

“WHEN I HEARD ABOUT THE MARCH”:
TESTIMONIES AND PARTICIPATORY ARCHIVING IN PEACEBUILDING

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Abstract

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This dissertation studies the Memoscopio archive and its collection of testimonies about the 2009 World March for Peace and Nonviolence (the March). This collection came into existence during 2009 and 2010 through a participatory archiving project carried out by a team of peace advocates and researchers in collaboration with March participants. The March was a transnational and decentralized campaign that promoted peace, nonviolence, and justice through activities in 600 cities, social media, and a three-month march around the world. Through the case of Memoscopio and the March, this dissertation explores the personal and cultural meanings of transnational peace marchers in a globalized and digital world. In addition, it analyzes the transformatory uses of testimonies, and the ways in which March participants rejected normalized violence and injustice through accounts that release their memories and imaginations about themselves, peace marches, and peacebuilding. The analysis suggests that the psychological dimensions of peace marches, which remain under-studied, go well beyond the collective locomotion of people who oppose war. In this sense, transnational peace marches can be productive sites for research on the evolving meanings of protest and peacebuilding in the 21st century. Methodologically, the dissertation explores, and reflects on, participatory archiving as an approach to producing critical, relevant, and collectively owned knowledge.

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“When I Heard about the March”:

Testimonies and Participatory Archiving in Peacebuilding

“We conclude that biology does not condemn humanity to war, and that humanity can be freed from the bondage of biological pessimism and empowered with confidence to undertake the transformative tasks needed in this International Year of Peace and in the years to come. Although these tasks are mainly institutional and collective, they also rest upon the consciousness of individual participants for whom pessimism and optimism are crucial factors. Just as 'wars begin in the minds of men', peace also begins in our minds. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us.”
 Seville Statement on Violence (1986)

“Regarding this experience of working for peace and nonviolence, I believe it is not the same for oneself –who has been into these issues for a long time- than for someone who receives them for the first time [and] is not used to reflecting about them. What you find in trying to bring these issues to other people is that some find them totally impossible to realize. So then one reflects about the importance of beliefs, because, while those beliefs are in our heads, in the end they condition what we do. I think the greatest battle of today goes on in the world of beliefs, or in that subjective world. I believe it is there where the battle of this moment is being waged and that this will make a change possible, or not.”
 Esteban, 50, Memoscopio testimony

“What varieties of men and women now prevail in this society and in this period? And what varieties are coming to prevail? In what ways are they selected and formed, liberated and repressed, made sensitive and blunted? What kinds of ‘human nature’ are revealed in the conduct and character we observe in this society in this period? And what is the meaning for ‘human nature’ of each and every feature of the society we are examining?”
 C.W. Mills (1959, p.7)

Introduction: Scope, Significance, and Structure of the Dissertation

What does an international peace march mean to its participants across geographies, cultures, and generations? And what does it mean to contribute a personal testimony about such initiative to a digital archive? Inspired by these questions, this dissertation studies the online Memoscopio archive and its collected testimonies about the 2009 World March for Peace and

Nonviolence (the March). The March was a transnational and decentralized campaign that promoted peace, nonviolence, and justice through activities in 600 cities in nearly 120 countries, social media, and a three-month march around the world. The Memoscopio archive came into existence during 2009 and 2010 through a participatory archiving project carried out by a team of peace advocates and researchers in collaboration with March participants. Building on the documentary work of Memoscopio, the task of this dissertation is two-fold. First, it surveys the Memoscopio testimonies for answers about the meaning of the March from the perspective of its participants. It also examines the content of the testimonies in the archive (*what they say*) and *how* they function as peacebuilding tools in the context of the March. Second, this study reflects on Memoscopio's use of participatory archiving for clues about critical approaches to the study of peace marchers and their psycho-social dimensions in today's world.

But why carry out this work? A first set of reasons relates to the March itself. As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter Two, the March is among very few large-scale, international peace marches that have taken place in recent decades. As such, it offers a unique opportunity to understand how local participants experience and relate to such large-scale initiatives. In addition to the issue of scale is that of strategy. Often times the value of protest and nonviolent symbolic actions is minimized because these approaches to change and resistance do not always seem to achieve tangible gains at the political level and because, as strategies, they can be hard to sustain during acute conflict and repression. But while protest and nonviolent actions may have limited success, it is important to recognize that marches and other forms of nonviolent protest play a unique role in contemporary life as opportunities to articulate intuitions and emergent forms of knowledge about society and its institutions (Jasper, 1999). As I will argue in more detail in the following chapters, these actions invite everyday people to engage creatively with

new alternatives, deepen commitments to peace and justice, explore solutions to problems, develop new language and cultural practices, and experience joy and purpose. Finally, the March is also unique in its approach to peace, war, and justice. In a world that glorifies violence and justifies injustice, the March challenged the notion that both violence and injustice are unavoidable or ‘natural’ aspects of the human condition. Pushing hard against these notions and the sectors of society that profit from them, the March promoted a vision of a 21st century planetary civilization in which nonviolence, constructive conflict, inclusion, equity, and dignity are actively pursued.

A second set of reasons to carry out the present study relates to Memoscopio. In its use of testimonies and digital technologies to document the March, the Memoscopio project tapped into key cultural and political practices among its participants, shining a spotlight on their experiences and worldviews. As I discuss in Chapter Two, this approach is uncommon within the scholarship on peace marches, which favors observational and survey methods and focuses on pathways to mobilization. I argue that shifting the gaze towards other dimensions of protest, such as the practice of sharing and archiving testimonies, can help us better understand the social-psychological significance of initiatives such as the March. This knowledge, in turn, may prove useful to educators, advocates, researchers, and leaders as they implement, promote, and evaluate other efforts in the areas of peace education and advocacy. In addition, the Memoscopio archive offers a unique opportunity to study how everyday people use their personal accounts to reflect and to offer information, models, and inspiration to others. This, in turn, is a window into how people counter the normalization of violence, militarism, and injustice, ultimately raising awareness about nonviolence and justice as viable alternatives.

For this reason, an analysis of the Memoscopio archive contributes to a small but important body of psychological literature on the role of public opinion (Martín Baró, 1994) and participatory self-surveys (Torre & Fine, 2011) in the struggle against narrow visions of what a society should and can become. Writing about the role of social psychology in El Salvador and other societies in crisis, Ignacio Martín-Baró (1994) wrote

In El Salvador the established power structure has concealed reality and systematically distorted events, producing a Collective Lie. Further aggravated by the civil war, the schizophrenia of everyday life becomes more acute, with the population a daily experience that differs greatly from the 'official' definition of what their lives are about. (p.188)

Like many other related concepts (i.e. hegemony) that speak to the issue of information and common sense, this notion highlights the social-psychological dimensions and consequences of official versions of reality that are compatible with the interests of privileged sectors of society that control governments, regimes, parties, corporations and other powerful institutions. As Martín-Baró explains, a Collective Lie

sets the limits for how far collective consciousness can move in given situation, thus putting a ceiling on the growth of social consciousness. In El Salvador this has had at least three consequences: the country's most serious problems have been systematically hidden from view; the social interests and forces at play have been distorted; and people have internalized the alienating discourse as part of their individual and social identity.

The problem does not lie in the credibility or lack of credibility of the Official Discourse, for Salvadorans are obviously quite capable of understanding that what

they are told does not correspond to how they live...The problem is that Salvadorans are unable to see themselves and their circumstances reflected back to them, and, kept from these reflections, are handicapped in building a realistic collective and personal identity that would foster growth and progress. Problems can hardly be overcome when their causes are relegated to the will of god or the demands of human nature (fatalism), or when the behaviors of the leadership are attributed to their personal peculiarities or when the reality of what is happening is denied, plain and simple. (p. 188)

In today's world, where peaceful revolutions "inevitably" turn into mass violence, where war and repression seem to be the "natural" response to conflict within and between nation states, and where the exploitation of natural resources and human lives is glorified as an inalienable right of the free individual, the concept of the Collective Lie proves deeply useful. Among other things, it brings our attention to the discursive and representational roadblocks to socio-political change in the area of peacebuilding and anti-violence work. These barriers include the relative invisibility of important social problems (e.g., structural violence, armamentism, etc.), the masking of private interests, and the internalization of these erasures and distortions. In Chapters Four and Five I will discuss these dynamics in more depth as they play out, and are interrupted, in the lives and testimonies of March participants from various countries and socio-political contexts. In Chapter Six I will offer a discussion on the ways in which the March and the practice of participatory archiving helped push against such collective lies about the human capacity for peace, nonviolence, equality, and inclusion.

Scholars of peace and conflict have rejected these lies for decades. In response to evolutionary arguments against nonviolence, for instance, many psychologists have endorsed the

Seville Statement on Violence (UNESCO, 1986). The statement calls for a social learning approach to the challenge of war, arguing it is scientifically incorrect to cast human beings as biologically programmed for organized violence. On the issue of effectiveness, and using historical examples, nonviolence scholars have rejected the widely held view of violence as an efficient method for social and political change (Sharp, 2005; Orosco, 2008). These and other analyses suggest that systematic comparisons between violence and nonviolence should wait until the same kinds of resources currently devoted to organized violence and warfare are invested in the refinement, teaching, and promotion of nonviolence.

But how do organic intellectuals within peace movements carry out the work of interrupting lies and widening the horizons of what is true and possible? I argue in this dissertation that an analysis of the Memoscopio archive can help us understand the role of testimony and archiving in the process of undoing collective lies about the causes and potential transformation of physical, symbolic, and structural violence in a globalized and digital world. This task positions this dissertation in the spaces where personal stories meet socio-economic and cultural landscapes.

An important concept that guides me in this work is C.W. Mills' (1959) notion of the *sociological imagination*, which delineates the complex relationship between 'biographies' and the histories and societies that surround them. As described by Mills, this "quality of mind" bears a number of important fruits. Here I focus on two of them. The first relates to a person's capacity to understand his experiences, circumstances, and transformatory potential in relation to her society and time period. The second refers to the capacity to distinguish between larger public issues and more circumscribed personal troubles that are born and can be resolved at the individual level. Mills provides two especially pertinent illustrations:

When in a city of 100,000 only one man is unemployed, this is his personal trouble...But when in a nation of 50 million employees, 15 million are unemployed, this is an issue... The very structure of opportunity has collapsed. Both the correct statement of the problem and the range of possible solutions require us to consider the economic and political institutions of the society... Consider war. The personal problem of war, when it occurs, may be how to survive it or how to die in it with honor; how to make money out of it; how to climb to the higher safety of the military apparatus; or how to contribute to the war's termination. But the structural issues of war have to do with its causes; with the kinds of men it throws up into command; with its effects upon economic and political, family and religious institutions, with the unorganized responsibility of a world of nation-states. (1959, p. 9)

These examples delineate a theory of change in which a sociological imagination can correctly orient our analyses and activities as we face complex challenges, both as individuals and as societies. Mills would agree with Martín-Baró's claim that public opinion polls and community-based surveys are antidotes to the Collective Lie. For Mills, information is the source of power and positive transformation. But there is a paradox everyday people must face as they gain greater understandings about the structural forces and external agendas that condition their lives. The less "bounded by the private orbits in which they live," Mills argues, "the more trapped they feel" by these larger forces (p. 3). Throughout the dissertation I will be concerned first with whether and how the March promoted deeper understandings of the social issues that prevent peace and justice from being viable options; and second, with whether these understandings led its participants to feel trapped (i.e., within the grip of neoliberal agendas,

militarism, and the military industrial complex, for instance). I will also be concerned with the ways in which the marchers used their Memoscopio testimonies to promote a sociological imagination about 21st peacebuilding, and especially with how they turned their private experiences into public dialogues about public issues.

Grounded in the fields of peace studies and critical psychology, and in the tradition of participatory action research, this dissertation makes an original contribution to the study of transnational peace marches and the transformatory potential of testimonies and participatory archiving in a global and digital world. Methodologically, the dissertation explores multimodal, digital, and participatory approaches to studying peace in collaboration with communities and social movements. In this way, this work bridges discussions within the digital humanities, media studies, and the field of participatory action research. These methodological contributions may be of interest to scholars across the humanities and social sciences that study the cultural and psychological dimensions of conflict, peace, oppression, and justice.

With a dual focus on testimonies and archives as peacebuilding tools, this study makes original contributions to the field of peace and conflict psychology by offering: (1) a psychological framework for the analysis of how normalized structural violence can be addressed through peace-sustaining mobilizations; (2) a methodological approach to study how people learn and promote peace-building skills for an interdependent and globalized world; and (3) a comparative analysis of how this process takes place within and across various geo-historical and cultural contexts, specifically in the United States and the Countries of the Andes.

This dissertation seeks to accomplish these goals in six chapters. Chapters One — Background: The March and the Memoscopio Project— offers a detailed discussion of the World March for Peace and Nonviolence and the Memoscopio Project, identifying the key

actors, goals, activities, strategies, and outcomes of each initiative. Chapter Two —Framework: (Un)doing Through Peace Marches and Testimonies— brings the March and Memoscopio in conversation with transdisciplinary debates on the complex meaning of peace marches and the functions of activist testimonies. Building on this literature review, this chapter frames testimonies as *transformatory tools* and elaborates on the research questions that guide this dissertation. Chapter Three —Method: Working With a Counter-Archive— identifies the political and ethical challenges that arise when working with what I call *counter-archives*. The chapter also describes how I addressed these challenges through a *kaleidoscopic analysis* of Memoscopio carried out in two stages. Chapter Four —A First Look: Moments of the March— addresses my questions about the meaning of the March through an analysis of how differently positioned participants experienced the March through specific activities. Chapter Five —A Second Look: Bringing Self, World, and Future into Focus—addresses my questions about the testimonies as peacebuilding tools through an analysis of the content and functions of the testimonies as the marchers speak of the March in relation to their lives, their worlds, and their futures. Chapter Six —Moving With the March— discusses the analysis presented in Chapters Four and Five, theorizing the role of peace marches, testimonies, and participatory archiving in contemporary peacebuilding. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the main contributions of the dissertation to the critical and participatory study of peace marches, as well as a discussion of the limitations and future directions of this line of work.

Chapter One

Background: The March and the Memoscopio Project

The World March for Peace and Nonviolence

On December 18, 2009 a group of forty travelers arrived in Quito, Ecuador, after a long bus ride that had begun a few days earlier in Bogota, Colombia, more than 450 miles to the north. A young woman met them at the bus stop and guided them through the busy streets and narrow sidewalks of Quito towards her family's home. She was one of the local organizers of the World March for Peace and Nonviolence (the March), a grassroots initiative that promoted non-violence, constructive conflict, inclusion and alternatives to militarism as viable options for a 21st century planetary civilization (de la Rubia, 2010; World Without Wars and Violence, n.d.). The travelers arriving in Quito were the *Viajeros por la Paz*, a group of students, health activists, and environmental organizers from Colombia, Germany, Spain, and Italy who had come together to follow the route of the March through the countries of the Andes. This type of travel was a defining element of the March. Its three-month journey around the world had begun in New Zealand on October 2, 2009. On January 2, 2010, after three months of travel, the *Viajeros* and other groups of marchers would arrive at the feet of the highest mountain in the Western and Southern hemispheres, the Aconcagua, located in the Argentine Andes. The journey along the Andes was to be the last stretch of the March. During the previous two months thousands of peace supporters had marched through hundreds of cities in Oceania, Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Three weeks of travel through Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile were ahead of the *Viajeros* and other various groups of marchers. The past days on the road promised an exciting and intense journey. Before arriving in Quito, the marchers had already attended actions in three

Colombian cities. The day before they had waited five hours among trucks and rifle-wielding soldiers to gain access to a binational peace rally at the border with Ecuador. After spending the night in tents, they had woken up that December morning at the crack of dawn and headed south towards a monument at the Line of the Equator. There, a local organization had hosted a dialogue about just North-South relations. Upon arriving in Quito that afternoon, they showered, ate, and rested in hotels or at the homes of local organizers before heading out again for an evening of public events and activities. In the streets, the international marchers joined hundreds of school children and numerous local community organizations in a carnivalesque march through downtown Quito. The final stop was outside the presidential palace where Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa welcomed the marchers and denounced foreign military bases in the Countries of the Andes. The marchers ended that long day with a hip-hop concert, followed by food and conversation in nearby cafes. Such a packed schedule had become the norm for the marchers.



Figure 1. World March for Peace and Nonviolence Banner, World Without Wars and Violence, www.theworldmarch.org.

Los Viajeros por la Paz were among the thousands of groups that mobilized in response to a broad and international call to organizations, communities, and institutions to take part in an march that would:

be created and shaped by everyone. Open to any person, organization, collective, group, political party, business, etc., that shares the same aspirations

and sensibility, this project is not something closed. Instead, it is a journey that will be progressively enriched as different initiatives set their contributions in motion ... [W]herever the March goes, the local people can contribute their creativity in a great convergence of multiple activities. There's space for everything the imagination is capable of conceiving. The possible channels of participation are multiple and diverse, including virtual participation in the March through the Internet. This is a march by and for the people, with hopes of reaching most of the world's population. For the first time in history an event of this magnitude is being set in motion through the initiative of the people. The true strength of the World March is born from the simple, conscious act of those who endorse this dignified cause and share it with others. (World Without Wars and Violence, 2009)

World Without Wars and Violence (WWWV), an international volunteer-based organization with chapters in 40 countries, had put this invitation forth in 2009. Founded in 1994, WWWWV advocates for the right to a life in peace and without violence. Through community education, campaigns, and publications, the organization educates the public about the human and environmental costs of war, and promotes strategies for nonviolent action, participation, and conflict resolution. With WWWWV as the engine, the March was initially coordinated thanks to the international networks of other organizations: the Community for Human Development, Convergence of Cultures, the Humanist Party, and the Center for Humanist Studies. As I will discuss in more detail at the end of Chapter Two, the March was conceived as a nonviolent initiative that would promote change through symbolic actions and persuasion. The various activities that made up the March —such as international travel, local

events, and virtual activity— were meant to inspire diverse and creative expressions about non/violence and peace and to engage a wide array of people, organizations, and institutions at the local level. Despite having a clear set of demands regarding weapons and occupations, the March did not seek to produce immediate or concrete transformations in any particular location. Rather, its organizers saw it as a means to raise awareness and public dialogue about the threat of nuclear weapons and the current culture of violence. Simultaneously, the goal of the March was to raise awareness about possible alternatives and solutions to these challenges. This was to be achieved through local dialogues and activities within diverse communities, new interactions and dialogues across groups and places, and public dialogue. The theory of change that informed the March was rooted on New Humanism, a Latin American current of thought (Pulleda, 1997) that promotes the formation of a universal human nation based on diversity and particularity. New Humanism frames peace and justice work within the larger process of the humanization of social relations through simultaneous transformations at the personal, interpersonal, and structural levels. Through the methodology of active nonviolence this movement extends a call to “overcome pain and suffering, ...learn without limits, and ...love the reality you build” (Silo, 2003/1972, p. 46,my translation).

March activities began in November of 2007 when the initiative was officially announced at the Fifth Education and Nonviolence Conference held in Madrid, Spain, at the *Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia* (See Table 1). In July of 2008 WWWV held a Week of Creativity in Barcelona. At that time, 70 artists and designers volunteered to draft the campaign’s initial logos, route, and statement. During that week, Barcelona was the site of a promotional march that moved on foot, boat, metro, taxis, and motorbikes, and that ended with marchers jumping into the Mediterranean Sea. The rest of 2008 and the early months of

Table 1

Partial Timeline of the World March for Peace and Nonviolence

Day	Date	Activity (Location)
-	Nov 2007	World March for Peace and Nonviolence Announced (Madrid)
-	July 2008	Week of Creativity and Planning (Barcelona)
-	Oct-Dec	Official Launching Events (Argentina, Italy, Kenya)
-	Sept 30 2009	Maori Blessing Ceremony (Rekohu)
1	Oct 2	Kick off celebrations (300 cities in 5 continents)
10	Oct 12	March and official reception with Tara Gandhi (Delhi)
21	Oct 23	Demonstration with 2000 participants (Izmir)
30	Oct 31	Cultural events and civic receptions (6 cities in Macedonia)
40	Nov 11	5000 marchers sing <i>Imagine</i> by John Lennon (Florence)
50	Nov 21	Procession, and festival (Canary Islands)
60	Nov 30	Ceremony at Ground Zero (New York City)
70	Dec 10	Celebration and march (Salvador-Nicaragua border)
80	Dec 20	Establishment of the Week of Nonviolence (Caucaia)
90	Dec 30	80,000 attend the Concert for Peace (Santiago de Chile)
94	Jan 2 2010	Closing celebrations (Punta de Vacas)
-	Jan 3-6	Days of organizing (Punta de Vacas)

Note. From Commemorative book of the World March for peace and Nonviolence, edited by Rafael de la Rubia (2010).

2009 were dedicated to securing endorsements, establishing coordinating teams around the world, and promoting the initiative. Between 2008 and the end of the March in January of 2010 the activities of different groups of March supporters involved some of all of the following: endorsing the initiative; travelling internationally; organizing and attending events; and joining the March at various points during its route; and participating online.

Endorsing the March. During 2008 and 2009 WWWV's call mobilized hundreds of thousands of individual supporters, and engaged hundreds of grassroots organizations, institutions, and public figures from around the world. The supporters held diverse geographic and political positions. The March was endorsed by at least 1198 world- renowned public figures, including heads of state, political and religious leaders, artists, athletes, and activists and others. In addition, there is official record of endorsements from 504 grassroots and not for profit organizations; 125 sports, cultural, artistic, and special interest groups; 149 governmental, cultural, research, and media institutions; 46 universities and educational institutions, and 183 municipalities in 19 countries. Celebrity, institutional, and governmental endorsements provided visibility and legitimacy to the initiative.

Across identities, languages, geographies, generations, and movements, these diverse supporters found common ground for collaboration on the following statement of endorsement, which could be signed online:

I endorse the World March because I am in agreement with: 1) nuclear disarmament at a global level; 2) the immediate withdrawal of invading troops from occupied territories; 3) the progressive and proportional reduction of conventional weapons; 4) the signing of non-aggression treaties between countries; 5) the renunciation by governments of the use of war as a means to

resolve conflicts. Furthermore, [I endorse the World March] because I reject all forms of violence. (World Without Wars and Violence, 2009)

The screenshot displays five endorsement cards, each featuring a small portrait of the endorser, their name, their country and field of expertise, and a brief biographical note. Each card concludes with a link to view more details.

- Noam Chomsky**: United States | Education. A well known as a political dissident, anarchist and libertarian socialist intellectual, Noam Chomsky is a linguist, philosopher, cognitive scientist, activist, author and lecturer. In the academic and scientific community he is recognized as the father of modern linguistics. He is an Institute Professor Emeritus and Professor Emeritus of linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. ...View?
- Danielle Mitterrand**: France | Human Rights. President of the foundation France Libertés - Fondation Danielle Mitterrand. She is the widow of the 21st President of France, François Mitterrand. ...View?
- Cristina Fernández**: Argentina | Politics. Since her time as a student in the National University of La Plata, she identified with the Justicialist Movement and committed herself to the struggle for Human Rights. She has held public posts on various occasions and is currently President of the Republic of Argentina. ...View?
- Michelle Bachelet**: Chile | Politics | ■. President of the Republic of Chile ...View?
- Penélope Cruz**: Spain | TV-Cinema-Theatre | ♣. Penelope Cruz is an actress. In 2009 she became the first Spanish actress to win an Oscar with the film "Vicky Cristina Barcelona" directed by Woody Allen. She has also received three Goya Awards in Spain, a British BAFTA and the Italian David de

Figure 2. Screenshot of endorsements page. From www.theworldmarch.org.

Traveling the world. As seen in Figure 3, the March visited dozens of towns and cities in countries in Oceania, Asia, Europe, Africa, the Americas, and Antarctica. On October 2 2009, supporters in 54 countries and 300 cities held activities in celebration of the start of the March. On that occasion, WWWV spokesman Rafael de la Rubia inaugurated the journey and explained the significance of the March's starting point:

Today, on the 2nd of October 2009, the 140th anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi, the international day of Nonviolence, in Oceania, in Wellington, we initiate the World March for Peace and Nonviolence. New Zealand, the most easterly country on the planet, is a reference for the world in the struggle for peace and disarmament because New Zealanders have

shaken off the yolk of foreign military bases and nuclear weapons. From this remote place, far from the centers of power, we are initiating this worldwide action. We are coming from even further east, from the Chatham Islands, the place on this planet that receives the first rays of the sun at the start of every day. It is there with friends from an ancient culture, the Moriori, that we started this journey of symbolic value. (World Without Wars and Violence, 2009)

This speech set the tone for the rest of the March, which was deeply rooted in specific contexts and places, while also responding to global crises and engaging transnational networks of dialogue and cooperation.



Figure 3. Map of the Route of the World March for Peace and Nonviolence. From www.theworldmarch.org

Organizing and attending events. As seen on Table 1, many of the supporters of the initiative organized and attended local events in their towns. During the three months of the

March, supporters organized cultural, social, academic, and political activities in nearly 600 cities around the world. Depending on the location and reach of the local organizers, these events ranged considerably in size and visibility. There were small community dialogues, parties, and recitals in remote villages, as well massive concerts, receptions with Nobel Laureates, and meetings with the presidents of Finland, Croatia, Chile, and Argentina. In Lucena, the Philippines, 10,000 students formed the largest recorded human peace sign. In Santiago de Chile 500 graffiti artists broke the world record for the longest mural with an 1800-meter piece dealing with the themes of war, in/justice, solidarity, and non/violence. In that same city, nearly 80,000 youth attended a Concert for Peace celebrating the March's last stop in a major city before its conclusion in the Andes. Song writing, dancing, mountain climbing, naked cycling, and hundreds of other creative forms of nonviolent protest brought people together in countless locales worldwide.

Joining the March. During the three months of marching, there were various configurations of travelers who took part in the journey. Like the *Viajeros por la Paz*, many supporters marched through their neighborhoods, cities, countries, and continents. An official team of approximately 20 volunteers, the Base Team, gave continuity to the journey through 60 countries in Oceania, Asia, Europe, Africa, the Americas, and Antarctica. Marchers in the Base Team had been selected through an application process coordinated by national chapters of WWWV. In preparation to the trip, they received training in social media, public speaking, and conflict resolution. During the journey, marchers in the Base Team attended receptions with public officials and national and local leaders. They were also the focus of numerous press conferences and events along the route. The composition of the Base Team changed along the journey, with eight marchers completing the entire journey and over 140 volunteers

completing at least fifteen days of travel. The team included marchers from 25 countries who ranged in age from the early twenties to the early seventies. While many marchers travelled as individuals, a few represented grassroots, political, religious, and cultural organizations. The organizations represented at some point in the journey by members of the Base Team included: Amnesty International (Italy and France chapters); The Foundation for a Culture of Peace; the Red Cross, the Evangelical Church, the Scout Movement, the Evo Morales administration of Bolivia, the Guayasamin Foundation; the Latin American Parliament; WWWV; the Community for Human Development; Convergence of Cultures; the Humanist Party; and the Center for Humanist Studies. In order to avoid the influence of corporations on the objectives and activities of the Base Team and the March, marchers were required to avoid corporate sponsorships. As a result, each marcher and the communities they represented had to finance the trip with personal resources and donations. Participation in the Base Team was thus limited to volunteers with access to the kinds of funding, time, passports, and visas that enable extended international travel.

Partially for this reason, the Base Team was accompanied along the route by ever-changing groups of marchers ranging in size between dozens to thousands. These participants marched according to their capabilities and circumstances through their countries and regions, taking part in public events but not necessarily participating in official receptions and press conferences. In the spirit of decentralization and autonomy, various organizations, groups, and associations organized their own delegations and travelled regionally. This was the case with *El Equipo Alternativo* (the Alternative Team), and the *Viajeros por la Paz*. In addition, local groups and supporters joined the route of the March as it travelled through their neighborhoods, towns, and cities, often welcoming the international marchers at international borders and

airports. The size of these local gatherings varied from place to place, with the largest crowds gathering in big capital cities. In New York City, for instance, 4000 crossed the Brooklyn Bridge. The closing events of the March also drew large crowds, with approximately 5000 international marchers attending the celebrations in the Punta de Vacas Park of Study and Reflection in the Argentine Andes. In addition, special teams of volunteers came together to march through in the Middle East, the Balkans, Eastern and Southern Africa, Galicia, and Portugal.

Marching online. As seen on Table 2, the March also had a strong social media and digital component. In addition to marching and attending events in person, hundreds of thousands participated virtually through websites, blogs, and social media, linking their local struggles and histories to the global goals of the March. In the months following the March, combined Google searches of the term ‘World March for Peace and Nonviolence’ in the campaign’s main languages produced over a million hits (de la Rubia, 2010). March organizers edited 16 electronic bulletins with a total of 100 pages available in English, Spanish, and French. The official website of the March was available in 30 languages and provided links to 70 national websites, online collections of thousands of videos and photographs, and live streaming of activities around the world. On Facebook, the initiative generated 150 groups in fifteen languages with a total of 200,000 members. Producing, exchanging and using information was an important component of participants’ experience. Indeed, the digital component of the March enabled diverse forms of remote participation such as virtual marching, discussion forums, online endorsements, blogging, live streaming, and more.

The use of these technologies is not unique to the March, but responds to broader trends. The rise of web 2.0 platforms has made online documentation and participatory archiving a widespread practice across many communities and generations. An iconic example is YouTube,

Table 2

Media Presence of the World March for Peace and Nonviolence

Medium	Number
Google search results	~1,000,000
Spanish	~371,000
Portuguese	~274,000
French	~210,000
English	~161,000
Videos on YouTube	>3500
News outlets	~1937
Facebook groups	150
National/local websites and blogs	~100
News agencies	44
Original songs	36
Electronic bulletins	16
Official international website	1

Source: Commemorative book of the World March for peace and Nonviolence (de la Rubia, 2010)

the video sharing platform where anyone with access to footage and online connection can index a video, curate their own channel, and post responses to other videos (Carter & Arroyo, 2011). YouTube, for instance, plays the role of a video archive of teen culture (Miller, 2010) and other subcultures. Another example is Wikipedia, the collaborative and free online encyclopedia (Wikipedia, n.d.).

Among the many digital initiatives inspired by the March was the Memoscopio Project. In the following pages I provide background information on the project (for the original publication on the project, please see Muñoz Proto, Devoto Lyon, Villar Castillo, & Battistella, 2013).

The Memoscopio Project

Antonia Devoto Lyon —a Mendoza-based sociologist— and I were among the travelers who arrived in Quito that December afternoon with the *Viajeros por la Paz*. We were travelling with the marchers as members of Memoscopio, a team that was building a digital archive of testimonies in collaboration with March participants (Muñoz Proto et al., 2013). The other two members of the team —Carolina Villar Castillo, a designer based in Santiago de Chile, and Marco Battistella, a web developer based in New York— were to join us in Argentina. After months of preparation, we had finally begun to gather testimonies, first in the United States and now in the countries of the Andes. Ten months earlier, at the request of Chilean March organizers, we had decided to come together to document and study the experiences of March participants and the socio-cultural significance of the initiative. Our work had been inspired by a sense that the March would be unique in a number of ways, including the diversity of locations, scales, actors, and forms of documentation it involved, as well its high level of cohesiveness and continuity across borders. We were also intrigued by the various strategies of nonviolent protest

that were going to be used during its course. In a world full of uncertainty and hopelessness, the March seemed to reject both paralyzing nihilism and isolating indifference. The Memoscopio team was fascinated by the ways in which the March was engaging leaders, parents, teachers, students, and workers in the process of promoting and practicing peace. As researchers and peace advocates we wanted to learn about the many meanings this initiative had for its diverse participants. We were curious about these people who were willing to march for peace in a world marked by a sense of crisis and disarticulation: *What did this ‘march around the world’ mean to them? What were these marchers really doing? What did their participation mean to them, their communities, and the potential development of a culture of peace? How was the March touching their lives, their way of being in the world, and their ways of imagining the future?*



Figure 4. Memoscopio Logo. From www.memoscopio.org.

A participatory framework. Our approach to answering these questions was inspired by what Michelle Fine (2012) calls a psychology for ‘revolting’ times, which favors a participatory action research (PAR) approach to study and transform conditions and ideologies that naturalize injustice. With roots in action research (Lewin, 1951) and the pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire, 2000), a PAR approach seeks to produce emancipatory, locally relevant, and collectively owned knowledge (McIntyre, 2007). To this end, PAR teams engage in a praxis that combines education, inquiry, and action. As an approach to inquiry and a set of techniques, PAR reflects a humanist sensibility that upholds the pursuit of new knowledge through situated experience,

while rejecting the tyranny of elitist expertise, objectivity, and rationality (Fine et al., 2004). As such, it is a practice that unpacks and denounces master narratives about what the world is and could be. Critical PAR researchers draw on notions of democracy and social justice and the contributions of critical theory (feminist, critical race, queer, disability, neo-Marxist, indigenous, and/or post-structural; Fine & Torre, 2004). Through the use of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches, PAR is practiced within and outside academia by critical researchers and public intellectuals who refuse to reduce the complexity of our social world to a set of variables, and who see social inquiry as a means to celebrate rather than objectify human experience (Brydon-Miller & Tolman, 2001).

One of PAR's primary concerns is the relationship between knowledge and the processes and conditions that generate it. This has practical implications for the way documentation projects are carried out. First, PAR practitioners are intentional about creating partnerships among co-researchers who are differently positioned around an issue, who may or may not be trained as researchers, and who are directly implicated in the process and results of the project. This approach often results in surprising breakthroughs about 'who' and 'what' should be documented. As María Elena Torre and Michelle Fine relate (2011), a project about the achievement gap can quickly be reframed by youth as a project that documents the opportunity gap. Secondly, a PAR approach aims to be explicit about privilege and its impact on the process and products of a research project. On this topic, Brett Stoudt, Madeline Fox, and Michelle Fine (2012) provide an articulate argument for the need to "attend to questions of power and privilege" when documenting injustice in collaboration with people who are young and disenfranchised (p. 178). It is through participation and a focus on how power and positionality play out in the research process that PAR teams generate meaningful knowledge to be shared

with the communities and audiences involved in the project. In these ways, a PAR approach can very well turn archiving into an emancipatory practice.

Participatory approaches to archiving. Researchers in various fields are exploring the benefits of collaborative documentation (Luttrell, 2010; Slote et al., 2005; Stoudt et al., 2012; Torre & Fine, 2011). This move towards participatory approaches among archivists, web users, and researchers resonates with ongoing reflections among social scientists on what Michelle Fine calls “the question of “With Whom?” (2006, p. 87). The work of researchers such as Wendy Luttrell and Brinton Lykes illustrates how important this question can be. Luttrell’s (2010) longitudinal ethnography of children’s home and school worlds involved the production of photographs and accounts by children in fifth grade, sixth grade, and high school. The author deals with a number of issues relevant to participatory archiving. First, the project demonstrated how participatory archiving can help teachers and researchers learn about how children from working class and immigrant families see their school and family lives. Second, Luttrell shed light on archiving as a social practice through which the children protect themselves, their families, and their communities from negative discourses. Third, the project demonstrated how a longitudinal approach allows the archive, the researchers, and the participants, to grow and change with each other. Fourth, Luttrell modeled the benefits and challenges of what she calls ‘audiencing’ archival material. This process involved collaborating with the children to select audiences, curate exhibits, and facilitate dialogues with teachers and children and it is based on the notion that knowledge is relational. Luttrell’s intentional collaboration with those ignored in policy-making informed her ‘need-to-know-more’ stance towards children and the images they produce (2010, p. 233). This stance resonates with the work of Brinton Lykes (2010) and other scholars who take on a PAR approach to the documentation of violence, collective suffering,

resistance, and healing. Lykes' (2010) work has brought these principles to her collaborative work with Ixil women in Guatemala. Together, they have used photography, narratives, and community education to "create new spaces through which local Maya could embrace and re-signify traditions threatened through genocidal violence and perform emerging and multiple subjectivities as community organizers, educators and defenders of human rights" (Lykes, 2010, p. 238). The purpose, methods, and products of the project were envisioned collaboratively, indeed creating space for dialogue about the political, psychological, and ethical dimensions of documenting life experiences. Among other things, the process resulted in a collection of 56 published photonarratives: combinations of photo and text about the women's lives during and after the Guatemalan civil war and the genocide of the Maya community. This commitment to collaborative inquiry through participatory documentation, to diverse research products, and to audiencing research findings is central to other recent PAR projects (Stoudt et al., 2012).

Professional archivists in libraries and museums are also currently discussing the use of participatory approaches and technologies to improve the educational role of archives (Hamilton & Cox, 2012; Lankes, Silverstein, & Nicholson, 2007). These professional archivists are developing strategies to work around master narratives with the help of misrepresented communities. These approaches include participatory cataloguing with members of the disabled community (Newman, 2012), participatory appraisal of collections (Cook, 2011), and 'social tagging' of wartime Jewish photographs (Sroka, 2011), among other examples. As I will describe in more detail below, these various projects deeply resonate with the spirit and methodology of the Memoscopio project, providing models and tools.

The design of Memoscopio. The Memoscopio team brought together individuals who had endorsed the initiative and who had an interest in its documentation from diverse points of

view and professional backgrounds. The team's greatest strength was the flexibility provided by its interdisciplinary composition and the diversity of backgrounds and skills that were represented among us, including: web programming, community organizing, sociological and psychological methods, visual arts and graphic design, and filmmaking. This diversity of backgrounds was coupled with the fact that team members were based in cities as far from each other as New York City, Santiago de Chile, and Mendoza, Argentina. Together, these conditions enriched Memoscopio with a variety of approaches and perspectives regarding the March and its documentation. More importantly, these conditions allowed Memoscopio to accompany this journey through geographic, discursive, psychological, and political landscapes and to document how the March and marchers attempted to undo collective lies about the human capacity for non/violence and in/justice.

By the time Antonia and I arrived in Quito, the Memoscopio team had spent several months learning about the March, refining our questions, and developing a unique approach to documenting the initiative. We had also educated each other about the theoretical, ethical, aesthetic, technical, and applied dimensions of our project. Between January and November of 2009 we held weekly online meetings to discuss our evolving understandings of the initiative, as we saw it being planned in Santiago, Mendoza, and New York. Based on the tradition of community self-surveys and the principles of critical participatory action research for social justice (Fine, 2006; Torre & Fine, 2011), we had worked with March organizers to identify key questions to be addressed and to think about the practices and products that would be most relevant and useful to both peace scholars and advocates.

The collaboration with March organizers meant that, from its inception, Memoscopio responded to needs and objectives found at the intersection of activism, advocacy, and research,

rather than to a gap in the social movements literature or to available funding. It was in partnership with activists and advocates from the United States, Spain, Chile, and Argentina that the project was conceived to: (1) promote the objectives of the March; (2) generate knowledge about the initiative's psychosocial significance that could inform future actions; (3) foster partnerships with academic institutions and organizations; (4) bring a socio-psychological perspective to the analysis of participants experiences within the initiative, thus complementing other forms of documentation by media outlets, journalists, and supporters.

As we consulted with March organizers and piloted the protocols with them, we also familiarized ourselves with the March by attending planning meetings, events, and press conferences. During these months of preparation, we followed the creation of countless websites that served as digital collections of videos, images, and documents about the initiative. We had also learned that public events, blogs, planning meetings, bus rides, teach-ins, and virtually every aspect of the March were opportunities for participants to bear witness to the possibility of a culture of peace and nonviolence. Through public speaking, conversation, writing, and interviews March participants shared with each other and with wide audiences their accounts, experiences, and opinions about the initiative.

Of great interest to Memoscopio was the fact that the past and the future were central themes in the archives and accounts inspired by the March. Indeed, a majority of the activities that were being planned for the March's route combined commemoration and remembrance (of past wars, suffering, oppression, and resistance) with activities that would celebrate, deepen, and sow imagination (about a future culture of peace, justice, and nonviolence). The diverse activities and places that made up the March were tied together by an ethic and an aesthetic of

recognition (c.f., Fraser, 2001), not only of suffering and tragedy, but also of the human capacity to heal it. Archives and online collections were being used as tools of imagination.

Initial versions of the project involved in-depth, audiotaped interviews, an approach I had become familiar with through prior work involving life stories. Trying to account for multiple literacies and to cast a “wide net,” the process of piloting data collection invited participants to express their experiences and opinions about the March in formats—such as still image, voice recording and video-recording—and genres—such as narrative, poetry, and photography—of their choice. For us, the two members of Memoscopio who are social scientists, this approach was unusual, as it meant trusting the very ‘subjects’ to make decision about data collection. In practice, this piloting process resulted in only a handful of objects, drawing, and poems. The majority of the contributors in the pilots chose to share a written or video accounts and favored short accounts over long interviews. As I will discuss at the end of Chapter Two, it is important to mention that these various formats and genres of expression did not necessarily match the norms or standards of other well-established approaches to the use of testimonial accounts, particularly in the fields of human rights, legal, and truth and reconciliation testimony. Nonetheless, Memoscopio chose to stick to the term ‘testimony’ because the organizers and participants of the March were actively using this term to describe personal accounts shared within the context of the March, especially during the March’s journey and immediately after. A related kind of account, known as the ‘endorsement statement,’ was more actively used during the promotional and planning stages of the initiative. The testimonial account was devoted to a person’s experiences during, and reflections about the March. Endorsement statements, in turn, were devoted to explaining a person’s reasons to endorse the March.

It was the central role of witnessing, archiving, and sharing of personal accounts within the March that inspired Antonia, Carolina, Marco, and myself to create a digital archive of testimonies with and for March participants. In order to capture the March's concern with the past and the future, and to highlight the project's focus on imagination, we coined the term *Memoscopio*:

Me·mos·co·pio \me-mō -skōpēō-\ *noun* [from *memory* + *kaleidoscope*]: (1) A collective act of memory and creation;(2) An online archive of testimonies about the World March.

This term communicates our intention to explore archives' potential as tools of imagination, thus going beyond their traditional focus on memory. Once we conceptualized the *Memoscopio* as a participatory archival project we worked with organizers and supporters to develop a protocol that would produce relatively short testimonies (under 10 minutes or under 500 words) that could be easily uploaded, streamed, read, watched, and shared, and thus be of use and interest to non-academic and online audiences. These characteristics also honored the format and length of the testimonies that were being shared throughout the March. In addition, the *Memoscopio* team was aware that some contributors would find it difficult to articulate their experiences 'on the go' and to speak about hopes, identities, and worldviews for which dominant discourses leave little room. We were concerned that the prevalence of discourses that normalize violence and militarism would trample the marchers' ability to express views, imaginations, feelings and hunches about a possible culture of nonviolence and a peaceful world. For this reason, we chose to let participants choose to share their accounts in video, audio, or written form. This approach also allowed the contributors themselves to choose a comfortable level of disclosure (e.g., using a pseudonym in a written account or sharing their name and face during a

video testimony). The fact that these formats were not imposed but rather emerged through collective input made the Memoscopio archive more relevant and useful to its intended audience. These data were rooted in the activist practice of giving one's testimony, and their audiovisual quality helped us access unspoken givens in participants' experiences of the March (c.f., Luttrell & Chalfen, 2010), such as facial expression, clothing, signs they carried, setting, and other kinds of information they would not describe through speech or writing. The testimonies in the Memoscopio archive were of interest and use to the project's audience in their raw form, even before analysis, because of the use of formats and genres of expression that were accessible and relevant to the practice of activism and advocacy.

Gathering testimonies. By November 2009, after months of preparation, the Memoscopio team was finally ready to begin publicizing the project and gathering testimonies. The initial stage in the process was making the project known among March supporters and organizers. To that end, the team launched a simple website where we described the project in the following terms:

Memoscopio celebrates the attempt by the peoples of the world to move towards a nonviolent future. It does so through the documentation and promotion of global movements for peace, nonviolence and social justice. In its first project, Memoscopio documents the first World March for Peace and Nonviolence ... through personal accounts that reflect the experiences, aspirations, and registers of: the members of the base team who will carry out its journey; the organizers of the many activities that celebrate the March around the world; and the endorsers and witnesses who experience the March in their towns or cities or through the media. In a first phase, this effort will result in an online archive of testimonies.

This collection will be a kaleidoscope of memories and visions of peace and nonviolence that will serve as the basis and inspiration for diverse activities and initiatives, both during and after the World March. Memoscopio invites everyone to be a protagonist of this collective act of memory and creation ... as contributors of their own accounts, compilers of others' stories, and/or visitors and users of the online archive... In a second phase of this first project, Memoscopio will promote the production of presentations, articles, exhibitions, works of art, videos, and new studies, among others, inspired in the collection of testimonies about the March. In this sense, Memoscopio is a style of documentation, study and action that begins with the World March for Peace and Nonviolence and that will remain for the future generations thanks to the creativity and participation of many, and towards a world without wars and without violence. (2009, Memoscopio records)

During the second stage of the process, we followed the route of the March through two cities in the United States and numerous towns and cities in six South American countries. During the last five weeks of the March, from late November 2009 to early January 2010, Memoscopio researchers invited marchers in these various places to *memoscope* their experiences. The sample of locations in the Americas included places that were accessible to the Memoscopio team, both logistically and in terms of cultural and linguistic competence. These locations also represent places where the March created high levels of participation and activity. During late November and early December, I gathered testimonies in various locations in New York City as well as at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. During this time, Antonia Devoto and Carolina Villar gathered testimonies in Mendoza and Santiago. In South America, we travelled together along the March's route through Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Chile,

and Argentina. In order to simplify the logistics of the journey, we decided to travel with *Los Viajeros por la Paz*, who were marching from Colombia to Argentina along the March's Andean route.

In each of these locations, we invited marchers to contribute their accounts of the March to the digital archive documenting the initiative. In order to cause as little disruption as possible, the team collected accounts from a diverse sample of marchers during 'down times' (i.e. sitting down, resting). The Memoscopio contributors had to be at least 18-years old and provide their informed consent to publish and study their testimonies. The marchers, many of whom expressed excitement about sharing their experiences and opinions about the March, welcomed this opportunity. There was a very low refusal rate among marchers who were invited to share their testimonies. During fieldwork, marchers who had heard of Memoscopio often approached us to share their testimonies. There were also a few marchers who came back to us days after their interview to add a second or third part to their testimonies after having had new experiences in a different town or city.

After providing informed consent, the marchers were asked to fill out a brief questionnaire on demographics and levels of involvement in the March. They then were invited to take a few minutes to reflect on each or any of following themes: (1) The March and me: Its connection to my personal story; (2) the March and the world: Its significance today; (3) The March and the future: Its projections and contributions to the future; and (4) Any other topic that feels important. Because participants were given a few minutes to organize their thoughts and prepare their contribution to the archive, the video testimonies generally do not involve questions by a member of the Memoscopio team, as is the case in some testimony archives or collections of oral history interviews. Instead, the majority of the testimonies in the Memoscopio archive are

first-person accounts in which the person introduces herself and speaks without interruptions. Participants who chose to share their testimony in writing did so on the same double-sided piece of paper they had received with the suggested themes. Memoscopio researchers later transcribed and uploaded their testimonies. This protocol engaged the Marchers as experts whose stories and opinions would inform their fellow marchers, potential allies, detractors, and others around the world.

Audience. The nature of the March and our collaboration with organizers based in different cities around the world produced a diverse and widespread target audience for the archive. This target audience included scholars, the international community of activists involved in the March, and other organizations and institutions that advocate for peace and nonviolence. While we wished the work to be relevant to peace and conflict scholars, we designed and implemented project for an audience of community-based activists, grassroots organizations, and other institutions. We conceived this audience as actively engaged in the project in the role of informants, collective owners of the study's products, and users of the material. In addition, we included in our target audience those who might learn about the March through our efforts to extend its reach in time and space. With these audiences in mind, we sought to nurture reflection about peace activism by amplifying the reach of local experiences, promoting peace education and inclusion (Opotow, Gerson, & Woodside, 2005), and putting the spot light on global circuits of inspiration built in response to dispossession and violence (c.f., Fine & Ruglis, 2009). For the benefit of all those participating in the March, we worked to make the testimonies available to them as soon as possible, in order for the material to be useful not only as a record to be accessed in the future but as an educational, promotional, and organizing resource during the March and its evaluation. To this end, we created a YouTube channel

(<http://www.youtube.com/user/memoscopia>) where video testimonies were uploaded daily during the gathering of accounts. In order to promote the archive among March participants, each contributor to the archive received a sticker saying “I Memoscoped!” that featured the website’s address (See Figure 5).



Figure 5. 2009 Promotional Sticker. From Memoscopia records.

In addition, the Memoscopia team distributed 5000 promotional fliers in Spanish and English among witnesses, participants, and community leaders that we encountered in the various towns and cities visited as we followed the March in the United States, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, and Argentina (See Figure 6).



Figure 6. 2009 Promotional Card. From Memoscopia records.

In order to build an audience beyond these direct contacts, the Memoscopia team

dedicated the months following the March' to building an improved website using Omeka, an open source platform for online collections and exhibits (archive.memoscopio.org). The launching of this site took the form of an email campaign on October 2, 2010, the International Day of Nonviolence and the first anniversary of the start on the March. On that day, the team also sent emails to each of the contributors of the archive, thanking them for their participation and inviting them to use the archive as a resource in their peace advocacy. To continue to widen the audience of the archive, the Memoscopio team created in 2011 a more accessible and descriptive website (www.memoscopio.org) to serve as a portal for the various products of the Memoscopio project, including the archive. The new website was launched through a social media and flier campaign for the second anniversary of the start of the March. Finally, the team used Memoscopio's digital media presence to distribute nonviolence-related news through Twitter and Facebook, thus widening the circle of peace and nonviolence advocates who were aware of the of the Memoscopio archive.



Figure 7. Screenshot of the 2011 Memoscopio website. From www.memoscopio.org/?p=282

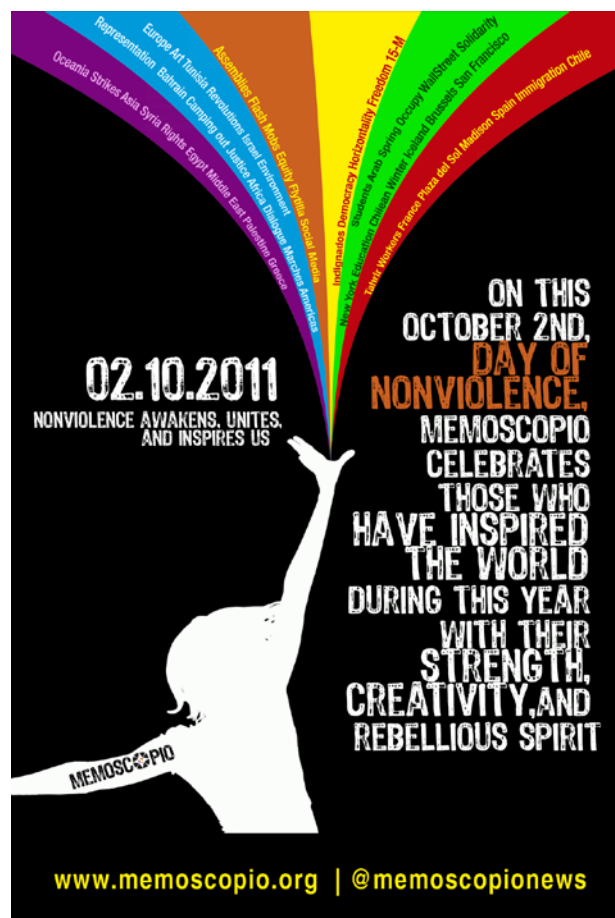


Figure 8. 2011 Promotional Flier. From Memoscopio records.

The Memoscopio YouTube Channel reached 6,000 views between 2009 and 2012. The website was featured in the commemorative book of the March and also continued to be used by the marchers for their advocacy work. We were included in numerous email blasts and Facebook posts in which contributors to the archive invited their contacts to visit the archive and become peace advocate in their communities. Messages such as the following suggested that the nature and goals of the project resonated with the marchers even after the end of the initiative and were useful to their advocacy work:

Last year, around this time, (November 30, 2009), I participated in the World March for Peace and Non-Violence with some friends and many others... While there, I was interviewed as part of an international project, along with so many

others from around the world. You can now view my video, along with others around the world, on memoscopio.org. ... This site is the digital archive for the fight for non-violence, and you can see many videos besides mine. You can also make your own video to add. I suggest and request that you check out my video or others, and then participate or contribute however you can.

The Memoscopio Collection of Testimonies

Currently, the Memoscopio archive houses a collection of 193 testimonies by March participants. The format of the accounts includes written testimonies (n=36) and video testimonies (n=157). The archive provides public access to transcriptions of the originally hand-written testimonies as well as streaming of the video testimonies. For each testimony, the archive provides the person's name or chosen pseudonym, age, occupation, nationality, and their role in the March (if shared by the contributor). The site also provides the date, setting, and place of the account. Two thirds of the accounts are in Spanish, with the remaining third in English. Combined, there are fewer than ten accounts in Italian, French, and Polish, which were excluded from this analysis.

The authors of the testimonies were March participants from 20 countries, primarily Europe and the Americas, who range in age from 18 to 75. The contributors are diverse in cultural backgrounds, gender, occupations, and affiliations, as well as in their levels of familiarity with, and commitment to, activism in general and peace activism in particular. The authors of the testimonies represent various levels of involvement with the March. Among them there are: (1) Members of the March's Base Team; (2) national organizers affiliated to WWWV and other organizations; (3) *Viajeros por la Paz* and other independent groups of marchers; (4) participating activists from political religious, and community organizations from different towns

and cities along the March's route; and (5) supporters and witnesses who attended specific events in their towns or cities. These various categories of contributors are in themselves diverse, with each person bringing to their testimony their own understandings and experiences of protest, trauma, violence, in/justice, activism, and peace. These unique perspectives include those of: (1) young Iraq War veterans and conscientious objectors and relatives of 9/11 victims, as well as anti-war and anti-nuclear organizers from the United States; (2) both seasoned and young environmental, health, and pro-democracy activists from Colombia; (3) spiritual and union leaders from indigenous communities from El Alto in Bolivia; (4) youth leaders and educators working in Peru; (5) political artists from Argentina; (6) and middle aged professionals who lived through Pinochet's dictatorship, as well as young student activists from Chile, among many others.

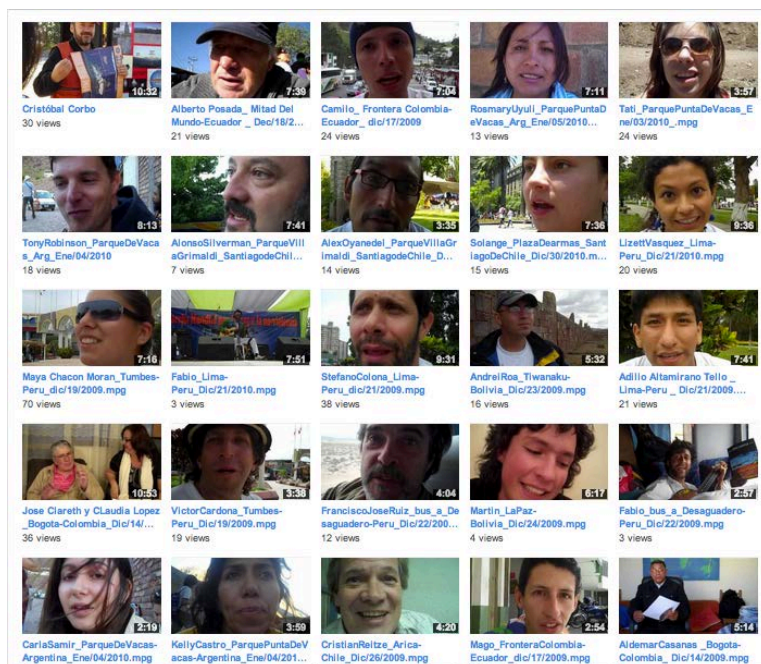


Figure 9. A sample of Memoscopio contributors featured in the YouTube Channel.

From <http://www.youtube.com/user/memoscopio/videos>.

Between November 2009 and January 2010 the Memoscopio contributors shared their accounts at various points along the route of the March in the United States, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. The testimonies were filmed or written in a variety of places, including: (1) civic centers; (2) travel stops and buses; (3) memorials; (4) sacred sites; (5) March chapters or offices; (6) public parks and plaza; and (7) meeting places such as homes, cafes, and streets. The archives' audience can see and hear these settings as the visual backdrop and soundscape of the video testimonies. Some of the authors of written testimonies describe these settings.

Antecedents of the Memoscopio Archive

As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter Three, the Memoscopio archive is a small-scale example of a larger trend towards the use of testimony archives in peace and conflict research and advocacy. The Holocaust is the paradigmatic example of documentation through testimony archives. There exist numerous archives on the subject, among them the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University, which between 1981 and 2005 gathered over 4000 video testimonies by Holocaust survivors (Hartman, 2006). Another exemplary use of testimony archives is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) on South African Apartheid. After the abolition of Apartheid, the TRC was mandated by the Government of National Unity to document the human rights abuses that took place between 1960 and 1994 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, n.d.). Both victims and perpetrators of violence were invited to testify before the TRC in order to establish truth, amnesty, and reparations. Witnesses testified in their native languages during closed and public hearings, and all transcripts and reports were made available to the public online. Special hearings were dedicated to the testimonies of members of the Armed Forces, faith communities, political

parties, and the media, among other sectors of society. In addition to Fortunoff and TRC archives, the September 11 Digital Archive is another outstanding collection featuring the testimonies of witnesses and survivors (Brier & Brown, 2011). While the Fortunoff and TRC archives now have an online presence, the September 11 Archive best exemplifies how the rise of digital archives and digital objects has deeply impacted the creation, purpose, and use of archives. The archive houses digital materials produced during, immediately after, and within two years of the attacks to the Pentagon and World Trade Center. The archive includes 45,000 personal narratives by survivors, witnesses, and the general public, as well as e-mails, blogs, and other electronic communications. In addition, the archive houses thousands of digital images, print documents, and audio and video files. Brier and Brown explain that 9/11 was “the first truly digital event of world historical importance: a significant part of its historical record ... was expressed, captured, disseminated, or viewed in (or converted to) digital forms and formats” (2011, p. 101). Among other things, these digital materials needed to be collected because they were vulnerable to being deleted or trapped in obsolete formats.

Compared to archives that document war, conflict, injustice, and violence, there exist a smaller number of archives documenting the work of people who, against all odds and in the face of great oppression, have championed peacebuilding and nonviolence. Scholarship on such archives is diverse, touching on the content and the uses of such records. Two impressive examples of such archives are the Commonweal Collection and the King Library and Archive of the King Center, both of which contain testimonies and personal accounts among other kinds of material. The Commonweal Collection documents nonviolent action, peace activism, and social change movements inspired by the Quaker Peace Testimony (Arbor, 2002). The Collection was established in the 1950s and it is now housed at the University of Bradford J.B. Priestly Library,

where it is open to the public, and documents the Quaker contribution to peace activism, peace studies, and nonviolent action in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Similarly, the King Library and Archive of the King Center in Atlanta document the contributions of Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to the civil rights movement in the United States (The King Center, n.d.). The collection includes the papers of various civil rights leaders and their organizations, as well as over 200 oral history interviews with King's teachers, friends, family, and partners.

In addition to these institutional archives, there exist countless collections, many of them digital, produced by peace advocates and activists. Writing about the Israeli context, Ashuri (2012) studies how digital archives by anti-occupation groups challenge national amnesia about ongoing abuses towards Palestinians at checkpoints and at the hands of the Israeli Defense Forces. These groups, argues the author, act as 'moral mnemonic agents' who "add their recollections [of abuses] to an accessible and shareable compilation of memories attempt[ing] to expose events that the default collective (such as the nation) denies or wishes to forget" (Ashuri, 2012, p. 445). Around the world, other archives also pose moral challenges to national memory, calling the public to bear witness to the abuses committed in their name. The Bringing Them Home archive challenges Australian society to remember the forced separation of aboriginal children from their families, thus helping document an often-silenced chapter in national history from the perspective of those most affected (Kennedy, 2004). In South Africa, the post-Apartheid decades have seen the rise of community-based memory projects such as archives and exhibits that focus on the local stories of women, members of communities lost to 'removals,' and other marginalized groups who were not fully heard at the TRC (McEwan, 2003). These various examples of testimony archives and digital collections speak to the relevance of archives

in contemporary cultural and political debates regarding peace, conflict, justice and social. As I will discuss in Chapter Three, they also highlight the ways in which Memoscopio is a window into these important dynamics.

Building on Memoscopio

Although much more could be said here about the World March for Peace and Nonviolence and the Memoscopio archive, this chapter has sought to provide enough information for readers to grasp their uniqueness and potential as sites of critical inquiry into contemporary forms of peacebuilding and activism. It was through my work with Memoscopio and my collaboration with the marchers that I was inspired to explore this potential through the present dissertation. It is of course impossible to do justice, in a single work, to the thousands of ideas, communities, and visions that inspired the March, as well as the full richness of themes and the wide array of questions that could be asked of the testimonies in the Memoscopio archive. Neither is it possible here, given the information available, to explore the embodied dimensions of the marchers' experiences that are not documented in the archive. For these reasons, my focus here is to examine the social-psychological significance of the March as described by its participants and the content and functions of their testimonies as performative peacebuilding tools.

Throughout the following chapters I will argue that through its use of testimonies and participatory archiving, Memoscopio tapped into the defining element of the March: a concerted effort among the marchers to serve, and perhaps perform, as witnesses and spokespeople for peace and justice in a world that glorifies, funds, and profits from violence, war, and armamentism. The archive documents only a slice of the wide range of local experiences, visions, and knowledges that briefly converged in the Americas under the banner of the March.

The archive most likely left many perspectives unrecognized while facilitating the sharing of certain kinds of accounts and reflections over others. Among other things, the Memoscopio process, and the broader context of the March, may have invited participants to silence or omit certain aspects of their experiences (i.e., doubt, despair, criticism, bitterness, etc.). Instead, the process may have invited participants to perform or to strategically deploy certain emotions, discourses, and metaphors in their role of peace advocates. Despite, or maybe because of these dynamics and limitations, the archive offers an opportunity to theorize the meaning of the March and the role of testimonies and archiving in peacebuilding, and to do so in conversation with the marchers' ideas. In the following chapter I bring these initial considerations into dialogue with the scholarly literature on peace marches and activist testimonies as a means to further develop the research questions that guide this dissertation.

Chapter Two

Framework: (Un)doing Through Peace Marches and Testimonies

One of the key understandings that emerged through the work of Memoscopio was that the meaning of the World March for Peace and Nonviolence—and peace marches in general—is more complex than one appreciates at first sight. In *Un-Marching through Poetry*, Erland Anderson (2008) reflects on William Stafford's 1977 poem *Peace Walk*. Intrigued by the verses "We wondered what our walk should mean,/ taking that un-march quietly," Anderson writes:

Definitions do not only explicate meaning; they are inextricably linked to *how* and *when* they are made. What began as silent vigils in the United States during the Vietnam War turned into tentative "walks," then "protests," and finally "marches." ...Stafford picks a stage when the protest first stepped into the streets, and thus many of the participants are likely asking themselves what their protest "should mean"—both by their own definition(s) and by way of rhetorical statement, for example, in the news that might cover it by the time they return home that evening. (2008, p. 130, emphasis in the original)

And he adds:

But Stafford immediately offers the definition of their activity as an "unmarch," reminding himself and others that the word *march* has a military, warlike definition, and therefore a new term, especially an "un-term," is what is called for at this crucial moment. (2008, p. 130, emphasis in the original)

Beyond issues of strategy and outcomes, Anderson and Stafford invite us to consider the meanings of a peace walk through the very words and reflections of those who march: *How* and

when do activists come to describe a peace march in specific ways? This question invites us, in turn, to consider the values and intentions that peace advocates bring into a march, the means through which they communicate these meanings to others, and the historical, cultural, and sociopolitical landscapes that give rise to these initiatives.

Before delving into the Memoscopia archives for answers about the March for Peace and Nonviolence, this Chapter reviews the work of scholars who have studied the meanings and functions of marches and testimonies. Through this review I offer a more extensive rationale for the questions and methods that guide this dissertation, placing them in relation to broader scholarly debates.

The Meanings of Peace Marches

Although institutions, groups, and movements often organize them, marches are transitory events defined by their participants, messages, routes, and goals. Across the social sciences and humanities, studies of transnational peace marches are rare, perhaps reflecting the fact that these marches are infrequent and difficult to study. This is compounded by the fact that the psychological dimensions of peace marches remain understudied. A standout example of research on cold war era marches is Günter Wernicke and Lawrence Wittner's (1999) historical study of the 1961 Peace March to Moscow. The study focused on the political conditions that allowed peace activists from the Western block to march over six thousand miles promoting unilateral disarmament in the United States, Europe, and the USSR. The study discusses how the seemingly impossible mission of a small peace group was endorsed by hundreds of anti-nuclear organizations, engaging thousands of people in marches, rallies, leafleting, and acts of civil disobedience across the East-West divide. While these activities took place before the advent of globalization and digital technologies, these characteristics reveal the March to Moscow as one

among the few antecedents of the 2009 World March for Peace and Nonviolence. More recent work on 21st century translational peace marches explores the challenges of collective action across borders and the formation of transnational identities and solidarities. This literature includes studies of the World March of Women (Dufour & Giraud, 2007) and the work of organizations such as the Million Mom March and Code Pink: Women for Peace (Goss & Heaney, 2008). This line of work, however, tends to focus on movement building in the context of globalization rather than on the experiences of specific marchers. Despite the small body of literature on transnational peace marches, there exist a number of approaches to the study of small-scale marches within the social sciences. Without being exhaustive, the section below discusses key lines of research that are relevant to the present dissertation. These include the study of marches as: (1) collective action; (2) moral protest; and (3) performance and remembrance.

Marching as collective action. Sociologists Clark McPhail and Ronald Wohlstein (1986; 1979) argue that marches are among many forms of collective locomotion historically used in political, religious, and military affairs. During a march, they explain:

people assemble at one location and move to another. At the outset, enroute, and/or at their destination, participants may state their claims on persons, places or resources, e.g., advocating or resisting change in the society of which they are a part. (p. 447)

Based on observation, video data, and quasi-experimental designs, the authors propose a continuum of collective locomotion that goes from highly complex, coordinated, and well-attended instances of locomotion (e.g., state processions) to simple, uncoordinated, and small instances (e.g., street actions, surges within action and milling within gatherings), with marches

falling somewhere in the middle. This continuum is housed within a larger taxonomy of collective actions that also includes collective mobilization, collective vocalization, and collective verbalization (see Schweingruber & McPhail, 1999). The line of research represented by McPhail, Wohlstein, and their colleagues focuses on the 'march' as a unit of analysis and concerns itself with properly defining, identifying, measuring, and explaining collective locomotion as a form of social behavior. This work provides potentially useful tools for researchers interested in documenting the behaviors of crowds or movements. The focus on observable behaviors over subjective experiences however, potentially obscures the political, cultural, and psychological dimensions of marches.

The psychological literature includes several studies that, with a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches, feature peace and anti-violence marches as collective action. Examples of these studies include survey-based studies of participant motivations (Lodewijckx, Kersten, & van Zomeren, 2008), participant-observations of mass behavior and organizing (Mann & Iscoe, 1971), longitudinal study of activists' life trajectories (della Porta, 2000), and multi-method studies of nonviolent political protest (Macapagal & Nario-Galace, 2003; Montiel & Belo, 2008). Within social psychology, studies that focus on the experiences and understandings of individual peace marchers are few. These studies focus on how individuals and groups carry out actions aimed at defending the interests of an entire group, motivated either by their status position or their opinions (Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). While earlier crowd theories dismissed protest as irrational behavior (e.g. le Bon, 1985), collective action theories conceptualize protest as rational behavior based on incentives and calculations. Social psychological theories of collective action predict collective actions based on the participants: (1) relative deprivation in relation to other group; (2) social identity as members of

a group or movement; (3) or on cost benefit analyses of mobilizing their resources at a particular moment (for discussions see Jasper, 1997; Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). Collective action theories provide useful tools for studying the influences, pathways, and motivations that lead to participation in marches. It provides fewer tools for studying the experiences and understandings that emerge through participation.

Marching as nonviolent protest. Marches also feature in the study of nonviolence, which broadly characterizes the practices of individuals, groups, movements, societies, and cultures that avoid inflicting direct harm to others in their daily lives and/or during conflicts. While nonviolent marches are common throughout history (Sharp, 2005) and across cultures (Fry, Bonta, & Baszarkiewicz, 2009; Zunes, Kurtz, Asher, 1999), nonviolence has generally been neglected by Western historical accounts and contemporary social science in comparison to the overwhelming attention that war and violence have received. Marching as nonviolent protest has been theorized and practiced within a wide array of perspectives, traditions, and contexts (see Sharp, 1970 and Schell, 2005). These actions have played an important role in the struggle against race-based injustice, such as in the civil rights movement in the United States (King, 2007). They also played a role in the struggle against colonial, imperialist, and authoritarian regimes in numerous countries around the world (Al Jundi & Marlowe, 2011; Easwaran, 1984; Gandhi, 1957; Mukherjee, 1993), and it has been prominent in the emancipatory struggles of workers, women, the disabled, undocumented immigrants, and many others (Schell, 2005; Orosco, 2008; Zunes, Kurtz, Asher, 1999).

The literature on nonviolent protest has two foci: the political and the philosophical/moral dimensions of nonviolence. While the first highlights issues of strategy, tactic, power, and outcomes, the second emphasizes the philosophical, ethical, and spiritual

dimensions of nonviolence. An influential theorist of nonviolence, Gene Sharp (2005) offers a political analysis of the practice that represents the first foci. According to Sharp marches are among the numerous methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion (such as rallies, protest, and others) that have historically been used to resist and oppose war and violence. Fitting Sharp's definition of nonviolent protest and persuasion, I argue that peace marchers can involve a variety of strategies for persuasion, such as symbolic acts, rallies, art, humor, and other strategies aimed at articulating alternatives to injustice, militarism, and war in ways that are appealing and persuading the public. Within Sharp's model, marches and other forms of nonviolent protest are a means to wage war without violence, engage in political conflict, and withdraw support from the status quo and the sources of power in a society.

As initiatives such as the March illustrate, the relationship between politics, people, and nonviolent methods of protest is complex (Martin, 2010). Sharp (2005), for instance, argues that political transformations can occur when people in subaltern positions express dissent and withdraw their support of those in power. Others argue that Sharp's theory of social power fails to account for structural arrangements that impede nonviolent change and peacebuilding. Such is the case when power hierarchies place people in ambiguous positions or when repressive state violence is used in the name of safety and security (see Vogeleson, 2010). In my view, this debate suggests that observational studies are not enough to understand the meaning of nonviolent actions from the perspective of their participants. Indeed, the same peace march can hold radically different meanings for principled and strategic practitioners of nonviolence. Principled and strategic practitioners both avoid direct harm to others but disagree on the validity of indirect harm and its coercive power (Hare, 1968). Practitioners of principled nonviolence seek to transform unjust relationships through persuasion and conversion of

opponents. As they abstain from retaliation and accept unjust repression, they seek to persuade their opponents to see the need for social change. Pragmatic practitioners of nonviolence, in turn, often seek to transform situations over relationships. When protest and persuasion fail to do so, they are willing to coerce their opponents into change through noncooperation and intervention (Sharp, 2005). The distinction between strategic and pragmatic approaches suggests how psychological, and person-centered approaches can shed light of the deceptively simple meaning of nonviolent peace marches.

Compared to the study of aggression and violence, the field of psychology has given little attention to the ideas, practice, and study of nonviolence as an element of sustainable peace (Deutsch & Coleman, 2012; Mayton, 2009). In contrast to other fields, this small psychological literature does pay more attention to the meaning of nonviolent marches rather than to their strategic dimensions. Foundational studies in this literature explore nonviolence as *the moral equivalent of war* (James, 1910/1995) and as a special kind of social relation that, while coercive, avoids the use of violence (Case, 1923). Later work distinguishes between typically nonviolent activities (e.g., reading or knitting) and *acts of nonviolence* (Kool, 1993). In Kool's framework, acts of nonviolence (e.g., marches, strikes, and sit-ins) take place during conflicts when people intentionally opt for alternatives to socially sanctioned acts of violence (e.g., physical assault, bombing, or destruction of property). Together, the work of these authors helps conceptualize marches as acts of nonviolence that represent a moral equivalent to war and other forms of violent conflict. The work of Woodward (1948), Christina Montiel (2006), Milton Schwebel (2006), and other psychologists argues that practitioners of nonviolence are trailblazers whose actions model possibilities for others who are often denied information about the political reality

that surrounds them and thus lack examples of nonviolent conflict and political engagement. As Milton Schwebel argues,

Those who engage in active nonviolence, whether they are international figures or the so-called common man or woman, are answering the need for information and guidance that Woodward (1948) identified long ago, that is, the need to provide the general population with information, guidance and leadership. (p. 198)

In a similar line, sociologist James Jasper (1999, 2010) conceptualizes marches and other instances of protest as means for ordinary people to express contempt, outrage, criticism, and sometimes offer alternatives to given conditions, practices, or situations. While they may have limited success in effecting change, these actions play an important role in contemporary life as opportunities to articulate intuitions and emergent forms of knowledge about society and its institutions, as well as: engage in creativity, propose alternatives, deepen commitments to certain values, explore solutions to problems, develop new language and cultural practices, and experience joy and purpose. For these reasons, Jasper argues for multi-dimensional approach to protest by post-citizenship movements that mobilize around issues of food, sustainability, peace and disarmament, and other topics that cut across specific groups of people. This multi-dimensional approach studies the dynamic relationships among individual lives, resources, strategies, political structures, social networks, and formal organizations that give meaning to a march or other instances of protest. At the center of Jasper's approach is culture, defined as the intersubjective world of emotional, moral, and cognitive understandings and embodiments shared by a group of protesters or society at large. Undoubtedly his approach offers more tools than Collective Action approaches.

Marching as performance and remembrance. Socio-cultural and psycho-social dimensions are also at the heart of studies of marching as performance and remembrance. The work of Chilean psychologists Marcia Escobar Nieto and Roberto Fernández Droguett (2008) explores the ways in which, as public and collective acts, marches are performative in nature. Escobar Nieto and Fernández Droguett's work uses an action research approach to study the meaning of the annual march that commemorates the 1973 military coup with a walk from the presidential palace to a memorial of victims at the public cemetery. Mixing street intervention, ethnography, and participatory methods, the authors stage a reversal of the traditional march, bringing the marchers and a large-scale photograph of the memorial back to the civic center. Their analysis highlights how the meaning of a march lies in how bodies, images, sounds, and symbols are used to commemorate the past, perform complex meanings, and stage conflicts between various versions of history and social reality. These performances, in turn, can lead to important public dialogues that either freeze collective memory or invite transformatory dialogues. This line of work in Latin America —also represented by cultural analyses of the marches of Madres de Plaza de Mayo (Burchianti, 2004)— brings attention to the relationship between marches, social discourse, representation, and counter-narratives.

In North America, indigenous scholar Angela Waziyatawin Wilson (2004a, 2004b) has studied the commemoration of the 1862 removal of Dakota people from Minnesota, when over 2000 people were forced to walk from Lower Sioux territory to concentration camps in Fort Snelling and Mankato. Focusing on counter-stories and commemorations by Dakota people, Wilson studies forced marches and family stories. Wilson reflects on how her elder, Elsie, narrated her family's experience of removal:

[She] entitled this story of her grandmother's experience "Death March," consciously drawing a parallel between this forced march and that of the Bataan Death March during World War II during which 70,000 American and Filipino soldiers were forced to walk a sixty-three-mile journey to a prison camp while facing starvation and poor treatment. (p. 195)

Focusing on the contested meaning of the Death March, Wilson urges researchers to study these removals through storytelling and from the perspective of recognition, decolonization, reconciliation, and healing. In a similar line to the work of Escobar Nieto and Fernandez Droguett, Wilson (2004b) uses interviews and personal accounts to understand the experiences of marchers in the 2002 Commemoration March that retraced the route of the Death March. Conceptualizing the 2002 march as an attempt to decolonize memories and identities, Wilson focused on the accounts of the marchers and the dialogue and knowledge the experience generated. She writes:

A sense of understanding and reconnection was felt by all of us. For those of us whose families returned to our homeland after the late 1880s, it was pure joy to have relatives coming home. The experience helped all of us. As Diane Wilson commented about a conversation she had with Clifford Canku, "One of the reasons for that strong sense of connection is that people are working to put the puzzles of their lives back together, and that whatever those problems are, whatever those pieces are, one of those pieces is obviously, I think, connected to the march for them. The way that we connect to history is part of that total." For many of us it was a life-changing experience. Chris Mato Nunpa later stated, "It was probably one of the best things I have ever done in my life, and it was like the

words Diane used is an e-mail, 'It was an intense, powerful, and spiritual experience.'" His statements were echoed by others, who stated that this was the most important thing they'd ever done. (p. 332)

Wilson's work, which builds on the Dakota traditions of storytelling, highlights the ways in which personal accounts and testimonies of marchers, and other activists, can have deeply transformative functions as they are shared in meetings and through emails. Following this path and building towards a conceptualization of the Memoscopio testimonies about the World March for Peace and Nonviolence, I now discuss the literature on the activist and transformatory functions of testimonies.

(Un)doing Through Activist Testimonies

In comparison to the large political and historical events they often describe, ordinary people's testimonies might feel small. Molly Andrews (2007) pushes against the irrelevance of the small, arguing that "it is through the minutiae of daily life that human beings access the ripples, and tidal waves, of their times" (p. 2). Writing about the significance of narratives and testimonies as sites of inquiry, Andrews argues:

When we relate stories of our lives, we implicitly communicate to others something of our political worldviews...But why are some stories selected and others ignored? Facts do not speak for themselves. We choose certain facts and hope that they will speak for us, through us. But what do we think we will achieve by telling our stories in the way we do, to the people we do? What is it that makes us interpret the events of our times in one way and not another? Who do we perceive ourselves as being in relation to those events? How actively are we engaged in trying to shape our political environment? What do we identify as

being primary forces for change in our lives? To what groups or group do we feel we belong, and how, if at all, does this contribute to our understanding of the political universe? (p. 2)

Seeking to answer these questions, in the following pages I offer a non-exhaustive review of the interdisciplinary literature on testimonies, with a focus on their activist uses. This review is guided by the following questions: What are testimonies? Why do peace activists produce and share testimonies as part of their activism? What do testimonies do for them and what do they do through their testimonies?

The era of the witness. In their most basic definition, testimonies are accounts of an event or experience that a witness or protagonist shares with an audience, either in person, writing, video, or otherwise. Testimonies are what Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 1986) calls a distinct genre of discourse, with unique conventions and affordances. In these ways, testimonies are different from other forms of discourse such as narrative, chronicle, and explanation, which are also used by individuals to craft stories about their lives and worlds (Linde, 1993). It is through testimonies that marginalized people can position themselves as experts of their own experience and share their opinion about historical, political, or cultural events they witnessed or participated of directly (c.f., Lykes, 2010).

As a genre, testimonies have a growing relevance in cultural, political, and scholarly life. The rise of the testimony responds to profound epistemological changes in the humanities and social sciences towards subjectivity, as well as a general cultural shift towards the valuation of the witness and the increased relevance of memory as cultural practice and academic subject. Historian Annette Wieviorka (2006a) compellingly describes this trend, arguing that we live in the Era of the Witness. Indeed, the last decades have seen an increased interest in first-person

accounts through which witnesses communicate their understandings and experience of their worlds. This is exemplified by recent special issues dedicated to testimonies of Apartheid in peace psychology (Duncan, Stevens, & Sonn, 2012) and to testimonies of the Holocaust in the humanities (Hartman, 2006), to mention a few. Carol Fadda-Conrey's (2010) analysis of war blogs, and Mark Hewitson's (2010) study of selfhood and soldier testimonies are two among numerous studies that explore the role of testimonies across psychological, cultural, and political contexts. Concepts that inform this scholarship are numerous, including: memory, history, identity, narrative, subjectivity, discourse, conflict, and power. And because these constructs cut across disciplinary boundaries, testimonies belong to a wide range of fields, including: Latin American studies (e.g., Bustos, 2010; Pellicer-Ortín, 2011); literature (e.g., Pellicer-Ortín, 2011); history (e.g., Ofer, 2006); women and gender studies (e.g., Tagore, 2009); and religious studies (e.g., Jansen & Lang, 2012; Kline, 2011; Lorizio, 2010; Richie, 2011). Testimonies have also gained the attention of scholars in: peace and conflict studies (e.g., Cornejo, Rojas, & Mendoza, 2009); psychiatry (e.g., Weine, 2006); and international studies (e.g., Raj, 2009; Rowe, 2009), among other disciplines. This literature provides rich discussions of activist testimonies in the areas of spirituality, politics, women's and human rights, and healing. In each of these areas, I believe, the literature points towards the *transformatory potential of testimonies*. More specifically, the literature identifies the ways in which activists seek to transform identities, relationships, and discourses through testimonies that counter injustice, build communities, work (against) silence, deepen experience, and foster healing.

Countering injustice. The second half of the 20th century saw the rise of testimony as an important element in political and cultural life in Europe (Wieviorka, 2006b), Africa (Morris, 2011), and Latin America (Bustos, 2010), among other regions. In these various contexts, the

genre has been intimately related to the tensions between war and peace, as well as justice and injustice, and expression and repression. In the Latin American tradition, the genre is often privileged by allies who gather and disseminate the testimonies of members of discriminated, persecuted, or silenced groups with the purpose of documenting and representing injustice, raising consciousness, and effecting social change (Beverly, 1987; Shopes, 2005; Yúdice, 1991,1992). The testimonies of Rigoberta Menchú (2010) and Domitilia (Viezzler, 1978), both paradigmatic examples of this practice, have prompted scholars to debate the complex relationships of testimonies to authorship, power, and truth (c.f., Beverley, 2004). Some scholars view the value of testimonies as limited, describing them as vehicles for propaganda (Stoll, 1999). Others, in turn, have argued that expectations of ‘truth’ and coherence are problematic in the study of testimonies, a genre in which what matters the most is the authors’ relationship to voice, subalternity, solidarity, and audience (Arias, 2002; Eltringham, 2009; Young, 2012). It is my view that these important debates highlight the contemporary relevance of testimonies as vehicles for speaking against injustice. These debates also stress the fact that testimonies are far from being naïve texts and that their study must necessarily pay attention to the intentions and hopes involved in the production and sharing of testimonies.

Another important theme in the literature is the use of testimonies as vehicles to counter political narratives by the nation state and its institutions. Margaret Burchianti (2004), for example, studies how the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* challenge state claims about the Argentine dictatorship. Capitalizing on maternal suffering and devotion to break through censorship and repression, these women use public testimony to speak about how the military disappeared young activists in their effort to eradicate opposition to right-wing economic agendas. Scholars in the United States have described similar uses of testimonies. Cami Rowe (2009) writes about

the uses of Iraq veterans' testimonies in the post 9/11 context. The author analyses how the veterans use their status as warriors and heroes to oppose the Iraq War and to advance a critique of the patriarchal power structures that pervade US foreign policies. On the topic of breast cancer advocacy, Emily Kolker (2004) argues that one of the functions of public testimony as a cultural resource is to reframe the way a topic is approached in the public discourse. Breast cancer advocates, argues Kolker, use testimony to tap into existing discourses and recast breast cancer as a public matter concerning an epidemic, an issue of gender equality, and a threat to families. On the topic of self-determination, Haunani-Kay Trask speaks about the role of testimony in the anticolonial and sovereignty movement in Hawaii (Lyons & Franklin, 2004). According to Trask, testimonial writing allows Hawaiians to engage in self-representation, to challenge official narratives about annexation, and to reevaluate the present based on a new version of the Hawaiian past. Writing in the Israeli context, Tamar Ashuri (2012) examines how veterans of the Israeli Defense Forces with *Breaking the Silence* and Israeli women from Checkpoint Watch use their online testimonies to challenge a national discourse of indifference to the human costs of the occupation of Palestine and to act as moral memory agents. This point resonates with the literature on truth commissions such as the TRC in South Africa and the ways in which individual testimonies contribute to creating or recreating national narratives (Andrews, 2007).

Together, these examples show that testimonial narratives serve as tools for ordinary and relatively powerless people such as mothers, women, veterans, petty officers, and indigenous people to intervene in the cultural and political scenes of their countries. Capitalizing on their position, identity, and available discourses, they address powerful institutions and build engaged audiences for their provocative counter-narratives about dictatorship, occupation, health rights, war, and colonialism.

Building communities. The literature on political testimonies also discusses how, in the human rights field and in other areas of activism, video testimonies enable witnesses and survivors of human rights violations to build and mobilize communities of allies. According to Leshu Torchin (2006), this use of video testimony has a long history, as suggested by the 1919 showing of the film *Ravished Armenia* in New York City. Transnational uses of visual testimony, argues the author, depend on networks of activists or volunteers who will facilitate their circulation and dissemination to wider audiences. Meg McLagan (2006) argues that, in the contemporary context, video testimonies publicize human rights violations and build ‘witnessing publics.’ In this way, she argues, testimonies function as “‘an intercultural technology’ in activist contexts ...[that] bring together people across boundaries of difference, putting them together in relationship with each other in such as way obligations are put into play and communities of solidarity are formed” (McLagan, 2006, p. 193). Making a similar argument, but focusing on written testimonies, Trask (Lyons & Franklin, 2004) argues that anti-colonial testimony is a tool for indigenous activists to create solidarity across movements and geographies. In addition, Richie (2011) argues that religious testimony also plays an important role as the basis for interfaith dialogue, mobilization, and community building in the face of interfaith conflict and global violence.

Working (against) silence. In addition to discussing the role of writings and video, the literature on testimonies explores the affective and embodied dimensions of testimonies. Silence plays a prominent role in these discussions. According to numerous scholars, people can use their testimonies to seek recognition and work against their silencing while also choosing to engage with silence on their own terms (Tagore, 2009; Zembrzycki & High, 2012). The role of silence in women’s testimonies has received considerable attention among feminist scholars in

cultural studies and literature (e.g. Brooksbank Jones, 2002; Jackson, 2012; Lanigan, 1999). Proma Tagore (2009) understands women's testimonial writings as political and ethical texts that bear witness to women's experiences of violence and marginalization, often based on gender, race, class, sexuality, nation, and colonialism (p. 4). For Tagore "the practice of testimony is not only a matter of speaking out against silencing but also entails the task of making space for [its] affective, emotive, and political dimensions" (p. 3). Through their testimonial writing, she argues, women of color, indigenous women, and third world women can challenge the distinction between extreme and everyday situations of violence, and articulate non-discursive dimensions of oppression. In these ways, women can intervene in the landscapes of silence that surround their experience, and take part in the development of cultural and political strategies of resistance, education, and change.

The role of silence has also received attention in the study of Holocaust testimonies (Reich, 2006). Stacy Zembrzycki and Steven High (2012) have studied the educational activism of people living in Montreal who survived the Holocaust as children. They have found that the experience of breaking their public silence is always emotionally charged and difficult, and that many survivors prefer to remain silent about their most painful experiences in order to spare themselves and their younger audiences. Interestingly, the authors find that many survivors remain silent among families and friends, even when sharing their testimony of the Holocaust is an important part of their public lives. This suggests that testimony projects can create opportunities for people to articulate and communicate to others knowledge and experiences that they would not normally share in their daily lives. Altogether, the scholarship on the role of silence in women's and survivors' testimony suggest that the process of authoring and sharing a testimony is about silence and omission as much as it is about expression and disclosure. In

addition, as a genre of expression, testimonies may offer opportunities for resistance and advocacy that are not always available in other forms of discourse, such as everyday conversation.

Deepening experience. According to scholars of religion and spirituality, testimonial narrations are particularly significant to religious and spiritual life across denominations. Studies on the topic are diverse, touching on: Pentecostal testimony and its role in interfaith dialogue on global violence (Richie, 2011); the relationship between testimony and advocacy in the Old Testament (Brueggemann, 2012); the use of testimony for spiritual and bodily healing in India (Jansen & Lang, 2012); and the role of testimony in the Catholic faith (Pellitero, 2007), among others. This literature argues that testimonies deepen religious experience. Another important function is allowing the person to take part in the community life of a congregation or religious group. In Evangelical and African American churches, for instance, a “born again” testimony “is an individual’s personal faith story that is told to others” (“Testimony,” n.d.). These conversion stories are autobiographical, offering details about the person’s life that enhance their value as a motivational faith story. “Born again” testimonies tend to depict life before and after the conversion with emotional richness (“Testimony,” n.d.). Similarly, in the Protestant tradition, the faith testimony functions as the “narrative home within the religious group” as it explains the person’s current life, reinforces their faith, and serves to motivate others in the community (“Testimony,” n.d.).

Fostering healing. Silence and expression are also relevant to the healing functions of testimonies. Psychologists who study the effects of conflict, trauma, and injustice have given testimonies considerable attention. While survivor testimony is not necessarily the same as activist testimony, both share a complex relationship to private and public spheres, as well as to

issues of justice and recognition. Testimony shared during community-based or nation-wide reconciliation efforts can create sympathetic audiences for personal accounts and also serve a healing purpose (Kennedy, 2004). Writing about TRC testimonies, psychologists Cheryl de la Rey and Ingrid Owens (1998) argue that testimonies played an important role in the healing process of violence and repression during Apartheid. In their view, the detailed narration enabled witnesses to integrate past traumatic experiences with their present and their future. In addition, they argue, the TRC process helped witnesses understand their individual experiences within the historical and political context of the country, thus further promoting the integration of traumatic experiences. According to de la Rey and Owens (1998):

testimony-giving in the form of the public hearing is not simply about the reconstruction of private-individual trauma but also a social-political process through which the past abuses are reconstructed and documented as public historical knowledge. Thus it is a constitutive narrative in which boundaries between individual and social are not clearly distinguishable. Here the theoretical work on collective memory is germane, in particular the approach of Middleton and Edwards (1990) who noted that, "In the contest between varying accounts of shared experiences, people reinterpret and discover features of the past that become the context and content for what they will jointly recall and commemorate on future occasions"(P 7)." (p. 260)

Similar issues have been explored in the Latin American context. In the therapeutic model developed by Chilean psychologists Cienfuegos and Monelli (1983), testimony is a written statement that includes a description of the traumatic event and the emotional dimension of the trauma, that, through its resemblance to a legal testimony during a prosecution trial, creates a

channel of expression that has a healing function in the absence of justice. While the process is necessarily private and intimate when carried out during a dictatorship, the testimony gains a public dimension when it is turned into a letter or written statement to be shared with relatives or human rights organizations.

The healing properties of testimonies have been contested by studies showing increased psychological distress among TRC participants (Funkeson, Schröder, Nzabonimpa, & Holmqvist, 2011). Studies of the impact of the Rwandan truth and reconciliation process, *gacaca*, show a similar increase in emotional distress and negative emotion among participating victims and perpetrators, as well as intensified ethnic conflict, but a positive impact on social cohesion (for a review, Funkeson et al., 2011). According to Funkenson et al. (2011) the *gacacas*, as well as other truth-telling initiatives, play a role in peacebuilding but their effects can be idiosyncratic, ranging from cathartic and reconciliatory to re-traumatizing and incendiary. Beyond the debate on the therapeutic value of testimony at the individual level, however, there is some consensus on the important role of testimony during national reconciliation processes and the creation national memory. In my view, this suggests that the meaning of testimonies is tied both to the people who author them and the conditions in which they do so, as well as to the process of sharing these accounts with various audiences and for specific purposes.

The literature suggests that the testimony genre has gained cultural, political, and psychological relevance around the world. Reading across disciplines, we find that testimonies play significant functions for members of faith communities, activists and dissidents, women, human rights and peace advocates, indigenous people, and survivors of violence and trauma, among others. At the individual level, testimonies organize and deepen key experiences, thus reinforcing the person's knowledge, identity, and position in relation to important events. At the

interpersonal and community levels, testimonies serve a motivational function, as witnesses inspire each other, build solidarity, and mobilize their audiences. Testimonies also produce cohesion and belonging as a person claims a narrative home in a community or event. In addition, testimonies allow personal experiences to become public and inform a community's collective memory and collective voice. These literatures suggest that testimonies have transformatory functions for their authors, their relationships, and their communities.

Building on the Literature on Marches and Testimonies

Building on the documentary work of the Memoscopio project, this dissertation answers Anderson and Stafford's call to consider the meanings of a peace walk through the very words and reflections of those who march. In this way, this dissertation explores what and how we can learn from the March and Memoscopio, not only as scholars, but also as advocates and actors in an extraordinary historical moment defined by uncertainty, crisis, and the urgent need to open up the future. The Memoscopio testimonies offer a unique opportunity to study how everyday people use their personal accounts to offer information, models, and inspiration to others and thus promote peace. I analyze the testimonies in the Memoscopio archive in order to answer two questions: *What does the Memoscopio archive communicate about the meaning of the March from the perspective of its diverse participants? What do the authors of the testimonies say about themselves, their worlds, and the future and how do they use their testimonies as peacebuilding tools in the context of the March?* As I discuss in Chapters Three and Six, in answering these questions I strive towards a *hermeneutic of possibility* that builds on Josselson's (2004) and Luttrell's (2010) writings on interpretive stance and that works to listen to imagined futures without forgetting the performative and relational nature of digital testimonies.

Because the value of nonviolent protest, remembrance, and performance is often dismissed, a study of the marchers' experience will provide a window into the psychological and socio-cultural significance of this and similar initiatives.

It is clear that the Memoscopio testimonies are distinct from the formal and often lengthier testimonies produced in the context of human rights, international law, and truth and reconciliation efforts. Nonetheless, I follow in the footsteps of the Memoscopio team in choosing to explore what we gain from conceptualizing the accounts in the archive as a kind of informal, activist, or popular testimony that shares some important characteristics with more traditional types of testimony. Building on the literature on testimonies and their activist uses, I will work towards a conceptualization of the Memoscopio testimonies as *transformatory tools* that are used for peacebuilding in the context of the March. It is important to mention here that their explicitly activist and digital nature makes them more performative and less documentary in nature than other types of testimonies: The authors of Memoscopio testimonies seem less concerned with documenting events and more invested in exploring, communicating, and performing certain discourses and emotions in relation to the audiences. The work of Wilson and other scholars provides a model for how personal testimonies engage with public issues. The March offers an opportunity to study how local participants experienced one of few transnational peace marches in recent history. In addition, the initiative welcomed the participation of diverse voices, initiatives, and perspectives. For this reason the March offers an opportunity to understand how a chorus of diverse voices can push against Collective Lies and expand collective imagination about peace, nonviolence, and justice as viable options for the 21st century.

In the following chapter I discuss the methodological challenges and commitments as well as the approach to analysis that guided me as I worked with the Memoscopio archive seeking answers to these questions.

Chapter Three

Method: Thinking About Archives, Working With Memoscopio

The analysis of testimonies builds on a tradition of oral histories and photo-voice methodologies used by critical researchers to study individual and collective experiences with poverty (Luttrell, 2010) and with violence, conflict, and peacebuilding (Lykes, 2010), among other topics. Inspired by this tradition, I set off to analyze the Memoscopio testimonies knowing that the term ‘archival research’ did not fully reflect my endeavor. Until the rise of digital technologies, archives have been physical cabinets and shelves filled with records, letters, photographs, and other objects housed in rooms or entire buildings (Appadurai, 2003). Surely, I was delving into this new kind of archive that exists only online, treating it as pre-existing data set. But the nature of Memoscopio as a digital, public, and collectively owned set of testimonies presented me with theoretical, methodological, and ethical challenges I had not faced before when working with private data sets created strictly for research purposes.

The challenges and questions I faced were multiple: How to carry out an analysis of the Memoscopio testimonies in a way that accounts for their relation to the archive and to raucous lives, places, and events? How to engage the testimonies as digital objects meant to be accessed online and as part of a collection of similar testimonies? What should be my stance towards a collection I had helped envision and create but did not ‘own’ or have access to solely as a researcher? Should I strive to take the testimonies seriously in their idealism and advocacy or would a distant, disengaged approach be best? How should I theorize an archive of dissent and imagination? These challenges led me to think more deeply about archives and inspired new insights about their complexity as cultural products and sites of inquiry. These challenges also

helped me put aside preconceived notions and disciplinary orthodoxy about what my approach to analysis should look like. In addition, as I found my way around the archive, I became aware of the distance between the dynamic nature of the March and the static nature of the archive. It therefore became clear that a traditional content analysis that treated the testimonies as decontextualized texts would be a mistake. The performative and public nature of the marchers' accounts should be the focus of the analysis.

In this chapter I provide a framework for working with digital testimonies and *counter-archives* as sources of data. Hoping to integrate theory and method, I begin with a discussion of what the literature on testimony archives has to say about these challenges, driven by the following questions: *What do testimony archives do? What purposes do they serve for the individuals, groups, and institutions that produce them and study them?* Given the rich body of interdisciplinary scholarship that exists on the topic of the archive, it is important to mention here that this review is by no means exhaustive, but rather a starting point. In the second portion of the chapter I describe how my approach to Memoscopio as a counter-archive that builds on this literature and attempts to honor the archive's unique characteristics as a collection that was created through participatory methods and for the purpose of documenting and promoting peacebuilding. More specifically, I discuss how I attempted to follow Arjun Appadurai's (2003) suggestion to engage digital archives not as a repositories of documents but as intentional projects to craft specific forms of memory and imagination.

What Archives Do?

In a world where everything seems to be collectible and most everyone keeps records of one kind or another, anthropologist Elizabeth Povinelli (2011) asks: "What, for instance, is the difference between an archive and a collection or between an archive and a hoard or between an

archivist and a collector and a hoarder?” (p.149). These and other questions have captured the interest of scholars of conflict and in/justice across the humanities and social sciences, leading to important reflections on the philosophical, cultural, and political nature of archives (Assmann, 2010; Derrida, 1995; Foucault, 2002). Across disciplines, authors write about archives as institutions (e.g., Ceeney, 2008) and about archives as metaphors (e.g., Mori, 2011). Anthropologist David Zeitlyn (2012) notes that scholars often explore the dual meaning of the term archive, which refers to “both the repositories of material (buildings, suites of rooms, or a Web address) and the materials contained therein” (p. 462). These two dimensions of archives have been discussed within historiography (Rudof, 2006; Sinn, 2012), education (Carmichael, 2011; Potter, 2011; Powell, 2005), literacy (Bryson, 2012), psychology (Rudof, 2006), anthropology (Zeitlyn, 2012), cultural studies (Huang, 2011), literature (Echevarría, 1998), and peace and conflict studies (Duncan, Stevens, & Sonn, 2012; Hartman, 2006), to mention a few disciplines. This rich body of scholarship examines the various ways in which cultural and political actors use testimonies to create, maintain, and transform their worlds.

Establishing origins, order, and control. Theorist Jacques Derrida (1995) finds in ‘the Archive,’ a metaphor for origin and order:

Arkhe, we recall, names at once the commencement and the commandment. His name apparently coordinates two principles in one: the principle according to nature or history, there where things commence-physical, historical, or ontological principle-but also the principle according to the law, there where men and gods command, there where authority, social order are exercised, in this place from which order is given... (p. 9)

The notions of commencement and commandment provide important clues about what archives do. Based on Derrida's definition, archives may serve the purposes of governments, families, groups, communities, and others who wish to identify some origin or beginning, or to establish a site, physical or symbolic, where authoritative knowledge resides. Derrida diagnoses our times with an *archive fever*, a condition that is at once an uncontrollable desire for the Archive and a kind of intoxication with its excesses. If asked about the World March for Peace and Nonviolence and its concern with archiving images, narratives, videos, and endorsements, Derrida would probably diagnose the marchers with this malaise.

Speaking at the dedication of Freud's house as a museum—and inspired by Freud's own work on documentation, memory, and knowledge—Derrida (1995) argued that archival power lies in the invisible control of what is remembered and what is repressed, and thus forgotten. Scholars agree this has important implications for the development of institutions and entire societies. The invisible control exercised by archives “authorizes specific forms of the future by domiciling space and time (Povinelli, 2011, p. 150). For Foucault (2002, 2008), archives are among the various tools or technologies with which governments and other hegemonic institutions turn people into populations and exercise power over them. Psychiatric and prison records are among his most famous examples. A key point I seek to make in this chapter is that the relationship of archives to origins and order invites critical reflection about how they are created, by whom, on what topic, and for what purpose and audience. While these reflections are theoretical, I argue they also are deeply methodological. As Appadurai (2003) has argued, the practices and technologies that nation states and institutions have long used to produce certain kinds of collective memory and power are today being used by virtual communities of migrants, artists, and activists as tools for exercise desire, agency, and imagination. I will return to

Appadurai's notion in Chapter Six as speaks to the psychological, collective, and cultural dynamics that, I will argue, gave meaning and relevance to March and the Memoscopio project.

While most archives speak to origins and order, there exist significant distinctions among them. Archives that document indigenous cultures, for instance, are often created to help communities 'look back' and recover the past within colonial and postcolonial contexts (Dorotinsky Alperstein, 2007; Green & Winter, 2012; Powell, 2005). But documentation may also be explicitly 'for the future.' The National Archive of Irish Composers (Hunt, 2011) is just one among thousands of archives found in museums, universities, and libraries whose purpose is to preserve a threatened cultural heritage for future generations. Archives often serve an important role for members of communities under threat as tools to document their experiences and to protect their heritage from being destroyed. Examples of this are archives that document life and culture in ghettos and concentration camps (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2006; Ofer, 2006), as well as Jewish museums in Nazi Germany (Opatow, 2011) or archives about life in Palestine before the founding of Israel. Archiving for the benefit of future generations is indeed a common response to unusual and impactful events, both catastrophic and positive. Historians Stephen Brier and Joshua Brown (2011) reflect about how the 9/11 attacks compelled them to act as historian-archivists and join others interested in gathering and preserving records and oral histories that could otherwise be lost to the future.

Archives often establish origin and order, but their purposes and uses are diverse. Among other things, archives are notorious as tools of social, cultural, and political control. As I will discuss later, the opposite function has also began to be explored (Hook, 2012). Both Foucault and Derrida see in the Archive a metaphor for control and law, conceptualizing archives as a "kind of power" (Povinelli, 2011, p. 150). Indeed, there exists a long history of political

repression in which archives have been instrumental. The hegemonic purpose of archives is made most explicit by institutions of domination such intelligence agencies, which often create secret records used for surveillance and control. This was the case with the Stasi archives created by intelligence agents for the surveillance of political dissidents in communist East Germany (Assmann, 2010). Similarly, authoritative Latin American regimes of the second half of the 20th century relied on records and archives for repressing political dissidents (Gómez-Barris, 2010). It is no coincidence that Chileans often remember and mock one of Pinochet's most famous utterances, '*los tengo a todos identificados.*' Because this sentence can mean 'I have *you* all identified' as well as 'I have *them* all identified,' it implies that anyone is a potential subject of archival surveillance, and not only *them*, the subversives. In the United States, the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) created extensive records as it monitored and disrupted 'subversive' political movements between 1956 and 1971 (Churchill & Wall, 2001). Similarly, the South African Security Police produced considerable records during Apartheid (McEwan, 2003). While the records of the Stasi were preserved, and the COINTELPRO papers exposed, a large portion of the records of Chilean agencies were destroyed prior to the start of truth and reconciliation processes. Regardless of their fate, the archives of repressive agencies not only provide 'intelligence' but their existence has an effect reminiscent of Foucault's panopticon.

Colonial and postcolonial regimes have also used archives to construct and control colonial subjects. Numerous scholars analyze the ways in which archives can embody colonial ways of representing indigenous communities (Dorotinsky Alperstein, 2007; Povinelli, 2011). Catherine Komisaruk (2008), for instance, writes about Guatemalan colonial archives and their role in controlling women's sexuality and access to procedural justice. With attention to both gender and land, Karen Roybal (2012) analyses the suppression of matrilineal land ownership in

the Spanish Archive of New Mexico. On a similar line, Cheryl McEwan (2003) offers a compelling analysis of how the Truth and Reconciliation archives operate as a source of patriarchal control in post-Apartheid South Africa. The critical lens brought forth by these analyses of repressive and colonial archives makes evident the intimate relationship between archives, power, and knowledge. Citing Foucault and Derrida, McEwan explains: “the relationship between power and knowledge is crystallised within the material and metaphorical spaces of archives; the question of who has the power to make, record and interpret history is an important one” (2003, p. 742). I argue that it is because of this problematic relationship that we must avoid naïve approaches to the analysis of archival material. More importantly, we must strive to think critically about how archives produce collective memory about suffering and violence as well as healing, liberation, and peace.

Producing collective memory. The literature on collective memory is extensive, touching on topics such as history, identity, power, politics, contestation, media, modes of transmission, and justice (see Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, & Levy, 2011). Each of these topics relate to archives in important ways. As McEwan and others point out, archives are not only used to control but also to remember. Societies remember through embodied practices (Connerton, 1989) as well as through representation of their past, present, and future in ways that produce collective memory. As a product of representation, collective memory is always group-based, social in nature, and concerned with what should be remembered by a family, an organization, or a nation (Halbwachs, 1992).

Speaking about the representation of Apartheid, McEwan (2003) notes: “Memory is material – it serves a purpose, and this is of considerable significance in contemporary South Africa” (p. 743). McEwan’s point speaks directly to how national archives produce shared

memory and build legitimacy for the present state of a nation or institution. Given their ability to speak to both commencement and commandment, it is no surprise that archives play an important role in the crafting of collective memory. A key point I wish to stress here is that, depending on their characteristics, archives can produce different kinds of collective memory, with distinct implications for individuals and groups. Tamar Ashuri's (2012) work proves useful in conceptualizing the types of collective memory that can result from archives. Citing Avashi Margalit, Ashuri argues that a *common memory* is an episode that a large percentage of a group can remember. In that case, this memory is common to the group even though it has not been represented through archives or other memory devices. *Shared memory*, in contrast, "integrates the different perspectives of those who remember the episode into one version (or a small number of versions). This standardization process allows other community members who were not there at the time of the event to plug into the experience" (p. 444). In this way, professional 'mnemonic agents' at museums, governments, congregations, and archives produce a shared memory for a nation or a community (Margalit, 2002, p. 54; also see Opatow, 2011). These authors bring our attention to an important point: archives are not disengaged or neutral repositories of information. Rather, they often serve as political and cultural tools, especially during and after conflicts, for institutions and groups to advance specific versions of the past, the present, and the future. This point directs archival analysis to the uses and intentions that inspire the work of institutional and grassroots archival projects.

Documenting violence and injustice. Testimony archives that document violence and injustice have played a key role in collective memory and advocacy. This literature is especially useful in conceptualizing the Memoscopio archive as a source of data. As I mentioned in Chapter One, archives that document and represent past injustice, suffering, and violence

through collections of testimonies have received considerable attention in the study of the Holocaust and South African Apartheid. The Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University is a preeminent example among various testimony archives dedicated to the Holocaust. In the introduction to a special volume on this archive, Geoffrey Hartman (2006) argues that this collection of close to 4000 video testimonies by Holocaust survivors helped establish the genre of video testimony, which he argues has a special emotional impact and visual language. Scholarship on the Fortunoff Archive raises important issues about the role of testimony archives in providing recognition and visibility to the survivors of war, violence, and oppression. First, the decades that lie between the Holocaust and the testimonies reflect the fact that memory has only recently become of interest to researchers (Assmann, 2006) and that the role of the witness in the representation of past suffering has changed drastically since the Holocaust took place (Wieviorka, 2006). Secondly, the testimonies of survivors suggest the problematic nature of archival practices that relegate to the past an experience whose consequences are still being lived (Hartman, 2006). Hartman also argues the archive is characterized by a sense of displacement in time, space, and language resulting from testimonies being recorded long after the events took place, usually in locations removed from the site of the experiences, in a language that the witnesses often acquired in exile. For this reason, Hartman describes the Fortunoff Archive as “a proactive ingathering designed to create a living monument of retrieved voices” (p. 257). In the absence of this, and other archival projects that document the Holocaust, Hartman explains:

the majority of these testimonies would never have found expression, or certainly not in print. They give the word to more than an elite (the “Prominenz”); they represent people from all trades and sectors of society, often deprived of a formal

education by persecution, war, and economic necessity. Since genocidal outbreaks have not ceased, the Yale project can be exemplary beyond what happened to the Jewish people. (p. 257)

While Memoscopio fulfills a similar function by documenting the experiences of everyday people (and specially the less privileged of March supporters) who might otherwise go unrecognized, there are two key differences with the Fortunoff archive. First, the testimonies were recorded during the events, rather than decades after, providing a sense of immediacy and resulting in fresh and expressive testimonies that lack the dynamics of hindsight and distance from events. Immediacy should not necessarily be equated with truthfulness or authenticity since, as I will explore later, the Marchers in the Memoscopio archive are concerned with presenting specific narratives about the March, themselves, their worlds, and the future. When testimonies and personal accounts are shared long after an event or mobilization, hindsight and reflection can help free activists from the pressure or desire to act as spokespeople for a cause, thus allowing for more nuanced critique, evaluation, and engagement with the tensions they experienced within a given initiative or movement. Another difference between Memoscopio and archives of survivor testimonies is that the focus of the Memoscopio project was to document a peacebuilding initiative that was generally experienced as positive and inspiring. The treatment of despair, cynicism, and suffering by Memoscopio contributors is thus tainted, or even muffled, by the broader context of the March and its focus on hope and possibility. This is important point to have in mind when analyzing the ways in which March activists speak about their past experiences with war, terrorism, state violence, and other forms of violence.

Another high profile collection of testimonies is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) on South African Apartheid. For some, the TRC's use of public narration by victims and

perpetrators “is a model of politically active memory” that avoids sanitizing or de-politicizing memory (McEwan, 2003, p. 748). In contrast to the legalistic approach of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the opportunity provided by the TRC to narrate experiences outside a legalistic frame seems to free the testimonies and the interview process from a narrow focus on establishing factual coherence and assigning guilt (Eltringham, 2009; also see Young, 2012). There are important debates about truth commissions and their role in national healing, reconciliation, and the prevention of conflicts (Eltringham, 2009). The TRC in particular, and the archive of testimonies that resulted from the process, is seen as an important contribution that recovers silenced stories, building the South African collective memory of the Apartheid, and promotes healing and reconciliation (du Pisani & Kwang-Su Kim, 2004). Despite these contributions, the TRC has been criticized for excluding the voices of large segments of South African society (du Pisani & Kwang-Su Kim, 2004), and of women in particular (McEwan, 2003). Another important criticism has been that the TRC process led to the production of certain narratives over others, in part by including in its official report only a small fraction of testimonies shared during the process (Andrews, 2007). The TRC is also said to have promoted telling stories about atrocities over daily life under Apartheid (Duncan et al., 2012). Finally, the TRC has also been criticized for favoring stability over accountability, thus pushing society to ‘move on’ in the name of progress and economic development (McEwan, 2003). These debates about the TRC and its archive of testimonies are relevant to my approach to the Memoscopio archive in two ways. First, they bring attention to whether and how the archive promoted ‘sanitized’ or ‘de-sanitized’ accounts about the March and the meaning of peacebuilding in today’s world. Secondly, and as discussed above, the TRC brings up the issue of whether and

how the Memoscopio project may have facilitated the sharing of certain kinds of accounts and opinions over others.

What Archives Undo, What Archives Awaken

While archives can serve as cultural and political tools to advance official versions of the past, the present, and the future, archives are often used to push against violence, injustice, oppression, and exclusion. As I will discuss below, I argue that in these cases archives can reverse dynamics of authority, hegemonic knowledge production, and control, helping to undo the normalization of violence and the erasure of diversity and dissidence.

Undoing normalization. The literature suggests that the creation of archives can serve the goal of combating the ways in which societies normalize injustice in at least two ways: First, by documenting peace and nonviolence; and second, by shedding new light on trivialized instances of structural violence. Compared to archives that document war, conflict, injustice, and violence, a smaller number of archives exist that document the work of people who, against all odds and in the face of great oppression, have championed peacebuilding and nonviolence. Standout examples include the Commonweal Collection and the King Library and Archive of the King Center. Other peace and nonviolence archives that have caught the attention of scholars across disciplines include the archive of the Suffragette Fellowship (Cowman, 2005); the Swarthmore College Peace Collection (Addison & Yoder, 2011); the archives of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Kelham, 2010); and the Jane Addams Papers Project at the U.S. National Historical Publications and Records Commission (Bryan, 2011). In addition to these institutional archives, there exist countless collections, many of them digital, produced by peace advocates and activists through their work (e.g., Ashuri, 2012).

Scholarship on peace and nonviolence archives is diverse, touching on the content and the uses and of such records. Libby Tudball (2003), for instance, writes about the role of peace archives and digital collections in peace education. With a historical focus, Conrad Stoez (2007) writes about the use of conscientious objector records to understand the experiences of Canadian Mennonite men who refused to serve in the Second World War. These authors' work exemplifies how peace and nonviolence archives preserve, make available, and promote scholarship that helps undo cultures of violence. The scholarship on peace and nonviolence archives brings attention to whether and how projects such as Memoscopio celebrate the lives of anonymous peace advocates and activists from diverse communities. These archival projects also bring attention to whether and how an archive such as Memoscopio contributes to undoing the erasure of alternatives to war and violence, interrupting normalization of violence and injustice, and undoing master narratives about what is possible, moral, and justifiable in the realm of conflict and human relations. In my view, the very existence of peace and justice archives serves to push against master narratives about the human predisposition towards organized violence (c.f., Seville Statement on Violence, 1986).

These functions are heightened in a digital world where archives are accessible sources of information (Ashuri, 2012; Brier & Brown, 2011; Mexal, 2007). Many digital archives are accessible online, often without a password. Accessibility has repercussions on representation, participation, and power. Reflecting on her work towards an archive of aboriginal stories about the land, Anthropologist Elizabeth Povinelli (2011) asks: "What is altered when the archive is housed in a library, in a classified state vault, in a dour professor's office, or provided a gps coordinate so that it can be accessed only in a certain place with a specific piece of technology?" (p. 149). As Memoscopio exemplifies, the purpose and uses of archives are certainly

transformed by new technologies, especially ones that can be deployed by indigenous and activist communities. Ashuri (2012) elaborates on how institutions of memory are no longer the sole producers of collective memory: “This exclusive role ... is now being challenged with the advent of digital technologies: Devices that allow individuals to store and disseminate personal histories using accessible and shareable online network archives” (p. 445). In Ashuri’s analysis, websites, blogs, and digital databases are available to community-based and non-professional archivists to create what she calls *(web)sites of memory*. These new kinds of archives transform the landscape of collective memory and advocacy, giving rise to:

a new veritable living memory (Nora, 1989) that I call *joint memory*... [which] may be established by networked digital technologies that facilitate direct communication among witnesses who recall an episode they experienced firsthand and mass audiences who consume these memories by operating in comparable technoscapes (Appadurai, 1996). (p. 445)

Ashuri makes compelling points that speak directly to Memoscopio as a memory project and a source of knowledge. The fact that websites such as Memoscopio can be accessed and created by the public makes digital archives into powerful tools in advocacy, organizing, and other social change efforts. More importantly, the impact of digital technologies on the nature and uses of documentation hints at grassroots archives’ transformatory potential. What this means for the study of archives such as Memoscopio is that they should be understood not only as public data bases but also as cultural and political tools inspired and infused with specific activist and advocacy agendas. This raises questions about how archives like Memoscopio contribute to a kind of joint memory that challenges official and mainstream media accounts about the March

and the world. Ashuri's work also highlights the importance of analyzing an activist archive in relation to the communities, movements, and political projects that inspired them.

In addition to documenting peace and nonviolence, archives can also undo normalized violence by pushing against the trivialization of structural violence. As opposed to episodic violence, structural violence harms silently and under the guise of normality (Christie, Wagner, & Winter, 2001), and because these forms of abuse do not have clear starts and ends they are harder to document through archives. For this reason, there exist fewer archives dedicated to undoing structural violence. This is an area of great potential in peace and justice studies, especially because in testimonies about structural violence we may find information about the roots of conflict and the conditions that brew episodic violence. As I discussed earlier, the TRC has been criticized for its exclusion of women's stories and for its narrow focus on atrocities over the experience of living under Apartheid. Memory projects that respond to these shortcomings are valuable examples of how archives can counter structural and trivialized forms of violence. McEwan (2003) argues that because the TRC archives are seen as a repository of the stories worth hearing about Apartheid, the absence of women's stories normalizes the exclusion, poverty, and sexual violence so many black women continue to experience. This, argues McEwan, limits women's citizenship and hampers their participation in the construction of South African democracy. Archival intervention *Amazwi Abesifazane* Memory Cloths Programme and similar ones not only foster healing but also combats normalization of the violence faced by women and other groups. Similarly, the Apartheid Archive Project of the University of the Witwatersrand documents "5000 personal or narrative accounts of the impact of apartheid on the lived realities of their authors" ("Apartheid Archive Project," n.d.). The archive shatters the 'normalcy' of racism through "the stories of ordinary people who may not have been at the

center of the political conflict, but whose lives nevertheless embodied and enacted the apartheid story” (Bradbury, 2012, p. 343). In this way, this archive provides critical materials for scholars to understand the role of memories, narratives, and nostalgia in the construction of a post-Apartheid South Africa (Duncan et al., 2012). As transformatory archival practices, the *Amazwi Abesifazane* Memory Cloths Programme and the Apartheid Archive Project criticize the personal and social suffering that hides in ‘normal’ life.

The scholarship on these archives points toward the potential role of Memoscopio in making visible not only overlooked forms of violence but also everyday and often trivialized instances of nonviolence and peacebuilding that provide people with a sense of commitment, purpose, and hope. But while participatory methods such as these can lead to inclusion of these important perspectives and stories, they also bring up important issues. Introducing a special volume on visual participatory research, Wendy Luttrell and Richard Chalfen discuss the ethical dilemmas that arise when a researcher gives cameras to community members for them to document things ‘in their own eyes’ (2010). These dilemmas speak to the circulation, ownership, dissemination, and access to the resulting archives of videos and photographs. They also shed light on the complexities that arise when analyzing the contents of an activist archive such as Memoscopio.

Undoing exclusion. In addition to undoing the normalization of violence, archives also undo exclusion. Writing about the ‘poetics of archival exclusion’ David Greetham (1999) argues that at the heart of all archives are dynamics of exclusion and amnesia. This is so because universal inclusion is an impossible task, and because what is included in a given archive always represents the ethos of a culture and moment. Similarly, Zeitlyn (2012) describes archives as “a liminal zone, between memory and forgetting” (p. 465). As a result, documenting an event or

community through an archive means we are bound to exclude and forget certain episodes, voices, and perspectives. In this sense, archives serve memory as much as they serve amnesia. The archival tendency to exclude and forget calls for serious consideration of how researchers and advocates may recruit archives as tools of justice, dignity and inclusion.

One way of undoing archival exclusion is to push against oblivion and erasure. It is often the case that perpetrators of violence prefer to have their actions forgotten. Those who have failed to protect victims or denounce oppression often wish to have their failures go undocumented. And for those who have indirectly benefitted from violence and injustice, testimony archives and other forms of remembrance disrupt their/our fantasies of justice, of peace, of meritocracy, of innocence. Moreover, remembrance positions them/us as secondary witnesses of atrocities and suffering, demanding that we respond morally and politically (Kennedy, 2004) and face our complicity and/or inaction. For these reasons, archives that document testimonies of oppression, exclusion, exploitation, and removal can help undo the erasure, denial, and oblivion of these histories. Examples of such archives are numerous and diverse. Among them are collections of stories by LGBTQ people who have lived and died in homophobic societies (e.g., Reid, 1997), as well as scholarly projects that take an archival approach to queer culture (Meyer & Román, 2006). These projects play a key role in undoing silence and indifference. As artist Alexandra Juhasz (2006) explains,

video archives, production, editing, and viewing can be necessary components of social justice movements that while rooted in nostalgia strive to ensure that remembered abuses will not happen in the present or future... This I call “queer archive activism” — a practice that adds love and hope to time and technology.

Because we once loved, and recorded it, we have proof that we did and that others

will... We can use archival media to remember, feel anew, analyze, and educate, ungluing the past from its melancholic grip, and instead living it as a gift with others in the here and now. (p. 326)

Feminist archival practices take on a similar spirit in the documentation of the women's movement (Eichhorn, 2010) and Black women's experiences in the United States (Gumbs, 2011). Indigenous and postcolonial archives also do their share in undoing oblivion (Powell, 2005) and in challenging problematic representations of land, history, and culture (Povinelli, 2011). The work of Wendy Luttrell with low income school children and of Susan Opatow (2011) on the Jewish Museum Berlin suggests that undoing indifference and erasure requires an intentional creation of audiences. The Museum, argues Opatow

brings evidence, artifacts, and voices of the past back to Berlin to teach people today about moral exclusion and its catastrophic outcomes for those excluded and for the larger society. The museum is not only commemorative but also symbolizes the return of Jewish culture to Berlin. It is designed to describe the Jewish past, dynamics and effects of moral exclusion, and relationship of the Holocaust to contemporary social relations, particularly in contexts in which marginalization and injustice prevail. (p. 72)

Archives that document war testimonies by people from whom the world would rather not hear play a similar role in bringing these voices back in the picture and creating audiences for them. Among them are archives featuring the art of children who were 'collateral damage' in World War I (Roberts, 2009), accounts by Lebanese people under bombardment portrayed in the West as 'deserving it' (Fadda-Conrey, 2010), interned Japanese-Americans expected to quickly forget these experiences (Hirabayashi, 1998), and Palestinians whose memories of the Nakba are

deemed false or offensive (Masalha, 2008). Documenting and preserving such stories helps undo silencing and erasure of the complex causes, costs, and meanings of war and conflict.

A second way of undoing exclusion through archives is to protect and promote multiplicity and diversity. For McEwan (2003), postcolonial archives “keep multiple versions of history alive” (p. 355) and help dismantle master narratives that deny former colonial subjects full citizenship and dignity. Povinelli (2011) urges postcolonial archivists to go beyond the collection of subaltern stories and to be attentive to the material and social conditions of the work. These reflexive practices, argues the author, can lead to “new forms of storage and preservation and new archival spaces and time, in which a social otherwise can endure and thus change existing social formations of power” (p. 154). Povinelli describes her collaboration with aboriginal and non-aboriginal archivists to imagine an interactive archive with built-in GPS for people to access and upload stories from their mobile devices, as they visit places of significance to aboriginal communities. As I see it, the archival intervention here is three-fold: First, this format would invite people to engage in a lived archival social practice through which the existence of aboriginal stories and places is honored; second, the place-based nature of the archive would invite people to experience aboriginal land through the community’s own stories; and third, as the author explains, the archive would be available to aboriginal communities for their own uses and goals. In the making of such postcolonial, and otherwise radical, archives we must think critically about how digitization and alternative media may have counter-intuitive effects on subaltern histories and communities (Isaacman, Lalu, & Nygren, 2005).

These kinds of archival interventions pose moral challenges to national memory, calling the public to bear witness to the abuses committed in their name. The *Bringing Them Home* archive challenges Australian society to remember the forced separation of aboriginal children

from their families, thus helping document an often-silenced chapter in national history from the perspective of those most affected (Kennedy, 2004). As mentioned earlier, the post-Apartheid decades have seen the rise of local memory projects such as archives and exhibits that focus on the local stories of women, members of communities lost to ‘removals,’ and other marginalized groups who were not fully heard at the TRC. Writing about the Israeli context, Ashuri (2012) studies how digital archives by anti-occupation groups challenge national amnesia about ongoing abuses towards Palestinians at checkpoints and at the hands of the Israeli Defense Forces. These groups, argues the author, act as ‘moral mnemonic agents’ who “add their recollections [of abuses] to an accessible and shareable compilation of memories attempt[ing] to expose events that the default collective (such as the nation) denies or wishes to forget” (p. 445). These scholarly debates inform my approach to the analysis of the Memoscopio archive, bringing my attention to the ways in which this chorus of testimonies speaks against erasure and in favor of more ethical approaches to remembrance and inclusion.

Documenting desire and producing imagination. Ashuri’s description of digital archivists as moral mnemonic agents builds on Appadurai’s (2003) ideas about the ways which digital archives function to bridge the gap between individual and collective forms of memory and imagination:

The archive as a deliberate project is based on the recognition that all documentation is a form of intervention and, thus, that documentation does not simply precede intervention, but is its first step. Since all archives are collections of documents (whether graphic, artifactual or recorded in other forms), this means that the archive is always a meta-intervention.

This further means that archives are not only about memory (and the trace or record) but about the work of the imagination, about some sort of social project. These projects seemed, for a while, to have become largely bureaucratic instruments in the hands of the state, but today we are once again reminded that the archive is an everyday tool. Through the experience of the migrant, we can see how archives are conscious sites of debate and desire. And with the arrival of electronic forms of mediation, we can see more clearly that collective memory is interactively designed and socially produced. (p. 24)

Few scholars touch on the issue of the future and of imagination in their discussion of archives, specifically in relation to archival analysis. Povinelli (2011) explains that official archives authorize specific versions of the future and insinuates that anticolonial archives can reveal alternative versions. Writing about queer archive activism Juhasz (2006) makes this point explicitly: “video plus nostalgia looks not just to an indexical trace of the past but creates the possibility for an anticipated trace of the future” (p. 326). While theoretically this claim makes sense, identifying the future in an archive of testimonies about a past event can be a challenge. Jill Bradbury (2012) tackles this difficult task, writing that a nostalgic reading of archives can help us undo cynicism, the antithesis of hope. She arrives at this conclusion after realizing that while testimonies in the Apartheid Archive offer few articulations of the future, they do contain *narrative possibilities* for past selves, past actions, and past societies. Bradbury explains that looking for the narrative possibilities these accounts articulate can help us recognize that past identities, beliefs, and relationships could have been different. This, in turn, opens up space for critique of the present, and frees us from “entrapment in an inactive, passive present [that] reflects a confusion of past and future, [and] an inability to conceive of a (hopeful) future” (p.

346). Citing Ricoeur, Bradbury explains such distantiation may “induce a kind of romantic longing for the past or a passive waiting for a future that never comes, but it may also be productively galvanized in creating possibility, living a meaningful life, and provoking critical action” (p. 346).

The examples and ideas discussed here show how queer, feminist, indigenous, war, dissident and migrant archives make visible the many stories, events, and perspectives that have been silenced in favor of national, institutional, or private agendas. In these ways, they undo erasure and oblivion, while creating audiences for silenced voices and challenging privileged bystanders to listen and learn beyond their comfort zone. More importantly, these examples highlight the ways in which archives are not only tools of control, and power but also tools for marginalized, oppressed, and silenced people to move closer to the lives they aspire to. This is so because archives serve as tools for them to exercise individual agency and collective resistance, and to turn their desires and striving for different and better conditions into new imaginaries.

Counter-Archives as Sites of Inquiry

As I have discussed in this chapter, archives have important functions for people, groups, institutions, and nations. These functions stem from their complex nature. First, archives indicate both origins and order. Second, they are repositories (buildings, offices, etc.) as well as contents. Third, the Archive often stands as a metaphor for a kind of knowledge that claims itself to be authoritative. Fourth, archives can be physical but also digital, secret but also public, restricted but also accessible. Archives can ‘look back,’ protect threatened heritages, preserve things ‘for the future,’ and document outstanding events. Archives can also establish authoritative knowledge and exercise control over individuals and populations. In addition, they can be instrumental to normative versions of collective memory, as well as to the remembrance and

representation of past suffering, oppression, and violence. Because of this complex nature, what archives do depends greatly on how they are created, by whom, and for what purposes. The literature on archives shows that, as social practices and sites of inquiry, they can serve to both strengthen and destabilize social conditions, relationships, and structures of knowledge.

Conceptualizing counter-archives. Building on the work of indigenous, feminist, queer, postcolonial, and otherwise critical scholars, I argue here that that these repositories of information sometimes act as *counter-archives*. The definition of *counter-archives* I outline here is based on three characteristics. First, counter-archives have an explicit transformatory function as they seek to undo what Martín-Baró (1994) calls collective lies about what society is and could become. I argue here that undoing such lies through archival practices involves challenging the erasure of excluded communities and silenced voices. This work can also take the form of a challenge to the normalization of violence, injustice, and oppression. Secondly, counter-archives are defined not only by their contents, but also by the relationships and material conditions that give rise to them. Among other things, this may involve collaborative and democratic archival practices that undo oppressive claims to truth and authorship. This can also involve a reflexive engagement with materials, places, and technologies in regards to issues of ownership, authorship, and access. My third point applies specifically to testimony collections. Applying Mills' concept, I argue that critical testimony archives have the capacity to make the private public. In addition, because testimonies have power in numbers, a testimony archive amplifies this capacity by turning private experiences into a public chorus that speaks directly to cultural and political matters. In other words, testimony archives reveal the profound connections between intimate experiences, national histories, and the economic, cultural, social, and political processes that surround them. These three characteristics invite research into how counter-

archives help destabilize unjust conditions, oppressive relationships, and problematic representations of the past, the present, and the future. But what does this kind of analysis look like?

Counter-readings versus counter-archives. In addition to creating new archives, scholars across the humanities and social sciences are producing counter-readings of existing archives. Zeitlyn (2012) explains that despite their insistence on the hegemonic nature of archives, Derrida and Foucault “conclude we are not complete prisoners of the archive... Therefore, we can excavate and recover subjugated voices” (p. 464). Foucault’s “archeology of knowledge,” for instance, admits that careful counter-readings of an archive can achieve “an insurrection of subjugated knowledges” (Foucault 1980, p. 81, cited by Zeitlyn, 2012, p.464). It is thus possible to produce counter-readings of existing archives and rescue the experiences, and even the voices and names, of those most silenced. Zeitlyn (2012) distinguishes between the purpose and the use of an archive. Institutions such as courts or hospitals may create records for the treatment of patients or for legal proceedings. Yet these records may later be put to other uses. Aleida Assmann (2006) writes about how tapes of legal testimonies produced for factual verification of witness accounts during the 1963-1964 Auschwitz trial were later discovered, transcribed, and archived for use in historical research. Writing about the 2006 bombardment of Lebanon, Carol Fada-Conrey (2010) similarly argues that blogs created for personal purposes as “memories of the present” can later become archives of war narratives. What the work of Zeitlyn (2012), Assmann (2006), and Fada-Conrey (2010) highlights, in my opinion, is that the analysis of an existing archive often implies turning the product of cultural, political, and institutional practices into data sets. I argue that for critical researchers there are at least two possible

approaches to this work, namely, working *against* or *with* the archive-turned-data set. Zeitlyn (2012) acknowledges that every archives is biased, but that

[T]his does not make archival (or any other) research worthless; rather, we must deal with the positionality or bias of the accounts. There are two general strategies for doing so. The Comaroffs “read against the grain” ... using sources such as newspapers and songs ... to help interpret records in conventional archives.... Stoler (2009) ... reads *Along the Archival Grain* (her title) to identify the biases and preoccupations of the creators of archived documents. (p. 464)

There are numerous examples of counter-readings of government archives. Sandra Young (2012) praises re-interpretations of TRC testimonies on the grounds that “the limited interpretive frame of the archive” renders many testimonies incomprehensible (p. 120). Komisaruk (2008) studies colonial archives of secular Guatemalan courts in ways that reveal how judicial testimonies of the period silenced the experiences of victims of sexual violence based on the social position, gender, and ethnicity of victims and perpetrators. Similarly, Roybal (2012) brings a critical lens to her study of the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, which were produced by the Office of the U.S. Surveyor General's in the decades after the 1846-1848 Mexican-American War. This official archive contains testimonies by members of disenfranchised Mexican communities in the US to whom the US government denied, in practice, the extension of citizenship rights promised under the Treaty of Hidalgo at the end of the war. The author re-categorizes the collection of testimonies as an alternative historical archive that sheds light on *Mexicanas'* experience of the war's aftermath, as well as on their key role in land ownership. Along the same lines, Dorotinsky Alperstein (2007) excavates the Indigenous Mexico Archive at the *Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales* at UNAM for new ways

of seeing and representing Mexico's indigenous heritage. These counter-readings of government archives make important contributions to undoing master narratives about gender, race, class, and ethnicity. They illustrate how working *against* an archive is about digging up hidden meanings, excluded voices, and silenced debates.

While these contributions informed my approach to Memoscopio, the concept of a counter-reading does not fit my work with this archive. Rather than carrying out a counter-reading of Memoscopio, I came to see my task as working *with* Memoscopio as a counter-archive. Working *with* a counter-archive is not about undoing the cultural or political work carried out by an institutional or official archive, nor is it simply 'reading along the archival grain' to identify its biases. It is rather about interpreting its content and form in a way that acknowledges and explores its attempt to not only denounce but also transform a given situation. This means working with the archive in a way that collaborates with, or accompanies, the intentions, visions, and knowledges that its creators meant to document, rescue, and share with their audiences. This definition raises the questions of what it takes, in theory and method, to work *with rather than against* a counter-archive. Memoscopio is not a hegemonic or institutional archive, neither a traditional data set. It is rather a digital counter-archive that documents contemporary experiences with transnational peacebuilding and visions of peace and justice. Working critically with such an archive requires paying attention to its key characteristics as a digital and participatory testimony archive.

Reflections on Meaning and Stance

First, working with an archive such as Memoscopio invites some important reflections the meaning of testimonies. As testimonies are indexed into archives, individual experience "stands for collective social and economic experience" (McEwan, 2003, p. 748) with important

consequences. One such consequence is that, through archiving, we can turn mutable speech into static texts (Eltringham, 2009), thus imposing on embodied experience the illusion of finality and order. Participatory archives are not free from this challenge. This raises many epistemological and methodological issues that Luttrell and Chalfen (2010) have addressed in their discussions of how ‘voice’ works within archival and documentary projects. Luttrell and Chalfen make a compelling case even within participatory projects participants’ voices and self-representation are influenced by ability, safety, institutional limitations, and socio-cultural contexts, as well as the default conventions of the chosen genre (e.g. portrait, testimony, storytelling, etc). Moreover, the meanings and intentions stored in collections of photographs and videos are in themselves moving targets. This means that they vary from item to item, and from one individual contributor to another. It would thus be naïve to think that participatory archiving captures the unmediated, ‘pure,’ or ‘true’ voices of participants/co-creators, and that an analysis of such archives can ‘find’ them. Feminist scholars similarly warn us not to get too caught up in testimonies as texts. Tagore (2009) reads women’s testimonial writings for the ways in which they document and transform violence, focusing on how women communicate non-discursive moments of oppression and silence as well as the diverse ways in which women resist erasure through their writing. To this end, she argues, we need to listen in complex, attentive, and accountable ways so that as readers and listeners we take part in the process of bearing witness. This is a reflexive approach to the interpretation of testimonies, one that highlights the role of researcher as audience and witness and that asks questions such as: “What do we notice through our own reading practices and why? What happens when we read perceptively – in a way that is politically and emotively answerable to the processes by which certain kinds of stories are silenced, or rendered invisible or unnoticeable?” (p. 4).

From the above scholars and the literature on Holocaust and Apartheid testimony I borrow a key lesson: It is important not to demand narrative coherence of testimonies, because they do not follow the conventions of life story. This also means we should not demand finality of testimony, because these experiences continue to take place within the person, and because their understandings and articulations may change and evolve over time, and maybe also vary with context. Additionally, archives such as Memoscopio invite us to let go of the desire to reveal the true and ultimate meaning hidden in the archive and that we understand the role of the researcher as a reflexive audience and witness hoping to learn about the rich ways in which the testimonies describe, challenge, and perhaps even transform violence.

Second, working with an archive such as Memoscopio invites important reflections about the relationship between the place and context in which the testimonies were shared and their content and functions as peacebuilding tools. I argue that the content and functions of testimonies can only be understood in relation to the social and political worlds that produce them. More precisely, this means engaging the Memoscopio testimonies not as texts without context but as accounts that were situated, rooted, and produced within specific lives, places, and socio-political contexts, as well as during specific moments of the March (c.f., Walker, 2010). At the same time, an analysis of the testimonies must acknowledge that they are also situated in the broader context of the March and its global and translocal approach to peacebuilding. The translocal nature of the testimonies relates directly to the fact that they are digital objects created to be part of a digital and globally accessible archive. For this reason, the challenge in working with Memoscopio was to develop an approach to analysis that would look across lives, places, and contexts without erasing the important connections between specific marches, places, and moments of the March.

Third, an archive such as Memoscopio requires that we pay attention to the memories and imaginations of the testimonies' authors. Building on the work of Appadurai, Bradbury and other, this means being open to the kinds of personal and collective memories that are constructed and communicated through the testimonies. It also means being attentive to the kinds of imaginations, aspirations, and desires that inform these accounts of the past, the present, and the future. This may take the form of narrative possibilities for what could have been different in the past, as well as articulations what I call *subjunctive knowledge* about what society, people, and institutions could become in the future.

Fourth, working with an archive such as Memoscopio means finding an appropriate stance or relationship to its authors and contents. My goal was to work with Memoscopio in a way that would be compatible with my position as co-creator, advocate, and researcher. This also meant reflecting on how to listen deeply to accounts that, at least on the surface and to a cynical ear can sound idealistic or impossible. In this regard it was useful to assume the fact that maybe some of the meanings, experiences, and vision in the archive simply cannot be understood in today's world. Because the focus of the analysis was on the ways in which the marchers communicated their views of the March, I found inspiration in Luttrell's (2010) 'need-to-know-more' stance. This way of approaching the archive kept me open to the expertise, contradictions, and questions that the marchers were sharing with their audiences. Similarly I also found it was most useful to work within a hermeneutic of faith regarding the accounts and intentions of the marchers, as opposed to a hermeneutic of suspicion (Josselson, 2004). An important discovery was that delving into such an archive requires that we be willing not to understand. Young (2012) explains that, given the right interpretation, archives such as the TRC's can help society imagine a post-Apartheid South Africa. A "reconceptualization of the archive," Young explains,

“demands an unflinching acknowledgement of its interests, its politics, its technologies, and its participation in a public discourse that is able to reference the archive in the hope of securing an imagined future” (p. 133). Pushing against the notion of a postcolonial archive, Young argues that in order to envision a different future we must go beyond opening the archive to what has been marginalized. In his view, breaking from the colonial past requires an archival ‘willingness not to comprehend.’ I find this proposal provocative as an invitation to carry out archival work without the illusion that everything in the archive can be presently understood. But most interestingly, Young suggests that we can intuit alternatives by creating a void, or a state of ‘not knowing.’ For me, this meant trying to suspend my own cynicism so that I could be open to the knowledge of the marchers. This general approach to deriving meaning from the archive and relating to its contents and authors is best described as a *hermeneutic of possibility*.

Analysis: A Kaleidoscopic Approach

The reflections in the meaning of the testimonies and my stance as researcher led me to approach the Memoscopio archive as a *kaleidoscopic analysis*. This approach brings into focus different dimensions of the March and its meaning. This metaphor of the archive as kaleidoscope or looking device works in a number of ways. First, the archive was built with the hope that the collection of testimonies would inspire its audience to see their worlds in a new way, just as a kaleidoscope presents new and unusual images to the viewer. Second, the image of the March and marchers created by the archive is neither authoritative nor singular. Rather, the archive is made of multiple voices, accounts, and perspectives that work as a chorus, sometimes speaking in unison, sometimes speaking over or against each other. Finally, and very much like a kaleidoscope, Memoscopio testimonies do not offer a final version of the things but a dynamic vision that is in the making. The person who visits the online archive can listen to the

testimonies of the marchers as they respond to the themes proposed by Memoscopio during the March as well as to their local contexts and activities. In order to bring different aspects of the March and the marchers' experiences into focus, I carried a two-step analysis of the testimonies housed the Memoscopio archive (except for those shared in languages other than English and Spanish). As I describe below, the first stage of this analysis brought into how a wide range of activists experienced the March through their unique positions and activities. The second stage of analysis focused on how the marchers addressed the three themes proposed by Memoscopio (i.e., The March and I, The March and the World, and The March and the future). Because the testimonies were created for a digital archive, I employed methods from the digital humanities. In doing so, I drew from the work of scholars in education (Brier & Brown, 2011; Powell, 2005) and history (Cohen, 2004; Sinn, 2012), who have written about digital archives as research tools and data sources. Working between the text of the dissertation and the digital exhibit has allowed me engage with the testimonies in their intended online platform and original media. In comparison to transcripts or software for qualitative analysis, this strategy has allowed me to stay close to engage the testimonies as digital activist tools within an archive.

Focusing on positions and activities. Looking for a way into the archive I chose to start with a sort of descriptive analysis that would stay close to the words and meanings shared by the participants. I envisioned this process to be analogous to a descriptive statistical analysis for a large quantitative data set (c.f., Stoudt, Fox, & Fine, 2012). To this end, I began by reading or watching each testimony several times in the chronological order in which they were gathered during Memoscopio's journey with the March. During this stage of my work with the archive I had to make important decisions about transcription and translation. After transcribing and translating about a third of the testimonies it became clear that the analysis would benefit if I

worked with the material in its original format and language rather than with translated transcripts that removed me from the embodied experience of the marchers and the digital nature of the archive. Through this initial approach I became familiar with the places, topics, activities, and people featured in the archive without forcing theory-driven notions and categories onto the material. This process helped me position myself as an audience of the archive and led me to understand that the meaning the March held for Memoscopio contributors was deeply related to their lives and to the activities through which they experienced the March.

As a means to systemize this first analysis I used the exhibit building capabilities of Omeka —the archive’s online platform— as an analytical tool. This approach was inspired by Luttrell’s (2005, 2010) work with visual narratives and by the notion that curation is a valid approach to knowledge production and to the interpretation of materials, often used by archivists and researchers (c.f., Opatow, 2011). The process resulted in a digital exhibit housed in the Memoscopio archive website that is titled ‘Moments of the World March’ (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march>). This exhibit is open to the public and it highlights the various moments of the March during which its participants shared their testimonies with Memoscopio. The creation of the exhibit involved various stages. First, I identified the various moments of the March that were documented in the archive. Then, I created an exhibit section describing each of these moments. Finally I listened within each of these moments for what the testimonies say about the significance of the March. More concretely, I listened for what the testimonies say about: 1) the marchers’ understandings of peace, conflict, transformation, and change; 2) the marchers’ socio-political worlds that their testimonies and actions reflect and respond to; 3) the expertise, knowledge, contradictions, and certainties the marchers share with their audiences; and 4) the marchers’ common experiences

of violence, resistance, and possibility. For each moment of the March featured in the archive, the process involved writing a brief description of the key topics and experiences documented in each testimony, and then working towards a summary description of the themes and experiences (shared and not) that characterize the testimonies for each moment of the March. I then used these summaries as the introduction for each section of the exhibit.

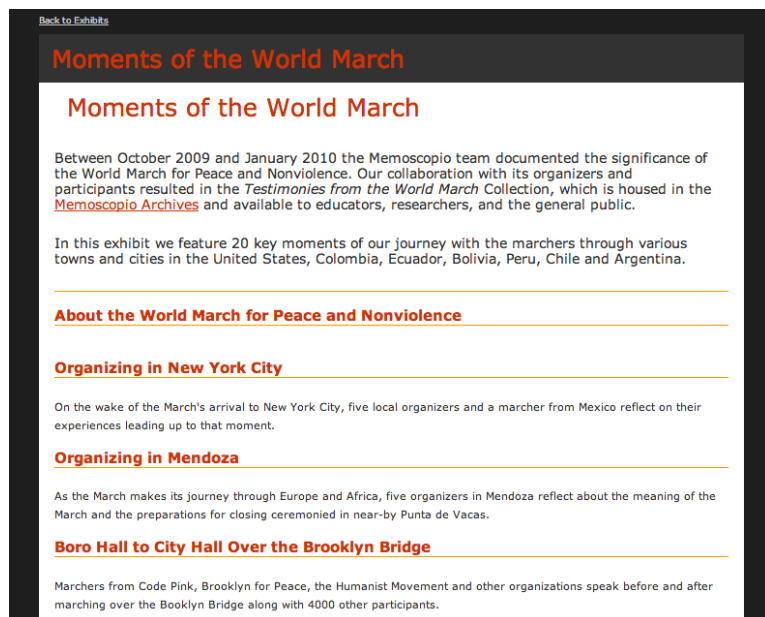


Figure 10. Moments of the World March Exhibit. Screenshot from

<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march>

It is worthwhile mentioning that this analysis, while paying attention to place and context, in no way implies a causal relationship between the content of the testimonies and the activities and places where they were recorded. It is possible, for example, that each moment of the March —with their unique nature, emotional tone, setting, groups of participants, etc — may have inspired some of the content and for of the testimonies. While I created an exhibit section for each of the three days of the March's closing celebrations during which 60 testimonies were shared, the writing portion of the analysis did not include these sections of the exhibit. This was the case because the duration of the event and the variety of events and

activities that took place, and the wide range of participants that were present did not lend itself to the moment-based analysis I had developed. Throughout this analysis I attempted to maintain an equal focus on commonalities and contrasts across testimonies within a given moment of the March, the resulting exhibit and the analysis I present in Chapter Four do favor common patterns and themes over tensions and differences. This also applies to the second analysis, which is described below and presented in Chapter Five.

Focusing on self, world, and future. In order to better understand what the March meant to its participants and to explore the uses of the testimonies as performative and transformatory tools, I carried out a second round of analysis. The focus this time was on the ways in which the contributors to the Memoscopio archive articulated the significance of the March to their life stories, their worlds, and the future. More specifically, this round of analysis focused on the kinds of stories and public statements that testimony contributors shared with their audiences as they addressed the three topics proposed by Memoscopio: *The March and I: Its connection to my personal story,* *'The March and the World: Its significance today,'* and *'The March and the future: Its projections and contributions.'* This analysis combined a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006) —which was based on the key themes that resulted in the first round of analysis— and a theory-driven approach —which built on the literature review on the functions of activist testimonies and as well as on themes suggested to the archive contributors by the Memoscopio team.

In order to work online with the testimonies this time I used the tagging function of the archive to code the testimonies without having to work with them offline. I began working with the subset of 60 testimonies recorded during the closing events of the March at the Punta de Vacas Park of Study and Reflection, which had been left out of the first round of analysis. Using

the tagging tool on the Omeka platform, I first labeled each testimony with the key words that the marchers used when speaking about self, world, and future. This created a rich list of tags for: (1) how the contributors spoke about themselves through use of *I, me, us my story*, and similar phrases; (2) how the contributors spoke about March and their worlds through references to *other movements, powers structures, ideologies, current events, history*, and *the activities and strategies carried out*; and (3) how the contributors spoke about the March and the future through descriptions of the *potential outcomes, products, contributions*, and *legacy* of the March. This step produced over 100 tags, which I then organized into themes and subthemes for Self, World, and Future. I finally extended this analysis to the rest of the archive using the cleaned set of tags/codes. I present this analysis in Chapter Five through exemplary testimonies and quotes that show the commonalities and contrasts across the testimonies.

Summary

Archives such as Memoscopio shed light on the in complexity of archives as cultural products and sites of inquiry. In response to these complexities, this chapter presented a framework for the analysis of the Memoscopio archive. Building on the literature on archives, I sketched a conceptualization of Memoscopio as a *counter-archive* and the kaleidoscopic analysis I took. I also discussed how my analytical approach seeks to account for, and work with, its characteristics as a digital archive built through participatory methods and for the purpose of documenting and promoting peacebuilding. In the following two chapters I present what I learned about the World March for Peace and Nonviolence from looking into the Memoscopio archive as if it were a kaleidoscope.

Chapter Four

Positions and Activities Across Moments of the March

We finally delve into the archive. Chapters Four and Five present the two-stage analysis of the Memoscipio testimonies described at the end of Chapter Three. This chapter presents the first stage of the analysis, which focuses on the diverse meanings of the March and brings into focus the ways in which differently positioned participants experienced the initiative through specific activities. Using exemplary testimonies, I present the key themes and experiences that emerged from this analysis, working to stay close to the language and metaphors the marchers used, as well as to the questions and insights that the process brought up for me as an audience. This first analysis offers no simple answers to questions about the meaning of the March. Rather, it reveals how the testimonies are deeply *situated* (Walker, 2010) within a given life, place/setting, and March activity. As I will present here, this first arrangement of the testimonies revealed the richness and complexity of the March, and the diversity of perspectives and intentions that converged under its banner and gave meaning to it. Much like a kaleidoscope would, this analysis arranges the testimonies in a way that brings certain aspects of the archive to the foreground, namely: the participants' positions and type of involvement within the march; the moments of the March within which they shared their testimony (place, setting, and context); and the type of activity through which they experienced the March. I present this analysis in four groups of testimonies: (1) testimonies by local organizers; (2) testimonies by international marchers; (3) testimonies shared at local memorial sites; and (4) testimonies by protesters shared at civic centers. Each of these four groups contains testimonies that were recorded under similar circumstances and/or feature people who shared similar types

of involvements and activities within the March. For each set of testimonies I provide information about the participants, the setting, and activities they were carrying out when they shared the testimonies. As I described in Chapter Three, this analysis does not include the testimonies gathered during the closing ceremonies in Argentina because the duration of the event and the variety of events and activities that took place, and the wide range of participants that were present does not lend itself to the moment-based analysis I present here.

The online exhibit described in Chapter Three arranges the testimonies in chronological order according to the March's journey. Here I discuss the exhibit not by chronological order but rather present the testimonies in four sets, based on the activities and positions of their authors. In addition, I present the analysis of moment of the March through a close reading of one or two exemplary testimonies that best represent the key experiences described by each group of contributors. The exemplary testimonies presented in Chapters Four and Five were chosen based on their treatment of the various themes and ideas that characterize a given set of testimonies in the archive. Two testimonies or shorter quotes from other testimonies are used when there was no single testimony that could exemplify the themes. Because the testimonies are available online for the reader to watch and read, I believe a close look into one or two exemplary testimonies helps demonstrate how each single contributor addressed the relationship between their specific position in the March, the activities they carried out, and the knowledge they drew from the initiative. While there are benefits to presenting the analysis in this way, this approach does mean that an exemplary testimony must stand, at least in the text of the dissertation, as a representative of other equally rich and unique testimonies. The lifting of specific testimonies as examples means that many voices and unique perspectives were left on 'the cutting room floor.'

It is also important to mention here that the transcribed and often translated excerpts I present in the following sections do not do full justice to the emotional, gestural, and linguistic richness of the video testimonies, which were intended to be viewed online in the context of the archive. Furthermore, the excerpts lack the sounds, the landscapes, and the weather conditions in which the participants shared their testimonies, thus missing another layer of richness: the testimony as an embodied act that marchers carried out at a given time, place, and in a given psychological state of excitement, quiet reflection, anticipation, and so on. The online exhibit that accompanies this written analysis is serve to compensate for these shortcomings and allow the reader to experience the testimonies in their original language, diversity, and intended medium.

Testimonies by Local Organizers

The exhibit that resulted from my first look at the archive, titled ‘Moments of the World March,’ features five sets of testimonies by march organizers in Argentina, the United States, Colombia, and Chile. As is the case with the other sets of testimonies I present in this chapter, this is not a final list of all of the Memoscopio contributors who served as organizers because some of them shared their testimonies after leaving their local towns to take part in the March as international Marchers. In other words, a considerable portion of the contributors had more than one forms of participation in the March. For this reason, this section presents the subgroup of testimonies in the archive that were shared by these participants during organizing meetings, before the arrival of the March in their respective cities. This set of testimonies is a window into the experiences of individuals who dedicated more than a year of their lives to the promotion of the March in their cities and countries and who sought out local endorsements and organized local events in celebration of the March and its arrival. As a chorus, their testimonies speak to

what it meant to organize the March across various places in the Americas. It is possible to hear in this group of testimonies echoes of the conversations that these organizers held about the meaning of the March as a personal and collective journey through both certainty and doubt.

Testimonies by Mendoza organizers. The first set, titled ‘Organizing in Mendoza’ (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/in-mendoza>), features five testimonies by local organizers from the humanist movement in the Argentine city of Mendoza, recorded in late November 2009, three weeks before the March’s arrival. In these five testimonies —all shared in intimate meeting settings— organizers Esteban (50), Marta (54), Tania (69), Pam (24), and Magalí (26) reflect on their work with World Without Wars and Violence and the humanist movement. The focus on their testimonies is on their evolving understandings of the March and on the experience of sharing its vision of the future with activists, colleagues, friends, and other contacts in Mendoza. Esteban, a 50-year-old sculptor and long-time humanist, delves into the complexities of hope and frustration, sharing with his audience a sense of possibility that is not naïve about challenges of peace activism nor simply idealist. Speaking after a gathering, Esteban says:

Regarding this experience of working for peace and nonviolence, I believe it is not the same for oneself —who has been into these issues for a long time— than for someone who receives them for the first time [and] is not used to reflecting about them. What you find in trying to bring these issues to other people is that some find them totally impossible to realize. So then one reflects about the importance of beliefs, because, while those beliefs are in our heads, in the end they condition what one does. I think the greatest battle of today goes on in the world of beliefs, or in that subjective world. I believe it is there where the battle of

this moment is being waged and that this will make a change possible, or not...That is, the world of beliefs, and all that is something that in the end modifies the laws and customs of a society... if you ask about my personal testimony, about what happens to me with all this, it is that things vary over time. ... there are times when we see it as very possible and others when we say 'this is going to take *so* much work [laughs]... sometimes you meet difficulties so great that you say 'this is impossible'... I think one ends up doing in this direction [of peace and nonviolence] independently of the search for immediate results... you don't know if that future will exist, but if one wants to contribute so that things are achieved, then one has done something about it ... It is like seeing possibility in the personal and social realms to be one and the same... (Translated from Spanish)



Figure 11. Esteban. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

As Esteban's testimony illustrates, the organizers of the March in Mendoza reflected on the human capacity for transformation offering a theory of change that accounts for the role of beliefs, collective work, and the relationship between mental horizons and policy change. This theory of change pushes against the widely held view that war and injustice are natural and impossible to transform. The themes of emotion (joy, despair, hope, and inspiration), coherence, collective work, and resilience are central to the experiences of these organizers. These are the ingredients of the theory of change that emerged through their work in Mendoza. Their testimonies also reflect on the ongoing work of cultivating hope through the ebb and flow of activist accomplishments and failures. For Esteban and this group of activists, organizing the March meant pushing against personal and social understandings of human nature and violence. It also meant speaking against a kind of epistemological violence that denies the possibility of change, growth, and transformation.

Testimonies by New York organizers. The second set of organizer testimonies, titled 'Organizing in New York' (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/prepping-in-nyc>) features six testimonies by local New York City organizers who joined the March through the humanist movement and other peace, anti-war, and anti-nuclear organizations. Recorded in late November 2009, days before the arrival of the March in New York, the testimonies of Mónica (31) and Karina (25) documented their reflections about the March during a sign-making session in Queens. Mark (41) and Jeremiah shared their testimonies during a rehearsal the day before a March concert at Riverside Church. Oralia (54) and Hope (45), in turn shared their testimonies during a walk around midtown, the day Oralia arrived from Mexico City to join the March. As Hope's testimony exemplifies, New York-based organizers describe the March as the expression of a life-long personal search for models of nonviolence.

At the same time, their accounts model, for their audiences, a discourse that places nonviolence as a central value and concern. Hope, a 45-year-old technical writer, shared her testimony with the East River as a backdrop:

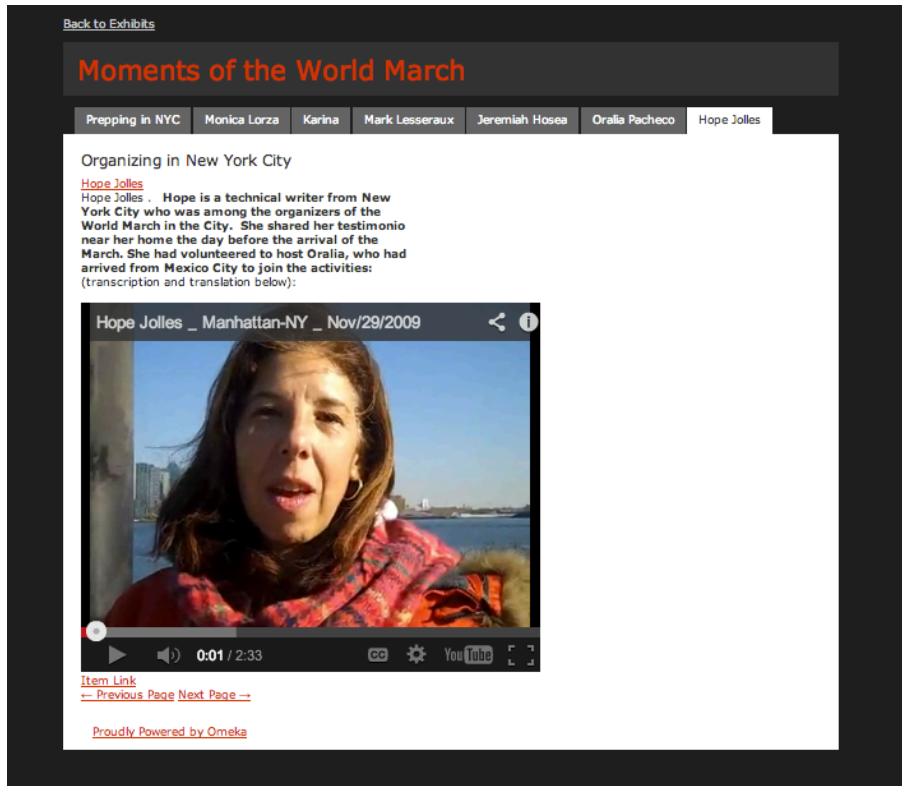


Figure 12. Hope. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

I see that in my lifetime I have always been looking for models and when I was young Martin Luther King opened the door to discussion and dialogue, and to a way of acting that questioned the use of violence. I have always been searching for ways to connect that with daily life. And then I see also throughout my lifetime that there have been moments in history when people have gotten together, during the 80s, for example, when there was a nuclear escalation and a threat of actual nuclear war. And again another model of action: people from the grassroots pressured and that was a very big part of diffusing the nuclear threat.

And again, we are in another moment where we can create a new model, and that new model is the World March. And it is a way of acting in the world in which each individual sees that what they do is very significant, not only personally and in their immediate environment, but also globally; to connect with a global force and a global direction of every individual, and every human being. And that has a lot of meaning, even if you are acting in a simple way in our daily life we see how that has an impact in the world.

Like Hope, New York City organizers assess their own understandings of and commitment to non/violence. Speaking from a country at war that was sinking into a recession, they nonetheless describe a growing sense of hope born from their activism. For these organizers, the March and its promotion of nonviolence allow them to weave together various levels of experience and concern, from the very personal to the macroeconomic and global. Their testimonies touch on: the March as a source of change towards a nonviolent daily life (Hope); a push towards nonviolent economic systems that consider the needs of all people (Jeremiah); an opportunity to engage in cultural production that fosters nonviolence (Mark); an invitation to support social change by overcoming inner violence (Mónica); and the role of simple people in the building of a nonviolent movement (Oralia). The testimonies of these organizers seem to offer proof that nonviolence is a concern in the lives of the many activists involved in the March. As a set, these organizers communicate the various ways in which nonviolence has personal dimensions (daily life, life searches), as well as and social dimensions (economic systems, cultural production, social movements). These testimonies are a record of the ways in which the March allowed for personal experiences and reflections on these topics to fuel public dialogues. Overall, this group of activists experienced their involvement in the March as an expression of a search for personal,

political, and cultural, and economic models that would reject violence as a normal and unchangeable aspect of the human condition. In particular, they saw the March as an opportunity to offer alternatives to the forms of violence that have defined the United States: imperialism, nuclear warfare, and inequality.

Testimonies by organizers in Bogota. The third set of testimonies by local organizers, titled ‘At the Bogota World March Office’ (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/at-bogota-world-march-office>), also explores the intimate relationship between the life of the activist and the larger context of the March. The archive features testimonies by some of the core organizers of the March in Bogota and other cities, many of them linked to the humanist movement, as well as to environmental, peace, student, and artistic groups. On December 12, 2009 the Memoscopio team arrived in Bogota, Colombia, to join the Andean leg of the March in South America. As we waited for the international marchers to arrive in Colombia from their Central American tour, Memoscopio gathered the testimonies of local organizers who were meeting each other together at the World March office. Among them were David (25), Claudia (48), José (61), and Germán (40). These organizers played a key role in promoting events and coordinating the delegation of marchers from Colombia. Not unlike other March organizers, this set of Colombians reflected on the sometimes rewarding, sometimes disappointing experience of sharing their vision of peace with others, describing the March simultaneously as a challenge and a source of strength. David, a student and peace activist, described:

It is interesting what one experiences in these kinds of things because, in one way or another, it is an obligation, let’s call it that, to learn how to relate with people involved in the things one does, and with people who are not involved in

the things one does ... So one says, 'I better make sure I speak with people who know about the topic and who agree with me, and avoid complications.' But it turns out the topic of nonviolence, and regardless of whether there is good attendance [at an event], is not successful if we go for the usual people...so one must go and speak to those who do not agree or who don't know [about the initiative]. And this is about learning to change the words, to change the discourse so that people may understand it. So it is like learning to look at oneself as someone who does not know about the topic and [ask oneself] how should I address this person? Obviously this means working through the discomfort of speaking to total strangers. Also learning how to control your own internal violence when people contradict you or question the topic when one says 'I am part of the World March for Peace and Nonviolence' and this person says there can be no peace if there is no violence, that there cannot be tranquility without war, or that type of thing. So how, without strong or edgy words, but on the contrary, with very calm and nonviolent [words] does one tell this person 'this is for this reason, or this other reason' and not try so much to convince them, but rather to convince oneself that there is no need to convince the other person, but simply to inform them, and let them freely decide whether they'd like to join the March. That is what I have been involved with the most. And when there is a concrete activity or event, a concert or a seminar, for instance, I see to it that there are people there who agree and who don't, who are from different lines, and see that energy flow in favor of something, which is the future of humanity. And to feel one is part of that, not like 'oh yes, I did that' but more

like ‘I gave my grain of sand, I contributed, and here I am with all these people walking towards the future.’ (Translated from Spanish)

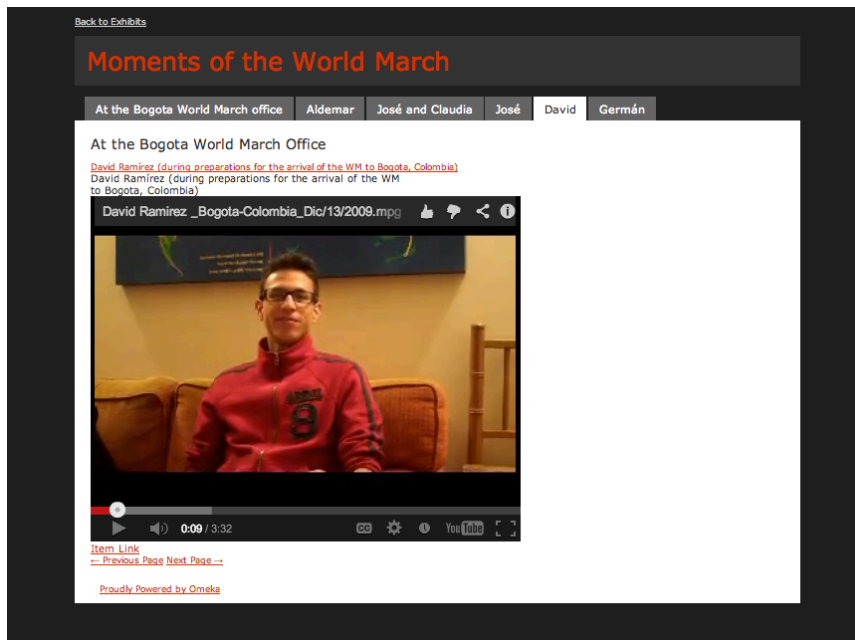


Figure 13. David. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

In his testimony David touches on some of the topics that were central to the accounts of these Colombian activists. All of them described the March from the point of view of the relationships and conversations that took place as they reached out to their friends, contacts, communities, and other groups of activists during the year they spent promoting the March. The accounts of David, José, Claudia, Aldemar, and Germán emphasize their long-standing commitment to peace. Furthermore, they articulate the ideological and affective dimensions of a sense of obligation that fuels their volunteer work and their endorsement of the March. Speaking as committed and engaged activists, they offer sharp criticism of the logic of war and injustice that reigns within Colombia and the rest world. For these activists, organizing the March in Colombia was a chance to nurture their own imagination about a different logic and to defy the national sense of despair about overcoming violence. In their daily lives, the March was also

about learning how to share this vision with others through constructive dialogue and through an approach to community building that welcomes differences of opinion. These experiences are particularly meaningful in the Colombian context, a country that has faced an ongoing and polarizing civil war, and where citizens and institutions constantly engage in heated political and partisan debate that fuels a sense of division and stagnation.

Testimonies by Arica organizers. The third set of testimonies by organizers, ‘Preparations in Arica’ (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/preparations-in-arica>), documents the experiences of a group of middle-aged Chilean activists from the humanist movement who organized the March in Arica. The testimonies were recorded on December 25, 2009, the night before the delegation of international marchers arrived in Arica, the northern-most Chilean city, at the historically troubled border with Peru. Local media and other groups of March supporters who had arrived the night before met the international marchers. The marchers then traveled to the Plaza Vicuña Mackenna in a caravan that included cars, motorcycles, and a local ‘Women for Peace’ truck. There, they held a rally that featured speeches and dance performances. Later that day the caravan continued its journey south through other Chilean cities. The eve of these activities Arica organizers met at a downtown office that one of the organizers had made available for last minute logistics. At the office, about a dozen local organizers were busy planning the logistics of the next day's events. There, Milena (42), Eddie (42), and Cristián (59) found a moment to share their reflections. Later that evening, Nelson (44), Any (49), and Rosita (42) took a break from setting up the stage at Plaza Vicuña Mackenna, and shared their testimonies.

These six testimonies have the reflexive tone that characterizes other organizers’ accounts. Rather than focusing on politics or culture, this group of activists highlights the

existential dimension of the March as an expression of their humanist attitude towards conflict and change. For Cristián, an entrepreneur from Santiago de Chile who was in Arica supporting the local organizers, the March was a synthesis of the humanist mission to transform individual existential despair into collective hope:

Our need for peace, for achieving peace and achieving nonviolence, well, today people experience it as anguish. An aspiration, but at the same time a kind of anguish that [peace] cannot be achieved, that we cannot achieve such a thing, and cannot move forward. All it takes is looking at our world leaders, their lack of coherence, saying one thing and doing another in the exact opposite direction. [All it takes is] looking at the points of violence at the frontiers of our countries, in the heart of our countries, in the heart of our families, [and] towards ourselves. Violence reigns today. So that aspiration for peace expresses itself in the human being with much existential angst. That aspiration is very profound, but there is also much anguish because the reality of interpersonal, family, friendship, community, society, national, and current relations is exactly the opposite. [This reality] is the crushing of peace. It is the crushing of nonviolence. It is violence itself. So what do we do to gain awareness that we are in that situation? I think that itself is a step forward: knowing that we are in that situation. And even though we may feel peace as anguish, it is possible, if we gain awareness of this situation, that we may begin to be find common ground and to transform that anguish into a project of actions, a project of the future, a project of a world of peace and nonviolence. So we can make that switch in our heads and prevent that great aspiration from drowning forever in the wreckage of angst, and instead, help

it catch, even with an initial spark, so that it can begin to strengthen with the consciousness that I contribute, plus my close environment, plus my friends. So this is no longer so little. Like the World March, which is something considerable, because despite all the ‘reality’ of the world imposing itself with its violence, despite that, we should strengthen our faith that peace is possible.

(Translated from Spanish)

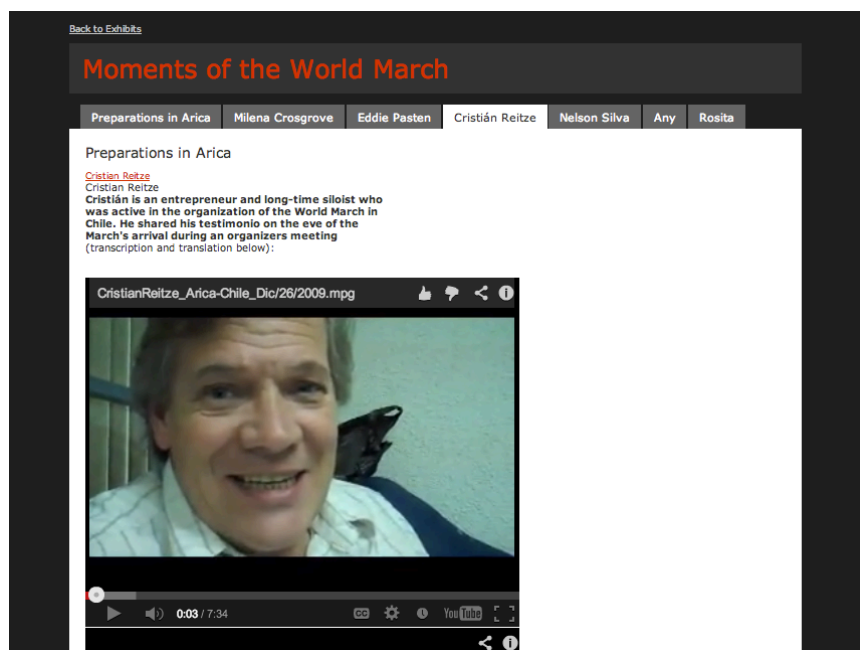


Figure 14. Cristián. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

As Cristián’s testimony illustrates, the March brings these activists face-to-face with the issue of human nature and the human capacity to forge lives full of meaning and nonviolent relations and institutions. For this group of organizers, the March raises awareness and builds a culture of peace and nonviolence by helping new generations reflect about these questions at the personal level and learn about today’s emergent approaches to conflict. Above all, these peace activists share with their audience a profound rejection of humanity’s supposed doomed nature. For Cristián, and the organizers in Arica, organizing the March meant working to transform

existential angst into a resolute and hopeful rejection of violence, turning despair and confusion into action and solidarity. But this is not an old form of solidarity based on parties or unions. It is rather the forging of circuits of resistance and inspiration that Cristián describes as “a neural connection for the planet” that is rejuvenating, mobilizing, and liberating. It is these characteristics that make the March uniquely important and significant to the lives of these Chilean organizers, not only on a political level, but also on a psychological one. Overall, Cristián’s testimony illustrates the ways in which March organizers in different locations reflected on the profound sense of anguish and despair that surrounds them, and on the sense of obligation they feel to nurture their communities’ imagination about a way out from war, exploitation, destructive conflict, and other forms of violence.

Testimonies by International Marchers

In addition to featuring the experiences of core March organizers in various cities, the Memoscopio archive also documents the experiences of marchers, many of whom endorsed the initiative but were not necessarily involved in organizing local events. The ‘Moments of the World March’ exhibit features various sets of testimonies that document the experiences of international marchers who travelled with the March through the countries of the Andes for days and weeks, often on low budgets, and enduring long bus rides. The marchers featured in Memoscopio include some of the members of the March’s base team, the official groups of spokespeople who held press conferences and meetings with public officials, as well as self-organized groups of marchers such as the *Viajeros por la Paz* and the *Equipo Independiente*. Together, this group of testimonies speaks to *what marching meant for those who joined to the March in its journey across towns, cities, and countries*. It is possible to hear in this group of

testimonies threads of many conversations that these marchers shared during this journey about the significance of moving with the March, in body, mind, and heart.

Testimonies by marchers at the Colombia-Ecuador border. The first of these sets, titled ‘Rally at the Colombia-Ecuador Border’ (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/ColombiaEcuador-border>), features the testimonies of sixteen marchers, the majority of them college students and young professionals from Bogota. Early on December 17, 2009 the March arrived at the Colombia-Ecuador Border. The presence of Colombian pop singer Juanes at the March’s binational ceremony for reconciliation drew large crowds. A few months earlier the singer had organized a concert nearby in response to skirmishes among the countries' armed forces. The scene was one of excitement and chaos as March participants and Juanes fans marched over the Rumichaca International Bridge, moving between cargo trucks and rifle-wielding soldiers. Paradoxically, many of the marchers (among them myself) missed the binational rally due to the long waiting time at Colombian customs that kept us at the border for over four hours. Not surprisingly, the tone of this set of testimonies is one of hopeful, light-hearted outrage. As Camilo’s testimony illustrates, this set of testimonies speaks of the personal values, political responsibilities, and social identities that were mobilized by the March. Camilo, a 22-year-old law student, explained:

At this moment we are located by the Rumichaca Bridge, by the border with Ecuador, and we are waiting to be let in to walk ...I believe peace to be ... a collective right. It is not of an individual entity... Nor is it... peace in the idyllic sense: peace and love and flowers. No. Conflicts are important because conflicts are opportunities and each time we can make improvements in many relations ...

for me this stance and this March is an experience... I participate in a global decision and within my society... no longer as a Colombian citizen but as a global one –since we are [on the topic] of the global village. ‘The March and the World: Its role and significance today.’ I want to say that- It has to be said and it is a lot about Colombia, which can make it a bit regional but we’ll see it isn’t so because the policies that the government is taking are destabilizing the whole region. ...there are some small scimmages with Venezuela, small skirmishes with Ecuador. ...So the government has taken the role that peace is to be gotten through: which means? Through violence. So that is the central critique made to [the government’s] plan because it achieves everything through violence... Here, in education, we had a strike just now at the National University because of a budget issue, because they are slashing public universities’ budgets to use [the funds] in the war. As a stance it is also a mistake to align ourselves with a North American war policy from 50 years ago... We have been in a fratricidal war for almost 200 years, right? The sides have changed. But because of this our foundational myth is –we as a nation are not structured- and the only foundational myth that fills that void is violence. That is why it is so worrisome, especially to us as Colombians. And that is why the role of this March must be this: Recognizing our past, which has been this, in order to learn and not to continue repeating it... What is the problem? ‘The guerrilla.’ But no. Here there are deeper problems, problems with poverty, and this generates violence and more violence, right? These are holes. I think that the [right] way to repress violence is to try to fulfill people’s needs, right? (Translated from Spanish)



Figure 15. Camilo. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Camilo's reflections belong to the Colombian context and respond to its ongoing civil war, class-based exclusion, and trends towards neoliberal privatization. At the same time, they belong to a regional and global context of military interventionism, armamentism, conflict, and dispossession. As Camilo shows, the testimonies of this set of travelers move freely from the local to the global, very much like the March moved across borders. They also bring attention to global and local demands. As Camilo's testimony illustrates, the travelers at the Colombia-Ecuador border spoke of the many identities mobilized by the journey, such as 'global citizen,' Colombian citizen, political actor, activist, dreamer, and believer in social change, to mention a few. Through these reflections, the marchers narrate possibilities for moving from a lack of vision to active engagement; from violent revolution to the acceptance of nonviolent conflict as a positive force; and from seeing oneself as a Colombian citizen to enacting global citizenship. What is clear is that the setting (crossing a border in conflict) made for provocative reflections about alternative forms of citizenship,

community, and nation that the marchers were staging in their journey. The Rumichaca bridge became a stage where they could speak publicly against collective lies about the roots (“the guerrilla”) and best responses to the Colombia conflict (“through violence”). In many ways, these travelers describe the March as an opportunity to put oneself in motion and advance with the March in the direction of more honest and complex understandings of conflict and its solutions.

Testimonies by marchers crossing the Equator. The second set of testimonies by marchers on the go documents a brief moment of the March in its passing through Ecuador. This section, titled ‘Crossing the Equator’ (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/the-ecuador/peace-maps-ecuador>) features three testimonies that were recorded as the marchers celebrated their crossing into the southern hemisphere. Among them are Jorge (57) —a member of the base team from Spain—, Alberto (64) —a union lawyer and health rights activist from Colombia— and Cristóbal (48) —a local leader who held a teach-in about what ancient astronomy can teach the world today about north-south relations. Together they denounce the violence of privatization, colonialism and imperialism, and the denial of spirituality. Alberto speaks about his organization, *Salud al Derecho*, and its struggle against the privatization of health in Colombia. Identifying the privatization of health as the source of great injustice, sickness, and death, Alberto argues that health rights belong in the March because health injustice is a “slow genocide” and because “the situation in Colombia amounts to an undeclared war on those who cannot afford medical attention.” Cristóbal’s testimony invites people to imagine maps that, based on ancient astronomy, represent the globe with the line of the equator as vertical axis that unites rather than divide the people of the world. He argues these new representations can become peace tools as they show egalitarian relationships between north

and south, based on indigenous rather than imperialist Western views. Jorge's account, which was filmed while he addressed the entire group of marchers present at the event, focused on the role spirituality, new and ancient, and of sacred places, in propelling the marchers in their mission.

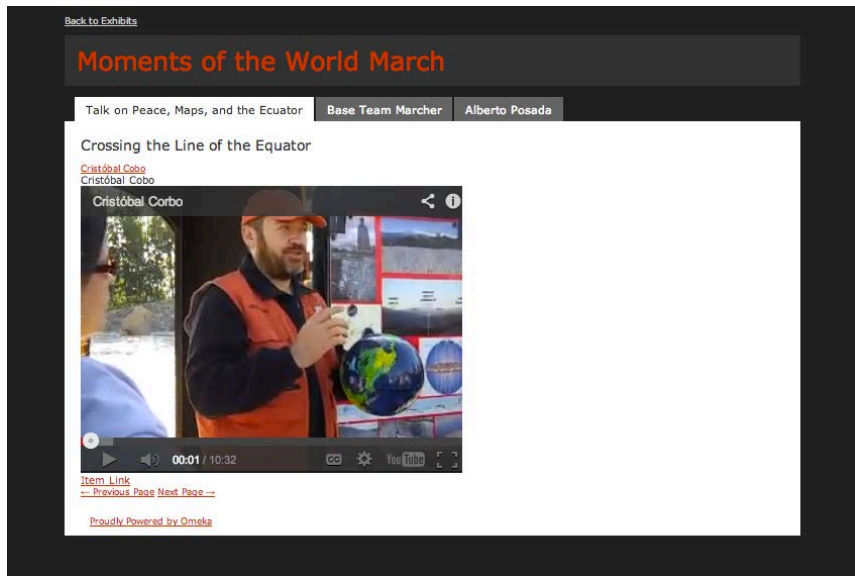


Figure 16. Cristóbal. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

These three perspectives are only one slice of the wide range of concerns, demands, and intentions that inspired the marchers to cross the line of the Equator in the pursuit of peace. The wide range of perspectives represented by these three testimonies shows how the March allowed different people to march for their own visions, demands, and communities. This, in turn, suggests that for them marching was about establishing, and maybe even performing or ‘staging’ the connections between projects for justice and education (humanization; health/unions/human rights; indigenous culture) and the broader language and vision represented by the March. Their diverse foci raise questions about how these various agendas and life projects met, interacted, and influenced each other as these marchers travelled together through the Americas. They also raises interesting questions about how this convergence may have led to new forms of

understanding, solidarity, and a widening of political and existential horizons among the marchers. Exploring these questions in due detail is outside the scope of this present analysis, but they do open up future directions for ongoing work on the archive.

Testimonies by marchers in Peru. The third set of testimonies by marchers on the go is titled ‘Viajeros in Peru’ (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/viajer%40s-en-peru>). Three of the testimonies —Fabio (56), Victor (50), and Maya (21)—took place in the *Plaza de Armas de Tumbes*, a small northern town on the border with Ecuador where the *Viajeros por la Paz* spent a hot afternoon waiting for a bus to Máncora, on their way to activities in Lima. Fabio and Victor are lawyers and environmental activists. These travelers are proud of their journey and also beginning to feel tired from the trip. Fabio describes feeling thankful towards the organizers of the March for creating a platform for him to protest economic and environmental abuses in Colombia, the Andean region, and also the world. Similarly, Victor speaks about how the March awakened in him “dreams that had been repressed.” He likens the March to his environmental movement and explains that peace is as primary as food for Colombians. Maya, the child of Latin American exiles in Switzerland, shares a positive evaluation of marching as a tool to build solidarity and denounce violence:

This march I think is good to share things with other people. To visit a country even if for two days. You can say yes, I went this country. A bit of tourism as well, yes. But in the end [it is] to show people that when you want to, with dialogue and organization it is possible to do something. And to tell people in villages that they are not alone. (Translated from Spanish)

The rest of the testimonies from marchers in Peru — by Luis (62), Sisirk (22), and Carmen (43)— were recorded during the long bus ride from Máncora to Lima and from Lima to the

border with Bolivia. These testimonies emphasize both the political impact of the March as well as the positive impact that the journey had on the marchers, their worldview, and their sense of community. Luis, a professor of geology from Bogota, describes himself as someone who has travelled the world and seen inequality. For Luis and many other travelers, the March is a political opportunity to learn more about these issues. At the same time, it is a personal opportunity to travel, as well as share the experience with new acquaintances and with his daughter, who is also traveling to Argentina with her one-year-old baby. For Sisirk, a young journalist involved in indigenous rights organizing in Colombia, the March was an opportunity to realize a dream trip while also engaging in a politically important initiative. Like Luis, Maya, Carmen, and many other travelers, Sisirk feels lucky and happy to be travelling through South America, sharing inspiring moments with others while promoting nonviolence.

Sisirk, Maya, and other younger marchers also describe feeling that the Base Team is exclusive. Maya raises another, important concern. While many marchers find it energizing to learn about the March's growing endorsements by presidents and leaders, Maya, on the other hand, criticizes the decision to welcome all endorsements, even from local leaders whose policies do not seem to support peace.

The criticism I can make of this March is that they accepted on the Internet a lot of people who speak for peace but who do not act that way. Some say this is a way for the March to put on pressure. But the March is nothing if the large NGOs of the world cannot put pressure on these people who buy weapons, then the March in a sense has no impact. This is the first time, and it is something very beautiful and large. But if there is a next time [I would] pay attention to who is accepted in the March ... Because people who don't have an education and

believe what they see say 'my president or my senator signed up for this March and they are someone who wants peace and nonviolence.' But behind their backs they don't do it. As an example...in a small town, a man told me 'if the mayor shows up he is a hypocrite because he has been in power for a long time, has a lot of money and is a murderer. Years ago he sent the military to people's houses to push them out and kill them. He steals and is a drug lord.'" (Translated from Spanish)



Figure 17. Maya. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

These last testimonies raise important questions about the meaning of a transnational march. Maya questions the costs of political inclusivity and the concern over potential cooptation informed the marchers' experiences (also see Milton and Sisirk). She also addresses the tension between political marcher and tourist, which is recurrent in the archive. These issues were in the minds of the marchers as they travelled the countries of the Andes, encountering everyday people, political leaders, and a diverse variety of groups and organizations that endorsed the

March. These themes reveal the march as a space for participants to explore and reflect about the challenges of solidarity, awareness, movement building, and nonviolent protest.

Testimonies by March Participants at Memorial Sites

In addition to the testimonies of local organizers recorded during planning meetings and the testimonies of marchers on the go, the Memoscopio archive also includes testimonies recorded during public events at memorial sites in New York City, Washington D.C., and Santiago de Chile. This ‘arrangement’ of testimonies is a window into the experiences of a diverse array of local March supporters, many of whom marched within their cities and welcomed the international marchers. Some are seasoned peace activists while others are less experienced and committed. As a chorus, their testimonies speak to *how the March related to local histories of violence, oppression, and resistance*.

Testimonies by supporters at Ground Zero. The exhibit section titled ‘Reconciliation Ceremony at Ground Zero’ (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/Ground+Zero>) features the testimonies of five peace activists from the United States who attended and took part in this ceremony. December 1, 2009 was the second and last day of March activities in New York. September Eleventh Families for Peaceful Tomorrows hosted a Ceremony of Reconciliation in honor of victims of 9/11 at Ground Zero in Wall Street during a cold and windy morning. The five accounts in this section tell us of how the March was an opportunity to link personal and US-based family histories of resistance, loss, and struggle with a larger, international movement. The tone of this set of accounts is rich, moving from sadness and a sense of certainty to humor. In their accounts, these March supporters highlight how family traditions, intergenerational work, and international solidarity networks sustain commitments to peace, inclusion, and reconciliation.

Sara (54), a marcher from Wisconsin, and Martha (60), a local religious leader, shared their accounts during the event, which included speeches by local spiritual leaders, base team marchers, and relatives of 9/11 victims. For these participants, the March served as a platform to state their commitment to nonviolence and justice, and to carry the political traditions of their families into the future. For Sara, her participation responds to the legacy of the sixties, and her family's commitment to labor and peace activism. For Martha, her journey to the March starts with her parents' work on race relations and civil rights in the south. These legacies inform their receptivity to the March and their capacity to recognize its importance.

Terry (50), Anne (73), and Gloria (59) shared their reflections after the ceremony, when the group had escaped the biting cold and met at a close-by cafe to warm up and debrief. Terry and Anne, both members of 9/11 Families for Peaceful Tomorrows, center their testimonies on the impact of tragic loss on their commitment to peace and the importance of international solidarity. While Anne and Terry stress how peacebuilding requires strength, resiliency, and hard work, Gloria focuses on humor:

My 3 blue & gold macaws, 11 and a half yr. old Mr. BABY and 12 yr old mate, Ms. MERLIN, and their 1 yr old "son," Mr. PEACE-NIK, are The Parrots for Peace, Rain-forest Ambassadors and Spokes Avians for Wildlife and Nature (now with a child they also have a nuclear family against nuclear energy.

Gloria's focus on humor contrasts the serious character of the other testimonies. For her, creativity and humor are part of building a culture of peace that sparks the imagination and ensures the continuity of nonviolence in the future. This contrast is present throughout of the March and it is reflected in the archive.

On a more serious note, Anne describes her journey through political activism and peace

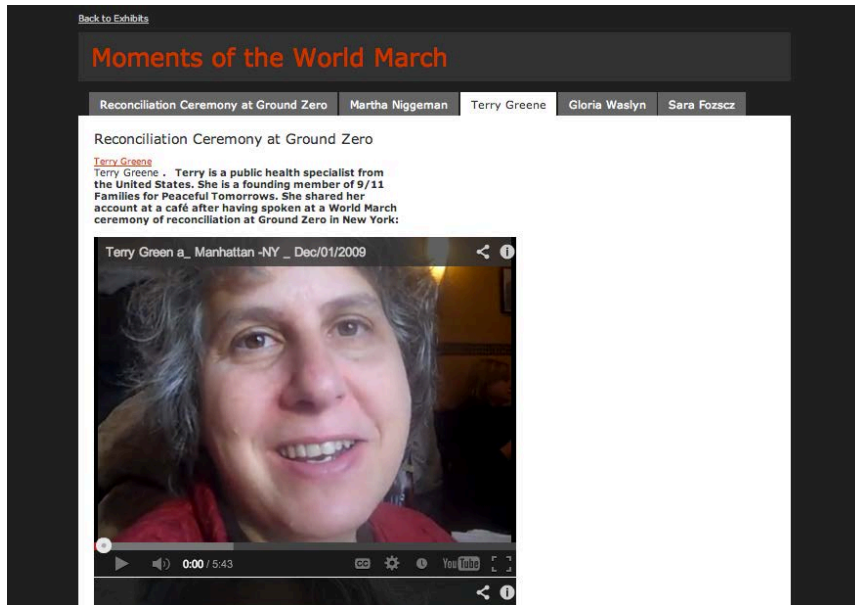


Figure 18. Terry. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

advocacy, centering on her experiences as a middle class mother in an apolitical community, and the impact of her son's death on 9/11 on her activism and willingness to support the March.

Terry, a public health professional from the United States, also speaks about the relationship of 9/11 to her understanding of the March:

My brother Don died in the September 11, 2001 attacks. He was a passenger aboard United Flight 93. Organizations from around the world whose members have lost loved ones to war, terror, organized crime, and nuclear weaponry, cosponsored the Dec 1st 2009 [March] ceremony held today at the site of the World Trade Center... The resiliency and strength, [the] agency of the marchers as well as dedication to the cause of nonviolence is an important model for all of us. They give us the hope that we will achieve the essential goal we commonly seek of a world which is sustainable and supportive of all the world's people. The March is bringing together people in communities across the world to stand united with, not against, one another. It has had success in attracting media, reaching politicians, and educating young and old.

In addition to contributing her video testimony to the Memoscopio archive, Terry also provided the transcript of her speech during the reconciliation Ceremony:

We stand at a site where loved ones suffered and died at the hands of other human beings. It is a site where destruction reigned, demonstrating humanity's capacity to harm their fellow men and women. We stand at a site where, through the smoke and flames, individuals valiantly struggled. Many braved the flames to help others, either staying behind or entering the towers in rescue operations. Some helping others did not make it out themselves. From all over New York, this country, and the world, support poured in. It is a site where tenacity and bravery and compassion reigned, demonstrating the best of humanity's capacity to serve their fellow men and women. This is a site for humanity to make its choice. Today, September 11th Families for Peaceful Tomorrows and the International Network for Peace are joined by marchers and supporters of all faiths and backgrounds, from all around the world. Many are prominent world leaders while others are simply individuals who care about our common future. We have made the choice to dedicate ourselves to the service of our fellow men, women and children. We invite you to join us. Together we stand united, not against but for one another.

While her speech stands as the collective testimony of Families for Peaceful Tomorrows, Terry's Memoscopio account delves deeper into the personal dimensions of this experience. The presence of the marchers from around the world allows Terry to frame her intimate story ("me and my brother") and those other victims' relatives ("organizations from around the world whose members have lost loved ones") in the discourse of hope that emerges from collective strength

and mutual recognition. For Anne and Terry, as well as other marchers touched by 9/11 and the War on Terror, the March opened up space to voice their yearning for a world with a different set of priorities and values. The March's visit to Ground Zero was an act of solidarity that helps them strengthen a sense community, uphold agency, and reject passivity in the face of loss. In the context of an ongoing War on Terror, the March opened up space for Terry and other Families for Peaceful Tomorrows members to speak about 9/11 without the danger of being co-opted into a discourse of retaliation. Their accounts uphold agency and cooperation as viable possibilities while rejecting isolation and devastation.

In these ways, the transnational nature of the March and its arrival in New York provided an opportunity for this set of local March supporters to frame their family and national histories in a vision of hope, collective strength, and mutual recognition and care. Their testimonies resonate with the notion that people who have experienced loss through violence can turn their knowledge of grief into a powerful source of inspiration and commitment to peace advocacy.

Testimonies by supporters at the Lincoln Memorial. The second exhibit section on memorial sites is titled 'Rally at the Lincoln Memorial' (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/WM-DC/wm-in-washington>) and features the testimonies of nine March supporters. After the activities in New York the March divided in two groups, with half of the Marches following a West coast route and half of them heading to Washington D.C. On December 2, 2009 a group of 30 activists arrived from New York by bus and marched with banners and flags from the bus station to the Lincoln Memorial. Among them were New York March organizers Germán (34) —an architect from Colombia— and Emiko (36) —an education administrator from Japan— as well as Giordano (20) —a young student from Italy who was following the March in the Americas. At

the Memorial they were met by local supporters, activists, and community and political leaders who had learned about the March through their families, teachers, and political networks. Among them were: conflict resolution undergraduate students Andrea (20) and Jesse (20); Sister Hope, a Franciscan nun who drove from Philadelphia to attend the event; Katrina (41), a local environmental activist; Josh Stieber (22), an Iraq veteran, conscientious objector, and peace advocate; and Zack Stieber (19), Josh's younger brother. Four-dozen people held a rally in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement, which, in 1963 held the famous March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The speakers at the event included local politicians and professors, members of the March Base Team, and US-based antiwar activists such as Iraq veteran Josh Stieber. Katrina, an environmentalist from the United States, found herself among international marchers and local students, professors, politicians, and activists – people she had never met before. Under a cold rain, she shared a written testimony about her recent connection to the March:

I just learned of this a few days ago through a Facebook link somewhere. I have long felt our world would be better if everyone "simply" agreed to be at peace. I saw a bumper sticker years ago that said "It will be a great day when our schools have all the money they need, and the Air Force has to hold a bake sale to buy a bomber." That was my first real awareness that others felt the same way... I hope [the March] will greatly increase the awareness of the futility of trying to solve differences through armed conflicts.

The context of the March and her contact with international marchers serve to intensify Katrina's awareness that others around the world also believe in the possibility of peace. Katrina speaks of violence and injustice as impeding peace. Militarism in the United States, she

argues, can be linked to the neglect of schoolchildren through the lack of representation and fair distribution of resources. Katrina, as well as the rest of the marchers in this group, writes as a concerned and engaged individual who understands the significance of the March and has answered its call. Not unlike the set of testimonies from Peru, these Marchers expressed a wide range of views, interests and concerns when speaking about the significance of the March and its relationship to their own lives. As a set, these testimonies touch on topics such as the fight to de-normalize war and promote nonviolence in the United States (Josh and Zack), breastfeeding as the start of nonviolence in the family (Sister Hope), peace as the answer to budgetary, environmental, and economic problems in the United States (Katrina), and the March as an opportunity to reflect on how own commitment to nonviolence has developed (Emiko, Germán, and Giordano). Together, the activists who attended the rally used the Memorial as a stage to reject war, violence, and injustice, thus giving visibility to the idea that peace is possible to attain. Their diverse testimonies suggest that the March's visit to the Memorial and the honoring of the March on Washington helped these activists feel connected to a larger history of resistance and peacebuilding, one that is rooted in the United States and its legacies of resistance.

Testimonies from Villa Grimaldi. The third set of testimonies gathered at a memorial site is featured in the exhibit section 'Human Rights Concert in Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi' (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/concert-in-villa-grimaldi>). On December 28, 2009 the Andean and Atlantic legs of the March converged in Santiago the Chile, the last major city in its itinerary. About 500 supporters marched towards a notorious torture center of the Pinochet dictatorship, now rededicated as the Villa Grimaldi Peace Park. The event at Villa Grimaldi included a tour of the museum, a cultural program, and statements from international marchers. During the afternoon thirteen marchers shared their

testimonies with Memoscopio. Among them were international travelers Montserrat (72, Spain), Magaly (Chile), Yolanda (51, Colombia), and Marco (45, Italy). They were welcomed by local March organizers and local supporters, including Danilo (27), Valentina (24), Jaime (23), Constanza (21), Alex (49), Alonso (50), Juan Pablo (39), Sergio (38), and Alejandra (18). Energized by the perceived success of the initiative and moved by the history of Villa Grimaldi, these activists described the March through rich metaphors of awakening, flow, and community. The testimonies communicate an atmosphere of excitement and engagement, but are also infused with the pain and conflict of the dictatorship.



Figure 19. Alex. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

One of the themes that runs across this set of testimonies is the role of the March as an opportunity to learn about Villa Grimaldi and deepen the marchers' understanding of the Chilean past and their place in it. Alex, a therapist, described the experience of visiting Villa Grimaldi for the first time while sitting under a tree:

I had the misfortune, when I was 11 or 12 to live the beginning of the dictatorship period in Chile. I am the child of right wing parents... And for a long time my eyes were shut [pauses, chokes up] until arriving at places like this that I didn't know existed. One thing that hits me the most is to know that there can be people that can make others suffer so much. I work, to the extent possible, to accompany others. And this is a place that is beautiful but where it is palpable that many people suffered here, and that, in truth, there must be many others going through the same... The contributions [of the March] will be significant for a very long time. I believe there will be one moment, and then another, and then there has to come another one until people can come to an awareness of what it means not to face reality through violence. (Translated from Spanish)

Alex describes himself as the child of a 'right-wing family.' In the Chilean context, this means he probably grew up within the sectors of society that supported the dictatorship, and that would rather see the country 'leave the past behind' without memory sites, truth commissions, and prosecutions. In this sense, Alex's experience echoes that of many Chileans who grew up during the dictatorship within right wing or *Pinochetista* families, which made up roughly half the country. What is particularly compelling about Alex's testimony is the openness of his feelings about coming to Villa Grimaldi for the first time. It is important to mention that his situation is not at all uncommon and that, most likely, a large portion of the local marchers in attendance that day had never before visited a former torture center, despite their open condemnation of the abuses of the dictatorship and their general knowledge of their existence. But what is unique and striking about Alex's testimony is the open admission of his ignorance and of his unintentional contribution to the erasure of this painful past. As it is possible to see in

the video testimony, he is deeply moved by the history of the place and the realization that until then he had been unaware that such places existed.

While it would have been easy for Alex to hide the fact that he had never known of such places until that day, Alex sees value in making his experience public. The following portion of the testimony provides clues as to why he made his experience public through Memoscopio:

I want to share my testimony because I approached the humanist movement [which organized the March] due to personal reasons, due to health reasons. And I found a group of people that would give an unconditional amount of love and care that I have never seen before in other places. And it was strange...I discovered that there was so much to learn and so much to tell, and so much that people don't know. I discovered that it was possible to give unconditional love and that I could also contribute to this. Of course [illness] is a cause of sadness and one feels great pain, but it is the moment to rebuild life and rebuild the outlook towards the world and forward. That seed also forms part of this park, in its idea, in this participation in the project. (Translated from Spanish)

Alex's testimony speaks to the power of community life to turn private, silent health crises into a source of collective strength and mutual recognition. As Alex himself explains, it was this previous experience that made him appreciate the social function of the Villa Grimaldi Peace Park as a place that helps make public the invisible suffering of those held there during the dictatorship. Public recognition and community are sources of strength for survivors who, despite their sadness and pain, hope 'to rebuild life and rebuild the outlook towards the world and forward.' Another distinguishing element in this testimony is the description of how the very values received from that family allowed him to build a different outlook and, among other

things, recognize the significance of international peace and justice initiatives such as the March. In this way, Alex's and the other local testimonies suggest that the event at Villa Grimaldi helped the March publicly recognize the painful history of Chile and at the same time 'lift' or activate those traditions, values, and networks that can inform peacebuilding.

For Sergio, a painter and March supporter from Santiago, the event was also an opportunity to think critically about the meaning of peace and democracy in post-dictatorship Chile and in a globalized world:

First of all, here in Chile there was a fairly violent period, there was a lot of suffering for a long time, where violence was present on a daily basis. The problem is that despite the arrival of democracy, some aspects have not changed. It is our duty now to struggle against that violence that is a bit more secret and the consciousness we have to gain so there can be that change within my country, Chile. In regards to that, nowadays the social role of the March for [Peace and] Nonviolence is to gain awareness, to denounce, and to try to make the most possible change throughout this globalized world so that there is a greater connection with peace, so small at this moment. (Translated from Spanish)

The event inspired in Sergio a reflection about the true meaning of peace. He argues that, in the Chilean context, a nominal return to democracy has proven insufficient, as direct violence and abuses have been replaced by the 'secret violence' of social exclusion, economic exploitation, and other structural forms of violence. The context of Villa Grimaldi and its representation of invisible suffering, serves as a propitious place for Sergio to denounce current structural violence and to invite his imagined audience to engage critically with this "subject of conversation, of debate, of change," both within Chile as well as in the context of a global peace movement.

The central theme in this set of testimonies is the complex meaning of the March for these participants, who, while speaking about the Chilean context and its history with dictatorship and neoliberal inequality, also speak about the broader context of the March and its global goals. For them, the initiative was a means to raise awareness of peace and nonviolence as viable options; an opportunity to learn from other peoples and movements; a chance to reflect about the painful past and imagine the future; and the chance to feel connected to an emerging and global peace movement. Throughout their testimonies, March supporters such as Alex and Sergio shared novel and provocative articulations of the meaning of peace advocacy, memory, and imagination in a post-dictatorship society and in today's globalized world. These testimonies highlight the ways in which the March shed new light on the meaning of the site, as well as the ways in which the site's contentious meaning gave substance and local relevance to the March.

Testimonies by Participants at Civic Center Events

The Memoscopio archive houses five sets of testimonies recorded during March activities in civic centers in New York, Bogota, Armenia, Santiago, and Tiwanaku. This 'arrangement' of testimonies is a window into the experiences of March supporters who took part in a wide array of activities held in local civic centers, including central plazas and parks, city halls, and historic downtowns among others. Among these March supporters are international marchers, as well as local supporters and organizers. Together, their testimonies speak to *what it meant to bring the vision of the March to civic centers across the Americas*.

Testimonies from Boro Hall and City Hall. The set of testimonies titled 'Boro Hall to City Hall Over the Brooklyn Bridge' (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/Brooklyn+Bridge>) features the testimonies of six marchers who were local

endorsers from peace and antiwar organizations in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Long Island, and upstate New York. November 30 2009 was the March's New York City Day of Action. Under a cold rain, Memoscopio joined a two thousand-person march over Brooklyn Bridge which mobilized life-long peace and antinuclear activists, students from the Brooklyn International High School, members of cultural organizations, and New York-based organizers. This march started with a rally at the steps of the Brooklyn Borough Hall and ended with a rally, press conference, and meetings with public officials at the Manhattan City Hall.

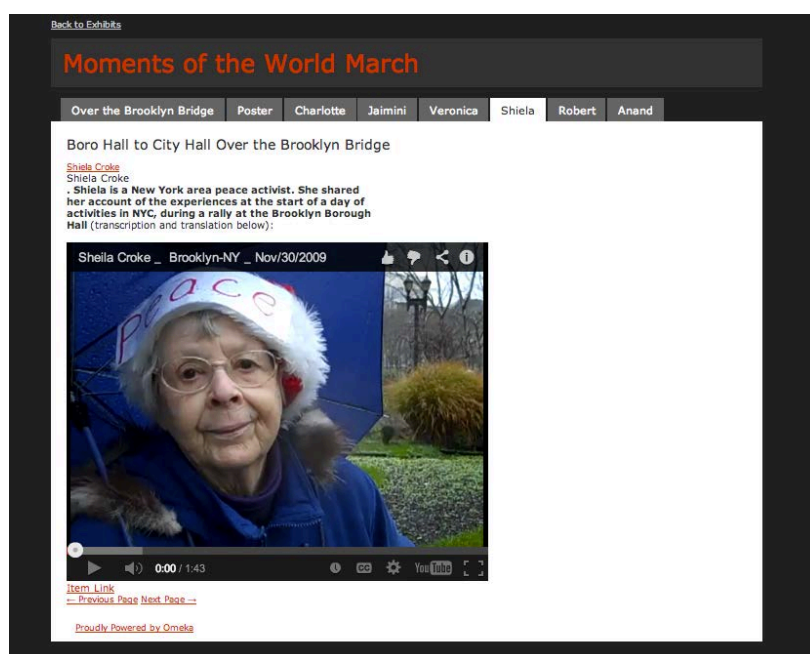


Figure 20. Sheila. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Charlotte (75) and Sheila, both veteran peace activists from Long Island, shared their testimonies in Brooklyn. In Manhattan, Jaimini (47), Veronica (52), and Robert (51) shared their accounts near City Hall. Anand (30) shared his testimony after attending a Q&A session that brought together Pace University students and international marchers. The theme of inter-generational collaborations is central to their accounts, probably because peace activism in New York tends to be dominated by groups of largely middle-aged organizers. Sheila, Charlotte,

Veronica, Jaimini, Robert, and Anand speak of how the involvement of young people in the March creates possibilities for peace in the future. As Sheila describes:

I was thrilled to hear about [the March]. This is something we have been working individually or with a few friends here and there. And to find out that this is going to be a world march was tremendously exciting to everybody. And we have been following it online with the videos and the welcome that the March has gotten in so many countries. In Australia, in Belgium, in the North Pole. It has been just incredible. And especially to see all the young faces singing in the streets, you know? I would just watch them over and over. It is so encouraging.

As Sheila's account illustrates, the accounts shared by these supporters describe the March and its transnational nature as source of inspiration and the demonstration that things could be different. A sense of possibility opens up as their local efforts are linked to a larger global community of protesters, to the actions of new generations of future protesters, and to a movement of a large scale even though it may not lead to concrete achievements in war policy. The testimonies convey excitement about being part of a global initiative, which is seen as a sign of future possibilities for a global community that cooperates towards peace. They stress the importance of the March for the education of young people towards a critical view of the current culture of violence and the possibilities for things to be different in the realms of the economy, security, and democracy.

Testimonies shared at the Bogota civic center. The second set of civic center testimonies 'the March in Bogota'

(<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/march-in-bogot%C3%A1>) was recorded the day the March arrived in Bogota. Memoscopio

followed local organizers from a festive reception at the El Dorado airport to a press conference with local politicians and the mayor. During a quiet moment, Sonia (30) and Jaime (24) shared reflections about the political meaning of the March in the post-colonial context of South America and for the history of the humanist movement.



Figure 21. Sonia. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Sonia grounds her testimony in her experiences as a community organizer, nonviolence advocate, and mother to a toddler. Speaking the Plaza Bolívar, the central square in Bogota, she explained:

I believe the March has given us the opportunity to mobilize together and to see that all humanist [movement members] can carry out a single joint project and that this project can be a long term one... The world will not thank us one bit. We are crazy people who go from here to there with the March, concerts, and what not. But tell me, what are you going to tell your children. Your entire planet is at war, everything is wrong, and you didn't do anything? Not even express that

we are against something we don't like? Not even express that we are against any form of violence? I believe the future generation will not forgive that. So at least showing them a picture and tell them that we are involved in something in which we have enormous faith. (Translated from Spanish)

Jaime, in turn, grounds his testimony in his knowledge of political science and his understanding of the March in the context of a history of peace movements. Both agree that the full meaning and contribution of the March will not be fully appreciated nor recognized for a long time because it promotes an existential revolution that is hard to grasp. Their testimonies communicate a clear sense that while it is important to bring the March's vision to the civic center and to meet with public officials, the fact remains that the political structures in power are unlikely to understand the significance and magnitude of this vision.

Testimonies by participants at the Armenia City Hall. The third set of testimonios recorded during public events in civic centers is titled 'At the Armenia City Hall' (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/at-the-armenia-city-hall>). It features the testimonies nine marchers, recorded in the Colombian city of Armenia during a reception with the Governor at City Hall. Enrique (47), Bibiana (26), Kai (34), Juan Pablo (19), and Fabio (21) shared their accounts during the reception and later contributed them to the archive. These testimonies exemplify how the sharing of testimonies was a central part of many March activities. Their accounts are situated in the official nature of the event, and these marchers speak as representatives of their countries, communities, and organizations. Kai, a marcher from Germany whose testimony was translated by one of the *Viajeros por la Paz*, links the March to historical events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, explaining that even apparently insurmountable barriers can come down. Enrique, one of the organizers of the March in

Colombia, describes an alternative to the current state of affairs in politics, inviting the people in the audience to feel that possibility in their hearts. Similarly, Fabio, a member of the organization *Seres de Paz*, describes the March as an opportunity to address urgent need for global and local change towards democracy and peace. Bibiana, a student, environmental activist and coordinator of the Colombian delegation of marchers, addresses her fellow citizens. The March, she tells them, is a chance to make demands about a peaceful world and an opportunity to represent Colombia as a place where there are valiant people who fight for peace through nonviolence:

For us the marches from various cities in Colombia is very rewarding and exciting to take around the world this call for nonviolence. We do not want more [inaudible] in our country fomenting war. Conflicts must be resolved through diplomacy. We do not want war. We don't want any more nuclear weapons, we are asking for the goal of eliminating of nuclear weapons. That is it: we want a world without wars and without violence. And as young people, as adults, as women, and the kids that are with us, we are traveling to demonstrate to the world that Colombia is more than just drug trafficking, more than just prostitution, not just guerrilla, not just paramilitary, but that here in Colombia there are also people who are very very courageous and not because they have a rifle in their hand, but because there are people who have values and a lot of love to give. And this is the message we are taking. And we are happy to take this to others. (Translated from Spanish)

The remaining four testimonies were shared outside City Hall, at Armenia's central plaza. Isa (43), Mago (36), Norma (27), and Patricia (38), who spoke to Memoscopio after the

reception, were among the organizers of the March in Armenia. These organizers speak of the March as a collective achievement and an opportunity for personal change. For them, the arrival of the international marchers is a resource for local activists to obtain the attention of local politicians. The global scale of the March makes it locally relevant for activists. At the same time, this also makes it a convenient photo opportunity for leaders who are not necessarily committed to the March's mission. These official endorsements help the March's mission to raise awareness about nonviolence as a possibility but also create a sense of achievement among these local organizers.

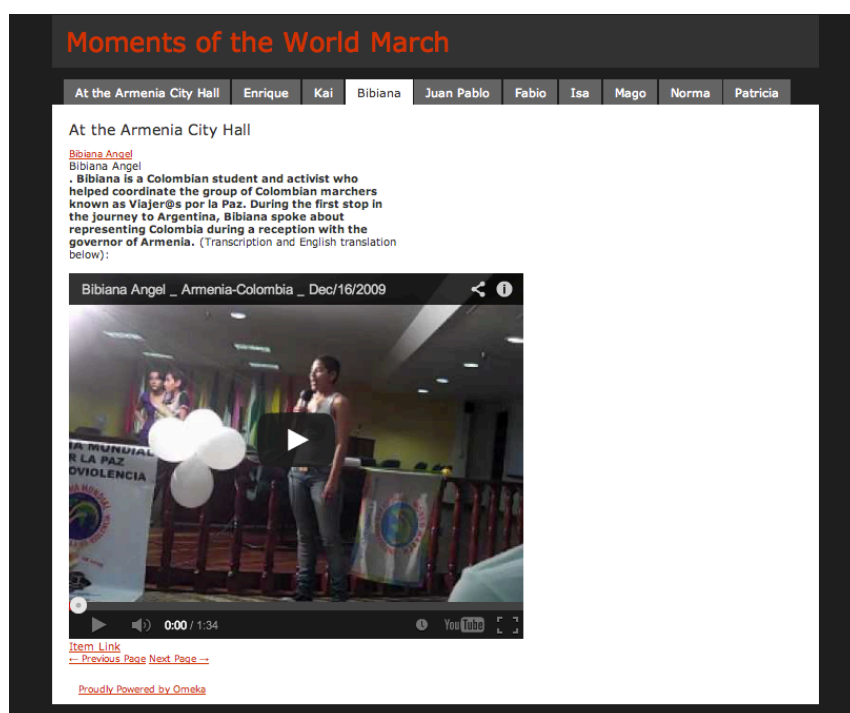


Figure 22. Bibiana. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Overall, this set of testimonies helps us understand how the March created opportunities for civic engagement and to reclaim civic centers as stages for their peacebuilding efforts. For the travelers, the event at the Armenia City Hall was an opportunity to serve as official spokespeople of the March. For the local organizers, the passing of the marchers through

Armenia gave them access to official leaders and an opportunity to have their ideas about peace and justice to be heard and recognized at the political heart of their city.

Testimonies by local participants in Campo de Marte. The fourth set of civic center testimonies is entitled ‘Concert in Campo de Marte’ (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/concert-in-campodemartes>). Coming from northern Peru, the March arrived in Lima on December 22, 2009. After negotiating a bus for 50 marchers to travel to La Paz later that day, local activists took the travelers from the bus station to the activities that had been planned. The main event was a concert in Campo de Marte, a famous urban park in downtown Lima. During the concert, eight local organizers and a local supporter contributed their testimonies to the Memoscopio archive. This set of testimonies, like many others within the exhibit, shows how important emotion was in the experience of marchers. Energized by the arrival of the March, and enjoying a mid-week respite from their routines, these marchers focus on the positive aspects of their experience. Each from their own positions, they describe the very personal connections between their lives in Peru and the larger goals the March. Mary, who took part of the program, spoke of her resilience as a Holocaust child survivor and links her participation in the March to the hope she gained from being “adopted by Peru.” For Lilo (45), taking part in the March has to do with her commitment to a coherent life and a better future for herself, her daughter, and the world. Brenda (28), a teacher, found refuge in the March from a “society [that] sees volunteers are crazy.” The March, she said, means a lot to her as a teacher, even if just one person hears the message. Laura (20) and Adilio (23), both youth organizers, speak about how the March has infused energy into their work with others. Laura stresses the excitement

of new collaborations and actions while Adilio focuses on the pride of bringing his ancient Andean culture into the work for a planetary nation of inclusion. Lizzet (28), Maurizio (38), and Stefano (39), describe the March as an extraordinary experience that has a positive impact in the lives of core organizers and endorsers. In Lizzet's words:

I feel this as a milestone with the presence of the March in my life. I feel there was a period of "Lizzet and her routine" versus "Lizzet the activist." This has changed.[The March] was, continues to be a wonderful opportunity bring out many things from inside of me that were, let's say, underneath other flowery things. Before, I had a constant routine and repetitive themes from which I wasn't getting out, even though I was trying to nourish myself with other things in life, and to get out of the bubble in which I had inserted myself. And it happens to many, we are made to believe that we have all these needs that we need to cover. And at some pint I felt that those needs are more imposed than the ones one really has. So going a bit outside of the work routine and outside ideas under which our parents were also raised, I began lifting my head and [said] 'let's see.' In the world this and that is happening. And how do I feel I relate to this? And, above all, what can I do about this? So the March was the opportunity and I said aha! I identify with this! (Translated form Spanish)

Like Lizzet, these marchers describe the March as a turning point in their lives; something that takes them beyond their daily lives, jobs, and routines and into a wider world. Maurizio's testimony stresses the deep interpersonal connections he has experienced in the context of the March, which he has come to see as the key for a new world. As a set, these testimonies communicate a feeling that the presence of the March in the heart of their city provided a sense

of recognition and visibility to their usually anonymous efforts and personal experiences with violence and peacebuilding.



Figure 23. Lizzett. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Testimonies by local participants in Tiwanaku. The last set of testimonies gathered at a civic center is titled “Blessings in Tiwanaku” (<http://archive.memoscopio.org/exhibits/show/moments-of-the-world-march/Tiwanaku>). On December 23, 2009 the March arrived at the sacred site of Tiwanaku, Bolivia. Tiwanaku is a pre-Columbian archeological site perched on a high plateau of the Altiplano, not far from the capital of Bolivia, La Paz. The site served as spiritual and civic center for the Tiwanaku Empire, one of the most important pre-Hispanic civilizations in the Americas and precursor of the Aymara civilization. The site still plays an important role as a civic center in Bolivia. The first indigenous president of Bolivia, Evo Morales, celebrated his inauguration at the site for his first and second terms in 2006 and 2010 respectively.

The Aymara sages, or Amautas of Tiwanaku, welcomed the March with a blessing ceremony held at this ancient spiritual and civic center near La Paz. This set of testimonies feature: local organizers Omar (42), Richie (31), Ale (27); local supporters Pacha Kuti, Mariela (25), Lourdes (26), and Elizabeth (52); as well as international marchers Montserrat (72, Spain), Diago (24, Colombia), Andrei (33, Colombia), and Jair (23, Canada). The beauty of the *altiplano* and the spiritual, political, and cultural significance of the site provide a special context for this set of testimonies, which thread intimate experiences and widening historical horizons, as they touch upon hope and despair, local indigenous politics, social change, and private lives, as well as social justice and peacebuilding, among other themes.

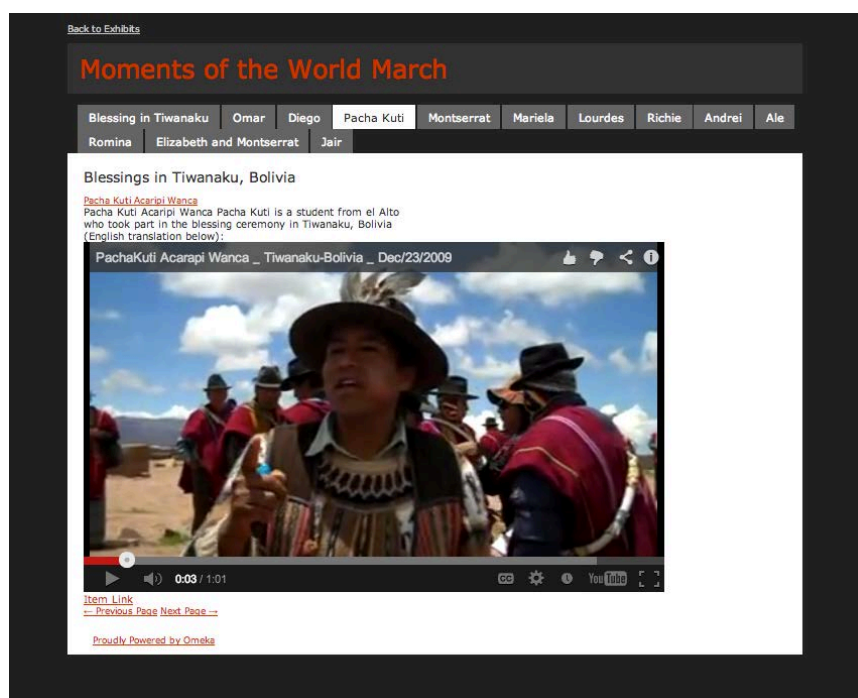


Figure 24. Pacha Kuti. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

In line with its history as a civic and spiritual center, the site inspired testimonies that focus on the spiritual/existential dimensions of the March as much as the political. Pacha Kuti, a local student, chose to focus on the meaning of the blessing ceremony held by the Amautas:

For the indigenous peoples of the Americas and the great cradle of Tiwanaku this

day is the great day of the half-year for all of us. This is why we are here to greet you, to give you a big hug, the hug of the great Tiwanakuta sages and to give love and brotherhood to all the brothers and sisters that came from [around] the world in defense of the *Pachamama* [Mother Earth or Mother World], in defense of nonviolence, and for the valuing of love, to your fellow people, and not only them, but also everyone who inhabits the *Pachamama* [under] the Father Sun. Thanks to all of you. I am here to embrace you. A great *jayaya!*

[hurray]. (Translated from Spanish)

Pacha Kuti's testimony is grounded in the meaning of the celebrations at Tiwanaku and the spiritual significance of the March's visit during the half-year celebration. As he describes it, himself and many other sages of Tiwanaku were there to welcome the marchers and to include them in these important celebrations and bless the initiative. Elizabeth, a social worker, chose to share with Memoscopio a conversation among Antonia (Memoscopio), Montserrat (base team), and herself. She is much more concerned with the relationship between the March and the political complexities of Bolivia's nonviolent revolutionary process, which in the last decade has led to a constitution that renounces war and water privatization as well as to the first indigenous president in a country where the population is over fifty percent indigenous and nearly thirty percent mestizo. Elizabeth, an indigenous social worker, expresses her frustration:

It is nice to say [good] things but the other day there was the human rights congress and the congress had 15 to 18 people, and everyone was appointed, none of them from El Alto. And how were they been brought there? With a glass of wine... and when we were coming here, in La Tranca, they asked us for documents, and Carmelo tells them 'You see, we are going to a march for world

peace and nonviolence and we are with brother Evo [Morales]. 'Oh, with Evo? Ok, go ahead.' ... It is very sad. You can say that *politiqueros* [political operators] use us as ladders. Just one anecdote. I am a social worker, and we were in the marches with Evo. So many marches. And now, does he listen to us? No. So is there justice? (Translated from Spanish)

For Elizabeth the March is just another instance in her activism where she encounters the problematic nature of politics and organizing in Bolivia and where she finds herself in an ambiguous relationship to the president. For younger marchers from La Paz, these problems are not at the center of their testimonies. Romina, who is a student and member of the humanist movement, explains that "the March is a means to raise consciousness [*concientizar*] among people about the contemporary world in which we live, about all kinds of violence that we are living, [such as] violence within the family, and in everything else." Together, these testimonies illustrate how a single event during the March at one specific location was experienced and described in a wide range of ways by its participants. The meanings and knowledges that infused the March with life were multiple and complex. Among them were tensions among cultural expression, representation, and power. These issues activated many threads, many lines of thought, emotions and experience, turning the event at Tiwanaku into much more than the sum of these experiences.

Emerging Understandings

As I described earlier, the creation and analysis of the Moments of the World March digital exhibit served as a systematic survey of the dynamic richness of the archive. Much like a kaleidoscope would, this analysis arranged the testimonies in ways that brought certain aspects of the archive and the testimonies to the foreground. More specifically, this analysis allowed

me, as an audience, to engage with the testimonies as digital objects and explore what they communicated about the significance of the March. Here I presented the key themes and experiences that emerged from this process, attempting to stay close to the language and metaphors the marchers used when articulating: 1) their understandings of peace, conflict, transformation, and change; 2) the socio-political worlds that their testimonies address/respond to; 3) and the expertise, knowledge, contradictions, and certainties they share with their audiences; their common experiences of violence, resistance, and possibility.

The exhibit brought into focus the various moments of the March during which the activists shared their testimonies with Memoscopio, thus highlighting the relationship between the larger mission of the March, the marchers, and a variety of contexts and settings across cities and towns in the United States, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. This first look at the archive offered no simple answers to the meaning of the March. Rather, it revealed how differently positioned marchers experienced the march through activities such as local organizing, international marching, engagement with local histories, and protest in civic centers. At the same time, this analysis revealed how differently positioned people engaged in different projects through the March.

A unique combination of public events and ordinary moments made up the day to day of an initiative that, as many international movements of today, was both intimate and spectacular in its response to war, injustice, and other widespread forms of violence. The set of testimonies by local March organizers served as a window into the experiences of marchers who dedicated more than a year of their lives to promoting the March in their cities and countries, seeking out local endorsements, and organizing local events in celebration of the March and its arrival. As a chorus, their testimonies speak to *what it meant to organize the March across various places in*

the Americas. For Mendoza-based activists, organizing the March meant pushing against personal and social understandings of human nature and violence. It also meant speaking against a kind of epistemological violence that denies the possibility of change, growth, and transformation. For New York-based organizers, the March and its promotion of nonviolence allow them to weave together various levels of experience and concern, from their personal search for viable models to macroeconomic and global concerns such as imperialism, nuclear warfare, and inequality. For Colombian activists, organizing the March in Colombia was a chance to nurture their own imagination about a different logic. But, more concretely, it was also about learning how to share this vision with others through constructive dialogue, publicity, and community building. For organizers in Arica, organizing the March meant working to transform existential angst into a resolute and hopeful rejection of violence, turning despair and confusion into action and the forging of circuits of resistance and inspiration that connect individuals and communities around the world. Together, these testimonies communicate the organizers' deep concern with despair and anguish, their sense of commitment and responsibility, and their conviction that the March could expand people's imaginations about peace and nonviolence.

The set of testimonies by international marchers brought into focus the experiences and perspectives of a wide array of marchers who travelled the Americas along the March's Pacific coast leg. Together, this group of testimonies speaks to *what marching meant for those who joined to the March in its journey across towns, cities, and countries*. The marchers at the Colombian-Ecuador border narrate possibilities for moving from a lack of vision to active engagement; from violent conflict to nonviolent resolution; and from seeing oneself as a Colombian citizen to enacting global citizenship. What is clear is that the experience of crossing

a border in conflict made for provocative reflections about alternative forms of citizenship, community, and nation that the marchers were staging in their journey. The marchers crossing the line of the Equator saw their journey as an opportunity to denounce the violence of privatization, colonialism and imperialism, and the denial of spirituality. This suggests that, for them, marching was about establishing, and maybe even performing or ‘staging,’ the connections between local projects of justice and education (humanization; health/unions/human rights; indigenous culture) and a larger movement for peace. The *Viajeros* in Peru explored the tensions between solidarity and voyeurism, and political inclusivity and cooptation, which they encountered during their journey in South America. Together the testimonies of the international marchers communicate the various ways in which the March created opportunities to challenge collective lies about representation, nationality, peace, and borders, as well as the roots and solutions of violence.

The set of testimonies shared at memorial sites served as a window into the experiences of a diverse array of local March supporters, many of whom marched within their cities and welcomed the international marchers. As a chorus, their testimonies speak to *how the March related to local histories of violence, and to the processes of remembrance and reconciliation they produced*. The five accounts shared at Ground Zero tell us of how the March was an opportunity to link personal and US-based family histories of loss and activism with a larger, international movement. In their accounts, these March supporters describe how family traditions, intergenerational work, and international solidarity networks sustain commitments to peace, inclusion, economic justice, and reconciliation. Throughout their accounts they state their firm commitment to the notion that war should not be waged in the name of victims and survivors of violence. The transnational nature of the March and its arrival to New York provide

an opportunity to frame their family and national histories in a broader vision of hope, collective strength, and mutual recognition and care. The testimonies shared at the Lincoln Memorial speak to how the activists who attended the rally used the Memorial as a stage to reject war, violence, and injustice, thus giving visibility to the idea that peace is possible to attain. Their diverse testimonies suggest that the March's visit to the Memorial and the honoring of the March on Washington helped these activists feel connected to a larger history of resistance and peacebuilding. The testimonies of March supporters who visited Villa Grimaldi communicate novel and provocative articulations of the meaning of peace advocacy, memory, and imagination in a post-dictatorship society and in today's globalized world. Among other things, these testimonies highlight the ways in which the March shed new light on the meaning of Villa Grimaldi, as well as the ways in which Villa Grimaldi's contentious meaning gave substance and relevance to the March. From the testimonies shared at memorials we learn about the complex relationship of the March to personal and collective memory, as well as to personal and collective futures. More specifically, the marchers speak about how the March is at once an opportunity to give continuity to family and political traditions that defend peace and inclusion, while at the same time being an opportunity to stress the need to break with a past of pain and suffering where the logic of resentment and revenge turn the future into a repetition of the past.

The set of Testimonies at Civic Centers brought to into focus the experiences of March supporters who took part in a wide array of activities held in local civic centers, including central plazas and parks, city halls, and historic downtowns among others. Among these March supporters are international marchers, as well as local supporters and organizers. Together, their testimonies speak to *what it meant to bring the vision of the March to civic centers across the Americas*. The testimonies from Borough Hall and City Hall in New York communicate

excitement about being part of a global initiative, which is seen as a sign of future possibilities for a global community that cooperates towards peace. They stress the importance of the March for the education of young people towards a critical view of the system and the possibilities for things to be different in the realms of the economy, security, and democracy. The set of testimonies from the Armenia City Hall highlight how the March created opportunities for civic engagement and for reclaiming civic centers as stages for grassroots peacebuilding efforts. The testimonies from the Campo de Marte Park in Lima communicate a feeling that the presence of the March in the heart of their city provided a sense of recognition and visibility to these Marchers usually anonymous efforts and personal experiences in Peru. Together, the testimonies shared at civic centers speak to the importance of audiencing critical and popular visions of peace and nonviolence through public protest.

Three key understandings about the meaning of the March in the Americas begin to emerge from this analysis of Memoscopio. First, the meaning of the March and the testimonies are deeply situated within specific lives, places, settings, and activities. Metaphorically speaking, the archive appeared as a patchwork of situated lives, visions, and struggles. This patchwork conveys the richness and complexity of the March, and the diversity of perspectives and intentions that converged under its banner for over a year. Secondly, March participants experienced the initiative as an opportunity to engage —emotionally, intellectually, and politically— with key barriers to sustainable peace at the local, regional, and global levels. Third, this engagement with the March took the form of what I will call a *radical (loco)motion* through geographic, psychological, ideological, cultural, and political landscapes. Building on this analysis, Chapter Five will present a second look into the archive, focusing on how the testimonies were used toward these ends. In Chapter Six I will elaborate on these emerging

understandings to arrive at a more rich understanding of the particular politics of recognition that informed the Memoscopio archive, as well as the kinds of collective imagination the March sought to promote through radical (loco)motion.

Chapter Five

Bringing Self, World, and Future into Focus

In this Chapter I continue to present the two-stage analysis of the Memoscopio testimonies described in Chapter Three. This second analysis brings into focus the ways in which Memoscopio contributors speak about themselves, their worlds and the future in relation to the World March for Peace and Nonviolence as they responded to the themes suggested by Memoscopio. What this analysis shows is that these March participants used their testimonies to turn personal accounts into public peacebuilding tools. More specifically, the testimonies serve as discursive tools that: (1) infuse a politics of engagement and recognition into public representations of March participants; (2) promote the vision and goals of the March; and (3) to offer a hopeful assessment of what peace activism can achieve in the future. These functions are not mutually exclusive. The contributors to the archive often address the connections between personal stories, collective pasts, current events, and the future of peacebuilding, all in a single breadth. For the most part, however, a testimony tends to have a focus and the marchers themselves often specify which of the suggested themes they are speaking about.

As in Chapter Four, I present these uses through exemplary quotes from the archive, attempting to stay close to the language and metaphors the marchers used, as well as to the questions and insights that the process brought up for me as an audience. It is worth mentioning that, as I focus on the uses of the testimonies, I attempt to stay close to the settings and contexts that informed them. As I mentioned in Chapter Four, it is important to remember that the transcripts that follow do not do full justice to the emotional, gestural, and linguistic richness of the video testimonies. Neither do they communicate the background sounds, landscapes, and

weather conditions in which the participants shared their testimonies. These dimensions of the data serve to remind us that the testimony was an embodied and interpersonal experience. The online exhibit that accompanies this written analysis serves to compensate for these shortcomings.

Infusing a Politics of Engagement and Recognition

One of the central functions of the Memoscopio testimonies is to communicate the marchers' personal relationship to the March. Some participants explicitly refer to the theme suggested by the Memoscopio Team (*The March and I: Its connection to my personal story*). Others touch on the relationship between personal and social change while speaking to the other themes suggested in the interview protocol. In speaking about the connection between the March and their personal stories, the marchers present themselves and their communities as protagonists and as cultural, political, and historical agents. In making explicit how their life stories intersect with the March, they leave a public record of their diverse roots, identities, motivations, and struggles. There is considerable diversity in the content of these accounts, reflecting the diversity of backgrounds and interests represented in the archive. In addition, these accounts present life experiences as legitimate sources of knowledge about peacebuilding, and offer potentially inspiring models of activism, growth, and change for their audiences. In these ways, the testimony genre turns these personal experiences and accounts into tools to infuse a politics of engagement and recognition into public representations of the marchers and their communities. As I will describe in detail below, the testimonies carry out this work through specific types of stories, or sub-genres. First, some marchers infuse a politics of engagement and recognition through *origin stories*. These stories trace the marchers' engagement in the March to their childhoods, their political commitments, their spiritual journeys, or to serendipity. The

testimonies also promote engagement and recognition through *development stories*, which describe changing perceptions of themselves and the March as a result of their participation in the initiative.

Origin Stories: Diverse journeys to the March. A large number of the participants chose to describe the life journeys that led them to participate in the March and commitments. These origin stories describe life-long searches begun in childhood; deep commitments that define adult lives; spiritual journeys that inform activism, and unexpected or serendipitous engagement with the March.

Life-long searches. Many contributors to the archive describe the life-long searches that began in childhood and that led them to embrace the March. These accounts provide evidence that the pursuit of peace and the search for models of nonviolence and equity can give direction and meaning to a life. Cristián and Mariana are among the marchers who shared these kinds of stories. Cristián is a 52-year-old business owner from Santiago de Chile who volunteered for two years fundraising for the March. He shared his testimony during the closing celebrations in Argentina, where he reflected about the experience among old friends:

A friend invited me one day to a meeting about the March... We were about 20 or 30 people and they explained what the March was. This is like in June of 2008... I automatically felt that the March was mine, not because it was something personal but because it was something that touched me profoundly... I felt I had to be there, cooperate, and do things for the March in that moment... Yesterday while talking to another friend, I realized that the March did not begin in June of 2008 but that it started, I don't know, thirty or forty years ago when there arose a profound need for peace at the world level. And I, as a child, from a very young

age, was aware... that the issue of armamentism was something very serious. I still remember the treaties between Nixon and Brezhnev... And yesterday talking to another friend I realized that my connection with the March was born there... The March was the possibility to express a profound project that I had had for many years that, I also realized yesterday, I never thought I would have the opportunity to express, to cooperate, and to do this thing of the March.

(Translated from Spanish)

Mariana, a 26-year-old student from Buenos Aires who helped organize the March in Argentina, also connected the March with a life-long search. She shared her experience of the initiative during the closing events:

...I will speak about the March and what it meant for me. In my personal life I was, since I was very little, had the need—I would see the world was doing very badly. And when I met these crazy people who were doing things to change the world, and to transform and create and not destroy, I was filled with much joy.

(Translated from Spanish)

Cristián and Mariana—as well as Hope in Chapter Four—experienced the March as an unexpected opportunity to express their worldviews and act on a life-long feeling that the world could be a different place. Many of the contributors describe the March as an opportunity to delve deeper into values and aspirations that had been with them throughout their lives. For some, these journeys began during childhood, and were fueled by a feeling of estrangement from a world they saw as being “crazy” or “upside down.” These testimonies tell us about the ways in which the March—with its idealistic and

uncensored demands— activated the marchers’ ability to see world through the eyes of the children they once were and free from the grip of pragmatism.



Figure 25. Cristián. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Lives of commitment. A second kind of journey to the March that the testimonies describe focused on the marchers’ lives of activism and their commitment to peace. These testimonies publicly recognize the various organizations and traditions that have nurtured these commitments. Many of these stories speak on continued efforts that have prepared them for the challenge of the March or that have motivated them to participate to their fullest capacity. For many, the March is an extension of life-long commitments to peace, justice, nonviolence, sustainability, democracy, and other causes. For others, the March represents an opportunity to reconnect with their activist communities and reevaluate or deepen their commitments.

The testimonies of Adilio, Tania, and Aaron illustrate these themes, as discussed by members of the humanist movement and World Without Wars and Violence. Like many young humanists, Adilio takes the opportunity to speak about the identities that inform his work.

Speaking during the concert in Campo de Marte, Lima, Adilio (23) describes how his youth organizing is rooted in humanist and indigenous traditions:



Figure 26. Adilio. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Basically I belong to the peasant community of Andahuaylas... My culture is a millenary culture that rejects all forms of violence and in that we coincide with the humanist movement. I am also part of the humanist movement, working since 2006. I am a student at the University san Luis de Porres, living in Lima for two years now. In Andahuaylas we created a leadership school called Humanist Life. We are a group of young people ... from different communities, indigenous and from the cities, [and] from different universities and institutes. So we get together to talk about nonviolence... And about my role in the World March, we do workshops with students in universities and talk about it. But I want to tell you that we talk more about the Andean philosophy... I am proud to be an indigenous

man and to join this, to join this new nation that is made of the diverse world cultures, respecting each other's diversity. (Translated from Spanish)

In this testimony, Adilio contributes to the collective documentation of the March a description of the indigenous roots of the initiative. In addition, he contributes a public statement of humanist and Andean pride. In the Latin American context, the testimonies of Adilio and other indigenous marchers undo the silencing of cultures and traditions that are actively marginalized in Latin America, even in the circles of peace activism. Adilio's account illustrates how the testimonies challenge negative representations of young people, older people, small town people, and many others who are often cast as beneficiaries but not as protagonists of peace efforts. Testimonies such as this, therefore, are tools to infuse a politics of recognition (c.f., Fraser, 2001) and diversity into the March's vision of peace.

While Adilio is among the younger contributors to the Memoscopio archive, Tania and Aaron are among the older generation of humanists whose journeys to the March involve decades of experience. Tania, a retiree in her late sixties, was one of the organizers of the March in Mendoza, Argentina. She shared her experience weeks before the arrival of the marchers to her city. In her testimony, she draws connections between her emotions about the March and the decades of collective work within the humanist movement that have led to the initiative. For Tania, her journey to the March begins in 1969 with the first speech by the founder of the humanist movement, Silo, which took place in the mountains West of Mendoza in response to a refusal by the Argentine military *junta* to grant permission for a public gathering in the city. Tania explains:

The March for me means that something that happened long ago, in 1969, is moving into the world. This is the Healing of Suffering, the speech given in Punta

de Vacas. And today also the March ends there, in Punta de Vacas. To me this means going out into the world to speak to others.... It is a feeling that we have been able to do something in all this time. This union of all the nations who are participating, of the people, creates enthusiasm and also reflects a real need of the human being to be able to live in peace, without violence.... The day I heard we would march for that I [pause] felt a deep emotion. It touched me. It was the first time we were going to go out together and say [it], and also make it evident, patent. It was a truly emotional day for me. And now, almost at the end of this March, I am filled with the joy of a job well done, you know? Above all, something shared. (Translated from Spanish)

Tania is among the many seasoned activists whose testimonies acknowledge the decades of work that made a large-scale action such as the March possible. As Tania illustrates, many of these stories describe the ups and downs of sustained activism. They transmit a sense of communion with others, flowing easily between *I* (“for me”) and *we* (“something shared”). Memoscopio serves as a record of the central place that collective projects occupy in the marchers’ lives, highlighting the sense of purpose and accomplishment they experienced during the March. In these ways, Tania and other organizers defend the value of peace activism.

The archive also includes stories of rekindled engagement through the March. Aaron, who is in his fifties, describes his life journey across continents and his reconnection with the activities of the humanist movement after two decades of inaction:

My name is Aaron Elberg. I live in Israel. I was born in Argentina...Before leaving for Israel I had gotten in touch with the humanist movement and participated actively... Then twenty years ago when I arrived in Israel I got

disconnected because of the distance and matters of place and time. And in reality my connection with the March arises from the attacks to- the conflict there was in the Gaza Strip at the start of this year 2009 when I was horrified, on the one hand, by the brutality [in] the use of force by the Israelis against the Palestinians. But even more than that, what has horrified me is the hardening I have seen in the eyes of my Israeli friends, relatives, and co-workers; the apathy before the suffering of another people. And that coincided with the start of the launching of the World March and it was what motivated me to abandon the inactivity I was in until that moment and to join actively in the development of the activities of the World March in Israel and in Palestine. And, well, from then on I have been looking for all the possible sources of support in order to—in little time, with very few resources, and with few people accompanying me—see how to do as much as possible and with the highest possible impact..

(Translated from Spanish)

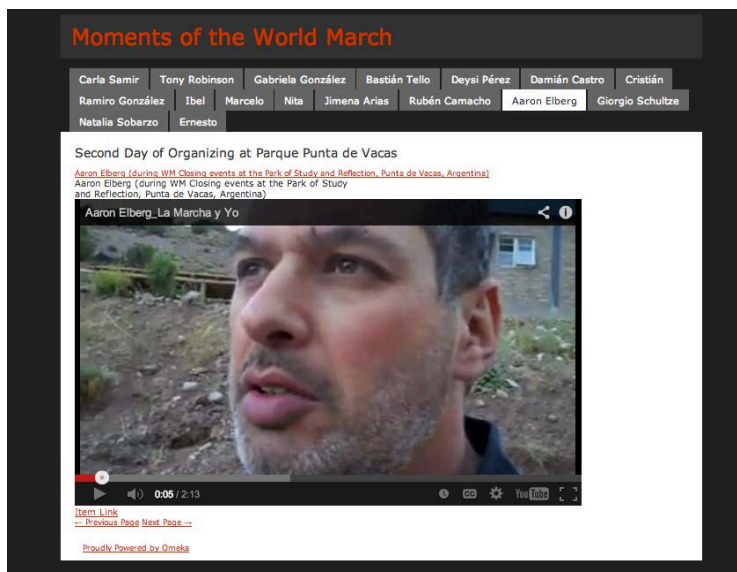


Figure 27. Aaron. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Through his testimony Aaron draws connections between his recommitment to peace activism and the possibilities of transformation within Israel and Palestine. He describes how the March helped him engage in the delicate process of criticizing his own friends, relatives, and co-workers. Aaron's account is illustrative of other journeys to the March through which people reconnected with their activist roots and responded to challenging local and global conflicts. These testimonies document the positive impact of the March in the personal and public lives of its participants, and serve as inspirational stories for the archive's audience.

In addition to accounts by humanist movement activists linked to World Without Wars and Violence, the Memoscopio archive also includes testimonies by activists from a wide range of organizations. Montserrat, Josh, Fabio, and Juan are among the contributors whose testimonies make visible the diverse communities behind the March. Montserrat is a 72-year-old journalist and peace advocate who, as the oldest member of the World March base team, completed 96 days of marching around the world. She shared her testimony in Tiwanaku, Bolivia, just ten days before the end of her long journey:

My name is Montserrat Ponsa. I am from Barcelona. I am travelling on behalf of the Culture of Peace Foundation, presided by Federico Mayor Zaragoza, former president of UNESCO ... My whole life I have been very involved in social justice issues in defense of individuals and peoples. My struggle has always been the same. I am a peace judge in my town and also a journalist and mother of nine children, grandmother of sixteen grandchildren. They had a meeting before [I left] to dissuade me because they said that I was crazy, at my age, to march. I am seventy-two. I am, lets say, the most ancient of the entire group, and I love this... I am writing a journal that I plan to publish when I finish so the world can learn

that this is not a tourist trip; that it is a very interesting and intense trip; that we discovered the eyes of other people; that we are getting to know the other, which I think is what matters.

Like many contributors to the Memoscopio archive, Montserrat describes how her personal journey to the March is the result of a life-long commitment to peace. She presents herself as journalist, peace judge, and supporter of an important peace organization. But her commitment and contribution to the March is also tied to her more private roles as mother, grandmother, and member of a caring family. In describing these various identities and commitments, Montserrat gives weight and depth to her endorsement of the March, and to her decision to travel. She also stands against ageism and offers a model of engagement for people of her generation who often find themselves pushed out of public debate and of actions such as the March.

An important theme running across the testimonies is the interlocking of personal stories, national histories of war, occupation, torture, dictatorship, terrorism, and racism. Much like Aaron speaks to his life in Israel, other activists relate the March to civil war in Colombia, human rights violations in South America, and wars by the United States, just to mention a few contexts. Josh, a 22-year-old veteran of the Iraq war, draws parallels between the March and his own activism. Speaking under the rain at the March rally at the Lincoln Memorial, he said:

I am Josh Stieber from the United States. I am twenty-two. I am also a veteran of the Iraq war who left the United States army as a conscientious objector. I recently finished a walking and biking tour of the United States promoting nonviolent problem-solving and personal and social examination and community building ... I was calling my trip the Contagious Love Experiment, just building

on the idea of more and more people catching on and inspiring each other and trying to live in different ways and solve problems differently. And seeing this march and how many people have been involved with it and the organization and the dedication that takes, definitely is refreshing and inspiring for me to see that number. And hopefully just as the March is spreading and continuing to catch on, these ideas and new ways of looking at the world, new ways of solving problems will be contagious also.

Not unlike Josh, many marchers describe how the actions of local governments and institutions have led to embrace the March. Fabio is a 56-year-old Colombian activist who marched through the Andes with the *Viajeros por la Paz*. He shared his testimony during a stop in Tumbes, Peru:

I am lawyer and environmental leader. I also work on the topic of human rights and on other popular activities... our goal here is to establish our position about the defense of human rights, the right to life, and the right to peace because in Colombia, our nation, and in Latin America, the right to life has been corroded and the selfish interests of a small elite are being privileged... We are also concerned about the situation of the environment because transnational and other entities are devastating the environment and the natural resources of our country, and not only Colombia but also Latin America.

Speaking from Santiago de Chile, Juan extends a critique of the elitism, classism, and exclusion that is prevalent in Chile. Juan, a 33-year-old carpenter, took part in the March with his local cultural organization, the *Club de Huasos Manuel Rodríguez*, an equestrian and cultural association that endorsed the initiative. He shared his testimony during a carnival in the *Plaza de la Constitución*, behind the presidential palace in Santiago de Chile:

I am Juan Molinari. I am 33 years old. I am married with two children. I belong to the association Club de Huasos Manuel Rodríguez. This is the first time I come to something here [in downtown Santiago] as a participant. This is very beautiful and I would like everyone to attend a march This is so you see that huasos are not only seen in rodeos but that we can also organize other things. (Translated from Spanish)



Figure 28. Juan. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Juan's concise testimony centers on the importance of changing the perception that *huasos*, Chilean cowboys, have no role in society other than entertaining city folk during rodeos. It is especially important that he shared his testimony while standing next to his horse in a plaza where huasos are typically seen only during patriotic celebrations as entertainment. Compared to accounts by experienced activists, Juan's account serves as a simple but powerful reminder that marches can inspire people into a more active political participation. In addition, it suggests that

public testimonies are an opportunity to articulate intimate dimensions of resistance and to demand full citizenship and recognition.

Spiritual journeys. There are a considerable number of marchers in the archive whose personal journeys to the March are rooted in religious and spiritual movements. Among them are Esteban and Sister Hope. Speaking from a civic center, their testimonies claim space for the spiritual journeys that have propelled so many people into peace advocacy. As we see below, they both draw connections between their presence at March events and the inspirational role of faith in personal and social change. Esteban is one of many Chilean students who shared his testimony while attending the carnival at the Santiago Plaza de Armas. Taking a break from the summer heat, he spoke while leaning against a shaded wall of the National History Museum, only meters away from the Catholic Cathedral of Santiago:

My name is Esteban Avarca. I am from Santiago. [I'm] nineteen years old. I join the March because my main idol is Gandhi, for the form of his revolution. I have a tattoo of him. [shows arm tattoo] Satyagraha [is] something important that we lack. Not only believing in Catholicism maybe, but rather mix[ing] a little bit of everything like [Gandhi] himself would say. In this march we realized that we are not the only dreamers, that we are many, like John Lennon would say. What else can I say? I feel happy that events of this magnitude are held for such an important theme as peace. (Translated from Spanish)

Like Juan, Esteban addresses fellow Chileans using the context of the March to advance a critique of Chilean society and its limited understanding of nonviolence and spirituality. Not unlike Juan, Esteban claims space for identities and worldviews that are often made invisible in Chilean society, arguing for a richer and more nuanced approach to peace and violence. While

rooted in his Gandhian identity, he also applauds the March as instance where peace advocates from diverse walks of life can come together and have strengths in numbers. Sister Hope, speaking at Lincoln Memorial, describes her connection between the March and her personal story:

...I am a Sister of Saint Francis from Philadelphia and I am particularly interested in peace as a follower of Francis of Assisi... In 1994 I began teaching breastfeeding to low-income mothers because I am convinced that breastfeeding is one the best ways to begin nonviolence in the family. And that was my original motivation for becoming that...

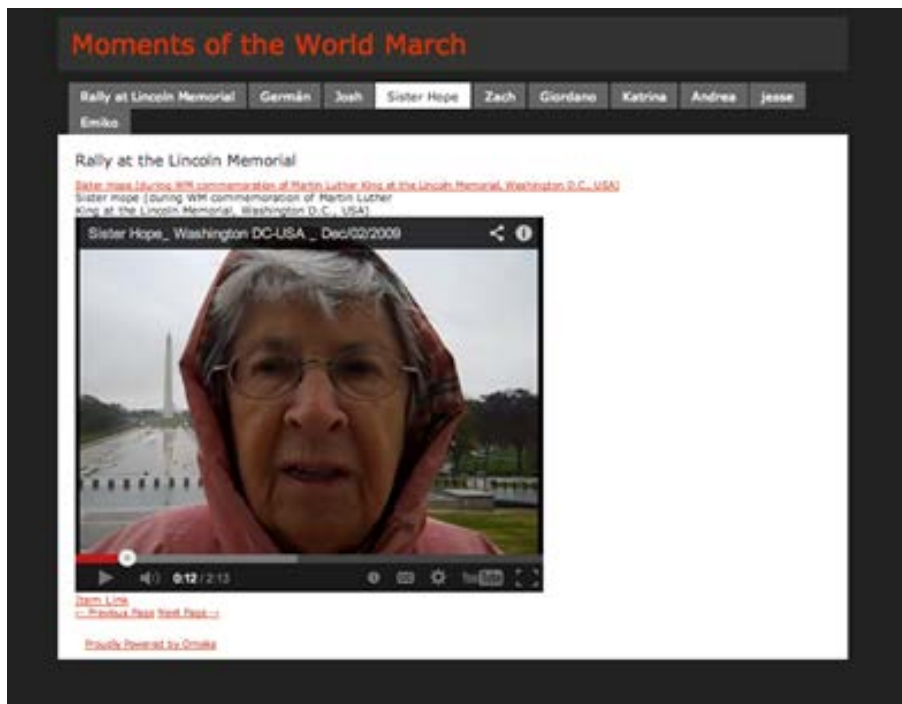


Figure 29. Sister Hope. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Sister Hope's account, which brings her religious identity to the fore, shatters grandiose discourses of global peace with a simple reminder that nonviolence has a root in loving

relationships, breastfeeding, and family life. This statement also recognizes the enormous contributions that everyday people make towards peace in their everyday lives.

Both Esteban and Sister Hope open their testimonies with statements about their spiritual and religious commitments, thus communicating the centrality of these influences in their lives and actions. Their testimonies establish connections between spiritual journeys and social change, a theme that many marchers touch without making explicit references to religion. In this way, Esteban and Sister Hope bring into the space of the March the contributions of religious/spiritual figures such as St. Francis of Assisi and Gandhi, whose legacies are deeply rooted in peacebuilding, nonviolence, and volunteering. Not unlike Adilio and Pacha Kuti (see Chapter Four), these activists stress the key role of their spiritualities in their understandings of the March and the role of peacebuilding. Their accounts are particularly meaningful in a world where wars are waged in the name of God(s) and religion.

Unexpected journeys. A smaller number of contributors to the Memoscopio archive told stories of circumstantial or serendipitous involvement. Despite these circumstantial connections, they communicate how their participation in the March was important to their lives. Maya and Javier are among the marchers to share such stories. As mentioned in Chapter Four, Maya is a 21-year-old Swiss student from a Chilean-Bolivian family who marched with Viajeros por la Paz and the base team during the Mexico-Argentina route. She shared her testimonio in Tumbes, Peru:

My name is Maya... I was born in Switzerland and live in Switzerland but my mom is Chilean and my dad Bolivian... I am half European and half Latin American in my way of being and in my cultures. So I learned about the March by chance. Precisely because I was born in Europe I wanted to get to know Latin

America and travel here for a few months... The coincidence was that my mom found the World March through the Internet and I got excited. And [the March] also fell precisely on the year when I was taking these months to travel... So I arrived alone in Mexico to the March and there I got in contact with [the base team] and they proposed that I travel with them. So I was traveling with them, in the same bus, until Salvador. (Translated from Spanish)

After sharing details about the rest of journey, Maya explains how the March also resonated with the values and upbringing:

In addition, my personal connection with the March is that my mom is Chilean and it is no coincidence that she is in Switzerland. She lived a lot of violence. My dad also arrived in Europe because there was a lot of violence in Bolivia. It is one of the countries where there were more coups than years. They couldn't study and the times were very hard. So I grew up in an environment, in a context of sensibility to all this, to peace, to sharing, to recycling, to many things that finally I find in this March. (Translated from Spanish)

Like Maya, Javier's journey to the March took a different route from that of most activists who were recruited through peace advocacy networks. Javier is a 35-year-old Colombian TV producer who followed the March from Bogota to Punta de Vacas, Argentina with the Viajeros por la Paz to shoot documentary about the initiative. Javier shared the following testimony after attending the rally for binational cooperation at the Colombia-Ecuador border. Like Maya, Javier talks about the circumstantial and biographical factors that lead to his participation:

Hello, my name is Javier García, I am from Bogota, Colombia, and [I'm] a TV producer. I joined the March, well, due to economic interests at first. I was

interested in working on something that was in agreement with what I do, and the March... gathered all the expectations that I had at that moment. And well, so far it has gone well for me, I have enjoyed it very much. So far I am starting the trip, but it is very interesting... I am a dreamer. I believe in utopias, and above everything this is a utopia that can become reality. (Translated from Spanish)

Together, the testimonies of Maya, Javier, and other 'circumstantial' participants create a public record of the March's capacity to mobilize people beyond the ranks of peace activists. At the same time, they speak against apathy and disengagement, offering evidence that similar initiatives could also tap into this peacebuilding potential.



Figure 30. Javier. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

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the same time, they speak against apathy and disengagement, offering evidence that similar initiatives could also tap into this peacebuilding potential.

Development stories: Inspiring journeys with the March. In speaking about themselves in relation to the March, Memoscopio contributors also shared inspiring accounts of transformation and growth during the initiative. The testimonies of Carla, Rosmery, and Mónica illustrate this theme of changing perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes. Carla, a 23-year-old translation student and activist from Santiago de Chile, talked about the March as a source of renewal:

The March makes people go into action; people who were immobilized for a long time due to the frustration and the failure [they felt] because what they wanted to do with the movement did not work out. This drove many people who had lost faith to regain their faith. It can be seen in the initiatives that are being proposed, the activities, and the organizations that were recovered... I believe I also lost faith in the people of the movement at some point. So this made it possible for me to strengthen my bonds with people and be more open to the possibilities of others. (translated from Spanish)

Carla is among the many marchers who speak of a reassessment of their movements and their allies. Carla celebrates the activities inspired by the March, presenting them as evidence that the initiative has helped peace activists overcome their sense of frustration and failure. She describes the impact of the March on her own activism, describing a recovered sense of trust in other people's capacity to produce social change. Carla's testimony is addressed to the members of the peace movement who have redeemed themselves through the March.

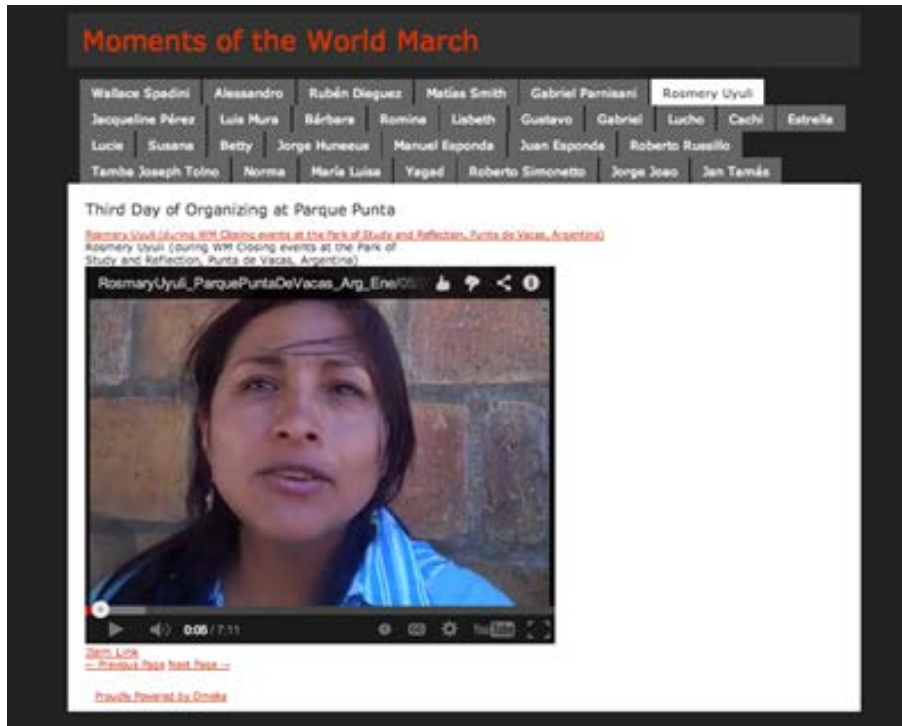


Figure 31. Rosmary. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

In addition to documenting a renewing effect, Memoscopio contributors also describe their changing perceptions of the March. Among them is Rosmary, a 39-year-old university professor from La Paz and organizer of March events in Bolivia. She shared her testimony while taking part in the closing celebrations in Argentina:

What I can tell you is that I didn't think [the March] made sense, at first. But later, upon getting in touch with people, seeing what it represented for them, and speaking with people in the organizations, I realized its importance. I began to feel very deeply that I wanted to contribute from my places of work and institutional relationships, so that they would host the events. So this has been something that has not only mobilized organizations and institutions [in Bolivia] but also ourselves. (Translated from Spanish)

Rosmery provides an engaging description of the relational dimension of the March. She explains how dialogue and direct contact with others within the context of the March deepened her understanding of the initiative. It was through others' enthusiasm that she understood the power of the March and what it meant for those it touched. Through her testimony, she stresses the importance of relationships and collaborations during the March as a source of growth not only for organizations but also for individual activists like herself, who gain new understandings of peacebuilding.

Mónica, a 31-year-old new York-based Colombian architect, shared a similar story. Speaking during a sign-making session days before the arrival of the March in New York, she explains:

I come from a very violent country and I always connected with organizations that worked on the conflict and on the topic of social convivencia... when I was first told the story about the World March...It seemed just a story to me. I did not believe in it and I saw it as an illusion. I didn't understand why I was doing things, [and] even though I was very involved with the [humanist] movement I didn't think it made any sense. It has been a year, and the March will arrive in the United States in three days, two days, and it is a reality now. So it makes me think about how things that are planned and dreamt for the future can be possible, as long as group of people carry on that dream and makes it a reality, as is the case with this march that will be coming through.

Like Rosmery, Mónica presents herself as a committed activist who gained new understandings about peacebuilding and collective work through the March. In their own ways, Carla, Rosmery, and Mónica share brief stories about their growth and development as peace advocates in the

context of the March. They each speak about their initial doubts upon hearing about the March and the ways in which they attained improved understandings through working with others. In these ways, their testimonies are public reflections on the ways in which personal and social transformation nurture each other. In this ways, they also serve as inspirational stories for their fellow marchers, as well as for a wider audience of potential allies and detractors who might find inspiration in these stories of strengthened conviction and commitment.

Advancing a Theory of Change

Not surprisingly, the contributors to Memoscopio use their testimonies as vehicles to act as spokespeople for the March's vision of a nonviolent and peaceful 21st century. When addressing the March's significance in today's world, these marchers used their personal accounts to advance their own theories of change towards a culture of peace and justice. This theory of change is not authoritative but rather organic, and based on their experiences within the March and their local communities. Each in their own way, they turned testimonies into tools to: *(1) offer alternatives and raise awareness; (2) communicate a sense of historical opportunity; and (3) celebrate flow, movement, and circulation as nonviolent strategies.*

Offering alternatives. A large proportion of the testimonies speak of the March's significance in today's world as a means to raise awareness about cooperation and nonviolence as viable alternatives. These testimonies amplify the March's power to present new perspectives on conflict to those who might be actively looking for options and to those who have never encountered these ideas. These testimonies articulate the kinds of grassroots and discursive power the March mobilized. In addition, these themes are illustrated in the testimonies of Sergio, Juan Pablo, and Alonso. Sergio, a 38-year-old painter and March supporter from Santiago, saw the role of the March as helping "gain awareness, denounce [violence], and try to make the most

possible change throughout this globalized world so that there is a greater connection with peace, which is lacking at this moment." For Juan Pablo, a 39-year-old supporter from Santiago, the March promoted a new kind of awareness about unity and inclusion:

I believe this initiative, as all initiatives for a new awareness and for the expansion of this message, moves towards more essential information. And that essential information is that we are all one, we are all a single unit. Although perceiving difference is useful to see the beauty of the world and oneself, differences should be approached from the perspective of unity.

In the context of a transnational peace march that traveled a globalized world, Juan Pablo's testimony offered a generative approach to difference and unity. This view stands in contrast to a world of walled nation states and cultural and ethnic conflicts. For Alonso, a 50-year-old landlord and local supporter, the March gave visibility and momentum to the visions and demands of the marchers. Speaking at the gates of Villa Grimaldi, he explained:

To me the March represents the voice of the voiceless...a way of thinking and feeling that is starting to be heard...it is like a little ball that is on a terrain where it has trouble moving forward. It is like à pushing it so that it rolls with more determination and strength. That little ball would be civic consciousness... Big things tend to depend on political and economic powers, but à whether there is war or there is no war, that depends on the pressure [exercised] by civil society, and the union of wills in that direction. And I believe the World March is this [union]. The World March for Peace [and Nonviolence] is a chiming of the bell, a strike on the gong, society's cry of 'enough'...Many think that the third world war

is around the corner but after the World March many of us believe that no, that it is possible not to have that as a shadow on the future. (Translated from Spanish)



Figure 32. Alonso. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Alonso articulates the political role of the March and the power that could result from civil society's increased engagement on issues of peace and conflict. Similarly, Alex emphasizes the personal dimension of such political message. In his words, "the World March is a way to warn, to tell, and to say that violence in the world can be stopped but this must be built from within, stopping one's own violence." Together, Alonso and Alex describe the March as raising awareness of peace and nonviolence at collective, political, and personal levels.

Simply speaking of peace, however, was not seen as an instant cure to violence. Veronika, a 19-year-old Colombian college student traveling from Colombia to Argentina, described a similar theory of change that accounts for local challenges, global goals, and the role of the individual activist. She shared her testimony while sitting on the floor of the Colombian customs office at the border with Ecuador:

In the path of life each person faces circumstances that help her become who she is. In this way I arrive at the march in my personal life, and although it is clear to me that changes don't take place instantaneously, our goals can be reached taking steps that place us closer to what we want. All world-level changes take place because each person changes internally and contributes to this transformation. In a globalized world in which you wear Chinese clothes, eat Latin American foods, and drink wine from Europe, it is impossible that human rights could be considered only for a few. Constantly we brag about the advances generated by democracy. However, only majorities make the decisions, so what I consider better is when minorities can state an opinion and be taken into account.

Similarly, I consider that the objective of the march is to leave an imprint on the people of each of the countries that were visited to obtain a peace without frontiers, to raise awareness [i.e., *concientizar*] within people that violence is not a solution; on the contrary, it is the root of all problems. (Translated from Spanish)

Veronika delineates how individuals and societies bring each other into existence through entwined life stories and collective histories. She describes the March as a space for remaking oneself through such collective actions that can change political realities one step at a time. For Veronika, nonviolent change is organic and incremental. This view protects her from feeling disappointed about a lack of immediate results. Like Veronika, other marchers describe the initiative and their participation in it as a contribution to the long-term process of overcoming economic, political, and interpersonal violence. In a similar line as Veronika, Alex describes the March as part of a process of transformation that takes on the rhythm of staccato attempts:

The contributions [of the March] will be significant for a very long time. I believe there will be one moment, and then another, and then there has to come another one until people can come to an awareness of what it means not to face reality through violence.

Despite the great gap that separates the March's vision from today's world, the marchers did not necessarily see the March as a project ahead of its times. For them the March was a means to raise awareness and transform existential angst about peace into hope and action.

Communicating a sense of opportunity. The testimonies in the archive also advance a historical vision of peacebuilding. As can be seen in the testimonies of Juan Pablo, Jaime, and Marco, the marchers described important trends that the March embodies. In these testimonies, participants speak about the larger historical moment that frames their lives, their actions, and their personal relationship to the March. Juan Pablo described his participation in the March as a way to “proclaim the victory of peace.” He did so, he explained “from the consciousness of knowing that this awakening is collective, is massive, is how these times are manifesting themselves around the entire planet.” For Gustavo, an Argentine teacher, the March “marks a historical moment [as] ‘the first World March for peace’, as well as a breaking point and a change that is brewing; a peaceful universal revolution.” Jaime, a 23-year-old student and organizer from Santiago, also communicates a sense of opportunity. For him the March was:

one of a handful of acts that are being carried out today that relate to a movement of transition, the current culture of transition, which is globalization... we are in a planetary culture, that we are reorganizing towards a cultural transition. And I believe the culture of transition is defined as a culture of peace. Peace understood as all forms of sustainability, every kind of harmonious relation with the

environment, and the environment includes all human beings as part of the biosphere [because] we are not foreign to nature but we are part of it.

In Jaime's view, the March contributes to these transformations by promoting a culture of peace in which "at each step one can decide between being peace and not being peace, and to be or not to be violent." Marco, a 45-year-old environmental researcher from Italy, had a similar take on the historical meaning of the March. After travelling for three months, he came to the conclusion that our species is ready to realize its full humanity. Marco described the world he discovered through his travels:

The experience I had with the [March] visiting different countries [and] towns, visiting different continents, was that ... the majority of people are good people. And also seeing places like [Villa Grimaldi] where death was turned into life; seeing the good things that good people are doing all around the world, I realized that we are ready to make a very important change in human beings... the great success of the World March and everything that has happened is a sign that this change has arrived.

Taking advantage of the audience the March created for him, Marco adds: "I invite each one to join, to take the great opportunity to join our lives to this profound change of going from human prehistory to history." This statement is illustrative of how many marchers addressed their audiences during their testimonies and invited them to join in the March.

Speaking about the historical role of the March was also an opportunity for Memoscopio contributors to communicate a sense of self in history. They document the ways in which march supporters were trying to take an active role in shaping history. These testimonies locate the March and the actions of the marchers within history. The testimonies of Charlotte, Pamela,

Jaime, and Richie deal with the connections between the marchers' lives, current events, and regional histories. Charlotte is a 75-year-old Long Island-based peace activist with Code Pink who participated in the March as a local organizer in her community. Like Montserrat and Tania, she is a committed peace advocate who brings to the March a rich background in organizing. She shared her testimony at the Brooklyn Borough Hall. Speaking under a pink umbrella, she describes the March and its impact on various local peace groups, and the latest events in her country's long history of wars:

We came in from Long island today. And we have had a series of planning meetings with many of the peace groups: Long Island Code Pink, Pax Christi, North Country Peace Group, South Country Peace Group, Suffolk County Peace Network, the Long Island Alliance for Peaceful Alternatives. I could go on and on. And we've had a series of events every weekend from October 2nd on. And on December 2nd we are going to be having a big event.... So, we have been working, we have been inspired by the World March. We go to the website every morning and many of us find it almost a meditation to use this to inspire us because it is not lost on us that tomorrow probably president Obama will be calling for a surge from the belly of the beast, West Point.

The context of the war and the excitement caused by the arrival of the March in New York are both present in Charlotte's testimony. While marchers such as Charlotte speak of their participation in March in relation to the current events of the moment, others have a broader take on history.

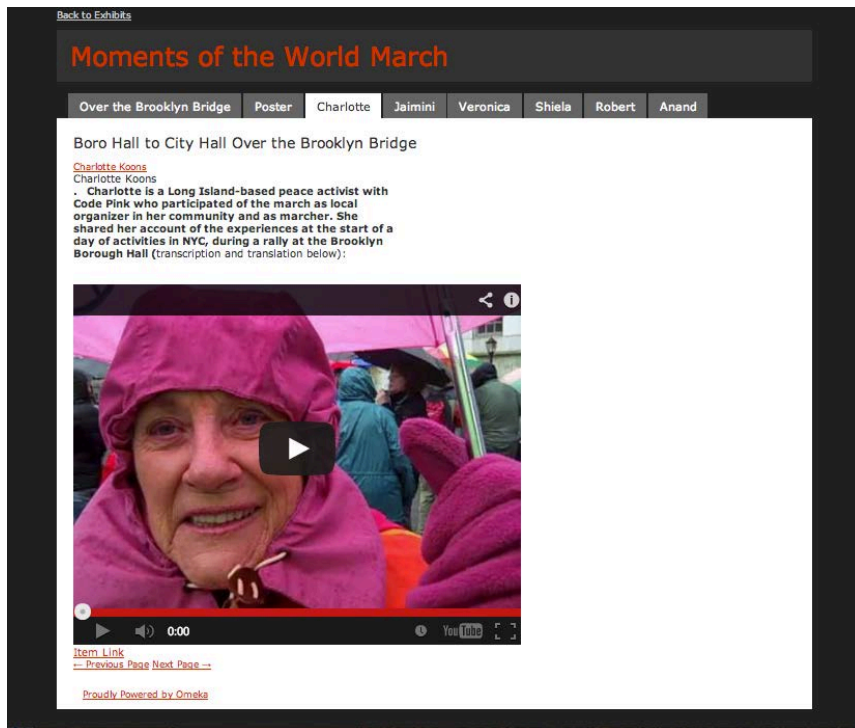


Figure 33. Charlotte. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Jaime, a 24-year-old local organizer who had recently finished his studies in political science in Bogota, Colombia, shared his testimony with Memoscopio at the Plaza Bolivar, while the base team met local politicians. Jaime speaks with conviction on the historical relevance in the March. He describes the revolutionary nature of the March:

When one begins to look into the history of the world, of what has happened... one learns that it is a history of colonialisms ... that even shapes the way we are today. One sees the history of Vietnam, which set many political references, and the pacifist movements of that time. And what is curious is that even some of those pacifist movements ended up in some cases making bombs. So this is a unique time, when one sees that someone moved around the world with a proposal ... to get to know people one wants to change, those people who one often thinks should be called enemies, opposition, or adversaries. To give them

the chance to have a different opinion. And this is why the World March is the true start of a revolution. A revolution should not lead to more resentment. A revolution has to create a true opportunity for change; otherwise it is not a revolution. So this is the significance [of this initiative] and this is why I join the World March for peace and Nonviolence.

The certainty with which Jaime offers his account of the March squarely positions him as a political actor and commentator. In his view, the March brings historical enemies into dialogues and into a relationship that challenges colonial legacies. Focusing on much longer processes of transformation Pamela speaks of the March's historical significance with less certainty. A 24-year-old student and March organizer from Argentina Pamela took part in the local organization of the March. Sitting at her kitchen table in Mendoza, and in a more reflexive mood than Charlotte and Jaime, Pamela expresses her sense that ancient struggles and future possibilities are manifesting through the March:

One day I see it as something very necessary that will excite everyone. Other times I see it as more difficult... Let's say, collectively, what I can think is that [the March] is a need that connects various historical moments, or dimensions... The theme of the past comes to me. That from ancient times people have asked for peace, and have been struggling for nonviolence as a need. That today that need continues and that people are working so that in the future this need may no longer exist... The March also awakens more instinctive things, about survival. To me, today, it is a small signal that this interlocking of time will- that something will happen now. I don't know what...so the March is like...the cover of a magazine, the image of something more profound.

Pamela speaks tentatively about what she intuits the meaning of the March to be for the long-term human struggle against violence. Her feelings about the March's success are uneven. But at heart Pamela is optimistic about the initiative and its contribution toward a future culture of nonviolence. Richie's testimony also focuses on emotions and historicity. Richie, a 31-year-old community organizer and member of the humanist movement who helped organize March events in Bolivia, draws connections between his reaction to the March and the current and future significance of the initiative:

[The March] has been a project that seemed hard to imagine. And learning it was going to be done has awakened in me a beautiful feeling, a beautiful hope that many things could be accomplished... I think the world today still has not realized the magnitude of the human act that it is... Part of the fault lies with the media, the governments, and I don't know what other forces. But despite all the obstacles, this march will become, whether they want it or not, a very important milestone... that people won't forget... This march, when seen from the future, will cause smiles, will cause joy, and appreciation. Another thing I would like to say about this march is that maybe one hasn't been able to do everything one would have liked to, or contribute like one would have liked to. It has been, as well, a journey through many places of the heart, in which one has found places with little hope and places with a lot of hope. But being so close to the end, and with the people, gives one a beautiful joy.

Richie's reflections about his own accomplishments and failures as a peace activist gain richness when read against his evaluation of the historical significance of the initiative. Together, these testimonies illustrate how the contributors to *Memoscopio* brought attention to the

historical relevance of the March as one of the first planetary peace marches of the 21st century. Together, these testimonies illustrate the various ways in which the marchers locate the March in history, sometimes highlighting current event or regional histories, sometimes speaking about the long history of humanity with war and peace. In these various ways, they push against ahistorical views on conflict and peacebuilding, thus widening our horizons.

Celebrating nonviolent strategies. In addition to novel alternatives and a sense of opportunity, the third element of the theory of change advanced by Memoscopio contributors were nonviolent strategies to change and conflict. The testimonies turned personal accounts of the March into public celebrations of movement, circulation, and flow as relevant nonviolent strategies. Regardless of whether they marched in person or virtually, Memoscopio contributors attributed great significance to the fact that the March was a three-month journey around the world. At the same time, the testimonies celebrated the initiative's capacity to move across ideologies and time periods, creating circuits of solidarity and inspiration. As I describe below, the testimonies celebrate nonviolence through *stories of local and virtual participation* and *stories of travel and mutual recognition*.

Stories of local and virtual participation. An important theme in the archive is the way in which local organizers were energized by the arrival of the March to their cities. Jan's and Charlotte's testimonies describe in detail the activities that the March's arrival inspired in their communities. Jan (41) is a Czech academic and member of the humanist movement who organized the March in the Czech Republic. He shared his testimony during the closing events of the March in Argentina, focusing on the events that he helped organized with occasion of the March's arrival to Prague on its route to Argentina:

It is about two months [ago] that we organized...three events during the World

March, when it came to Prague. One of these events was a conference in the Czech Senate... I participated on behalf of the Humanist Party. There was of course Alena Gajdůšková, Vice Chairman of the Senate ... Rafael de la Rubia spoke on behalf of the March, and we had two experts who came and spoke. One, about weapons of mass destruction... and one on the connection between armaments and poverty. ... The conference was very interesting. We had some members of the media who participated... We had I think, representatives of five different embassies who came and participated at the event as well. And we had also the marchers themselves. We had about ten people from the base team of the March... We had simultaneous translation into English so... other people were able to understand as well. We had a press conference that took place just before the main conference that was attended by several journalists and basically the hall was full, so we were very happy with the conference...

Very much in line with the testimonies of local organizers across the Americas, such as Mónica, Charlotte, and others, the March's arrival to his city was a highlight of the initiative.

Supporters who participated from their towns and cities also celebrated the length and route of the March. Valentina (24), a dancer and local supporter from Santiago, celebrates nonviolence:

I have just completed a performance with my company in this beautiful act in the plaza of Villa Grimaldi. My story at this moment with the March relates directly to the form of this March. To me it is important to achieve peace and nonviolence in a way that is, precisely, nonviolent ... The fact that the March is done like this, through so many places, and that more and more people go on joining it, to say

from one's own peace that we do not want more violence, and that we will do everything necessary for that to be realized and become true. At this moment I am trying to be in peace, in harmony, and to live each act with much awareness. And I believe this is taking place as a kind of plague of peace, that each time more and more people join, and that is very beautiful.



Figure 34. Valentina. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Valentina's account suggests that local supporters felt connected to the March through their participation in local actions and events, as well as the images and reports of its journey around the world. She describes feeling part of an inspiring wave that spread thanks to the very form of the March. Danilo, a 27-year-old teacher explains how he gradually felt connected to the March through the images and videos of events in other cities:

At first it was a very weird thing, a thing that did not resonate with me. I felt it was very naive, it is true. But with time I saw that it gained in strength, it gained in shape, and in content. And that filled me much more, it resonated much more

with me ... It is not just another march. It has a lot of weight. When I would see the images of other countries, of Bolivia, when I would see in the United States thousands of people in the street, I mean, it's something impressive. I would think well, something is being sowed here.

Thanks to the images, videos, and stories that circulated online, Valentina, Danilo, and other marchers felt connected to the events held by peace activists in countries far away from Chile. But this was not only the case for younger marchers. Sheila, Charlotte and other veterans of the peace movement found virtual participation to be deeply meaningful. As Charlotte put it: "We go to the website everyone morning and many of us find it almost a meditation to use this to inspire us..." As Charlotte argues, local supporters across generations and cities seem to have experienced the March as an inspiring flow of people and information despite not having traveled internationally.

Stories of travel and solidarity. In addition to expressing pride about the local initiatives inspired by the March, the testimonies also document the meaning of the March's journey around the world. The testimonies of Tony, Marco, Magaly, Montserrat, —all members of the base team who traveled across continents— focus on the embodied dimension of the trip and their affective reactions to their journey around the world. Tony, a 41-year-old British programmer who lives in Poland, celebrates the extraordinary nature of the journey. He reports with pride on the many places he visited and the tremendous effort carried out by many international marchers:

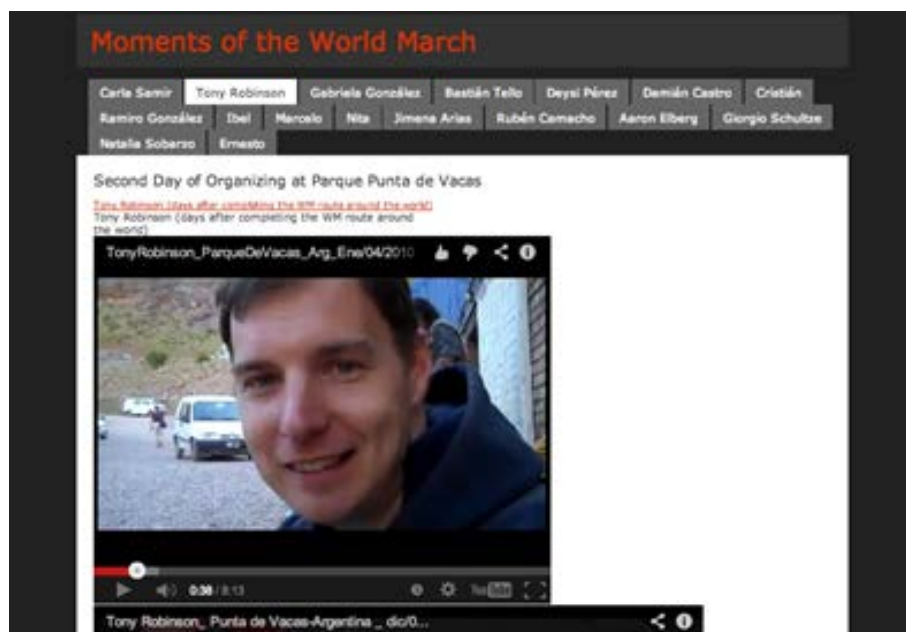


Figure 35. Tony. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

I was part of the World March's base team. I participated in New Zealand, Australia, Korea, Japan, Russia, then went to Turkey, then did two weeks by bus through Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Italy. Stopped for a couple of weeks and then rejoined in New York, going through Los Angeles, Tijuana in Mexico, Mexico City. We did another two, no, one week by bus from Tapachula in Mexico to Panama City. We flew to Bogota to do the Pacific route [in South America]. I visited Bogota, the border with Ecuador, Ipiales, what else? The capital Quito, Guayaquil, Lima in Peru, La Paz in Bolivia, and then went on to the Atlantic route going through Asuncion in Paraguay, Resistencia in the north of Argentina, eleven hours in another bus to Tucuman, and then Buenos Aires. And the 30th or 31st we arrive here in the Province of Mendoza... and on January 2nd we concluded the World March here in the [Punta de Vacas] Park. What can I tell you about this whole experience? It has been the

experience of my life. I had never done so many trips, and experienced so many different things in such a short time period. Changes in language, climate, food, hotels, bed. At the personal level it has been an intense task because one didn't sleep much during this time. It wasn't only a march with events. It was also the work of informing people about what was happening in the March. So I would write press releases, would organize photo albums, would help others to make videos, everything. And the blog, the famous blog of the World March. I wrote many things for the blog. So all of this was the part people wouldn't see, the part of the march we did in the hostels and places where we stayed.

Marco and Magaly, who travelled with Tony, also celebrated the affective significance of the journey. For Marco "visiting different countries [and] towns, visiting different continents" was central to his experience of the march. For Magaly, an activist from Santiago, her journey through Latin America inspired a feeling of deep connection to other places and communities. Speaking on stage at Villa Grimaldi, she said:

...Everywhere I went I would say... "I want to stay here" because the affection [we felt] was so strong and there were so many emotions that filled me along the way. So my heart would stay in every place we went through. The eyes of the children, of the women. We would look at each other and say "together we are going to build a different world, together we will build a world of peace." And I arrive here and this is also my place, here I was born. I also feel the violence that was exercised. But there is a reason why at some point we stood up and said "we are going to build something different because life is beautiful."

Not only did the journey provide Magaly with a new sense of community but also gave her the opportunity to return to her city as a ‘marcher’ whose experience and opinions were worth sharing with others. Montserrat, a 72-year-old journalist and peace advocate from Barcelona who was first introduced in Chapter Four, also spoke about the important lessons gathered along the March’s route:

I want to thank life for giving me the opportunity to have allowed me this journey, this knowledge of peoples. We have seen so many things that hurt in the soul. I would like from here to make a call to politicians. I put it on my blog but will read it to you. I call it The Violence of Power: “The World March gives us knowledge about many countries, for some of us unknown. We arrived to New Zealand with ideas that have transformed along the almost 90 days that we have been walking. [Now] we see other perspectives. Saying no to war and to nuclear weapons continues to be valid but not a priority. I would point out social justice as a requisite. We have seen misery, hunger, filth; women, children and elders robbed of dignity from a lack of what is indispensable.

Montserrat narrates a journey across borders and into the spaces that connects strangers with each other. She also described how this journey shifted her activist focus from the prevention of war to the promotion of dignity and sustainable peace and justice for all. She ends her testimony challenging world leaders to seek out similar experiences that, in her view, would turn them into peace advocates:

I would recommend to world leaders that they ... discover 'the other' if they are able to bare their sad eyes, their heart-true hugs; to taste their food in their environment, that is, cooked in the space where they live after walking

kilometers to find water ... I believe this should be a required course, the curriculum, for any politicians. If [world leaders] are able to take all this in, I assure you that we will change the world. Thanks.

Montserrat and Magaly articulate the embodied experience of solidarity based on mutual recognition of humanity and dignity. Their testimonies also uphold the intimate and quiet dimensions of resistance that could be lost in the larger context of the March. The testimony shared by Deisy, a 36-year-old marcher from Ecuador, illustrates how international marchers outside the base team had a similar experience of the journey:

We had the opportunity to be in what I call the alternative base team. In that team that was not the formal team [of marchers], the base team, which went from country to country. And we followed it to every place it went with its itinerary. We would travel by bus, would be present at the events... the majority were Colombian but there was one from Belgium, one from Germany, one from Mexico, who joined during the journey through the world. And it was beautiful because we found a wonderful experience, and we saw the joy and the meaning of what is the March is unity.

The testimonies featured here illustrate how positively the marchers evaluated the movement through geographic and ideological landscapes. For the international marchers, the experience resulted in important realizations about the meaning of peace and solidarity and provided a platform to articulate and share these understandings with others.

Finally, the testimonies in the Memoscopio archive also celebrate initiative's ability to move across ideological landscapes. In Alonso's view, the nature of the March facilitated collaboration and dialogue across cultural and ideological traditions:

[The March] has set a precedent in terms of uniting along the cultures that are so different, ways of life and ways of being in the world that are so different [...] it needs to be recognized that the World March springs out of a positioning that holds the human being as a central value. And this has unified people that, in the political field, used to think differently and that in the area of religion didn't even speak to each other. Now there have been many events where religious people of different traditions have made acts for peace, where they have sought out proximity and fraternity, which was not the case before. People from different political parties have been able to have conversations and get together to work for this specific list of measures that are the same for all countries

Together, these accounts offer rich descriptions of how the marchers moved with the March in mind, body, and spirit. As testimonies in the Memoscopio archive, these personal accounts served as public tools to celebrate movement, flow, and circulation as nonviolent strategies to change.

Offering a Hopeful Assessment of Peace Activism

In addition to infusing a politics of engagement and recognition, and to advancing a theory of change, the Memoscopio testimonies were also used as tools to offering a positive assessment of what peace activism can achieve in the future. Compared to the topics of self and world, the topic of the future received less attention from Memoscopio contributors. A relatively smaller number of Memoscopio contributors spoke directly to the third theme, *The March and the Future: Its Contribution and Projections*. While the issue of the future is central to the March and the Memoscopio archive, it is also possible that authors of the testimonies had a harder time speaking directly to the theme of the future than to themes of personal experience and of

contemporary political and historical processes. Perhaps this reflects the fact that the March did not offer a final or authoritative version of the future but a vision of peace, justice, and nonviolence that was unfinished and very much in the making.

Those marchers who spoke directly to the topic of the future used their testimonies to offer their audiences a hopeful and positive assessment of what the March in particular and peace activism in general can achieve in the future. As in the other two themes, the diversity of backgrounds and interests represented in the archive are reflected in the evaluations of the March. Across testimonies, however, there is a shared sense that the March was not an end, but a beginning. Rather, it was the seed of global peace movement for the 21st century. As Cristián and others described, this movement will not be cohesive and centralized, but it may take the form of a “neural connection for the planet.” The testimonies of Alonso, Jaime, and Sergio illustrate how they saw the initiative as helping incubate a transnational peace movement. For Sergio, creating the conditions for such movement to emerge was a priority:

I think it is indispensable that people become connected through this idea and generate a whole movement within which we may become energized and have a common objective which is to beat violence in these days. And it has to do with [the March's] contribution and projection. I think this denunciation can be a first step. (Translated from Spanish)

Similarly, Jaime described the March as opportunity for dialogue across social organizations that could potentially give rise to a more cohesive and influential peace movement based on responsibility and horizontalism:

I believe [the March] is a big step, beyond what is shown and visible, to be able to meet and be able to converse about the steps we must follow, as the many

organizations that endorse [the World March], to be able to establish an agenda and maybe even clear stages to continue meeting up, continue to dialogue, and weigh in, be taken into account, and generate this transition [...] It is important that there may not be leaders today, but to have it so each one is his own leader.

For Alonso, the role of the March was “to jell, to make concrete, a precise and specific demand: that the activities of countries and political powers be directed towards overcoming the issue of violent confrontation, be it economic, political, etc.” But regardless of whether this vision could become a reality, the very possibility of a transnational peace movement was described as a source of reassurance:

Seeing the development of the World March from New Zealand three months ago until a little time from now in Punta de Vacas in Argentina, I feel that finally there is a complicity, a unity, a starting to see things in a serious way, actually from reality. And reality is constituted by the experiences of a majority of people. So ... the sensation that 'ah, so it seems that I wasn't so naive after all, that dreaming was an appropriate activity and not one destined towards failure, no?, or to hopelessness.

Together, the testimonies of Alonso, Jaime, and Sergio offer an optimistic assessment of the March's potential contributions to the future. For them, participating and supporting the March was more than a passing opportunity to raise awareness about peace and nonviolence. It was also about taking part of a unique initiative that, in their eyes, was sowing the seed for a transnational and diverse peace movement.

Giorgio, Gustavo, and Javier describe some of the ways through which the March contributed to a 21st century peace movement. Giorgio, 53-year-old Italian activist who served as

March spokesperson for Europe and who was part of the base team, describe how the March contributed to the development of peace advocates in the Balkans and the Middle East:

A portion of the base team decided to do a different part of the route of the March, going through Israel and Palestine, Turkey, and the Balkans, which represent, in the European region and the Mediterranean region, the areas of most conflict. What we found was much worse than what we could have imagined, not only because of the current situation but because of the view of the future and the possibility of change... The March left a seed that is very important. There is an international voice saying that something can be organized not just at the local level. And this is gave strength to local youth groups... They invited us to go back and to organize encounters and seminars not only on the topic of peace, but also on nonviolence.



Figure 36. Giorgio. Screenshot from Moments of the World March Exhibit.

Gustavo, a 43-year-old marcher from Argentina, makes a similar point but focuses on the March's impact on organizations and institutions. For him, "the March has moved many structures and I

think that the organizations know it and will continue to work so that these structures continue to move, shake, and fall, (some with a roar, others silently, or even in a domino effect).”

But not all the testimonies are equally hopeful. Javier reflects on the possibility of overcoming today’s culture of violence. He moves between a sense of possible utopia and a more restrained assessment of the March’s contribution to the future. Speaking of nonviolence, he explains:

It becomes reality every time we take a step forward, that we catch a bus, that we get closer to the end. And it allows me in a way to meet more people, people who agree with the thought and kind of life I carry out, which is a thought obviously of nonviolence, no aggressions, no conflict. And it has allowed to—well, for all the dreams to kind of be reflected and look more real. This has made the world to reach closer [to them], through the March. So well, I am interested in this and I want to continue promoting this global initiative. Well, with my work and thought I will contribute and develop that which I desire and think, so that in the end this reality may not be [just] a utopia for the world. While I know that this will not be resolved through a march, I believe it will allow us to recognize each other more and to really understand more that nonviolence is a possible path and that violence must be erased from our minds and our memories, to contribute in any way to a world with less wars, a world that truly feels a social consciousness and allows to develop, well, a dream really. I know that it is a utopia because in the end violence—as long as there is economic, racial, and sexual violence, it will be difficult to achieve, but in some way we are telling the world that it is possible if one desires it, and that is already a reality.

These and other contributors to the March described the initiative as a point of departure, rather than an end, for alternative visions of peace, justice, and nonviolence.

Emerging Understandings

This Chapter presented a second analysis of the Memoscopio archive, which brings into focus the ways in which Memoscopio contributors speak about themselves, their worlds and the future in relation to the World March for Peace and Nonviolence as they responded to the themes suggested by Memoscopio. As discussed in the previous pages, March participants used their testimonies to turn personal accounts into public peacebuilding tools. More specifically, the testimonies serve as discursive tools that: (1) infuse a politics of engagement and recognition into public representations of March participants; (2) promote the vision and goals of the March; and (3) offer a hopeful assessment of what peace activism can achieve in the future. As in Chapter Four, I presented these uses through exemplary quotes from the archive, attempting to stay close to the language and metaphors the marchers used, as well as to the questions and insights that the process brought up for me.

Testimonies that touch on the marchers' relationship to the March served to infuse a politics of engagement and recognition into public representations of peace activists. Memoscopio contributors achieved this goal through *origin stories* and *development stories*. Origin stories trace the marchers' engagement in the March to their childhoods, their political commitments, their spiritual journeys, or serendipity. Development stories, in turn, describe changing perceptions of themselves and the March as a result of their participation in the initiative. Accounts that speak to life-long searches explain why they embraced the March. They also provide evidence that the pursuit of peace and the search for nonviolent models can give

direction and meaning to a life. Accounts that speak of life-long militancy and recent activism, in turn, blur the lines between collective projects, personal lives, and national histories. They also celebrate the work and effort of diverse communities and organizations around the world, pushing against narrow notions of what peace advocates look like. Accounts about serendipitous journeys to the March illustrate the ways in which the March mobilized people beyond the ranks of peace and grassroots organizations. Finally, descriptions of inspiring journeys of growth and transformation served to document the impact of the March on its participants and to inspire the archive's audiences.

Testimonies that touch on the marches' significance in the world today advance an organic theory of change based on the participants' experiences within the March and in their communities. Each in their own style, the marchers featured in the archive turned testimonies as tools to: (1) offer alternatives and raise awareness; (2) communicate a sense of historical opportunity; and (3) celebrate flow, movement, and circulation as nonviolent strategies through stories of local and virtual participation, and stories of travel and mutual recognition. Together, the testimonies in the archive turn personal accounts into a theory of change that offered a vision of peace for the 21st century, described an opportunity to realize that vision, and promoted a nonviolent approach to process. Finally, when speaking about the future, marchers used their testimonies to offer their audiences a hopeful and positive assessment of what the March in particular, and peace activism in general, can achieve in the future. The testimonies describe the March as sowing the seeds of a peace movement and preparing the ground for future work.

Two key understandings about the uses of the Memoscopia testimonies begin to emerge from this analysis. *First*, the analysis brings into focus the relevance of the testimony genre to the experience of the March and its power to document and communicate a social-psychological

landscape of peacebuilding as experienced by these activists. Among other elements, this landscape includes the identities and communities of the marchers; the histories and social political contexts in which they live and carry out their activism; the cultural and political discourses about peace and conflict they must grapple with; and their imaginations about future actions and achievements. The contributors to the Memoscopio archive used their testimonies to intervene in this landscape by (re)imagining themselves, peace marches, and the future of peacebuilding in a global and digital world. *Second*, the analysis brought into focus the ways in which the testimonies turn intimate accounts into public voice and public debate. Through their accounts, the marchers turned intimate memories, embodied experiences, intuitions, and descriptions of personal problems into an analysis of pressing public issues. The testimonies identify two ways in which the March helped release imagination and nurture peacebuilding: First, by providing alternatives to those who are actively seeking them, and second, by catalyzing a critical view of the current culture of violence. In the following chapter I will further expand on these two functions of the March and the ways in which it promoted public voice, public debate, and public struggle.

Chapter Six

Discussion: Moving with the March

How and *when* do activists come to describe a peace march in specific ways? This question, posed by Anderson's writing on Stafford's famous poem *Peace Walk*, framed my analysis of the Memoscopio archive. In this chapter I discuss what this analysis has revealed about the World March for Peace and Nonviolence. I begin with a discussion of the meanings of March and uses of Memoscopio testimonies as transformatory tools. I then discuss the significance of the March as an instance of transnational peace activism. Finally, I discuss the significance of Memoscopio as an approach to the study of peace activism and the psychology of possibility. I conclude with a summary of the key contributions of this dissertation to the study of transnational marches, peacebuilding, and imagination.

The Meanings of the March

A first question guiding this work has to do with the meaning of the March to its participants, both within and across psychological, political, historical, generational, and national landscapes. The contributors of the Memoscopio archive would agree with the notion that peace marches such as the World March for Peace and Nonviolence are transitory events defined by their participants, messages, routes, and goals. The analysis of the Memoscopio archive revealed the March as *a patchwork of situated experiences*, which were stitched together by the shared experience of *radical (loco)motion*.

The March as a patchwork of situated experiences. The testimonies of Memoscopio contributors tell us that the meaning of the March is situated in their lives, their worlds, and the specific moments and activities they experienced. The notion of the March as a patchwork of

situated experiences captures important dynamics. First, the March seems to have taken on diverse meanings as it entered the intimate and public lives of many different individuals: college students and retirees; parents and grandparents; religious leaders and atheist *políticos*; war veterans and life-long pacifists; entrepreneurs and union leaders; middle-aged professionals and waged workers; and seasoned peace advocates and first-time organizers, among many others. Secondly, the March is best understood as a patchwork of situated experiences because the Memoscopio contributors experienced the March in the context of their private stories and collective histories, and in relation to the political landscapes of their cities and nations. Memoscopio contributors also understood the March in the context of the local and global structures of domination and exploitation that shape their lives. Finally, they evaluated the March through the agendas and sensibilities of their specific political and cultural communities. Third, the experiences of the Memoscopio contributors were situated within specific March activities such as local organizing, international marching, visits to memorial sites, and protest in civic centers. Each of these activities resulted in specific demands, emotions, insights, and challenges for March participants.

Differently positioned participants engaged in different projects within the context of the March. Local organizers experienced the initiative through meetings at downtown offices, promotional events, conversations with potential allies, and many other activities. From their Memoscopio testimonies we learn that organizing the March was about coming face-to-face with despair and cynicism while acting on a sense of obligation to nurture imagination. International marchers experienced the March through long bus rides, nights spent in tents or hostels, at border crossings, and at events in towns and cities they had never before visited. From them we learn how traveling with the March was about challenging collective lies (Martín Baró, 1994) about

the meaning of peace, borders, representation, justice, and community. Local supporters experienced the March during visits to memorial sites and rallies held in central squares and city halls. From the testimonies of supporters who visited memorial sites, we learn that the March was about recognizing local histories and reflecting on collective memory and collective amnesia in order to imagine the future. From supporters who rallied outside city halls and presidential palaces, we learn that the March was also about creating critical audiences for popular protest and about reclaiming public places as stages for public dialogues about peace, conflict, and justice. Overall, a situated analysis of the Memoscopio archive brought into focus how different kinds of people across political, cultural, national, and generational lines engaged on their terms with the March's vision of a peaceful and just planet.

While many aspects of the March were intimate, local, and idiosyncratic, its participants also described experiences that were shared across landscapes. These experiences respond to similar structural conditions created by late capitalism and globalization, as well as to their shared humanity. Among other things, the contributors to the Memoscopio archive coincide in their descriptions of the March as movement, mobilization, flow, and circulation. March participants tell their audiences of their *radical (loco)motion* through psychological, physical, and political landscapes. This common experience was the thread that sewed together the patchwork of the marchers' situated experiences.

The March as radical (loco)motion. The marchers' rich descriptions of bus rides, border crossings, and walks resonate with the work of McPhail and Wohlstein (1986), who conceptualize marches as a type of collective behavior in which people move together from a meeting point to an end point. The accounts in the archive also evoke the 1961 Peace March to Moscow (Wernicke & Wittner, 1999) in which a small group of peace advocates crossed the East-

West divide promoting nuclear disarmament. The March was certainly about moving through towns, cities, and borders, but this physical locomotion does not characterize it in its entirety. The contributors to the Memoscopio archive also speak of other dimensions of locomotion, which are defined by movement through psychological, discursive, and historical landscapes.

First, the Memoscopio testimonies tell us that the March was about moving through personal, interpersonal, and ideological barriers to peacebuilding. This understanding of the March is present throughout the archive. It informs how March participants describe their efforts to break through personal violence, existential despair, political roadblocks, and other challenges as they worked to mobilize local institutions and groups. This work nurtured interactions of inspiration and solidarity that responded to what Ruglis and Fine (2009) have called local and global circuits of dispossession.

The testimonies also describe the marchers as moving from their private and routine lives into public spaces—such as plazas and government buildings—as well as moving from silent despair into outspoken participation in public debates about local conflicts, political representation, military budgets, borders, citizenship, and more. Memoscopio contributors would agree with Jasper's (1999, 2010) notion that this type of mobilization created opportunities for everyday people to exercise a public voice and to express contempt, criticism, and offer alternatives in a public space.

Finally, the testimonies describe March participants as entering diverse historical landscapes, and revisiting the past, reexamining the present, and imagining the future. Through commemorations, homages, and visits to memorial sites the March interrupted local efforts to co-opt or erase memory. In this way, the March created opportunities for its participants to move through the psychological landscape of peace and conflict, which is populated by personal and

collective memory, amnesia, nightmares, dreams, illusions, and also possibilities. In this form of locomotion the meaning of the March is found in the way bodies, images, sounds, and symbols moved thorough social-psychological and discursive landscapes in order to commemorate the past and perform future alternatives. This movement through memory, representations, and imagination resonates with studies of anti-dictatorship marches by Burchianti (2004) and by Escobar Nieto and Fernández Droguett (2008). This notion also resonates with Wilson's (2004a, 2004b) analysis of commemorative marches as tools for decolonization.

Overall, the Memoscopio testimonies stress the affective, performative, political, and symbolic dimensions of locomotion. They describe this movement as a nonviolent expression of a vision in which, as Mills (1959) would say, individual and private troubles turn into public issues with viable solutions. Through radical (loco)motion, Memoscopio contributors experienced the March as an opportunity to engage —emotionally, intellectually, and politically— with key barriers to sustainable peace at the local, regional, and global levels. Through organizing, marching, remembrance, and protest these participants denounced injustice and outlined paths towards greater distributive, inclusionary, and procedural justice (see Muñoz Proto & Opotow, 2012). They denounced the cultural violence exercised by neoliberal and neo/colonial systems and asserted the right to live in a diverse and inclusionary world where global citizenship is coupled with autonomy and self-determination. Finally, their actions were public evidence of the human capacity to cooperate and converge, engage in nonviolent conflict, and work toward reconciliation.

Memoscopio Testimonies as Transformatory Tools

A second question guiding this work has to do with the uses of the Memoscopio testimonies and the ways in which the contributors to the archive shared their experiences. In

other words: What did the marchers (un)do through their testimonies and what did the testimonies (un)do for the marchers? As I discussed in Chapter Two, authors of testimonies tend to position themselves as experts, protagonists, or witnesses of a particular conflict or event, addressing a wide audience of potential allies and opponents. Prompted by the Memoscopio team, the contributors to the archive addressed their various audiences of friends, allies, and detractors about the March's relationship to their lives, significance in the world, and contribution to the future. The analysis of the archive presented in Chapters Four and Five suggests that the Memoscopio testimonies positioned themselves as commentators, protagonists, and witnesses. From these positions, they used their testimonies to carry out important political, cultural, and psychological work. This, in great measure, has to do with the ways in which the testimonies documented suffering, despair, and survival, while also speaking of resilience, transformation, and possibility. Through their testimonies, March participants documented and critiqued current grievances. At the same time, they explored personal and collective possibilities beyond current conditions. The visions and demands that emerged from this process are not sanitized versions of peace. They are rather grounded on lived experiences of exploitation, exclusion, and repression that respond to local, regional, and sometimes global histories and structures, as well as to very diverse understandings of peace, justice, and nonviolence. As a result, the testimonies of March supporters do not speak in unison. Their stories of the past, and their certainties, doubts and intuitions about a peaceful 21st century come together in a messy and exciting chorus voices of that speak with, against, for, and despite each other. As a chorus, the Memoscopio testimonies sought to undo collective lies and (re)imagine peace.

Undoing lies. At a personal level, a key function of Memoscopio testimonies was to help participants reflect on their experiences of the March and the personal dimensions of social

suffering, healing, and change. They also served as tools for turning personal stories into public debate. This is especially the case when marchers move with ease between descriptions of their daily experiences and ‘big ideas’ about peace, conflict, democracy, and globalization. The testimonies bring local and personal perspectives to regional and global conversations and respond to grand narratives about violence, war, and justice. This function of the Memoscopio testimonies resonates with Bakhtin’s (1986) notion that testimony, as a genre of political speech, is always situated within the cultural and political debates of a society. The uses the marchers gave to their Memoscopio testimonies also resonate with Vygotsky’s (1978) notion that intelligent action and speech are interdependent. In the case of the marchers, testimonies served as useful tools to participate in a global movement and attempt to transform representations, identities, relationships, and imaginations (Muñoz Proto & Opatow, 2013). In these ways, the testimonies served as peacebuilding tools for the marchers to achieve complex ideological, existential, and communicational goals. One such goal was to push against and beyond collective lies about the human capacity for peace and justice. Today, neoliberalism, militarism, and armamentism glorify violence as a spectacle and a means for productivity. They offer meritocratic explanations of inequality through narratives that cast violence and injustice as natural and unavoidable. In terms of political engagement and protest, the normalization of violence leaves us with a false choice between inaction and destructive conflict. The Memoscopio testimonies helped the marchers speak back, against, and around these notions through accounts about themselves, their worlds, and the future.

When telling their personal stories, the Memoscopio contributors used their testimonies to infuse a politics of engagement and recognition. They author themselves as peace advocates (c.f., Blackburn & McCready, 2009) through stories of activism, search, and growth. Their

stories attest to the human capacity to transform themselves and their world in intentional ways and provide models of engagement for their audiences. Their stories also claim recognition for young people, women, the elderly and indigenous people as political and cultural actors, and undo the erasure of their histories and voices. When speaking about the March's significance in today's world, Memoscopio contributors advanced a theory of change built around alternatives to war and violence, and a sense of historical opportunity and nonviolent strategies. More specifically, the testimonies raise awareness about peace and nonviolence as viable options, offer a historical analysis of the cultural and political opportunities the March addresses, and celebrate circulation and movement as nonviolent approaches to change. At the same time, their testimonies interrupt powerful discourses that normalize violent and unjust conditions. Among other things, the marchers question war-oriented foreign policies, denounce bloated military budgets, and describe the defunding of public health and education as human rights violations. Finally, when speaking about the March's contribution to the future, Memoscopio contributors helped incubate a future peace movement. Their descriptions of this nascent movement and its potential contributions to peace undo the foreclosure of imagination (c.f., Bradbury, 2012). In this way, the testimonies served as tools to (re)imagine peace. The testimonies not only convey important information, but also do so in compelling ways. More specifically, the marchers used what can be described as various sub-genres of testimonies.. These included stories of origins and development, as well as stories of travel, solidarity, and participation.

(Re)imagining peace. In addition to pushing against collective lies that prevent peace, the marchers also shared novel and provocative articulations of the meaning of peacebuilding in today's world. Their transnational peace activism, however, was not limited to opposing war and nuclear weapons, as was the case during the 1961 March to Moscow. Neither was it limited

to promoting the absence of war. Consistent with Reardon and Cabezudo's (2002) view of peace as process, the marchers described peacebuilding as a sustained and nonviolent transformation of individuals, institutions, and relationships towards increased justice and wellbeing. Pushing against sanitized versions of peace, they imagine peacebuilding for the 21st century as an all-encompassing project of transformation. First, the marchers imagine constructive and nonviolent conflict (c.f., Deustch, 1983) as a solution to the false choice between conformism and destructive conflict. They imagine peaceful societies as able to engage with differences and grievances rather than repressing and/or exacerbating conflict. In addition, the marchers offer an understanding of peace that goes beyond amicable relations among nation states. Peacebuilding, they argue, is about building sustainable relationships among people and between humanity and nature (c.f., Hastings, 2008; Kimmel, 1995). The testimonies offer a critical understanding of how peacebuilding is about promoting recognition and dignity (c.f., Fraser, 2001) as well distributive, inclusionary, and procedural justice in a globalized world (c.f., Opotow, 2006). Additionally, the contributors to *Memoscopio* argue that peacebuilding efforts should avoid monocultural approaches and instead promote diverse cultures of peace that provide institutional encouragement for justice and nonviolence at the local level (c.f., Fernandez-Dols, Hurtado-de-Mendoza, & Jimenez-de-Lucas, 2004). While focusing on the future, the marchers also articulate a view of peacebuilding that stresses the importance of the recognition, remembrance, and reconciliation of past and present violence and suffering (c.f., Eaton, 2011). The testimonies in the archive also advance a vision of peacebuilding in which all sectors of society, and specially the new generations, challenge the normalization and trivialization of violence and injustice (c.f., Bradbury, 2012; Fine, 2006). Finally, the marchers advance a vision of 21st century peacebuilding that favors grassroots efforts over NGO

initiatives, and that is based on collaboration and solidarity across identities, ideologies, and other distinctions (c.f., Adams, 2000).

The Significance of the March: Expanding Horizons

A third question guiding this work relates to the significance and value of symbolic, nonviolent actions such as the March. Woodward (1948), Mills (1959) and other social scientists concerned with the relationship between personal experience and public issues have argued that people are often denied truthful and accurate information about the political reality that surrounds them. As a result, they lack an analysis of how their personal actions could potentially transform their societies. The testimonies in the Memoscopio archive suggest that initiatives such as the March counter these impediments to peace by making available alternative versions, analyses, and agendas. In this sense, it is possible to argue that the March contributed, however briefly, to an expansion of the political and existential horizons of its participants through an empathic and active engagement with foreclosed alternatives.

Producing *connoción*. My analysis of the Memoscopio archive built on initial observations by the Memoscopio team regarding the sharing of testimonies as a key activity within the March. What this analysis suggests is that the significance of international, decentralized initiatives such as the March lies, to a great extent, in the opportunities they create for individuals and groups to exchange information with each other remotely (e.g., through websites, media coverage, literature) as well as in person (e.g., during planning meetings, events, marches, and travel to new towns, cities, and countries). As the testimonies in the Memoscopio archive attest to, public events, blogs, planning meetings, bus rides, teach-ins, and virtually every aspect of the March presented opportunities for participants to bear witness to the possibility of a culture of peace and nonviolence. Through public speaking, conversation, writing, and

interviews, March participants shared with each other and with wide audiences their accounts, experiences, and opinions about peace, conflict, and injustice. As Schwebel (2006) would argue, the marchers answered “the need to provide the general population with information, guidance and leadership” (p. 198), offering an alternative analysis of their political realities.

But as Mills argues (1959), it can be the case that the more people come to know about the larger forces that constrain their lives, the more trapped and immobilized they come to feel. So how did the March denounce governments, companies and institutions for their armamentism, violence, and dehumanizing agendas while also helping the marchers break through this sense of entrapment? According to the testimonies, the March helped activists combat public ignorance and apathy by making available facts and statistics about wars, weapons, or inequality. But, most importantly, the March invited its participants to actively engage with this information not only cognitively, but also affectively.

The marchers would agree with Schwebel’s notion that empathy is at the heart of this process. The testimonies describe a rich experience of empathy that many marchers call *conmoción*. Across places, the marchers speak about themselves and their communities as being *conmovidos*, or touched, by the March. I find the Spanish word to be particularly telling. The word speaks of an affective ‘moving with’ the March. ‘Being touched by’ the March, in turn, implies emotion is an outcome of the March. The word *conmoción*, more accurately describes this empathic ‘moving with the March’ as the affective experience of radical (loco)motion. According to Memoscopio contributors, *conmoverse* with the March is an active and embodied experience: Letting one’s imagination follow the dream of peace and letting oneself experience the humanity and possibilities of allies and detractors alike. For Memoscopio contributors, *conmoverse* also means feeling connected to distant places and struggles while taking action in

one's town or city. The testimonies in the archive express how inspiration, joy, frustration, despair, and other intense emotions were central to the experience of 'moving with' the March in heart, mind, and body. These descriptions of *conmoción* provide a grounded and embodied account of what the March did for the marchers and what the Marchers communicated through their testimonies: An inspired sense of movement, flow, transformation, and, above all, a sense of opening, possibility, and release.

Releasing traps. The psychological experience of *conmoción* sheds new light on the socio-political significance of the March. The March promoted an expanded understanding of violence, war, and injustice in today's world that resonates with Mill's (1959) sociological imagination. The experience of *conmoción* released March participants, however briefly, from various psychological traps that are embedded in the collective lies that normalize violence. First, the March helped turn nihilism and cynicism into hopeful visions of the future in which nonviolence and justice are the norm (c.f., Bradbury, 2012; Greene, 1995). Second, the March helped turn exclusion, invisibility, and erasure into engagement, participation, and public debate. Third, the March created conditions for participants to turn feelings of physical, existential, and emotional stagnation and isolation into circuits of inspiration and solidarity that manifested through journeys, rallies, and virtual connections. Finally, the March released its participants from a false choice between violent resistance and disengaged conformism by introducing nonviolent and constructive conflict as an alternative approach to engagement and change.

The World March for Peace and Nonviolence shared many characteristics with past initiatives such as the Peace March to Moscow of 1960-1961 (Wernike & Wittner, 1999) and the World March of Women of 2000 (Conway, 2008). But as is also true of the more recent Arab Spring, Occupy movement, and *Indignados* movement, the March belongs to an increasingly

digital and globalized landscape. This has been increasingly the case since 9/11, which Brier and Brown (2011) describe as “the first truly digital event of world historical importance” (p. 101). This landscape has opened new horizons for peace advocates and researchers. For March participants, the March was defined by the physical or virtual circulation of ideas, images, people, and objects (c.f., Sheller & Urry, 2006). Blogs, t-shirts, banners, gestures, photo albums and performances gained translocal meaning (Appadurai, 1996) as they circulated across places and movements, defying simple distinctions between local and global activities.

It is thus not surprising that many March organizers described the initiative as a *demonstration effect (d.e.)*:

a social event capable of acting as an example or model in places that are both nearby and far removed. In the latter case, ever more rapid and numerous means of communication contribute to shrinking distances, and thus the phenomenon of the d.e. is becoming more frequent. In addition, the similarity of structural situations within a system now becoming global favors instances of the d.e. being “imported” and “exported” with greater ease (Silo, 2003, p. 390, my translation)

The Memoscopio testimonies reveal the March as a demonstration effect, or the ‘staging’ of a vision, that engaged its participants with alternatives foreclosed in mainstream discourse (c.f., Bradbury, 2012; Ritterhouse, 2006). The March modeled collaborations based on a sense of global citizenship and justice, and exemplified the use of nonviolence as an approach to conflict. This view of the March as a demonstration effects is rooted in the theory of change of New Humanism (Pulleda, 1997). It also resonates with Liberation Psychology and critical psychology, and specifically with the emphasis they place on what societies and relationships could become

(Fine, 2006; Martín Baró, 1994). The Memoscopio project, in turn, amplified the March's capacity to act as a model or demonstration effect that was able to release various psychological, political, and cultural traps, even if only momentarily.

The Significance of Memoscopio

In its use of testimonies, participatory methods, and digital technologies the Memoscopio project tapped into key aspects of transnational peace activism as it was practiced through the World March for Peace and Nonviolence. As I discussed in Chapter Two, this approach is uncommon within the scholarship on peace marches, which favors observational and survey methods and focuses on pathways to mobilization. By shifting the focus towards testimonies and archives, Memoscopio modeled the use of participatory methods and critical counter-archiving for the documentation and study of peace marches and social movements. At the same time, it helped generate knowledge that is useful to educators, advocates, researchers, and leaders as they implement, promote, and evaluate other efforts in the areas of peace education and advocacy. For these reasons, Memoscopio was an important exploration of alternative methods for the study of peacebuilding.

The risk of research. The opportunity to work with the Memoscopio team has led me to reflect on the challenges of documenting, studying, and promoting peace movements within the social sciences. I have become more aware of the ways in which research can potentially flatten the most exciting and dynamic aspects of a social movement. Over the course of a study, significant mutations can take place: Activists and advocates can become subjects whose behavior must be explained. Knowledge about what might be possible can be blurred out by a lens that focuses elsewhere, often on what can be easily measured. Historicity can disappear in a never-ending present with no antecedents and no direction. At best, the temporality of experience

may be reduced to “time 1” and “time 2.” Moments of solidarity, unexpected discoveries, tensions, and despair can be missed by instruments meant to measure other things. The messiness of complex relationships, the joy of small victories, and the weight of loss can be turned into clean-cut variables that help explain and predict the answers to questions such as: Will people mobilize? How much and when?

These mutations are understandable for research whose purpose is to predict and explain. But they are to be avoided when the purpose of research is to better understand social reality and to humanize it. So what is the point of knowing when knowing can flatten the richness of a movement? This challenge becomes intensified when studying transnational initiatives for peace, justice, and nonviolence. The questions that arise are important and numerous: How do we take seriously the visions and knowledge of people who are asking for ‘the impossible’? How can researchers work *with* peace and justice advocates rather than speaking *for* them? How do we avoid sanitized accounts of protest? How do we keep from turning sharp critiques into stillborn bits of data? What kinds of questions can reveal, at once, the intimate/personal and spectacular/collective dimensions of transnational peacebuilding? What methods and measures should we use as to avoid turning place and history into blurry backgrounds? How do we engage multiple and situated meanings of solidarity, inclusion, peace, oppression, and in/justice? How do we honor or reclaim the (dis/mis)remembered past (of war, torture, displacement, exploitation, exclusion) and the imagined future (of change, self-determination, nonviolence, inclusion)? What does it mean to study a movement across lives, geographies, and socio-political landscapes? In hindsight, I realize the Memoscopio project addressed several of these questions as it accompanied the March through geographic, political, and discursive landscapes while producing a counter-archive. This is certainly a testament to the possibilities that lie in

participatory research teams that bring together the interests and expertise of people who have a stake in a particular research question or issue.

Lessons about counter-archives. The time I have spent with the Memoscopio archive has also led me to reflect about the nature and significance of archives. I have come to think that archives cannot always redress injustice, nor can they undo certain kinds of violence (c.f., Zeitlyn, 2012). However, their relationship to power and knowledge positions them as potentially transformatory research tools and social practices. Writing about the challenges of creating an indigenous postcolonial archive, Povinelli writes:

In “The Library of Babel,” Jorge Luis Borges portrays the universe as a vast honeycombed library in which every book that ever was or ever will be written, every thought that has been or could be thought, is contained... Quite famously, a radical sect of librarians seeks to burn all books that seem to them to contain nothing but gibberish in hopes of making the task of comprehension more manageable. But what if one day, much to their surprise, a stranger walked in from the other side of one of the hexagon-walled rooms carrying a new book or embodying a different memory and practice? Where would she have come from if an outsider to the library has been categorically excluded? ... Would she or it have to be burned? Or could a new library, or a new bookcase or a new alcove in the old library, be built that could shelve this book or her embodied memory? Is the problem the book, the woman, her memory, or the idea of a singular and total universe? (2011, p. 147)

Building on Borges’ metaphor, Povinelli’s questions, and the example of Memoscopio, I argue that under certain conditions archival projects can help dismantle the Library of Babel, as a form

of knowing, remembering, and imagining. This is especially true of counter-archives, which I first described in Chapter Three. First, counter-archives can produce critical versions of collective memory. As a memory project, one of the central purposes of Memoscopio was to create a critical memory of the March that would counter sanitized versions by governments and the mainstream media and even the organizers themselves. Ashuri's (2012) concept of joint memory can help us understand the type of collective memory Memoscopio sought to create. In contrast to official forms of memory produced by institutions, Ashuri defines joint memory as "a compilation of personal histories made public for the public." (p. 445). Joint memory, argues Ashuri "is driven by a social purpose: Witnesses who add their recollections to an accessible and shareable compilation of memories attempt to expose events that the default collective (such as the nation) denies or wishes to forget" (p. 445). While not articulated in these terms, one of the goals of the Memoscopio project was to produce a public record of the wide range of individual accounts the March generated and that governments and mainstream media would likely ignore. The archive also invited its contributors to look back at the diverse origins and meanings of the March. In this way, Memoscopio fought the ahistorical bias of the social sciences (Fine, 2006) and contextualized the March in the multiplicity of pasts, histories, and stories that informed the Memoscopio testimonies.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the relationship between individual and collective memory is complex. A few Memoscopio participants decided to update their testimonies days after first recording an account. They were perhaps concerned that their first testimony did not reflect how much they were changing and learning during the March's journey. This speaks to the fact that even a participatory archival process can impose the illusion of finality and order over embodied and dynamic lived experiences. There is another important

limitation of joint memory and archives: It is impossible to know whether the marchers in the archive would describe their experiences in similar terms months, years or decades after the event. Only a follow up conversation would allow us to know whether their experiences during the March had lasting effects.

A second transformatory characteristic of counter-archives is their capacity to help researchers capture fleeting moments of imagination. In addition to documenting memory, Memoscopio documented the insights, emotions, and understandings that took place during the March. Just as Brier and Brown were compelled by 9/11 to act as historian-archivists for similar reasons, each of the members of the Memoscopio team acted as activist-archivists, artist-archivists, researcher-archivists. The team was concerned that the kinds of imagination sparked by the March could fade or be lost if they were not documented during the initiative itself. Comparing Memoscopio to other testimony archives reveals its proximity to the March. The accounts in the Fortunoff Video Archive of Holocaust Testimony reflect a displacement in time, space, and language, as they were recorded decades after the war, in places and languages of exile (Hartman, 2006). Similarly, the TRC testimonies are not only displaced from Apartheid by a few years, but they are also seen as recollections of ‘another time,’ shared after profound changes took place in South Africa (McEwan, 2003). The Memoscopio archive, in contrast, is a digital repository of the *subjunctive knowledge* that was catalyzed, deepened, and articulated during the March. In other words, Memoscopio captures what the marchers knew, imagined, and intuited about what society may be and of what people may become, do, feel, organize, and attempt. This kind of knowledge is not about whether people predict, correctly or not, the outcomes of a given action or movement. It is rather about the futures they are able to imagine beyond the tyranny of the present and the powerful forces that shape their lives.

In its explicit concern with the exploration of imagination, the Memoscopio archive hoped to answer Martín-Baró's (1994) call for a research praxis that illuminates "all [we] could be—but have been kept by historical conditions from becoming" (p.23). Producing a kaleidoscope of visions and imaginations, as opposed to an ideological synthesis of the March, was an intentional choice. It was meant to capture the March's openness to diverse contributions and voices. As a result, the Memoscopio archive offers a collection of personal accounts, which together form a *joint imagination* about peace and justice. This joint imagination is a diverse, unfinished, locally situated, and aspirational planetary vision of peace and justice in the 21st century. As it is the case with utopias (Facuse, 2010), more radical forms of collective imagination break from current conditions. They open up possibilities that do not exist within a given social and economic order, thus fighting cynicism about change. The mismatch between the present and the imagined future can in itself be mobilizing. In this way, the kind of collective imagination documented by Memoscopio can orient the present activities of people, institutions, movements, and nations towards transformation. Counter- archives such as Memoscopio show how important it is that, as we study of social change, we not only document suffering and despair, but also examine the conditions under which a sense of possibility is awakened. The experience of possibility is an opening of the future, a widening of what we anticipate, imagine, or strive for. It is imagination plus inspiration. It is an experience of utmost importance in the midst of a moment of crisis in which we lose a sense of personal and collective direction, and in which our activities lose their sense of purpose, and where we find ourselves trapped within frozen identities, relations, or structures. When temporal and spatial horizons widen, people tend to experience a sense of possibility that takes them beyond their immediate situation or circumstance. The case of the March and Memoscopio suggest there is much to be

gained from studying the psychology of possibility and its relationship to specific activities and experiences. Some questions, specific to peace psychology, begin to delineate themselves: Under what conditions do our horizons about peace and conflict widen? Whether and how does a specific experience or situation awaken a sense of possibility? In this line of inquiry, it seems crucial to examine the kinds of psychological spaces, relationships, and activities through which despair turns into vision and possibility. In addition, it seems crucial to examine the significance of seemingly insignificant things such as a march, a journey, a conversation, or a public statement. Their deeper significance may be in the alternatives they make available, the specific ways in which they catalyze imagination, and the inspired thoughts and emotions they produce. But because these experiences may be short-lived, the study of possibility may also require a longitudinal or biographical approach to understand whether and how they leave traces over time.

A third transformatory characteristic of counter archives is their potential to foster inclusion and participation. Memoscopio belongs to “the Era of the Witness” (Wieviorka, 2006), in which lived experience and personal accounts are important sites of inquiry and important sources of knowledge (Brayard, 2008; Fred & Alford, 2008). Trying to avoid a commodification of people’s testimonies, Memoscopio was intentional about whose reflections, perspectives, and opinions should be included in the design of the project and in the content of the archive. In addition, the project tried to create an archive that would be useful, relevant, and collectively owned. There was a concerted effort to involve March participants as collaborators. To this end, the team carefully crafted and piloted the consent process, stressing participants’ control over their level of disclosure or anonymity. In addition, Memoscopio opted for a flexible interview protocol open to a wide range of experiences and interests as opposed to opting for narrow

questions that would have predetermined what was interesting to participants. Finally, Memoscopio created opportunities for participants to vet, correct, erase, and use their testimonies. But the project was not impervious to archival power and blind spots. First, Memoscopio and the March probably made it easier for participants to tell certain kinds of stories over others (c.f., Andrews, 2007). Negative experiences during the March and stories of cynicism and disempowerment, for instance, may have been tacitly discouraged. Secondly, participants with limited understanding of digital archives and limited access to the Internet were at a disadvantage compared to those who were more tech savvy and had access. Third, Memoscopio overlooked the experiences of supporters whose resources, situation, or ability status prevented them to take part of the initiative. Finally, the archive offers a small slice of the diverse meanings that the March held for thousands of supporters around the world. For these various reasons it is important to consider the participatory process behind this and other counter-archives, as well as its contents, in terms of their theoretical generalizability (Fine, 2006) to other moments, movements, and contexts. Rather than forcing homogeneity, this approach to generalizability brings attention to how and why the meanings of the March and the practices that took place during the creation of Memoscopio may be different across lives, times, and settings.

Conclusion

What does an international peace march mean to its participants across geographies, cultures, and generations? And what does it mean to contribute a personal testimony about such an initiative to a digital archive? Inspired by these questions, this dissertation studied the online Memoscopio archive and its collected testimonies about the 2009 World March for Peace and Nonviolence. Building on the documentary work of Memoscopio, the task of this dissertation

was two-fold. First, this dissertation examined the situated meanings of the March and the ways which everyday people engaged in peacebuilding through testimony. Second, this study drew lessons from the Memoscopio as a counter-archive.

Grounded in the fields of peace studies and critical psychology, and in the tradition of participatory action research, this dissertation has sought to make an original contribution to the study of transnational peace marches, archives, and testimonies in a global and digital world. This study of the Memoscopio archive contributed to a small but important body of psychological literature on the role of public opinion and resistance (Martín-Baró, 1994) and participatory self-surveys (Torre & Fine, 2011) in the struggle against narrow visions of what a society should and can become. A focus on the psychological and cultural dimensions of contemporary transnational peace marches has revealed that the meaning and significance of peace marches goes well beyond the collective locomotion of people who oppose war. This dissertation theorized the March as a patchwork of positioned experiences tied together by the common experience of *radical (loco)motion* through geographic, cultural, and political landscapes. In addition, the analysis shed light on the transformatory uses of testimonies and the ways in which the marchers pushed against collective lies and (re)imagined peacebuilding in the 21st century. Finally, the dissertation shed light on the March's socio-political significance. More specifically, it examined how the March helped undo psychological traps and roadblocks to peace advocacy through the experience of *conmoción* and the marchers' active engagement with otherwise foreclosed alternatives.

Methodologically, the dissertation explored multimodal, digital, and participatory approaches to studying peace in collaboration with communities and social movements. A key contribution has been the development of a *kaleidoscopic approach* to working with *counter-*

archives. In these ways, this work bridged discussions within the digital humanities, media studies, and the field of participatory action research. The study also shed light on how counter-archives produce collective memory and document *subjunctive knowledge* and imagination about the future. These methodological contributions may be of interest to scholars across the humanities and social sciences that study the cultural and psychological dimensions of conflict, peace, oppression, and justice.

In summary, this study has made original contributions to the field of peace and conflict psychology by offering: First, a psychological framework for the analysis of how normalized structural violence can be addressed through peace-sustaining mobilizations; second, a methodological approach to study of how people learn and promote peacebuilding skills for a digital and globalized world; third, a comparative analysis of how this process took place within and across various geo-historical and cultural contexts, specifically in the United States and the countries of the Andes; and finally, a discussion of the many ways in which transnational peace marches can be productive sites of inquiry on the evolving meanings of peace, peacebuilding and peace advocacy in the 21st century.

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