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The Language of Public Mourning—De- and Reterritorialization of Public Spaces as a Reaction to Terrorist Attacks

ROLF KAILUWEIT AND ALDINA QUINTANA

1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the re-functionalization of LLs by civil society in response to terrorist attacks that have been striking the Western world since 2001 and the way the authorities react to the appropriation of the public space. In particular, our data were collected following the incidents that occurred in Madrid after the train bombings on March 11, 2004, and the shootings in Paris on January 7 (Charlie Hebdo) and November 13, 2015.

In the first part concerned with theoretical and methodological questions, we will discuss the specific relation of the linguistic and semiotic practice of public mourning in its relation to place. We will highlight the struggle for public space as a process of de- and reterritorialization focusing on the formulation of speech, the creation and dissemination of slogans and semiotic practices concerned with the construction of group identities. In the second part, we will deal with the parallels and differences in the reactions of the Spanish and French civil societies and authorities. We will attempt to explain the differences referring to the specific historical settings in which the respective attacks took place.

2 DE- AND RETERRITORIALIZATION AND PUBLIC MOURNING

Starting from the appropriation of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) term "(relative) deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization" in human geography (Badie 1995), we consider these terms in a more specific spatial way as destabilizing practices affecting the territoriality of the state and its reaction to this practices. Crises is taken as an element of

detrterritorialization such as in Deleuze and Guattari's (1987: 88) example of Germany's November 1923 inflation and in response to the inflation, the "semiotic transformation of the reichsmark into the rentenmark, making possible a reterritorialization."¹ We insist with Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 174) that "reterritorialization must not be confused with a return to a primitive or older territoriality," but incorporates the detrterritorialized element into a new, in itself precarious, territoriality. We are aware of the fact that we make a rather down-to-earth usage of a highly complex philosophical concept, but we will show that this is useful for our purposes. Based on the insights of Tomlinson (1999) on the detrterritorializing effect of mass media, we will highlight the role of mediatization (Krotz 2007) in the process of de- and reterritorialization.

Following Sack (1986: 5), we consider territoriality as "the primary geographical expression of social power." As Caporaso (2000: 10) pointed out, in the tradition of Westphalian sovereignty, "territoriality links politics as authoritative rule with the geographical reach of this rule." The national state or federal jurisdictions within a state maintain security and public policy in a given territory and define the prerequisites for an orderly community. These prerequisites range from the respect for the sanctity of human life and the inviolability of private homes to, at a more local level, the functionality of the traffic system and the safety of public spaces and road and rail networks.

The persistent threat of terrorist attacks after the 9/11 plane crashes in the United States threw the sovereignty of Western states into crisis, producing a detrterritorializing effect. Western authorities do not seem to be able to maintain public policy in their territory when this territory is open to terrorist attacks by networks such as Al-Qaeda, or even state-like organizations such as Daesh. Hence, they take reterritorializing measures trying to fight terrorism by tightening security laws and stepping up police presence in the public space. These measures are not simply an emergency response that could restore public policy as it was before the attacks. As they affect people's lives for prolonged periods, they also transform the social and moral values of our societies.

It must be acknowledged that the detrterritorializing strategies of terrorism are not primarily situated at the level of reality. They first and foremost affect the media. Statistically, Western cities are not significantly more insecure because of the terrorist threat. The risk of being a victim of a terrorist attack is far lower than, for example, being killed in a traffic accident (Mueller and Stewart 2011). However, the climate of constant fear created by actual incidences and the enormous, arguably disproportionate media attention (Vasterman et al. 2004) triggers destabilizing public mourning activities and official responses (channeling of mourning streams, musealization, securitization) as a machinery of de- and reterritorialization of the public space.

Islamist terrorism not only provokes a reaction of Western national state authorities attacked in their territorial sovereignty but also rouses up the civil societies in the affected states. Immediately after the incidents, people enter the locations where attacks have occurred or come together at the cities' central places to manifest public mourning and create what has been called "grassroots memorials" (Margry and Sánchez-Carretero 2011). Grassroots memorials are an important part of ritualized practices of public mourning described by Holst-Warhaft (2000) before the age of Islamist attacks. As Sánchez-Carretero (2011b, pp. 244–45) points out, public mourning is a social experience. The mediatization of traumatic death converts private grief into social grief, creating a public arena for the display of emotions in the form of new rituals. As an appropriation and re-functionalization of the public space, grassroots memorials are a phenomenon that has been observed in the last forty years (Sánchez-Carretero 2011b: 245) and, therefore,

is not a direct effect of Islamist terrorism. The reasons for public mourning can vary: traffic accidents, plane crashes, shooting rampages, the violent death of celebrities such as John Lennon or Lady Diana and, especially since 9/11, terrorist attacks. Although the reasons behind the forms of public mourning, the number and kind of victims, the perpetrators and responsible persons may vary, the appropriation and re-functionalization of the public space by the civil society is in itself an act of de- and reterritorialization. By creating new forms of mediated representations in order to express public grief, the mourners (intentionally or not) question the right of state authorities to decide on the design and use of public space. In addition, public mourning disputes the authorities' power to interpret the incidents and to organize official memorial services. Hence, the processes of de- and reterritorialization triggered by Islamist attacks are highly complex. While terrorist acts challenge the principle of territoriality and therefore deterritorialize the sovereignty of the state authorities, public mourning has deterritorializing effects of its own. It defies the monopoly of the state on shaping public policy and enacts reterritorialization via modalities of appropriation and re-functionalization of public space. In turn, the authorities try to reterritorialize their monopoly not only against the challenge of terrorism but also against the takeover of the public space by civil society. Hence, movements of deterritorialization and processes of reterritorialization are "relative, always connected and caught up in one another" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 10). Mourners deterritorialize a public space, for example, a train station, by hindering the function of public transport and reterritorializing the station as a place of grassroots memorials. State authorities deterritorialize the grassroots memorials reterritorializing them as part of official archiving or remembrance culture through monuments.

3 PUBLIC MOURNING AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

At first glance, public mourning does not seem to be a central topic of research in the field of LL. As far as support materials are concerned, the LL paradigm has focused on signs in the public space. Graffiti has been only marginally taken into account, most likely because, according to Pennycook (2010: 60) it is not "generally aimed at easy public consumption" and therefore unlikely to contribute to wider public debates (Blackwood 2015: 42). Within the LL framework, there has been an intense theoretical discussion on the delimitation, countability, and pertinence of non-fixed, semipermanent items (Cenoz and Gorter 2006; Backhaus 2007). Blackwood (2011: 116) included non-fixed items such as newspapers, price tags, and leaflets.

Public mourning in the form of grassroots memorials is a linguistic and semiotic practice that reshapes a public space in a rather temporary way. The construction of the memorials withdraws parts of the public space from its common use. Apart from linguistic and semiotic effects on passersby, memorials are just physically a more or less noticeable obstruction of traffic. Hence, they are generally of temporary character, vanishing after a rather short time. However, the remembrance of their existence, and the slogans and the imagery they have brought up in relation to the incident they refer to, stick with the place they were constructed on and shape the memorialized LL of this place in a permanent way.

As a subdiscipline of sociolinguistics, the LL approach has focused on multilingualism, superdiversity, and minority languages (Gorter 2006; Blackwood 2015). The LL of grassroots memorials has been analyzed in Rubdy and Ben Said (2015). Rubdy (2015) has dealt with bilingual discursive texts of the graffiti commemorating the November 26 Mumbai terror attacks combining semiotics and multimodal discourse analysis.

In our approach to the Madrid 2004 and Paris 2015 data, we will not ignore the role of English as an international language, as well as the role of tourists' and immigrants' languages and the languages of national minorities. Our main interest, however, centers on the creation and dissemination of slogans, the semiotic practices concerned with the construction of group identities, and the formulation of speech acts as part of a de- and reterritorializing practice. These speech acts operate with rather small linguistic means and low linguistic effort to produce powerful perlocutionary effects.

Fraenkel (2011) highlights that grassroots memorials typically imply the laying down of flowers and the installation of candles and written notes. In addition, we observed a widespread practice of contextualizing messages with photos, emblems, and different kinds of physical objects (T-shirts, soft toys, icons etc.). From a methodological point of view, a LL approach to public mourning may start from the photographic documentation of grassroots memorials and focus on the contextualization of linguistic material.

One could ask if a quantitative approach, as it was dominant in LL for a long time (Backhaus 2007; Blackwood 2015), is completely out of the question. If one could document the totality of inscriptions of a given grassroots memorial or at least of a representative part of it, it could be possible to count the presence and instances of slogans, keywords, or even the distribution of different languages. However, grassroots memorials are highly dynamic. Written notes appear and disappear every day, every hour, even every minute. For this reason, the construction of corpora for quantitative analysis seems to be problematic. As far as Madrid 2004 is concerned, we conducted some quantitative analyses of a digital corpus of messages of condolence. In Paris, we documented a paper book of condolence that constitutes a far smaller corpus in comparison to the Madrid data. This only allows for some cautious quantitative considerations since its representative status is questionable.

A more adequate method seems to be a geosemiotic approach in line with Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003: 2): a "study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world." Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003, pp. 16–7) distinguish three different aspects: interaction order, visual semiotics, and place semiotics. By interaction order they mean the "set of social relationships we take up and try to maintain with the other people who are in our presence," visual semiotics refers to "how objects are constituted as visual wholes" and place semiotics highlights the fact that signs have different effects on human action depending on the place where they are set up. As detailed in Kailuweit (2019), we will combine their insights on the meshing of interaction order, visual semiotics, and emplacement of discourse with more general considerations in linguistic pragmatics (taking slogans as speech acts) and performance studies (e.g., grassroots memorials as a stage of social interaction). In addition, digital culture becomes more and more important and interacts with the emplacement of grassroots memorials; for example, a photo taken at a grassroots memorial unfolds effects beyond geosemiotic anchoring.

The phenomenon of grassroots memorials in general and the Madrid 2004 case in particular has been already studied in history, sociology, and anthropology. The works gathered in the collective volumes of Margry and Sánchez-Carretero (2011) and Sánchez-Carretero (2011), as well as the article by Ortiz García (2013) are excellent starting points, but their priority is not a focus on linguistic and semiotic aspects. The same holds for the studies of the French sociologist Gêrome Truc on performance who, in a recent book (Truc 2017), related his works on Madrid 2004 (Truc 2006; 2011) to the Paris 2015 attacks.

4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: ISLAMIST ATTACKS AT MADRID 2004 AND PARIS 2015

On March 11, 2004, almost simultaneously—between 7:36 a.m. and 7:39 a.m.—ten bombs exploded in four commuter trains on the Alcalá-Madrid line, in the stations Santa Eugenia, El Pozo, and Atocha. The explosions caused the death of 192 people,² while 1,875 people were injured (Sánchez-Carretero 2006: 335). The Madrid train bombings were the first terrorist attacks on Spain attributed to Jihadi terrorism.

The same day of the attack, grassroots memorials emerged in the Alcalá, Santa Eugenia, El Pozo, and Atocha train stations. Between March 11 and June 9, 2004, hundreds of shrines occupied several areas in and out of the stations closest to the places where the train passengers had been struck by the bombs. After three months (on June 9, 2004), the state replaced the grassroots memorials by the *Espacio de Palabras* (Space of Words), computer terminals set up in the Atocha, El Pozo, and Santa Eugenia train stations which allowed passersby to leave electronic mourning messages. The computer terminals were accessible until March 13, 2007.

A few hours after the explosion of the bombs, the conservative government of the Popular Party (PP), headed by José María Aznar, blamed the Basque nationalist and separatist organization ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty) for the attacks³ against evidence that indicated the authorship of Al-Qaeda. The government called for an anti-terrorist demonstration on March 12, in which about twelve million people participated throughout Spain, with two million in Madrid (López García 2009). In line with the official interpretation, many demonstrators still attributed the attacks to ETA. However, more and more people wondered about the perpetrators because of the government's opaque and biased information policy (Ordaz 2004). Apart from expressing solidarity with the victims and general repulsion against terrorism, groups of demonstrators rebuffed the alleged attribution to ETA and protested against the government and the war in Iraq. The next day, the protest materialized in demonstrations against the government throughout the country.

The (dis)information policy of the PP government and its unpopular active support for intervention in Iraq—which the attacks seemed to be a consequence of—were factors that led to the defeat of the PP in the March 14 general election. The victory of the Socialist Party (PSOE) was surprising, due to what the poll ratings said before March 11 (Martín Núñez and Montero Sierra 2005; López García 2009).

Immediately after the bombings, a group of researchers of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) started the project *Archivo del Duelo* (Archive of Mourning), with the main goal of documenting the grassroots memorials at the train stations and of analyzing the mourning practices that took place at those stations in the aftermath of March 11 (Sánchez-Carretero 2011a, b). The collection is accessible for educational and research purposes at the *Museo del Ferrocarril* (Railway Museum) in Madrid (Sánchez-Carretero 2011a, b; Quintana and Kailuweit 2013).

Twice in 2015, Paris became the scene of Islamist attacks. On January 7, two members of an Al-Qaeda branch in Yemen shot twelve people at the Charlie Hebdo's headquarter (10 rue Nicolas-Appert), among whom were some of the most notable French cartoonists working for the satirical weekly magazine. Twelve people were injured. In related attacks by another gunman, a police officer was shot on January 8, and four people were killed in a Jewish supermarket on January 9. On the same days of the attacks, French armed forces and police killed all three attackers. Grassroots memorials emerged at the sites of crime

and at Place de la République. On January 10 and 11, the French government organized republican marches to demonstrate against terrorism and in defense of the freedom of press and expression. About two million people, including more than forty world leaders, participated in the march leading from Place de la République along Boulevard Voltaire to Place de la Nation on January 11. The grassroots memorials at Place de la République were dismantled by high-pressure cleaners on April 2, 2015. No official archiving was undertaken.

On November 13, 2015, mass shootings at cafés, restaurants, and the music venue Bataclan caused the deaths of 130 people. The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) claimed responsibility for the attacks. The French government declared a three-month state of emergency, which involved the banning of public demonstrations. However, at Place de la République and at the sites of crime enormous grassroots memorials emerged. Parts of them were documented by the *Archives de Paris*.⁴

5 CORPUS

Our data concerning the Madrid 2004 incidents came from the *Archivo del Duelo*. The archive hosts a multi-format collection including nearly 70,000 documents of the offerings deposited in grassroots memorials of the Alcalá de Henares, Atocha, El Pozo, and Santa Eugenia train stations. In detail, the collection is comprised of 2,532 photographs, as well as 495 objects and 6,436 messages and drawings on paper that were removed from the stations when the computer terminals of the *Espacio de Palabras* were placed. It includes 58,732 messages sent through the so-called cyber shrines and the website Mascercanos.com, as well as 64 recordings and 13 videos with testimonies on the public mourning.⁵

Our data regarding the public reaction to the Charlie Hebdo shootings consists of 1,361 photographs and short films taken by Pia Kailuweit on January 11, 2015. The pictures document the republican march and the grassroots memorial at Place de la République and rue Nicolas-Appert. As far as the shootings on November 13 are concerned, Jaqueline Balint took about 1,200 photos of the grassroots memorials at Place de la République and the sites of crime (except at the Stade de France) one week after the incidences. The *Archives de Paris* documented some of the grassroots memorials starting on November 17. These archives host 7,348 photos online, stemming from the grassroots memorials in front of the Bataclan (5,305 documents) and the bars and restaurants La Belle Équipe (926), Le Carillon (446), La Bonne Bière (262), Le Petit Cambodge (201), Casa Nostra (155), and Comptoir Voltaire (53).

6 DE- AND RETERRITORIALIZATION BY CIVIL SOCIETY

6.1 *Emplacement of the grassroots memorials—Marking of the public space*

The marking of the public space in response to terroristic attacks is an act of selection concerning the public imagery. For example, the 9/11 attacks concerned not only the World Trade Centre in New York but also the Pentagon. In addition, hijackers intentionally crashed an airplane (United Airlines flight 93) near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, to avoid that the passengers might regain control of it. However, in the memory of the international public the image of the twin towers as a target of an intentional terrorist plane crash became the central motive (Figure 14.1).⁶



FIGURE 14.1 Reference to 9/11 on a wall at Atocha train station on March 25, 2004. Courtesy of *Archivo del Duelo*, signature FD-0065. Photo: Víctor Fernández.

Due to the temporality of the installations, the relation of grassroots memorials and public space is precarious. In Madrid, grassroots memorials appeared not only at the Atocha train station but also at the train stations of Alcalá, Santa Eugenia, and El Pozo, as well as at central places of Madrid, for example, Plaza del Sol, and in other Spanish cities and villages, on the same day of the attack. The biggest and most representative grassroots memorial was installed at the Atocha railway station, one of the most frequented railway stations of Madrid. However, the particular location of the grassroots memorials and the offerings deposited in the station were fluid. Sánchez-Carretero (2011b, pp. 252–53) reports that during the three-month period of its installation, the cleaners

took care of lighting the candles and rearranging the memorials; they moved them from the train platforms, where they had been for the first few days, to various locations below the dome and in the connecting hall between the metro and the train station, and finally to the intermediate hall.

Hence, even within the station there is no particular place that could be delimited as the territory of grassroots memorials. The monument that the train station incorporates today constitutes a separated room dedicated to the victims (Ortiz García 2011). Passersby may visit the place that is a canalized and transformed reminiscence of the grassroots memorials and their messages. We will come back to the function of the monument in Section 6 that deals with the reterritorialization by the authorities.

At this point of our argument, it is important to stress that the marking of the Atocha station by the grassroots memorials operates at a symbolic level and transcends physical geosemiotic marking in form of a discourse in space (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003). The manifold mediatization attaches the grassroots memorials and their slogans to the Atocha station. The mediatization consists of not only disseminating the photos of the memorials but also selecting one of the slogans as a condensation of the response—*En ese tren, íbamos todos*⁷ (In that train, we went all)—which by metonymy refers to the railway

station. The counterfactual statement, the use of the singular instead the plural for “train,”⁸ and its presentation as the topic makes evident that the slogan is not description, but an act of de- and reterritorialization that symbolically takes possession of the infrastructure of public transport attacked by the terrorists. It implies that people will not abandon public spaces, although they are afraid to move freely when the authorities do not protect them sufficiently. Although today there are no immediate traces left in the station itself, in the imagery of Spaniards and even of a broader international public, the Atocha railway station stands for the particular kind of grassroots memorial to be evoked and referred to.

As far as Paris is concerned, Place de la République turned out to be the major geographic reference for grassroots memorials, although on neither January 7 nor November 13 was this central square the scene of an Islamist attack. The square itself is a symbolic place representing the ideals of the French Republic. Since 1880, a larger than life statue of Marianne, personification of the French Republic, perched on a high pedestal, dominates its center. It is near this statue that the biggest grassroots memorials emerged, although smaller shrines existed at the different sites of crime. The reasons for the spontaneous choice that converted Place de la République into the central place of remembrance may lie in the spatial narrowness and dispersion of the sites of crime. Rue Nicola Appert (Charlie Hebdo’s headquarter), the junction of Avenue Pierre Brossolette and Avenue de la Paix in Montrouge, where the police officer was killed, and Porte de Vincennes (the Hypercacher kosher supermarket) are rather narrow and/or peripheral places. While Place de la République functions as a local reference for the grassroots memorial and the demonstrations, it is only metonymically referred to at the symbolic level. One of the main streets starting at the square is Boulevard Voltaire, named after the eighteenth-century French philosopher who personifies the idea of freedom of speech. Using the picture of Voltaire and the request for freedom of speech in the symbolic responses to the attacks reinforces meanings already attached to this part of the city in an act of de- and reterritorialization.

As far as the shootings of November 13 are concerned, the scenario seems to be slightly different. Among the dispersed sites of crime—rues Bichat and Alibert (Le Petit Cambodge; Le Carillon), rue de la Fontaine-au-Roi (Café Bonne Bière; La Casa Nostra), rue de Charonne (La Belle Équipe), and Boulevard Voltaire (Comptoir Voltaire)—the grassroots memorial in front of the Bataclan concert hall at Boulevard Voltaire stands out. The *Archives de Paris* focused the documentation on the Bataclan data. References not only to the Bataclan as a location but particularly to nightlife in general are dominant in the data. No official documentation was undertaken at Place de la République. However, Paris mayor Anne Hidalgo identified Place de la République as the center of gathering where the slogans of public response to the November attacks had emerged.⁹

In conclusion, we consider the Atocha railway station in Madrid and Place de la République in Paris as the central places permanently marked in acts of de- and reterritorializations by the civil society. As we will see below, these places become the focus of reterritorializing strategies of the authorities.

6.2 *Strategies of marking—Parallels and differences*

According to Fraenkel’s (2011) studies of the response to 9/11, grassroots memorials constitute extraordinary writing events. Fraenkel points out that in the ritual of public mourning the process of writing is more important than the remaining written messages. She illustrates this thesis referring to the Baroque motive of *vanitas*. Shrines of grassroots memorials are very similar to Baroque still lifes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

in their response to death and decay. Fragile and ephemeral objects, such as candles, flowers, and written notes reflect both the enjoyment and the brevity of life (Figure 14.2).

As far as the messages themselves are concerned, Fraenkel (2011) highlights the creation of a monumental subject as a collective rather than individual work. Individual papers are almost invisible. In contrast to boards and banners typical of demonstrations, the notes added to the grassroots memorials used to be written in small letters. Generally, they are of spontaneous style, simple and modest, lacking originality because of a tedious repetition of the same. Our data from Paris confirm these findings (Figure 14.3).¹⁰



FIGURE 14.2 “Vanitas” at Place de la République on January 11, 2015. Photo: Pia Kailuweit.



FIGURE 14.3 “I am Charlie,” “I am Charlie, too.” Repetition and dialogue at Place de la République on January 11, 2015. Photo: Pia Kailuweit.

On the contrary, Sánchez-Carretero (2011b, pp. 247–50) points out that on the walls of Atocha there were discussions in form of dialogical and sometimes even palimpsestic structures (Figure 14.4). She observed that graffiti written on the walls and columns immediately after the attacks were covered with posters and paper notes which themselves turned into billboards for further comments. In line with the geosemiotic approach (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003) that accounts for the materiality of signs at a meta-semiotic level, Sánchez-Carretero advances the hypotheses that “love is on white paper; hate is on the walls” (Sánchez-Carretero 2011b : 257). However, her documentation of the graffiti when the papers had been removed did only partly confirm this hypothesis. She noticed that insults aimed at politicians are less common on papers than on graffiti. Nonetheless, she documented very few anti-Islam messages independently of the support material.

As for the complexity of the political debate at the grassroots memorials, there seems to be a difference between Madrid 2004 and Paris 2015. Apart from the political context, spatial aspects may provide an explanation. The Atocha railway station, as well as the other affected stations in Madrid, offered vertical writing surfaces (walls, columns etc.). An important part of these surfaces was indoor or at least covered by a roof (e.g., on platforms). Contrastively, there were far fewer comparable writing surfaces in Paris. The pedestal of the Marianne statue of Place de la République constitutes such a surface (Figure 14.5), and here we observe the same kind of palimpsestic structures as the one documented at the station of Alcalá de Henares. Note that our data cannot provide evidence that the use of a particular support material favors the production of more emotional or radical messages. The graffiti and the paper notes seem to repeat identical messages.

Since the linguistic space for expression and discussion is limited, emblematic strategies come into play. With regard to the *vanitas* motive mentioned by Fraenkel (2011), emblems are a central artistic device in times of Baroque. Their origins date back to the Renaissance (Harper 1992). Emblems consist of three parts: a title (*vocalium signum*), an image



FIGURE 14.4 Palimpsest structure of a placard at Alcalá de Henares train station on March 22, 2004. Courtesy of *Archivo del Duelo*, detail of picture FD-0562. Photo: Cristina Sánchez.



FIGURE 14.5 Palimpsest at Place de la République on January 11, 2015. Photo: Pia Kailuweit.



FIGURE 14.6 Emblem from 11-M shrines. Courtesy of Archivo del Duelo, signature DP-0561.

(*pictura*) and, a legend (*subscriptio*). They operate in a two-part step: visualizing the title as a concept and verbalizing a visual representation by the legend (Warncke 1987). Emblems are surprisingly dominant at grassroots memorials. They condense the speech acts of the collective subject and firmly anchor the experience in people's memories.

In Figures 14.6 and 14.7, we discuss two emblematic representations of the Madrid train bombing and one of the two Parisian incidents, respectively.

The emblem shown in Figure 14.6 is painted on paper. It carries the title *paz y libertad* (peace and liberty). The picture part exhibits a Spanish flag in the background. A white

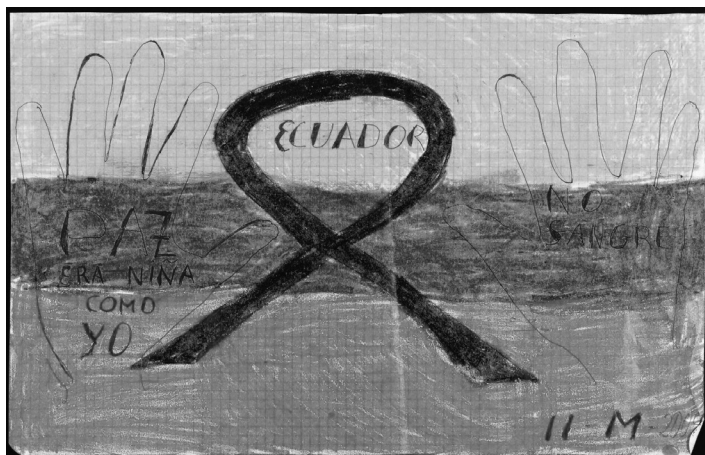


FIGURE 14.7 Emblem from 11-M shrines. Courtesy of *Archivo del Duelo*, signature DP-0058.

hand is presented in the center, a symbol of peace and anti-violence. The hand refers to a gesture consisting in raising open hands forward, with the palms painted white or in wearing white gloves. This gesture was used by students of the Autonomous University of Madrid at the demonstration in response to the murder of Professor Francisco Tomás y Valiente by the armed Basque nationalist and separatist organization ETA in 1996 (Benegas 2004: 342–43; Truc 2011: 225, n. 22). To the right of the hand, the black ribbon was also used in demonstrations responding to murders committed by ETA (Sánchez-Carretero, 2011b: 256–57). The legend is artistically inserted into the hand. The four words of legend form a cross. In the center, a capital M is situated. Reading from left to right, the M is the first letter of the word *Muerte* (death). Downwards, we can read the word *Masacre* (massacre). Upwards, inversely, the M is the first letter of *Madrid* and, reading from left to right, the M starts the word *Marzo* (March). While the atrocity of the event is represented by words that could be read in the usual way, the indication of place and time is inverted as the place itself and the normal time sequence is turned upside down. The words *Masacre* and *Madrid* seem to form a railway track. Hence, the graphical composition of the legend constitutes another element that visualizes the meaning of the employed terms. The relation of the legend and the graphical and pictorial elements to the title is twofold. On the one hand, peace and liberty is what has been threatened by the attacks, on the other hand, the emblem is a call for restoring peace and liberty and, therefore, indirectly, a call against hatred and revenge.

The second example (Figure 14.7) parallels the first one, although it is less sophisticated.

The pictorial elements are the flag of Ecuador as a background, two transparent hands on the left and right respectively and a large black ribbon in the center. On the back of the transparent hand on the left, the word *paz* (“peace”) is written in the largest character size. Hence, it constitutes the title. The legend extends over three columns. Under the title we read in smaller letters *Era niña como yo* (she was a child as I am), in the second column within the black ribbon *Ecuador* and on the back of the transparent hand on the right we read *No sangre* (no blood), and below the hand we can see *11-M* (March 11). The first part of the legend refers to an individual, probably to Sanaa Ben Salah Imadaquan, a thirteen-year-old Spanish girl, the only child killed in the attacks apart from Patricia Rzaca, a seven-month-old Polish baby. There were six Ecuadorian victims, but none of them was a child.

The example taken from Charlie Hebdo grassroots memorials (Figure 14.8) exhibits *Liberté* (Liberty) as the title, a pencil as a candle constitutes the pictorial element, and the legend consists in the hashtag #JESUISCHARLIE (I am Charlie).

It differs in several ways from the emblems analyzed before. First, it is a print, a quite general phenomenon at the grassroots memorials in January 2015. The use of computer devices and digital reproduction has considerably advanced since 2004. The digital revolution changes the strategy of de- and reterritorialization. Joachim Roncin invented the slogan that appears as the legend on Twitter (Roncin 2015). Being a hashtag, the legend refers metonymically not only to an imaginary corpus of experiences to unfold but also to a digital corpus of tweets to read. The title highlights the concept of liberty as the central value to defend. While “peace” dominates over “liberty” in the Madrid data, it is the other way around for the Charlie Hebdo grassroots memorials.¹¹ An explanation may lie in the type of victims symbolized by the pictorial element of the pencil that refers to liberty of expression. However, liberty also plays a fundamental role as a founding category of the French Republic. This aspect becomes more dominant in November, as we will see below.

In the November data, we observed a surprising comeback of analogue culture. Although the central slogan¹² that appears on the emblem (Figure 14.9) as its title was created as a meme, it is generally painted and not printed on the papers of grassroots memorials.

The picture is painted, too, and shows the Eiffel Tower as a peace sign,¹³ in this version accompanied by colored hearts rising like balloons. The legend *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* (liberty, equality, fraternity) refers to the values of the French Revolution. Notice that the title exhibits an English religious formula, although secularized by its frequent use (*Pray for Paris*). The use of this formula seems to be a twofold act of de- and reterritorialization. It not only stands for an internationalization of the response but also questions, in particular, the role of the French authorities. As it is well known, laicism and the fight against English in the public space (Blackwood 2008) are central elements of the



FIGURE 14.8 Emblem at the Place de la République on January 11, 2015. Photo: Pia Kailuweit.



FIGURE 14.9 Emblem placed at Place de la République on November 20, 2015.
Photo: Jaqueline Balint.

French public policy. The use of English instead of French in the key slogan is surprising. Although the internationalizing function of English may explain this practice, in France the public use of English is also a challenge to the French official policy. For the dominant discourse in France, English is a minor language in the sense of Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 104) deterritorializing French as the major language.

With respect to the use of different languages in the grassroots memorials, Spanish and French remain the dominant languages in the respective national contexts. However, a central aspect of the grassroots memorials in Madrid 2004 and Paris 2015 is that the very employment of other languages seems to question the linguistic monopoly of the state authorities. Multilingualism appears not only due to the participation of foreign visitors but also as a result of immigrants residing in the areas of Madrid and Paris. More than a quarter of the people killed in the Madrid train bombings were not Spanish citizens. There are only some hints in the literature that point to the whole range of languages used in Madrid's grassroots memorials. Sánchez-Carretero (2011b: 249) refers to Arabic, Díaz-Mas (2011) to literary contributions in English, as well as in Spain's regional languages and in various migrant languages.

Our own analysis¹⁴ of the photos of the *Archivo del Duelo* reveals that monolingual or bilingual writings in Romanian or Romanian and Spanish, as well as writings in Arabic, almost always accompanied by a translation in Spanish, appeared at the grassroots memorials. We also found writings in Bulgarian, Polish, Russian, Portuguese, and French—mother tongues of some of the victims—as well as in Italian, German, Greek, Chinese, or Japanese. Some of the writings of mourners identifying themselves as coming from Galicia, the Basque Country, or Catalonia appeared in Galician, Basque, and Catalan, respectively. Catalan occurred quite often in monolingual or bilingual texts.

200 INOCENTES EN MADRID. 10,000 INOCENTES EN IRAQ SEMBRAR MUERTE EN EL ESTRANJERO NO TRAE SEGURIDAD AQUI BASTA DE TERRORISMOS YA CADA VIDA ES UNICA Y VALIOSA.	200 innocent lives in MADRID 10,000 innocent lives in IRAQ SOWING DEATH ABROAD BRING NO SAFETY AT Home END ALL TERRORISM NOW! EVERY HUMAN LIFE IS PRECIOUS!
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FIGURE 14.10 Transcription of two placards (Spanish and English) from photo FD-755 of the *Archivo de Duelo*.

The use of English is sometimes explained by the fact that writers identified themselves as US citizens, but is also due the desire to make the message accessible to an international audience. For example, a political statements against the war of Iraq appeared in two monolingual signs one above the other. The Spanish sign seems to be the source and the English sign the translation (see Figure 14.10). The two placards appear vertically on photo FD-755 of the *Archivo de Duelo* (Spanish above on the photo, here in the left-hand side table, English below on the photo, here in the right-hand side table). The text criticizes the Iraq policy of the Aznar government.

To sum up this section, the speech acts expressing condolence and calling for peace and liberty are directed at three groups of addressees. First of all, at the in-group of the mourners, second at the perpetrators, and last but not least, at the authorities who are held—to different degrees—co-responsible for the escalation of violence. In an act of de- and reterritorialization, the constitution of the in-group operates toward a local reference, a symbolic marking of public space that the mourners are not willing to abandon because of the terrorist threat nor to leave it to an official business as usual policy. From the viewpoint of geosemiotics, a community of mourners emerges toward emplaced complex semiotic acts that frequently make use of emblematic strategies. However, mediatization—especially the use of social networks in 2015—anchors emplaced semiotics acts into the digital world. This anchoring is a central factor to produce the de- and reterritorializing effects.

7 RETERRITORIALIZATION BY THE AUTHORITIES

Three months after the attacks, the state restored control of the Atocha train station responding to a claim of the workers of the Spanish railroad company (RENFE). In an open letter published in the newspaper of the trade union CGT,¹⁵ they expressed that the grassroots memorials hindered their work and acutely affected their personal emotions, constituting a permanent reminder of the traumatic events. They proposed the construction of an official memorial (Truc 2011: 209; Sánchez-Carretero 2011b: 251).

After the dismantling and archiving of the grassroots memorials, computer terminals were placed in more discrete points of the Atocha, El Pozo, and Santa Eugenia train stations. On June 9, 2004, the Minister of Public Works Magdalena Álvarez inaugurated the aforementioned *Espacio de Palabras* (see Section 3): computer terminals where passersby could type a message of condolence and scan their palms to become part of the message that appeared on the screen (Serrano 2004: 12; Sánchez-Carretero 2011b: 259, n. 7). Beside the messages, a five-minute video was projected¹⁶ and repeated on a

loop.¹⁷ It consists of a continuum of selected photographs documenting people's public mourning after the attacks without any comments, but accompanied by Chopin's Funeral March. Although representing parts of the grassroots memorials and their messages, the video leaves out demonstrations of political discontent directed against the authorities. Therefore, it could be seen as an attempt to influence the attitude and content of the messages the mourners write at the computer terminals of *Espacio de Palabras*. The terminals were connected with the website www.mascercanos.com (no longer available) that could also be accessed online. As mentioned before (see Section 3), only on March 13, 2007, three years after the bombings, the terminals were removed.¹⁸

The computer terminals were part of an official act of reterritorialization, creating a device for a more orderly ritual of mourning and commemoration. They restored the normal appearance and functionality of the stations altered by the grassroots memorials. However, as far as the messages are concerned no direct censorship was exercised. According to Truc (2011, pp. 223–24), the *Espacio de Palabras* constitutes a heterotopic space of its own that generates a new ritual of mourning by the fact that passersby—normally out of a group—expressed their emotion publicly and with the help of a digital device. The analysis of the corpus of digital messages shows that the use of different languages parallels the multilingualism of the grassroots memorials, although it is limited to messages in Latin letters. The computers did not allow the use of another alphabet. Solidarity with the victims, claims for peace interrupted by the terror attacks and rejection of all types of terrorism are the three main topics around which the messages evolve. However, critical remarks on the official policy were not totally absent (Quintana and Kailuweit 2017).

The second step of reterritorialization by the authorities was the creation of an official memorial. On March 11, 2007, the *Monumento homenaje a las víctimas del 11-M* ("Monument in Homage to the Victims of 11 March") was unveiled.¹⁹ The memorial occupies the center of a roundabout located at the mouth of Alfonso XII Street in front of the Atocha Station, which citizens, with their candles, messages, flowers, and toys, turned into a sanctuary from the same day of the attacks.

The memorial consists of a dome in the form of an 11-meter-high cylinder commemorating the date of the massacre. The cylinder opens to the sky of Madrid, to which it seems to be getting closer and closer (Quintana and Kailuweit 2013: 219). The architecture stands for a popular metaphor (Geipel 2007: 10) which became a slogan of the grassroots memorials and demonstrations *De Madrid al Cielo* ("From Madrid to heaven").

The cylinder is composed of two distinct parts: the monolithic outer skin of glass and the inner membrane where messages of condolence in several languages are engraved, referring to the writings of the grassroots memorials (Ortiz García 2011: 49). The ethylene tetrafluoroethylene (ETFE) membrane is held by air pressure, generated by some fans,²⁰ which allows the monument to stand without any opaque element that obscures the idea of transparency. This pressurization system makes the atmosphere denser and tighter in its interior.²¹

The lobby of the station gives access to the basement of the monument housing the *Blue Void* room—a haven of silence between the rattling of trains. In a cobalt blue wall near the entry, the victims' names are recorded. Passing the blue room, visitors reach the interior of the cylinder to read the messages engraved in the ETFE membrane.²²

The messages reflect the multilingualism of the grassroots memorials. The presence of languages of the European Union, especially Italian, German, French, English, Romanian, and Portuguese is striking, but we also find inscriptions in Arabic, Greek, Basque, Catalan, and Galician (Figure 14.11).²³ As far as their content is concerned, the commissioners

by grassroots memorials are highly complex. Public mourning of civil society has deterritorializing effects, defying the monopoly of the state on shaping public policy. Linking emplaced messages and emblems with the digital world, mourners symbolically take possession of public spaces, marking them permanently in the public imagery. The authorities try to reterritorialize their monopoly not only against the challenge of terrorism but also against the takeover by civil society. The de- and reterritorializing of central public spaces via symbolic acts in place and in the digital world constitutes a potentiality for a remembrance culture beyond the realm of the immediately visible. Even if there are no traces left in situ referring to a terroristic attack and the response of the civil society, the symbolic remains of grassroots memorials disseminate in the public imagery in such a way that no official reterritorializing strategy can entirely erase its effects.

Although there are significant parallels in the strategies of place marking, public mourning in Madrid 2004 and Paris 2015 also differs in several ways. In both contexts, multilingualism plays a major role. However, challenging the linguistic monopoly of the state by using English in a key slogan seems to be an indirect provocation in the particular context of French linguistic policy. The particular political situation in Spain led to a more explicit critique of the state authorities. After the change of government—a consequence of the attacks—the new rulers aimed for social reconciliation. Hence, the messages of the grassroots memorial were documented and used in an official memorial although their political content was mitigated. In Paris, the social importance of grassroots memorials was only recognized after the November shooting, when they were selectively documented and presented on official websites and in publications. The power to formulate an adequate reaction to Islamist attacks and to mark it in the public space seems to be an even more topical and controversially discussed subject in France than it is in Spain, although the Barcelona attack on August 17, 2017, shows that the public response to Islamist terror remains highly topical in Spain as well.

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ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. How is a grassroots memorial different from traditional mourning rituals?
2. What moves people to express their grief and dismay in the form of written messages in the public space?

9. See “Anne Hidalgo, maire de Paris.” <http://www.paris.fr/actualites/grandformat/13-novembre> (accessed January 20, 2018).
10. The writings documented by the *Archives de Paris* are generally of more complexity and elaborated style. However, this might be an effect of selected documentation.
11. Our data confirm this. In the Corpus of *Espacio de Palabras*, *paz* (peace) appears in 13,870 occurrences and *libertad* (liberty) in 1,462 occurrences. It is the other way around in two paper books of condolence (13,669 words) documented by Pia Kailuweit on January 11, 2015, Place de la République: *liberté* (liberty) 240 occurrences, *paix* (peace) 57 occurrences. Sánchez-Carretero (2011b: 259) cites the master thesis “‘Todos íbamos en ese tren’: ‘spontaneous shrines’ and the politics of identity in the aftermath of the Madrid train bombings of ‘11-M’” of Daniel Clarke (2009), University of Cambridge, proving the dominance of “peace” in the messages on the walls of Atocha.
12. The dominance of the slogan is striking in corpus of the *Archives de Paris*. <http://www.archives.paris.fr/r/137/hommages-aux-victimes-des-attentats-de-2015/> (accessed January 20, 2018).
13. The drawing was originally by the Artist Jean Jullien on Twitter. See Gonzalez (2015).
14. In a master thesis directed by Rolf Kailuweit, Anna Lünighöner transcribed 853 messages contained in photos of the *Archivo de Duelo*. 6 percent of the transcribed signs are not Spanish monolingual. Twenty messages were bilingual with Spanish and another language. Monolingual messages appeared in the following order: English 13, Arabic 12, Catalan 8, French 5, German 4, Romanian 3, Basque 1, Hebrew 1, Japanese 1, Chinese 1, Galician 1, Polish 1, Greek 1 (Lünighöner 2019: 121–48).
15. See (2004), “Los trabajadores de RENFE en Atocha piden que se retiren las velas y que se haga un monumento permanente a las víctimas,” and “Carta abierta de los trabajadores y trabajadoras de Madrid Atocha Cercanías,” *Rojo i Negro*, May 31. <http://www.rojoynegro.info/articulo/sections/los-trabajadores-renfe-atocha-piden-se-retiren-las-velas-se-haga-un-monumento-pe-0> (accessed January 20, 2018).
16. The video “Espacio de Palabras – RENFE” is hosted on the Railway library of Adif, signature VID 379.
17. See *Archivo del Duelo*, signature FD-2328. Photo: Jorge París: people wait their turn on November 9, 2004, to write a message and scan their hands on the two cybershrines placed in the lobby of the Atocha Station.
18. In the two computers located in the Atocha Station a total of 41,188 messages were collected: we identified 1,674 in the station of El Pozo, 1911 in Santa Eugenia Station and 3,959 from the webpage mascercanos.com.
19. A two-minute documentary of the Monument in Homage to the Victims of March 11 issued by *El Confidencial Digital* on March 6, 2014, can be seen in <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dCKuAqCFo5U> (accessed November 15, 2017).
20. Since its inauguration, the inner membrane has fallen several times, so that the memorial has remained closed. See O. (2015), “El monumento del 11M lleva dos meses languideciendo en Atocha,” *La Vanguardia*, November 17. <http://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/20151117/30217989321/monumento-11m-fallo-estructura-madrid.html> (accessed January 20, 2018).
21. See “Monumento del 11-M” on the webpage of Estudio Fem of which they are part the architects in charge of his construction. <https://es.wikiarquitectura.com/edificio/monumento-del-11-m/> (accessed November 23, 2017).
22. See <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2007/10/31/madrid/1193841851.html> (accessed January 17, 2018).

23. Spanish remains the most widely used language with 167 messages. However, the share of non-Spanish messages is 41 percent. We find twenty-seven Catalan and twenty-two English messages. Italian is represented by seventeen messages, thirteen messages are in French, twelve in German, and ten in Basque. In Arabic there are seven messages, six in Romanian, two in Portuguese, and one each in Galician and Greek (Lüninghöner 2019: 30).
24. See *Hommages aux victimes des attentats de 2015*. <http://archives.paris.fr/r/137/hommages-aux-victimes-des-attentats-de-2015/> (accessed January 20, 2018).

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