

Memory and space in the age of terrorism. What happens to the space after an event of terror? How is public memory related to memorialisation of the 7/7 bombings and the Westminster bridge attack victims?

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fig. 1

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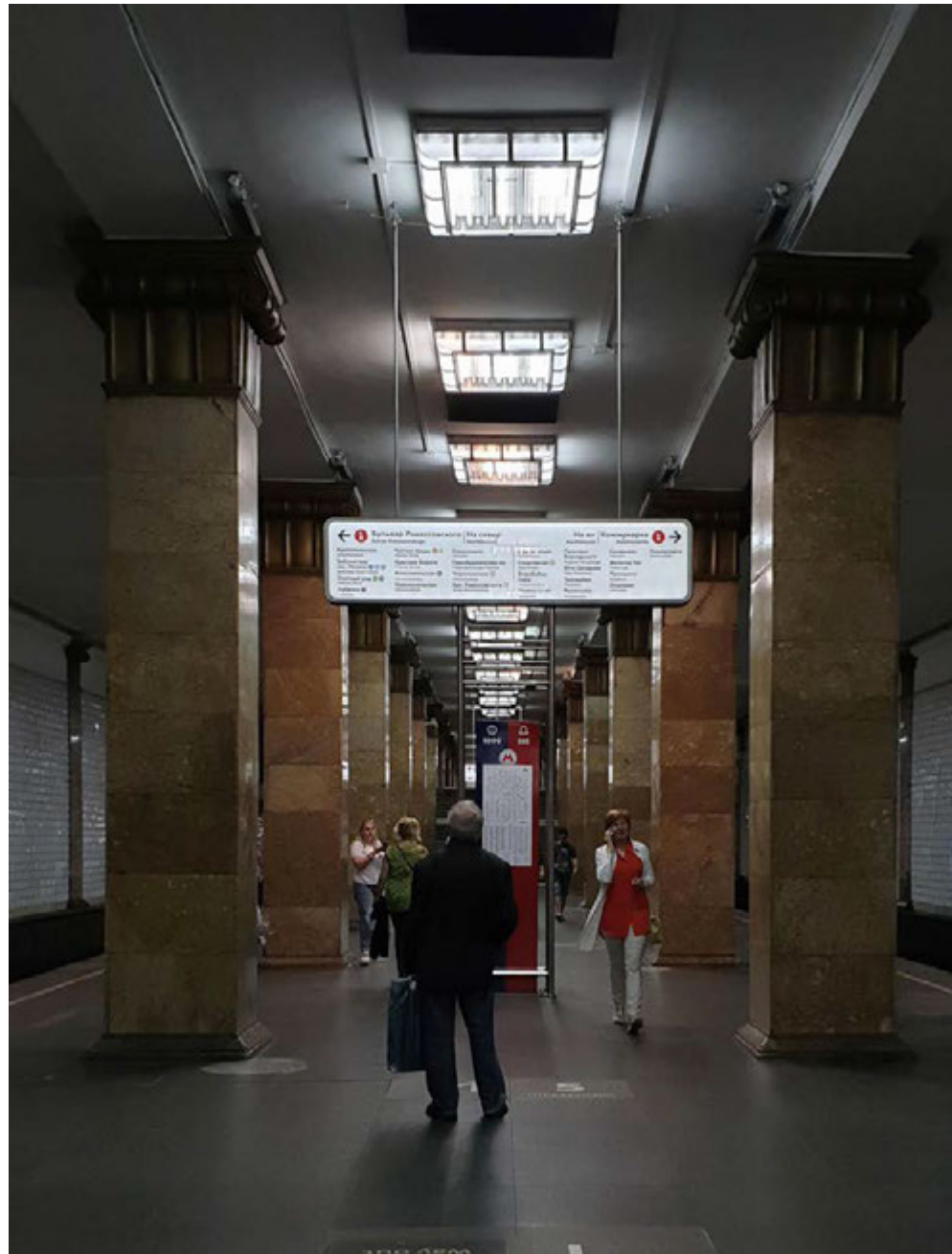


fig. 2



fig. 3

Preface

We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left
 Pierre Nora (Nora, quoted in Heath-Kelly, 2016)

On the 29th March 2010 during morning rush hour, two explosions were heard on the central line's Park Kultury (fig. 2) and Lubyanka (fig. 3) stations in Moscow, Russia. The terrorist attacks took the lives of 40 people and left over 100 injured.

While living in Moscow, a few years after the attacks I started commuting on my own and my daily route included travelling through one of those stations. Each time I would get off I would try to picture how it was in the station on that day in March 2010. There was nothing to attach that picture to as the space was polished, with the columns and the ceiling restored and painted over after the blast. There was no memorial or a spot where one could put a small bouquet to commemorate the victims. As the life in the station went on, with people getting in and out of the trains, the curiosity of how the public sees the space rose and my interest in the topic of memorialisation started to emerge. From personal experience, in Russia the public attitude towards terrorism varies as some consider the topic sensitive, something that should not be talked about, thus making it not discussed enough from the point of architecture and space. Atrocities change the space around us, whether physically or mentally, and it is ultimately the public that decides whether we should remember it or not. 9 years have passed since the terrorist attacks and the topic of remembrance and commemoration is still something that I think about every time I visit either of those stations.

Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to open a conversation about public memory towards acts of terrorism in relation to space. It is important to achieve an understanding of what happens to the space and architecture after a terror attack and how that, in combination with public memory, could potentially influence the memorialisation of the victims and the events.

The topic is especially relevant nowadays, when the media dominates the way public perceives and remembers the attacks. Even though Western Europe has seen a decrease in the amount of terrorism cases, the media has changed the way public apprehends and remembers them as the coverage became more intense (Richie, H. *et al.*, 2019). Based on personal experience, once an attack occurs, public discourse is surrounded for weeks by the headlines which are predominantly about the victims, attackers and police investigations. The place where the incident happened gets closed off to the public, the transportation routes change and the urban living around that area shifts for a limited amount of time. While the main focus of the media is on the attack itself, the aftermath gets lost in the midst of the everyday news agenda, thus potentially shaping public memory towards the atrocity.

Public memory and attitude towards terror changes. Susan Sontag, an American critic, filmmaker and novelist, discusses public reaction to atrocities in *Regarding the pain of others* and states that the immediate shock wears off and people start adapting physically and mentally to the situation (2004). She writes: "The argument that modern life consists of a diet of horrors by which we are corrupted and to which we gradually become habituated is a founding idea of the critique of modernity - the critique being almost as old as modernity itself" (2004, p.95). One can argue that people tend to minimize their perception or potentially dismiss from their mind terror attacks as they are constantly being assailed by the images of the media. Mass media and globalisation have become "agents of amnesia" (Crimson, 2005, p.xii). It can be argued that the media influence on the public distorts the image of an atrocity and, to a degree, affects the public memory towards the site where terror happened.

The conversation about these topics is going to be discussed through two case studies: the 7/7 terrorist attacks and the Westminster bridge attack, which both happened in London, UK on 7th July 2005 and 22nd March 2017 respectively. The attacks are going to be looked at from a public memory perspective and how it can result in different spatial outcomes in terms of memorialising and signifying space. The commemoration of the 7/7 bombings through physical markers is dispersed throughout London and is reflected through approximately 10 memorials. One of them will be analysed – the 7/7 memorial in Hyde Park. On the subject of the Westminster bridge attack, the memorial for police officer, PC Keith Palmer GM, who was killed during the attack, is going to be discussed. The choice of these physical markers is based on their contribution to public memory and how their stylistic approaches and location facilitate or complicate the process of memorialisation.

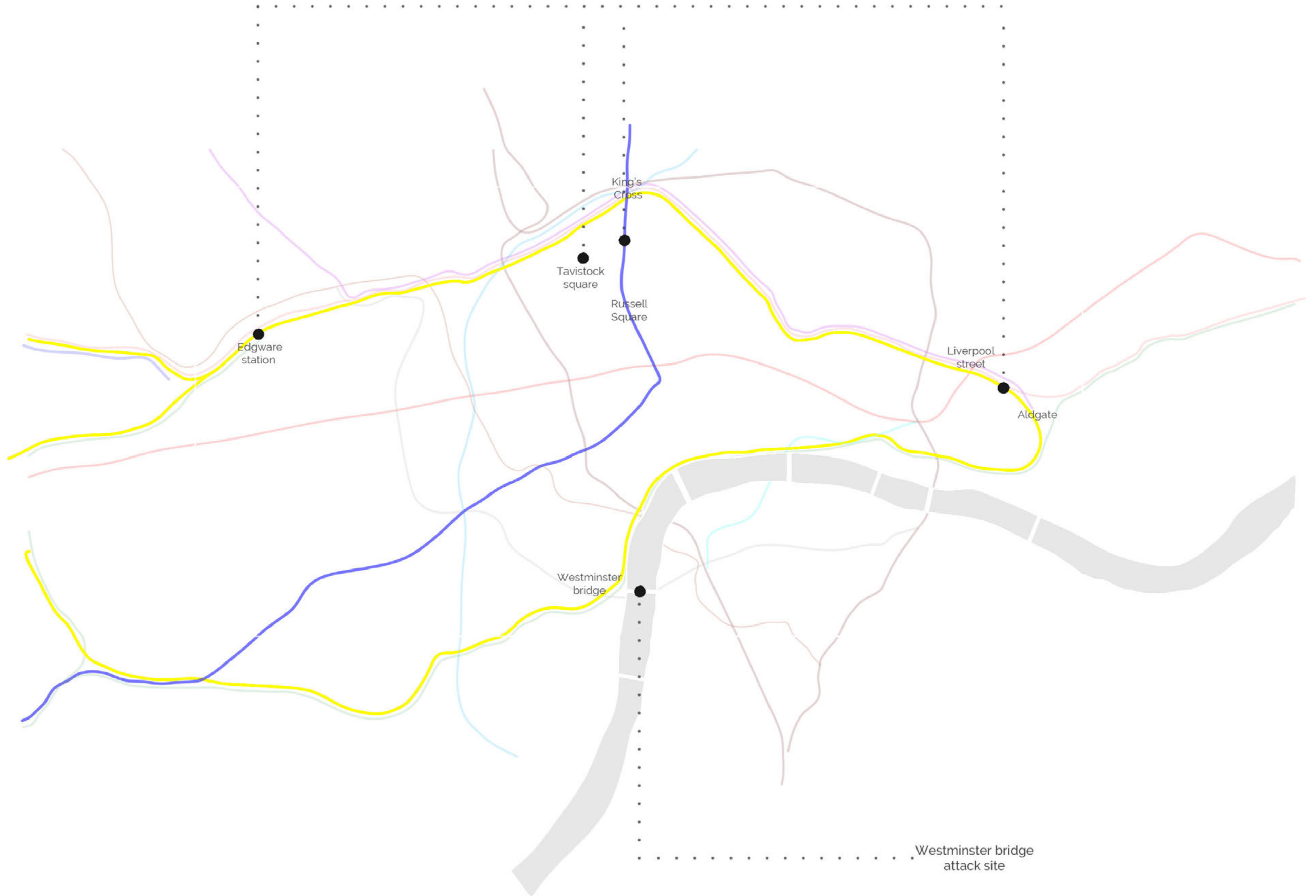
Edward Casey, an American philosopher who writes about the concepts of space and time, stated that the origins of public memory come from a historical narrative that usually implies a crisis (2004). The structure of this paper supports that narrative and is based on the sequence of how public memory and memorialisation occur - from terror comes memory and from memory comes memorialisation. Chapter 1 will provide a brief historical context for the case incidents, cover the concept of terrorism, its definition and relation to space. It will also examine how space could become a target used by terrorists to achieve their goal. Introduction to concepts of memory, its connection to physicality and public memory through space, using Edward Casey's theory, are going to be investigated in chapter 2. In chapter 3 the case studies will be looked at through James Young's theory on memorials and the way they are commemorated and signified through spontaneous and official memorialisation and their relation to politics.

Chapter 1. Terrorism

This chapter discusses the definition and implications of terrorism. However, before that it is important to provide some recent historical context for the examples of terrorism in London. The end of 20th century has witnessed the rise of terrorism in Britain due to its conflict with the Irish Republican Army, including the Manchester truck bombing in 1966. After that conflict was settled, in 2005 London had its first Islamic terror incident with casualties (Andrew, n.d.). On the 7th July, during morning rush hour, three bombs were detonated on three trains in the London Underground. The first explosion between Liverpool Street and Aldgate killed 6 people. The second occurred on the train departing from Edgware Road station, killing 7 people. The third was detonated on a train between King's Cross and Russell Square, where 26 people were killed. The final bomb exploded one hour later, on the top deck of a bus, killing 13 people. The impact of the attacks was significant with the public describing it as "the worst single terrorist atrocity on British soil" that took the lives of 52 people (Rodgers, Qurashi and Connor, 2015). In 2017 London experienced the Westminster bridge attack which was followed by the London bridge and the Finsbury park attacks in the same year. The Westminster bridge attack happened on the 22nd March just outside the Houses of Parliament; it involved one perpetrator who drove his vehicle into the crowd killing 4 pedestrians and stabbing 1 police officer.

It is essential to establish the definition of terrorism and how it influences public space and architecture that in consequence results in memorialisation. Between various scholars that have been talking about terrorism, there is a debate about what terrorism actually is, as a lot of definitions are subjective and there is "no internationally recognised legal definition of terrorism" (Richie, H. *et al.*, 2019). However, since both case incidents happened in London it is important to look at United Kingdom's official point of view. The definition states that terrorism is the use or threat designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, racial or ideological cause which involves serious violence against a person or a property (Terrorism Act, 2000). One of the main differences between war and terrorism is that it happens when no one expects it, in an environment of peace, in a place that is not considered to be at war – a "peacetime equivalent of war crimes" (Horgan, 2005, p. 20,

7/7 bombings sites



quoted in Whittaker, 2007, pp 11-12). Martha Crenshaw, one of the first scholars to theorise terrorism, stresses the fact that it “targets the few in a way that claims the attention of many” (1995, p.4); in this context, the “peacetime” factor puts the atrocity into the public spotlight even more.

Terrorism, space and architecture were always interconnected, in a way that architecture can become a specific target because of what it symbolises. An example of that would be the terror attacks in New York and Washington DC on 11th September 2001, usually referred to as 9/11. Terry Smith, an Australian art historian, discusses in his book *The Architecture of Aftermath* that the attacks were directed to be the biggest media event where the architecture and its symbolism were the main targets (2006, p.140). Osama bin Laden, a terrorist who plotted the attack, even stated that the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon are both symbols of American military and commerce (cited in Smith, 2006, p.1). The whole attack could be seen as a spectacle where the destruction of architecture itself delivers a certain message against those symbols. Robert Bevan, an architecture critic, confirms this statement saying, “Terrorism always conveys a message, often embodied in the choice of architectural target” (2006, p.63).

While architecture can become a target because of its symbolism, it can also be marked to become a symbol after an attack. As terrorist attacks are designed to be a spectacle and attract the attention of society and the media, it makes it easier for terrorists to manipulate what the public associates the site of an attack with. The London Underground and major transport intersections were chosen as the main symbol to attack and to obliterate as the 7/7 terrorists “imagined the city through one of its chief icons [...] and perhaps knew that the reporting of their actions would also feature on that icon, this time with their defacement of it” (Smith, 2006, p.14). Indeed, the bombings “defaced” the London transportation system for a while as some people were avoiding it. The public reaction could be witnessed through the work of Penfound Giles, a British army photographer, who captured London transportation a day after (fig. 5, fig. 6). It could be argued that the Westminster Bridge attack was an attempt to obliterate a powerful national symbol: the Westminster bridge and the Houses of Parliament near it. This attempt has failed because in order to completely change the symbolism of that area, it would require complete and utter destruction, like with 9/11 and Ground Zero being the new symbol of inner Manhattan. But still it changed the spatial perception of the area by officials and the public.

These attacks had an extensive impact on London. The 7/7 bombings, especially, changed the way the officials treat and react to terrorism. A range of modifications regarding immediate response, surveillance and development of urban infrastructure were introduced to fight terrorism (Casciani, *et al.*, 2015). The change in the city's defence systems happened before these attacks. In 1992 when London was experiencing constant terror attacks of the IRA, the ‘Ring of Steel’ was introduced, a security cordon to control all access points to London's city centre (Veil, 2017). After the Westminster attack, as a result of this atrocity, new security features on different London bridges were introduced. New barriers between the pedestrian zone and the main road were erected (fig. 6, fig. 7). Paul Finch, editorial director for *Architects' Journal* criticises the new “security design” saying they damage the atmosphere of the bridge and



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8

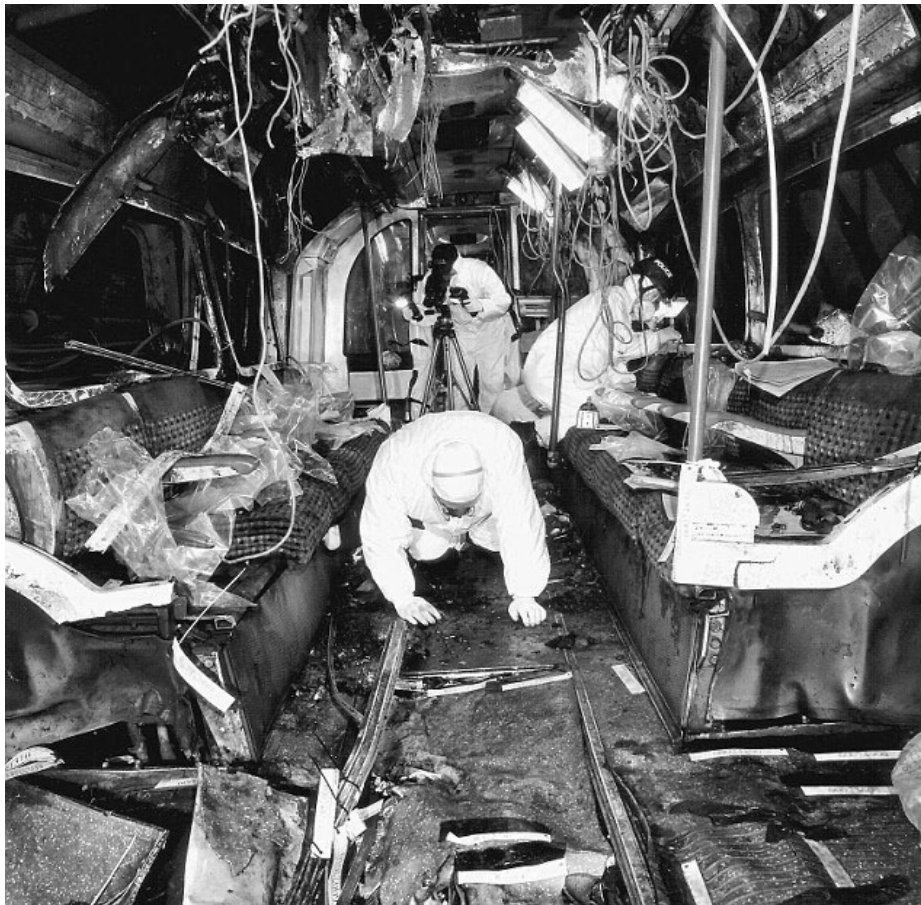


fig. 9



fig. 10



fig. 11

demean the history of the heart of the capital, "[the borders are] evidence that deranged terrorists are winning because we debase our own aesthetic values" (Finch 2017).

The security features like that are installed in the places of public concentration – another reason for targeting architecture and space. The most common sites being underground stations, tourist attractions, government institutions and overcrowded streets. For example, the Nice terror attack in 2016, which happened on the Promenade des Anglais, a favourite spot for locals and tourists, or the Berlin truck attack in 2016, where terrorists chose a local Christmas market as their target. The high foot traffic in those spaces make it an ideal spot for attacks but also a troublesome space to restore. Symbolic architecture like the London Underground or the Westminster bridge have a significance for the locals and the city in general as one of the main public sites. Destroying or damaging them would directly result in undermining the society and spreading terror, which is ultimately the main purpose of the attacks. The concept of spatial target choices comes from war times where the general rule was to damage and destroy as many buildings as possible as "damaging the buildings of the enemy is to damage their bodies, and to spread the threat of mode change" (Smith, 2006, p.138). A place thus becomes "traumatized architecture", where the mental state of a building is in such severe conditions, the fears start to appear (Smith, 2006, p.138). In comparison to each other, the 7/7 bombings had a greater impact on the architecture than the Westminster bridge attack, as it involved explosives that caused severe damage to the space where they detonated which includes the British Medical Association's headquarters' façade (fig. 11, fig. 10) and the London Underground tunnels with the train carriages (fig. 9).

Society has to find a way to overcome the fears imposed by "traumatized architecture". This topic is further discussed by Tanja Braemer, editor-in-chief of urban design magazine *Topos*. She states that the fear created by terror threatens the flexibility of the city, paralyzing it (2017). In order to overcome that, the urban environment should "[encourage] psychological ping-pong between past present and future which in turn leads to the restoration of an open and adaptable urban space" (2017, p.31). The "ping-pong" could be interpreted as a way to heal from the trauma through restoration and, if there is a need, memorialisation, where the past is what the public remembers, the present is the importance of remembrance at the moment, and the future is the way to learn from mistakes and pass the message on to the future generations.

The link between restoration and memorialisation is discussed by Michael Murphy in his talk about architecture and its healing qualities. A community can heal itself through reconstruction after an event of horror. He gives an example of a small neighbourhood in Rwanda that was leading the construction of a local hospital to help the community around the area. The process was called "community works for the community" and the action of building was a way to heal after the Rwandan genocide and to memorialise the event (Murphy, 2016, 04:49 - 05:42). In this example, a community can heal itself through reconstruction after an event of horror which, at the same time, memorialises the dead. The conjunction of all the factors mentioned above influence the way the public remembers the dead and the terror itself.

Chapter 2. Memory

In order to understand the process of memorialisation, it is key to discuss the concepts of memory and whether one can argue that space can contain memory or trigger it. As one would expect, the debates about something as intangible as memory are vast and discrepant from each other. French historian, Pierre Nora, the author of *Les lieux de mémoire* is prominently featured in these debates as he brings up a point that memory as a concept is often misconceived in relation to history. According to him, history "is a distanced practice based in the archive and its documentary evidence and relics of another era, is always about analysis and critical discourse reconstructing and representing the past" (Nora, quoted in Crinson, 2005, pp. xiii-xiv). Thus, objectivity, facts and evidence are the main contents of history. Memory, however, could be seen as an opposite, based on personal experience of events. Adrian Forty, architecture scholar, brings up a point that memory is a moment in time, something that cannot be captured or physically preserved (2005). Susan Sontag says that all memory is personal, and it dies with each individual (2004). However, one can argue that certain objects, places, and even people, can be associated and related to memory. They can trigger or represent thoughts and recollection. It is important to note that memory, especially public memory, is not dependant on a physical marker or a memorial. The vessel of memory, depending on the situation, could be strong in a different manifestation, for example a photograph. In the aftermath of 7/7, a picture of a woman wearing gauze and being escorted out of the terror site became an iconic photograph of the terror, as it was circulating in the media for a while (fig. 12). Susan Sontag says, "To remember is, more and more, not to recall a story but to be able to call up a picture" (2004, p.80).

While it can be accepted that capturing a private memory is exclusive to a particular individual, that one's memories can trigger certain visualisations of an event or an object. It can also be argued that individual memory universally cannot be physicalised in the long term. Long term preservation can be done through other types of memory making the subject more complex.

Edward Casey in his essay *Public Memory in Place and Time* categorises four forms of human memory: individual, as mentioned above, social, collective and public. Social memory appears through "a shared experience, shared history or place, or shared project", whereas collective memory implies a group of different people, not known to each other, remembering the same event or experience, each in their own way (2004, p.23). Public memory on the other hand, is not a constant type as it is always changing due to its public openness as "to be public is to be subject to continual reassessment and revision" (2004, p.29). Casey writes:

[...] I am signaling the effects of what is a truly constituent feature of public memory, namely, its formation through ongoing interchange of ideas and thoughts, opinions and beliefs. It is just because public memory is so much in the arena of open discussion and debate that it is also subject to revision or, for that matter, resumption [...] (2004, p.30).



fig. 12

Casey's observations allowed him to establish five substructures that facilitate in the creation of public memory. He notes that if public memory were to occur, it would have to be under certain circumstances such as a public place, public presence, public discussion, common topic, and commemoration in place (2004). Public presence and public space are interconnected as the place influences people to come into "proximity", in this context, a congregation for a common purpose that in turn will provoke public discussion (2004, p. 32). The public place serves as a binder for all of the substructures that lead to the creation of public memory. Casey gives an example of Memorial Day in the US and how most of the time it ends up in a cemetery or at a memorial. People need a place to mourn and remember, they need a particular setting that will activate those feelings. Public memories need "spatial anchorage", as the space starts enabling them in a literal way (2004, p.39). Thus, proving the importance of space in enabling and representing memory. Pierre Nora also noted the significance of space in relation to memory:

[Without the place, memories would have] no referent in reality; or rather, they [would be] their own referent: pure, exclusively self-referential signs (quoted in Casey, 2004, p.39).

The use of the "spatial anchorage" can be seen during the 7/7 Memorial Day that happens every year on the day when the attacks occurred. The survivors, relatives of the victims and the first responders participate in official memorial services and come back to the sites where the atrocities happened. The Underground stations hold memorial services with the official memorial being held in Hyde park (fig. 13) . The victims of the Westminster bridge attack have had a different kind of experience and have spoken about the importance of public memory and a physical marker to commemorate those who have died and were injured (Lydall, 2019). One of the survivors spoke on this subject:

There was an impromptu gathering on the bridge of people who were injured or affected by the attack. We all stood there and said, 'What now?' There was no recognition, we felt. [Victims] began to feel, rightly or wrongly, they were somehow being treated differently [...] (Frain, 2019, quoted in Lydall, 2019).

Survivor's reaction shows that the "spatial anchorage" is an important factor for their collective memory and lack of a physical marker affects it. While this is the case for the collective memory of the survivors, one could argue that the issue affects the public memory as well. In comparison to other ways of shared remembering, public memories desperately require "spatial anchorage" to hold and activate them, making space a powerful way to do that (Casey, 2004).



fig. 13

Chapter 3. Memorialisation

Commemoration, as mentioned by Casey, is one of the main substructures of public memory and "signifies cojoint recollection" (2004, p.34). After an attack, the place where an atrocity happened or sites near it have a big chance of becoming a space for public assembly and commemoration as people gather to remember those who have passed. The proximity to the site where death happened is crucial as it is here where the connection between "life and death is particularly strong" as it is the last place the deceased was still alive (Westgaard, 2006, p.168). This process is generally supported by an act of bringing physical objects to the site of the tragedy. Shrines start to emerge, usually consisting of flowers, toys, photos, and candles. This public reaction is explained by academic folklorist Jack Santino, who coins the phrase "spontaneous memorialisation" the meaning of which is "to mourn those who have died a sudden or shocking death, and to acknowledge the circumstance of death" (2006, p.5). He defines the shrines as something that has more potential than an average memorial as these are sites through which people can communicate their thoughts, compassion and political views (2006, pp 11-12). As the act of spontaneous memorialisation is so open to the public, it gives the audience flexibility in expressing their social and political opinions which can be seen through the objects left. Santino writes that through physical objects the public translates the issues that bother them, thus making the act a political statement (2006, p.13). The spontaneous memorial gives the public an opportunity to express themselves and the issues arising without it being regulated in any way. It gives the public freedom of expression that official memorials do not always offer. The 7/7 bombings and the Westminster bridge attack were not an exception to this act, as people came to the sites and laid their tributes (fig. 14). The gates



fig. 14



fig. 15

of the Parliament, the square in front of it and Westminster bridge were all covered in messages, flowers and photos of the deceased (fig. 15). One can argue that Casey's five substructures are present, thus making the spontaneous memorialisation the rudiment of public memory. Spontaneous memorials can be seen as part of memory evolution with it being a starting point to further memorialisation. Jeannie Thomas in her work about communicative commemorations mentions the fact that "people signal their desire for a monument through the creation of the public spontaneous shrine and the accompanying graffiti" (2006, p.24).

James Young in his influential work about memory and Holocaust memorials says the aim of most of the memorials is to teach the future generations about the past and increase the perception of national identity, others glorify certain events or try to atone for the guilt, like in the case with some Holocaust memorials (1993). Here an important distinction should be made between the terms memorial and monument as the difference between the two is consequential for public memory. Young refers to the work of Arthur Danto *The Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, where it is stated that a monument is an embodiment of beginnings, glorification and honouring that is always present in public life, whilst memorials tend to perform commemoration and "mark the reality of ends" (Danto, 1986, p.152 quoted in Young, 1993, p.3). Despite their difference, traditional monuments and memorials can share the acts of either mourning or honouring the dead (Young, 1993), thus suggesting that what the public sees as physical commemoration is uncertain. According to Walkowitz and Knauer, throughout time, the shape and the aesthetics of monuments and memorials have been established, ranging from statues and plaques to obelisks (2004). The concept of what a memorial can be is changing, narratives in public spaces take new forms from monuments to spatial performances (2004).

The stylistic approach has changed, with abstraction taking over as one of the means for artists and architects to push the message of remembrance. The traditional memorials were seen as static, as they failed to adapt to changing ideals and environments (Young, 1993). The change in the stylistic approach of the memorials is translated through the 7/7 memorial in Hyde Park. As the bombings were dispersed around London, the need for a universal memorial was expressed, which resulted in the bereaved families and the memorial board choosing the eastern part of Hyde Park as the site for an official memorial (Groarke, Baines, 2009). Carmody Groarke, architectural practice founded in 2006 by Kevin Carmody and Andrew Groarke, was selected to design a memorial in collaboration with the families of the deceased. The memorial is surrounded by a hill and trees at the back, in a protective manner, away from busy Park Lane. In comparison to the green and peaceful environment the piece arises as a bold statement that is hard not to notice, occasionally inviting the public to explore. The main structure consists of 52 vertical pillars – one for each victim – put together in 4 groups which correspond to 4 bombings (fig. 16). Each stela, casted from stainless steel, has individual inscriptions pointing out the time and the location of a particular bombing (fig. 18). On the hill behind the pillars sits a bronze plaque with the names of the deceased.

The viewer, based on first impressions, might suggest that the piece reads as a monument rather than a memorial



fig. 16

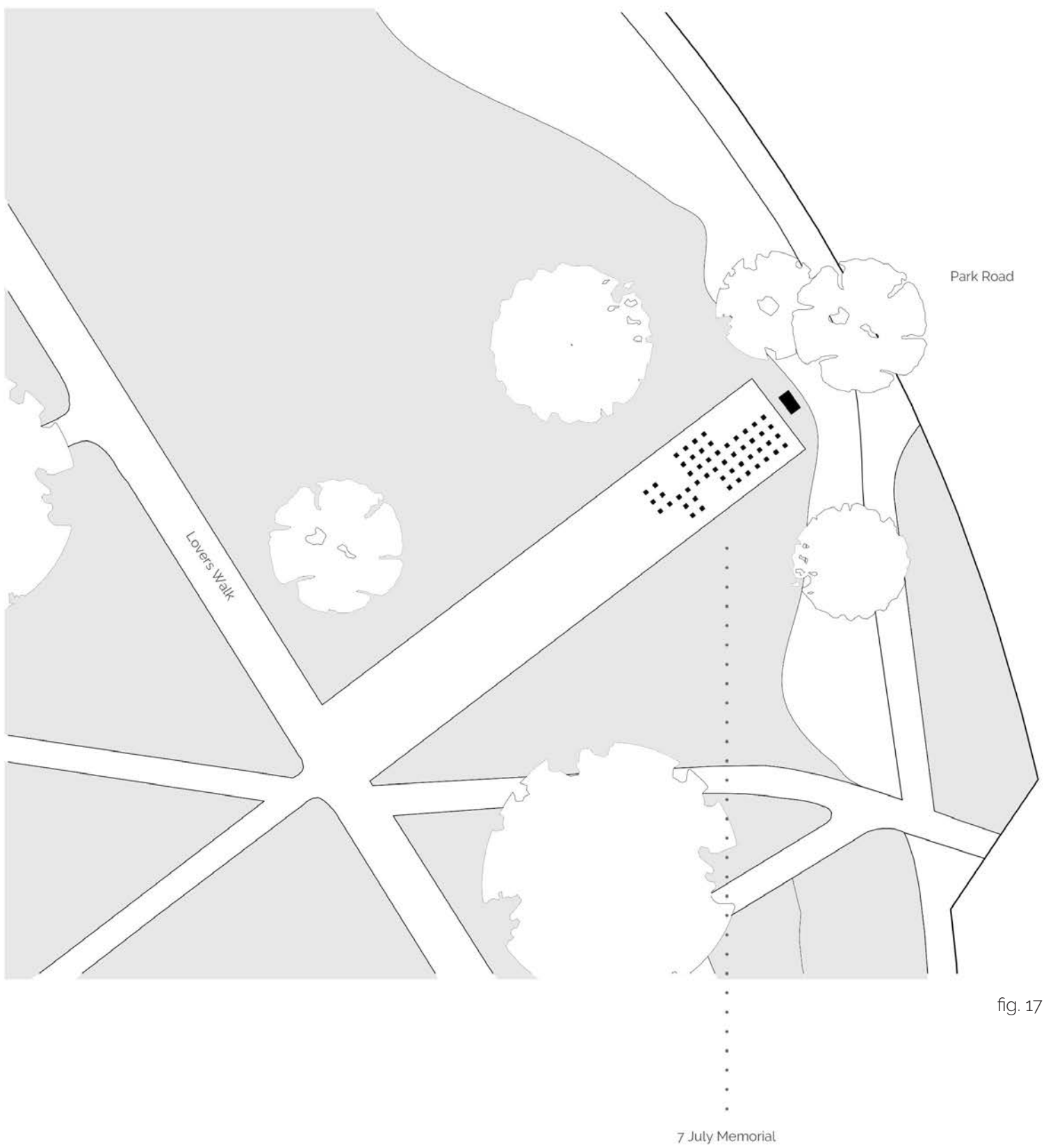


fig. 17



fig. 18

as the size of the stelae (3.5 metres) gives it a monumental appearance. However, the inscriptions on the pillars in conjunction with the names of the deceased give an impression of individualism and intimacy that is expressed through the number of columns and their distance between each other. Without knowing the event that the piece is commemorating, the visual language tells the viewer that the memorialisation is for a tragedy, rather than an achievement, therefore making it a memorial, according to Danto. Furthermore, the appearance goes in line with Carmody Groarke's concept, where the emphasis is made on a singular life lost and collective loss (Groarke, 2009). As stated by Groarke, the memorial's first impression of randomness creates a sense that, "[...] lives lost were completely randomly selected, there's this sense that it could have been any of us - this really poignant thought that the families really wanted to embody in the memorial" (Groarke, 2009). This shows that the memorial is targeting not only the bereaved families but also its main audience – the public. Public perception of abstraction creates debates and personal views (Young, 1993), making the memorial flexible for interpretation. Considering the context, the public might perceive it as a work of art rather than a memorial. One of the members of the public pointed out that they confused the memorial with a modern art piece (Dempster, 2019), perhaps because Hyde Park has an abundance of art and monuments already.

Young warns that memorials have the power of changing their context as a part of their subject matter (1993), yet this statement also works with the site absorbing the meaning of a memorial, thus undermining its significance to members of the public. Hyde Park is associated with a list of events and therefore has a particular established narrative. The visit to the 7/7 memorial during an annual Christmas celebration, Winter Wonderland, showed a change of the mood of the park and around the memorial, as the event became the main act with everything else in the park a background. However, this observation shows that the environment around the memorial is demonstrating its availability and flexibility for the public, which proves to be an ideal spot for public discussion – one of the substructures of public memory (Casey, 2004).

The memorial created by Carmody Groarke strikes with its simplicity and approach towards the public and remains the main memorial commemorating the attacks as official ceremonies and services take place there (Castle, 2015), therefore creating the "spatial anchorage" that is important for public memory. Its construction and impact at the time was crucial as it was the first memorial ever built to commemorate the victims of terrorism in Britain which proved to be a dramatic shift in the British memorial culture (Heath-Kelly, 2015).

Before the analysis of the Westminster bridge attack memorial (fig. 19), it is important to investigate the reasoning behind the absence of terrorism memorials as it directly links to the case study. According to Charlotte Heath-Kelly, politics scholar, refusing to put up a memorial can become a "bold political statement" (2016). One can argue that the number of casualties or a terror attack's global significance and influence could affect that decision. However, scholars state that this is not the case in most situations. Heath-Kelly compares the 7/7 bombings and the IRA Birmingham pub attacks and argues that the numbers of casualties in both of the attacks are not too far apart,



fig. 19

however the way they're commemorated is different (2015). The change, she argues, became quite common during the War on Terror, a war to defeat terrorism started by George Bush right after 9/11 attacks (Schmitt, and Shanker, 2005). She writes:

It was at this point, unsurprisingly, that terrorist attacks attained new hyperbolic significance. More than a loss of innocent life, they became attacks perpetrated by an apocalyptic enemy of civilisation. Terrorism became the new global threat against which national, and civilised, identities could be juxtaposed (2015).

The official act of memorialisation, especially one related to terrorism, is political as the government strives to push the message that terror will not affect society. Tony Blair, former Prime Minister, in his statement to Parliament after the 7/7 attacks said, "We are united in our determination that our country will not be defeated by such terror but will defeat it and emerge from this horror with our values, our way of life, our tolerance and respect for others, undiminished" (Blair, quoted in The Guardian, 2005). Theresa May, likewise, had a similar, but more determined message to the public after the Westminster attack stating, "[...] today we meet as normal, as generations have done before us and as future generations will continue to do, to deliver a simple message: We are not afraid and our resolve will never waver in the face of terrorism" (May, quoted in BBC, 2017). As mentioned in Chapter 1, terrorists try to target symbolic architecture or space to create a political statement and to induce fear, in return, the officials try to downplay it as could be seen by the reactions of PMs. However, this might lead to the fact that official decisions might further affect memorialisation and thus the public memory in general. Young pointed out that the state and its memorials are interconnected in a way that the officials can push the message that "best serves national interest" (1993, p.3).

It could be argued that the role of the state in the official memorialisation of the Westminster attack is evidenced through the PC Keith Palmer GM memorial (it is important to note that this paper does not try to devalue officer's memorial in comparison to the absence of a physical marker for civilians. In this context, this difference is essential in understanding the process of public memory and how the memorial can influence it). Organised by the Police Memorial Trust, the memorial was unveiled on 20th February 2019 and placed outside the Palace of Westminster. It sits on a busy tourist road in front of the Parliament Square and is being supported from behind by one of the piers of the Carriage Gates. Made out of Portland stone and dark slate inset, this monolithic memorial is modest and simple in style.

Its visual language communicates monumental aspects through the materiality and formalistic design – just a few of the monumental qualities (Elliott, 1964). Portland stone, that is extensively used in the construction of war memorials and gravestones for British personnel (The encyclopaedia of Portland history, 2019) gives the viewer an impression of stability and permanence, leading it to appear as a tombstone. The overall symmetry, style of the engravings and the sign of the Police Memorial Trust communicate discreet commemoration through a formal approach in the

design. However, at the same time, its resemblance with a tombstone, subtle style, small scale and the tributes near it create a sense of segregation from the world, Danto saying, "The memorial is a special precinct, extruded from life, a segregated enclave where we honor the dead" (Danto quoted in Young, 1993, p. 3). These observations demonstrate its affinity with a monument and a memorial. As a consequence, this makes one believe that it is an appropriate memorialisation for a service member and his heroic deed, however, its monumental and memorial qualities might be read differently in connection to the terror and public's perception of that atrocity.

In comparison to the 7/7 memorial, where the abstract visual language could be understood differently by the public, the Westminster memorial with its traditional appearance and "memorial-monument" qualities (Young, 1993, p.4) can have similar output. One of Young's arguments concerning traditional monuments is the fact that their ideologies are settled and do not motivate public discourse, making them static in their message and architectural form (1993). The form itself is so established that it does not allow flexibility of interpretation for the public and does not reflect the contemporary world view (1993). By looking at the Westminster memorial, a member of public will be faced with an established message and idealised memory that was created through its own visual language. This idea of an established message does not allow the members of the public flexibility of interpretation, thus not triggering public discussion – one of the Casey's substructures of public memory.

Here an emphasis should be made in relation to the location and the environment of the memorial as it plays a specific role in development of public memory. It is important to note the fact, there are two physical markers that commemorate the late officer – the second one being a small plaque (fig. 20) installed inside the premises of Palace of Westminster, not far away from where he was killed. The placement of the national memorial, as stated by the officials, on the public side of the Carriage gates is intended to be visible (Parliament, 2019), thus implying a certain narrative to the public. Judging by its monumental language and the imposed spatial narrative, it could be argued that the memorial is pushing the message of a national identity that can result in shaping public memory according to state's interests. Young writes:

The matrix of a nation's monuments emplots the story of ennobling events, of triumphs over barbarism, and recalls the martyrdom of those who gave their lives in the struggle for national existence – who, in the martyrological refrain, died so that a country might live. In assuming the idealized forms and meanings assigned this era by the state, memorials tend to concretize particular historical interpretations. (1993, p.2)

This point suggests that the placement of a memorial might change the public's memory of the event. Considering the context where the PC Keith Palmer GM memorial stands, another observation emerges: Parliament Square, a concentration of monuments and sculptures (fig. 21, fig. 22), appears to influence the memorial's public recognition. Ellis Woodman, architecture critic who writes for *Architects' Journal*, argues that the number of memorials in the



fig. 20

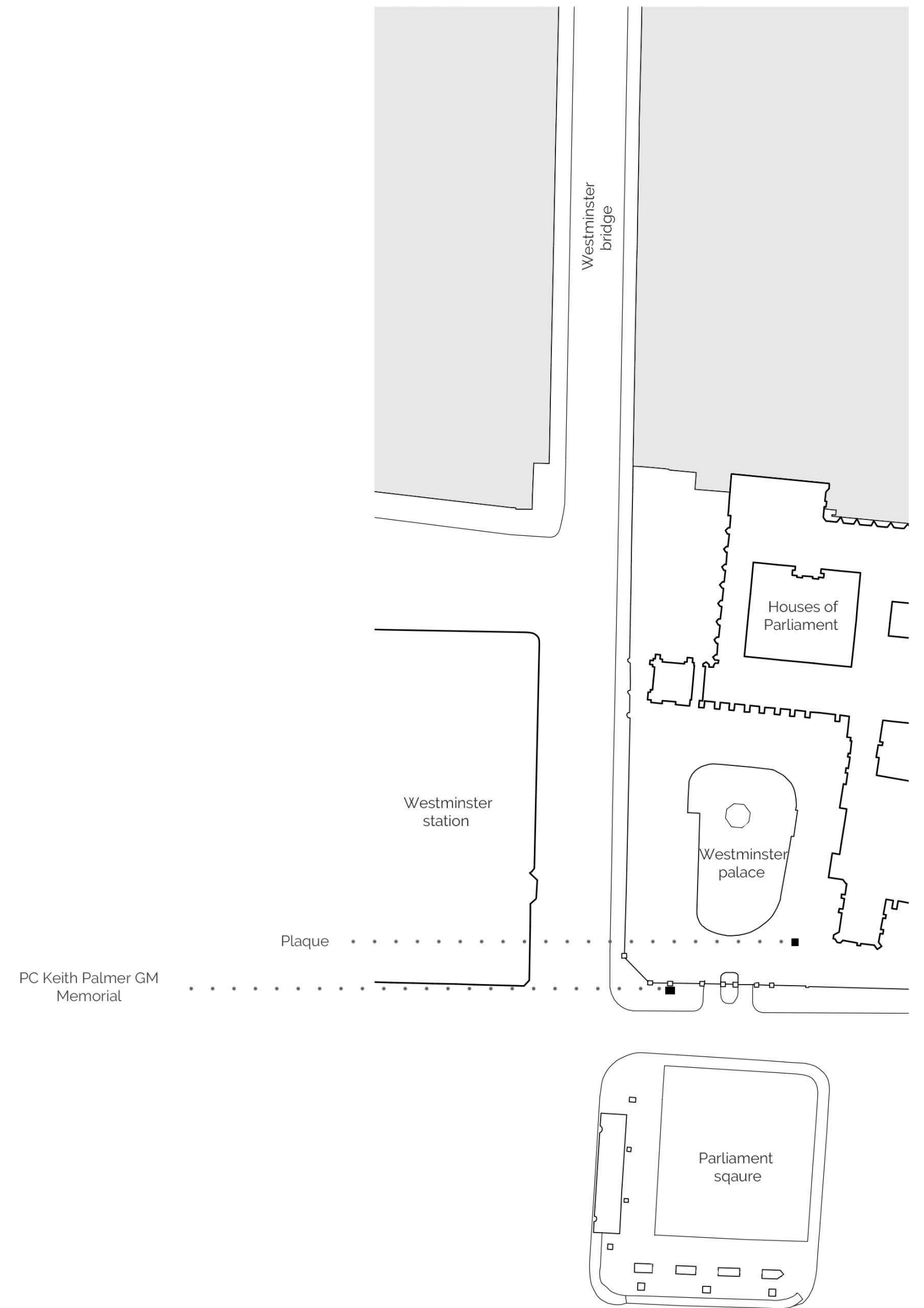


fig. 21

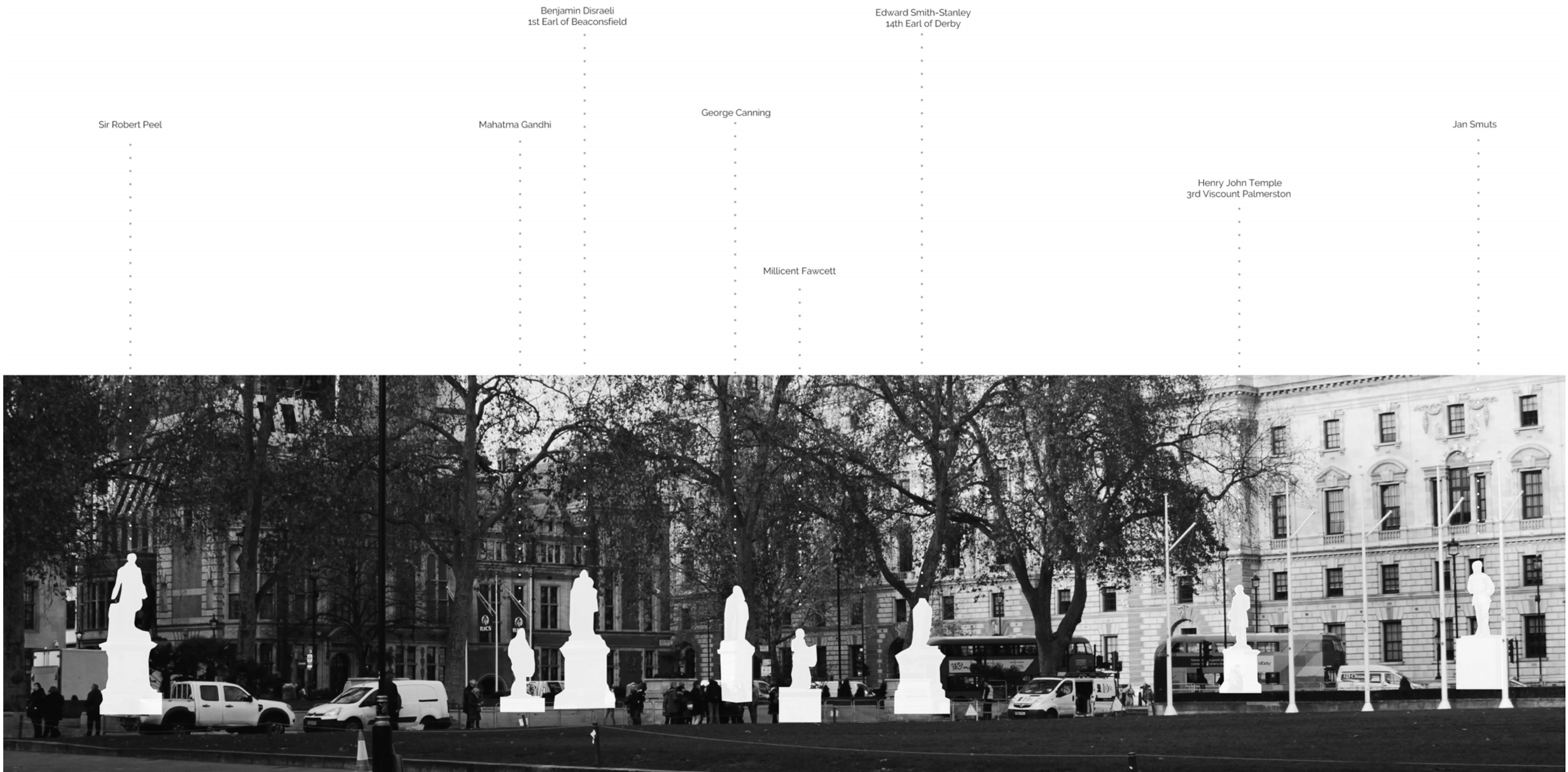


fig. 22

city centre start to “clutter” it and such “remembrance is in danger of becoming a national pathology” (2015). There is such an abundance of statues and monuments that a new regulation was introduced, which states that 20 years have to pass after a historical event in order to apply for a construction of a memorial (Heath-Kelly, 2016). The officer's memorial, in conjunction with other physical markers around it and its visual language, starts to blend in with its environment. This creates tension between the memorial and its surroundings, which might result in the memory receding into the landscape (Young, 1993), thus weakening the memorial's contribution to public memory and the idea of “spatial anchorage”.

Conclusion

As terrorists try to impose fear on society through architecture and space, the aftermath that is left, “traumatized architecture”, needs to be rethought and reinterpreted to ensure the public environment and the city continues its liveliness. The outcome of that reinterpretation has to be targeting three functions of past (what we commemorate), present (the reason behind commemorating) and future (influence on future generations) in order to be successful.

The burden of memory is imposed on a physical marker and its designer in order to appropriately represent all three factors. If the memorial is to be successful, it should embody those functions and contribute to public memory which implies strong “spatial anchorage” for it to happen. Spontaneous memorialisation becomes a bridge between the atrocity and the official memorialisation, as this public act demonstrates the public's reaction to an atrocity and the desire for permanent commemoration.

The official memorialisation of the 7/7 bombings and the Westminster bridge attack was greatly influenced by the geographical location of the atrocities and the victims themselves. The 7/7 terror attack was so dispersed around London that a common ground had to be found to ensure proper memorialisation of the victims. The Westminster attack on the other hand, was treated differently which resulted in a separate memorial for the victims. The spatial outcomes have a contrastive visual language that, in the end, contributes differently to the public memory of the attacks. As both of the memorials were designed and placed accordingly to target the public audience, their appearance is directly linked to public's perception of the terror attacks. The designers' approach to the 7/7 memorial was carefully planned and presented in a form that contrasts with traditional memorials to push the idea of a singularity of the atrocity. Its style shares some qualities with the one of PC Keith Palmer GM. Both have informative features that are present on the 7/7 plaque and the memorial of the police officer. However, these informative qualities help the 7/7 memorial to avoid total abstraction. Together with the stelae, the composition gives a chance for the public to interpret and rethink the terror and its victims, thus generating debates. The memorial and its environment complement each other, therefore contributing to further participation of the public and public memory. In contrast, the informative qualities of the police officer's memorial dominate it. Its traditional visual

language does not give an opportunity for interpretation and its monumental qualities together with location speak of a specific outlook that is being imposed on the society. The choice of all of the factors above and the separation in commemoration of the victims make the memorial alter the public memory of the Westminster bridge attack

The success of a memorial in relation to public memory depends on its flexibility and visual language to ensure its relevancy at present time and in the future. To facilitate that, the contribution from the community should be considered as an important factor as it is seen as a way to heal from an atrocity, as already established by Murphy. The input from the families of the victims of the 7/7 memorial played an essential role in its creation and informed the overall appearance of the memorial (Groarke, Baines, 2009). During the public talk *Culture under attack* at the Imperial War Museum a point was made that after an atrocity, it is crucial to include local community into the decision-making of remembrance and reconstruction (appendix). The environment does not exist on its own, it is the local community that embodies and creates it.

Memorialisation of terror victims is a complicated process that embodies human and political factors and requires a thorough designing process. It is crucial to consider all circumstances of an atrocity and its victims when designing a memorial as its language will keep the public discourse alive and thriving for future generations. Loss and commemoration have to be reconsidered by the officials, artists, designer, scholars, and society in a forward-looking way to ensure terror and its victims are not forgotten.

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Figures:

Figure 1 Beruchashvili, E. (2020) *7/7 and Westminster memorials*. [Collage].

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Figure 3 Beruchashvili, E. (2019) *Lubyanka station, Moscow, Russia*. [Photo].

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Figure 7 Beruchashvili, E. (2019) *Westminster bridge barriers*. [Photo].

Figure 8 Beruchashvili, E. (2019) *Barrier detail*. [Photo].

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Figure 16 Beruchashvili, E. (2019) *7 July Memorial*. [Photo].

Figure 17 Beruchashvili, E. (2020) *Hyde Park diagram*. [Diagram].

Figure 18 Beruchashvili, E. (2019) *7 July memorial details*. [Photo].

Figure 19 Beruchashvili, E. (2019) *PC Keith Palmer memorial*. [Photo].

Figure 20 Parliament (2019) *Memorial Plaque*. [Photo] Available at: <https://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/offices/commons/media-relations-group/news/memorial-unveiled-in-tribute-to-pc-keith-palmer-gm/> (Accessed: 13 January 2020).

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Appendix

Culture Under Attack: Who Decides What's Worth Saving?

As a part of the *Culture under attack* programme, the Imperial War Museum organises an annual debate on the destruction of culture during war time. While cultural identity is under attack, it is important to establish who will be choosing art pieces and cultural destinations to save. The speakers with different cultural and professional backgrounds spoke on the matter of how and who should be saving art and architecture and the importance of remembering and involving local communities in the process of remembrance.

During war, culture loss and damage will always be present and future generations have to find new ways of rethinking it. Rebecca Newell, head of art in IWM, believes that there is a lot of positive aspects that can come out of loss like new creative thinking. There are a few striking examples of how the UK and Italy tried to save their most precious art pieces during World War II. In IWM itself the curators would go around the museum with chalk and mark art that has to be saved in 4 various categories (here it is important to note that the process of selection at that time was biased and discriminatory as 70% of the works chosen were from two artists).

After destruction comes the eventual restoration and reconstruction of architecture and art pieces. However, when discussing what should be done with pieces that were completely demolished, Sir Peter Bazalgette argues that restoration is not the same as replication and questions whether reproduction is actually a way to bring something back to life.

Notre-Dame de Paris and its destructive fire incident showcased the public's reaction and the need to restore it as it was. The community and its opinion are crucial when it comes to losing national symbols. According to Zahed Tajeddin, a Syrian-born artist and archaeologist, art and architecture brings people together whether it is during a war or after, in the process of healing. He gives an example of how people in Syria deliberately come together to listen to some music and to sing, and this is seen as a process of their mental restoration. Various art forms bring people together. After atrocities, it is crucial to include local community into the decision-making of remembrance and reconstruction. Culture does not exist on its own. The community hydrates it.

When it comes to how people decide to remember an atrocity, new and imaginative ways of rethinking and reinterpreting history, without ever denying it. History should be preserved as a lesson to our future generations. Sir Peter as an example mentioned the work of Studio, Mash A Long Shadow over London, which illustrates a 'shadow' of a sculpture of General Robert Clive. The statue itself portrays him as a hero of the British Empire and his achievements in India. The 'shadow' created by Studio Mash represents the negative side of his achievements towards the people of India.

After the lecture I managed to talk to Rebecca Newell and Zahed Tajeddin and discuss with them destruction and memorialisation and how it should be considered after an event of terror. Rebecca pointed out that there are different narratives and points of view that embody terror attacks and the public should observe them first and only then preserve them. The museum becomes a medium to archive different perspectives, so that none are forgotten and are presented to the public. There is an uncertainty that exists around terrorism. As the aftermath unfolds, various and, potentially, conflicting sides might appear.

The lecture was a great opportunity to hear professionals with different backgrounds and their opinions on the topic. The idea that loss has to be reconsidered by the officials, artists, scholars and society in a forward-looking way brings up the question of how people want to remember and rebuild the culture. History and memory are matters that have to be considered together but, perhaps, represented individually.