

Executive Summary:

Summary introduction

The CRIC project was based on the recognition that cultural heritage plays important roles during conflict and post-conflict scenarios, and that these are poorly understood. Cultural heritage - in forms such as architecture, archaeological sites, landscapes, and museums - are damaged in times of conflict, including through deliberate targeting in order to inflict psychological harm. Recent conflicts have highlighted these connections, making the post-conflict reconstruction of cultural heritage an important cultural, political and socio-economic concern. The CRIC project was a response to the urgent need for analysis in order to better comprehend these interconnections and eventually to formulate forward thinking reconstruction policies and practices.

Project description

The research took place at two levels: one, case study specific research & analysis, and comparative research & synthesis, and two, fieldwork, data collection, analysis, publication, and various forms of dissemination activities.

The CRIC project used case studies to analyse the relationships between cultural heritage, conflict, destruction and reconstruction, to develop an empirically based understanding of the complex links between these elements, to reach comparative insights, and to analyse the importance of these relationships to the challenges experienced by post-conflict societies. CRIC examined conflicts in Spain, France, Germany, Bosnia, and Cyprus through case studies that represented varied geographic locations, linguistic backgrounds, demographic make-ups, as well as different historical contexts and time depths, thus providing the project with a detailed and contextually varied data set.

Thematic results

The CRIC project made considerable theoretical contribution to our understanding of the varied and complex roles heritage plays in the reconstruction of society after conflict, including its potential negative impacts. Archival research and fieldwork have led to substantial added knowledge and the project has developed a number of important analytical concepts. Through the case studies substantial new knowledge and understanding of specific places, and how they came to play important roles in European memory, have been gained. Through comparison significant common characteristics of the processes that unfold through their destruction and reconstruction have been identified. Overviews have been produced according to three different scales of focus: Biographies of Place (discussing locations as means and media of changing meanings), Memorials and Memorialization (debating the public capturing of memories and the ways form affects the reiterations of history), and Post-conflict Landscapes (focusing on the construction of memory-scapes, subjective landscapes and the seepage of emotion, claims and meanings between spaces and contexts).

Impact and Recommendations

Impact arises from the academic importance of the research conducted (including substantial new data sets, conceptual tools, and interpretations), its accessibility, and how it will encourage further studies and debates. Impact is also gained through wider dissemination activities (such as the website, CRIC youtube channel, iPhone applications, and exhibitions). One of the conclusions of the research was that generic policy recommendations on heritage reconstruction after conflict are not necessary helpful and at times extremely counterproductive. To be constructive and to avoid pitfalls any generic policy recommendations must be solidly based on a variety of situations rather than assume universal and common traits. Recommendations must be carefully tailored towards the needs of specific situations and the responsibility of specific heritage bodies. Nonetheless, CRIC recommends that: Heritage should not be used as a means of escalating conflicts; and its potential for playing a part in peace processes, reconciliation, and the rebuilding of society in the widest sense should be explored and enhanced.

Conclusion

The results of the CRIC project are many and varied. Collectively they provide an important basis for theorising the role of heritage in post-conflict situations and for critical, forward-orientated thinking about how to design and manage reconstruction efforts after conflict. Dissemination activities have explored various forms and outlets which aim at increasing awareness of the complex role of heritage; many of these activities will be ongoing after the end of the project.

Project Context and Objectives:

Introduction

The destruction and damage to sites of cultural importance during times of conflict has a long and complex history dating from antiquity to the present day. Whereas much of the destruction may be accidental, even inevitable, we have also witnessed the deliberate destruction of the cultural heritage of others - the targeting of architecture, monuments, memorials, archaeological sites, landscapes and museum - with the apparent aim of inflicting psychological harm. Recent conflicts in Europe and abroad have propelled this issue to the foreground placing the reconstruction of the cultural heritage after conflict explicitly in the arena of politics including core concerns about socio-economic regeneration and cultural identity.

The CRIC project has investigated the ways destruction and subsequent selective reconstruction of cultural heritage impact identity formation. Through research conducted at case study sites across a number of European countries the project has endeavoured to develop an empirically based and theoretically sound understanding of the complex links between heritage destruction and reconstruction after conflict and connected this to the challenges faced by post-conflict societies, with reference to European cultures.

People's sense of identity and well-being is to a large degree rooted in their notion of heritage; their feelings of being part of something and belonging somewhere. Issues of importance for the welfare of societies are therefore involved in the processes of destruction and reconstruction of cultural heritage as they impact on communities' relationship to place and society and it is these relationships that the CRIC project has investigated. Despite the importance of these connections, deliberate destruction of cultural heritage had until now been poorly understood and little was known about the decisive factors to be considered when designing reconstruction projects. The work of the CRIC project has illuminated these relationships and the findings of its research can be used as a platform from which informed recommendations can be formulated, aimed at policymakers, practitioners, and various regional actors, about why and how parts of the cultural heritage should be reconstructed. This is important, as heritage reconstruction is not merely a matter of design and resources - at stake is the re-visioning of society and the reclaiming of identity.

Context of the Project

The CRIC project answered a FP7 SSH call in 2007 for research on 'Histories and Identities', specifically the 'articulation of national and European identities'. The project sought to produce results that would have relevance to a number of other areas including contributing to the body of research into 'diversities and commonalities in Europe' (activity area 8.5.2) and 'conflicts, peace and human rights' (activity area 8.4.2). The project also related to and articulates with a number of EC FP7 projects in recent years that make the formation of a European identity their focus (e.g. Euro Identities [No. 213998], ENRI-EAST [No. 217227], SPHERE [No. 215985], IME [No. 215949]). CRIC provides, therefore, an important contribution within the growing constellation of projects investigating the nature and formation of European identities and, through its lens of cultural heritage and the range of disciplinary background of its researchers, the CRIC project brings a unique and original perspective to these debates.

As the EU enlarges to include new member-states its constituency continues to diversify. As a consequence of Europe's history, the EU embraces countries that have often found themselves on opposite sides of battle lines in the past as well as countries that have experienced acute internal conflicts. Through the current enlargement of the EU these embedded differences are becoming even more pronounced as the conflicts that have affected many of the new or forthcoming member-states are recent and still part of living memory. This adds considerably to the challenge of developing a common base, an appreciation of belonging that the different groups can all feel a part of. The common reference to 'a shared heritage as a basis for a shared future' has been at the heart of this project, both in terms of problematizing the simplicity of such quotes and in terms of developing a more robust, and thus useful, understanding of how heritage can be simultaneously shared and particularistic. While misuse of history and the abuse of culture for the purposes of waging war might not be a direct cause of contemporary conflicts, there is no question as to its lasting effect on how societies see themselves and others, transforming collective memory and identity. It is essential to develop an understanding of how the qualities of European cultural heritage mean that it is rooted in different and often discrepant historic narratives. The ability to successfully live with the diversities and commonalities that abide in Europe is dependent on the willingness to understand, appreciate, and accept this diversity. This research has endeavoured to give a stronger basis for understanding how a cohesive sense of being European can come to coexist with other identities, and how both are rooted in our sense of history and heritage. It is through these important links that the research has been able to investigate how different identities are formed and expressed following damage as a result of conflict at different scales.

In recent years Heritage Studies has grown significantly in importance and visibility within university courses and within the public sphere. This has been in response to a number of factors ranging from the increased importance of the tourist industry, re-appreciation of the potential of museums and cultural institutions in producing narratives of belonging, in response to changing relations to indigenous people and source communities, and in response to the growing appreciation of the significance roles the cultural heritage, in its many forms, plays in the formation of society. This mushrooming in institutions, publications, activities and the emerging of new academic fields of studies raised the need to develop an empirically based theoretical grounding for the field as well as the development of adequate methodologies and analytic frameworks. Within this field, there has been a growing recognition of the important links between heritage and identity as well as awareness of the destructive relationship between conflict and the cultural heritage. These relationships had, however, only been worked on in a fragmentary manner, a fragmentation of the knowledge base that has partly come as a result of the different disciplines that work on related aspects of these interconnected aspects without a bridging intellectual framework. The research of the CRIC project has therefore provided a much needed systematic and comparative data set relevant to these discussions, as well as being a model for how various disciplines can cooperate around these newly emerging intellectual fields of study.

Description of the Project Structure

The project used case studies to empirically document the relationships between cultural heritage, conflict, destruction, and reconstruction. Comparative analysis drawing on all the case studies has been conducted and was focussed on a number of core themes. In particular, it examined how these relationships involve notions of identities and values - at scales ranging from individual to pan-national - and how these relate both to the intentions (perceived and real) that have underwritten the

destruction and subsequent reconstruction of cultural heritage. To ensure historical depth and comparative value, the project has examined conflict in five European countries (Spain, France, Germany, Bosnia, and Cyprus), representing different historical contexts and different kinds of conflicts (from ethnic conflict to World Wars). These principle case studies were then supplemented by additional studies (in Denmark and Serbia) which further increased the temporal and spatial depth and breadth of the project.

The research has encompassed varied geographic locations, linguistic backgrounds, demographic make-ups, as well as different historical conditions and time depths. The case studies have provided a detailed empirical data set and the basis of comparison. Within the five case study areas a number of sites were select for investigation. This included instances of the destruction and reconstruction of buildings and monuments, townscapes and rural landscapes and the material manifestations of the commemorative practices that mark the anniversaries of these destructions and that seek to rebuild identities in the wake of them. The research into these case studies was conducted by the work packages, in most cases situated in the country under investigations, and with an expertise in the history of the region. The work package members represent a range of academic disciplines including archaeology, heritage studies, history, anthropology, political science, cultural geography and psychology. The multidisciplinary perspective enabled the project to approach the following two overarching questions from different disciplinary backgrounds, each bringing their own methods of investigation and types of data, and each contributing to the collective understanding arising from the comparison between case studies:

1. What is involved in the destruction of cultural heritage?
2. What motivations guide the subsequent reconstruction and how does reconstruction influence identity formation and peoples' ability to form a sense of belonging?

The research was carefully structured though a progression along distinct phases set out in the 'description of work'. These involved archival and desk-based research, though which appropriate study sites were identified and any changes to the areas under investigation were agreed, fieldwork and data collection involving successive visits to the sites in question and which included conducting interviews, building recording and documenting events and ceremonies taking place at the sites, data analysis, the production of results and the dissemination of the findings and conclusions of the research. Reflection on each phase in the process was made at Annual Consortium Meetings (ACM) and Steering Committee Meetings (SCM) and through the presentation of work in progress at meetings and conferences. Feedback was given by the other project partners and guidance provided by the Steering Committee members.

The research conducted by the regional work packages was closely monitored and coordinated by the consortium management team based at the University of Cambridge. The management team have ensured the completion of the project objectives and also facilitated the development of a comparative dimension between the research of the different work packages through Annual Consortium Meetings, workshops and by promoting project communication. The Steering Committee have ensured that the research produced meet the highest academic standards and comments and recommendations were sought from the academic advisors at the bi-annual meetings of the Steering Committee and through regular email correspondence.

Description of Project Objectives

At its broadest level, the project has explored the interrelation between identity, conflict, and cultural heritage. Throughout Europe, national and regional identities are in the process of being formed and are influenced by local and regional histories. There are many ways of approaching and studying these relationships; the CRIC project has examined how the cultural heritage, both material and symbolic, is involved. The relationships have been analyzed through the particular lens of the destruction and subsequent attempts at regaining the cultural heritage that used to exist. This can be likened to a process of losing and then reacquiring the reference points of one's identity.

The focus of the research project was accordingly twofold:

- 1) The nature of, and intentions behind, the destruction of the cultural heritage was scrutinised with the aim of clarifying, for example, whether we witness different kinds of intentions (their reasons and aims), different levels of destruction (total or partial), and whether the material focal point of such destructions are clearly articulated and selected.
- 2) The project explored the role of cultural heritage in post-conflict scenarios. For example, is a new fabric of meaning and memory woven into the reconstruction rhetoric, and how does this take place? How, by whom, and with what intentions are parts of the heritage selected for reconstruction and other parts ignored? And what are the longer-term trajectories of these processes?

The progress of the regional studies, as well as the comparisons, was monitored through the completion of a series of milestones and deliverables which ensured that the project objectives were met. Approaching these questions from a heritage standpoint allowed an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of identity formation in its interrelation with the material world, with attitudes and behaviour as well as with the more intangible symbolic layers of significance that constitute the landscape of identity. While these questions acted as the basis for the development of a comparative understanding of the relationship between heritage, identity and conflict individual regional work packages also sought to illuminate more historically specific questions with the aim of addressing a number of work package objectives as well as contributing to the overarching project objectives.

Work package 3 focused on the study of cultural heritage and group forms of expression within their historical context. Special attention was paid to the phenomena of cultural creation and heritage production through performances which take place in local, national and trans-national spaces - particularly the production and transmission of individual and collective memory, the construction of symbolic urban-landscapes and the performance of mourning and witnessing.

Work package 4 explored and analysed the past and current dynamics of heritage in relation to war destruction and reconstruction in Verdun, France. Unique to work package 4 was the focus on the impact of conflicts on the landscape and rural built-scape of this area, both in terms of destruction and reconstruction and the militarisation of space.

Work package 5 case studies were selected with the aim of exploring how instance of conflict along the line of ethnic differences is expressed through different uses of cultural heritage and, in turn, how this has affected how different groups evaluate specific parts of the heritage.

Work package 6 had the objective of understanding how cultural heritage has been used as part of a project of nationalist mobilization and the role that the cultural production of heritage and identity formation and transformation have in the context of different socio-political circumstances. The work package also paid particular attention to the way in which histories are re-written or misrepresented in this process of mobilization.

Work package 7 was concerned with examining the construction of symbolic meaning relating to physical townscapes and single sites and the formation of "lieux de mémoire". The work package also focused on conflicts and tensions present within and between the collective memories of different groups and their commemorative rituals.

In addition to these objectives stated in the Annex 1 'description of work' several new objectives have developed through the course of the CRIC research project. These have primarily been concerned with strengthening the research outcome and with the dissemination of results and societal impact. The result has been that the project has produced a number of outputs and resources that go well beyond that originally envisaged. The full impact and wider societal implications are described in the section below. The resources include the production of:

1. A publicly accessible digital archive of project images hosted by the University of Cambridge institutional repository Dspace (<http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/214815>)
2. A publicly accessible series of short films introducing project case studies housed on CRIC research project channels on Youtube (<http://www.youtube.com/user/CRICResearchProject>) and Vimeo (<http://vimeo.com/user9075853>).
3. A series of posters and a free iPhone application and website (<http://www.cric-memorialsapes.es/>) which introduce some of the results of the work package 3 case studies through the use of interactive maps and resources.

Project Results:

Description of work performed

The work performed has taken place at two levels: i) case study specific research conducted by the work packages, and ii) research and planning taking place through the consortium as a research community.

i) The research of the work packages has involved collecting primary data, data analysis, writing, and engaging in various forms of dissemination activities.

Data collection: The shared focus of the project on the destruction and reconstruction of specific sites means that substantial archival research has been carried out. This work was conducted during Periods 1 and 2 with some additional archival research conducted at the start of Period 3 to answer specific questions arising from the feedback received at Annual Consortium Meetings, recommendations of the Steering Committee, and in cases where additional sites were added to the work package case studies.

A substantial amount of fieldwork has also been conducted. Once again the majority of this work was carried out in the first two periods of the project with supplementary field visits in the final period. These additional periods of fieldwork have been particularly important in cases where the work packages have been investigating annual commemorative events where repeated visits, year-on-year, have allowed observation of the changes in memorial practices through time. To provide a wider range of case studies suitable for our three overarching thematic topics (see further below), some additional sites were selected. The fieldwork has been very successful. In particular, it adds a 'grounding' effect to the case studies as the sites investigated are experienced and the nuances of the interplay between sites and their wider environment - physical, social and political but also in more ephemeral ways - are recognised and included in the analyses.

Data analysis and writing: Most of the work of the analysis of data collected and the writing up of the case studies was necessarily done in the final project period, however some analysis was carried out during the collection phases in Period 2. This manner of working ensured that themes and areas of interest emerging from the data analysis could be shared with the research consortium, comparisons between cases studied drawn out, and core issues addressed and investigated through further archive research or fieldwork as required. The sites have been written up in a number of forms. Apart from other publications, most of the case studies contribute to a series of three volumes to be produced by the CRIC project, with case studies being published independently within journals relevant to certain academic disciplines or regions, or receiving individual treatment in specific monographs or regional syntheses.

Dissemination: Academic publications represent the principle form of dissemination and several monographs and peer-reviewed journal articles have already been produced. A publication plan has been agreed for the remaining case studies and three collaborative volumes and a special issue journal are forthcoming. Other forms of dissemination produced include exhibitions, documentary films and a series of short films introducing the work package case studies made publicly available on CRIC project Youtube and Vimeo channels. In addition project partners have carried out radio and television interviews and their work has been reported on in numerous press articles. The research has

been presented to both academic and non-academic audiences at conferences, workshops and roundtable discussions.

ii) In addition to work carried out at the level of the work package the consortium as a research community provided an important forum which was both intellectually beneficial and challenging to each partner. The consortium acted as a hub for the intellectual and practical work of the project. The management team focussed on ensuring deliverables were met and providing assistance to the regional work packages to ensure that each worked according to its objectives and work plan. Annual Consortium Meetings (ACM) and Steering Committee Meetings (SCM) were an important element in the maintenance of the high academic standards as well as in developing the comparative dimension of the research. All meetings were chaired by the project's Principle Investigator (PI) Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and guidance was continuously forthcoming in terms of overall aims, standards and theoretical framework for the project - as a whole and in terms of its parts - from the project's academic advisors. Detailed minutes of each meeting were taken and meeting reports were written and circulated amongst the project partners by work package 1 administrator Ben Davenport. A major contribution of the project is the production of some of the results within three overarching themes (each to be published as a volume). The themes are: i) 'Biographies of Place', ii) 'Memorials and Anniversaries', and iii) 'Subjective Landscapes'. The volumes each present the project research at a different scale of analysis and in terms of different topoi developed by the project through their collaborative work.

While the general account of the work performed demonstrates the breadth and depth of the research and its obvious comparative value, the activities of the individual work packages best illustrate the manner in which the different historical contexts under investigation and the expertise of the different disciplines brought to bare on the study regions enriched the results and foreground that the project was able to produce.

Work Package 1

Coordination and Management

As discussed above work package 1 formed the management team and the administrative and communicative hub of the project. The focus of the work package in Period 1 therefore concentrated on establishing the framework that would facilitate the smooth operation of the project in the second and third periods. This involved the creation of the project website (<http://www.cric.arch.cam.ac.uk>) (deliverable 1), which has been continually up-dated during the course of the project, and the production of a number of documents concerned with establishing the standards to which the regional work packages would operate. These included an information packet (deliverable 2) and a paper on research standards (deliverable 5). A review of these research standards (deliverable 20) was conducted in Period 2 as outlined in the grant proposal and following analysis and preliminary reports on the first phase of fieldwork (deliverable 18). Other resources were also produced and made available on the project website, these included ethical guidelines, guidance on interview methods, guidance on metadata requirements for the photographic archive, built heritage recording guidelines and forms and an annotated bibliography (deliverable 8) which was added to throughout the project.

Where possible these guidelines were supported by workshops and working group meetings held in conjunction with Annual Consortium and Steering Committee Meetings. At several of the meetings subject experts were invited as guests of the project to speak to project members and comment on presentation of the research of the CRIC work packages. These invited guest included Dr Matthew Fitzjohn (Department of Archaeology, University of Liverpool), Prof. Jay Winter (Department of History, Yale University), Prof. Aleida Assmann (English and Literary Studies, University of Konstanz) and Prof. Inge Adriansen (Curator, Deputy Director, Sønderborg Castle). A full list of the project Annual Consortium and Steering Committee Meetings held during the course of the project is given below:

D3) 1st Consortium Meeting	31st March to 1st April 2008	Cambridge, UK
D4) 1st Steering Committee Meeting	31st March to 1st April 2008	Cambridge, UK
D12) 2nd Steering Committee Meeting	7th to 9th September 2008	Cambridge, UK
D15) 2nd Consortium Meeting	25th April 2009	Gernika, Spain
D17) 3rd Steering Committee Meeting	24th April 2009	Gernika, Spain
D22) 4th Steering Committee Meeting	12th November 2009	Paris, France.
D27) 3rd Consortium Meeting	5th to 7th April 2010	Sarajevo, BiH.
D28) 5th Steering Committee Meeting	8th April 2010	Sarajevo, BiH
D32) 6th Steering Committee Meeting	11th November 2010	Nicosia, Cyprus
D35) 4th Consortium Meeting	12th February 2011	Dresden, Germany
D36) 7th Steering Committee Meeting	13th February 2011	Dresden, Germany
D41) 8th Steering Committee Meeting	17th September 2011	Oslo, Norway
D46) 5th Consortium Meeting	13th January 2012	Paris, France
D47) 9th Steering Committee Meeting	13th January 2012	Paris, France

Comparative Analysis

The management team also ensured the development of the comparative work of the project. This was done through the Annual Consortium and Steering Committee Meetings, field visits to case study sites made as a group and presentations at conferences. The first ACM and SCM were hosted by work package 1 at the University of Cambridge (deliverables 3, 4 and 12) and two conferences were co-organised (deliverable 11) ‘The Culture of Reconstruction: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Aftermath of Crisis’ (25-27 June 2008), held at New Hall and St. Catherine’s College, and ‘Culture Wars: Heritage and Armed Conflict in the 21st century’ (11-13 December 2008) held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The project also co-organised events through the ‘Cambridge Heritage Research Group’ and workshops around particular themes such as interview techniques and ethics.

The comparative dimension of the project was also addressed through the production of two papers on comparative analysis produced by the PI: 'Guidance on Comparative Analysis 1' (deliverable 21) and 'Aims of Comparative Analysis 2' (deliverable 38). The themes and trends that emerged through the course of the research by the regional work packages were also able to influence the structure of the collaborative volumes being produced by the project (deliverable 50). Work package 1 took editorial responsibility for the production of these volumes and this has enabled the comparative elements to be played out through the theoretical underpinning of the volumes, the pairing of chapters and in the introductions and post-scripts of the volumes, produced by work package 1 and work package 2 respectively.

Research and Publications

Work package 1 has contributed four chapters to the three collaborative volumes based on case studies carried out with the aim to compliment areas of the main regional work package case studies. These additional case studies increase the temporal and geographical range of the project research. However, in contrast to the regional work packages, the work package 1 case studies seek to elucidate a number of more delineated themes relating to cultural heritage destruction and reconstruction within the frame of specific spatial and geographical contexts. They address aspects of the three key areas identified by the project and which form the basis for the three collaborative volumes. These include a) the manner in which certain heritage sites acquire meaning, the construction of these meanings and how they alter through the life of a site, b) the use of memorials, anniversary events and commemorations in the construction and transmission of memories of destruction of heritage and loss of life, and the role this plays in identity and heritage construction, and c) the role of landscapes in peoples experience of place, the relationships between sites of cultural heritage and the ways destruction and reconstruction of landscapes impacts societal reconstruction following conflict.

These case studies have been carried out in addition to the work of Dacia Viejo Rose, a post-doctoral researcher in work package 1, whose work on sites in Gernika, Spain, will be discussed under the description of work performed for work package 3. Paola Filippucci was also based at the University of Cambridge; her research into the case studies in Verdun, France will be included within the description of work performed by work package 4.

Work package 1 will be contributing chapters based on the research carried out on each of these case studies to the three project volumes on 'Biographies of Place', 'Memorials and Anniversaries' and 'Subjective Landscapes'. This is in addition to a number of other publications produced by members of work package 1 during the course of the project.

Case study 1 - The battlefield and memorial landscape of Dybbøl, Denmark (M. L. S. Sørensen)

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen has carried out research in Germany and Denmark on two cases relating to the Schleswig Holstein Wars of the 1850 and 1860s. The first involves the battlefield of Dybbøl, the key battle of the Second War of Schleswig in 1864. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen investigated the construction of the battlefield as a memorial sites with particular attention to the changes in its connotations and cultural-political meaning following its transfer between Germany and Danish sovereignty during the 19th and 20th Centuries. Detailed archival work and field visits to the sites made during Period 3 allowed Dr. Sørensen to identify a number of phases in the treatment of and

responses to the battlefield and develop the concept of a 'distributed memorial landscape' to understand how access impacts forms of memorial practice.

Case study 2 - The Isted Lion monument, Flensburg, Germany (M. L. S. Sørensen)

The second case investigated by Dr. Sørensen is the Isted Lion monument. The statue, originally intended to be a monument to Danish victory, was returned to Flensburg in Germany in 2011 and provides an important example of an attempt to design a new meaning for an old disputed and much fought over monument. The project investigated the history of the monument, and the means used to give it a new meaning. The former has been based on archival research and has been done together with Inge Adriansen (Sønderborg Castle) the latter was based on participant observation during the return ceremony and discourse analysis of the new inscriptions on the monument. The deliberate and explicitly declared aim of giving the monument a new political meaning provided the project with a unique opportunity to identify the various ingredients in this transformation. These include the absence of any explicit national references or acknowledgement of its war connection. Similarly there was no reference to dead, or the fallen soldiers (despite the ceremony taking place within the cemetery), on the contrary several efforts had been made to counteract the solemnity of the location, such as the selection of music. The analysis of the new texts on the monument, similarly shows the downplaying of any links to nations, and uses a seamless transition from Danish to German to indicate the change in 'nationality'.

Case study 3 - The Generalštab, General Army Staff and Ministry of Defence Headquarters, Belgrade (B. Davenport)

Ben Davenport has conducted research on the complex of buildings called the Generalštab in Belgrade. The buildings have been the General Army Staff and Ministry of the Defence Headquarters since their construction in the 1960s, but the meanings attached to the building have changes significantly in subsequent periods. This case study focused on the construction of meaning associated with architectural heritage and the manner in which meaning is seen to change through the life of a building. The study took a biographical approach to the analysis of the Generalštab. Using a combination of detailed observation and analysis of secondary sources and media reports it studied the interplay of discourses (architectural, political and popular) and practices surrounding the building and investigated the effects of political changes within Serbia on public responses to the site. In addition to providing support for the biographical approach as a means of analysing the 'life and afterlife' of heritage sites, the research provided a detailed exposition of how political transitions affect the way in which architectural heritage is viewed and how events, especially traumatic ones, can re-inscribe the meanings and values attributed to these sites. The work demonstrates that the treatment of destroyed sites of heritage involves a complex meshwork of economic, political and emotional considerations and responses, and how through these, claims are made that can seek to alter or fix meanings. The case also demonstrates some of the affordances to thought and action provided by ruined or disused sites. This notion is captured by reference to the 'open-endedness of meanings' constructed and negotiated in relation to the Generalštab - meanings and association that would perhaps be closed off by either reconstruction or demolition of the site.

Case study 4 - The Kravica post-conflict landscape study, Bosnia Herzegovina (M. L. S. Sørensen, T. Rajkovic and V. Rajkovic)

The final case study conducted by work package 1 has been an investigation into the seemingly unresolved and contradictory nature of the post-war landscape of north-east Bosnia. The case study conducted in the village of Kravica, representing collaboration between work packages 1 and 6, sought to record the state of the habitation in and use of the landscape of the village of Kravica and investigate the changes in spatial organization following the war from 1992 to 1995. The aims of this project were to i) conduct a survey of domestic houses within a few kilometres along the valley running toward the village of Kravica from the north, and ii) to compare this physical record against earlier habitation over the same stretch of land and also against people's recollections of what has happened and how they characterise the landscape. The survey was carried out during a period of fieldwork in Period 3 by researchers Tonko Rajkovic and Vida Rajkovic of work package 1 during which time records of the condition and histories of buildings within the village were collected and interviews conducted with residents. The work at Kravica emphasised the multiplicity of 'truths' or understandings of events and place that operate in such post-conflict conditions and which function to reconcile some of the contradictions present in post-conflict landscapes.

Members of the Cambridge team (work package 1) have also published a number of book chapters, articles and newsletters. The details of which have been uploaded through SESAM under 'project publications' in the Research and Innovation Participant Portal.

Dissemination and Outreach

The dissemination of the project results has also been coordinated by the management team of work package 1. The project has sought dissemination through academic and non-academic channels to ensure wide academic and societal impact. In addition to the three volumes and other monographs and articles being produced, the project has used various media to present its results. These have included flyers, pamphlets and posters. A flyer presenting the project and a series of 7 posters were produced during Period 1 and were widely displayed at CRIC meetings, events and conferences. The flyer was updated in Period 3 to include details of some of the project's findings in the form of a pamphlet, and a new postcard with the URLs of the online material produced by CRIC was created. These have been distributed to individuals within the academic community and at European Commission meetings and conferences during Period 3 and continue to be distributed after the end date of the project.

Presentations of the project research and case study were given at conferences and workshops throughout Europe and beyond including Australia and the United States. These presentations were spread fairly equally throughout the three periods of the project in order that feedback from academics working in heritage studies and related fields outside of the project could be sought at each stage of the work. All work packages were involved in presenting their research to the wider academic community although different forums and audiences were selected by the individual work packages as appropriate. The data presented in the two graphs attached is derived from that submitted through SESAM for the 'project dissemination activities' in the Research and Innovation Participant Portal and includes the presentations of the work packages most relevant to the CRIC research. Involvement in many other conferences and workshops not included in this data drew on the work of the CRIC project in less direct ways.

Although a large percentage of the presentations made were given by work package 1, some of these are synthetic presentations of the work of the project consortium as a whole, although presentations of the research carried out by work package 1 discussed above were also given. Some of the work packages selected different mediums for disseminating their work such as exhibitions, films, and interviews. The website has continued to be updated during the course of the project and will remain active beyond its end date. CRIC project Youtube and Vimeo channels were also created and these now feature films and videos which present the work package case studies. The website has been a successful hub with over 180,695 hits and the short films of the case studies have received more than 5711 viewings in the few months they have been available.

Work package 1 organized an event as part of the Cambridge Festival of Ideas on the 22nd October 2011. The Festival ran from the 19th to the 30th of October and saw 12,000 people attend events showcasing the research being carried out at the University of Cambridge. The event organized by CRIC titled 'Do Memorials Matter?' invited members of the public to participate in the research process. Memory boxes placed around Cambridge collected questionnaires which aimed at prompting people to think about the role of memorials and the memorial spaces in their town. The memory boxes were opened at a public workshop and the data analysed with researchers from the CRIC project working together with members of the public. The event also exhibited posters and maps produced by the project and featured talks on memorials studied as part of the CRIC project in Denmark (Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, work package 1), Spain (Dacia Viejo Rose, work package 1 and 3), France (Paola Filippucci, work package 4) and Germany (Matthias Neutzner, work package 7). The workshop was filmed and a short documentary made available on the Youtube channel with a longer film featuring the presentation made by Matthias Neutzner placed on the project Vimeo account.

Policy Recommendations

Based on the findings of the research conducted work package 1 have coordinated a working group based on the members of the Steering Committee in order to formulate policy recommendations (deliverable 49). A policy statement, which scopes the objectives of the document, identifies key recipients and outlines the background and desired content has been produced by the management team in conjunction with work package 2. It identifies six 'needs' or 'requirements' that will be addressed in the policy recommendations which will follow the end of the project. These included i) to avoid situations in which the reconstruction of cultural heritage becomes the focus for continuation of conflict by another means, ii) maintain an emphasis on authenticity without marginalising local populations during the reconstruction process, iii) exhibit a high degree of financial scrutiny of donors and external funding sources to avoid the alienation of groups or development of contest-full symbolic attachment or creation of a sense of exclusive ownership, iv) ensure that cultural heritage is disassociated from issues of establishing truth and claims, v) commit to the long term engagement and monitoring of cultural heritage reconstructions projects to ensure greater integration of reconstructed sites with locales and communities, and vi) make transparent the political and social aims of reconstruction projects and the meanings that are being promoted through the sites.

Work Package 2

Work package 2 represents the members of the project Steering Committee. The activities carried out by the representatives from work packages 3 to 7 will be discussed in their relevant section. It should

be noted here however that a representative of each of the regional work packages was present at all of the Steering Committee Meetings held during the course of the project. Here we describe the work performed by the academic advisers (Participant 2 and 3) who did not conduct research as part of a regional work packages. At least one of the academic advisers, David Uzzell, Richard Evans and Carsten Paludan-Müller, attended all of the Annual Consortium and Steering Committee Meetings where they provided guidance and recommendations on the structure and content of work performed. The bi-annual Steering Committee Meetings ensured that this advice was communicated at regular points within the project. The advisors acted as discussants at conferences where CRIC research was presented and at the final presentation of the project results in Paris in January 2012. The academic advisers also assisted the management team (work package 1) in the production of the guidance documents for comparative analysis and contributed to the production of the annual reports and mid-way reports produced by the administrator of work package 1. It has been, however, in the production of the project volumes that the academic advisers have been able to offer their experience and reflection to the benefit of the overall quality and scope of the publications. David Uzzell and Carsten Paludan-Müller have agreed to write a post-script for each of the three volumes to overview the key themes of the book, highlight the areas in which these results can make a significant contribution and suggest future directions for this research. All the members of work package 2 have also been involved in the discussion of policy recommendations based on the findings and achieved foreground of the project. The statement on policy recommendations produced by work packages 1 and 2 draws on the work of all project partners in regards to how our results can be used for the production of recommendations that address perceived shortcomings in current legislation and guidance on the reconstruction of cultural heritage following conflict.

Work Package 3

The structure of work package 3 remains as outlined in the description of work with a number of case studies investigated in Madrid and in Gernika. The research carried out by the CSIC partners in Madrid over the three years of the project has centred on two case studies: the Archive of Mourning, relating to the train bombings in Madrid on 11 March 2004 (11-M), and the Carabanchel prison. Work on these sites has been drawn together through the shared focus on three thematic axis: i) material and immaterial manifestations of mourning, ii) contested heritage within the politics of urban space and the construction of symbolic places, and iii) the construction and transmission of memory. The case studies have made an important contribution to CRIC by developing theories on mourning and memory and providing a focused discussion of the concepts of dissonant and emergent heritage and 'grassroots' or spontaneous memorialization. The Gernika case studies, conducted by Dacia Viejo Rose (working for Participant 1) and María Oianguren Idigoras and Fiachra McDonagh (Participant 5), have focused on three dimensions of the town's heritage, the reconstruction of the town after its bombing in 1937, the memorial practices that have evolved around the bombing, and the town's armament factory Astra. On the basis of empirical work, the analytic dimensions of this research have sought to establish a theoretical framework for understanding the construction of a 'collective memory' of the bombing, its integration into contemporary identity and the symbolic and memorial landscape that has evolved in Gernika. The work on these sites has focused on three lines of inquiry: i) post-conflict reconstruction of a heritage site, ii) sites of contentious meanings and memories (the Astra weapons factory), and iii) commemoration and the transmission of memory (with a chief focus on trans-generational transmission).

Archival research and Fieldwork

The Madrid partners' case studies represent ongoing research on which Madrid team leaders Carmen Ortiz Garcia and Cristina Sanchez Carretero had worked on for a number of years. This meant existing fieldwork data could in some instance be utilised, although in the process of refocusing the case studies through the lens of cultural heritage and societal reconstruction it was necessary to conduct further fieldwork including the collection and analysis of archives and interviews. In the case study of the commemoration of the 11-M bombings the 'Archive of Mourning' the collection and recording of messages and often ephemeral offerings, totalling more than 70,000 items, left at the sites of the bombings formed an important archive. This archive is now held at the Railway Historic Archive (Archivo Histórico Ferroviario) in Madrid but formed an important source of data for the case study. Interviews were also conducted and participant observations took place at the anniversary events of the bombing during all three project work periods.

The second case study conducted by the Madrid based research team was the Prison of Carabanchel. Significant archival work was necessary in the Madrid regional archives and the historical archives of the Communist Party in 2010 during Period 2 to identify the political prisoners held at the Prison during the Francoist Period and to identify candidates for further interviews. Ethnographic fieldwork was carried out with various organisations who protested against the demolition of the prison in 2010 and participant observations of their rallies and events marking the demolition were made.

The Gernika case studies made use of a number of different archives including the CEDOK archive at Gernika Gogoratuz, press archives held at the Gernika Peace Museum, photographic and audiovisual material from Kultur Etxea (Culture House), archive material held at Archivo Sabino Arana (Archive of Basque Nationalism), the Gernikazarra archives and municipal records held at the Town Hall. Interviews were conducted during Period 1 and 2 and interviewees were asked about issues relating to aspects of multiple case studies where possible in order to gather the widest possible data set. Fieldwork was carried out at the anniversary events in Gernika, where recordings and additional interviews were conducted, and at the nearby towns of Durango and Otxandio, which were also bombed and which provided a point of comparison for the Gernika case study.

Case studies

Apart from other publications, work package 3 will contribute five chapters to the three collaborative volumes being produced by the project. In addition Dacia Viejo Rose will co-author the introductory chapter to each of the three volumes with Marie Louise Stig Sørensen. The chapters provide detailed investigations of the particular spaces or processes under investigation by the two research teams working within work package 3 and demonstrate both the specificity of the cases and their socio-historical context but also articulate in meaningful ways with some of the chapters produced by other work packages - particularly relating to Dresden in the construction of a symbolic city and in memorial activities surrounding the commemoration of a bombing.

Below is an outline of the case studies carried out by work package 3 and which provide the bases for their published research. All of the case studies are represented in chapters which will contribute to the three CRIC volumes, but it should be noted that aspects of this work have also been published in other forms as monographs, edited volumes and book sections.

Case study 1 - The March 11 train bombings, Madrid (C. Sanchez-Carretero and G. Truc)

This case study investigates the different material and immaterial manifestations of mourning relating to the train bombings of 11 March 2004 and the development of grassroots memorials commemorating the victims. The case study was used to develop the concept of grassroots memorialization as “the process by which groups of people, imagined communities, or specific individuals bring grievances into action by creating an improvised and temporary memorial with the aim of changing or ameliorating a particular situation”. The study looks at the differences and similarities between memorial actions and analyses the processes which operated at the sites of the bombings through time, and how this relates to peoples memory of the event and their connection to places.

Case study 2 - The Prison of Carabanchel, Madrid (C. Ortiz Garcia and A. Gonzalez Ruibal)

The case study of the Prison of Carabanchel follows the history of the prison through its use, abandonment, demolition and afterlife. The work has considered the relationship between politics and the recovery of Civil War memory in Spain as it relates to sites of cultural heritage from the period. The case study illuminates the process by which a site, such as the prison, can gain symbolic resonance in the imagination of different communities, be they local people, former prisoners and their families, or political groups. The Prison of Carabanchel represents the only case study in which the destruction of the site fell within the time span of the project research (the prison was demolished in 2008) enabling the research team to observe responses to the site before, during and after its demolition. The destruction of the prison also introduces a new element to the debate about the conservation of heritage of the Francoist dictatorship and its current political relevance.

Case study 3 - The post-war reconstruction of a symbolic town (D. Viejo Rose)

This case study conducted by Dacia Viejo Rose working with Gernika Gogoratuz focuses on the reconstruction of the town of Gernika from the period after its destruction during the Spanish Civil War until today. The work looks at the materiality of tradition and power in the post-civil-war reconstruction of Gernika. It looks at the choices made about what parts of the town were rebuilt, what styles were used in the reconstruction, the rhetoric and the priorities present in the reconstruction by the directorate Regiones Devastadas. The research and analysis was based on archival work by Dacia Viejo Rose as part of her PhD and additional fieldwork on the history of the Foru Plaza, the main town square. The research, through analysis of post-war Francoist policy, imagery, and rhetoric, shows how the regime attempted to gain social, historiographic, and ideological control and used the reconstruction in order to crystallize its vision of a ‘New Spain’. The chapter provided for the first CRIC volume takes the main square and its buildings as a case through which to observe the ways in which reconstruction can become imbued with ideological significance and symbolism and how this can through time.

Case study 4 - The anniversary commemorations of the bombing of Gernika (D. Viejo Rose, D. Clarke and F. McDonagh)

This case study focuses on two key topics present in the research of work package 3 more generally; commemorations and the transmission of memory. The work based on archival research and observations and recordings made at the annual memorial ceremonies and other events looks at the private and public commemorations of the bombing over the years. By considering the events as performances, changes in tone, the actors and the setting as well as the rhetoric could be analysed in order to understand how and why the memorial activities evolve. Fieldwork carried out at the nearby towns of Durango and Otxandio, which were also bombed during the Civil War, provide comparison for this case study.

Case study 5 - the ASTRA arms factory and the construction of Peace symbolism in Gernika (F. McDonagh and D. Viejo Rose)

This case study considers the contradictions and conflicts relating to the symbolism present in Gernika. The town is perhaps best known for Picasso's painting 'Guernica', but has also developed a strong association with the peace movement. The town itself is referred to as a 'City for Peace' and the image of Guernica is used internationally. The study, however, also investigates the history of the town's arms factory, the changing perceptions of Gernika and the manner in which different interests have been linked to different meanings of the town as a site of memory. The seemingly irreconcilable dimensions of Gernika's identity with both a Peace Museum and an arms factory reveal the limits of the town's symbolism and the extent to which it permeates the everyday life of its population.

The results and conclusions developed by work package 3 have greatly influenced the work of other case studies within the project. The principle foreground is the addition of new knowledge relevant to current debates in the fields of anthropology and heritage studies and which is attested to by the publications produced by this work package.

Work Package 4

The work conducted by work package 4 fulfils the objectives of the project in regards to the analysis of the 'past and current dynamics of heritage in relation to war destruction and reconstruction'. It does this through a series of case studies that brings the investigations into the history of sites from the two World Wars up to the present in terms of concerns about the commemoration of the centennial anniversary of World War I in 2014. The case studies investigated by the work package also incorporate consideration of the impact of destruction on landscapes as well as rural builtscapes and individual sites. These case studies include: i) the battlefield of Verdun, ii) the villages détruits [destroyed villages] within the designated 'Red Zone' and iii) the sites of the Ossuary at Douaumont and the Monument to Victory in Verdun. The three case studies in this work package are geographically close, part of a bounded historic landscape shaped by a single, relatively short-term event: the 'battle of Verdun' in 1916. At the same time, because of the historical and symbolic importance of the battle, the time-space of the battlefield far exceeds the physically and chronologically localised nature of the original event. At different points in time since the end of the battle, a variety of actors, ranging from local to national and global, have been claiming it as their own, so that both its physical form and its symbolic meaning are multiple, layered and unstable. The

relationship between physical form and symbolic meaning emerges as central to understanding the process of post-conflict reconstruction and the life of a metaphoric ‘site of memory’ such as Verdun, with the physical battlefield shaped by but also shaping, how the original event is remembered and commemorated in later times. For instance the aura of realism and authenticity attached to physical milieus can be used to validate new ‘memories’ of an event, which in fact shape and construct those milieus. The selection of cases, representing a spatial range from landscape to site, allows for analysis at multiple scales and has illuminated a number of issues relating to the themes of ‘reconstruction as a contested process’, ‘temporality’, the concept of ‘survivorship’ and the processes of ‘abandonment’, ‘sacralisation’ and ‘materialisation’.

Archival research and Fieldwork

Fieldwork has been carried out by members of work package 4 in each of the three reporting period of the project. Illness and personal circumstances amongst its researchers meant that the initial fieldwork was delayed; however this was overcome through additional field visits made by Paola Filippucci. Archival research was conducted from records held in both the UK and France with some digitized records being available online. Soldiers’ diaries and archival images were identified and analysed and a history of the case study sites formulated. Field visits to Verdun and the surrounding area involved the recording of the state of the heritage, the production of a comprehensive photographic record and interviewing local stakeholders to investigate current attitudes to the sites and landscape and gather opinions over its future use.

Case studies

The three main case studies conducted by work package 4 all focus on the area around the city of Verdun. These case studies form the basis for the three chapters that will contribute to the project volumes. Other work has also been carried out on the World War II site Pointe du Hoc and the landing beaches of Normandy, developed from work carried out by Edwige Savouret for her doctoral dissertation.

In addition to the case studies described below, work package 4 has been involved in the production of a Geographical Information System which will present data gathered as part of the CRIC research. The GIS includes quantitative and qualitative types of data collected from records and archives. Once the GIS is completed an interactive template for community use (PGIS) could be made, and/or a copy could be handed over to local actors involved in the valorisation of war-related heritage in the area, including the Office National des Forêts (charged with the conservation of war-related and natural heritage in the Verdun hinterland) and the Mémorial de Verdun (the main battlefield museum currently being redeveloped with new exhibits and a new international research centre focusing on conflict and peace). The GIS supplements written and academic outputs of the work-package, providing a means of disseminating project research to wider audiences within both academic and non-academic spheres. The production of this resource however remains ongoing and will be delivered after the end date of the project.

Case study 1 - The battlefield of Verdun (J-P Amat, P. Filippucci and E. Savouret)

The materiality of the battlefield is the central theme in the first case study that analysed the Verdun forest as an artefact of the battle and investigated its subsequent reconstruction and memorialization. Drawing on archival materials (maps, reports and photos) this case study has sought firstly to reconstruct the evolution of the battlefield landscape over time, analysing the views and perceptions that have shaped it and the various agencies involved at different points in time. A separate but related strand has been a qualitative analysis of perceptions of this landscape: firstly during the battle (reconstructed by reference to weather records for the relevant months in 1916 as a way into combatant experience of the landscape). Secondly, an ethnographic study of perceptions today shows how the battlefield landscape is viewed as a touchstone of authenticity and a privileged means of access to the event of the battle as it recedes into the past.

More generally the first case study illustrates the complex interplay of cultural and natural factors in the emergence and development of historic landscapes and perceptions of their heritage value, raising particular issues for conservation and valorisation efforts. This particular aspect is developed comparatively in the additional study by Edwige Savouret focused on the Pointe du Hoc, itself a battlefield with notable environmental constraints and developments partly due to the impact of battle and partly to the impact of time passing.

Case study 2 - Memorials and Time, the Ossuary at Douaumont and the Monument to Victory (P. Filippucci)

The second case study focuses on the shifting meanings of two key landmarks of the Verdun memorial landscape, the Ossuary at Douaumont and the Victory monument in the city of Verdun. The analysis has drawn on archival, published and ethnographic records to document both the symbolic and material life of these landmarks in the time since they were built. The findings show that both the symbolic life of these landmarks as ‘lieux de mémoire’ in Nora’s terms, and their material life as components of local territories, must be taken into account to understand the politics of meaning surrounding them at each point in time.

Case study 3 - The villages détruits, the destroyed villages (P. Filippucci)

The third case study concern villages within the exclusion zone, physically destroyed by the battle of Verdun, but preserved both institutionally and in the memory of former inhabitants and their descendants. Based on ethnographic investigation, this case study shows that these sites have helped to condense and transmit the local non-combatant memory of the battle and of the war, under-represented in public memorialization in Verdun and elsewhere on the Western Front. Another finding is that these sites have growing evocative power even as the battle recedes into the past, perhaps because the majority of today’s visitors have never seen combat, and may more readily relate to the impact and brutality of battle through evidence of destruction of inhabited space than through more properly military artefacts and spaces. In general terms, this case study helps to analyse the interplay between military and civilian approaches to the Verdun battlefield.

Work Package 5

As the location of a long-standing ethnic conflict, the last violent phase of which took place a generation ago (1974), Cyprus offers unique insights into the diachronic processes of destruction and attempts at reconstruction of cultural heritage. Instituted in the form of a UN Buffer Zone that runs across the island, the division has taken different shapes over the decades, and these have affected the practices of destruction and reconstruction, both on the material, as well as the conceptual level. The work of work package 5 has focused on delineating the categorisation of sites and practices as 'ethnic heritage' and the repercussions of this categorisation on understandings and practices surrounding cultural heritage. The research has therefore included investigation of issues concerning: i) the marginalisation of minority heritage, ii) analysis of the destruction and preservation of sites connected to the two major ethnic groups in the south and north of the island, iii) the classification of site positioned on the Green Line and their relation to notions of collective heritage. They have addressed these issues through the investigation of a number of different types of case study, which, in different ways reflect the multiple scales of analysis under consideration. The work of the Cyprus team has introduced into the project's theoretical consciousness an awareness of the essentialising tendencies prevalent in the treatment of contested heritage and the multitude of other tensions that can be present in post-conflict scenarios. In some respect the unresolved nature of the Cyprus conflict allowed the project to see in real-time the impact and consequences of division on cultural heritage and as such provided a unique perspective amongst the project's regional work packages.

Archival research and Fieldwork

Most archival research and fieldwork was conducted during Periods 1 and 2 although the late addition of the case studies investigating the memorialization of the Battle of Tylliria and the Nicosia Airport required additional work during Period 3, including recordings and interviews made at Erenköy on the anniversary of the battle in August 2011. The primary means of data collection included participant observation at events held at the sites under investigation and interviews. These interviews included former employees in the case of the Ledra Palace, veterans and their family in the case of the battle of Tylliria, Maronite community leaders and former residents in the case of the work on the villages of Kapouti and Alifotes.

Case studies

The case studies conducted by work package 5 will contribute three chapters to the project volumes. The other case studies and additional work on Cypriot heritage have been written up and published in the form of journal articles or as a documentary film and a policy brief in the case of the investigation of the Maronite Language Revival.

Case study 1 - The Ledra Palace Hotel, Nicosia (O. Demetriou)

The case study investigating the Ledra Palace Hotel presents a biography of the building which focuses on the making and ruination of the site at different historical junctures. It demonstrated the manner in which the fate of the building reflected the history of the conflict and how its understanding and meaning were intertwined with the development of the conflict itself. The case study identifies

how alternative forms of conflict and tension are present at the site but that these are overshadowed by the ethnic tensions and overt militarization of the hotel during and after the conflict. The case study also presents an example of the affect of the 'buffer zone' on heritage sites in Nicosia. The implicit classification of sites on the 'Green Line', epitomised by the Ledra Palace Hotel, shows them as connected to the Greek-Cypriot community even though they are part of collective Cypriot heritage.

Case study 2 - The memorialization of the Battle of Tylliria, Erenkoy (M. Hatay and R. Bryant)

This case study focuses on changes in the memorial activities associated with the anniversary of the Battle of Tylliria in the now Turkish Cypriot enclave of Erenköy in 1964. Recordings, participant observation and interviews at the anniversary events in 2011 are compared to archival documentation to understand the re-writing or re-membering of the conflict that has taken place in recent years and its role in the process of identity formation for local people, Turkish Cypriots, veterans of the battle and their families. The increase in the size of the anniversary events, their content and the rhetoric used are analysed as expressions of the different communities of memory, their relationships with the site of the battle and with the Turkish state. A further process identified within this case study is the 'branding' of this event and the related heritage by the local population as a form of the institutionalisation of memory.

Case study 3 - Maronite Language Revival (C. Constantinou)

The case of the revival of the Maronite language built on previous work by Costas Constantinou and was based on in-depth conversational-interview structured research into how the Maronite community articulate their distinct identities and the role language has within this. In addition to providing a voice to a marginalized group with the bi-communally defined Cypriot politics the research illuminated some of the specific ways in which places matter within Maronite identity construction which have implications for other case studies.

Case study 4 - Heritage destruction and preservation, the villages of Kapouti and Alifotes (M. Hatay and C. Constantinou)

This case study saw CRIC researchers visit sites in the north and south of the country. They analysed the destruction and preservation of sites connected to the two major ethnic groups by focusing on a destroyed Turkish-Cypriot village in the south and a protected ancient olive grove in the north in the outskirts of a Greek-Cypriot village. The case demonstrated some of the factors at play in the preservation of cultural heritage in different parts of Cyprus and how issues such as both neglect and development impact the fate of the heritage of the 'other' as much as its categorization or the types of heritage represented. The case also traces the effect of the opening up of the border and the increased visits of displaced families to their old homes on the other side of the divided country.

Case study 5 - The Nicosia Airport (O. Demetriou)

The case of the abandoned Nicosia Airport draws out many of the themes developed through the other case studies. The site typifies processes by which the conflict in Cyprus has created ambiguous and 'accidental' zones of heritage wherein buildings and artefacts become relics of ethnic violence and symbolic sites that are often contested in their meaning and in decisions over their fate. The fact that the airport is a Modernist building of some architectural significance makes the ethnicization of this heritage difficult as many of the values placed on the building sit outside of the criteria that are regularly used to delineate a sense of ownership of the heritage by ethnic groups. The position of the site on the 'Green Line' has also affected the way the site is remembered and further demonstrates the importance of access to the form that these memories take.

Work Package 6

The focus of the work of the Bosnian work package was the role of cultural heritage in terms of the 'Reinvention of the Past' and the 'Reconstruction of the Future' in post-war Bosnia Herzegovina. This was done through a series of carefully chosen case studies which allowed analysis of both the micro (local) and macro (state) level processes. The research has specifically focused on i) the politicization of heritage along ethnic lines, ii) the reinterpretation of the heritage of former political regimes, and iii) the links between claims and reconstruction and construction of heritage sites. The number of cases studies and scope of research undertaken by work package 6 was increased from the original project design in response to the complexity of analyzing processes as they were unfolding and also due to the subtle but very important roles heritage has acquired in the reconstruction efforts in the region. As little was known about these relationships in the region it was decided that collecting data and recording the processes as they unfold had to be considered a prime objective.

Archival research and Fieldwork

The work package 6 research team have conducted extensive archival work, the results of which in themselves represent an important resource for future research into cultural heritage in Bosnia Herzegovina. Particular attention was paid to the media archives and a subscription was purchased with the Media Development Loan Fund during the final period to ensure the widest coverage of media reporting on cultural heritage issues in Bosnia Herzegovina. Multiple field visits were made to Bosnia Herzegovina for the purpose of accessing state held archives; this was a complex process as permissions were needed. The fieldwork took place at regular intervals through out all three periods of the project and was carried out along side the analysis of data collected during Period 2 and 3 and the writing up of case studies. Researchers visited case study sites on several occasions and also attended and recorded proceedings at the anniversary commemorations and mass burial at the Potocari-Srebrenica memorial centre in 2009, 2010 and 2011 and at memorial ceremonies in Tuzla. The recordings and observations made at the memorial centres are important records of the development of memorial practices relating to the war in the 1990s.

Case studies

The case studies conducted by work package 6 were structured as four overarching topics through which one or more case study sites were investigated. The contribution of the Bosnian case studies is that this is a recent conflict, which, in many ways remains unresolved. The Dayton agreement ending the war in Bosnia Herzegovina in 1995, however it contained and conserved aspects of the conflict in a very complicated and complex political system based on principles of power-sharing between two autonomous entities, one of which is multi-ethnic and divided in mono-ethnic or mixed regions (cantons). Three Bosnian ethnic groups are forced to live together in a divided country. This has led to a continuation of the 'war by other means'. Political processes are currently characterized by ethnic conflict and this affects most arenas of public life. Cultural heritage management has become a battlefield where Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks constantly push for their special interests. Because of this, Bosnian cultural heritage management is perhaps even more political than elsewhere, and perhaps even more directly linked to processes of national/ethnic identity formation.

The case studies conducted by work package 6 will contribute four chapters to the project volumes. The case studies have also be published as journal articles with more publications forthcoming.

Case study 1 - The World War II monuments (D. Sahovic)

The study of the World War II or NOB monuments includes five sites which represented major places of remembrance of World War II in Yugoslavia; they are AVNOJ Museum in Jajce, Mrakovica monument and Museum at mount Kozara, Neretva Bridge and Museum in Jablanica, Tito's cabin and Museum in Drvar, and the Sutjeska monument. These sites were the cornerstones in the understanding of the history of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav national identities, places of remembrance of the victimhood of the people of Yugoslavia and places for celebration of Yugoslav brotherhood and unity, and other concepts central to the former Yugoslav Socialist regime. For decades, their primary general role was to educate new generations about the history of the Socialist Federal Yugoslavia. Yet, each of the sites also had a very specific and often a very different role. The fall of Communism and the violent end of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, of course, completely changed the NOB monuments' role in society. The state that had built them and the system they had supported had disappeared and new, mono-ethnic nationalist parties came to power. After the war, the role of these monuments was once again re-negotiated. The CRIC research show how they now all share a common destiny of being "privatized" and "ethnicized" in a weak Bosnian post-war state. The NOB monuments study contributes to the Bosnia Herzegovina case study and the CRIC project as it illuminates what happens with places of central importance for a national identity once the political circumstances dramatically change through conflicts and wars.

Case study 2 - The Potocari-Srebrenica memorial centre and the anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre (D. Sahovic and D. Zulumovic)

The main objective of the study at Potocari and Srebrenica was to show how the construction of the burial place and memorial centre commemorating events in Srebrenica in 1995 fits into the on-going conflict, the 'continuation of war by other means' in post-war Bosnia Herzegovina. Since their construction, the memorial centre and the burial site have been in the focus of Bosnian politics once a year when the annual burial ceremonies take place each 11th of July. The ceremonial collective burial

ceremonies have grown in size over time and they have become increasingly politicised, as Bosnian nationalist political elites connect much of their policies to Srebrenica in one way or the other. The CRIC Bosnia team has analysed the development of the Potocari-Srebrenica memorial site and the accrual of additional meaning to the annual burial ceremonies in the current political context. The aims have been to analyse current trends and possible future scenarios for the meaning of the place of Srebrenica, the memorial site and the annual commemorations within the very fragile Bosnian political situation. The study of the commemorative practices and collective burials puts into focus the process of individual mourning and the construction of collective cultural heritage, and it therefore contributes directly to the theorization about the processes of nation-building. As different ethnic groups (Bosniaks and Serbs) have diametrically different views about events in Srebrenica, the site itself is controversial and the meaning of the site politically contested, further deepening the conflict between the groups.

Case study 3 - The memorial complex of Slana Banja, Tuzla (I. Armakolas)

The case study in Tuzla focuses on a memorial complex which dates to World War II, but which has seen continuous use and development of its roles and meanings. In the period of the rise of nationalism in Bosnia, socialist era heritage and symbols proved difficult to uphold for the post-Communist Tuzla elites. This was the case even at the times when the same elites appropriated parts of the socialist-era ideology and discourse to support their post-Yugoslav conception of Bosnian civic nationalism. The reconstructed memorial complex in Tuzla is a site that goes against the dominant societal trends of putting emphasis on ethnic and religion-oriented elements of identity in post-war Bosnia. In addition, commemorative practices in the memorial complex have incorporated memorials to losses in the 1990s wars and made memorials to civilian victims the centre-point of official and communal remembering, thus again reversing the Bosnian trend of prioritising military losses over civilian tragedies. The memorial complex and its new and old memorials became the key site for the inter-generational transmission of meaning and knowledge about the socialist regime and the anti-fascist struggle. The study also traces how in recent years, after the political turmoil of the 1990s was over, the socialist era memorial complex and its envisioning as a complex memorialising of both wars were infused with the vision of the development of the city as an economically forward looking place.

Case study 4 - The reconstruction of the bridge and town of Mostar (I. Armakolas and D. Zulumovic)

This case study investigates not only the famous bridge but also the townscape of Mostar in an attempt to understand how the geography of the town and its heritage become used in the process of ethnic mapping and symbolic encoding of space. The study shows how the meanings and symbolisms associated with the reconstructed Old Bridge replaced the less politicised meanings that the site held in the pre-war period, and how the new meanings are inextricably linked with the destruction of the Old Bridge during the recent war, the politics surrounding this act, and the active engagement of the international community in post-war Bosnia Herzegovina. The decision to reconstruct the Old Bridge was externally-driven and largely connected to problems and needs wider than Mostar itself. The Old Bridge became a symbol as a result of external influences and with little, if any, local input in the process of symbolic construction. The symbol of the Old Bridge has been appropriated for several different purposes and functions in contemporary Mostar. The reconstruction of the Old Bridge did not curtail ethnic competition in Mostar, which remains one of the most contested locations in Bosnia

Herzegovina and the battleground of largely incompatible political projects. Ethnic mapping of the territory can be observed throughout Mostar, both in terms of cultural heritage preservation, construction and reconstruction and in terms of the making of and presence of symbols.

Work Package 7

The research team for the German case study focused on Dresden as a 'lieux de mémoire'. The work was particularly concerned with how the self image and international image of the city has developed and how the symbolic meanings given to the cityscape, and loci for memory within it, has developed and changed. The work during Period 1 and 2 recorded the reconstruction of cultural heritage within the city since 1945 and during Period 2 and 3 analysed emergent tensions within the city, and the use of its civic space, during annual commemorations and the changing form of memorial and anniversary events marking its destruction during World War II. The case studies under investigation by work package 7 consist of the study of the reconstructed Frauenkirche, the cemetery and memorial complex of Heidefriedhof, the memorial and commemorative events surrounding the anniversary of the bombing of Dresden in 1945 and the reconstruction of the city in relation to the 'myth of Dresden' and the symbolism present in the representation of the city. The analysis followed three dimensions identified within the case studies: i) the discourse dimension, focusing on the 'mythologization' of the city and its destruction, creation and use as a historical symbol and the political 'instrumentalization of the memory' of the bombing, ii) the ritual dimension, focusing on the genesis of rituals which promote the continuity or enact change in the memorial culture as part of the 'institutionalization of memory', iii) the spatial dimension which considers the process of the material construction or destruction of places of memory (lieux de memoire).

Archival research and Fieldwork

The fieldwork carried out by work package 7 has taken place throughout the three periods of the project. It has involved site visits to the key sites represented by the case studies but also a huge amount of recording, participant observation, interviews and data collecting around the memorial events on the anniversary of the bombing in February each year. The recordings and the data collected represents a remarkable and valuable resource and output. Its analysis has enabled comparison with archival material, particularly news reporting and photographs of commemorations dating from GDR times to the present day, which have similarly been found in old archives by the team. In addition to the more conventional forms of field study, work has been conducted with students of the departments of sociology and architecture as part of the 'Building and Memory' seminar series at TU Dresden focused on the collection of 'traces' (objects and photographic material); subjective mapping of these areas was carried out and written reflections produced.

The case studies conducted by work package 7 will contribute four chapters to the project volumes, in addition to other forthcoming publications and other dissemination outputs. In addition to the work produced by the CIC researchers many graduate students at TU Dresden have been influenced by the work of CRIC and supervised by members of the project. This has resulted in the production of thesis based on aspects of the Dresden study and include:

1. Claudia Jerzak: MA Thesis - Dresden, 13. Februar 1945. Erinnerungskulturelle Entwicklung seit 1990 aus der AkteurInnenperspektive [Dresden, 13. February 1945, The development of the memorial culture since 1990 from the Actor's perspective] (2009).
2. Johannes Schmidt: MA Thesis - Wiederaufbau des Dresdner Neumarkt / [Reconstruction of the Neumarkt Dresden] (2010).
3. Sabine Barthold: MA Thesis - Postmoderne Zeiten und die soziale Produktion von Raum. Eine stadtsoziologische Analyse zur Rekonstruktion Dresdens seit der Wiedervereinigung [Postmodern Times and the social production of space. The Reconstruction of Dresden since 1990, an urban sociological study] (2011).
4. Juliane Kupper: MA Thesis - Erinnern an den '13. Februar'. Das Beispiel der Sächsischen Staatskapelle Dresden [Remembering the 13th of February. The example of the Saxonian Staatskapelle Dresden] (2011).

Case studies

The Dresden case studies provided the project with the opportunity to analyse the process of post-conflict reconstruction over a long period lasting from 1944 until today. All case studies carried out by the CRIC team Dresden highlight the role of the 'imaginary city' of Dresden before the destruction in 1945 as a reference for the developments of the commemoration and reconstruction practices afterwards. The CRIC team looked at the physical reconstruction of specific buildings as a form of commemoration, affected by the changing meaning of the event itself, as well as the practices surrounding the commemorations by different communities and groups.

Case study 1 - The anniversary of the bombing of Dresden (K-S. Rehberg, M. Neutzner and B. Lubich)

The case study looking at the anniversary of the bombing of Dresden has multiple parts which involve all three of the researchers in work package 7 working on the project. The study of the events surrounding the anniversary has been carried out based on archival material and recordings and observations made at the memorial ceremonies and processions which take place in the city each year. One perspective taken is the study of the groups of actors and new social movements that have arisen in the context of the commemorations and the individual discourses surrounding them. This includes the use of the anniversary event by the peace movement, neo-Nazi groups and local residents and charts the changing meanings and tensions between groups through time. A second dimension considers the spatial perspective to understand how certain places become significant locales within the commemorative rituals. This has involved different forms of mapping of memorial activities through space and time. Finally the anniversary has been analysed through the methodological lens of the 'institutionalization of memory'. Within this approach 'Institutions' are regarded as 'symbolic orders', or more precisely, the manifestation of institutional efforts at stabilisation and are seen in the symbolical depiction of principles of order, especially in an *idée directrice* ('guiding idea' in the words of Maurice Halbwachs). This is also applicable to the processes of canonization and forms of collective memory, which have a more or less distinctive institutional form that can be expressed in material signs but also in every regulated action (e.g. rituals), in gestures, concepts of identity, forms

of habitus, and language. Using this approach it has been possible to trace the development of anniversary events and the concepts that underpin many of the responses observed.

Case study 2 - The reconstruction of Dresden (K-S. Rehberg, M. Neutzner and B. Lubich)

A case study was added to the work of work package 7 in order to present more fully an overview of the destruction and reconstruction of Dresden. This case relates closely to the quasi-mythical idea or 'image of Dresden' as the 'Florence of the Elbe' or the Baroque capital of Northern Europe. The work analyses the extent to which these ideas and ideals have influenced the reconstruction of the city and what has been overshadowed or omitted in the decisions made during this reconstruction. Choices were made about which buildings to rebuild and the process of rebuilding is still evident today. Through mapping exercises it was possible to document the manner in which the new Dresden developed and how this functioned as part of the materialisation of certain political ideas and social identities.

Case study 3 - The Heidefriedhof cemetery, Dresden (M. Neutzner)

The Heidefriedhof, the main municipal cemetery in Dresden, contains a large monumental memorial complex which has been studied by work package 7. The development of the memorial complex offers material evidence of the changing remembering of the destruction of Dresden and the use of these memories to legitimize the political existence and societal orientation of the GDR regime. Following the unification of Germany an ongoing conflictive process of interpretations, deconstructions and ritual appropriations has occurred; this has been analysed as part of this case study. The Dresden Heidefriedhof is therefore an example of cultural heritage that is formed by and for societal references to the past and thus one of the material components of memory culture. Through the CRIC research, for the first time, the complex history of the creation and utilization of this site is reconstructed showing how the site though time has hosted varied historical-political intentions and functional demands, as well as changed 'natural' environments, played out against changing cultural frameworks and economic conditions. As such the memorial complex can be understood as the media of collective memory and be analyzed with regard to associated processes of the 'institutionalization of memory'.

Case study 4 - The Frauenkirche, Dresden (K-S. Rehberg)

The case study on the Frauenkirche charts the history of the church and its changing meanings and ideological tensions from its construction in 1727 to its recent reconstruction. The study documents the destruction of the Frauenkirche and the importance of the ruin for the memory of the destruction and identity formation within GDR times. The new meanings attributed to the building are also investigated and the reconstruction project is situated within a broader discussion of the reconstruction of cultural heritage and the construction of the image of Dresden, which illuminates issues of authenticity and ambiguity that have also been seen in other case studies. The plurality of the many significances and projections outlined by the case study transform the Frauenkirche into a central historical symbol that draws its evidence from both the past and the present. The case also considers how the reconstruction references the destructive events of 1945 in a material way through the

inclusion of fire-damaged brick and the incorporation of elements of the destroyed building as artefacts in the reconstructed church.

Description of main result achieved

The main results achieved by the project work packages can be divided into new knowledge and concepts produced in the area of post-conflict heritage and identity studies (see section 'Thematic summary' of results below) and the disseminated products made to communicate that knowledge. As such the main results can be summarised as follows:

1. 25 detailed and well illustrated case studies and numerous smaller background and comparative studies
2. New knowledge and understanding about the relationship between heritage, conflict and identity with particular attentions to both destruction and reconstruction as part of conflict.
3. A suit of new or revised analytical concepts and approaches to post-conflict heritage studies
4. A basis for policy recommendations aimed at specific and relevant organizations and institutions
5. Academic publications in the form of monographs, edited volumes, book chapters and articles
6. A range of publicly accessible short films and introductions to the project case studies and post-conflict heritage research
7. A publicly accessible photographic archive and website
8. Posters, flyers, postcards, an exhibition, and iPhone application

As previously discussed, the project will produce three collaborative volumes containing chapters drawn from the project research and addressing three themes representing three different scales of analysis and conceptualisation: 'Biographies of Place', 'Memorials and Anniversaries' and 'Subjective Landscapes'. Introductions to each of the volumes will be provided by Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and Dacia Viejo Rose (work package 1) and post-script commentaries by David Uzzell and Carsten Paludan-Müller (work package 2)

These three volumes are in addition to the academic publications produced by the regional work packages. The project encouraged original, varied and adaptable dissemination methods to make sure the research work was noticed by a variety of audiences; the impact of material produced represent an important output of the project. Much more than originally anticipated was achieved, and new ways of disseminating results, including use of mobile device applications and social media have been explored. Dissemination was a high priority during all three reporting period but focus was intensified during the final 12 months of the project.

The production of a photographic archive for the project began during Period 1 and continued through the final two periods. The archive is hosted by the University of Cambridge institutional repository Dspace (<http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/214815>), and is open access. Dspace was established in 2003 to facilitate the deposit of digital content of a scholarly or heritage nature, allowing academics and their departments at the University to share and preserve this content in a

managed environment. The CRIC archive now contains 931 images and has been accessed 80,402 times. The project has received a number of requests to use images held in the photographic archive for academic publications and popular books and magazines.

As mentioned the CRIC Research Project established channels on Youtube and Vimeo in order to provide an attractive, time efficient and controlled dissemination outlet that could be used to convey complex research ideas in a format that would be easily understood. The distribution of the links to the Youtube channel was achieved through sustained e-marketing strategies, postcards containing the web addresses distributed at conferences and meetings, videos embedded on relevant web pages and social media sites. Emails were also sent to organizations related to heritage research making them aware of the resource. The outcome was that 17 films were uploaded to youtube and 10 films to Vimeo. Youtube has received a total of 5711 viewings to date and Vimeo 1318 plays and 3073 loads. Feedback received on the films indicates that these have had a wide impact and have been extremely successful, with a number of institutions asking to use them as a teaching resource during the coming academic year. The Institute of Continuing Education, Madingley Hall, University of Cambridge, has, for example, been provided with copies of the films to use as teaching material following a request from the Institutes eLearning manager.

The films publicly available to-date can be found on the CRIC Youtube and Vimeo channels at <http://www.youtube.com/user/CRICResearchProject> and <http://vimeo.com/user9075853> and include:

1. Cambridge workshop: Do Memorials Matter?
2. Dybbøl, a biography of Denmark's most significant memorial landscape
3. The Isted Lion, returning disputed heritage
4. Reconstructing Spain
5. The Carabanchel Prison: 'A Model of a Repressive Space'
6. 'Remembering Gernika/Gernika Remembers'
7. 'Reconstructing Gernika's Foru Plaza: Something Old, Something New'
8. 'Places that Died for France' Commemoration and Memory at Verdun
9. 'The Cemetery of France', Verdun's changing heritage of destruction
10. The Verdun battlefield: New debates on the heritage of destruction for 2014
11. 'The Third Motherland'
12. Bosnia: Srebrenica-Potocari Memorial and Cemetery
13. Bosnia: Reinventing Cultural Heritage
14. MOSTAR: heritage reconstruction in a divided city
15. TUZLA: a changing memorial culture for a new vision of Bosnia
16. Dresden: 13th February anniversary
17. CRIC Research Project , Dresden: The Frauenkirche

18. The Heidefriedhof Cemetery, Dresden: commemorations of disputed memories of war

19. Dresden presentation, Cambridge University by Matthias Neutzner

Other examples of major dissemination activities produced are the conferences and workshops organised by the CRIC project. These have been arranged in addition to the regular Annual Consortium and Bi-Annual Steering Committee Meetings and included the official launch event for the CRIC project held in Cambridge on the 31st March 2008, the 19th International Conference on Culture and Peace held in Gernika between the 22nd to 26th April 2009, an invited workshop on Bosnian Heritage in Sarajevo on the 8th April 2010, the PRIO Annual International Conference 'Conflicts and Values of Heritage' in Nicosia between the 12th and 13th November 2010, a public exhibition 'Memory. VIOLENCE. Suppression' at the SLUB in Dresden which ran from the 29th January to 3rd April 2011, the collaborative conference 'A place of Deceit, Concealment and Memory: Theresienstadt and Terezín' in Dresden and Terezín on the 14th and 15th February 2011, the 12th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar 'The Heritage of Memorials and Commemorations' in Cambridge on the 15th and 16th April 2011, a public workshop at the Cambridge University Festival of Ideas on the 22nd October 2011, a CRIC panel session at the 17th Annual Conference of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) in Oslo between the 14th and 18th November 2011 and finally the closing event in Paris on the 12th January 2012. The publicity material and programmes for these events are included as PDF attachments in support of this report. While these represent the major shared CRIC events and conferences, project members have also presented at a large number of other conferences and events within Europe and beyond. The details of these presentations have been provided online on the Research & Innovation Participant Portal under project 'dissemination activities'. Publicity material in the form of posters, flyers, a pamphlet and postcard have been produced by the project. This material is included as attached PDF documents in support of this report and have been distributed at the conferences, presentations, meetings and workshops previously mentioned. In addition work package 3 has produced a poster series and accompanying iPhone applications, details of the work including maps, chronologies and visual representations of the development of memorial places and process can be found at the website <http://www.cric-memorialsclapes.es> when the site goes live later this year.

The final area of dissemination which has been employed by the CRIC project has been press, radio and television media. Lindy Fleming has worked closely with the management consortium and communicated regularly with all the project work packages to identify and facilitate positive media exposure for the project research and results. This was a very successful initiative and the project has received excellent press coverage over the last 12 months.

Beyond the end date of the project CRIC members continue to promote their results through various forms of dissemination. Work package 7 particularly has played a very active role in discussions and analysis of the events of the recent anniversary of the bombing of Dresden on the 13th February 2012 within the media. It is anticipated that this media interest in the CRIC research will continue as the contacts made and preparation work done by Lindy Fleming and the project partners come to fruition and the profile of the project continues to develop.

Thematic summary of results

CRIC has made considerable theoretical contribution to our understanding of the varied and complex roles heritage plays in the reconstruction of society after conflict including its potential negative impact. Archival research and fieldwork have led to substantial added knowledge, and the project has developed important analytical concepts. Through the case studies substantial new knowledge and understanding of specific places, and how they came to play important roles in European memory, have been gained, and through comparison major common characteristics of the processes unfolding through their destruction and reconstruction have been identified.

The final results of the project take three forms: 1) analysis based on specific case studies and resulting comparison and synthesis, 2) core analytical concepts, and 3) findings and recommendations.

1) Archival research and fieldwork have led to substantial added knowledge within a number of academic fields. The research has provided data, documentation and insight into a number of key areas of research. At a finer resolution this includes a better understanding of the destruction and reconstruction of a range of cultural heritage sites in Europe and a detailed tracking of changes in their meaning and societal roles. In addition to knowledge about buildings and monuments the project has added to the understanding of the formation of specific memorial sites and their general as well as specific impacts. This has included providing examples of their important roles in the narration of history and their interaction with memory. The results of the project demonstrate that these sites are the location for major and under acknowledged processes of identity formation and reaffirmation, resulting in the complex links between heritage and identity claims having become better elucidated. CRIC research has added substantially to the understanding of the processes behind the emergence of symbols and iconic places and through the case studies has provided a means of understanding the impacts of different parts of the heritage and the heritage discourse. Finally the use of both the destruction and reconstruction of cultural heritage sites to articulate claims has been traced, and their use in politics as a means of punishment, revenge, blame and reparation identified. The results have demonstrated that heritage is not an innocent bystander, but plays a part in conflict and post-conflict rhetoric and actions

Through comparison we have identified major common characteristics of the processes involved in the reconstruction of cultural heritage after conflict, such as its adherence to a number of phases which are characterised by distinct concerns and different claims that should be taken into account in future reconstruction efforts. Memorialization practices emerge in the early phases and act as continuous reminders of the conflict. The partial and conflict-orientated character of most memorials and anniversaries should therefore be recognised and new forms explored. It should also be recognised that civil society and interest groups often play dominant roles in setting the aims of reconstruction; the danger of this is that reconstruction may be hijacked by narrow interest groups which have been created by the conflict itself. The research also shows that ideological objectives are often present within memorialization practices and they often influence the reconstruction strategies and objectives. The project case studies indicate that critical attention is needed to understand the impact of these objectives regarding both the tangible and intangible heritage. The results also show that heritage reconstruction can have a negative impact on the regeneration of society in some cases, as it may become an example of war 'through other means'. The societal impact of the reconstructions therefore needs to be understood and guided.

2) Based on the research we have developed several core analytical concepts. These have been explored in detail through project monographs and volumes and include the following:

1. Grassroots memorialization
2. Essentialising heritage
3. Institutionalization of heritage
4. Distributed memorialscapes

3) The project consortium has reached results and recommendations that will be relevant to policy statements. The recommendations will be formulated to address perceived shortcomings in current legislation and guidance on the reconstruction of cultural heritage following conflict. They address how reconstruction initiatives should:

1. Avoid practices which allow the reconstruction of cultural heritage to become the focus for the continuation of conflict by another means
2. Maintain an emphasis on authenticity without marginalising local populations during the reconstruction process
3. Exhibit financial scrutiny of donors and external funding sources to avoid the alienation of groups or development of conflict-full symbolic attachments or creating a sense of exclusive ownership
4. Ensure that cultural heritage is disassociated from issues of establishing truth and claims
5. Commit to the long term engagement and monitoring of cultural heritage reconstructions projects to ensure greater integration of reconstructed sites with locales and communities
6. Make transparent the political and social aims of reconstruction projects and the meanings that are being promoted through the sites

There are several ways in which the results arising from the research of the CRIC project could be further summarised. The project foreground has been described in detail in the preceding section, so here we select to focus on the thematic foci of the three project volumes, as this is not only a major academic outcome of the project but also a good representation of the synthesis and comparisons that have been drawn from the case studies. The volumes speak to the comparative dimensions and interdisciplinarity of the research produced by the consortium as well as the multiple scales of analysis that it has given rise to. The volumes reflect on three different scales of concerns: Biographies of Place (discussing locations as means and media of changing meanings), Memorials and Anniversaries (debating the public capturing of memories and the ways form affects the reiterations of history), and Subjective Landscapes (focusing on the construction of memory-scapes, subjective landscapes and the seepage of emotion, claims and meanings between spaces and contexts).

Biographies of Place

By focusing on the biography of single sites, be they monuments, buildings, cemeteries, or battlefields, the work packages were able to present detailed accounts of the changes that these places undergo through time and to identify common characteristics. A point of comparison is the fate of the physical traces and vestiges of conflict in the context of reconstruction and how they affect the understanding of the reconstructions themselves. The case of Verdun, for instance, reveals the power and agency of the physical traces of war, as well as the reconstructions, in shaping later responses and interpretations. The case studies also reveal and analyse how the materiality of places is worked into claims about perpetrator and victim identities. Such connections between the physical remains and the insistence on identities were consistently found to be an important dimension of the reconstruction - through their physical affects places are called on to act as witnesses to acts of violence and destruction and are used as platforms or foils for peoples, groups or countries claims on and about those events. In addition, the case studies show that the physicality and rootedness of heritage sites are commonly used to testify to the long-standing presence of a group or to provide territorial backing for group identities.

Tracing such individual stories the volume aims at 'thick description' of particular places in order to establish a sound empirical grounding for theoretical interpretations of the relationship between destruction, reconstruction, meanings and identities. Recognising the anthropomorphising tendency inherent in the use of a biographical structure the volume shows how this approach is nonetheless very well suited to reflect on the processes and mechanisms involved. It provides a means of focusing on and thus identifying how mainstream meanings are generated, on how and why subversive alteration and ruptures in the meaning of a site arise, and how different factors, intensions and possibilities commingle to give particular places specific meaning, including them becoming iconic places or acting as 'lieux de mémoire'. The concept is also useful in paying attention to the effects of age, to the accrual of meaning and the overflow of former understandings and uses - the baggage of history that is always also a part of the present whether actively explored or suppressed. The biographical approach helps us to incorporate in our analyses the realisation that heritage is never devoid of meaning. The approach thus allowed the project researchers to purposefully and closely track the changing meanings associated with particular places through time. In some instances this could be envisaged as a series of stages, as was the case in changing priorities of meaning at the battlefield of Dybbøl or the change in the types of memory emphasised at Verdun with a move from 'the time of living memory' to 'the time of history'. In other cases associations and understandings of what sites represent are caught up in discourses that are deeply conflicted and show much less a sense of progression through stages, this seems to be the case in both Spain and Cyprus.

The project's concentration on the tangible heritage constituted by the monuments and buildings being studied does not however neglect the intangible aspects of post-conflict heritage but rather argues that such a distinction is largely unhelpful. Through focusing on the physical places the relationships to more ephemeral practices, rituals or traditions are unavoidable drawn into the story and in effect included in the analysis. The analysis, for instance, of access to the battlefield of Dybbøl illuminated the process through which a 'distributed memorial landscape' forms within other spheres such as art, literature and collective memory, when physical access is denied.

Memorials and Anniversaries

The study of memorials and anniversary events and practices used a different lens as it focussed on events and activities, thus making the theme of temporality and change central to the analysis. The fluidity of memorial practices is a central theme of several of the case studies and is thoroughly discussed and analysed in this volume. While not a surprising finding, it is an important theme that needs further exploration because it means that contrary to their tendency to appeal to and appear as ‘tradition’ memorials and anniversaries are inherently unstable cultural forms. At the same time, it is only through analysis of the details of the forms of specific anniversary as they unfold over a period that this instability of the meaning-content can be revealed and the degree to which their associated practices change fully appreciated. A central aspect of the case studies presented is the analysis of how and why their formats change.

To enhance the comparative dimension the individual case studies have used similar analytical structures and shared intellectual aims. For instance, in various ways the case studies use the idea of performances as a frame through which the changes that occur can be analysed in terms of actors, the stage setting, the atmosphere and the rhetoric at memorial events. In addition, core concerns running through the different case studies included questions about how and when does mourning become memorialization and what influences the format of anniversary events? The time depth represented by the CRIC case studies allowed the project to consider such processes in relation to cases which span from almost 150 years to 15 years in their duration. In addition, investigation of the memorial practices relating to specific events has helped to develop specific analytical concepts or interpretive tropes. The anniversaries linked to the bombing of Gernika and the bombing of Dresden respectively, for example, have allowed the project to develop idea such as the ‘explosion of modern myths’ through the work of Dacia Viejo Rose and the ‘institutionalisation of memory’ based on the work of Karl-Siegbert Rehberg.

All the case studies reveal a strong political involvement, and the (con)fusion between political strategies (whether group based or that of the state) and mourning is repeatedly observed. In the case of the anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre this is particularly visible and the increased accrument of political overtones onto the mourning of the tragic event can be traced over just a few years. The volume shows how through such mergers between politics and emotions anniversaries and memorials often become rallying points and a focus for claims on reparation or identity or for revenge. The volume identifies claims as a central element of many of the collective expressions of mourning or commemoration. These claims are often backward looking based on needs for recognition of what has taken place, but a particular form of claims take a different format and uses the event for political critique and action. Cristina Sanchez Carretero has developed the concept of ‘Grassroots Memorials’ to identify this form of memorialization and the elements that constitute these popular expressions of loss and reaction. Memorials, like the other forms of post-conflict heritage investigate by the project, are shown to be used to make statements regarding values. They may have an important healing effect, but can also become involved in competitive memorialization, and become a rallying point for claims and counter-claims. Rather than acting as a point of reconciliation memorialization, they can be a medium through which hurtful histories can persist, be transmitted, compared or relativised. Through these processes conflict can be exacerbated or continued.

Subjective Landscapes

In this volume the project considered the heritage landscape at a scale of analysis through which the relationship between places can be recognised. Several of the case studies deal with landscapes, both urban and rural, their destruction during conflict and subsequent reconstruction. The focus on various kinds of scapes allowed the researchers to investigate both the imaginative and experienced landscapes as well as the physical places; indeed discussing the relationship between these different kinds of landscapes and how they are impacted and formed through the processes of destruction and reconstruction is a main concern of this volume. Through various case studies the project has identified and developed concepts for the analysis of the way that significance or symbolism attached to important places appears to seep or expand to encompass areas, both physically and conceptually, beyond the immediate bounds of a site. This process sees geographically and even chronologically distinct sites and events become associated in a network of symbols and topoi through which collective memory and meanings are formed. The work on heritage landscapes at the same time aims to better define the often uncritically use of terms such as heritage-scape and memory-scape by exploring in detail the relationships between people, places and identity in post-conflict contexts.

Conclusion

Through the CRIC research and fieldwork substantial added knowledge has been produced that provides significant insight into the processes of destruction and reconstruction of cultural heritage and the impact of both of these on the recovery of society after conflict. Through case studies new knowledge and understanding of specific places, and how they came to play important roles in European memory, has been reached. The project has investigated 25 case studies ranging in time from the mid-19th century to ongoing conflicts and covering urban and rural heritagescapes. On this basis thorough comparison has been possible and major common characteristics involved in the reconstruction of cultural heritage after conflicts have been identified and their significance analysed. Important theoretical concepts have been developed which will strengthen further research into these processes and relationships. The foundation of recommendations to be tailor made for a number of specific institutions and public bodies has also been formulated. The data, in itself a substantial new archive, and the analysis provide an important basis for theorising the relationship between heritage and identity in post-conflict situations and for critical and forward-thinking decisions about how to design and manage reconstruction efforts after conflict.

The project has sought dissemination through academic and non-academic channels to ensure wide academic and societal impact. In addition to monographs and articles the project has communicated very successfully through its website and through its Youtube and Vimeo channels. It has also created a public assessable visual archive and disseminated through exhibitions, maps, iPhone applications and the media.

The project has been extremely successful in creating a trans-disciplinary network of researchers from different parts of Europe, united around a significant intellectually and politically challenging topic. This network will continue to exist into the future due to the strong personal and intellectual links that have been created.

Potential Impact:

Societal impact and implications

People throughout the world try to live with the immediate as well as long term effects and scars of conflict and violence, including effects that influence their sense of identity, rights to existence, and claims upon the future as their cultural heritage has been destroyed, defamed or taken away from them. Through such destructions their notion of heritage, their feelings of being part of something and belonging somewhere, has become damaged. Issues of importance for the welfare of societies are therefore involved in the processes of destruction and reconstruction of cultural heritage after conflict as they impact on communities' relationship to place and society. Investigating these processes and increasing awareness of their importance therefore have high social impact and implications.

The importance of cultural heritage reconstruction after conflict has been recognised for a long time, and international policies, as well as guidelines and established practices, exist. Nonetheless investment in reconstruction often fails in terms of wider cultural objectives and social and political consequences; this is why the results from the CRIC projects are important and have the potential for substantial societal impact. The motivations behind deliberate destruction of cultural heritage remain poorly understood, as are the motivations behind reconstructions and their short as well as long term impacts. It is only by analysing these processes and by drawing comparison between case studies representing different dimensions of these relationships that we can create a platform for further debates about the purposes and consequences of reconstruction, and only through such debates and clarity of aims will it be possible to formulate informed recommendations for policymakers, practitioners, and various regional actors about why and how parts of the cultural heritage should be reconstructed. The result of the CRIC project show that we need to stress that reconstruction is not merely a matter of design and resources - at stake is the re-visioning of society and the reclaiming of identity! Creating this awareness is in itself a major social impact, and our dissemination products will help to build that awareness beyond the life of the project.

Reconstruction and recovery are, in one form or another, a necessary response to destruction and conflict; there are practical as well as social, cultural and psychological reasons for reconstructions and they come with potentially substantial political and financial rewards. The range of official and semi-official bodies involved with the safeguarding of heritage during conflict and with reconstruction afterwards has expanded greatly since the 1950s and the investment, both through human resources and finance, in heritage reconstruction after conflict is vast and politically complex. It is equally clear, however, that reconstruction efforts often have unforeseen, unintended, or even undesirable consequences, as when it leads to competitive claims on heritage or erase former multi-vocal, fluid and socially complex understandings and uses of the heritage. Through detailed case studies and comparison the CRIC project has been able to identify some of the mechanisms that can cause such contestations and claims around reconstructions. It has, for example, identified the close link between, on one hand, memorials and anniversary events and, on the other reconstruction, as extremely complex and often counterproductive as the former present themselves as the focus of claims and easily become instruments of control over (and manipulation of) how events are understood and become part of the public psyche.

Academic and analytical impact

The principle CRIC disseminations are academic publications and presentations, and the project has a high impact in terms of the amount and the wide ranging academic output it has produced; but these kinds of impacts can only be demonstrated through time. The societal impact arising from the academic importance of the research is in terms of how these will affect the ways these relationships are debated and how they are analysed and interpreted. This impact arises from the synthesis work of CRIC and its unique ability to draw comparisons, and from its detailed analysis of case studies and the resulting expansion of our knowledge. An importance impact is also the substantial new data sets, conceptual tools, and interpretations that have been produced, as they will encourage further studies and debates within this area, help setting new research agendas and supporting research with empirical data. The societal impact of this aspect of the project takes place within academia and higher education and through that will benefit society at large, although indirectly.

Societal impact arises directly from the research's identification of major common characteristics of the processes involved in the reconstruction of cultural heritage after conflict; these are important both for further academic studies and practice. The main characteristics identified and their societal impacts are:

1. Reconstruction proceeds through phases which are characterised by distinct concerns and different claims - future reconstruction efforts must be aware of these differences.
2. Anniversary events and other forms of memorialization emerge in the early phase and act as continuous reminders of the conflict - the partial and conflict-orientated character of most memorials and anniversaries should be recognised and new forms explored.
3. Civic society and interest groups often play dominant roles in setting the aims of reconstruction - the danger of reconstruction being hijacked by narrow interest groups should be recognised and responded to.
4. Ideological objectives often influence the reconstruction strategies - critical attention is needed regarding the effect on heritage and the character of authenticity claims on both the tangible and intangible heritage.
5. Heritage reconstruction can have a negative impact on the recovery of society as it may become an example of war 'through other means' - the societal impact of reconstructions needs to be understood and guided.

CRIC has also developed important analytical concepts that will have major impact on future studies of the role of heritage in post-conflict societies. The main new analytical concepts and their societal impact are:

1. Institutionalization is a major characteristic of certain reconstruction processes that affects how heritage and identity move from the personal/communal basis to become a matter of the state - there is an important tension between private and public spheres that needs to be recognised.
2. Spontaneous/grassroots memorialization is a particular kind of initial response to violence in which memorialization becomes politicised and intertwines with claims - it should be recognised how heritage reconstruction and claims can be used for political strategies.

3. Essentialising tendency is a characteristic of heritage discourses in post-conflict situations as heritage becomes divided up - attention is needed towards the heritage that become reduced or ignored due to this tendency; policies and practices of heritage reconstruction and management should be self critical about essentialising heritage.
4. Tangible affects of places are significant due to their capacity to anchor symbolic significance, their ability to stand-in for people and events, and their affective impacts on their surroundings - analyses and practices need to respect and explore the affect/effects of the tangible heritage more substantially.
5. Distributed memorialscape refers to how memorials can construct and exist as a fractured yet linked network of references - analyses and practice need to be aware of memorials being referential of others rather than treating them in isolation.

The wider societal implications of the identification of these characteristic processes and the concepts that can be used in their analysis are clear. Together such insights provide an important basis for theorising the relationship between heritage and identity in post-conflict situations, and the tools for critical, imaginative, and forward-thinking decisions about how to design and manage reconstruction efforts after conflict.

Impact in the form of recommendations

The societal implications of research into post-conflict heritage are simultaneously obvious and yet subtle and difficult to capture in single statements. The important challenges with regard to recommendations about reconstruction, and thus the need to simplify and generalise insight, are well captured in the problems the project encountered when attempting to reach policy recommendations. The heritage field is rich in policies and recommendations and we had originally foreseen that the project results would be able to simply add to these. What we had not foreseen was that some of the problems that arise are in themselves to some extent caused by the rigidity of existing recommendations or, and more commonly and with greater perseverance, due to misappropriation and misinterpretation of what the guidelines and policies say. Studying processes almost as they unfold, whether related to the reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge in Bosnia Herzegovina, the construction of memorials for the victims of the Madrid bombing, or the reinstatement of an 1854 war memorial in north Germany in 2011, we learned that conflict and contestation are ever present and that the strong emotive involvement in the events (whether current or in the past) means that reconstruction is a potential minefield of misunderstandings. A major insight of the project of substantial societal impact is therefore that making recommendations about heritage protection and reconstruction during conflict is extremely complex and should be formulated with great care, exploring both bottom-up and top-down perspectives. We conclude that generic policy recommendations on heritage reconstruction after conflict are not necessary helpful and at times extremely counterproductive. To be constructive and to avoid pitfalls any generic policy recommendations must be solidly based on a variety of situations rather than assume universal and common traits.

Rather than formulating specific recommendations the project has therefore formulated one foundation statement and outlined the content of future recommendations to be detailed and tailor-made in dialogue with stakeholders or through identification of their specific weaknesses. Each of these has high and obvious societal impact.

Foundation statement:

It is important that the necessary investment in heritage is efficient and reaches its objectives. Heritage should not be used as a means of escalating conflicts and its potential for playing a part in peace processes, reconciliation, and the rebuilding of society in the widest sense should be enhanced.

An outline of the content of future recommendations for the guidance of reconstruction initiatives should:

1. Avoid practices which allow the reconstruction of cultural heritage to become the focus for continuation of conflict by another means.
2. Maintain an emphasis on authenticity without marginalising local populations during the reconstruction process.
3. Exhibit a high degree of financial scrutiny of donors and external funding sources to avoid the alienation of groups or development of conflict-full symbolic attachments or creating a sense of exclusive ownership.
4. Ensure that cultural heritage is disassociated from issues of establishing truth and claims.
5. Commit to long term engagement with and monitoring of cultural heritage reconstruction projects to ensure greater integration of reconstructed sites with locales and communities.
6. Aim to make transparent the political and social objectives of reconstruction projects and the meanings that are being promoted through the sites.

General societal impact

In addition, CRIC has achieved substantial societal impact through its wide ranging dissemination activities, such as the website, CRIC youtube and Vimeo channels, iPhone application, and exhibitions (see below) that have aimed at raising awareness more widely about the potentials and problems of heritage reconstruction. Recognising the difference between dissemination and impact, the project has aimed to document the impact in the form of use of its publicly disseminated resources and user statistics for the online websites produced by the project, as well as quotations, comments and feedback. This means that the project has been able to assess its impact both quantitatively and qualitatively. The documentation of usage has focussed on the activities of work package 1 and the dissemination it has organised on behalf of the CRIC project. The reasons for this are that regional work packages did not have the administrative support to collect user statistics (for example for the exhibition in Dresden), that work package 1 was able to focus on disseminations relevant to all the work packages, and that due to the experimental nature of some of the dissemination activities, such as the usefulness of Youtube as a Higher Education teaching resource, we ‘tested’ them out through UK contacts.

Quantitative Analysis of Impact

1. CRIC Website (<http://www.cric.arch.cam.ac.uk>), established March 2008 - 180,695 hits
2. CRIC Dspace Image Archive (<http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/214815>), established March 2009 - 80,402 hits
3. CRIC Youtube channel (<http://www.youtube.com/user/CRICResearchProject>), established July 2011 - 5,711 hits
4. CRIC Vimeo Account (<http://vimeo.com/user9075853>), established October 2011 - 1318 plays and 3073 loads
5. Media Appearances (through TV, newspaper, internet interviews and articles) - > 30 through the course of the project
6. Academic volumes (single author, edited, guest edition of journals) - > 55 through the course of the project
7. Conference & presentations (conferences, seminars, workshops, roundtables and symposia) > 100 through the course of the project

Qualitative Analysis of Impact

Material produced by the CRIC project has received excellent feedback from educators at Secondary to Postgraduate University level. Films made to introduce aspects of the CRIC research have been taken up and used for presentations and as teaching tools. Comments received by the project as a result of consultation with lecturers, teachers, students and researchers about the usefulness of these films as an academic resource have included phrases about them being fascinating films, a great resource, films that can be used as a teaching aid and to start seminar discussion; one quote suggested "These videos will be more useful than a mountain of reports!"

The responses represent an important area of impact for the project. They include positive comments about integration of the CRIC Youtube and Vimeo films as teaching material from the following UK institutions:

1. Institute of Continuing Education, University of Cambridge
2. Faculty of History, University of Sussex
3. MA in Learning and Visitor Studies, University of Leicester
4. Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Kingston University,
5. The Historical Association, UK

Conclusions on Impact

The impacts of the CRIC project are many and varied. Collectively they provide an important basis for theorising the role of heritage in post-conflict situations and for critical and forward thinking approaches to the design and management of reconstruction efforts after conflict. Overall, the impacts of our activities have been extremely high, although, obviously, the real impact will be felt in years to come as the academic publications begin to affect the discussion and awareness of the significant roles reconstruction have in the recovery of society after conflict, as the wider dissemination materials become increasingly used, and as we will be able to work with policy makers in the refinement of existing policies and guidelines.

Main dissemination activities

As predicted in the description of work, dissemination has taken place throughout the lifetime of the project and as outputs has taken different forms; both academic and public engagement. We had anticipated that regional work packages would participate in local events, art projects, museum outreach activities, school visits, community based activities, etc. This has all taken place, but in different ways and to different degrees according to local situations. There has, for instance been substantial engagement with artistic production in the work on both Dresden and Gernika, whereas work package 1 has made presentations and used questionnaires in schools, and Cyprus has explored the media in a number of ways and arranged several public events. All work packages have participated in local events and all have explored one or more media outlet for outreach.

It was anticipated that we would present data using formats such as DVD, CD, digital data and online visual and audio archives. For public dissemination it was decided to replace the production of DVD and CDs with youtube and Vimeo films as these were a more cutting-edge media and, primarily, because this allowed us to reach a much wider audience. The production of an iPhone application was similarly not anticipated at the time when the project was designed but represents a response to new media opportunities that are emerging. An online image catalogues was created, but interview data have not been placed online for ethical reasons. Such data will be screened by the individual researcher and made accessible through their research in an appropriate manner.

The principle dissemination is academic publications and presentations, and the project has a high impact in terms of the amount of presentations made during the project. Most work packages have or are in the process of producing a regional project volume synthesising the results of their work. All work packages have at least one major dissemination outcome but in two cases these are not in the form of publication. The major delivered outcome for Dresden is a major exhibition with catalogue (an English translation of the German text currently being finalised), whereas for Bosnia it is the construction of an important data set. In additions to the single authored volumes, edited volumes, guest editions of journals, papers, databases and catalogues, a series of three shared volumes are being produced. These volumes focus on post-conflict scenarios at three different scales represented by 'Biographies of Place' (representing locations as means and media of changing meanings), 'Memorials and Anniversaries' (debating the public capturing of memories and the ways form affects the reiterations of history), and 'Subjective Landscapes' (focusing on the construction of memory-scapes, subjective landscapes and the seepage of emotion, claims and meanings between spaces and contexts).

The project website (<http://www.cric.arch.cam.ac.uk>) has acted as the public face of the project. It has been extremely successful with more than 180,695 hits since its launch. It provides links to the other online resources produced by the project. This includes the project photo archive held in the University of Cambridge digital repository Dspace, which is open access and now holds more than 900 images; it has received more than 80,400 hits (<http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/214815>). The website will be made 'static' shortly after the end of the project in order to ensure a maintenance-free web presence beyond the life of the project. Various formats for maintaining the research community post-project and building an informal networks on the subject of post-conflict heritage and identity are being discussed. This will utilise different forms of social media and all project members have expressed a strong wish to maintain contact.

In order to reach an extensive audience outside academia Lindy Fleming, a BBC journalist, was employed as a part time Communications Officer with the management team during the end of the project to help all project researchers to identify and use new dissemination outlets. The resulting disseminations acted as supplements to the individual researcher's own academic and other dissemination activities, which have also been considerably including exhibitions and the development of posters with an iPhone application for several sites in Spain. The challenge was to decide sensible communication priorities in terms of resources (including time and other commitments) and to develop ways of presenting the complex research insights in formats suitable for a wide audience and in a manner that represented the 'spirit' of the project. This meant research outcomes had to be presented in an interesting and stimulating manner, but also in a manner easy to digest and at the same time able to communicate complex points and encourage interest and curiosity about the themes. As part of this dissemination strategy, the following tasks were carried out:

1. Identified research outcomes suitable for news and feature articles
2. Identified likely media outlets; drew up a diary of opportunities and pitfalls to be avoided
3. Briefed researchers on the requirements necessary for effective dissemination
4. Identified high profile, low cost dissemination possibilities
5. Studied other dissemination efforts to ensure best practice

Lindy Fleming made extensive and sustained contacts with planning editors and journalists to offer interviews and raise the profile of the research project within newsrooms and feature offices in Europe. Based on her experience and feedback from newsrooms the project decided to utilise links between research results and major cultural-historical events on which project members could offer academic insight and expert views. These have included for instance the activities surrounding the 13th of February anniversary in Dresden for which were arranged: a BBC Radio interview for Matthias Neutzner with BBC Berlin Correspondent Stephen Evans for BBC Radio outlets; a live interview with Matthias Neutzner for the 'Sunday show' Radio 4 and BBC Television, national news and World Service outlets; an interview with Marie Louise Stig Sorensen with BBC Berlin Correspondent, Stephen Evans. These interviews were broadcast on the 13th and 14th February 2011. Another example was in conjunction with the 12th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar 'The Heritage of Memorials and Commemorations' in Cambridge on the 15th and 16th April 2011 and the Cambridge Festival of Ideas on the 22nd October 2011. Research papers and opinion pieces were sent to 'Thinking Allowed' and the Cambridge University Press Office, resulting a several published pieces on these events, (<http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/how-will-we-remember-them/> and

<http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/discussion/do-memorials-matter/>). Marie Louise Stig Sørensen gave an interview on ‘The Today programme’ on BBC Radio, a programme with approximately 7.15 million weekly listeners, and known to be particularly popular with politicians, policy makers and journalists.

Further press releases were also given. A release concerning memorial heritage in Tuzla, Bosnia Herzegovina, was provided in May 2011 with the result that research by Ioannis Armakolas appeared as a front page article on Transconflict (<http://www.transconflict.com>) on the 10th June 2011 and saw the beginning of ongoing co-operation with editor and Guardian contributor Ian Bancroft. On the 6th August a 4-page spread on Ioannis Armakolas’ research in Tuzla and the CRIC project appeared in the prestigious Bosnian paper Oslobodjenje. In addition work package 6 project leader Dzenan Sahovic is regularly consulted by journalist for comment on developments in Bosnia Herzegovina and the events in the region. Researchers from Dresden and Cyprus are similarly regularly used by their local and national press.

Another example, is the coverage of the return of the Isted Lion monument to Germany in September 2011, a case study investigated by work package 1, two Press Releases on the Isted Lion monument were written by Marie Louise Stig Sørensen. An opinion pieces by Dr Sørensen appeared on the websites Euractiv (<http://www.euractiv.com/culture/returning-disputed-war-monuments-heritage-reinterpreted-analysis-507471>) and Transconflict (<http://www.transconflict.com/2011/09/returning-disputed-war-monuments-269/>). Numerous other interviews and articles were published relating to the CRIC project research and project members’ opinions are regularly sought on the issue of post-conflict heritage. A fuller list of press coverage has been provided online on the Research & Innovation Participant Portal under project ‘dissemination activities’.

In support of dissemination activities the following activities were offered to researchers and followed up by many of the work packages:

1. Links established with a variety of organizations including Cambridge University Press Office and Community Affairs Office to enable researchers to make use of a range of dissemination resources
2. Youtube and Vimeo channels set up with 17 films commissioned and uploaded
3. Visiting communications expert Prof. Helen Weinstein was consulted to gain a variety of views on best practice. She also conducted a briefing session with researchers
4. EU portals contacted and used
5. Direct public engagement undertaken through a CRIC events at the Festival of Ideas
6. Support offered by work package 1 for the many individual and group dissemination efforts carried out by researchers themselves. This included advice on press releases, editorial support, feature ideas, press contacts, and liaison with editors and journalists
7. E-marketing strategies used to promote awareness of research film channels

A major dissemination activity was the development of Youtube and Vimeo channels aimed at communicating widely and beyond academic circles. During Periods 1 and 2 the CRIC Research Project established documentary strands within the work packages working in Cyprus, Dresden, and Madrid. It was decided to build on these resources and skills to further non-academic dissemination,

and to both utilise and present the striking visual aspects of many of the case studies. Establishing a channel on Youtube became a priority to provide an attractive, time efficient and controlled dissemination outlet that could be used to convey complex research ideas in a format that was easily understood. To be effective the channel would need to be 'active' with regular uploads not only to reflect as much of the work as possible but to ensure there would be impact through continuing traffic on the site. Throughout all activities it was a paramount concern that the research outcomes were not compromised. The aims were:

1. To produce a series of low cost films to give a general audience an overview of CRIC research and to make introductions to several of the case studies
2. To provide media material that could be used as an additional teaching tool for use in European schools and universities.
3. To provide a post-project dissemination outlet

The distribution of the links to the youtube was a major challenge for the researchers pushing us well beyond our comfort zone. We made use of the following methods:

1. Sustained e-marketing was used to reach a wide audience
2. Postcards with the web addresses were produced for distribution at conferences
3. All researchers encouraged to embed videos on relevant webpages
4. Links added to comments on webpages and social media sites such as Facebook and Reddit: <http://www.reddit.com/user/CRICResearch/>

Emails were also sent to organizations related to heritage research including University history and archaeology departments, History curriculum advisers, EU Officers and Institutions, Cultural Heritage organizations, Newspaper and Broadcasting planning desks, University of Cambridge Press Office, other 7th framework projects and contacts at UNESCO.

This resulted in 17 films uploaded to Youtube and 10 films uploaded to Vimeo, including a 24 minute Dresden presentation. Films were embedded on the CRIC website and other high traffic and relevant websites and are now picked up by widely used search engines e.g. Google, Bing and Interceder, giving high viewing figures in US as well as Europe. It has been confirmed that the films will be use as a teaching resource in universities by a number of academic teaching staff. One of the highlights of the feedback was received from the Historical Association, which has a vast membership among history teachers and is very active in steering them to resources. The Association has agreed to put links to the CRIC Research website, Youtube and Vimeo channels on their website (http://www.history.org.uk/resources/secondary_resource_5267.html).

As an example of other dissemination activities, and how the CRIC project tried to experiment with and learn from different formats, is the CRIC organized public workshop at the University of Cambridge Festival of Ideas. The workshop was on the complex theme of memorials and asked 'Do Memorials Matter?' It presented results of our research as part of the event which took place on October 22nd 2011. The aims were to attempt to:

1. Engage directly with the public and see whether such workshops can be used as a forum for discussion of topics the public rarely is consulted on (and to learn from that experience)

2. Highlight a number of CRIC case studies
3. Use the event as an opportunity to gather data on local community opinion on memorial events through questionnaires attached to memory boxes
4. Build contacts with local history and heritage groups

More than 300 people took part in the CRIC Festival of Ideas event in different ways over a period of two weeks in answering questionnaires, taking part in discussions at the workshop and attending talks. Ages involved ranged from 12 to 91 years; more than a quarter were teenagers. Briefings at the venues where memory box were placed, including two sixth-form college classes, one lunch club and two homes for the elderly. Fifteen history groups, veterans associations and heritage groups were contacted and invited to attend and visits were made and information given out at cafes, the city central library, a doctors surgery and offices via student email system to encourage wide response to questionnaires and a good attendance at the workshop itself. In total 260 questionnaire responses have been collated and processed for further research use. Information on the CRIC research project appeared in the Festival program and on University websites publicizing the Festival. History magazines received information on the project and this acted to increase its profile among specialist writers.

The aims of the event were to reach a large group and provide a public forum through which the project could help promote a greater public understanding of European heritage issues and reconstruction projects that are funded through international aid. This was largely achieved, with several additional outcomes being that researchers learning about outreach activities, a new heritage resource was provided for the local community in the form of a Cambridge memorial map devised and distributed by Ben Davenport (work package 1). The map, which locates different types of memorials around Cambridge, was produced by the CRIC project management team and this data was requested by senior archaeologist Sally Croft from Cambridgeshire Historic Environment Record to update local heritage records and for use in their public engagement exercises. Based on filming carried out to document the event two films made, including 24-minute research presentation on Dresden. These films are available to view on the project Youtube and Vimeo channels.

Post project Dissemination

Beyond the end date of the project CRIC members continue to promote their results through the many forms of dissemination discussed. Work package 7 particularly has played a very active role in discussions and analysis of the events of the recent anniversary of the bombing of Dresden on the 13th February 2012 within the media. Carsten Paludan-Muller has organising a meeting with the World Bank on post-conflict heritage in Oslo in April 2012, with Marie Louise Stig Sørensen participating as a heritage expert. It is anticipated that this media interest in the CRIC research will continue as the contacts made and preparation work done by Lindy Fleming and the project partners comes to fruition and the profile of the project continues to develop. The static website, the DSpace image repository and the CRIC Youtube and Vimeo channels are disseminations that will continue after the end of the project.

Dissemination activities summary

The project encouraged original, varied and adaptable dissemination methods to make sure the research work was noticed by a variety of audiences. Much more than originally anticipated was achieved, and new ways of disseminating results were explored. A wide audience was reached, and the impact of dissemination has been measurable in terms of quantitative and qualitative data. The CRIC dissemination activities explored a variety of forms and outlets in order to have an increased impact and increase general awareness of the complex role of heritage; many of these activities will be ongoing after the end of the project.

List of Websites:

Public website address: <http://www.cric.arch.cam.ac.uk>

Dspace: <http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/214815>

Youtube: <http://www.youtube.com/user/CRICResearchProject>

Vimeo: <http://www.vimeo.com/user9075853>