findings of this research are not generalizable. Within the constructionist philosophy and a qualitative approach, generalizability is not an intended research outcome. Thus, the suggestions made by the author that the insights into the role of commemorative events in contemporary society gained from this research may be useful for the general understanding of such events need to be approached with some caution. Indeed, the events under investigation in this study arose in a very unique context, are commemorating unique historical events and were planned by a unique constellation of organisers. The question may arise, for example, which other historical events around the globe may lend themselves to a comparably international interpretation in their current meanings and may be similarly useful for reaching an international audience. The World Wars of the 20th century, the attacks in the United States on 11th September 2001 as well as the very recent attacks in Paris on 13th November 2015 may fit the description, for example. However, such tragic events do not have the same branding potential as events that are interpreted as positive, such as the fall of the Wall. Furthermore, organisers of other commemorative events may not have the same priorities and rather focus on more common uses such as nation-building and the nurturing of patriotism. The use of commemorative events, for example, for event tourism purposes may thus not be of relevance in other contexts. Moreover, some of the organisers in this context are organisers of both temporary and permanent forms of commemoration which may have made the link between the two particularly strong. Thus, in other contexts, this link may not exist.

For future research it would thus be of interest to investigate other commemorative events under the same or similar aim and objectives. This would provide further insight into narratives and organisers' priorities and

thus address the limitation of this research that the findings are not transferrable to other contexts. It would certainly be of interest to see whether other large-scale commemorative events are used for similar purposes, have a similar international orientation or links with permanent commemoration across the destination. This would offer further insight into the role of such events in contemporary society and whether these events are now commonly used for event tourism and event portfolio development as in the case of Berlin and need to be more widely considered as such resources in the literature. Moreover, studies of potential future events commemorating the fall of the Wall in Berlin can give further insight into the use of these events and research could focus on whether there are any changes or developments from 2009 and 2014. Finally, as this study only considered the state-sponsored narrative, future research may want to consider a wider range of events that commemorate the Berlin Wall, staged by other organisers.

Furthermore, the subjectivity of this research may be criticised – particularly from a positivist perspective. As the author outlined in the methodology chapter, this piece of research does not claim to be objective. Particularly the semiotic analysis is very much an analysis of the narrative from the author's perspective, impacted by her experiences, education, worldview and general background. As such, the commemorative narrative may be perceived differently by different individuals which may have an impact, for example, on the author's claims regarding the striking international dimension of the narrative. Although the author believes that she made well-considered and well-informed choices in her deconstruction of the commemorative narrative, other researchers may have ended with different conclusions. It would certainly be of interest to further research this multi-perspectivity of the narrative and thus future research may include a wider range of perspectives and opinions by giving voice to other members of the audience or use different sets of methods.

This research included interviews with only the four main local organisers. Future research may consider a more detailed study into collaboration processes including a wider range of stakeholders, for example including

Federal Government, which may give even more insight into decisions made and their role for the commemorative narrative. In 2009, there was some involvement by the Federal Government, for example, which was beyond the scope of this research. The heads of state at the 'Festival of Freedom', for instance, were invited by the Federal Government rather than by the local organisers. There was also some funding that stemmed from federal sources in this year. In contrast to that, in 2014 the Federal Government staged its own public celebration on 9th November and the 'Lichtgrenze' was funded locally. Nevertheless, with the Federal Government not identified as one of the key organisers by the interviewee who acted as a gatekeeper or by the documents; its involvement in the events was not specifically considered. Future research thus may want to include a wider range of stakeholders.

Due to the very limited literature on commemorative events it would also be of interest to explore such events from a different perspective. Further research into Berlin Wall commemorative events as well as similar events could involve research into their impacts, for example. Such studies could include research into how commemorative events impact broader debates surrounding collective memory and identity narratives. Furthermore, as this research cannot comment on whether any meaningful identification took place within the three dimensions of the identity narratives, the audience's perspective would also be very interesting to consider. In this regard, one could conduct qualitative research into how the events and their commemorative narratives are received by members of the public. Researching the attendees' perspective would provide additional insight into the role these events play in contemporary society and this could constitute a further significant theoretical and applied contribution.

9.5   Concluding remarks

This thesis aims to provide insight into how narratives of collective memory and identity emerge at commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 2009 and 2014. It is the result of four years of hard work and many difficult decisions. While the author does not make any truth claims, it is intended that this thesis is insightful, interesting and convincing. By suggesting new routes

for memory studies, event studies as well as event management in the context of commemorative events, this thesis aims to make a useful contribution to these nascent fields of research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: OVERVIEW OF THE EVENTS IN 2009 AND 2014

	2009 theme year: '20 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall'			2014 events
Name	'Festival of Freedom' & 'Domino Campaign'	'Peaceful Revolution 1989/90'	'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin'	'Lichtgrenze' & 'Balloon Campaign'
Type	Public celebration with accompanying educational / promotional campaign	Open-air exhibition	Hybrid (tour/exhibition)	Public celebration with accompanying educational / promotional campaign and exhibition
Duration	Main event: 9th November 2009 Start of the campaign: March 2009	May 2009 to October 2010 (extended due to demand)	January to October 2009	Main event: 7th – 9th November 2009 Start of the campaign: September 2014
Location	Brandenburg Gate and surroundings	Alexanderplatz	14 locations throughout Berlin	Along a 15km route throughout the city centre
Programme or theme and other key characteristics	Highly publicised event, broadcast live, included speeches by politicians, live music, toppling of dominoes. The campaign encouraged particularly young people to engage with the history of the Wall by painting a domino. Dominoes were exhibited along a short route of the Wall prior to the public event.	The citizens' movement in the GDR	Tours, exhibitions and other small-scale events, showcasing change at 14 select locations	Balloons as art installation and memorial, later public release of the balloons. Seven main locations along the route with screens showing films, food stalls, shops and visitor information. Exhibition documented 100 independent stories of life with division. Online campaign encouraged people worldwide to engage with the meaning of the fall of the Wall.

Source	Brief description	Reasons for inclusion in analysis	Included in semiotic analysis or thematic analysis	Referred to throughout the thesis as	Original language
'Festival of Freedom', live TV broadcast, 9th November 2009 (ZDF, 2009)	• The main celebration of the 20th anniversary celebrations • Broadcast live by ZDF (German public-service television broadcaster)	• It was the most highly publicised event of the theme year. • The TV recording provides the opportunity to analyse the event as a ceremony as seen from the audience's perspective.	Semiotic analysis only	n/a	German
'Documentation of the 2009 theme year' (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)	• Overview of activities of the theme year, including informal evaluation (such as visitor numbers, media coverage) • Overview of promotional material • Overview of team and partners • A combination of text with large amount of images	• Main publication by the organisers of the theme year, containing important information about the events, including rationale for the events and their legacy.	Both	Theme year document	German
'Peaceful Revolution 1989/90: Documentation of the open-air exhibition' (Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e.V. & Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2010)	• An overview of the open-air exhibition as one of the three events of the theme year • Includes an evaluation in terms of audience research and reactions of the media • List of smaller events that took place at the exhibition	• Main publication by the two joint organisers of the open-air exhibition, containing important information such as rationale for the exhibition and its legacy – in more detail than the above document.	Both	Exhibition document	German

	• Information about the Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V. • Brief timeline of historical events of 1989/90 • Overview of team and partners • Combination of text with large amount of images				
'We are the people: Magazine for the exhibition Peaceful Revolution 1989/90' (publication accompanying the open-air exhibition) (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009d)	• Overview of historical events from construction of the wall to fall of the wall and reunification • Reference is made to the theme year and the open-air exhibition • Same style as the two publications above	• This publication by the organisers of the theme year provides background to their interpretation of the events from 1989/1990, and is of importance for the analysis of above documents.	Both	Exhibition book	German
'Domino book' (publication accompanying the 'Festival of Freedom') (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009c)	• Overview of the 'Domino Campaign' • Displays all dominoes with a short message by the painter(s) • Singles out a few projects from the 'Domino Campaign' and describes them in more detail • Also contains information on the 'Festival of Freedom'	• This publication by the organisers provides significant detail about the 'Domino Campaign' and provides valuable additional information to the above documents	Both	Domino book	German
'Futures of Berlin' (publication accompanying the 'Changing Berlin' event) (Kulturprojekte Berlin	• Overview of locations chosen for 'Changing Berlin' event (but published before events were staged) • Also contains a photo essay	• This publication contains more information on the chosen locations than the above publications • It included descriptions	Both	'Changing Berlin' book	German

GmbH, 2009b)	and various comments on the possible future of Berlin	by the organisers and rationales for their inclusion			
'20 years after the Fall of the Berlin Wall' (no longer available)	• Archived official website of the theme year • Overview of the theme year and the three different elements • Calendar of events: Listings of 'unofficial' Berlin Wall related events	• The website provides important additional and up-to-date information on all of the above and was the main online presence of the theme year.	Semiotic analysis only	n/a	German and English
'Peaceful Revolution 1989/90' (Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V., nda)	• Website accompanying the open-air exhibition • Retells the story of the Peaceful Revolution as included in the exhibition, including photos, videos, maps and oral histories	• The website provides important information about the open-air exhibition.	Semiotic analysis only	n/a	German and English
'25 years fall of the Berlin Wall 2014' (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2014b)	• Official website of the 2014 'Lichtgrenze' event • Overview of all activities that took place	• The website is the main source of information about the 2014 commemorative event including maps, images, etc.	Semiotic analysis only	n/a	German and English
'Mauergeschichten – Wall Stories' (publication accompanying the 'Lichtgrenze' event) (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2014a)	• Includes all 100 stories which were told in the exhibition along the 'Lichtgrenze' • Also includes some information about the 'Lichtgrenze' and the 'Balloon Campaign'	• Provides valuable additional information about the 2014 events.	Both	'Lichtgrenze' book	German and English

'The courage to be free', video of the Brandenburg Gate celebrations (Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, 2015)	• Video coverage of the celebration at Brandenburg Gate on 9th November 2014, including release of the balloons	• Although this event in its entirety is not part of the analysis, this video includes the official opening of the 'Lichtgrenze' and is thus important for the analysis.	Semiotic analysis only	n/a	German
Collection of flyers and other promotional material collected on location in Berlin	• A variety of promotional and information material that included event programmes, maps, etc.	• The material collected provides important additional information about the events.	Semiotic analysis only	n/a	German and English
Personal observation and photo-taking through attendance at event	• The author personally attended the event and observed and photographed the main elements	• Observations and photo-taking provided the author with additional insight about the event.	Semiotic analysis only	n/a	n/a

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Please note that interviews were semi-structured and that these questions only constituted a rough guide. Questions from the second batch may have been altered or adapted slightly to tailor them for the interviewee being interviewed.

Questions for the exploratory interview with the interviewee from the Senate:

1. Please tell me about the origins and development of the 2009 theme year.
2. Who were the main actors in this process (besides the senate, Kulturprojekte, and the Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V.)?
3. What were these actors hoping to achieve with these events? Have they been successful?
4. Were there any other people/companies/groups that you had to negotiate with?
5. How is this theme year connected to the 2006 'Overall Concept'? (If at all?)
6. What were the main challenges you faced during the organisation of the theme year?
7. How were the 2009 events received by its audience? Have you received any feedback from them?
8. What have you learnt for future commemorative events such as the 2014 celebrations?
9. What role does tourism play for contemporary Berlin Wall commemoration?
10. Can you identify other contextual factors that played a role?

Questions for all other interviewees:

1. Please elaborate on the role that you personally as well as your institution have played in the planning of the 2009 and 2014 commemorative events.
2. Please tell me about the origin of the ideas for the 2009 and 2014 events and how these ideas have developed.
3. What did the collaboration with the other partners look like?
4. What did you want to achieve with these events and were you successful?
5. Have the events had any impacts? What kinds of impacts?
6. What is particularly important for you and your institution in the planning and staging of these events?
7. Were there any messages you wanted to convey through these events?
8. Did you come across any challenges in the planning process?
9. With a diverse audience from local residents to people born after 1990 to international tourists – how do you balance the different expectations of such a diverse audience?
10. Has the wider context influenced the planning of the events?
11. There has been a debate within the city about appropriate Berlin Wall commemoration. How does your institution see this debate?
12. Are there going to be any further commemorative events in the future? If yes, what would you like these to look like based on your experiences in 2009 and 2014?

APPENDIX D: THEMATIC CODES

Thematic code	Definition and description	Justification and relevant sources
Priorities	The intent was to explore what was of importance to the event organisers in the design of the events and the ways in which these priorities were articulated in the shape of the commemorative narrative. Related sub-questions that were explored while coding the data: • What did event organisers want to achieve with the events? • What was particularly important for individual event organisers when planning the events?	All of these codes relate to the idea that the commemorative narrative as well as events more generally are shaped by organisers' agendas and relevant information on these agendas was organised under these codes (e.g. Barthel, 1996; Bell, 2003; Chronis, 2006; Connerton, 1989; Elgenius, 2011b; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Frost 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Gillis, 1994; Gotham, 2005; Jeong and Santos, 2004; McDonald and Méthot, 2006; Merkel, 2014; Park, 2011; Picard and Robinson, 2006; Roche, 2000; Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Tint, 2010; Turner, 2006).
Rationale	The intent was to investigate why the events were planned in the first place and where the impetus originates from. Related sub-questions that were explored while coding the data: • Why did the ideas for the events come about in the first place? • Where do the ideas originate from? • Why did the need for the events arise?	
Outcomes and impacts	The intent was to explore outcomes and impacts from the event organisers' perspective. Thus, the goal was not a holistic impact study, rather the intention was to further explore what organisers wanted to achieve and whether they had been successful. Their interpretation of outcomes and impacts can provide further insight. Related sub-questions that were explored while coding the data: • What kinds of outcomes or impacts were observed? • Were these impacts intended or unintended? • How were the events received?	
Problems, challenges and criticisms	The intent was to investigate negative elements within the planning process which may have had an influence on the shape of the narrative. Related sub-questions that were explored while coding the data: • What kinds of problems were encountered during the planning process? • What kinds of criticisms did the events receive?	These codes relate to the idea that commemoration is political and thus subject to negotiation processes among organisers but also subject to criticism from others and relevant information on collaboration and problems, challenges and criticisms was organised under these codes (e.g. Barthel, 1996; Chronis, 2006; Conway, 2008; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Gillis, 1994; Olick, 1999a; Park, 2011; Roudometof, 2003; Spillman, 1997; Tint, 2010; Turner, 2006;
Collaboration	The intent was to explore the collaboration between the organisers. As there was more than one key	

	organiser, the assumption was that collaboration processes consist of negotiation and compromises with potential impact on the commemorative narrative. Related sub-questions that were explored while coding the data: • How did collaboration with key partners take place? • How did these collaborations come about? • Was there a distribution of tasks?	White, 1997b; Witz, 2009).
Contextual factors	The intent was to explore the role of the broader context of the commemorative events. As events and commemorative practices do not take place in a vacuum, it was of interest to investigate how event organisers' decisions are linked to the context of the events. Related sub-questions that were explored while coding the data: • How did the context (e.g. political, social, cultural, or economic context) influence the planning and programming of the events? • How do the events sit within the overall context of Berlin Wall commemoration?	This code relates to the idea that commemoration should be seen in a broader context (e.g. Conway, 2008; Olick, 1999a), and that commemoration of the Berlin Wall has gone through a change process in the past 25 years which may be part of this context (e.g. Feversham and Schmidt, 1999; Frank, 2009; Harrison, 2011; Henke 2011; Klausmeier and Schlusche, 2011; Knischewski and Spittler, 2006; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010; Ullrich, 2006).
Organisers' memory and identity narratives	The intent was to explore the organisers' memory of the historical events, as this may indicate the role of the events within collective memory as interpreted by the event organisers. This may give further insight into the intended commemorative narrative as it may be based on the event organisers' interpretations of the historical events and their meanings for the present. Related sub-questions that were explored while coding the data: • How do the organisers interpret the historical events? • How do they evaluate the meaning of the historical events for the present?	This code relates to the idea that the commemorative events operate within a context of pre-existing memory and identity debates in relation to the Berlin Wall and the GDR more generally, where organisers may have a standpoint that they wish to convey (e.g. Eckert, 2009a; Fulbrook, 2000; 2004; Glaab, 2002; Grix, 2002; Henke, 2009; Häußermann, Gornig and Kronauer, 2009; Hyland, 2013; Jarausch, 2009; Kaiser, 2013; Knischewski, 1996; Knischewski and Spittler, 2006; Manghani, 2008; Ross, 2002; Sabrow, 2008; Schmidt, 2011).

APPENDIX E: SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS – STEPS 2 TO 4

SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS: THE 2009 THEME YEAR

'Festival of Freedom'

Title

In terms of the syntagmatic structure, the title of the big celebration on the 9th November 2009 ('Fest der Freiheit'/'Festival of Freedom') carries very similar meanings in German and English and both languages are briefly considered here.

The German word 'Fest' is a rather formal word mostly used in the context of ritualised religious or cultural celebrations (e.g. 'Erntedankfest', 'Weihnachtsfest', 'Schützenfest'). The authoritative German dictionary 'Duden' defines 'Fest' as either a (large-scale) social event of a grand character, or a religious festivity (Bibliographisches Institut GmbH, 2015). Words that have a less formal connotation could be 'Feier', 'Fete' or 'Party'; these are thus absent signifiers relevant for the paradigmatic analysis. Consequently, the choice of word already gives the celebrations a formal, public and ritualised character.

The English word festival is defined by Getz (2012) as 'themed, public celebrations' (p. 51). Falassi (1987) who wrote extensively on the nature and meaning of the festival defines it as a 'periodically recurrent, social occasion' (p. 2) in which all members of a community participate. He furthermore argues that at the core of the festival is a celebration of a community's values, social identity, historical continuity and physical survival. The role of festivals for society has received a lot of attention in sociological and anthropological research. It has already been discussed in the literature review that festivals are not a modern phenomenon and have always been used by communities to structure time, mark certain occasions and express a community's identity (e.g. Andrews and Leopold, 2013; Durkheim, [1912] 2001; Roche, 2000).

As such, the choice of words in both German and English signifies certain characteristics of the signified concept. First of all, it is a public event, open to anyone who might be interested. This is true in that it was free for the audience to attend and thus inclusive in character. It is a social event which is of significance for the entire community. As a festival, the event is expected to be linked to the community in which it takes place through its meaning and content. In terms of the significance of the historical event that the festival was celebrating it can be argued that this is the case. However, there are difficulties in defining who the community is in this case, i.e. whether it is residents of Berlin, all Germans or an international audience, as the event had an international dimension and a broad audience in person and on TV. Nevertheless, the 'Festival of Freedom' was one-off, not periodically recurrent. There is no tradition behind the event and there are no grassroots events from which it may have emerged. As such one may argue in the words of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) that it is an invented tradition and that the significance of the festival for contemporary identity and collective memory was imposed top-down.

Progressing with the syntagmatic analysis, the second part of the title tells the reader what is being celebrated, namely 'Freiheit' (freedom). The signifier 'freedom' signifies the autonomy of the subject. To be free means to be able to make choices and decisions without any pressure or coercion. Certain freedoms are protected by law, for instance the German Basic Law protects the free development of the individual, personal freedom, freedom of religion, freedom of opinion and freedom of press, among others (Deutscher Bundestag, nd). Freedom is also central to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, nd). It is a complex topic that has been discussed in depth in philosophy, politics and other disciplines but it is commonly considered a value to be strived for. There are different dimensions of freedom such as individual freedom and collective freedom. Clearly, in any Western society there are limits to absolute freedom to do as one pleases, which are articulated in law. However, as a synecdoche, this title signifies the freedoms gained by living in a Western society – free movement, free speech, free elections, free markets, and similar. The title of this event signifies that the fall of the Wall brought about freedom for the people in the GDR and possibly other countries of the Eastern bloc. The political change has liberated the people living in these countries. Paradigmatically, thus the title implies that prior

to this liberation the people were unfree in the sense of being oppressed and being denied basic human rights.

Dominant visual sign

Figure 21: The domino as a sign (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

The major sign of this event, and perhaps the most prominent one of the entire theme year, is the domino (see Figure 21). The domino was used in three main instances: first of all, during the 'Domino Campaign' where it travelled around the world to be painted by different people. Secondly, it was used during the domino gallery, the days prior to the 'Festival of Freedom', when all the painted dominoes were exhibited along parts of the route of the Wall. Thirdly and finally, the dominoes played a major role during the 'Festival of Freedom' where they were toppled ceremonially. Additionally, three yellow falling dominoes were used to represent the 'Domino Campaign' and 'Festival of Freedom' in publications by the organisers.

A domino is originally a part of a set of rectangular tiles with a certain amount of dots on each half which is used to play a game. In the late 20th century Bob Speca triggered a trend which consisted of setting up dominoes upright on their short edge in a line and then toppling the first one which would cause a chain reaction and all the following ones to fall as well (Hartman, 2012). 'Domino Days' were staged on TV which aimed to set new world records on the amount of dominoes toppled. There is also an artistic aspect of it, with dominoes set up to create patterns and shapes. At this point, dominoes have little to do with their original usage as a game. In fact, they usually do not look like original dominoes either, with the typical dots missing. This is also the case for the dominoes used in the theme year. Before being painted, they were simply large blank white blocks. However, their rectangular shape and their intended use appear to be enough to communicate the concept of a domino. The chain reaction caused by falling dominoes has brought forward the term domino effect. This term can be used to refer to any situation where a chain of events is triggered by one initial event.

Putting up and toppling dominoes is a form of entertainment particularly because it takes a lot of patience, effort and carefulness to put them up, and there is a risk involved in both setting up as well as toppling. The 'Domino Days' were large-scale projects that required a vast amount of space and a long period of time for planning and set up. The toppling of the dominoes for the 'Festival of Freedom' was a similarly large-scale event. The domino aspect of the 'Festival of Freedom' combined the entertainment element known from events such as 'Domino Day' with the concept of the domino effect.

The falling dominoes can thus be interpreted in various ways. On the one hand, it signifies the fall of the Wall as an iconic sign. In addition to that, it can be seen as an icon of the domino effect of historical events that brought along unstoppable change as well as an icon of the collapse of the Soviet Union and its communist satellite states. Similar to the chain reaction of the falling dominoes, the famous press conference with Günter Schabowski triggered unstoppable events eventually leading to the fall of the Wall. Naturally, one could interpret a variety of events as the first falling domino. On a larger scale one might want to consider the policies of glasnost and perestroika in the Soviet Union, or the anti-communist movement in satellite states such as Solidarność in Poland as the starting point. These then did not only lead to the fall of the Wall and the unification of Germany, but also to the end of the Cold War and the bipolar world. The domino effect as an unstoppable notion allocates less importance to the people of the grassroots citizens' movement in the GDR, as the

message is that once the chain of events was set in motion the fall of the Wall unfolded independently of further external or internal input. Notably, it is never stated by the organisers which historical event they consider to be the 'first domino' that started the chain reaction, and thus allows for various interpretations. It is noteworthy that at the very end the toppling Styrofoam dominoes are stopped by a concrete block which functions as a symbol of still existing walls in today's world. A moral message of work still needing to be done to break done existing walls and borders around the world is communicated through this.

The painting of the dominoes in advance of the major public celebration included a variety of aspects. First of all, this was an opportunity for people to contribute to the festivities by designing a domino based on their experiences, interpretations or opinions. A lot of the painting of the dominoes was explicitly aimed at young people and functioned as the basis for various educational projects. The paintings on the dominoes thus function as an indexical sign, and signify participation and education. Furthermore, some dominoes were sent around the world to be painted by people that still live with division (e.g. Korea or Cyprus). The travel of the dominoes around the world is perceived by the author as a signifier of the moral message of the fall of the Wall relating to the continued existence of divided communities but also of the international dimension of the fall of the Wall.

The dominoes were toppled on the evening of 9th November; however, they were set up prior to this event and exhibited for several days. The dominoes followed the route of the Wall from Potsdamer Platz via the Brandenburg Gate to the Reichstag which constitutes between 1km and 2km of the overall route of the Wall. This way they temporarily recreated parts of the Berlin Wall and people could familiarise themselves with its route and scale. Violi (2012b) argues that memorial sites located in the same space as the historical event they are referring to function as an index since they 'maintain a real spatial contiguity' with the historical event (p. 39). As a consequence of this indexicality the temporary reconstruction of the Wall may more successfully convey a sense of authenticity to its visitors. The placement of the dominoes and the timing of its toppling are important for the decoding of the sign. According to Eco (1976), the sign is thus topo-sensitive: its meanings are dependent on its spatial and temporal coordinates. Although the iconic meaning of the falling dominoes as a signifier for a chain reaction and the collapse of something would remain the same, it is the location and the timing that are particularly effective for relating it to the historical events of 1989.

Dominant space

The event was staged in front of the Brandenburg Gate which functioned as the backdrop. The Gate is located in the centre of the unified Berlin with a lot of open space surrounding it, so accessibility and convenience may have played a role in the choice of location. However, the Brandenburg Gate is also a deeply symbolic location in itself. It is one of the most famous landmarks in Germany, yet inextricably linked to the city of Berlin. It is associated with many important historical events, such as the rise and fall of the Kingdom of Prussia, the wars against Napoleon's Empire or the seizure of power by the Nazis. During German division the gate was located at the border between East and West Berlin. It was inaccessible and thus became a symbol for German division. Similarly, many well-known photographs following the 9th November 1989 include people celebrating on top of the Wall in front of the Brandenburg Gate and the gate became a symbol of freedom and unity. Nowadays the area around it is pedestrianized and highly frequented by tourists. The gate is thus a synecdoche for the city of Berlin, similarly to how the Eiffel Tower can signify Paris or the Big Ben can signify London. Simultaneously, it is a symbol for Berlin's status as a city of historical importance.

The use of this location can be interpreted to signify various aspects. First of all, as a symbol of both division and unity it was suitable for the anniversary of the fall of the Wall. Having been located within the border strip, it is a space that both East and West Berliners can relate to (Lisiak, 2009). More generally, staging an event at such a historically important location underpins the significance and status of the event. It may give the event a sense of grandeur. Furthermore, with the Brandenburg Gate widely known around the world and associated with Berlin, it also fulfilled a place branding function. The imagery of the festival will have been seen around the world with people easily recognising the location. The Gate

is part of the official logo for the city of Berlin (see Figure 8 in main body) which underpins the place branding aspect of this location.

Programming

In terms of the programming of the 'Festival of Freedom', dominant elements are considered separately. The dominant elements within the event are speeches, live music, interviews, toppling of dominoes and fireworks. This is determined by length and frequency of occurrence within the television broadcast but also by visual dominance, supported by frequency of occurrence in organisers' publications. For example, the toppling of the dominoes and the fireworks did not take up a particularly large amount of time, however, the visual impact is considered significant by the author and the imagery was frequently used by organisers in their publications. The programming of the event is framed by the hosting which is done by three different people and they are discussed as well.

Speeches

The event is dominated by speeches by politicians; indeed, the TV broadcast lasted about one hour and 50 minutes and over 35 minutes of this – almost one third of the time – are filled with these speeches. The people who speak during this part of the event are (in order of appearance, including the office they held at that time): Klaus Wowereit (Governing Mayor of Berlin), Nicolas Sarkozy (President of France), Dmitry Medvedev (President of Russia), Gordon Brown (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom), Hillary Clinton (United States Secretary of State), Barack Obama (President of the United States – via a pre-recorded video message) and Angela Merkel (Chancellor of Germany). Thus, the speeches are given primarily current heads of state of the four former occupying countries.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2015) defines speech as a formal talk given to an audience. The speeches underpin the formal character of the event, and also the roles and behaviours associated with the audience and people on stage. It emphasises the relationship that the people in the audience are passive listeners to what the people on stage have to say. Speeches on this scale are mostly given to persuade, inform or entertain an audience by practiced and confident public speakers. Speeches are often given by people that are perceived to be experts on something or leaders of a group of people: as Gook (2011) notes in his observations of this event, 'world leaders became history teachers' (p. 14).

During their first appearance, these speakers are accompanied by further politicians. According to the organisers over 30 heads of state attended the event, including most heads of state of EU member states (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a). In addition to the heads of state, the Secretary General of NATO, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, was also in attendance. Altogether they walk across the stage area at the beginning of the TV broadcast. As can be seen in Figure 6 in the main body the politicians all wore black clothing. This is seen by the author as an emphasis of the formality and status of the event. In the Western world, black suits are usually associated with seriousness and professionalism. Wearing a black suit is an indicator that one is taking the occasion seriously. At the same time, black suits can also signify conventionality, conforming to what established itself as the norm through preferences by the dominant powers. On the other hand they can be an expression of respect and modesty, not diverting any attention from the importance of the event. The matching clothes among the politicians in attendance can also signify a belonging to the same group and an equality of members within this group. Politicians are often under public scrutiny for the way they dress and colours can be interpreted as expressions of political opinion. Furthermore, clothes in politics can be an expression of ethnic or cultural identity and not wearing a black suit can even be an expression of rebellion against the dominant world powers. The appearance of this group of politicians is thus seen by the author as a symbol of a unity of Western nations, yet at the same time underpinning the formal and solemn character of the celebration. As it was raining, they are carrying white umbrellas which underpins the unified, and neutral, non-political appearance of this group.

Additionally, the presence of all these heads of state is another way of underpinning the importance and status of the event. It furthermore signifies that the fall of the Wall is not only a local or national matter but of significance internationally. The fact that only two German

politicians speak may mean that the international dimension is even more important than the national dimension. However, the majority of the heads of state came from European Union countries, alluding that the historical event may carry less significance for Asian, African or South American countries, or even European countries which are not EU members. Indeed, even the heads of state of Switzerland and Norway were not invited as the countries are not EU members (Nauer, 2009).

The heads of state can function as a synecdoche for their respective countries. This further emphasises their presence as a symbol for unity of European nations, a showcasing of the achievements of the European Union which the fall of the Wall made possible.

In addition to the presence of heads of state of EU member states, the speakers primarily represent the former occupying countries, countries which played a significant role for the division of Berlin and Germany, but simultaneously also for the country's unification through the two-plus-four-agreement. These countries fought against Germany during the Second World War and later occupied it; furthermore, these countries also opposed each other during the Cold War. Their presence and speeches are perceived by the author as a strong iconic representation of a friendship between these nations which had fought and/or opposed each other in the previous century.

Interviews

A further significant amount of time is spent interviewing a variety of actors. The interviews take place live and are conducted by the hosts of the event. The first group of people that are interviewed are actors of significance for the historical events and include Hans-Dietrich Genscher (West German Foreign Minister in 1989), Mikhail Gorbachev (President of the Soviet Union in 1989), Miklós Németh (Prime Minister of Hungary in 1989), and Lech Wałęsa (leader of the Solidarność movement in Poland in the 1980s). Actors from the Peaceful Revolution are also interviewed and are represented by Katrin Hattenhauer, Roland Jahn and Marianne Birthler (all human rights activists in the GDR). Furthermore, José Manuel Barroso (President of the European Commission) and Jerzy Buzek (President of the European Parliament) are interviewed. The final group of interviewees are people who painted dominoes: one German pupil, Muhammad Yunus (Noble Peace Prize laureate from Bangladesh) and Ahn Kyu-Chul (a Korean artist). The conversations take place in a mix of German and English and each only last a few minutes. The interviewees are also involved in the toppling of the dominoes.

This element of the event programme makes a connection with the past, present and future. Németh and Wałęsa are seen by the author as a synecdoche for the important political change in Soviet bloc countries preceding the fall of the Wall. Genscher and Gorbachev are seen to be a synecdoche for the political leadership at the time which made the fall of the Wall and German unification possible. Similarly, the three activists from the GDR function as a synecdoche for the entire human rights movement and represent the Peaceful Revolution as an essential historical event of the time. Furthermore, Barroso and Buzek synechdocally represent the European Union and thus the new Europe which was created after the fall of the Wall. Finally, the pupil is a synecdoche for the generations born after the fall of the Wall in a united Germany and Europe. He represents the young people that did not experience a divided Germany and are thus the ones that are often considered to require education about the GDR which can be provided through events such as the 'Domino Campaign' and the 'Festival of Freedom'. Similarly, Muhammad Yunus and Ahn Kyu-Chul are a synecdoche for countries which still live with injustice or division. Syntagmatically the interview partners throughout the event produce a narrative of 'then' and 'now'. The 'then' includes the periods of political change and upheaval which ultimately led to the fall of the Wall, and the 'now' referring to a united Europe, yet at the same time an awareness of the moral duty to educate younger generations about divided Germany and the value of freedom. Furthermore, it includes a moral message and a message of hope for people who currently live with injustice or division.

In addition to the creation of this narrative, well-respected guests such as Genscher or Gorbachev are yet another means of demonstrating the importance and status of the event. Having the people aforementioned as interview partners who speak as witnesses and

experts is seen by the author as adding to the credibility and legitimacy of the event. Using a synecdoche is a powerful method for this purpose.

Music

Musical performances were provided throughout the event by Plácido Domingo with Daniel Barenboim and the orchestra of the Berlin State Opera, Adoro, Bon Jovi, Stamping Feet and Paul van Dyk. Whereas some authors in the semiotics of music may be interested in detailed semiotic analyses of individual pieces of music, in this analysis the author is more concerned with what these pieces of music mean by being performed by particular people in this particular context, i.e. the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. As such the analysis considers the performers, as well as the song performed, although not in terms of what it may mean in detail in any given context, but what these performances mean by being included in this particular event.

First of all, it can be asked what the inclusion of music in general signifies. According to Berger (2012) music is 'used to generate certain responses in audiences' (p. 14). The musical performances can therefore be used to emphasise the intended atmosphere and messages of the event. Considering the styles of music and songs included, the intended atmosphere could include solemn reflection, pathos as well as more generic celebration. In discussing semiotics and popular music, Dunbar-Hall (1991) states that 'pieces of music are seen as representing sub-styles, and these in turn are seen as signifying lifestyles, and then beliefs, in a series of overlapping denotations and connotations' (p. 130). The sub-styles represented by the performances at the event include classical/opera music, a crossover between classical and pop music, rock music, drum instrumentals and electronic dance music. None of these sub-styles signify particularly unique subcultural lifestyles with corresponding ideologies, especially not any potentially anti-establishment views. The lifestyles and beliefs that are signified are thus mainly seen to be in line with popular mass culture of the Western world. The elements of classical music, however, are to be considered separately. Classical music is often used to add solemnity and gravity to big public occasions (Johnson, 2002). Often seen as an opposite to trivial popular music, classical music can today still function as an indicator of social class and status (Johnson, 2002). The classical music performed by well-known musicians thus functions as an additional symbol of the importance and status of the event while at the same time communicating a solemn atmosphere. In contrast to that, the other musical performances appeal to a mass market and further underpin the entertainment and celebratory element of this event.

Tagg (1987) furthermore argues that semiotic analyses of popular music may follow the classical communication model of emitter, channel and receiver, where the channel refers to the piece of music. In this case the emitters, i.e. performers, are of particular interest as the deliverers of messages that the organisers have considered suitable. It is striking that the well-known performers such as Plácido Domingo, Daniel Barenboim and Jon Bon Jovi are people who are also known for humanitarian work and political activism. These musicians thus become metaphors for qualities such as solidarity, benevolence, kindness and sympathy on the one hand, and civic engagement and democratic governance on the other. However, most of the performers have no direct link to the historical events of the time and it can be questioned why international celebrities such as Bon Jovi were chosen for the celebrations instead of local artists, and that the main purpose of this may be to strengthen the international significance and appeal of the event.

Although the performers have limited connection to the historical events, the songs that are being performed broadly follow the themes of freedom and unity. Adoro, for example, perform a song called 'Freiheit' ('Freedom'), and Paul van Dyk performs a song called 'We are one' which was specifically composed for the occasion. The song performed by Bon Jovi is called 'We weren't born to follow' and according to the band is about working people overcoming adverse circumstances without outside help (Jackson, 2010) and can thus also be related to the historical events of 1989. The rest of the performances do not fit directly with the themes of unity and freedom. The song performed by Plácido Domingo is called 'Berliner Luft' ('Berlin air') and was composed by famous Berlin composer Paul Lincke, a song which is sometimes called the unofficial anthem of the city (Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, 2014b). Thus, although not linked to the meaning of the events in 1989, it

can be interpreted as a symbol of local patriotism in Berlin, a showcasing of local pride to the world. It has to be noted that Daniel Barenboim and the orchestra of the Berlin State Opera played for approximately half an hour, but only the final song was broadcast live on television, thus only this performance is included in the analysis. Finally, the drum performance by Stamping Feet is accompanying the toppling of parts of the dominoes and thus it creates an atmosphere of tension while emphasising the action.

Overall the musical performances during the event fulfil various functions and communicate various messages. First of all, they underpin the importance and status of the event by using internationally renowned artists from both classical and popular music. The songs contribute to an atmosphere of pathos. Thematically, they align with the messages of freedom and unity while at the same time placing Berlin at the core of the events. Although some of these songs are performed in German, the song specifically composed for the occasion is in English and its message can thus be widely understood outside of Germany. Finally, through the choice of emitters/performers core qualities relating to human rights, international solidarity and democracy are communicated. Nevertheless, it is also worth mentioning that there are several musicians that are well-known for their political activism during the GDR government, such as Udo Lindenberg or Wolf Biermann in addition to a wide range of bands that rose to fame in the GDR. Performances by musicians like these may have provided a stronger link with the historical events of 1989.

Dominoes

The toppling of the dominoes is relatively fast-paced and thus only takes up a short period of time. Dominoes are toppled in three different stages, following interviews with the people who are about to topple dominoes as already discussed previously. The first two sections of dominoes are being toppled starting at the Reichstag and the Potsdamer Platz, with the final dominoes in front of the Brandenburg Gate falling in the grand finale accompanied by fireworks (see next section). The meaning of the domino as a sign has also already been discussed and thus is not repeated here.

Fireworks

The event culminated in the last dominoes being toppled and fireworks above the Brandenburg Gate. The fireworks are introduced with one final iteration of the theme freedom: A countdown type spelling of the word 'Freiheit' leads to the final dominoes being toppled and the fireworks starting.

Fireworks originate from China where they were originally used as part of various social and cultural celebrations (Temple, 2007). Nowadays, apart from being a popular aesthetic display, fireworks often take place during major public celebrations, and particularly also to signify the end of a period or the start of another. For example, fireworks are commonly used around the world on New Year's Eve at midnight when one year ends and another one begins. Firework displays are also often used to mark major cultural celebrations, such as Guy Fawkes Night in the UK, Independence Day in the US or Chinese New Year. Fireworks also play an important role in Olympic Opening and Closing Ceremonies to highlight the importance of lighting and extinguishing the Olympic flame and to mark the beginning and the end of the Games. Fireworks are thus often employed to signal the grand finale of something, in this case: the theme year, the 'Festival of Freedom' and the toppling of the dominoes.

Aiello and Thurlow (2006) describe firework displays as an uncontroversial and highly generic semiotic resource. At the same time the imagery is widely understood around the world and thus can be effective in evoking a sense of celebration in the diverse audience. On a more symbolic level in the context of this event the fireworks are perceived by the author as a potential signifier of the victory of the Western world over Soviet communism at the end of the Cold War, and the dominance of associated Western values in today's international community.

Hosting of the event

The main host of the event was Thomas Gottschalk, a famous German TV host, entertainer and actor. He was accompanied by Klaas Heufer-Umlauf (a TV host) and Guido Knopp (a

TV host and journalist). Thomas Gottschalk is well-known to the German-speaking audience for having been the host of a very successful Saturday night entertainment television show. In contrast to that, Klaas Heufer-Umlauf is more well-known for being involved in unconventional humorous TV shows targeting young adults. Finally, Guido Knopp is known in Germany for producing documentaries about contemporary history, particularly those produced for public-service broadcasters aiming at a mainstream audience.

The event is hosted in German and the hosts are unlikely to be known to a non-German-speaking audience. As such, their choice may not mean anything to an international audience. For the German speaking audience, however, Thomas Gottschalk as a host signifies large-scale Saturday night entertainment TV shows. Presenting the commemoration in such a way adds to its mainstream appeal but could also be perceived as trivialising the historical events by stage-managing the event for television with a lack of appropriate depth, dignity and grandeur of international appeal as discussed by Mohr (2009).

'Peaceful Revolution 1989/90'

Title

In terms of the syntagmatic structure, the name of the open-air exhibition on the Alexanderplatz ('Friedliche Revolution 1989/90'/'Peaceful Revolution 1989/90') carries exactly the same meaning in both German and English. It informs the reader that the exhibition is about the citizens' movement in the GDR in 1989 and 1990. It seems to be a simple, factual name for the exhibition. However, the term Peaceful Revolution has been widely discussed in the past, and many authors have debated as to whether the historical events were a revolution or not (e.g. Damm & Thompson, 2009; Eckert, 2009a; Sabrow, 2008). Often the term has been discussed in opposition to the term 'Wende' (change or U-turn in English). The term 'Wende' also has caused a lot of debate as to whether it is an appropriate name for the historical events, particularly because it has been used by politicians in the GDR and implies a more top-down initiated change, whereas the term Peaceful Revolution underpins the importance of the grassroots citizens' movement. According to Damm and Thompson (2009) the term 'Wende' has established itself in everyday speech to refer to the events of 1989/90. Nowadays, however, the term Peaceful Revolution is also common and widely used, although the debate about the most appropriate terminology is ongoing. Notably, the Federal Government has published a paper in 2009 stating that the term Peaceful Revolution is preferable to 'Wende' (Kaiser, 2013). As such, in terms of the paradigmatic structure, the organisers are making a statement with the choice of title and aligning with one side of the debate. At the same time it is framing the content of the exhibition for the visitor by implying that the focus is on the grassroots citizens' movement and their contribution to political change.

Dominant visual sign

Figure 22: The banner as a sign (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

The key sign for this event is that of the banners (see Figure 22). The banners were the basis for the design of the open-air exhibition. Furthermore, the blue banners reading 'Wir sind das Volk' ('We are the people') were used in publications by the organisers to represent this event.

Banners are used in a variety of contexts, usually to convey brief, poignant messages (as in protests, or also in sports) or to express one's belonging to a particular social group (for example, when it contains a flag or a coat of arms), or both at the same time. Banners can also be used for advertising purposes and this case the banners did advertise the exhibition to passers-by.

The design of the exhibition signified the protests that took place in in 1989. Well-known photos from these protests show a vast amount of people with banners. Some of the slogans used are well-known, with 'Wir sind das Volk' probably being the most well-known slogan of the Peaceful Revolution. It was also a ubiquitous chant throughout the demonstrations. The slogan was a request for democracy and free elections in the GDR.

For the design of the exhibition, metallic boards on high pillars were used. These are perceived by the author as an iconic sign to represent these famous images. Notably, the phrase 'Wir sind das Volk' was split up over several boards, so that people might only see fragments of it from certain perspectives and might have to come closer for the whole slogan to appear. This might signify the fact that the banners during the historical protest were not always readable at first either, as there were so many of them and at times they overlapped. This breaking up of the slogan recreates some of the overwhelming chaos caused by the many banners at the protests, as well as the density of people and banners at that time. Notably, this was not the only slogan used in the exhibition even though it was possibly the most prominent one. Others to be found on the banners included 'Miteinander nicht gegeneinander' or 'Demokratie und Menschenrechte', for example ('With each other not against each other', 'Democracy and human rights'). Furthermore, this reference to the historical events of 1989 is limited to displaying the banners only, not the people holding them. As such, the banners are used as a synecdoche to stand for the entire movement including the many individuals involved in it, but reduces these to the banners as creative expressions of their political demands.

Dominant space

The exhibition was located on the Alexanderplatz, where large-scale protests took place in 1989. In fact, these protests were the largest during the course of the Peaceful Revolution and are considered a key event in the lead-up to the fall of the Wall (Henke, 2009). Thus, Violi's (2012b) idea of indexicality is relevant again.

Today's Alexanderplatz is a famous and busy square in central Berlin, a transport hub and home to one of Berlin's most famous landmarks, the TV tower. Notably, however, Alexanderplatz has changed significantly since unification and is now home to a large shopping centre, cinemas, restaurants and other leisure facilities, so even though it is the original location, the exhibition is in strong contrast with the changed characteristics of Alexanderplatz. Visually, thus the exhibition and its surroundings constitute a paradigmatic opposite, the antonym of 'then' and 'now'.

Most evidently, the use of the stylised banners in this particular location implies re-occupying the same space as in 1989 and creating similar imagery. As such, the sign of the banners is topo-sensitive in that its meanings are dependent on its spatial and temporal coordinates (Eco, 1976). If the banners were to be placed somewhere else in Berlin outwith the context of the 20th anniversary year, different meanings may have been perceived by the author.

Programming

This section discusses the programming of the exhibition, however, without going into depth in terms of the deeper meanings of individual exhibited objects but considering broader

choices in terms of layout, design and themes included.

As can be seen from the photograph and map (see Figure 24 and Figure 23), at the core of the exhibition was a round building which included visitor information and a shop. From this point, five exhibition walls led into the surrounding space in a radial manner. These walls were occasionally interrupted so that visitors could easily access one section from another, depending on what grabbed their interest. The exhibition walls can be perceived to function as an icon of the Berlin Wall, but they are short and occasionally interrupted, thus presented in a non-threatening way. Another important aspect of the design were the stylised banners which have already been discussed previously. According to the organisers the aims of the design were to draw people in from the busy square but also to keep paths for crossing the square open (Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V. & Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2010). The exhibition was open day and night and free of charge. It is important to note that even though the

Figure 24: Aerial view of the exhibition (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

exhibition broadly followed a chronological order, there was no explicit communication of a beginning or end point of the narrative and the exhibition walls could be viewed in any order and in any direction. The exhibition design was thus aimed at reaching a mainstream audience and not at people with specialist interests. Exhibiting open-air in a busy public square without entrance fees removes barriers and has the potential of reaching people who would be unlikely to visit a museum of contemporary history, for example. In fact, audience research showed that many visitors rarely visit museums or cultural institutions and 31% of visitors noticed the exhibition by chance as they were passing by (Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V. & Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2010). It is noteworthy as well that a wide range of supplementary activities such as talks and guided tours took place within the exhibition.

The exhibition was bilingual in English and German, thus explicitly appealing to foreign tourists as well. It consisted of over 700 photos, text documents, videos, tape recordings and objects. As can be seen in Figure 25, the exhibition relied heavily on large-sized photographs adding to its potential for drawing in passers-by.

According to the organisers the exhibition portrayed causes, aims, actors and achievements of the period of political change (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a). The main themes under which the exhibition was organised were 'Aufbruch', 'Revolution' and 'Einheit' (translated by the organisers as 'Awakening', 'Revolution' and 'Unity'). The first theme, 'Awakening', is represented by the purple rays in the map above. The pink rays refer to the second theme, and the orange ray to the final and third theme. The emotive headings for the various sections further frame the content of the exhibition.

Figure 25: View into the open-air exhibition (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

The 'Awakening' section highlighted various citizens' movements throughout Germany and the Soviet bloc during German division, such as the uprising of 1953 in East Germany or the Prague Spring in 1968. It focused, however, on events in the 1980s, the rise of oppositional groups and citizens' movements in East Germany which eventually culminated in the revolution. The 'Revolution' section focused on the events in 1989 in the lead up to the fall of the Wall. It included the flight of people from the GDR via embassies as well as the increasing number of public protests, culminating with the events on 9th November 1989. 'Unity' portrayed the journey to German unification from November 1989. In terms of content the exhibition finished with the first German federal election after unification in December 1990.

Several observations can be made in terms of the choice of these sub-headings of the exhibition. First of all, the term 'awakening' is used as a metaphor that implies that more and more people suddenly came to the realisation that they lived in a state of injustice and were deprived of many basic human rights. Using the term 'revolution' as a sub-heading leads to the same discussion as the overall title of the exhibition as outlined in more detail previously. The final section places the first pan-German elections in December 1990 at the end of the exhibition. This underlines that the focus of the exhibition is on portraying the successful Peaceful Revolution as a prerequisite for German unification, rather than the process of unification itself.

Overall, the exhibition themes put the focus on the East German people as active agents rather than displaying top-down political processes and thus constitutes a strong contrast to the political emphasis in the 'Festival of Freedom'. It did not only focus on the importance of the protests on Alexanderplatz itself but aimed to portray a holistic and multi-faceted image of the movement. The exhibition portrayed the revolution as a process of self-liberation of people living under an oppressive regime. Additionally, it displayed individuals and movements who actively and peacefully fought for human rights and democracy and as such presented model behaviour of civic engagement and the fight against injustice. The exhibition thus used the movement as a symbol for the power of the people and the power of peaceful protest. At the same time the exhibition legitimised the pan-German government of a unified country as the government which emerged from this movement and which provided the people with the freedom, democracy and human rights that they were protesting for. This message is not only a story of local or national significance but also a reaffirmation of universal values based on the victory of 'good' over 'evil' by the means of peaceful protest and portrays the East Germans as a universal model figure of activism and the pursuit of these universal values and ideals.

'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin'

Title

The title of this event ('Schauplätze – 20 Jahre Berlin im Wandel'/'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin') carries slightly different meanings in German and English and both are discussed here. Regarding the syntagmatic analysis, in its literal sense the German word 'Schauplatz' consists of two parts. 'Schau' can be show, but also look or gaze, and 'Platz' is a place, location or square. In its broadest sense a 'Schauplatz' is a location where certain actions or events took place. Most commonly the German word is used in a news, film or theatre setting to refer to the location of the action. It can mean both the actual location of the theatre or film set but also the setting of the storyline as communicated through the theatrical scenery or artificial film set. The English translation could be locale or setting, and as such the English title of the event is not a literal translation of the German title.

As such, the title uses a metaphor and by borrowing from the language of theatre and film it signifies that the locations chosen for this event are the settings where important stories unfolded or are unfolding, in this case the change in Berlin between 1989 and 2009. The title is perceived by the author as an invitation for people to come and view original locations, authentic evidence of the changing character of Berlin. Visitors can witness first-hand how much the city has changed.

Notably, the theatre theme has been present in previous city branding campaigns and large-scale events, most importantly the 'Schaustelle Berlin' (a play on words: Schausteller =

travelling showman, 'Schau' = show, but also look or gaze, and 'Stelle' = place, location) from 1995 to 2005 where people were invited to visit large-scale construction sites as the city was undergoing widespread change (see also, for example, Colomb, 2012).

The English word 'perspectives' contains no direct reference to theatre or film. The word perspective can signify a variety of concepts. First of all, it can refer to someone's viewpoint or opinion on a matter, including associated value systems and beliefs. In literature, it can refer to the point of view of the narrator. Moreover, it can refer to graphical perspective which includes the appearance of objects in relation to other objects based on the viewer's angle, as well as the skill of recreating the depth of 3D objects in a 2D context. The term 'to put something into perspective' means to compare similar objects or situations to get a more accurate view on something. Notably, perspectives (particularly also the literal German translation 'Perspektiven') can also refer future prospects. Using the word 'perspectives' for this event can be interpreted in a variety of ways. First of all, it could imply that the different locations portray different aspects of change in Berlin, told from different points of view and including a multitude of voices. In terms of graphical perspectives it can be interpreted to refer to the fact that the objects and locations included in the event can literally be viewed from different angles. Combined with the meaning of future prospects, the chosen locations can be interpreted to be those that have a bright future ahead of them, places that have not only changed in the past 20 years but will continue to prosper in the future. As such these places give an idea of what Berlin is now, but also what it is going to be in the future.

The second half of the title of this event is '20 Jahre Berlin im Wandel', or '20 years of a changing Berlin', and syntagmatically it carries the same meaning in both languages. It singles out the period of 1989 until 2009 and implies that in 1989 a relevant process of change started in the city of Berlin. Most evidently, the title signifies that the city has changed since the fall of the Wall; there is no indication as to whether for the better or worse and it seems to apply to the entire city, not just East or West. There is also no indication that this change process is now complete, it seems to be more a snapshot of the 'change so far'. However, it also creates a paradigmatic opposite, in that it appears to imply that prior to 1989 the city was static, unchanging and of a completely different nature. This is in line with the view that the fall of the Wall was the beginning of a new era, or even the end of history or the end of the short 20th century as coined by Fukuyama and Hobsbawm, respectively (Siebold, 2014). The implication is that the chosen locations are representative of change processes in Berlin from 1989 until 2009, and possibly also for continuing change in the future. Again, the theme of change in the city has been used previously with the 'Schaustelle Berlin' event where it was used to gain acceptance of large-scale construction sites.

The overall theme of change that is apparent in this event implies that Berlin as a city is constantly evolving. Unification has triggered this process and it is still ongoing, the city is not in its final shape. The fall of the Wall has thus given the city the opportunity and freedom to prosper and re-invent itself. The notion of change entails an element of excitement but also uncertainty. People can come and witness this process in a few select representative locations.

Dominant visual sign

The red arrow was a significant aspect of the 'Changing Berlin' events (see Figure 26), as an oversized inflatable red arrow was floating above the chosen locations. Furthermore, it was used in publications by the organisers to symbolise this event, and it has also been part of their branding and merchandise.

Figure 26: The arrow as a sign (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

The basic shape of an arrow as a line with a triangle fixed to one side of it can signify various concepts. Most commonly it is an indexical sign for direction and movement towards a place, for example in traffic (road signs) and navigation (compass rose). Similarly, it can also be used to bring attention to a certain location or place by pointing towards it, such as the 'You are here' markers on maps. It is also a common symbol in IT, for example as the pointer of the mouse. Again, its function here is usually to help focus attention on a singular point. In this way, the arrow functions as an iconic sign of the pointing finger (Eco, 1976). According to Eco (1976), the arrow is a sign which is topo-sensitive. This means that its meaning is derived from its spatial and temporal coordinates. Indeed, although the arrow can always signify direction and movement, its meanings are highly dependent on where it is placed.

Further important aspects to consider here are the colour red and the way in which the sign of the arrow is used during the event – oversized, inflatable and floating in the air.

Generally, colours can function as icon, index and symbol (Caivano, 1998). As an icon the colour red can signify heat or blood, but also heaviness and weight (Caivano, 1998). As an index the colour red can function as a warning, signify danger or the order to stop, and in this way it is often used to capture attention, for example in warning signs, at traffic lights and in stop signs. In a symbolic sense, the colour red can signify a variety of concepts depending on context. In a Western context, it is considered an energetic and intense colour which can refer to strength, love and passion (Fehrman and Fehrman, 2004). Red is a bold colour with a strong visual impact which is seen to be physically stimulating and a popular colour in the design of logos of many famous brands (Wright, 1995).

In the context of Berlin, the colour red is also in line with colours which have been used for city branding purposes. In Figure 8 in the main body the current 'Visit Berlin' logo can be found, which is completely in red and white.

Overall, the shape, colour and size of the arrow indicate that its main purpose was to attract attention from as many people as possible to a certain location in Berlin. The arrow was also illuminated in darkness, making it highly visible day and night. However, the arrow does not communicate anything else to the viewer, i.e. there is no information about why it is there or about the location it is pointing at. As such, it requires the viewer to investigate further, for example by following the direction of the arrow and exploring directly what it is pointing at. It can be seen as quite a blunt invitation or even request for the viewer to investigate, which is emphasised by one of the slogans of the event: "Schau mal!" – "Have a look!". It can be assumed that the intended audience was not only tourists but also residents who were invited to reinvestigate their own city. Another important quality of the arrow is that by its very nature it singles out particular locations out of a range of possible places, i.e. it implies that certain places are more important or relevant than others. The arrow tells the viewer which places in Berlin to investigate to find out about how it has changed and thus also which not to. In combination with the chosen locations, the arrow thus creates a narrative of change in Berlin.

A further important visual sign of this event was a red staircase which was a central point of information and is displayed in Figure 27. On the inside, visitors were informed about the various locations that formed a part of this event. The steps on the outside were accessible and were often used as a viewing platform. The staircase was first located on Potsdamer Platz and later moved to the square in front of the new central train station, both of them highly frequented public squares and transport hubs.

Figure 27: The red staircase (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)

Stairs are not normally the destination but the means to get somewhere else; as such they signify human mobility and the possibility of moving upwards or downwards. However, in this case there was no higher level to be reached, the steps were leading nowhere except to a very small platform. Consequently, it can be said that the main purpose of this staircase is to elevate people from ground level which will enable them to see their surroundings from a different perspective. This clearly fits well with the English title of the event. But also the German 'Schauplätze' indicates a spectatorship which can be achieved through the staircase with the people viewing and observing the surrounding cityscape which is at the core of this event. As such, the staircase is an invitation for the people to gaze upon the cityscape. Additionally, the staircase can be seen as an icon of the viewing platforms which were erected in West Berlin during the times of division for tourists who wanted to be able to view into the East over the Berlin Wall (see Figure 16 in the main body). At that time, the stairs were used to enable people to gaze upon the other and the unknown. In contrast to that, the gaze from the red staircase is directed at the familiar and mundane. It can thus be seen as a metaphor which is asking people to view their familiar surroundings with a fresh eye as if it was unknown to them.

Although the staircase itself does not allow for much interaction and is mainly limited to visual consumption, there were other elements of this event which were more highly interactive such as the accompanying exhibition with lenticular images.

In terms of the chromatic symbolism, the choice of colour is in line with the red arrow as discussed above and the same meanings can be ascribed to it.

It is furthermore interesting that a similar concept was used during the 'Schaustelle Berlin' events between 1995 and 2005. A temporary red container-type building that offered exhibition space over three floors was placed adjacent to Potsdamer Platz while the square was undergoing major change. The building was called the INFOBOX and was used to showcase the future development of the square. It became a very popular attraction and was the origin of further 'Schaustelle Berlin' events which was a key city branding strategy in post-unification Berlin (see also, for example, Colomb, 2012). The staircase can thus also be seen as an icon of previous city branding strategies and through this reference it further underlines the city branding aspect of this event.

Dominant spaces

This event was about showcasing change in the city of Berlin by using a few select sample locations within the city (see Table 6 in the main body for a list of all locations). Consequently, in the case of this event, the locations are the programming of the event, and as such locations and programming are not discussed separately. The locations are important considerations for decoding the meaning of the arrow discussed above; syntagmatically the arrow and the locations create a narrative of change in Berlin.

Two dominant elements that emerge from the choice of the locations are improved shopping as well as leisure and entertainment facilities. Marlene-Dietrich-Platz, Olympiastadion and Olympiapark, Helle Mitte, Neues Kranzler Eck, Potsdamer Platz and Mediaspree are locations with new or improved leisure facilities, such as cinemas, casinos, public parks or (mega) event venues. Furthermore, Marlene-Dietrich-Platz, Helle Mitte, Berlin Central Train Station, Neues Kranzler Eck and Potsdamer Platz all are characterised by new or improved shopping facilities which are also emphasised in the descriptions by the organisers. The central train station, for example, is described by mentioning the 80 retail outlets which are open from 8am until 10pm. Potsdamer Platz is characterised by the shopping centre which is said to be its centrepiece. These improved leisure, entertainment and shopping facilities are a synecdoche of improved living conditions in Berlin since unification and furthermore function as a symbol of commercialism, consumerism and capitalism.

Heritage and culture is another recurring element, with four heritage sites or museums included: the Museum Island, the Berlin Wall Memorial, the German Museum of Technology and an art district close to the Heidestraße including the museum for contemporary art. However, none of the sites are static, 'authentic' heritage sites – again the focus is on change and how these sites have been developed and/or improved since unification. The museums included all focus on human achievement or antique collections, for example. As such there is little reference to how Berlin copes with its partially difficult past, apart from the inclusion of the Berlin Wall Memorial which is an obvious choice for this theme year. The memorial was described by the organisers as showing an excellent documentation of the history of the Wall (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009b), and as such the inclusion of the memorial can be considered a promotional tool in order to showcase the work that has gone into enhancing it in the previous years. Furthermore, by portraying how division is commemorated it emphasises the fact that division is definitely history. A modern, unified Berlin has come to terms with division; remains of it are now merely a museum object. In this respect it is also worth mentioning that it is the state-sponsored memorial which is chosen here, rather than the also very popular Checkpoint Charlie Museum. There is much to say about absent signifiers as part of the paradigmatic analysis. For example, the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe and its accompanying museum which opened in 2005 is one of the most highly visited museums in Berlin and would have been another possible choice. Indeed, the Nazi past is not even mentioned in the description of the Olympiastadion and Olympiapark, both of which are part of the legacy of the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. There is a brief reference in the description of the Marlene-Dietrich-Platz, stating that naming a public square after her is also a late honour of her fight against the Nazi regime.

Another recurring element is related to improved or new residential areas and the descriptions of Heidestraße, Helle Mitte, Neues Kranzler Eck and Adlershof all make reference to new or improved housing to some extent. Helle Mitte in former East Berlin, for example, was a district with famous East German residential buildings made from concrete slabs; however, according to the organisers this area has been upgraded to a modern and liveable urban quarter since unification (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009b). This statement clearly implies that previously these buildings have been 'unliveable'; however, many people in East Germany have lived their lives in these houses and indeed these buildings were highly desirable in the GDR (Ladd, 1997). The question can be raised as to whether everyday life in the GDR is being downgraded with this statement. Again, these areas function as a synecdoche of improved living conditions in Berlin since unification.

Business is another dominant element – Heidestraße, Adlershof, Potsdamer Platz and Mediaspree are locations where various businesses have recently settled down in new office space or will settle down in the future, particularly from the service sector, media and creative industries as well as start-ups. This element can be seen to signify the attractiveness of Berlin as a location for businesses and the status of Berlin as city of importance for international trade, especially in relation to its attractiveness for the service sector, media businesses or creative industries.

Education and science as well as transport are the last two elements that emerge more than once. New transport hubs such as the new central train station and the still to be opened Berlin Brandenburg Airport are two of the 14 locations. The train station was described on the no longer available website of the event as the new place where fast trains between Copenhagen and Palermo, between Paris and Moscow cross paths. This places Berlin into

the centre of a unified Europe, but also points out its accessibility from other major European cities.

The new governmental district of Berlin which was developed to accompany the move of the federal government from Bonn to Berlin is also included. The district is in former border space, on both the Eastern and Western side of it. In itself the district is meant to signify the growing together of a former divided country under a united government and its inclusion in this event can be seen as an underpinning of this notion – a depiction of unified Berlin where traces of division are disappearing. It also reaffirms Berlin's status as capital of the FRG, which it has only been since 1990 with the move of the government only completed in 1999.

In line with the title of the event and the overarching theme of 'change', all locations are places that either did not exist at all in 1989/90 or have undergone significant change since unification. Many of these, naturally, are used to showcase how Berlin has changed for the better since unification and how it is now a modern metropolis with infrastructure one would find in any major European city. Notably, some of the places included are 'unfinished', such as the airport, or have major changes planned for the future, such as the Museum Island, or have development potential, such as the area around the central train station. This underpins the notion of an ongoing change process within the city.

References to the past in the descriptions of the locations depict places as previously having been 'waste land' or 'no man's land', which is due to some of these places being located in the former border area. Nonetheless, this underpins the message about the change some of these places have undergone from useless to useful. Including locations that use the space in the former border strip also signifies a growing together of the previously divided city.

Notably, some of the locations included are not without contestation, although only little is said about this by the organisers in the material that was investigated for this analysis. The developments at Potsdamer Platz have been widely contested, yet the description by organisers only hints at this by calling it an 'urbanistic island' (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009b). Mediaspree is a project which has been causing widespread protests for years because of fears of increasing rents for long-term residents, privatisation and commercialisation of public space, displacement of subcultures and closures of small businesses (e.g. Lee and Hebel, 2007; Anheier and Hurrelmann, 2014). Adlershof has been a residential district for centuries, but the name is now mostly used to refer to the new science and technology park which has displeased some of the long-term residents of the older parts of the district.

As only 14 locations were chosen to signify the change within the city, the paradigmatic analysis of absent signifiers would be of considerable size. Generally, it is striking that the commercial, corporate and top-down developments are predominant in this event. Berlin is also well-known for its multicultural, youthful character and thriving subcultures (Zürn, Hurrelmann and Häußermann, 2009) which are aspects that are missing, apart from the commercial creativity and innovation as portrayed through the inclusion of creative industries.

Generally, the locations underpin the 'then' and 'now' dichotomy created by the event. Locations such as shopping centres and business districts reaffirm the values of commercialism, consumerism and capitalism of contemporary German society. Opposites such as 'liveable' and 'unliveable' housing further emphasise the achievements since 1989 and the benefits of living in contemporary German society in contrast to the inferior living conditions of the GDR. Furthermore, Berlin is placed into the centre of Europe as opposed to its place on the margins during the Cold War.

SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS: THE 2014 'LICHTGRENZE' EVENT

Title

The name used by the organisers to refer to the installation of illuminated balloons along the former route of the Berlin Wall was 'Lichtgrenze'. This term was used in both German and English, so there was no official English translation for this part of the event. It literally translates as 'light border' or 'border of lights'. The overall festivities were bundled under the name '25 Jahre Mauerfall' in German and 'Fall of the Wall 25' in English.

The words 'Grenze' or 'border' refer to the edges or margins of something. Commonly they signify the idea of framing geographical space by drawing up political or administrative borders. Particularly the idea of national borders is often not restricted to framing of space but also culture and language. Strict border controls can be in place for the protection of territory and culture, and thus national borders are essential resources for the construction of 'us' and 'them' in the construction of a national identity.

The term 'Lichtgrenze' clearly refers to German division and the inner-German border. Interestingly, it does not directly refer to the Wall as another possible name for the event could have been 'Lichtmauer' ('wall of lights'). Although the balloons did temporarily reconstruct the Wall in an abstract way, using the word 'Grenze' / 'border' makes it appear significantly less threatening. Whereas the Wall was an impenetrable type of border, many contemporary inner-European borders are relatively easy to cross. Although borders between European nations still exist, the EU and particularly the Schengen Agreement have made them penetrable and almost unnoticeable for European citizens. As such, the word 'Grenze' may carry fewer negative connotations than the word 'Mauer' as the symbol for ultimate division. Particularly coupled with the word 'Licht' (light) which signifies mostly positive ideas (discussed further in the following section), the title of the event evokes the idea of something non-threatening and light-hearted. Thus, although the title refers to division, it simultaneously evokes the idea of being able to overcome this division – a new, modern type of border which does not exist to keep people apart. Indeed, people were able to cross the 'Lichtgrenze' without problems, as walking among the balloons was possible. This way, the 'Lichtgrenze' created a paradigmatic opposite; the impenetrable Wall and today's penetrable borders making up the antonym of 'then' and 'now'.

It is furthermore important to acknowledge that there are still plenty of borders in today's world which are impenetrable. Whereas inner-European borders have become easy to cross in the years following the fall of the Wall, the borders surrounding EU territory, for example, still constitute an impenetrable Wall-type border for many. Thus, while the event title refers to a celebration of non-existing, or at least penetrable, non-threatening borders, this clearly is a privilege only relatively few people experience.

Dominant visual sign

The dominant visual sign is the white illuminated balloon (see Figure 12 in the main body). Approximately 8,000 of these balloons were temporarily put up along 15km of the former route of the Wall from Bornholmer Straße to the East Side Gallery between 7th November and 9th November 2014. In their entirety the balloons signify the Berlin Wall as an iconic sign; however, further meanings can be ascribed to them.

A balloon is a hollow body made from rubber or plastic which is filled with a gas such as air or helium so that it inflates and significantly increases its size. This type of basic balloon is usually seen to be either a toy or a decorative item. Balloons as toys for children are often sold on funfairs or other children friendly events. As party decoration balloons are commonly used at birthday parties, weddings and other types of celebrations. Balloons can also be used as advertising space when imprinted with a company's message or logo in which case they are often given out for free by the company.

By their very nature balloons only consist of a gas such as air or helium and a thin layer of rubber. As such balloons are light but also fragile and need to be handled with care as they can easily burst. This way the balloons can function as a symbol to signify the contrast between the heavy burden of real life with the Wall and current life in post-Wall society which is lighter, brighter and less threatening. Thus the balloons create a paradigmatic opposite, the antonym of 'then' and 'now'. At the same time it can also symbolise the fact that the benefits of today's society are precious and need to be protected carefully.

As aforementioned, colours can function as icon, index and symbol (Caivano, 1998). In an iconic way, the colour white can be seen to represent a neutral blankness, such as a blank canvass to be written upon, but also lightness and transparency. As an index, white can signify bright light or cleanliness. Finally, in terms of its symbolic meanings in a Western context, the colour white is normally associated with a sense of purity, goodness and innocence (Wright, 1995). It is often seen to be the colour of new beginnings (Caivano,

1998). It can also be interpreted to symbolise peace and calm, or also truce or surrender as the white flag in a war context. The author perceives white as an unusual colour for balloons, as their common usage as decorative items or toys often requires bold colours. It can be assumed that using the colour white was a conscious choice made by the organisers, on the one hand to convey a particular message and on the other possibly to avoid associations with banal celebrations, such as birthday parties.

The fact that the balloons are illuminated at night makes them highly visible and underpins the meanings of the colour white. More importantly, it creates a contrast between the bright balloons and the darkness of the night. The paradigmatic opposites that are created are the antonyms of light and dark (or similarly also white and black, day and night) which is a symbol-laden combination. Whereas in the contemporary Western world white mostly has positive connotations as described above, darkness and black often signify the opposite such as evil, death, or danger (Gage, 1999; Fehrman and Fehrman, 2004; Wright, 1995). As in darkness people are likely to be blind, disoriented, lost and possibly scared, the light represents a promise to end this threatening situation, where people can find their way again. This way the balloons represent a light in the darkness, which may symbolise safety, recovery and warmth. The expression 'to see a light in the dark' means to have hope and an optimistic worldview in difficult circumstances. The German phrase 'Licht ins Dunkel bringen' and the English equivalent 'to shed a light on something' use the dark-light dichotomy to refer to an understanding or clarification of previously obscure matter. Thus light can also symbolise understanding and knowledge, hope and optimism, whereas the darkness is ignorance and confusion, pessimism and despair. The white illuminated balloons thus signify the 'good' in the antonym of good and bad. The author perceives this as a metaphor to represent the contrast between the suppressive regime of the GDR (the darkness) and the freedom, democracy and human rights of the FRG (the light).

The illuminated balloons also have an iconic connection to the historical events from 1989. During the Peaceful Revolution in 1989, candles were commonly used by protesters as a sign of non-violence and hope. In this way, the balloons signify the successful peaceful protests and function as a reminder of the power of the people. It also ties in with the 'Lichtfest' ('Festival of Lights') in Leipzig, a large-scale commemorative event of the demonstrations in the city on 9th October 1989 which has been staged the last few years and draws upon the same iconic connection to the historical events.

It is worth noting that the balloons are also to some extent topo-sensitive as described by Eco (1976). This means that some meanings can be prescribed to illuminated white balloons independent of the context, however, other meanings are dependent on spatial and temporal coordinates. For example, for the symbolic and iconic connections to be made with the historical events of 1989, the date of the event and the location of the balloons are essential.

Dominant spaces

The events in 2014 were more decentralised than the festivities of 9th November 2009. Although a large-scale public celebration took place at Brandenburg Gate, there were various other main locations along the route of the balloons (see Figure 28). In addition to that, with the balloons and their ascent being the main attraction of the event, visitors did not have to be near any of the main locations but could observe from anywhere along the route.
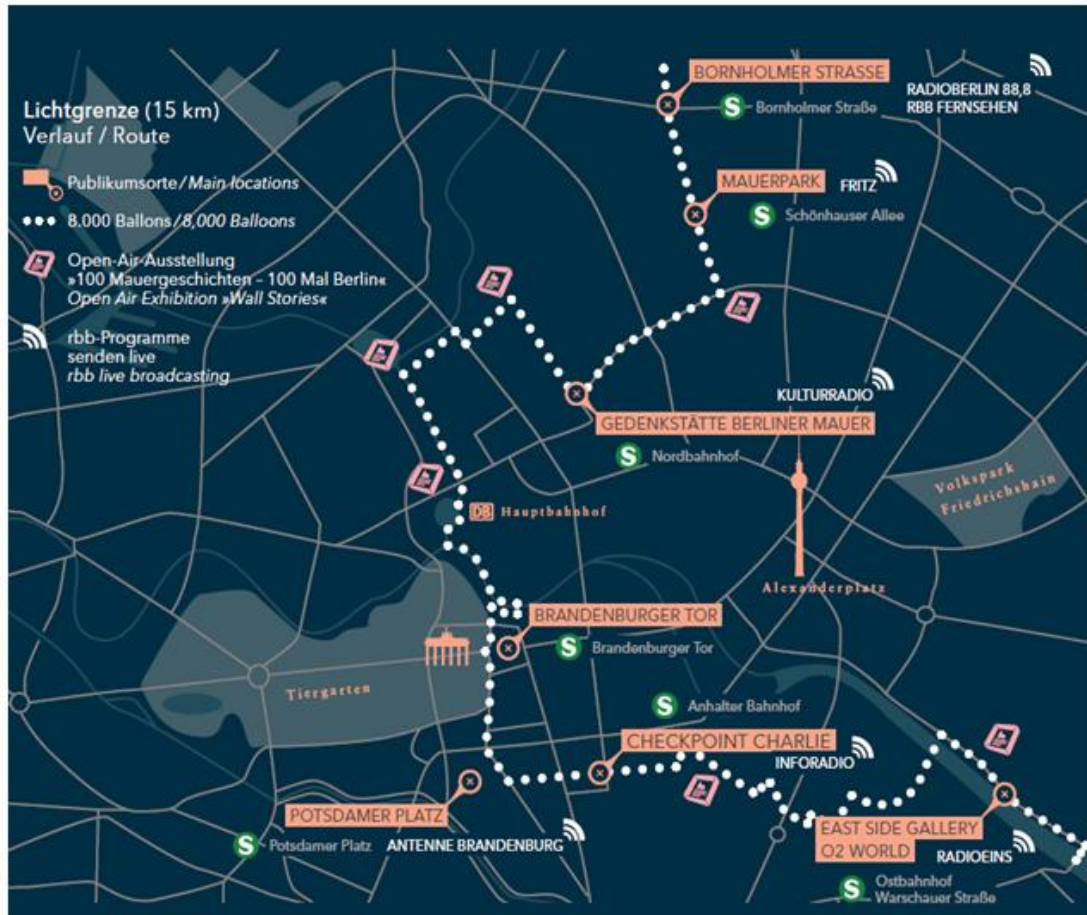
Figure 28: Main locations along the 'Lichtgrenze' (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2014b)

The route of the balloons followed 15km of the 155km-long border around West Berlin with a focus on its route through what is now the city centre of united Berlin. As the balloons were placed where the Wall used to be, Violi's (2012b) idea of indexicality is again relevant as the 'Lichtgrenze' has a spatial contiguity with the Wall, potentially affecting visitors' experiences. People were encouraged to wander along the 'Lichtgrenze'. Such a walk could visualise where the Wall used to be which is one of the most common questions of visitors to the city (Klemke, 2011; Senatskanzlei Berlin, ndb). Particularly considering the vast changes the cityscape has undergone since unification and the fact that only small sections of the Wall have been preserved makes a physical reconstruction of the Wall which guides visitors through the city an effective way of showcasing the extent to which Berlin has grown together and overcome division. Indeed, in many places along the route traces of division have disappeared and the route of the Wall is no longer visible. It has been pointed out several times how the events create a paradigmatic opposite consisting of the antonym of 'then' and 'now' or 'before' and 'after'. This is the case here as well, particularly in terms of the relationship the balloons as visual signs have with their environment along the route. For example, one could easily spot a large amount of recently constructed residential buildings in what used to be the death strip, illustrating the change the space has undergone since reunification and emphasising the contrast between 'then' (the death strip) and 'now' (modern residential building and mundane spaces within the city).

As aforementioned seven main locations were chosen by the organisers as focal points along the route. The seven main locations are all well-known places, some of them popular tourist attractions. Facilities at these locations included visitor information, merchandise shops, food stalls, viewing platforms, seats and large screens (see Figure 29). Some of these locations were meeting points for themed guided walking tours and all locations were allocated a local radio channel which was broadcasting live throughout the weekend.

Figure 29: Potsdamer Platz main location

Bornholmer Straße is a location of historical importance for the events of 1989. A border crossing was located on this street and it was the first one to open its gates to the large crowds of East German citizens on the evening of 9th November 1989. This location thus plays a significant role in many recollections of the events of that day. A permanent memorial is located here as well which was developed as part of the 'Overall concept' and included the naming of the square in front of it as the 'Square of 9th November'. Placing a focal point in this space thus functions as an indexical sign of the historical events as there is a spatial contiguity between historical event and commemoration thereof (Violi, 2012b). It furthermore implies a gathering of large crowds of people in 2014 in the same place where large crowds gathered in 1989, thus creating an iconic sign. Creating similar imagery may contribute to evoking similar emotions such as a sense of community, a feeling of real popular sovereignty and a feeling of victory of Western values. This is particularly significant for a space like Bornholmer Straße but may be equally applicable for the rest of the 'Lichtgrenze'.

Mauerpark ('Wall park') is a green space in what used to be the death strip. It is a lively and well-visited space particularly famous for its flea market but also for karaoke, buskers and other artists. It showcases creative alternative usage of the former border space and thus functions as a synecdoche for the creativity, alternative lifestyles and subcultures which the city is famous for. Interestingly, parts of the Mauerpark are intended to be developed for modern flats by a private investor and local community initiatives are campaigning against gentrification and for preservation of the cultural diversity of the space (see, for example, Freunde des Mauerparks e.V., 2015). In this way the space also exemplifies common conflicts within the city.

The Berlin Wall Memorial at Bernauer Straße was also home to one of the main visitor locations. This is not surprising due to the thematic closeness of the memorial and the event as well as the cooperation of the organisers. Guiding visitors to the memorial creates another interesting 'then' and 'now' antonym. People are encouraged to reimagine the realities of the Wall while walking along the 'Lichtgrenze' and at the same time to acknowledge the official commemoration of the Wall. Thus, while the idea of 'then' is related to the oppressive reality of the Wall, 'now' creates a distance to the past by showcasing how contemporary society has come to terms with it through permanent commemoration.

Further main locations included the Brandenburg Gate and Potsdamer Platz which have already been discussed previously. The Brandenburg Gate often functions as a synecdoche for the city of Berlin, whereas Potsdamer Platz is a common indexical sign to signify the change from a place on the margin to modern metropolis.

Checkpoint Charlie was another main location and is another former border crossing. This space is a major tourist attraction as it is famous for being the location of the stand-off between US and Soviet tanks in 1961 and a significant Cold War related heritage industry has developed here (Frank, 2009). This space is also part of the 'Overall concept' with major plans by the City of Berlin still to be executed. As a sign Checkpoint Charlie functions as a

symbol for opposing ideologies and a bipolar world and thus adds the international dimension of the Cold War to the narratives of the spaces discussed above.

The final main visitor location could be found near the East Side Gallery on the grounds surrounding a large indoor arena. The East Side Gallery is the longest still existing stretch of the Berlin Wall and is a popular tourist attraction due to being covered with colourful artwork by international artists. The area around the East Side Gallery is associated with similar conflicts about the usage of public space and gentrification as the Mauerpark due to the controversial Mediaspree project mentioned previously. The preservation of the East Side Gallery itself was threatened due to the various developments taking place in its proximity (e.g. BBC, 2013).

The choice of main locations naturally was restricted to suitable spaces along the 15km-long route of the Wall throughout the city centre. The spaces used are well-known and easy to reach by public transport. To some extent all of these locations exemplify how the space which used to be the border and the death strip have undergone change and are now part of a thriving modern and Western city, whether the area has been completely rebuilt for modern shopping centres or whether it is still open space used creatively by the community or whether the spaces exemplify how historical events are commemorated and adapted for tourist consumption. A further interesting consideration is the allocation of radio channels to the locations. For example, fritz broadcast from the Mauerpark, a radio channel which focuses on contemporary popular music and has a young target audience, whereas Kulturradio ('cultural radio') was allocated to the Berlin Wall Memorial, a radio channel focusing on classical music. The channels were thus used to underpin each location's intended image; apart from this the facilities and design of the main locations were comparable.

Programming

The discussion of the programming of the event focuses, as everywhere throughout this analysis, on what the author perceives as dominant elements. Thus, although another large-scale celebration took place at the Brandenburg Gate similar to the 'Festival of Freedom' in 2009, due to the decentralised nature of the 'Lichtgrenze' event, this celebration was not nearly as dominant. In contrast to the 'Festival of Freedom' it was not fully broadcast on TV either, as the programme focused on the 'Lichtgrenze' in its entirety. Additionally, the 'Festival of Freedom' was part of the theme year organised by Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, whereas the celebrations at the Brandenburg Gate in 2014 were organised by the federal government and only the 'Lichtgrenze' by Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH. Nevertheless, the two are connected as the route of the balloons also led past the Brandenburg Gate and their release was a dominant part of the celebrations that took place there. Thus, a short discussion of the Brandenburg Gate celebrations is provided with particular focus on the elements related to the 'Lichtgrenze'.

Release of the balloons

In the evening of the 9th November 2014, the 'Lichtgrenze' was opened by releasing the balloons. The balloons were released one after the other by sponsors who had adopted balloons in the run-up to the event. Sponsors were able to attach a personal message to their adopted balloon relating to their memory or experiences of the Berlin Wall or the meanings they personally attach to the celebration.

Releasing balloons is a celebratory and climactic act, perhaps in a way similar to fireworks, as the release of balloons is also a visual and aesthetic display. Balloon races, where many balloons with attached identification marks are released and the balloon that travels furthest wins a price, are a type of competition or fundraising. As such balloon releases can fulfil fundraising and promotional purposes.

The release of the balloons in this context is perceived by the author as an icon of the fall of the Wall and the opening of the inner-German border. As in 1989, the people are essential in the process of the border opening. The scheme for adopting balloons thus functions as an index of citizens' participation and communal action. At the same time it can be perceived as a symbol for the power of the people which can help overcome walls and borders, thus communicating a universal message of hope and optimism.

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Notably, however, the characteristics of balloons floating away and the fall of the Wall which they signify are opposites. Although both happened peacefully and the power of the people played a role, removal of helium balloons is easy and requires limited dedication, it is done by simply letting go or cutting a string. Helium balloons are seemingly unaffected by gravity and by their very nature have to be fastened not to disappear. Opposed to that are the characteristics of a concrete wall which due to its heaviness is something more durable and permanent requiring dedication and hard work for removal. Thus, while helium balloons require human intervention *not* to disappear, walls and borders require the opposite (although both are man-made). When a signifier is interpreted to signify the opposite of its obvious signified, the receiver may perceive it as a lie or irony, independent of whether this was intended or unintended by the sender of the message. The author thus perceives this sign as potentially problematic, as it could be interpreted by some people as trivialising or distorting the effort of the people taking part in the Peaceful Revolution as well as the fall of the Wall.

'Fall of the Wall 25' online campaign

The events in Berlin throughout the weekend of 9th November 2014 were accompanied by a social media campaign called 'Fall of the Wall 25'. In this campaign, people around the world were invited to send in their messages in relation to the fall of the Wall and the Peaceful Revolution in order to become virtual balloon sponsors. These messages were collected and displayed via Facebook, Twitter and a dedicated website. It encouraged everyone to contribute who feels connected to the historical events of 1989 or wants to transfer their symbolic messages to contemporary times. During the run-up to the weekend, a variety of video and written messages were shared via the campaign's platforms which portrayed people and their thoughts on both the historical event and the commemoration. Some of these people were well-known, including a variety of European politicians, actors or figures like Wikipedia-founder Jimmy Wales, but also included human rights activists from around the world or members of the general public. After the main events on 9th November and the release of the balloon, the dedicated website continued to function as a place where people could publish if and where they had found a balloon with a physical message attached.

This element clearly signifies the universal applicability of the values and ideals connected with the citizens' movement and the fall of the Wall and the idea that the significance of the historical events goes beyond the local or the national. It underpins the thought that meaning of the events can be transferred to contemporary times and situations where people still live with injustice or division, and thus the positive ending of the fall of the Wall can function as a message of hope.

Using social media, hashtags and a dedicated website in order to encourage people to contribute suggests that this campaign was particularly aimed at young people and an attempt to include an educational element by encouraging people with no first-hand experience to engage with the meaning of the Wall. The online campaign can further be seen as a means to reach a wider audience than those who can travel to Berlin for the weekend, and can also function as a promotional campaign in the run-up to the events.

While attempting to be inclusive and universal, the campaign is exclusive of those not privileged enough to have Internet access or those whose access to social networks is blocked and might thus have silenced some of those people who suffer most from suppression and injustice in this world.

Design and layout themes

As can be seen in Figure 30, blue was the main colour in the design of seven the main locations. Furthermore, cube-shaped structures were used in the design of seats, signposting, and similar elements.

Figure 30: Checkpoint Charlie main location

As discussed previously, just like any colour, the colour blue can function as icon, index and symbol (Caivano, 1998). As an icon blue can signify the sky, the sea or cold temperatures. As an indexical sign blue can refer to wetness or coldness, for example. The symbolic meanings of the colour blue in a Western context include the male gender, power, trustworthiness, loyalty, reason and logical thought (Fehrman and Fehrman, 2004; Wright, 1995). The colour blue is often said to have a calming effect which encourages reflection (Wright, 1995). Due to some of these semiotic meanings the colour blue is commonly used in branding for high-tech or IT products as well as in products where cleanliness or naturalness is important such as drinking water or medical products.

The use of cubes for the design can signify a variety of ideas. A cube is mainly a symmetrical geometric shape. The design of the cube is simple; it consists of six equally sized squares. As such they are suitable building blocks as each of the six sides provides an equally solid and stable foundation. The use of cubes for the design of the space also allows for creativity and flexibility as cubes can be used to build a variety of shapes.

The author perceives that as an icon the blue cubes can be interpreted as a deconstructed Wall of which building blocks can now be used to construct spaces for leisure. In combination with the meanings of the colour and the shape relating to notions of trustworthiness and stability the design of the main locations functions as an invitation for people to come and linger and in this way it as a way to assert oneself over previously off-limits space. This is in stark contrast with the hostile nature of these spaces during times of division, and thus another antonym of 'now' and 'then' is created. Furthermore, the appearance of the blue cubes is perceived by the author as quite modern with a cool and futuristic look. This creates even more of a perceived distance between past and present and helps to present contemporary Berlin as a modern city. The fact that in theory cubes can be used flexibly to construct a variety of shapes underpins the fact that these facilities are temporary. This complements the changing nature of much of Berlin's cityscape, particularly spaces along the route of the Wall.

Open-air exhibition: '100 Wall Stories'

The 'Lichtgrenze' was accompanied by an open-air exhibition consisting of 100 blue boxes placed along its route, one every 150m (see Figure 31). Each box portrayed anecdotes related to that particular location. The stories were presented in both German and English and supported by photographs. All of these stories were bundled in a book which was sold in the shops at the main locations.

Figure 31: Open-air exhibition

The shape and colour of the boxes was in line with the design of the facilities of the main locations discussed in the previous section. In terms of content each of the boxes was self-contained, thus not telling a coherent story along the 'Lichtgrenze'. As the title '100 Wall Stories' already indicates, the focus is on individual anecdotes which are tied to their respective locations, rather than retelling the grand narrative of the fall of the Wall. Although the exhibition constitutes an educational element, it does not focus on the big picture. It is not about educating people about causes and outcomes of major historical events or about providing a chronological overview of events. Instead the exhibition portrays independent stories, thus giving insight into life with division. This is interesting as it allows for lesser-known stories and individual biographies to emerge. Overall, it functions thus as an indexical sign, a clue (Caivano, 1998) of everyday life along the Wall. It furthermore underpins the idea of people wandering along various parts of the route, as this way people could leave the event having learnt something new regardless of where they decided to follow the balloons. It is thus a way of 'filling' the 'Lichtgrenze' event whose meanings depend on individual interpretation with predetermined content that is likely to appeal also to casual flâneurs.

Brandenburg Gate celebrations

As stated earlier, the celebrations at Brandenburg Gate are not discussed in the same amount of detail as the 'Festival of Freedom'. Instead, the author chose to focus the semiotic analysis on the elements of the celebration that mingle with the 'Lichtgrenze'. This includes elements of the event programme which were related to the official opening of the 'Lichtgrenze': a speech by Klaus Wowereit (Governing Mayor of Berlin) and music that accompanied the ascent of the balloons. Apart from these two elements, the celebration consisted mainly of a variety of musical and artistic performances and it was explicitly promoted as a 'citizens' festival', thus creating a strong contrast with the highly political and highly publicised 'Festival of Freedom' from 2009. Notably, although there were large screens along the 'Lichtgrenze', the celebration was not broadcast to large crowds which had gathered at the seven main locations and all along the route of the balloons.

A short speech is given by Klaus Wowereit before the release of the balloons (see Figure 32). It was one of his last major public appearances as he left office approximately one month later after over 13 years as Governing Mayor. As he delivers the speech the people who adopted balloons gather behind him on the stage where the 'Lichtgrenze' goes past. These people were invited guests as opposed to the general public who were able to adopt balloons elsewhere along the route. Wowereit addresses and welcomes some of them directly during his speech. Among these people were some of the same people as during the 'Festival of Freedom' in 2009: Gorbachev, Nemeth and Wałęsa. In addition to that, Joachim Gauck (President of Germany) and three human rights activists (Wolfgang Biermann, Freya Klier and Ulrike Poppe) are present on stage and addressed by Wowereit. Furthermore present on stage but not mentioned by name are Muhammad Yunus (also part of the festivities in 2009), Martin Schulz (President of the European Parliament), Jimmy Wales (founder of Wikipedia) and Ron Garan (NASA astronaut). Others may be present but cannot be identified.

Figure 32: Wowereit's speech at Brandenburg Gate for the opening of the 'Lichtgrenze' (Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, 2015)

As in 2009, politicians representing contemporary local, national and European government, selected human rights activists as well as other key figures from the historical events are guests at the celebration. Similar to the events in 2009, these figures function as synecdoches to signify the local, national and European dimension of the fall of the Wall, the Peaceful Revolution in Germany and the international political framework of 1989, respectively. Interestingly, the transatlantic and non-European dimension is absent in this event. Again, Muhammad Yunus can be perceived as a synecdoche for countries with existing injustice and inequality and at the same time emphasise the symbolic universal message of the fall of the Wall. Jimmy Wales and Ron Garan represent a dimension which was not present previously. The author perceives these two guests as metonyms that signify technological progress, human achievement and international networks/collaboration.

Each of these guests is accompanied on stage by a child or young person and as pairs they release the balloons. Similarly to the involvement of young people in the 'Domino Campaign', this signifies the duty to educate the younger generation who did not experience life with division.

After these people had released the balloons and cleared the stage, music was provided by Daniel Barenboim and the orchestra of the Berlin State Opera to accompany the release of the balloons along the rest of the route. The piece performed was the Fourth Movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, also commonly known as 'Ode to Joy' based on the poem by Friedrich Schiller which gave the piece its lyrics. Several observations made previously are relevant here as well. First of all, the emitters (Tagg, 1987) have already been discussed. Furthermore, Johnson's (2002) statement about the use of classical music in public events is relevant. Thus, what remains to be discussed is the channel, i.e. the piece of music.

The chosen piece by Beethoven is one of the most well-known pieces of classical music worldwide. The instrumental version of the song is the official anthem of the European Union, and it is said to convey the European ideals of freedom, peace and solidarity in the universal language of music (European Union, nd). It was chosen as the anthem because it portrays the vision of all humans becoming brothers, a vision shared by both Beethoven and Schiller in composing the piece (European Union, nd). The choice of music for accompanying the release of the balloons and thus the opening of the 'Lichtgrenze' is perceived by the author to function as a symbol signifying unity among European nations. It does not only convey the ideals described above but more broadly it signifies a celebration of a victory of unity over a divided Europe.

APPENDIX F: PUBLICATION NUMBER 1

Viol, M., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2012) 'Constructing social memory: A critical investigation of cultural governance and narratives of the past through festivals and events', presented at: *'Innovative Approaches to Tourism Marketing and Management Research', PhD Colloquium*, **Exeter, UK, 2nd - 4th April 2012.**

This paper is based on the PhD research proposal of the author. The research aims at investigating a) the role of festivals and events in celebrating or commemorating the past for both personal and collective memory, as well as b) how history and identity are constructed at such events and c) the attitudes of locals and non-locals towards them. It draws upon conceptual frameworks on heritage, identity, memory, nationalism or political and cultural governance and, as a qualitative interpretive study, the data collection will be conducted with the help of focus groups and semi-structured interviews.

INTRODUCTION

Being at a very early stage in her PhD, this paper is based on the proposal submitted by the author as part of the application process for her studentship. Many festivals and events, such as the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 2009 but also smaller celebrations and commemorations such exhibitions revolving around this event consist of representations of heritage and identity and help both individuals and communities to create and rehearse memories of the past. The proposed PhD research is focused on these festivals and events, and seeks to examine aspects such as the construction of heritage and identity through governance processes and the contestation of heritage and identity in multicultural societies. Taking innovative research methods for tourism and events such as an adaptation of memory work into consideration, this PhD research constitutes a relevant interdisciplinary study. This paper will briefly outline the theoretical background, aims, objectives and proposed methods.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Heritage is often mentioned as a strong resource for creating identities and for fostering sense of community and sense of place for residents; yet at the same time, it is one of the most important resources for tourism development (e.g. MacDonald, 1997; Derrett, 2003; Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007; Harrison, 2008). Similarly, festivals and events are at the centre of much research for their importance in celebrating group and place identity and for their importance in destination development (e.g. De Bres and Davis, 2001; Derrett, 2003).

However, heritage is inextricably linked with contemporary identities and both are highly contested subjects. Today's multicultural societies are built up of many pasts and identities; and the fact that the past can be both a cultural resource for the local community and an economic resource to stimulate tourism can cause contestation, too. Moreover, heritage is always constructed and not found (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007); and its worth relies mainly on the meanings that are attached to the actual tangible and intangible remains based on contemporary values (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007).

Consequently, the concept of heritage is related to the notions of cultural governance and cultural politics, as every form of simplified cultural or historical representation will raise the question of who selected the key representative characteristics and why (e.g. Jeong and Santos, 2004).

This implies that even though heritage and its related distinctive identities are considered to be important for both tourism and residents, governance choices and cultural politics may be subject to contestation from various perspectives and for various reasons. In order to develop and foster culturally and socially sustainable tourism it is therefore important to analyse the social processes and institutional practices that construct heritage and identity (Saarinen, 1998).

In addition to the concepts of heritage and identity which have been widely present in tourism studies, this research includes the role of personal and collective memory. Since the past and its contemporary manifestations as heritage play important roles for modern

identities, the way individuals and communities remember the past plays an equally crucial role in this context. Therefore, the concept of social or collective memory is to be considered and how it is created and rehearsed through narratives of the past at festivals and events.

Some articles have addressed notions of collective memory in the wider context of tourism, for instance by investigating war memorials since these sites have become increasingly important for tourism and destination marketing (Winter, 2009; West, 2010). However, the temporary and collective nature of festivals and events makes them particularly interesting for research in this field and it is in this area that a contribution is sought from this proposed research.

Based on this theoretical background, the aims and objectives of the research are outlined in the following section.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of the research is to critically analyse the concept of festivals and events as collective commemoration or celebration of national history with regard to how the past is depicted, as well as locals' and non-locals' perceptions of and attitudes towards cultural governance through remembrance politics.

The objectives of the research are to:

1. Explore both agents and processes involved in cultural governance through remembrance politics at festivals and events such as commemoration ceremonies and historical celebrations
2. Examine the construction of history and identity through cultural politics at festivals and events and their role for both collective and personal memory
3. Investigate the commodification of national history through tourism and its perceptions by both locals and non-locals.

PROPOSED METHODOLOGY

The research will be based on a qualitative approach consisting of interviews and focus groups in order to gain in-depth insight into people's perceptions of the research matter. Assuming that pasts are always plural and subject to individual interpretation, a qualitative and interpretative approach is considered the most suitable one to address the defined aims and objectives. The chosen approach allows for an exploratory research project with innovative research methods that do not require detailed pre-conceptualisation of questions and therefore support the possibility for unexpected findings to emerge. Interviewees and focus group participants will be recruited through the snowball sampling method until theoretical saturation is reached. Berlin will be used as a case study for this research. Being the capital of Germany and at the core of national history, Berlin provides a suitable environment for the purpose of this study.

It is proposed that the research will be partly conducted through semi-structured interviews, in order to gather in-depth individual narratives. Interviewees will be members of the public authorities, event organisers and other stakeholders for tourism in the destination, such as the city marketing body. This will be particularly helpful for uncovering power relations and how heritage, identity and memory are constructed at institutional and organisational level and why.

In addition to that it is proposed to include locals and non-locals in the research in order to examine their attitudes towards and perceptions of the events and practices under investigation. This can be done through focus groups, as focus groups are a useful tool to stimulate discussion and to gain insight into differences and commonalities within the group. Furthermore, they allow discussions to be relatively self-contained with little need for the researcher to direct and intervene. Within focus groups, innovative methods and stimulus material can be used. Within the context of heritage, identity and memory, the researcher suggests memory work to be considered as a method (Small, 1999). Memory work is a social constructionist method, useful to investigate how people construct their own identity based on past experiences (Small, 1999). Small (1999) employed this method for investigating women's tourist experiences, the core of the method is to make participants

write down a specific memory of a holiday and to discuss the written memories in a group. She suggests that memory work can be elevated from its originally feminist implementation and adapted to other situations in order to bring forward more innovative research methods in tourism. It is therefore a potentially valuable research method in this context in order to analyse locals and non-locals memories of past events and how these relate to identities of the present time.

CONCLUSION

This paper introduced the theoretical background, aims and objectives and proposed methods of the author's PhD research proposal. Drawing upon a variety of conceptual frameworks and employing new research methods the author hopes to make a valuable contribution to festival and events studies. The research constitutes an innovative interdisciplinary approach to the study of festivals and events, as well as destination development and management through heritage tourism. It is therefore of interest and relevance for academics and destination or event managers alike.

APPENDIX G: PUBLICATION NUMBER 2

Viol, M., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2012) 'Constructing social memory: a critical investigation of cultural governance and narratives of the past at commemorative events', presented at: *Global Events Congress V, Advances in Event Management Research & Practice*, **Stavanger, Norway, 13th – 15th June 2012.**

The past of a nation can be a strong resource for creating identities and for fostering a sense of community and place for residents; yet at the same time, it is one of the most important resources for tourism through heritage tourism (e.g. Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007; Derrett, 2003; Harrison, 2008; MacDonald, 1997). Similarly, festivals and events are at the centre of much research for their importance in celebrating group and place identity as well as for destination development (e.g. De Bres and Davis, 2001; Derrett, 2003). Finally, tourism and its relationship with social memory have been the subject of some research, particularly in connection with museums and memorials (e.g. Chronis, 2006; Park, 2011; West, 2010; Winter, 2009).

Investigations on commemorative events, in a way, combine these areas of research, in that these events use the past as a resource for the present and can be considered celebrations and/or expressions of a shared past and its subsequent contemporary identities. Additionally, they also involve the notion of memory as this shared past always indicates a shared memory. Hence, it is of interest to analyse the role of commemorative events in the creation of such a shared memory.

This paper is part of a doctoral research project which aims at examining a) the role of commemorative events for collective memory, as well as b) how memory and identity are constructed at such events, and c) the underlying governance structures influencing this construction. This paper will present the conceptual frameworks of the research by focussing on perspectives from governance and sociology.

The social context is an important factor when considering memory. Members of so called 'mnemonic communities' influence their shared memory by telling stories in a specific tone and silencing other memories by not telling them (Zerubavel, 1996, p. 289); therefore shared memory is highly susceptible to distortion and individual interpretation. Consequently, such social memory is not exclusively stored in the mind of the individual; instead it is communicated through social sites of memory (Zerubavel, 1996) or lieux de memoire (Nora, 1989) – places and spaces that can provide access to a shared past for future generations. Commemorative events can also be considered such social sites of memory. They will influence social memory in that they present a recollection of the past in a certain tone and highlight specific stories while excluding others.

Furthermore, this shared memory is also subject to social rules that tell a certain mnemonic community what to remember and what to forget (Zerubavel, 1996). This raises the question of who establishes such rules of remembrance for commemorative events and why. The study of collective memory and commemoration should therefore further investigate power relations and policy networks, i.e. the consideration of everyday aggregation and intermediation of interests in public policymaking (Rhodes, 1997). Such interdependences and power relations between both governmental and non-governmental actors influence the ways decisions are made and implemented. As such, these processes are of high interest for the study of commemorative events and rules of remembrance as they can give light to power structures and motives for decisions.

APPENDIX H: PUBLICATION NUMBER 3

Viol, M., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2012) 'Constructing social memory: a critical investigation of reconstructions of the past and governance at commemorative events', presented at: *'Current Issues and (Im)possible Solutions: an interdisciplinary dialogue in tourism and leisure', GLTRG PhD Colloquium*, **University of Surrey, UK, 6th – 7th September 2012.**

This doctoral research project aims at examining a) the role of commemorative events for collective memory, as well as b) how memory and identity are constructed at such events, and c) the underlying governance structures influencing this construction.

The following concepts have been the subject of research in a tourism and events context. The past of a nation can be a strong resource for creating identities and for fostering a sense of community and place for residents; yet at the same time, it is one of the most important resources for tourism through heritage tourism (e.g. Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007; Derrett, 2003; Harrison, 2008; MacDonald, 1997). Similarly, festivals and events are at the centre of much research for their importance in celebrating group and place identity as well as for destination development (e.g. De Bres and Davis, 2001; Derrett, 2003). Finally, tourism and its relationship with social memory has been the subject of some research, particularly in connection with museums and memorials (e.g. Chronis, 2006; Park, 2011; West, 2010; Winter, 2009).

Investigations on commemorative events, in a way, combine these areas of research, in that these events use the past as a resource for the present and can be considered celebrations and/or expressions of a shared past and its subsequent contemporary identities. Additionally, they also involve the notion of memory as this shared past always indicates a shared memory. Hence, it is of interest to analyse the role of commemorative events in the creation of collective memory.

The social context is an important factor when considering memory. Members of so called 'mnemonic communities' influence their shared memory by telling stories in a specific tone and silencing other memories by not telling them (Zerubavel, 1996, p. 289); therefore shared memory is highly susceptible to distortion and individual interpretation. Consequently, such social memory is not exclusively stored in the mind of the individual; instead it is communicated through social sites of memory (Zerubavel, 1996) or lieux de memoire (Nora, 1989) – places and spaces that can provide access to a shared past for future generations. Commemorative events can also be considered such social sites of memory. They will influence social memory in that they present a recollection of the past in a certain tone and highlight specific stories while excluding others.

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This research will employ a constructivist paradigm, leading to a relativist ontological and subjectivist epistemological perspective (Pernecky, 2007). Consequently, potential methods will be qualitative, and the research will be conducted using the example of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The potential contribution of this doctoral research is to provide greater insight into the interrelation between commemorative events and collective memory, how commemorative events contribute to the construction of memory and identity, the role of rules of remembrance as well as further potential research areas related to commemorative events.

APPENDIX I: PUBLICATION NUMBER 4

Viol, M., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2013) 'The impact of commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall on collective memory (re)constructions', presented at: *Post Conflict, Cultural Heritage and Regional Development: An International Conference***, Wageningen, Netherlands, 9th – 11th October 2013.**

Although commemorative events are increasingly becoming tourist attractions and the tourism industry may have a direct influence on the ways in which remembrance is taking place, these events have only received marginal attention in tourism and events literature (Getz, 2007; Frost, 2012). Consequently, limited research has been conducted on how they may contribute to the construction of collective memory and identity.

Memory and commemoration are concepts that are inextricably linked. Indeed, Tint (2010) describes collective memory as a commemorative narrative, which additionally forms the basis for contemporary national identity. However, this commemorative narrative is often constructed by the dominant discourse and as such it can be highly contested. Gillis (1994), for instance, describes commemoration to be 'by definition social and political' as well as 'the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and, in some instances, annihilation.' (p. 5). It is thus of interest to investigate the impact commemorative events have on the creation, annihilation and/or reinforcement of memory and identity. The fall of the Berlin Wall is a particularly suitable example, as remembrance of the Wall poses various challenges: Having been a divided country in which two separate forms of national consciousness had developed, the construction of unified versions of collective memory and identity proved particularly difficult after German reunification (McKay, 2002). Furthermore, the contentious nature of remembrance of the Berlin Wall is also due to the different meanings the Wall conveys to different people, and the different ways it can be read as a symbol: for instance, it can be seen as a reminder of the Cold War or as a symbol for German division and personal tragedies (Knischewski & Spittler, 2006).

This paper is based on a doctoral research project which aims at investigating the impact commemorative events have on the construction of collective memory and subsequent identities using the major anniversary years of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 2009 and 2014. The paper to be presented at the conference outlines the proposed conceptual framework and methodology. The research relates directly to the conference theme in that it considers the Berlin Wall as a site of national and international conflict, which since its fall in 1989 has been functioning as a heritage site, a tourist attraction and a site of memory.

APPENDIX J: PUBLICATION NUMBER 5

Viol, M., Theodoraki, E., Anastasiadou, C. & Todd, L. (2014) 'Researching narratives of collective memory and identity: The case of the commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall', presented at: *International Conference on Remembering in a Globalizing World: The Play and Interplay of Tourism, Memory, and Place*, **Le Chambon sur Lignon, France, 8**[th] **– 10**[th] **September 2014.**

Although the tourism industry may have a direct influence on the ways in which remembrance is taking place and as such on how memory and identity are constructed and contested at public acts of remembrance, commemorative events have only received marginal attention in tourism and events literature (Getz, 2007; Frost, 2012). This paper is based on a doctoral research project which aims at exploring how narratives of collective memory and identity emerge through commemorative events using the example of the fall of the Berlin Wall. The presentation will include the conceptual framework, methodology as well as some preliminary results.

Commemorative events are particularly powerful tools for constructions of collective memory and identity. While monuments can develop into unnoticed banal features of the urban landscape, ceremonies have the potential to generate a strong sense of belonging through creating a shared experience (Turner, 2006). At the same time, commemorative events are becoming increasingly popular as tourist attractions and large-scale anniversaries can be used specifically as a means for tourism development strategies (Liburd, 2003). Consequently there is potential for dispute regarding the commercialisation of commemorative events which may have an impact on the already contentious 'commemorative narrative' (Zerubavel, 1995, p. 6). A commemorative narrative can be defined as 'a set of ideas and values embedded in the chosen symbols and understood by the audience' (Avraham and Daugherty, 2012, p. 1386). For the researcher it is thus important to investigate which symbols are used at commemorative events to represent the historical event, the local community, as well as the interests and values that are promoted (Quinn, 2003).

This research project will investigate the main official events which marked the major anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 2009 and 2014. The 20th anniversary was staged as a theme year, which consisted of three main elements: An open-air exhibition on the Peaceful Revolution in 1989/90, themed guided tours which showcased the changing nature of Berlin, and the internationally televised 'Festival of Freedom' on 9th November 2009, a highly choreographed spectacle (Gook, 2011). The approaching 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall will take place in what has been termed a 'great year of commemoration' by the German media. It will be marked with an official event which temporarily reconstructs the Wall with illuminated white balloons which are then to be released on the evening of 9th November – the event has been described as 'a symbol of hope for a world without walls' by the organisers.

For this research project a semiotic analysis will be conducted in order to critically analyse the commemorative narrative that is communicated in the major anniversary years of 2009 and 2014. Semiotics, as the study of systems of signs (Echtner, 1999), is a useful tool for analysing the deeper meanings of the signs employed. Focus of the analysis will be on the official commemorative events as well as associated promotional material in order to explore narratives of memory and identity. Relevant documents will also be consulted for analysis, such as an evaluative report of the 2009 theme year compiled by the organisers Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH. This will be combined with semi-structured interviews with event owners in order to explore how and why this particular narrative has emerged.

Not only the concepts of memory and identity are widely contested, but also the context of commemoration of the Berlin Wall poses various challenges. Having been a divided country in which two separate forms of 'official' national consciousness had developed, the construction of unified versions of collective memory and identity proved particularly difficult after German reunification (McKay, 2002). The contentious nature of commemoration of the Berlin Wall is also due to the different meanings the Wall conveys to different people, and the different ways it can be read as a symbol: for instance, it can be seen as an international

reminder of the Cold War or as a symbol for German division and personal tragedies (Knischewski and Spittler, 2006). Finally, the wider context of Berlin Wall commemoration is of interest, as after unification, support for keeping remnants of the Wall as memorials was little (Tölle, 2010). However, more than 20 years after reunification, the senate in Berlin reinvestigated the dwindling remains of the Wall, and in 2006 published a strategy that streamlined commemoration across the city (Bach, 2013; Tölle, 2010). One of the reasons for this development were the demands of the tourism industry to see the city's most famous edifice. This development culminated in the first major anniversary celebrations in 2009, and as such the 20th and 25th anniversary events provide interesting examples to study collective memory and identity as expressed through commemorative narratives.

APPENDIX K: PUBLICATION NUMBER 6

Wikis are collaborative websites and are increasingly used by organisations for working in groups and sharing knowledge. Furthermore, universities have recently started to implement wikis for teaching and learning purposes. The academic literature suggests that wikis are a suitable tool to enhance constructivist learning environments as well as to develop students' employability skills. Furthermore, wikis can help mitigate some of the common challenges of group work at university.

This paper explores students' experiences with the informal use of wikis that are embedded in the university's virtual learning environment (VLE) and provides suggestions for the implementation of similar wikis in other situations. It is based on data that was gathered in a module for first year undergraduate Festival and Event Management students at a UK University.

Findings suggest some negative experiences with VLE wikis on this module due to the layout of the wiki software combined with readily available means of online collaboration such as Facebook that students were more familiar with. The findings constitute the basis for advice on using wikis in the future. Most importantly, the wiki software should possess as many of the key characteristics of a wiki as possible. Furthermore, the research confirms several findings from other studies: Students should be given guidance on how they can use and benefit from the wiki and how it is used by the teaching team for monitoring and marking. For high levels of student engagement, a mandatory use of the wiki should be considered, or alternatively a thorough embedding of the wiki in the curriculum combined with high levels of staff engagement needs to be in place.