Media Archaeologies, Micro-Archives and Storytelling

Re-presencing the Past

Martin Pogačar

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For Lara, Mila and Val

PREFACE

This is a book about the lives of the past and the ways they are recorded in digital media. It is an account of how memory, remembering and storytelling are affected by digital media, and an attempt to understand how our relationship to the past, but also to the present and the future, is transformed in the time of the digitisation of everything. It is an attempt to understand how we, as individuals and as collectivities, are intertwined, across time and space, with the world around us. This book poses the question of how media technologies affect our lives and how they structure the rhythms of our daily lives. The study is emotionally and generationally anchored within the historical and popular cultural legacies of the latter part of the twentieth century, one of the most ambiguous periods in human history so far, undoubtedly because it is, by far, the most excessively recorded and archived. Furthermore, it is embedded in the context of unprecedented technological advances and grave socio-cultural perturbances that bewilder humanity at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

This book is based on the research I conducted in the period between the years 2010 and 2012, which focused on the memory of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–91) in digital (social) media. While engaged with memory in post-Yugoslavia, this book is also an investigation of how we may think about, grasp and deal with memory in digital media. To this end, I devised a framework, structured around media archaeology and micro-archiving (see Chap. 3), which is based on the view that the present is structured as a culture of the past (see Introduction and Chap. 2). This framework offers an approach to bridge the

theorisation of memory and the practical approaches to disinterring and publishing mediated traces of the past.

The study focuses on how the past and media are used in individual interventions into, and affective renditions of the past. In other words, I look at what remains in the wake of the collapse of a country in social media. In this context, I take Yugoslavia as a metaphor of the post-Second World War period: its beginning is firmly rooted in the Second World War, the legacy of the anti-fascist resistance and the disturbing aftermath of the penultimate global slaughterhouse; the country's infamous collapse coincides with the collapse of socialism and the end of the Cold War. Moreover, Yugoslavia's history and post-Yugoslavs' experientiality are divisively encoded through the ambiguities of emancipatory and authoritarian legacies of socialism.[1] Not least, the end of Yugoslavia and the end of the Cold War—namely, the emergence of the post-socialist countries and their mission to catch-up with the West—coincide with the rise of digital media.

This exposes the central underpinning of this project: to think about the redefinition of communication and human lifeworlds in the liminality of the analogue and digital worlds. Being neck-deep in digital media today, life prior to the connectivity turn seems increasingly unfathomable, even to us 'digital immigrants' who have lived mobile- and Wi-Fi-free lives, and who often look with nostalgia and admiration upon our pre-digital, analogue, mechanic and pre-instant-connectivity media-homeland, made of paper, ink, tape and vinyl. Overwhelmed by gadgets and applications, we can but wonder how we went about our lives without our little mobile tech-helpers. In this view, the generations born before the late 1980s still living today are the last witnesses of an utterly unique historical position, observing one of the most rapid changes in the history of human communication.[2]

What is more, in the liminality of the cultures of absence and post-scarcity,[3] we are witness to and active participants in an unprecedented change that affects the bases of culturality and sociality and which Alvin Toffler, already back in the 1970s, defined as acceleration.[4] A wide array of activities, skills and competences, sciences and pastimes, from medicine and biology, to neuro-rewiring of the brain, artistic practices, music, cinema, economy, conceptualisations of authorship and audience, the self and the body, fandom, labour and technological unemployment, (non-)limits of surveillance and, last but not least, memory and history are enhanced, or rendered obsolete.

Other Worlds, Palimpsests and Borders

The questions regarding memory have a long history and are widely distributed across time and space (Chap. 2). Among others, they left traces in Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse 5* and China Miéville's *The City and the City*. These books are not singled out by coincidence or personal taste alone but because they offer an invaluable metaphorical take on being in the world. They add to the debate on how the past is veiled and unveiled, 'dug out', buried and re-presenced a bit of fictional dimension. They hint at how different worlds, those of yesterday, today and tomorrow are intertwined in digital media looms that weave an intricate fabric of memory.

Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse 5* became part of my formation as a reader; his take on the Second World War and Billy Pilgrim's post-war life proved an indelible influence on how I came to imagine and understand that historical period. Exploring the source of this fascination, two things have emerged prominent: the topic of memory and history of the Second World War and the sci-fi aspects related to Billy Pilgrim's encounter with the extraterrestrial Tralfamadorians. Vonnegut's story uncompromisingly unravelled the horrors of the war that so radically shaped the latter part of the twentieth century.

The Tralfamadorians illustrate the ways in which the past is approachable through its traces: as they move along and through time, these extraterrestrials leave traces of their presence in space and in time.[5] They are, in a way, dragging the 'images' of their past-selves through their space-timed lifeworlds. Interestingly enough, and certainly pre-dated, this metaphor serves as an illustrative example of human existence and agency in the age of digital media. Although mostly unaware, the individual navigating the media time and space, as a consequence, leaves traces of her presence. She is thus entangled in navigating her own and other people's traces of mediated presences and absences, through which she can co-create an interpretation of other people's lives, their presents and pasts.

The above extrapolation of Tralfamadorian lifeworld, reader be warned, is based on the memory of my first reading the novel. Over time, the whole idea has somewhat blended with my personal and professional interests. In fact, I have managed to adapt the story in such way as to fit it in my vision of the mediated past. I may have simplified and somewhat stretched the interpretation of the novel in teasing out the illustrative model for the workings of memory in the digital age. But the inevitable incongruence, as evident from the passage quoted below, nevertheless says a good deal about

the work of memory, its malleability and proneness to 'adjustments'. Such adjustments make it a better fit for whatever the present might ask for. The original reads: 'All moments, past, present and future, always have existed, always will exist. The Tralfamadorians […] can see how permanent all the moments are, and they can look at any moment that interests them. It is just an illusion we have here on Earth that one moment follows another one, like beads on a string, and that once a moment is gone it is gone forever.'[6]

The quoted passage exemplifies the way the past can be seen in digital media environments. The claim that Tralfamadorians can 'see how permanent all the moments are, and they can look at any moment that interests them', or all at once, alludes to the basic principle of agency in digital media: the internet to a great extent works as a vast repository of often personal stuff (except that in digital media all the moments have not always existed and will not always exist). The algorithmic beads on a digital string that we leave behind on our everyday traverses are traces of our former selves that in many respects resemble the Tralfamadorian ever-presence and constitute in many respects the contours of human presences in digital media. However, the means and desires to preserve and delete, and the environments where these processes unfold, are nevertheless under constant threat and allure of deletion, renegotiation and redefinition. Memory is the property of the present and the future, before it becomes a matter of the past.

In this respect, China Miéville's *The City and the City* twists the perspective somewhat more. Besźel and Ul Qoma are two cities that share the same geographical location, the same ancient history and the same present moment. In any other world this would be one city. But at one point, each city took its own historical path, leaving them separated in the present. The separation is a radical one indeed, kept in place by the Breach, an invisible but deadly force that makes sure no Besźelian trespasses to Ul Qoma and vice versa; the Breach also sanctions any such attempts. The people of the two cities are conditioned to live separate lives by learning to unsee the other city and its inhabitants. They walk down same streets (bearing different names) and manage not to bump into one another, while drivers 'instinctively' avoid collision. This unseeing ensures that lives go on simultaneously in the same space and the same time but in different symbolic and material universes. Breach, however, nevertheless occasionally occurs, when an imprudent someone glimpses over a faint impression that protrudes from the other side or, even worse, physically transgresses the invisible border.

Miéville's urban fantasy offers some amusing hints. The two cities are like palimpsests, protruding one through the other. They are two realities layered upon each other that fail and refuse to see and grasp the other as equally real and substantial. Or are they just too real, hence better left unseen? In any case, a denial is profoundly formative for both. The way one temporal and spatial reality sees itself and unsees the other is painfully indicative of the ways people tend to block out, sanction, select and distil the past so as to make it fit or unfit for the present. This seems to be an all-human phenomenon: layers of the past before and after a retrospectively mythicised and consolidated rupture point (a revolution or a system change) often appear as palimpsests, where the plasticity of interpretation occasionally and 'accidentally' allows the past to pierce through the new order.

This bears particular resonance in Europe and all the more so in the post-socialist Europe. The issues with European memory (if there is such a thing) and the everyday political and grassroots treatment of the past— with layers upon layers of overlapping and contesting interpretations and re-presences of events and periods with different meanings and consequences in different societies—are disturbing indeed. The post-socialist situation is the playground of unrest and unease, and clearly the most recent example of the conflicting layering of the pasts and the present, of competing historicities.[7] After 1989–91, Eastern Europe's socialist past became increasingly contested and problematised, often leading to hysterical anti-communism and various types of the socialist nostalgia.

In addition to Vonnegut's and Miéville's fictional accounts, a less fictional and nonetheless tellingly 'real' life experience strengthens the point. In November 2009, I took part in a weReurope project meeting in Stockholm. Each participant was asked to bring an object-story that reminded them of another European country and place it on what was called the Carpet of Memories. I decided to bring an object-story from another country and from another past: a joystick, an essential part of my Commodore 64. The computer was smuggled, to avoid prohibitively high custom tax, from West Germany to Ljubljana, Yugoslavia in 1984 or 1985. Until the early 1990s, I used it to play computer games and have let it collect dust since that time. When I was looking for an object to bring to that meeting, I realised the joystick and the semi-functional C64 sitting on one of my memorabilia shelves was one of the first objects to have 'connected' me to the world outside of what was then Yugoslavia (the fact that it was 'Made in the USA' helped).

The more I looked at it the more I realised the computer reminded me of my childhood in a country that practised 'socialism with a human face' and also of a country that in 1991 ingloriously dismembered in a bloody war. At the same time, even if to a lesser extent, it evoked memories of yet another country, West Germany, which likewise no longer exists but has nevertheless left an important mark on the history of Europe and its socialist imaginaries. During the 1980s, playing computer games, along with watching 'Western' television, and all this supported by the socialist ideology of brotherhood and unity of all mankind, made me feel to be a part of the world that extended far beyond the Cold War divide. In retrospect, the Iron Curtain never really existed for me, as even regular family trips across the border to Italy or Austria to buy a pair of Levi's or a tin of Coke felt more like an adventure (memory of it is still evoked by the scent of ground coffee) than a quest for an otherwise unobtainable commodity.

The divide hardly existed for me when the Space Shuttle *Challenger* exploded on 28 January 1986 and when the news of the Chernobyl disaster radiated across the world in April that same year. These two epochal events transcended all political, cultural, ideological, regional, or national borders. Watching the news at that time, I felt that as much as these events were respectively 'Western' and 'Eastern' disasters, they touched and moved humanity at large (or am I retrofitting my memory as I write?). On an intimate and humane level, *we* were affected as humans by the collapse of the dream of a super-techno-human-future that peaked in the Moon landing in 1969,[8] and by the realisation of the fragility of humankind in the face of uncontrollable technological challenge(r)s and chernobyls. This had perhaps been my first encounter with what I only later got to know as globalisation, mostly through realising that humanity is increasingly sharing a common fate.[9] As much as the fall of the Berlin Wall epitomised the end of socialism, these two tech-disasters marked the end of the (Occidental) post-war dream. The utopianism of the post-Second World War world has been contaminated and cremated. So when the Wall fell in 1989, this surely was a crucial event for the East and the West, for Europe and the world; yet for a 1980s Yugoslav child living in a socialist Slovenia, the borders had fallen long before.

But endings tend to sprout new beginnings. The years that followed saw the rise of a new world order that 25 years on appears to be in denial of any positive imagining of the future, dare I say utopia. After 1991, the newly installed political, ideological and cultural borders in what remained of Yugoslavia kick-started a post-socialist 'transitionism' in the region which

was cotemporaneous with similar processes in the rest of the East, as well as with the massive reconfiguration of the world at large. Transformation was understood as an ambitious project of cleaning up the past of its socialist burden, and was supposed to set the course for uncritical adoption of and catching-up with the 'West'. In this vein, the post-1989 political discourses tend to depict socialism and the post-war period as inadequate, false, oppressive, criminal, or just plain wrong, discarding wholesale the unbecoming socialist past. Yet, materially and symbolically, the history and legacy of socialism and Yugoslavia has persevered in archives, monuments, music, films and literature and, not least, in private collections and archives which are increasingly available through digital media.

In any other time in history, the country would have been considered dead and history would have been written from *anno zero*. Yet, the popular idea about memory sees media as the prosthesis of (sharing) memory. Were it not for (digital) media-induced resilience of memory prosthesis that gave voice to the individual, the (hi)story of Yugoslavia and of the entire post-1989 world at the dawn of the twenty-first century would have been rewritten differently. For better or for worse, the mediated past is continually resurrected, disinterred, revisited, de- and recontextualised, de- and re-fragmented, re-narrated, ab/used, forgotten, deleted, falsified and edited, spread and shared.

This book attempts to reveal aspects of the most recent obsession with the past and memory of the latter part of the twentieth century. In many respects, the most recent *memoboom* can be seen as a reaction to the rapid technological development that started in the early nineteenth century and focused outward: to the sea, the air and into outer space. This 'reaction formation', to refer to Andreas Huyssen,[10] is in its latest version fundamentally related to technological advancements that propel humanity into another whirlpool of reinventing social and cultural universes. It is, thus, an unruly consequence of large-scale development and proliferation of media technologies that radically redefine the parameters of human communication or storytelling as one of the essential human characteristics.

This book is a result of a bio-cultural contingency and fact of being born into a specific historical moment, in a specific part of the world. It is also an outcome of an unending fascination with the recalcitrance of the past, the seduction of its unimaginable futures and the plasticity of memory.

It would not, however, have come to life had it not been for the generous intellectual support of a number of people. I am grateful to Tanja

Petrović and Andrew Hoskins, who supervised my thesis and helped me sharpen my focus and elaborate on the crucial points. I am grateful to the colleagues who read the manuscript, or parts of it, and with whom I had the opportunity and pleasure to discuss the issues tackled in this book: Ana Hofman, Daniela Koleva, Codruţa Pohrib, Amanda Lagerkvist, Mitja Velikonja and Oto Luthar, as well as my colleagues at the Institute of Culture and Memory Studies, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. For improving the clarity of language, I thank Leonora Flis. I would also like to thank the editorial team at Palgrave for their patience and support, as well as the reviewer for the comments and suggestions that helped me improve the manuscript.

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NOTES

1. An extensive list of literature tackles the history of Yugoslavia and its break-up, for instance Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1993; Misha Glenny, *The Balkans 1804–1999: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers*, London, Penguin, 2001; Laura Silber and Allan Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, London, Penguin, 1996; John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History, Twice There Was a Country*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000; Dejan Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2003; Dubravka Djurić and Miško Šuvaković (eds.), *Impossible Histories, Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918–1991*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2003.
2. Michael Harris, *The End of Absence*, New York, Penguin Group, 2014.
3. Andrew Hoskins argues that 'In the "post-scarcity" era there is an emergent tension between the scale of the volume of material that can be made available online and the decreasing capacity of anyone to consume it, or to make sense of it', see '7/7 and Connective Memory: Interactional Trajectories of Remembering in Post-Scarcity Culture', *Memory Studies* 2011, 4(3): 269–80.
4. Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock*, New York, Random House, 1970, p. 4.

5. Tralfamadore is a planet where Billy Pilgrim is taken after alien abduction and exhibited in a zoo with a fellow abductee, Montana Wildhack. See Kurt Vonnegut Jr,. *Slaughterhouse Five: Or, The Children's Crusade*, New York, Delacorte Press, 1969.
6. Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse Five*, p. 23.
7. See Martin Pogačar, 'Digital Heritage: Co-Historicity and the Multicultural Heritage of Former Yugoslavia', *Dve Domovini* 2014, 39(2): 111–24.
8. See Toffler, *Future Shock*.
9. See Anthony Giddens, *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping our Lives*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003; Ulrich Beck, *What is Globalization?*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2000; Ana Sobral, '"Fragments of Reminiscence": Popular Music as a Carrier of Global Memory', in Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (eds.), *Memory in a Global Age, Discourses, Practice and Trajectories*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 199–224, p. 201.
10. See Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, New York, Routledge, 1995.

CONTENTS

Introduction: *Homo Memonautilus*?

In *Transparent Things* Vladimir Nabokov wrote: 'Perhaps if the future existed, concretely and individually, as something that could be discerned by a better brain, the past would not be so seductive: its demands would be balanced by those of the future.'[1] The future, of course, does not exist concretely and individually. It exists as an idea or a temporal horizon firmly nested in the present. The present derives its complexity from being constantly on the run, in passing, in transit, always already gone. The seductiveness of the past, however, does not emanate from encoding the present into the past and the past into history but from the ways the past is interpreted in the present, how it is brought into the now, how it is re-presenced,[2] and how it is turned into memory and how it is remembered: only what is lost to time is ready to be remembered.[3]

If we concur with the idea that knowing one's past is the precondition of imagining one's future, then it is reasonable to insinuate that the way we see, hear, smell, or taste the past, how we understand it and what sense we make of it (and through which senses we perceive it), is key to any theoretical or practical engagement with our being in the world. In truth, it has been for ages. In the time of digital media and incessant re-presences of the past, the significant question is how to balance the demands of the bygone with the demands of the not-yet.[4] The question is all the more pertinent in the post-socialist worlds that underwent (they still undergo) a self-imposed future-crippling sanitisation of the past. At the centre of my interest is the entanglement of legitimacy of memory

in the post-socialist contexts and the political uses and cultural appropriations of the past. On the one hand, my motives reside in intimate witness experience of the collapse of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ) and the formation of the states which emerged in its wake. In these processes, my biography was reframed by different historical, political and ideological contexts and discourses. On the other hand, this entanglement reveals all too well the processes of reinterpreting, rewriting, deleting and problematising the past. This shows how a taken-for-granted historical narrative can be readily dismantled and moreover, what difficulties an emerging narrative faces in the time when the past can hardly be put to rest, and markedly so, I argue, because of digital media.

Twentieth Century Matters

As the cinema defined the short twentieth century, as Eric Hobsbawm termed it, similarly, the proliferation of digital media seems to open a new chapter in the history of human communication, memory and storytelling. This new chapter, as far as we can tell today, is yet again invested with hopes of a potential to give voice to intimate and personal micro-scale bottom-up interventions. The relationship between digital media technologies and post-socialist Europe is not an immediate one, but given the historical, cultural and social changes and evolving contexts, the topic deserves attention mostly because memory in post-socialism has been radically and notoriously problematised.

It is for this reason also that the twentieth century, marked by unprecedented technological innovations, scientific discoveries and most appalling atrocities, still looms large in popular culture, media and political discourses. The ambiguity of the legacy of the last century, particularly of both World Wars and the Cold War, profoundly reconfigured our understanding of humanity, history, as well as our everyday life. The role of mass, electronic and, recently, digital media is central to this, as they have contributed to the diversification and commoditisation of cultural preferences and desires that, in turn, have provided the tools and destinations of fictional and virtual migration.

The twentieth century saw the rise of radio, television and cinema that largely assigned to popular culture the role of the chronicler of the times. These quintessentially twentieth century media rendered 'their' century into a highly mediated meta-event and saved from oblivion large portions

of fact and fiction alike. However, regardless of how much of the content was saved, a lot of it was also (deliberately and systematically) forgotten, left out of the canon as a consequence of the nature of preservation (insufficient funds and inadequate archiving facilities), media politics, or alleged inappropriateness of the source event. Still, the events that today are considered seminal in thinking about and understanding of the twentieth century would never have made it into the history of the twentieth century were it not for the mass and electronic media that radioed and televised, mediatised and mediated them to audiences of that time and the subsequent decades.

And, of course, the reverse is true: were it not for these technologies, some of the events that today are considered seminal would never have made (it into) History. Mediatised content that otherwise would have been buried under the debris of ideological reproduction can in mass, electronic and, all the more so, in digital media be retained for possible future(s) (uses). This is particularly intriguing in the post-socialist situation where the new regimes strived for the symbolic and material purification of national edifices.

Friedrich Kittler argues that the 'sequence from silent film to sound and color film [represents] three stages that oddly correlate with the outbreak of the world wars'[5]; accordingly, one could ask whether the most recent technological innovations in media and major socio-political perturbations that we witness today can also be seen in this light: whether connectivity—spliced with incessant contestation of the interpretative authority and the implications of the re-presences of the past—contributes not only to the emergence of pressing issues regarding our understanding of what it means to be human, but also adds to the instability of human lifeworlds and existential uncertainty of the inhabitants. From the post-socialist perspective, this opens up questions concerning the ways in which post-socialist states confront the continual and irresistible re-emergence of the wished-away memories. Hence, I might ask, is it just a coincidence that socialism failed at the dawn of the digital age?

Media, mediatisation and mediation of the past play an integral part in picking and discarding products, beliefs and ideologies as content—that may or may not have informational, educative, illuminative, enjoyable, or, for that matter, historical value. An investigation into such traverses exposes the multi-layered aspects of navigating and migrating between different historicities and their entanglements, and reveals the more hidden contours of the most essentially human interactive activity, i.e., storytelling.

When thinking about storytelling, we may wonder whether the past is indeed a foreign country?[6] The past may be gone for good and they may indeed 'do things differently there',[7] but in the 'world after mediatisation' things are being done extremely differently 'here' as well, and the temporal borders are hardly closed. Hence, I propose to see the past, as Boris Buden suggests, as a cultural and not just as a geographical or temporal category:

> Just like culture, the past is everywhere and in everything that surrounds us, it is in front of us just as it is behind us. The past is not something we have left behind to look back to, it is also something which we have not yet set our foot into, something that is just as new as it is alien, unknown, foreign, different, in short, another culture.[8]

This offers an intriguing starting point for the discussion of how we have been weaving our lives into memories in the time of digital media. Buden advocates a perspective of seeing the present condition through the lenses of the 'culture of the past'.[9] His proposition invites a reconsideration of our relationship with the past and a rethinking of what it means to be human through the prism of liminalities: the past and the present, presence and absence, the public and the private, forgetting and remembering … or, for that matter, *unseeing* and *unforgetting*. The liminalities are the puzzle of every present, but it seems that the digital age has exposed them most painfully so far.

MEMORIES BETWEEN THE LAND AND THE SEA

The most chrono-resistant materialisations of memory are often found in landscape and architecture that 'embody' the historical period and its symbolic investments. The physicality of the landscapes of memory, however, interacts and intersects quite vividly with the imaginative individual and collective memorisations. Together they form a multilayered picture that Sharon Macdonald calls 'the memory complex'. Macdonald uses the 'European memorylands' metaphor to refer to the complexities of shared European 'patterns in ways of approaching and experiencing the past',[10] and finds relevant 'matters such as whether significance is attached to collective remembering at all, whether longer or shorter time periods

are activated in local commemorative life or how personal and collective memories are brought together.'[11] Macdonald focuses on recognising diversity and observes that memoryland is 'characterised more by certain changes underway and also by particular tensions and ambivalences, than by enduring memorial forms.'[12]

Yet, given the abundance and the ebb and flow of the information seas and the ever-shifting terrains of social interaction in digital media, navigation among memories can, complementarily, be seen as charting a sea of memories—an endeavour I call *memonautica*. This term alludes to the navigatory metaphoricity entailed in the term 'surfing the internet' and indeed in the practice of social activity online: it invokes the aspect of navigation (Gr. *kybernetes*), moving (and being moved), circulating, floating, amid the versatility of liminalities. Crucially, in relation to the politics of memory and practices of remembering in digital media, memonautica implies that the 'sea' we are charting is never calm or still. Rather, it is constantly changing and shifting, revealing and submerging reefs and ports of memory.

Thus, in the early twenty-first century, we can only ever return to a digital place of memory and realise that it has changed or even disappeared since our last call. The game of presences and absences, of unseeing and unforgetting, that the past and memory play in rapidly changing social and cultural referential frameworks, reveals a new unfolding of the unfixity of meaning, of fluid content and of elusive referential frameworks, similar to the characteristics of oral cultures.[13] This poses a challenge to two age-old positions on intervention into history, as understood by the Time Lords, namely, 'fixed points in time must not be interfered with', and another time-travel postulate which obviously complicates the first: 'time can be rewritten'.[14] In digital media, this uneasy relationship— between, on the one hand, the individually, collectively, nationally and internationally applicable, homogenous and stable acknowledgement of events that occurred (fixed points in time) and, on the other hand, the elusive memorial practices (rewriting)—is increasingly and substantially emphasised and contested. In this view, much like the sea complements the land, the dynamics of *memonautica* complements the relative fixity of memoryland.

To Think with and Through

To approach the issues regarding memory and to provide a tool to rethink its role in digital media, I propose an approach that builds its theoretical, practical and interpretive framework on the concepts of media archaeology and

micro-archiving (Chap. 2).[15] The theoretical-practical framework I employ uses several other concepts that define and delimit the scope and nature of communication and memorial activities in digital media. In dialogue with José van Dijck's concept of mediated memories[16] and Andrew Hoskins' connective memory,[17] this approach enables us to address the issues of digital memory and memorials, the enhanced immediacy of remembering (Chap. 4), the relevance and role of materiality in digital code (Chap. 5) and the practices of co-creative digital storytelling (Chap. 6).[18]

Memory and discussions about it tend to succumb to the malleability of practical applications of the term and the phenomena it describes and in particular the real consequences of the uses of memory in our everyday lives. Technology, on the other hand, is often perceived as a phenomenon with considerably more material substrate, but still, as a phenomenon with equally real effects on our lives. Interestingly, memory is often embedded in the material and technology is often endowed with a soul: it is just too tempting not to imbue with *anime* a car, for instance, and see its headlights as eyes that give it a 'face', a character and a personality. Similarly, it is not an unfamiliar sight to see people having a word with a device, or hitting it to make it work again. The physicality of interaction with the material is readily observable in applying brute force on a monument.

The theoretical and practical potential of media archaeology and micro-archiving is particularly relevant for analysing grassroots approaches to memory and remembering, not least because of the fluidity and transience so clearly characteristic of the user-content entanglement. In addition, this interplay highlights the importance of the affective component of doing memory: archaeology and archiving in such constellations are the central features of individual memorial agency, particularly if we understand the conquering of archiving by the individual as an act of empowerment and active engagement in preserving and understanding the past. Expounding affectivity, intimacy and individual agency the archaeology-archive framework needs a more thorough assessment and indeed a wider conceptual background. To do so, I discuss below how other concepts used to think about digital memory issues underpin the wider frame of our immediate and mediated lifeworlds.

Mediation and Mediatisation

In the process of selecting, editing and publishing content, technological affordances of digital media bring together the user and the visitor, the past and the present. They define, to a significant extent, the way digital media are

shaped by the 'intrusion' of mediated images. In cultures of connectivity,[19] audiovisions are the key vessels for communicating a wide variety of different content. Communication is impossible without mediation, which is often poised in relation to the concept of mediatisation. The distinction between the two is a cause of scholarly debate which demonstrates that there is no easy way in defining them.[20] The basic understanding of mediatisation, as Andreas Hepp argues, is the '*permeation* of a media logic into other institutions, social fields or social systems'.[21] In this view, Winfried Shulz proposes four different aspects of mediatisation: *extension*, media extend the natural limits of human communications capacities; *substitution*, media provide a substitute for social activities and social institutions; *amalgamation*, media amalgamate with various non-media activities in social life; and *accommodation*, actors and organisations in all sectors accommodate to the media logic.[22] On the other hand, Nick Couldry argues that mediatisation may be less useful for grasping the dynamics of digital storytelling, as it presupposes a 'more linear transformation from "pre-media" (before the intervention of specific media) to mediatised social states.'[23] Yet, Lynn Schofield Clark understands mediatisation as the 'processes by which social organizations, structures or industries take on the form of the media, and the processes by which genres of popular culture become central to the narratives of social phenomena.'[24]

Departing from Schofield Clark's view, the dialectic between mediation and mediatisation can be put in somewhat more basic, yet nonetheless applicable terms: mediation denotes the travelling potentiality of the digital content or object, or, from the perspective of memory, its mobility or 'travel-ability' of exteriorisations between users.[25] It implies that mediated content is ready to move (us(ers)). In this sense, mediation comes close to circularity (as activity)[26] and spreadability (as potentiality).[27] The concept of mediatisation, on the other hand, is understood as the enabling phase of mediation. It draws on the meaning 'to annex (a principality) to another state, while allowing certain rights to its former sovereign',[28] which implies that in order for mediation and circularity to take off, content-to-be must first be mediatised, that is, assimilated into the medium. In the process, the events, the people, the material traces, books, photos, films, sounds and music are, by human and computer intervention, encoded, algorithmicised, translated, adjusted, conformed, squeezed, reframed, decontextualised, and recontextualised into a specific media form (disregard for a moment that such sources are often already mediatisations themselves). Along the way, a historical event or a period is

abstracted, conflated, distorted, simplified, ideologised, politicised, falsified, decontextualised and recontextualised.

Mediation and mediatisation—the dynamic between the 'content on the go' and the process of assimilation of events, people, ideas, emotions into content—are underpinned by the conceptualisation that not only involves the re-applications and re-uses of 'events' but also of media forms. This implies that

> memorable events are usually represented again and again, over decades and centuries, in different media: in newspaper articles, photography, diaries, historiography, novels, films, etc. What is known about a war, a revolution, or any other event which has been turned into a site of memory, therefore seems to refer not so much to what some might cautiously call the 'actual events', but instead to a canon of existent medial constructions, to the narratives and images circulating in a media culture. Remembered events are transmedial phenomena, that is, their representation is not tied to one specific medium.[29]

Astrid Erll emphasises the transmediality of remembered events, which further adds to the discussion on mediation and mediatisation as it emphasises medial constructions of events and their autonomous lives in the media. Medial constructions or mediatisations and mediations make up the 'architecture' of (digital) media environments. At the same time, they are the constitutive elements of storytelling, understood as a storing or curating process, through which storytelling is essentially denoted as the result of both media archaeology and micro-archiving.[30] Thus, mediatisation and mediation can be seen as enhancing the aspect of processuality in transforming 'actual events' into 'media events' (medial constructions). As a result, media events are served to the user as a 'medial distillation' of the past on the screen (see Chap. 3).

Mediated and Connective Memory

Recent technological innovations and communication devices bring about a set of different modes of memory exteriorisation,[31] and moreover, also different approaches and practices of creating, co-creating, as well as sharing and 'saving' memories. In many ways, of course, the work of memory serves the same purpose as it always has. Yet, the affordances of digital media that allow instant engagement and consumption also intensify an

approach of 'hovering attention'. Not entirely unlike web crawler bots, yet on a radically smaller and far less systematic scale, the logic of hovering attention presupposes an individual scanning and skimming through, censoring and filtering bits of information spread across social media, blogs, posts, comments and newsfeeds. It furthermore presupposes superficial engagement with content as a response (or Huyssen's reaction formation) to overwhelming deluge of information, which arguably leads to superficial knowledge and understanding of the world. In a way, such conduct is the result of how information is constructed, mediatised and mediated, and fed to the user's always already fragmented attention. On the other hand, hovering attention underpins the idea of enhanced immediacy of remembering in that it opens the doors of attention to mediated re-presences of the past (Chap. 5).

In such an environment and with shifting modes of attention, the processes of individual and collective, of private and public memory exteriorisation and communication (in predominantly corporate spaces) are well grasped by what José van Dijck calls mediated memories:

> [mediated memories are] magnifiers of the intersections between personal and collective, past and future [that] involve individuals carving out their places in history, defining personal remembrance in the face of larger cultural frameworks.[32]

The carving out of the individual's place in history and creating and sharing mediated memories connects individuals in carving out their places and roles in their hypermediated presents. An individual is involved in contributing to the collectively produced (co-created) and consumed visions of the past that go well beyond or entirely past the limits of (national) historiography, and quite often against it. Individual action unravels at the intersections of intimate renditions of the past and institutionalised canons and at the point of 'translation' of the physicality of material artefacts into intangible coded instantiations of past moments.

In van Dijck's conceptualisation, mediated memories are related to Jan Assmann's theoretical distinction between cultural and communicative memory,[33] where the former is understood as a more latent, storage memory, and the latter as memory as a process under constant negotiation. Crucially, mediated memories can be seen as a 'tool for analysis of dynamic, continuously changing memory artefacts and items of mediated culture.'[34] Memory artefacts are the compounds of 'many autonomous

objects [which can] be used in many different contexts and combinations, and undergo various transformations'[35] and correspond to Assmann's cultural memory domain.

Mediation of digital content entails various modes of medial exteriorisation and utilisations of digital media platforms. In addition, the entanglement of users, technology and content also serves as an outlet for individualised histories to be incorporated into the spreadable life of digital media objects. Media objects are understood as content that can be copied, shared, edited and deleted; in its memorial capacity, for example, a digital video memorial (Chap. 6) as media object rests on the assumed materiality of its history and on individual investments that give it resonance. Unlike Benjamin who detected the object's histories in the imprint of time or use—'As he holds them in his hands, he seems to be seeing through them into their distant past as though inspired'[36]—digital objects rarely bear similar imprints of time. Yet they are nevertheless inviting an individual to invest into them emotions and feelings, experiences and expectations. In the end, this is fuelling the mediation of memories, their re-presencing, sharing, distributing and interlinking.

More to the point, as Andrew Hoskins argues, 'contemporary memory is not principally constituted either through retrieval or through the representation of some content of the past in the present, but, rather, it is embedded in and distributed through our sociotechnical practices.'[37] In this view, Hoskins' idea of connective memory gives a better grasp of the problem. Connective memory and van Dijck's mediated memories do overlap to some extent but complementarily allow us to tease out a dynamic perspective. Where mediated memories emphasise the dynamics of mediation, connective memory emphasises the conditionality of being in and forming networks through the tech-enabled connectivity between the users and devices. Services and platforms 'allow users to continually display and to shape biographical information, post commentaries on their unfolding lives and to interact publicly or semi-publicly with one another in real-time or near real-time.'[38] What is more, these services that (net)work through the sharing of audiovisions, 'mesh the private and the public into an immediate and intensely visual and auditory present past. The use of these systems contributes to a new memory—an emergent connective memory—in that communications in themselves dynamically add to, alter and erase, a kind of living archival memory.'[39]

MEMORY IN THE CLOUDS

The dynamic entanglement of mediated and connective memories tends to galvanise individual and collaborative entanglements in and through content, principally through practices of media archaeology and micro-archiving. These practices facilitate the incessant re-presencing, re-narrating and recontextualising of the past. Furthermore, in the coordinates of the culture of the past, re-presenced historical events constitute co-presence on several levels: first, different historical events and times are counterposed simultaneously, contributing to conceptual and experiential conflation of temporality; and second, users co-creating or consuming content consequentially live their digital presences evermore connectively.

The issue of connectivity, not only of devices and the network, but primarily of people, has ignited another turn. The connective turn, as Andrew Hoskins argues, entails

> the enveloping of the everyday in real-time or near-instantaneous communications, including 'messaging', be these peer-to-peer, one-to-many, or more complex and diffused connections within and between groups, 'crowds', or networks, and facilitated through mobile media and social networking technologies and other internet-based services.[40]

From the perspective of spreadability of media objects, I see the phenomenon of connectivity and its relevance for this discussion in the shift in the production and the maintenance of collectivity in digital media. Arjun Appadurai argues that 'where natural social collectivities build connectivity out of memory, virtual communities build memory out of connectivity'.[41] This statement brings into play three essential aspects of any functioning society: collectivity, connectivity and memory (as the structural-technical grid upon which communication can unravel). These enable the formation, maintenance and reproduction of interpersonal, social, cultural, national and international relations, most significantly through storytelling.

In the course of time, members of a collectivity are 'connected' with others and their collectivity beyond the limits of space (territory/state) and time (temporality/history, heritage), through logging in and clicking through interfaces and platforms that 'reside' in clouds.[42] It is through the interaction, confrontation and contestation between individual, collective and institutional mediations of memory and respective memory canons that a shared interpretation of the past can emerge. Yet, for memories to

be comprehensible beyond the individual 'mind of origin', in order for them to actually work socially and culturally, an exteriorisation of memory not only has to be communicable but must also resonate with its 'users'. Erich Fromm's conceptualisation of awareness offers a lead: 'To be aware means to wake up to something that one has felt or sensed without thinking it, and yet that one feels one has always known'.[43] Fromm's awareness is the condition of sociability, as well as a potential for a change that rests on active understanding of the world and on referring to the 'system as a whole, and not isolated and fractioned features'.[44] It is important to note that the stuff of memory is, precisely through storytelling as the medium of social awareness, translated over extended periods of time into the future. In this process, because of the nature of digital technologies and its effects on the form of communication, it is also detrimentally fragmented. The specific future uses, of course, are not bound to the original meaning but rather tend to adapt the 'raw' material to particular political and ideological requirements. The politics of memory therefore entail continual recontextualisation and re-narration of the past in the present.

The main emphasis Appadurai evokes lies in the understanding of the sequence of memory formation: the pre-digital logic presupposes that shared living territory and time is the necessary condition for forming shared memory as the substance of any collectivity. Digital logic, on the other hand, bypasses both temporal and territorial preconditions in favour of chance (and often fleeting) encounters and entanglements in digital (social) media. Such random sociability has little or no requirement for any pre-existing memory or shared cohabitation in space or time. Instead, mediated memory (or memory after the connective turn) is formed from the *anno zero* of the first encounter. This, of course, is not quite as simple as people always come into a new encounter with the baggage of their lives, their experience, schooling, professional formations, the users' biographies, that is the elusive 'whatever' (see Chap. 2).

Following Appadurai's observation above stating that an individual and a collectivity are co-creating their memories in connectivity, it can be argued that the memory in the clouds acquires new dimensions that affect not only the individual and the collective but also the spatial and temporal dimensions of encounters. Remembering after the connective turn is thus a practice dispersed in space and time, and is no longer exclusively moored to a specific territory or an overarching national story (for example emigrants, or for that mater post-Yugoslavs). The territorial principle of community formation is thus in many ways questioned and challenged by the

principles of forming communities and memory out of digital encounters,[45] which contributes to the disconnection, so to speak, of content and of the ground; thus the culture of the past is given further impetus. Not least because of Bernard Stiegler's observation that

> The audiovisual techniques of marketing lead […] to a situation where, through the images I see and the sounds I hear, the past tends to become the same as my neighbour's. And the diversification of channels is simply the particularization of targets—which explains why they all tend to do the same thing. Being increasingly constituted by the images and sounds that the media streams through my consciousness, as well as by the objects (and relationships with these objects) that these images lead me to consume, my past is less and less differentiated from that of other people. It loses, therefore, its singularity, which is as much as to say, I lose myself as singularity.[46]

However, although the past imaginaries in many respects, much like corporate fashion, are becoming universalised, the small window of individual agency opens in what I discuss in Chaps. 4, 5 and 6, that is, grassroots memorial activities. It is true that to some extent they are decidedly homogenised by the use of widely recognisable audiovision,[47] but they nevertheless remain, in their domestication and application of technology, individually driven. And not least because of the spreadability of content and affordances of technology that condition unprecedented exteriorisation and publication of individual, intimate, grassroots and off-mainstream practices of memory and remembering. Although the emerging grassroots memory practices succumb to the affordances of the technological apparatus and its (social action) constraints, they likewise invariantly attempt to elude the ideological constraints of institutionalised canonisation of memory.[48]

Therefore, digital media objects deserve thorough treatment, despite their uncertain existence in the future, that is, regardless of their transience and a good chance that before long hardly an algorithmic trace will remain. Participating in contemporary everyday exchanges and memory practices, people, deliberately or not, by ceaselessly interacting with the content, subserviently contribute to re-presencing the past. An increased colonisation of the symbolic by the historically conflated mediatised content compromises the linearity of time and privileges synchronous communication between individuals in discrete locations. This facilitates digital interpersonal connectivity and synchronicity of various 'distemporal dislocations'. Connectivity and instant communication entangle users

regardless of their time zones, historical contexts, or geographies. Historical conflation thus seems to have emphasised individual and collective performativity in different settings. Courtney Martin argues, 'There's never been more pressure to kind of parcel yourself … It's never been more asked of us to show up as only slices of ourselves in different places. Even just to feel like you're showing up as your whole self in different settings is a pretty rebellious act.'[49] The 'slices of ourselves' bring up the Tralfamadorian idea of being in time and the selection, censorship and, in the post-socialist settings, political sanitisation of the past. In other words, it alludes to the policing of what slices are acceptable for the 'transitionist' subject. This invites inverting Martin's rebelliousness of showing yourself: de-focus the 'sliced individual' and emphasise the 'sliced past', which has been extensively mediatised, mediated, nostalgicised and conflated. With respect to individual re-presencing of the past, this implies that different versions of mediated pasts coexist in time.

The emphasis on the conflated temporality as one of the prerequisites of the culture of the past is further complicated by 'the temporality of the web [as] emergent and continuous as opposed to the temporality of other media'. Other media, such as radio, television, cinema, photography and print media 'render our experiences of events as "punctual"'.[50] These media punctuate the everyday at certain points in time: news and cartoons broadcast at the same time give the national rhythm to both parents and children, much like the standard newspaper delivery in the morning. Digital co-presence is essentially non-punctual and it actively compromises the collective rhythmicisation of the everyday.[51] Non-punctuality rests, in addition to being the conflating agent perpetuating the pervasive culture of the past, on the user's engagement with the content. This is not unrelated to the pace of development of new technologies and the deconstruction of historicity.

When thinking about connectivity and sociability eschewing the limits of material space-time the idea of digital co-presence of different locales and times, but also of the living and the dead, transcends the apparently deteriorated feelings of communal sin-spatiality/sin-chronicity. The idea of 'digital post-mortem'[52] in many ways exposes the difficulties of being in digital media: it refers to the condition and practice of commemorating online a deceased friend or relative, or a celebrity, or a country (as I discuss in Chap. 4). Most importantly, it refers to the entanglements of users with personal information, photos and comments that remain circulating after a user has passed away. Digital post-mortem recasts the

communicative and remembering experience in digital media as presence-in-interaction that does not require simultaneity but can unravel just as effectively and successfully in fragmented, dislocated and distemporalised narrative entanglements.[53]

Narrative entanglement presupposes an interaction between users, the tech-enabled communications environment, devices and the 'story'. In this view, the entanglement offers room for an individual voice to aggravate the discrepancy between the factuality of an event and the way it is mediatised into a digital story. This presupposes that events in the world do not have an essential, fixed, or true meaning against which distortion can be measured, but that the meaning of events depends on *how* they are turned into stories (national, *ad hoc* collective, or individual), *whom* they reach and *what* users make of them—what life they give them through circulation, that is. A historical event has no 'meaning' until it is distorted, that is, mediatised, which makes techno-ideo-logical distortion immanent to mediatisation and retroactively a constitutive part of an event. What is more, an event is not a 'historical event' and has no meaning until it is spread.

Hence, the value and meaning of events in individual and intimate renditions and exteriorisations into networked environments are perpetually altered in incessant presence of the past, and they likewise alter the way we may construct meaning. This happens to an extent where emphasis falls on the fragmented and co-created status of the mediated and networked content and engagement. User entanglement in digital co-presence significantly eradicates the distance necessary for reflecting on the past, giving room to new lives of the past that are often the elusive and irrational expressions of emotions and affect.

Interrupting Lifeworlds

And what better example could one wish for when looking for irrationality and affect than a deceased country. Having lived through the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the (self-imposed) 'permanent transition' of the former least-communist of the communist countries into a post-socialist assembly of new states, I find it rewarding to approach the topic of digital memory through the post-Yugoslav socio-cultural, political and historical contexts. Doing so, I connect a global digital memory boom with the post-socialist attempts to make peace with history or to refurbish it to better fit the present. Post-socialist subjects and different political projects were misfortunate enough to have found themselves in rather unforgiving

media and political environments: the life of digitally mediated content often complicates ideological purification and revision. The proliferation and adoption of digital technologies opened up in Eastern and South-eastern Europe a fascinating space within which the post-Cold War world and the post-socialist realities prove, as I further discuss in Chaps. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, indicative of wider shifts in conceptualising and understanding memory.

The focus on the former Yugoslavia opens an interesting perspective: over the past 25 years, the period of Yugoslav socialism has been both excessively nostalgicised and thoroughly demonised, and the legacies of Second World War and post-war socialism thoroughly questioned and subject to historical revisionism.[54] It is important to note that the legacy of the dissolution and the ensuing wars (1991–95) significantly influenced the ways post-Yugoslav realities were (re-)constructed.[55] This legacy fur-thermore influenced how and to what purpose the Yugoslav socialist past is re-presenced in 2015, and casts the post-Yugoslav situation into a unique framework,[56] which intertwines the temporalities of the collapse of social-ism and violent breakup and the rise of digital media.

In this view, digital media offer nearly two-decades-worth of individ-ual, grassroots interventions into the socialist Yugoslav past and the post-Yugoslav presents. The events of 1989 and the subsequent processes of 'independentisation',[57] along with the wider global, regional and local cultural, political and economic (im-)balances (not least the penultimate crisis), serve as the contextual historical frame. The peculiar re-presences of the country's past, that is, reframing its history in and through popular culture, build on the fact that as 'innocent' things as photos and music often are, they easily become politically charged in contemporary con-sumerist culture. Thus they play an important part in empowering the remembering (post-socialist) subject. The crucial ideological process that has marked the post-1991 history and the present of post-Yugoslavia most profoundly, i.e., 'permanent transitionism', seems to have failed to prevent historical breaches (to refer to Miéville's two-cities perspective), as is evi-dent from numerous and incessant digital and analogue re-presences of that time.[58]

Grassroots interventions in digital media date back to the late 1990s. One of the most famous at the time was an intervention by two former Yugoslavs who migrated to the Netherlands soon after the collapse. They decided to put up a parallel, virtual country, called Cyber Yugoslavia, with all the works: the constitution, the symbols and digital passports. They

built it online and it takes up no more than the size of a server. As they explain in Item 16 of the Cyber Yugoslavia Constitution:

> When it was founded, CY had no territory. There were 152 founding citizens. When the number of citizens reaches five million, CY will request membership of the United Nations, and soon after CY will request a territory of 20 square meters, anywhere on the Globe, where it will place its server. This will be the official territory of CY, where its DNS entry will be located: http://www.juga.com.[58]

Initially, it was not so much a commemorative attempt as it was a techno-enthusiastic attempt to create an online social space for post-Yugoslavs:

> For us, the only reality that could be real was virtual. The last ten years look like a dream, an illusion. People might say that the site was made by nostalgic ex-Yugoslavs but I don't see us as that. We spent our youth in a country which at that time was very good if you were young. But nobody wants to make a political statement, we don't want to say that this was a better country. It was a very tolerant and interesting intellectual climate—this site doesn't refer to the country or the politics, it's supposed to be fun.[59]

What makes this site interesting is the fact that the authors see it as a fun project with little or no political, historiographical, commemorative, or memorial agenda. Yet, to some extent, it works as an appeal to revive Yugoslavia, if only virtually and also ironically. For example, each citizen (in early 2015, it had over 24,000 virtual citizens) has his/her own Ministry, which alludes to the over-bureaucratisation of the country but also the giving of voice to all. Fusing irony and seriousness goes well beyond the site's mission and actually enacts through its operation the key feature in offline monuments and memorials: the motive and the intention to interactively commemorate. Unintended, it became the stuff of memory of Yugoslavia.

For some time, however, the site was unavailable at its URL and could only, and partially, be accessed through the Internet Archive. This relegated the site and the country even further to the domain of memory, and it seems to have in the meantime lost the spreadability it had in its heyday when it was referred to by the media, the public and academia as an expression of the early 1990s Yugonostalgia. Today, however, the site is back online and it looks somewhat differently than it did in 1999, as far

as I can judge by comparing the traces in my memory and the algorithms that keep it alive in the Internet Archive.

In a way, this intervention can be seen from the perspective of a life-world exemplified in Jon May and Nigel Thrift's observation that the on-going restructuring of space and time, not an unknown phenomenon in previous periods, pertains as well to the digital era: the restructuring 'was and is profoundly unsettling, as in its midst people must struggle to hold on to more familiar understandings of space and place and negotiate the consequences of radically foreshortened time horizons.'[60] This not only applies to the socio-political perturbances, wars and economic crises but also to the changes induced by technological innovations. The mediatisation of everything and the not unrelated uncertainty issues offer a good illustration of Slavoj Žižek's observation about the underlying mechanism of the present condition:

> Problems arise when an unexpected shattering turn of events—an outbreak of war, a deep economic crisis—can no longer be included into a consistent narrative. At that point, it all depends on how this catastrophic turn will be symbolised, on what ideological interpretation or story will impose itself and determine the general perception of the crisis. When the normal run of things is traumatically interrupted, the field is open for ideological competition.[61]

The emphasis on interruption here is crucial, particularly in terms of the entanglement of post-socialism, technology and the on-going crisis. Bringing into the picture the issues with the post-socialist condition, reveals, in excruciating detail, how in the processes of democratic 'permanent transitionism' previous lifeworlds were dispotentiated and discredited, while the fabrication of new presents failed to produce a sustainable and inclusive ideological and political vision. Thus, in an increasingly technologised world of the penultimate (economic) crisis (both are disruptive factors), the culture of the past emerges as the multi-layered addition to the present predicament. It props up the present with the traces of fixed and fixable referential points in time, around which new symbolisations and interpretations are continually being formed and undone.

The technologisation of memory and the allure of each new technology's democratising potential have relegated the interpretative authority from the institutional (archive, government, museum, education system)

to individual bodies (individuals and collectivities). In this view, and drawing on Geoffrey Bowker's discussion of memory traces,[62] it can be argued that the traces of memory in digital media provide crucial signposts in transient vernacular exteriorisations of memory and remembering.

In this light, when I speak about digital media, I understand them as techno-cultural communications tools and an environment that is significantly defined through and emanating from the relationship between individuals, devices and institutions, as producers and consumers of content and power relations. The enabling technologies of social media in the social, political, cultural and economic contexts, constraints and potentials, comprise a socio-technical network through which an individual is able to search and find, exteriorise and spread memories and partake in practices of remembering.

Digital media are seen as an environment where the preservation of the past is underway on an unprecedented scale, in terms of the mass of the preserved material and the numbers of people taking part in these processes. The practices of leaving traces and publishing memories contribute to the creation of unmanageable digital sea of files, photos, videos and sounds, which also affects our relationship to the audiovision. Through this, a memorial or narrative value we were used to attributing to, for instance, a scarce photo has changed in the time of informational abundance where the problem is not the lack but rather the excess of information, content, stimuli and choice.

Structure and Method

Irrelevant to some, incredibly important to others, these topics open up a number of underlying questions: How is history re-appropriated and re-narrated in the realm of digitally enabled communications technologies? What uses of the technology are users making in their interventions? And what are the implications for (post-Yugoslav) memory practices in the digital age? It is not a particularly ground-breaking observation that digital media technologies, spearheaded by social media and increasingly wearable technologies, have afflicted the how, why, what and when of communication, the narratives we turn our lives into and how, and the stories we tell when we are storytelling. Not least, they open up questions of what future potentialities and imaginaries we weave into our individual and collective, converging and conflicting presents.

To approach these issues the book is informally divided into two parts. The first part (Chaps. 1, 2 and 3) comprises chapters that deal with theoretical and practical implications of memory and technology. Chapter 2 features a historical overview of media technologies and the role of technologisation and automation in human entanglement with the worlds of the present, but also of the past and the future. Based on the general framework laid out in the Introduction, Chap. 2 further elaborates the theoretical-practical approaches and develops the logics of Aby Warburg's Menmosyne Atlas and Ancient Greek idea of acousmatics. The recontextualisation of the two in Chap. 3, for purposes of discussing memory in digital media, leads to the explication of the central framework that informs the study of memory in digital media: media archaeology and micro-archiving. These two practices and analytical approaches define and delimit the ways to think not only about memory practices but also provide a set of tools to understand how memory is being constructed today. Media archaeology and micro-archiving are discussed as practices that emphasise the most basically human approach to the world: storytelling. They emphasise individual agency and the relevance of memory practices in the post-socialist settings, decidedly informed by affective investments of the post-socialist subject.

In the second part, I apply the framework and the approach developed in the first part of the book to selected examples of exteriorisation of memory in digital (social) media. In Chap. 4, I delve into the issues related to digital storytelling, micro-archiving and media archaeology, captivatingly enmeshed in museum blogs and several historical Facebook pages. The contrast between Facebook and museum blogging offers an insight into the shifting dynamics of internet genres and tactics for exteriorising memory and archiving the past. In this part, the investigation focuses on collaborative digital storytelling and commemoration enacted between visitors, administrators and other social networking platforms. In Chap. 5, I investigate the practice of preservation of music in a number of music blogs as the result of distinctly individual and intimately motivated endeavours to present and archive (Yugoslav) musical past. Music blogs are investigated as examples of radical overlap between the offline materiality and the elusiveness of the code. In Chap. 6, I discuss several examples of digital memorials, focusing on YouTube as the prime platform for archiving, distribution and consumption of audiovisual content.[63] Short user-made digital video memorials provide an illustrative fusion of decontextualised and recontextualised media sources (visual, audible, textual) that are used to create a personal interpretation of the past.[64] Finally, in Chap. 7, I bring

the different layers of the argument together in the discussion of the legacies of the late-socialist cultural *subvertia* and the post-socialist nostalgia, and propose to approach the affectivity of the post-socialist dealings with the past through the process of reassembling of the historical and the quest for lost normalcy as the crucial tenets in devising liveable lifeworlds.

To be able to grasp the practices and to analyse media objects in the shifting terrain and sea of digital memory, I use a decidedly qualitative methodological approach that rests on the premises of the multimodal discourse analysis.[65] It is devised to facilitate the investigation—from the position of individual and grassroots interventions—of memorial practices, micro-archiving, storytelling and digital (video) memorials. The analysis is based on discussing practical cases of user interventions and application of different tactics (to different effects), and also user response and affect within the framework of media archaeology and micro-archiving.

To be better able to investigate the medial exteriorisations of memory,[66] they are broken down into multimodal mobile media objects. A multimodal mobile media object is a constitutive element where video, image, text and audio are combined. For instance, a video on YouTube can serve as a media object that is comprised of video, music/sounds, its description, comments and suggested/related content. A media object can also be considered the video itself, or a photograph, or a song shared from one and embedded into another platform. In this view, media objects are, so to speak, the substance of on-the-fly connectivity and engagement that emerges and unravels between users and media objects. One key feature of media objects, in this view, is their spreadability. Another important feature of multimodal media objects is derived from what Bernard Stiegler calls temporal objects: 'An object is temporal, in the Husserlian sense, to the extent that it is *constituted* by the flow of its passing, as opposed to an object like a piece of chalk, which is constituted through its stability, by the fact that it does not flow.'[67] The analysis of digital storytelling and memorials in selected cases follows the principles of non-participant observation,[68] substantiated by subsequent analyses of audiovision and comments.[69]

Multimodal discourse analysis, as adapted from Kay O'Halloran, focuses on content and takes as a unit of analysis the audiovisual and textual elements of multimodal media objects. These are seen as 'representations not of physical events, but of texts, images, and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and acted on their meanings, and must therefore be analysed with such uses in mind'.[70] Moreover, through emphasis on the spreadability of content, the approach understands the practices and tactics of creating and spreading content as decidedly co-creative practices.[71]

This enables seeing the objects of study as non-hierarchical bearers and facilitators of meaning, revealing along the way the processuality of meaning-making and the dynamics of performing memory. The studied phenomena in general and particularly the investigated memorial activities are emergent, non-static and *ungiven*. Similarly so, user engagement and participation are utterly fleeting and decidedly on-the-fly. In effect, this study operates with an entanglement of multimodal media objects, users and devices that within the technical and ideological limits of social media co-create networks of memory and participation. So, what are we talking about when we talk about digital memory? And when we talk about memory in digital media, what sense can we make of practices of memory and remembering?

NOTES

1. Vladimir Nabokov, *Transparent Things*, New York, Vintage International, 1989, p. 1.
2. Vivian Sobchack, 'Nostalgia for a Digital Object', in Lauren Rabinowitz and Abraham Geil (eds.), *Memory Bites, History, Technology and Digital Culture*, Durham and London, Durham University Press, 2004, pp. 305–29.
3. Aleida Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International And Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, New York, 2009, pp. 97–108.
4. See Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2004, p. 159.
5. Friedrich Kittler, *Optical Media: Berlin Lectures 1999*, London, Polity Press, 2010, p. 23.
6. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.
7. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*.
8. Boris Buden, Želimir Žilnik et al., *Uvod u prošlost*, Centar za nove medije, Novi sad, kuda.org, 2013, p. 20.
9. Buden, Žilnik et al., *Uvod u prošlost*, p. 19.
10. Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands, Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*, London and New York, Routledge, 2012, p. 5.
11. Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 2, 3.
12. Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 2.
13. See Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy, The Technologizing of the Word*, London, New York, Routledge, 2003 [1983].
14. This is a reference from the British science fiction TV series *Doctor Who*. Fixed points were events and/or individuals who had such long-standing

impacts on the timeline that no one, not even Time Lords, dared interfere with their natural progression, see 'Fixed point in time', http://tardis.wikia.com/wiki/Fixed_point_in_time, date accessed 23 September 2015.

15. On media archaeology see Jussi Parikka and Erkki Huhtamo (eds.), *Media Archaeology. Approaches, Applications, and Implications*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2011; on digital memory and archives see Wolfgang Ernst, *Digital Memory and the Archive*, edited and with an Introduction by Jussi Parikka, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

16. José van Dijck, *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2007.

17. Hoskins, '7/7 and connective memory'.

18. On digital storytelling see Knut Lundby (ed.), *Digital Storytelling, Mediatized Stories*, New York, Peter Lang, 2008.

19. José Van Dijck, *The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.

20. Nick Couldry, 'Digital Storytelling, Media Research and Democracy: Conceptual Choices and Alternative Futures', in Lundby, *Digital Storytelling*, pp. 41–60; Stig Hjarvard, 'Soft Individualism: Media and the Changing Social Character', in Knut Lundby (ed.), *Mediatization, Concepts, Changes, Consequences*, New York, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 159–78; see also Nick Couldry, 'Mediatization or Mediation? Alternative Understandings of the Emergent Space of Digital Storytelling', *New Media* & *Society* 2008, 10(3): 373–91.

21. Andreas Hepp, *Cultures of Mediatization*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2013, p. 40.

22. See Lynn Schofield Clark, 'Theories: Mediatization and Media Ecology', in Lundby, *Mediatization*, pp. 85–100, p. 87. See Winfried Shulz, 'Reconstructing Mediatization as an Analytical Concept', *European Journal of Communication* 2004, 19(1): 87–101; see also Hepp, *Cultures of Mediatization*, p. 40–1.

23. Couldry, 'Digital Storytelling, Media Research and Democracy', p. 42.

24. Schofield Clark, 'Theories', p. 87.

25. See Astrid Erll's discussion on travelling memory, particularly in relation to the 'demand' that memory must travel in order to stay alive; much the same goes for digital media objects. Astrid Erll, 'Travelling Memory', *Paralax* 2011, 17(4): 4–18, 12.

26. Will Straw, 'The Circulatory Turn', in *The Wireless Spectrum: The Politics, Practices and Poetics of Mobile Media*, Barbara Crow, Michael Longford, Kim Sawchuk (eds.), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2010, pp. 17–28; see also David Beer, *New Media and Popular Culture*, *The Politics of Circulation*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

27. Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*, New York, New York University Press, 2013.

28. Search term 'mediatisation', Dictionary.com, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/mediatise?o=100083, date accessed 18 January 2011.

29. Astrid Erll, 'Literature, Film and the Mediality of Culture', in Erll and Nünning, *Cultural Memory Studies*, pp. 389–98, p. 392.

30. On ordering see Nina Lager Vestberg, 'Ordering, searching, Finding', *Journal of Visual Culture* 2013, 12(3): 472–89.

31. I use exteriorisation in line with Bernard Stiegler's understanding: when the human takes up the tool, the tool expands the boundaries of its body by going outside itself, incorporating what is outside itself into its domain of being and acting. Exteriorisation, furthermore, describes a situation in which there is neither absolute interior nor absolute exterior—there is never a 'pure' human without technics. Bernard Stiegler, *Technics and Time, vol. 1: The Fault of Epimetheus*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 141.

32. van Dijck, *Mediated Memories*, p. 25.

33. Jan Assmann, 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', in Erll and Nünning, *Cultural Memory Studies*, pp. 109–18, p. 116–7.

34. van Dijck, *Mediated Memories*, p. 24.

35. Marie-Laure Ryan, 'Multivariant Narratives', in Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, John Unsworth (eds.), *A Companion to Digital Humanities*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2004, http://www.digitalhumanities.org/companion, date accessed 21 August 2011.

36. Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, New York, Schocken Books, 2007, p. 61.

37. Andrew Hoskins, 'Digital Network Memory' in Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (eds.) *Mediation, Remediation and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2012, pp. 91–106, p. 91. Hoskins continues: 'The use of websites and services such as MySpace, Facebook and Twitter allow users to continually display and to shape biographical information, post commentaries on their unfolding lives and to interact publicly or semi-publicly with one another'.

38. Hoskins, 'Digital Network Memory', p. 92.

39. Hoskins, 'Digital Network Memory', p. 92.

40. See Andrew Hoskins, 'Media, Memory, Metaphor: Remembering and the Connective Turn', *Parallax* 2011, 17(4). See also José van Dijck 'Flickr and the Culture of Connectivity: Sharing Views, Experiences, Memories', *Memory Studies* 2011, 4(4): 401–415.

41. Arjun Appadurai, 'Archive and Aspiration', in Joke Brouwer and Arjen Mulder (eds.), *Information is Alive*, Rotterdam, V2_Publishing/NAI Publishers, 2003, p. 17.

42. Recently, the discussion on materiality of cloud computing emphasised the awareness that there is a substantial material basis to the immateriality of the cloud, and a problematic one, particularly from the environmental and geological perspectives. See Jussi Parikka, *A Geology of Media*, Minneapolis, London, University of Minnesota Press, 2015, John Durham Peters, *The Marvellous Clouds*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2015, Siegfried Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media: Toward an Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2006.

43. Erich Fromm, *On Being Human*, London, New York, Continuum, 2005, p. 54.

44. Fromm, *On Being Human*, p. 55.

45. Digital communications technologies are hardly a panacea for social and political troubles of humankind. Instead, the shortfalls and ambiguities of offline sociability and communications practices readily migrate online: hatred, affect, discontent, dissonances and attention deficit, along with power relations, are manifest in online collections of content, including historical resources, archives and knowledge (corporate, state and individual). See Lisa Nakamura, *Digitizing Race: Visual Cultures of the Internet*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

46. Bernard Stiegler, *Symbolic Misery, Vol. 1: The Hyperindustrial Epoch*, Malden, Polity Press, 2014, p. 6.

47. On audiovision see Siegfried Zielinski, *Audiovisions, Cinema and Television as Entr'actes in History*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1999 [1989]. Zielinski argues that '*Audiovision* has become an amalgam of many media communication forms that used to be separate' (p. 14). I use the concept audiovision to refer to the amalgamation of photographic, cinematic and sonic (music and sound) elements in multimodal media objects.

48. On vernacular memory in digital environments see Aaron Hess, 'In Digital Remembrance: Vernacular Memory and the Rhetorical Construction of Web Memorials', *Media Culture and Society* 2007, 29(5): 812–30.

49. Courtney Martin, 'Transcript: Parker Palmer and Courtney Martin "On Being"', Neotarf, 10 January 2015, https://neotarf.wordpress.com/2015/01/10/transcript-parker-palmer-and-courtney-martin-on-being/, date accessed 7 October 2015.

50. Hoskins, 'Digital Network Memory', p. 100.

51. To refer to Henri Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis, Space, Time and Everyday Life*, London, Continuum, 2004.

52. See Amanda Lagerkvist, 'New Memory Cultures and Death: Existential Security in The Digital Memory Ecology', *Thanatos* 2013, 2(2): http://thanatos-journal.com/2013/12/20/thanatos-vol-2-22013-media-death/, date accessed 1 October 2015.

53. Jennifer Earl and Katrina Kimport, *Digitally Enabled Social Change*, Cambridge, London, MIT Press, 2011, p. 126.

54. The issue of revisionism is subject to thorough research. Several authors approach the complexity of the issue in global settings: Henry Rousso (ed.), *Stalinism and Nazism: History and Memory Compared*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2004. Tzvetan Todorov, *Hope and Memory: Lessons from the Twentieth Century*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2003, and specifically in post-socialist contexts: Sulejman Bosto, Tihomir Cipek and Olivera Milosavljević (eds.), *Kultura sjećanja: 1941. Povijesni lomovi i savladavanje prošlosti*, Zagreb, Disput 2008; Slavko Goldstein and Ivo Goldstein, *Jasenovac i Bleiburg nisu isto*, Zagreb, Novi Liber, 2011; Michael Kopeček, *Past in the Making: Historical Revisionism in Central Europe after 1989*, Budapest, New York, CEU Press, 2008; Kristen Ghodsee, *The Left Side of History: World War II and the Unfulfilled Promise of Communism in Eastern Europe*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2015; Davor Pauković, Vjeran Pavlaković and Višeslav Raos (eds.), *Confronting the Past: European Experiences*, Zagreb, CPI, 2012; Oto Luthar, 'Forrgetting does (not) Hurt. Historical Revisionism in Post-Socialist Slovenia', *Nationalities Papers* 2013, 41(6): 882–92.

55. Catherine Baker, *The Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s*, Basinkstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

56. See Haldis Haukanes and Susanna Trnka, 'Memories, Imagination, and Belonging Across generations', *Focaal—Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 2013, 66: 3–13, 5.

57. I deliberately use this rather awkward word to draw attention to the phenomenon of transforming and investing the processes of gaining political independence as a mythological and highly ideological project.

58. 'Post-Yugoslavia' and 'post-Yugoslavs' is a category I use to denote the cultural and political residue of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as people who, in and after 1991, have either emigrated or became citizens of one of the new post-Yugoslav countries, but are still defined by the post-Yugoslav condition.

59. See 'Constitution of CY (English)', http://www.juga.com/constitution/const_eng.htm, date accessed 2 October 2015.

60. The site not only attracted former Yugoslavs but other 'nationals' as well: even before the official launch, 400 Bangladeshi applied for citizenship; see Chris Nuttall, 'Sci/Tech Birth of a Nation', bbc.co.uk, 6 August 1999, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/413420.stm, date accessed 31 August 2015.

61. Jon May and Nigel Thrift, *Timespace: Geographies of temporality*, New York and London, Routledge, 2001, p. 7.

62. Slavoj Žižek, 'What is an authentic political event?', *New Statesman*, 12 February 2014, http://www.newstatesman.com/culture/2014/02/slavoj-%C5%BEi%C5%BEek-what-authentic-political-event, date accessed 13 September 2015.

63. Geoffrey C. Bowker, *Memory Practices in the Sciences*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2008, pp. 1–34.
64. See Jean Burgess and Joshua Green, *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2009; see also Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau (eds.), *The YouTube Reader*, Stockholm, National Library of Sweden, 2009.
65. Kay L. O'Halloran, *Multimodal Discourse Analysis*, London and New York, Continuum, 2004.
66. Medial exteriorisations of memory and networked practices of remembering are decidedly ongoing, open-ended, debated and contested process but also transient, elusive and ephemeral. They are understood in relation to Stiegler's conceptualisation of exteriorisation, quoted above. See also Erll, 'Literature, Film and the Mediality of Culture'; Astrid Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', in Erll and Nünning, *Cultural Memory Studies*, pp. 1–18; see also Assmann, 'Canon and Archive'.
67. Stiegler, *Symbolic Misery*, p. 17.
68. Michael V. Angrosino, 'Nonparticipant Observation', in Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Alan Bryman and Tim Futing Liao (eds.), *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Vol. 3, 2004.
69. See for instance Christine M. Hine, *Virtual Ethnography*, London, Sage Publications, 2000; on identifying units of analysis, enhancing contextual information and understanding indicators of online activity see Jannis Androutsopoulos, 'Potentials and Limitations of Discourse-Centered Online Ethnography', *Language@Internet* 2008, 5, Article 8, http://www.languageatinternet.de/articles/2008. See also Courtenay Honeycutt and Susan C. Herring, 'Beyond Microblogging: Conversation and Collaboration via Twitter', *Proceedings of the Forty-Second Hawai'i International Conference on System Sciences* (HICSS-42), Los Alamitos, CA, IEEE Press, 2009.
70. Klaus Krippendorf, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 2004, p. xiii.
71. Straw, 'The Circulatory Turn'.

Memory, Media, Technology

Overwriting the past with what we know today, with knowledge and interpretations emerging in ever-new presents is a universal phenomenon, one which is particularly apparent in any discussion on technology: a look into the past of a particular technology tends to unsee the complexity of innovation process, the effects of politics and competition, and also the numerous dead-ends of technologies that failed for reasons other than their lack of innovative potential. When speaking of communications technologies, this bears resonance mostly because being 'born into technology' naturalises it and makes every previous one likewise natural and occasionally obsolete. Yet, new technologies also entice mistrust and fear, the constant companions to awe and utopian investments. The 'natural' old is counterposed with the 'unnatural' new. This also points out the issue of continuity and change. In the attempt to provide a more complex picture of the intertwining of technology and memory, this project positively discriminates continuity over change, neutralising the radicality of a discourse of newness. The latter often blurs the historical rootedness of the present-day phenomena, while emphasising its historical, innovative uniqueness. Hence, it is essential to situate the topic of the entanglement of memory and communications technology in the historical perspective.

Innovations in the field of media technology continually raise issues regarding what benefits and harms these changes might inflict upon our

capacity to form and retain knowledge and memory, along with the concerns about the deterioration of morality. In fact, the discussion on media technology and memory has predominantly seen memory as an archive or record of the past,[1] while the technologies of keeping and disseminating memory have been seen as prosthetics to the corruptible and fragile human mind. But each new technology shakes and redefines (the production of) knowledge and (the structuring of) the understanding of memory processes, as shaped by preceding media technologies. Given the importance, presence and continued fascination with memory and memory matters, the relation between memory and technology thus exposes some problems and controversies.

Sharon Macdonald emphasises several issues with regard to memory. She argues that the central 'problem with memory as a category of analysis is its ubiquity and capaciousness'.[2] Ubiquity in principle should not come as a surprise, given the importance of memory and remembering in human societies and cultures, although it admittedly makes grasping of the topic more difficult. This is particularly the case if we look at how the words used to grasp memory are conceptualised in different languages. Jens Brockmeier notes that many languages

> do not have a special word, let alone a concept, that would suggest an isolated capacity, but terms that indicate an array of abilities and practices—as, for example, the East Cree, one of the Aboriginal languages of North America, where the word for memory, mituneyichikan, embraces the entire spectrum of mental processes from remembering to thinking, knowing, feeling, and understanding—all of them inextricably intermingled and linked to the mental states and social practices of other individuals.[3]

On the other hand, we tend to think of ever-new ways to grasp the ticking away of time and alleviate the corrosive effects of time-passing on material and immaterial traces alike. In this, Buden's culture of the past is but another perspective that allows us to think about the present of the past at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Conceptually, culture of the past allows us to focus on the entanglement of people and media, while it also serves as a concept that facilitates the understanding of being human in space and time and, even more importantly, explicates the presence of the past in the present. The prime tool of enshrining the elusiveness of being in time and embedding existence in a lifeworld is storytelling.

Storytelling?

Storytelling is a human technique of creating shared socio-cultural environments and plays a crucial role in defining inter-personal relations in the present through generating Fromm's awareness. Storytelling endows the flow of time with a sense of order and weaves symbolic landscapes of human lifeworlds. Stories are the essential element in carving out, defining, delimiting and ordering lifeworlds. It is in exteriorisation and collectivising imagination that the entropy of cosmological time can be endowed with meaning and teleology.

If this may account for the ubiquities of issues with memory and remembering, the fact remains that when we talk about memory we in fact talk about an immense system of historically specific interpersonal, social, cultural, political and economic, biological, genetic, neurological and also geologic intersections, overlaps and exclusions. And this system of entanglements—which bridges and instils the gaps between individuals and collectivities, between different times and places, and between human and nature—is decidedly supported and enacted through storytelling. Storytelling has been increasingly defined through the technologies of communication. In terms of transcending the different mind-gaps, Jens Brockmeier argues, this system of entanglements takes the

> form that reach[es] beyond the archive idea of memory and offer more open, fleeting, and culturally embedded visions of what people do when they are remembering and forgetting. A main feature of these visions is that they transcend the isolated human brain as the single site of these activities, localizing them instead within a broader framework of social and cultural practices and artefacts, which are themselves subject to historical change.[4]

Brockmeier's idea of transcending an isolated brain, with regard to Macdonald's arguing that memory 'can refer to a mental function or faculty (the act of remembering or ability to do so), and also to content (what is remembered)', exposes another tension: the 'analogy between individual and personal recollection and social or cultural is pervasive and informs understanding of both—and, as such, needs itself to be given analytical attention'.[5] As difficult as it may be to differentiate between the function and the content of memory, it is just as difficult to categorically differentiate the liminalities of individual, collective, social and cultural memory and practices of remembering. Furthermore, it seems increasingly difficult

to do so in the age of ubiquitous media and unprecedented connectivity. In such a media environment, individuals are easily drawn into intense, emotional and affective entanglements. Practices of memory are formed, mobilised and driven by how we position ourselves in the techno-cultural landscapes of digital media technologies—not only, but decisively—in relation to the perpetual re-presencing of the past.

Storytelling as a cultural practice is intrinsically related to preserving (archiving) the past for posterity and predates much of the present-day technological solutions and affective engagement with recording memory and facilitating communication. However, since the human mind tends to seek external technological means to record and preserve, storytelling is a practice that survives and transforms in each new chapter of the history of communication.

Automation and Memory

The relegation of human capacity to store memory in an external, technical repository (exteriorisation), exposes the entanglements of the human and devices, societies and storytelling. The relationship between the desire to technologise memory and automate life, the issue of memorial capacity coded 'in technico', is elucidated by the age-old fascination with mechanical body and mind, and is perhaps best reflected in the fascination with thinking about and designing machinic life as exemplified by the history of automata.

The fascination with the 'material undead' can be traced back to at least Ancient Greece, while records show that the fascination existed in the Middle East and in China as well. This suggests that mechanical imitation of life is indeed a long-lasting all-human fascination. Still, it seems to have increased since the Renaissance, or it has, at least, been more meticulously documented thereafter. The question of automation emphasised a philosophical difficulty, the antithesis of mortal lives: 'Man is subject to time, to its inevitable march towards death, whereas the clockwork automaton merely marks time without falling prey to it.'[6] The connection to memory is imminent: external prosthetic storage can withstand the corrosiveness of time and biological transience.

This has some practical consequences. Jacques de Vaucanson's automata, the Flute Player and the Pipe Player, 'embodied the idea that humans were messy, imperfect, fallible, and that a perfect machine would correct these flaws, improve on humanity'. The Flute Player, however, attempted to resemble human imperfection as closely as possible.[7] The perfection/

imperfection divide demonstrates quite clearly the ambiguity inherent in the fascination with machines and technology in general, which is often laced with the fear of the unknown. It also alludes to the issues of imperfections of the body and the mind, as well as of memory. If initially designed for entertainment, automata disturbed scientific and philosophical minds and spurred inflammatory debates,[8] which in many ways resurface time and again in the debates about the perils of the each new communications technology—writing, print, electricity, telegraph, cinema, radio, television and, most recently, the internet—and its effects on civilisation and memory.

At the turn of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, the machines that could be used to replace human labour galvanised research into the mechanisation of work and the automation of life. Jacquard's punched card loom, which inspired Charles Babbage's 1836 computing Analytical Engine, is seen today as the precursor of the binary system and the punched card computers from the mid-twentieth century.[9] It is important to also note that automation is the precursor of the technologisation of memory: the 'programme' inside the Flute Player that enabled the automaton to 'play' the instrument flawlessly is a raw, mechanic encoding of memory.

But apart from the fascinating history of the automation of life, the history of automata exemplifies '[e]fforts to imitate life by mechanical means for whatever purpose, [that] resulted in the development of mechanical principles and led to the production of complex mechanisms which have fulfilled technology's original aims—the reduction or simplification of physical labor'.[10] This primarily refers to industrial aspects of technological development but also hints at the restructuring of Thrift's lifeworlds and can even be seen as the precursor of transhumanism and the desire to transcend or mitigate biological imperfections and vulnerabilities.[11]

For our discussion, this is relevant in yet another way. The development of different media as the offspring of mechanics, physics, chemistry and electricity (print, photography, cinema and TV) has been driven by the expansion of science and technology. And if we think about technological mnemonic prosthetics and 'enhancers' of memory from the point of view of reducing and simplifying the work of memory, automation of life presents an important aspect in the relegation of mental capacities to a non-human external capacity, be it an automaton, or paper, photograph, video, or a computer (digital file). Although the relationship between automation of life and the present topic may not be immediate, it is nevertheless clear that as the past is lost to each advancing present, the 'technological outdoors' represent a way to fixate and stabilise communications, knowledge and memory.

Relegating memory-storage and memory-function to technology also affects the way we think about the past. John Urry argues that 'there is no past out there, or rather back there. There is only the present, in the context of which the past is being continually recreated'.[12] In light of memory and technology issues, the re-creation of the past inevitably falls prey to each new interpretative authority and each new technology, practice, or media or political discourse. It is in and through media technologies that the 'past imaginaire' becomes the common and universal source of referential re-presences of the past, a pool where storytelling sources its elements. Importantly so, in this process, the mediated past becomes an instantiation of a view into the future that aims to transcend that past and the present in which it is based.

Media and Memory in Historical Perspective

In the context of this discussion the history of human communication media can be roughly and partially divided into five periods characterised by different technological solutions: *the oral age*, *the chriographic age*, *the print age*, *broadcast age* and *the digital age*.[13] To complement this view, different modes and strategies of communication reveal the history of media and communication in terms of (*primary*) *orality* which presupposes face-to-face communication and relatively closely knit, territorially bound communities (pre-connectivity in Appadurai's terms, see above); *writing and print*, characterised by a shift towards one-to-many communication, transcending the boundaries of space and time and closely related to the rise of the nation and Romantic nationalisms; *the second orality* characterised by the transience of electronically transmitted messages (e.g., radio, TV, telephone);[14] and *the third orality*, or the era of ubiquitous media.[15] Seeing the history of communication through different stages of orality and literacy puts the linearity of the history of human communication in a different perspective: the knowing of the coexistence of different stages emphasises continuity and co-presence, and questions the alleged increasing reliability or veracity of each penultimate media. It cherishes overlaps instead of ruptures.

In this view, writing and print, as the epitomes of literacy, do not fit neatly into the orality scheme. The invention of the alphabet and subsequent standardisation of writing – that were followed by the invention

of the printing press with movable type – without any doubt present a seminal point in the history of the transmission of knowledge and historical facts, but also of memory. Printing press, then a cutting-edge technology, propelled the dominance of 'fixed' letters and narratives. It installed the so-called 'Gutenberg parenthesis',[16] a period of the rise of science and the printed book. This technological innovation certainly is an anomaly from the orality perspective. Yet, after electronic and digital media refocused our attention to audiovisions, thus ending the domination of print, we may be witnessing a shift towards an age where 'the third' orality is becoming dominant. Thomas Pettitt argues that '[t]he post-parenthetical period is a reversion to the pre-parenthetical period at a higher level of technology'.[17]

Writing and print provided a technological solution for effective communication in growing collectivities but also for storytelling, for reconstructing the past and archiving. In primary orality, knowledge and information are encoded into speech and transmitted across space and time by word of mouth, which enables a certain degree of malleability of the message, especially as compared to post-Gutenberg inventions in communications technologies and the sought-after fixity of the form (and meaning). These technological changes steered the development of humanity and, even more importantly, of science and knowledge as we know them today.[18]

Exteriorisation of thought in words as abstracted form (letters, alphabet and typesetting) and the logic of the alphabetical order, indexing and numbering facilitated an unprecedented stability, durability and provability of the message, record, source, or utterance over long periods of time and across large swathes of land. Written records largely became the norm and unassailable container of knowledge and proof, but also the mobiliser of fiction, imagination and falsification. Unlike scientific accounts and official records, chiefly defended by and defending the written or printed word, fiction, that is storytelling (and with it memory), 'has projected itself into multiple media and formats over the last few centuries: as script, audio, images, artefacts, sculpture, artwork, and architecture'.[19]

Compared to oral reminiscing and remembering, writing implied the withdrawal of a significant part of commonality of individual experience into the sphere of the private and of the elite, if we consider the initial scarcity of the skill reserved for the elites. Thus, along with the perceived stabilisation of content and meaning engendered by writing and particularly Gutenberg's press,[20] memory, in practice, eluded and contra-

dicted the assumed and desired stability of the written or printed word. Importantly, writing and print relegated the word (speech) from the aural to the visual.[21] Spoken word operated on the aural level and was the 'expirable' storage and conveyor of information and mythologies (epics are perhaps the most famed 'technology' of oral record keeping;[22] see discussion on music blogs in Chap. 5).

The shift from orality to literacy enabled the circulation of information and ideas beyond the domain of face-to-face communication. This shift, Walter J. Ong argued, was the key development in the history of humankind. It facilitated the reconceptualisation not only of society and culture but also of economy and science. Moreover, 'print encouraged the mind to sense that its possessions were held in some sort of inert mental space'.[23] With this in mind, it can be argued that the individual's interiority could only be conceptualised as a private, relatively sealed-off inner world. Accordingly, it was of a great importance to find means for exteriorisation beyond the limits of the singular mind, as Bernard Stiegler argues: 'The paradox is to have to speak of an exteriorisation without a preceding interior: the interior is constituted in exteriorisation.'[24] The question, however, of whether it was writing and print that intensified the individualisation of the human brain as the site of individual thinking versus communal thinking usually associated with pre-literate societies remains to be answered elsewhere.[25]

Fugitive pieces of places and times past and passed have been a matter of inspiration, amusement and feverish discomfort since the most early days, but they were most thoroughly recorded in the period from the Antiquity through to the Middle Ages, and ever since.[26] However, it was not until the early nation-state formation processes throughout much of Europe during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that a new, rather 'unnatural', largely fictitious invention of tradition, not unrelated to the proliferation of early mass media technologies, started to bloom. The then pre-nationals were transformed through the media, on political, social and cultural levels into a compassionate and compatriot community. Although an imagined one, the idea of the nation hardly had imaginary effects:[27] this was the birth of ever more vigorous and fierce reinterpretation re-narration and restructuring of the past, with a view to comprehensively knead it into a national history or rather mythistory.[28]

The role of media, particularly the rising popularity (and fear from its potential effects) of print, crucially assisted in defining the national tissue, geographies and geopolitics (roads, coffeehouses and homes).[29]

Importantly, 'print provided users the means of re-imagining existing community relations',[30] thus effectively procuring a structure and a tool for creating extensive communities of experience and feeling and, not least, communities of memory. On a side note, one should not look upon these processes uncritically, as McLuhan's statement suggests: '[w]e have confused reason with literacy, and rationalism with a single technology'.[31] This unveils the commonsensical reductive presumption we often make when thinking about dominant technologies of today and yesterday.

Interestingly enough, Romantic nationalisation and homogenisation of 'national founding stories' went hand in hand with the rapid and violent colonisation of the Americas, Asia and Africa. We know from the works of pioneering anthropologists that the contact with 'other' cultures facilitated a considerable cultural shock, or at least a fair amount of doubt and uncertainty concerning the foundations of the fledgling national communities. It could be argued that it was also the contact with the distant other (and the not so distant, for example, the Ottomans and the Balkans in general) that stimulated the Occident to look back/inside for its past(s) and collective memories, to embrace progressive technological development, and thus establish its national exclusivism and civilisational supremacy.

The rise of the civilisational supremacy idea rested significantly on the idea of historicity, derived from the written track record as the foundation of the nation state and its culture. On the other hand, the Occident's domination was fuelled by another perturbing series of historical events that coincided with the above: civilisational provided not only the large-scale production of material products but also production of meaning that was fed into the narrative of Occidental self-granted supremacy. The combination of the two provided fertile grounds for the thriving of the ideology of progress: 'the promise of continuity and a celebration of the continual march of progress in the name of humankind'.[32] Perpetual progress spurred a growing need and desire to communicate over time and space, hence the inventions of different media and technological solutions have since played increasingly important roles in the processes of individualisation, in the formation of society and culture and historical communication between generations. The process of looking inward was complemented and advanced by the process of exteriorisation of the inner world, increasingly and persuasively so, on the screen.

Digital Acousmatics

Culture and society, politics and economics saw radical shifts in the pace and scale of changes, particularly after the introduction of photographic, cinematic, electric and electronic media, and the related archiving technologies and practices. Over the past 200 years, every invention in communications technology redefined the ways fleeting reality was captured, stored, commoditised and re-presenced:

> When a new technological invention enters the world […] we identify it with the world and imagine it brings different parts of the world together like never before. You might say that a new medium provokes a certain boundary confusion [… also because] each new medium changes sense rations: print emphasises the visual to the exclusion of other senses; electric media emphasise sound and vision.[33]

With audiovisual recording technologies which enabled the capture and reproduction of sound and image, the past could be increasingly preserved and its 'appearance' disseminated in overwhelming quantity and detail. In light of rapid development and decreasing costs, the profusion of 'time-arresting' technologies necessitated an upswing in the production of audiovisual documents/records of the time. Music and cinema, and later TV, along with tape-recorder, super-8 and VHS, for instance, became crucial and all-pervasive companions to everyday life and inevitable chroniclers of the past that 'democratised', audiovisualised and started the conflation of time into the culture of the past.

Siegfried Kracauer argued that film 'is uniquely equipped to record and reveal the physical reality […] the only reality we are concerned with […] the transitory world we live in'.[34] Clearly, cinematic representation is hardly an exact reflection of past reality, yet what is captured on film is often the only record that reveals how the past looked like. It is from the ubiquity and the persuasiveness of the audiovision that the cinematic and the musical derive their dominant roles in imagining our past realities. The grainy, yellowy moving image, or the crackling sound of vinyl is proof and technological articulation of temporal remoteness and inaccessibility, with that a marker of another time, another lifeworld. They are the crucial source through which we may be able to imagine the past and to think about it.

The emphasis on thinking and imagining the past through audiovision also takes into account the varying and overlapping practices of

mediatisation. It acknowledges the capacity of media technology (content) to facilitate not only transmission but also the storage of information. This view emphasises the overlaps and synchronicity of media technologies and their uses, and sees beyond the techno-deterministic view of characterising a historical period through the dominant media. In the perspective of the materiality of media, writing, print, photography and cinema are seen as the *resilient media*: they leave behind a material trail that can be traced and verified or reflected upon by revisiting or replaying. On the other hand, speech, radio, television, telephone, telegraph, film, recorded music and, to an important extent, digital media (social media, platforms, news portals) qualify as *transient media*. Their information-distributing capacity (reach) is matched by the inability or extreme difficulty for the user to return to the exact location, utterance, sound, or image, unless supported by another recording or archiving technology (for example, sound recording devices, video-recorders, the Internet Archive). An example of the transience of media are the 'rental media', which are bound to cause significant issues given that the majority of music and apps we use today can, without notice, disappear from one or another store, leaving no trace in 'Purchases'.[35]

The user of transient media, thus, resembles a *Homo Memonautilus* much more than a wandering memoryland traveller. The distinction between media and communications modalities is of course never entirely set or clear. Transient media, and digital media as their most recent addition, existentially depend on the functioning supporting environment, dependent on a living human being, mining and electricity. This, of course, largely applies to resilient media as well, but the materiality of traces (printed images, vinyl, etc.) yields more easily to (mechanical) reconstruction and better resists technological obsolescence. Yet, what most resilient and transient media share is a screen, a plane of exteriorisation through which users can interact, tell stories, or partake in a mnemonic activity.

The screen, as the plane of mediation and communication, brings to mind the Pythagorean idea of acousmatics (Gr. *akousmatikoi*) and invites its extension. Pythagoras, in order for his students to be better able to concentrate on his speech, delivered his lectures from behind a veil. The students were unable to see the 'source' and were 'exposed' to his voice only and thus had to focus on his voice (and the message) only. Later on, Pierre Schaeffer, the French composer and theorist, defined the acousmatic as 'referring to a sound that one hears without seeing the causes behind it', meaning that listening is confined to hearing, eliminating all visual elements.[36]

Similarly, in digital and electronic media, we see content on screen but are, and this is crucial, usually unable to detail its exact origin, credentials and reliability. In the digital age, acousmatics may seem insufficient, yet it can fruitfully be extended. Digital media contain and build their communicative capacity on audiovision and text that for the most part 'materialise' on screen. They also enable an unprecedented phenomenon of dis-simultaneous presence for the message to be spread and received. The user can consume or access content more or less at any later time later or at any place. Therefore, the concept of acousmatic can not only be understood in terms of its emphasis on the screen-source relationship but also in relation to how content, once mediatised, is mediated between users and screens. What is more, the relationship between content on screen and content screened-off, spliced with bits 'lost in mediatisation', fundamentally contributes to structuring intimate 'offscreen spaces'.[37] This entails an interaction with audiovisuals that one 'sees' (on screen) without 'seeing' (or unseeing) the source (off screen), or the technology behind it.

Such an understanding entails the capacity of (not only digital) media technologies to discard the original source and, at the same time, also to camouflage the means of its mediatisation, exacerbating the issue of transparency of technology.[38] Mark Poster argues that the 'internet interface must somehow appear "transparent", that is to say, appear not to be an interface, not to come between two alien beings.'[39] This bears consequences for computer-mediated communication and human-computer interfaces, as well as for the case of mediated memories and mediatised past events in social media and *ad hoc* collectivities, mostly in that the critical distance between the user and the event is compromised by the immediacy of the screen.

Building on the idea of transparency, I would finally like to stretch the idea of acousmatic just a little bit further to encompass the discussion of the past. In this view, I propose to look at and for the past—an event or a series of fragments of events, and affective individual reconstructions—as mediated on screen. The operation works through suspending disbelief regarding the 'artificial' character of such re-presencing, both technically and symbolically. To paraphrase Schaeffer, it proposes understanding of the past without seeing the 'real events' *behind* the screen. Digital acousmatics entails unseeing the 'behind time', focusing instead on what is re-presenced on screen. It is the screen, therefore, where the past—always already mediatised and mediated—is re-presenced at the command of the user in front of it. The user-screen-event entanglement re-presences the

past and provides an immersive environment, luring the user into the collective action of co-creating the past: either through active participation (for example commenting) or passive incorporation of knowledge into individual understanding of the past.

The user-screen-event entanglement constitutes a field of mediated reality: what we see re-presenced on screen is always already mediatised: it is radically decontextualised, translated, appropriated and conflated in another medium. This means that a significant amount of information and, moreover, experiential reality, is obliterated and left out of the entanglement, while certain aspects are added and re-presenced in new ways. The screen, the *pharmakon* of memory,[40] thus simultaneously facilitates unforgetting and unseeing. Yet, the elision induced by mediatisation (as translation) gives room for the user's imagination, personal beliefs, allegiances, opinions and affect. The counterpoising and the palimpsests of audiovisual re-presences on screen are enhanced by the user intervention, which, cast in the perspective of user agency, points to the questions and implications for practices of storytelling and memorial-making and archiving.

Mnemosyne Atlas

Digital acousmatics offer the basis to discuss an approach to the entanglement of memory, the individual user and the screen as the plane of re-presencing of the past that predates digital communications technology but not necessarily the digital logic. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Aby Warburg, a German art historian, thought deeply about art history and representation and designed in the late 1920s the Mnemosyne Atlas,[41] a series of black clothed panels where the phenomena reproduced were presented simultaneously, as opposed to the linearity of book format.[42] The panels featured photographs of buildings, statues and other art and historical artefacts, presented to the reader in no particular order. The Atlas functions as a screen that hosts a 'discontinuous sequence that finds expressive significance only when considered in an arrangement of complex interconnections', which activated dynamic properties that would be latent if considered individually.[43] It was conceived as a 'receptive surface, a photosensitive plate on which texts or images surging up from the past reveal themselves'.[44] Thus it was the 'connections' between items and individual unstructured readings that gained prominence in the creating and interpretation. Digital co-presence?

The application of the Mnemosyne Atlas idea to the discussion of memory in digital media supports the perspective that a certain analogue linearity inscribed in understanding of time or progress in historical perspective is not something that has only recently been supplanted by the logic of the digital. The digital logic of discrete bits of information, of disregard of sequential linearity, and the impact on understanding space and time is not an entirely new invention but can in fact be traced back into the past, particularly in exemplifying the ordering and the accessing of content in the perspective of co-presence.

Mnemosyne Atlas, Philippe-Alain Michaud notes, was a composite construction that provided a 'platform' where physical experience of space met certain mental operations (associations, memories, repetitions). Importantly so, the implication of Warburg's art-historical platform where 'the distance between the images, which tend to invert the parameters of time and space, produces tensions between the objects depicted and, inductively, between the *levels of reality* from which these objects proceed',[45] is crucial for the discussion of memory in digital media. This also bears implications for digital media where the structuring of experience in encountering people and media objects in online interactions in part depends on random, fleeting and affective connections between bodies and machines.

The relation between the Mnemosyne Atlas and communication and memory is in that the computer screen can be seen not literally as a Mnemosyne panel, but nevertheless as a plane where content is created and navigated through. The former can be seen in the making of digital memorials (Chap. 6), particularly where creating and curating the memorial as micro-archive is concerned (see Chap. 3). The multimodal curatorial practice includes the selection, montage, juxtaposition of photos, videos, music and comments in a fairly straightforward explication of randomness, sequentiality and affectivity. It is an articulation of the Mnemosyne logic and inadvertent conflation of linear representation of time, of historicity. Navigating multimodal media objects (memorials) presupposes encountering objects in an individual and random manner. This interferes with the user's itinerary, her ideas about re-presences on screen, and informs a de-contextualised sequence of personalised continuity. Narrative continuity thus emanates from the randomness engrained in *Homo Memonautilus* encountering media objects; for example, when looking for a particular video on YouTube, the user sees in the right-hand column a selection of related content, based upon one's

browsing history. Thus the user can be randomly (within the limits of a 'personalised' browsing history) driven away from the immediate topic of interest, or, indeed, drawn further in.

Creating and browsing media objects and navigating platforms intriguingly corresponds with the idea of mnemosynal platform.[46] If in Warburg's conception the artist designs the panels, determines the sequence and the content, in digital media it is the user who creates her own multi-layered digital Mnemosyne Atlas, which is potentially radically enhanced, compromised, or altered by other users' interventions. What is more, the user navigating the various internet paths creates a unique, decidedly fleeting, Mnemosynal memorial itinerary.

Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka argue—with regard to the pre-digital status of the Mnemosyne Atlas—(but their claim applies to the internet as well) that 'the [Mnemosyne] project suggested a new idea about dynamics of the image, pointing out how images and motifs in themselves could function as "time-machines" in an isomorphic fashion to the task of media archaeology.'[47] This is particularly pertinent to creating one's own medial audiovision of the past, or partake in co-creating an existing one.

The emphasis on user agency entailed in making or visiting memorials has to be seen through the perspective of motives that drive users to engage in these activities. If we look at the phenomenon from the perspective of the culture of the past, both digital acousmatics and the idea of Mnemosyne logic provide a context from which to approach a set of issues related to the perspective of the crisis of the idea of the future, which is, arguably, driving the recent memory boom.

No Future? Culture of the Past!

Although the latter half of the nineteenth and the major part of the twentieth century was an economically, politically and militarily turbulent period, it was at the same time also a period of emancipatory political visions and utopias. These utopias—in their best and worst earthly editions—were importantly reliant on technology as the new redemption. Socialism and capitalism conceived the realisation of human future through technological progress, both in media and in science, in medicine, engineering and in computer technology. The twentieth century was arguably the century when the idea of a better future thrived, despite the two world wars.

After the Second World War, the rapid development of communications technologies (along with the reconceptualisation of free time, popular

culture and youth subcultures) jumpstarted digitisation, which began its final surge in the late 1970s (not unrelated to the popularisation of micro-computers). Since the 1990s, the practices of creating, co-creating and distributing information have been increasingly defined and structured by communication in digital media environments (deeply textual in algorithmic code, yet on the interface far more fluid and ephemeral than the text itself). Along the way, memory-making has adapted to technological, social and economic entanglements. The rise of digital media and networked communication as a socio-economic and technological 'interruption' that marked the closing of the Gutenberg parenthesis, opened up (or rather, made more publicly visible) the space for contesting, bypassing and complementing the institutionalised, state-sponsored, national(ised/ist) interpretations of the past. The protocols of consigning the past to history—allowing for alternative, personal, intimate accounts, affective visions and understandings of what was or rather *should* or *could* have been[48]—at least potentially offered the possibility to empower the individual against official historiography and the politics of the past.

The blooming grassroots initiatives and interventions in the contemporary world are contributing to oversaturation of media environments by mediatised and mediated content,[49] by re-presencing the sights and sounds of re-presenced historical figures and events long gone. The pervasive culture of the past adds to, as much as it is an answer to, the foreclosing of temporal horizons. In this view, the emergence of the culture of the past is intimately related to the worrying inability, as Tony Judt claimed, to collectively imagine an alternative to the present.[50] This inability is at least partly rooted in the dis-potentiation of utopia, which Erich Fromm noted nearly a century ago in 'the fact that people either see no alternatives to the status quo or they are presented with false and demagogic alternatives only in order to prove them all the better that there are no real alternatives.'[51] Hence, it could be argued that one of the main obstacles to rational and adequate actions lies in irrational rejection of utopia as an open horizon of possibility.

Utopianism radically marked the post-Second World War period and has successfully prolonged the legacies of the Enlightenment project. Yet, ever since the 1970s, and particularly after the end of the Cold War, it has been increasingly discouraged. This has consequences also for how the past is conceptualised and conceived of in the early twenty-first century post-socialist societies. Digital communications technologies, decidedly

tied to the ideology of incessant progress, corporate logic of profit and intricate corporate-state systems of control, entangle users into highly controlled and omnipresent communicative environments and practices. This seems to have contributed to what, after 1989, has crystallised across the Occident in a lack of a proactive view of the future and a lack of socio-political imagination. Somewhat paradoxically, this is masked and fuelled by technological advances that open up the prospect of transhumanism and singularity.[52] However, the present predicament of the culture of the past remains embedded in a milieu that Franco Berardi calls 'after the future'.[53]

Whether we like it or not, the process of exteriorisation can only occur in corporately designed and controlled communications environments. Corporations that run social media platforms provide communications environments, the infrastructure of sociability and interpersonal communication. Yet, through interface design and algorithmic frameworks, they also structure and limit, monitor and police the everyday. And here we encounter the crux of the paradox: in a world where progress and innovation are the central myths and fascinations, we are overwhelmed by audiovisions that in Tralfalmadorian manner inhabit digital media environments. The sheer size, in minutes and bytes, of uploaded 'past as content' inhibits much meaningful navigation across these seas of content, further exposing the increasing instability and elusiveness of everyday experience. What is more, we are increasingly caught in the interstices of information overload, externally administered channels of distribution of this information and the demands of filtering the 'important' bits. Succumbing to what Margaret Heffernan calls 'wilful blindness' is imminent:

> Whether individual or collective, wilful blindness doesn't have a single driver, but many. It is a human phenomenon to which we all succumb in matters little and large. We can't notice and know everything: the cognitive limits of our brain simply won't let us. That means we have to filter or edit what we take in. So what we choose to let through and to leave out is crucial.[54]

Social media provide the space and tools that enable and facilitate the production, storage and the circulation of information, often at the expense of navigability and validity (reliability) of such data. At the same time, digital media facilitate the double risk of simultaneous loss and overload, software or hardware incompatibility and, not least, the increasing surveillance of our lives. The issue of surveillance might not

be most immediately relevant for this discussion, unless we think about it in Stelarc's terms:

> Soon […] we'll be living in a world where what we see, what we hear, what we experience will be recorded wherever we go. There will be few statements or scenes that will go unnoticed, or unremembered. Our day to day lives will be archived and saved. What's more, these archives will be available over the net for recollection, analysis, even sharing. […]
> This won't simply be a world of a single, governmental Big Brother watching over your shoulder, nor will it be a world of a handful of corporate siblings training their ever-vigilant security cameras and tags on you. Such monitoring may well exist, probably will, in fact, but it will be overwhelmed by the millions of cameras and recorders in the hands of millions of Little Brothers and Little Sisters. We will carry with us the tools of our own transparency, and many, perhaps most, will do so willingly, even happily.
> I call this world the Participatory Panopticon.[55]

What the idea of the Participatory Panopticon essentially proposes is that the enabling technology of endless recording and exposure of recorded stuff increasingly promotes transparency, reintroducing the monitoring principle characteristic of a small-scale community, but on an immense scale. In relation to memory, the Participatory Panopticon emphasises an active user who takes control of what and how she records and exposes. Unlike in Bentham's classic Panopticon, where the 'surveillee' is a rather passive object of control, the 'participatory surveilee' will surrender the last bit of privacy to the latest argumentation fashion (the latest being security and rating people).[56] This was certainly unimaginable in 1979, when The Judge in Pink Floyd's 'The Trial' eloquently explicated the bleak prospect of doing so: *Since, my friend, you have revealed your / Deepest fear, / I sentence you to be exposed before / Your peers. / Tear down the wall!*

Pink Floyd's song emphasises the exposure of an individual in front of the all-seeing judicial/judging (technological) eye (panopticon). The sentence of involuntary exposure reads like the most feared punishment for an individual and is one of the central tenets of criticising digital sociabilities. It also alludes to exposing one's memories, which not all of us would be happy to share in their entirety to the Participatory Panopticon. But this is not all: this album thoroughly thematises the entanglement of the legacy of the Second World War and post-war popular culture in Europe and elsewhere, including trauma and memory, as well as the reinvention of post-war society, and translates

them into one of the most referential popular culture works of art. As such, it is a record, or, indeed, a memory of a time before the end of Berardi's future.

danah boyd argues that users tend to be increasingly aware of the ways of how to play social roles in digital communications, particularly when it comes to mobile technologies. She emphasises the collapsed contexts and imagined audiences, arguing that people apply different tactics when going public, and do so with the 'anticipated user' in mind.[57] This means that the emphasis on individual agency means that the user decides what information (memories) to 'expose to their peers', how to present it, and the intended purpose. The exteriorisation of memory in and through digital media objects exposes, incontrovertibly, the objects and the individual, in all their multimodality and self-imposed and controlled *dishabille* to other users who may or may not react to them. But the fact that they are out there, spreadable and circulating, is enough to form a media presence and gain potential impact.

Public: The New Private?

This brings to mind the debate on the relationship between the public and the private. It gives insight into the entanglements of the individual and the collective, as the plane where exteriorisation of memory and storytelling play an important socio-cultural role. As soon as re-presenced (or revealed in an intimate memorial, see for instance the discussion in Chap. 6), the past becomes an 'inhabitant' of media environments, it becomes a public fact (hardly property). For example, once gone public, videos and music, forum debates and commentaries, blogs and photos, as affective exteriorisations of thoughts and feelings, lose their status as private property and start their spreadable life 'out there': they are (more or less) freely recontextualised, reinterpreted, ab/used, manipulated. The question and redefinition of the private and the public in this view is important as it indicates how deeply engrained into our everyday lives communication technologies have become over the past years. Nathan Jurgenson suggests not to see the issue of subjugation of the private by the public (surveillance) or the invasion of the public by the private (sousveillance) as a problem in itself, and asks relevant questions:

> With so many private moments now public, the reasoning goes, we must no longer value privacy.
>
> But a human life is not a database, nor is privacy the mere act of keeping data about ourselves hidden. In reality, privacy operates not like a door that's kept either open or closed but like a fan dance, a seductive game of reveal and conceal.

> By that standard, the explosion of personal information online is giving rise to new mysteries, new unknowns. When you post a photo on Instagram, it offers up not just answers but hints at new questions: Who were you with and why? What were you feeling? What happened between the updates, and why was it left out?[58]

Jurgenson draws attention to the unsaid, the ellipsis, the absent and the omitted, the unseen and unremembered, to that which Sara Ahmed refers to as the elusive 'whatever': 'To experience an object as being affective or sensational is to be directed not only toward an object, but to 'whatever' is around that object, which includes what is behind the object, the conditions of its arrival.'[59] The 'whatever' opens to speculation, misinterpretation—in the fan dance of revealing and concealing—not only one's views and positions but also the individual digital acousmatics of the mediated past.

Rather than the disappearance of the private, then, we are witnessing the colonisation of the public by the private, or, in other words, the colonisation of the individual mind by the mediatised and mediated. Thus the private is hardly shrinking but is instead heavily controlled, traceable and securitised. Slavoj Žižek argues that

> [w]e are often told that privacy is disappearing, that the most intimate secrets are open to public probing. But the reality is the opposite: what is effectively disappearing is public space, with its attendant dignity. Cases abound in our daily lives in which not telling all is the proper thing to do.[60]

The privatisation of public space, both in terms of the individual and corporate privatisation, has repercussions for the practice and the study of memory in digital media. Co-created memories are subject to a twofold 'distortion': first, in line with McLuhanian 'the medium is the message' postulate, it is the medium that determines (or screens off) what can be created and shared and how. Second, the redefinition of the private and the public drives users and corporations to actively engage in selecting and circulating the content they produce (mediation). This process frequently involves self-censorship on the part of the individual,[61] if only by omitting or adopting Jurgenson's fan dance strategy: 'Implicit in the fan dance, though, is the ability to choose what to reveal and when. That is, real privacy is all about autonomy.'[62] In digital media, this implies yet again,

and particularly in relation to the ephemerality of content (either tech-expirability or user management of content), that the practice of human communication is increasingly embedded in the Participatory Panopticon, thus reinstating the principle of (the third) orality.

Bypassing the alleged historical detour of print and the specific logic of reason that it helped set in motion, one might even argue for the idea of retribalisation. It implies, as Marshall McLuhan argues, 'a radical break from the abstract, linear rationality of print and a return to the direct and unmediated character of oral culture.'[63] And this had happened before any idea of digital media we live in today was even remotely conceived; the age of radio and TV can be seen as the start of the electronic compromising of print. Having mentioned radio in relation to the idea of third orality, we can further ask, following Neil Postman, whether the rise of the dominance of visual literacy affects the symbolic and practical division of child- and adult-hood.[64] Was literacy in the first place the progenitor of the rise of importance of reason and the defender of truth? And, in turn, is the excess of audiovisual content in any way affecting science, knowledge, ethics and reason? Is digital audiovisualisation of lifeworlds and communication not leading to renegotiating the boundaries between childhood and adulthood and, following Postman's argument, also the contours of decency and morality? This is not the place to go into details, but it nevertheless needs to be emphasised as an important tenet in the discussion of archiving and preserving the past, as it exposes the issues with reflexivity and affect, and their social functions in any dealings with being in time. As I discuss in Chap. 3, the affective aspect is particularly relevant in relation to archiving and engaging with content, all the more so, if we think about content as overwhelmingly composed of visual elements replacing the written/printed word.[65]

Dystopian Future

The acute problem of social inability and political unwillingness to actively engage in 'dreaming up a better world' is most disturbingly present in the former socialist East, but hardly absent in the former capitalist West. Berardi's observation that we live in the after-future locates the turning point in 1977, when the Sex Pistols shouted: 'No Future!' In contrast to most of the nineteenth and particularly of the twentieth century, when the idea and the myth of the future was constructed as a positive utopia,

it today seems that utopia ('notwithstanding the darkness of the present, the future will be bright') has turned gory and we have entered the Dystopian Kingdom,[66] regardless of the position on the geopolitical map of Europe.

Berardi argues that 'for the people of the Middle Ages, living in the sphere of a theological culture, perfection was placed in the past, in the time when God created the universe and humankind'.[67] This observation is crucial for the present discussion on the issues of memory. Are we in the time of radically dis-potentiated economic and political alternatives not re-entering the technologically enhanced orality? Are we, immersed in Buden's culture of the past, not returning in a way to the Middle Ages, seeking a way out of the darkness of the (technologically enhanced) present by dreaming up a better past instead of future? And, if we refer again to Postman's idea about the effects of visual literacy on the construction of the symbolic and practical generational division,[68] we can ask the following: Is the digital audiovision of human lifeworlds not leading to renegotiating the boundaries and contours of the rational and the irrational, along with redefining our understanding of where the interpretive authority lies? This, of course, is out of the scope of this discussion but remains nevertheless an important tenet in the discussion of archiving and preserving the past, as it exposes the issues with thinking about the past, the present and the future, about affect and reflexivity and their social functions.

When Berardi says that 'the future is the space we do not yet know; we have yet to discover and exploit it',[69] it is just too easy to exchange 'future' with 'past' … And we're back to Buden and the past as 'something that is just as new as it is alien, unknown, foreign, different, in short, another culture.' The past and the future, the former decidedly lost and the latter elusively moving forward, are thus different cultures veiled behind mediations and mediatisations, and reconstructed by each new political ideology and historiographical intervention. Increasingly, in the age of digital media the past and the future are escaping the grip of top-down definition, giving room to increasingly individual, fragmented and affective action, resonating with mediatised commodities invested with hopes, delusions and illusions, fears and doubts. In order to code these in communicable form, the present brain engages in media archaeology and micro-archiving to find fuel for the future brain.

NOTES

1. Jens Brockmeier, 'After the Archive: Remapping Memory', *Culture Psychology* 2010, 16(1): 5–35, 7.
2. Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 10.
3. Brockmeier, 'After the Archive', 6.
4. Brockmeier, 'After the Archive', 9.
5. Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 10.
6. Gaby Wood, *Edison's Eve*, *A Magical History of the Quest for Mechanical Life*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2002, p. xvii.
7. The player never got tired albeit flawlessly playing the pipe at an incredible, 'inhuman' speed; see Wood, *Edison's Eve*, p. 25.
8. One of the best known perhaps is Descartes' the *Treatise on Man*.
9. Geoffrey Batchen, 'Electricity Made Visible', in Wendy Hui Kyong Chun and Thomas Keenan (eds.), *Old Media*, *New Media*, *A History and Theory Reader*, New York, London, Routledge, 2006, pp. 27–45, p. 29–30.
10. Silvio A. Bedini, (1964) 'The role of Automata in the History of Technology', *Technology and Culture* 5(1): 24–42, http://xroads.virginia.edu/~drbr/b_edini.html.
11. Nigel Thrift, 'Lifeworld Inc–And What to do About It', *Environment and Planning Society and Space* 2011, 29(1): 5–26.
12. John Urry, *Consuming Places*, London, New York, Routledge, 1995, p. 6.
13. See Marie-Laure Ryan, 'Multivariant Narratives'.
14. See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*; see also Garde-Hansen, Hoskins and Reading, *Save as … Digital Memories*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 3.
15. Ong, *Orality and Literacy*; on many-to-many or the third orality, see also Lawrie Hunter, 'Text to speech to text: a third orality?' available at www.lawriehunter.com/presns/eurocall_070729.ppt.
16. The idea of Gutenberg parenthesis, as proposed by Thomas Pettitt, implies that the print-dominated era, the period from about the fifteenth until the twentieth century, was an interruption in the history of human (oral) communication. See Megan Garber, 'The Gutenberg Parenthesis: Thomas Pettitt on Parallels Between the Pre-Print Era and Our Own Internet Age', video lecture, NiemanLab, 7 April 2010, http://www.niemanlab.org/2010/04/the-gutenberg-parenthesis-thomas-pettitt-on-parallels-between-the-pre-print-era-and-our-own-internet-age/, date accessed 12 October 2015.
17. Thomas Pettitt, 'The Gutenberg parenthesis: oral tradition and digital technologies', MIT Communications Forum, 1 April 2010, http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/forums/gutenberg_parenthesis.html, date accessed 1 October 2015.

18. See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, *Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-modern Europe*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

19. Garde-Hansen, Hoskins and Reading (eds.), *Save as ... Digital Memories*, p. 8.

20. The primacy to Gutenberg is rightly attributed in Europe only; a press with movable type was invented at least a couple of hundred years before in China around 1040, and with metal type in 1230s.

21. Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p. 121–32.

22. See for instance Adam Parry (ed.), *The Making of Homeric Verse*, *The Collected Essays of Milman Parry*, New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987.

23. Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p. 129.

24. Stiegler, *Technics and Time*, p. 141.

25. Brockmeier, 'After the archive'.

26. See the classic historical overview of memory practices by Frances Yeates, *The Art of Memory*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1966.

27. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, *Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 1991.

28. Joseph Mali, *Mythistory*, *The Making of a Modern Historiography*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2003.

29. Mark Nunes, *Cyberspaces of Everyday Life*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2006, p. 105.

30. Arvind Rajagopal, 'Imperceptible Perceptions in our Technological Modernity', in Hui Kyong Chun and Keenan, *Old Media*, *New Media*, p. 284.

31. Marshal McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, *The Extensions of Man*, London, Routledge, 1964, p. 30.

32. Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*, p. 3.

33. Rajagopal, 'Imperceptible Perceptions', p. 277, 285. The shy entrance of a new technology is usually followed by debates about the detrimental effect of the new technology on established practices and moral qualities of its users.

34. Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, [1960] 1997, p. 28.

35. This not only addresses the archivability and reservation of code but also the relationship between users and cultural products. See Chris Kohler, 'A Reminder that You're Just Renting Those Digital Games', *Wired* 10 August 2015, http://www.wired.com/2015/10/app-store-delisting, date accessed 9 October 2015.

36. See Pierre Schaeffer, *Traité des objets musicaux*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1966, p. 91; see also his 'Acousmatics', in Christopher Cox and Daniel Warner (eds.), *Audio Culture: Readings in Modern Music*, London, New York, Continuum, 2004, pp. 76–81, p. 77.

37. See Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision*, *Sound and Screen*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994, p. 73.
38. This entails the idea that the operation principles, the mechanics and code that enable the functioning of technology become transparent, out of sight and out of understanding.
39. Mark Poster, 'Postmodern Virtualities', http://www.humanities.uci.edu/mposter/writings/internet.html, date accessed 13 October 2015; see also Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation*, *Understanding New Media*, Cambridge, London, MIT Press, 1999; Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media*, Cambridge, London, MIT Press, 2001.
40. Bernard Stiegler, *What Makes Life Worth Living: On Pharmacology*, London, Polity Press, 2015.
41. In Greek mythology, Mnemosyne was a personification of memory and the mother of the nine muses, while in Warburg's rendition, Mnemosyne was repurposed as a concept and a strategy for representation of artefacts.
42. Philippe-Alain Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*, New York, Zone Books, 2007, p. 260.
43. Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*, p. 258.
44. Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*, p. 260.
45. Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*, p. 253, italics added to remind the reader of Miéville's palimpsest cities metaphor.
46. See Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka, 'Introduction: An Archaeology of Media Archaeology', in Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka (eds.), *Media Archaeology: Approaches*, 1–21.
47. Huhtamo and Parikka, 'Introduction', p. 7.
48. Polona Balantič, 'Ne živimo v postutopični družbi, ampak v družbi retroutopije', interview with Boris Buden, RTV SLO, 19 February 2015, http://www.rtvslo.si/kultura/knjige/ne-zivimo-v-postutopicni-druzbi-ampak-v-druzbi-retroutopije/358757, date accessed 12 October 2015.
49. See Hepp, *Cultures of Mediatization*, p. 42.
50. See Tony Judt, 'Manifesto For a New Politics', http://www.underpaidgenius.com/post/561132456, date accessed 23 August 2011.
51. Fromm, *On being Human*, p. 55.
52. See Ray Kurzweil, *The Singularity is Near*, *When Humans Transcend Biology*, London, Duckworth Overlook, 2013.
53. Franco Berardi, *After the Future*, London, Polity Press, 2009.
54. Margaret Heffernan in Maria Popova, 'Why We Ignore the Obvious: The Psychology of Wilful Blindness', http://www.brainpickings.org/2014/08/27/willful-blindness-margaret-heffernan/, date accessed 28 September 2015.
55. Adam Ford, 'A Participatory Panopticon', IEET, 24 June 2014, http://ieet.org/index.php/IEET/more/ford20140624. In relation to this, the emergence of coveillance—democratising in a way the means and practices

of surveillance of 'people by the people'—offers a similar view: 'The remedy for over-secrecy is to think in terms of coveillance, so that we make tracking and monitoring as symmetrical—and transparent—as possible. That way the monitoring can be regulated, mistakes appealed and corrected, specific boundaries set and enforced'. Kevin Kelly, 'Why You Should Embrace Surveillance, Not Fight It', *Wired* 3 October 2014, http://www.wired.com/opinion/2014/03/going-tracked-heres-way-embrace-surveillance/, date accessed 12 October 2015.

56. One such attempt might be the recent Peeple idea to review people. See Elle Hunt, 'People review People: the User-Review App you didn't dare ask for', *The Guardian* 1 October 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/oct/01/peeple-review-people-the-user-review-app-you-didnt-dare-ask-for, date accessed 1 October 2015.

57. See danah boyd, *It's Complicated, The Social Lives of Networked Teens*, Yale University Press, 2014, p. 30–1; see also danah boyd and Alice Marwick, 'Social Privacy in Networked Publics: Teens' Attitudes, Practices, and Strategies', paper presented at Oxford Internet Institute's 'A Decade in Internet Time: Symposium on the Dynamics of the Internet and Society', 22 September 2011, http://ssrn.com/abstract=1925128.

58. Nathan Jurgenson, 'Why Privacy is Actually Thriving Online', *Wired*, 31 March 2014, http://www.wired.com/2014/03/privacy-is-dead/, date accessed 5 October 2015.

59. Sara Ahmed, 'Happy Objects', in Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (eds.), *The Affect Theory Reader*, Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2010, pp. 29–51, p. 33.

60. Slavoj Žižek, 'Good manners in the age of WikiLeaks', *London Review of Books* 20 January 2011, 33(2), http://www.lrb.co.uk/v33/n02/slavoj-zizek/good-manners-in-the-age-of-wikileaks, date accessed 17 June 2014.

61. The concept of private is a relatively new invention (intensely correlated with establishment of print culture) and digital technologies facilitate a process of blurring the boundaries between the public and private, not unlike the situation in pre-print cultures where much of an individual's private life unravelled in a public, if relatively small, space of face-to-face community. What is more, privacy, as we tend to think of it today, is deeply related to the emergence of writing and print (and electronic and digital media later on) and the related radical reshaping of orality-based systems of communication. Privacy in oral culture would mean putting out a fire in the hearth, that is shutting down any social contact, whereas in digital media one can eliminate all physical social contact and still remain 'connected'.

62. Jurgenson, 'Why Privacy is Actually Thriving Online'.

63. Rajagopal, 'Imperceptible Perceptions', 285.

64. Neil Postman, *The Disappearance of Childhood*, New York, Delacorte Press, 1984.
65. The argument goes that cultures that were based on visual signs for writing were more stable, fixed, monumental if you wish, as compared with cultures that were based on the abstract letter. This arguably led to the development of abstract thinking, poetry, philosophy.
66. Berardi, *After the Future*, p. 17.
67. Berardi, *After the Future*, p. 18.
68. Postman, *The Disappearance of Childhood*.
69. Berardi, *After the Future*, p. 24.

Archaeology, Archiving, Post-socialist Affectivity

The creation or co-creation of a digital Mnemosyne Atlas entails searching for and engaging with—consuming, editing, publishing and curating—content. To understand these practices we need to think about, devise and implement an approach that accommodates searching for and acquiring audiovisual material or media objects. This approach, as I elaborate below, is adequately subsumed by the concept of media archaeology. Below I give a brief theoretical and conceptual background of media archaeology as a concept, from which I devise an understanding of the theory and practice of media archaeology at the crossroads of memory studies and post-socialism.

Audiovision Unburried

Erkki Huhtamo defines media archaeology as the term that

> has come to refer to a particular way of studying media as a historically attuned enterprise. Media archaeologists claim they are 'excavating' forgotten media-cultural phenomena that have been left outside the canonised narratives about media culture and history. Histories of suppressed, neglected, and forgotten media have begun to appear, ones that do not point selectively and teleologically to the present cultural situation and currently dominant media as their 'perfection', as traditional histories (including

cinema history) often do. They have challenged the 'rejection of history' by modern media culture and theory alike by pointing out hitherto unnoticed continuities and ruptures.[1]

Wolfgang Ernst suggests that media archaeology should not be seen as a metaphorical or face-value concept. Rather, Ernst proposes to see it 'not simply as an alternative form of reconstructing the beginnings of media on the macrohistorical scale; instead it describes technological beginnings (*archai*) of operativity on the microtechnological level'.[2] Essentially, media archaeology is a methodology much more concerned with the physicality of 'ancient' media in operation, that is, its main focus is on the apparatus.[3] Jussi Parikka further argues that '[m]edia archaeology has succeeded in establishing itself as a heterogeneous set of theories and methods that investigate media history through its alternative roots, its forgotten paths and neglected ideas and machines that still are useful when reflecting the supposed newness of digital culture.' Crucially, Parikka maintains that media archaeology

> [a]bandons historicism when by it is meant the idea that the past is given and out there waiting for us to find it; instead, it believes in the radical assembling of history, and histories in the plural, but so that it is not only a subset of cultural historical writing. Instead, media archaeology needs to insist both on the material nature of its enterprise—that media are always articulated in material, also in non-narrative frameworks whether technical media such as phonographs, or algorithmic such as databases and software networks—and that the work of assembling temporal mediations takes place in an increasingly varied and distributed network of institutions, practices and technological platforms.[4]

For the purposes of this study and particularly in the case of digital Yugoslavia, I nevertheless find it useful to extract and emphasise the concept's metaphorical and immaterial aspects that give room for thinking about unearthing the unseen and decanonised audiovision.

Media Archaeology and Post-Yugoslavia

When Yugoslavia ceased to exist and new states emerged in its wake, much of the country's past was, more often deliberately than not, indiscriminately forgotten, purified, erased, or physically destroyed; the destruction was as material as it was symbolic. Essentially, citizens were actively required to

unsee a good portion of the post-Second World War past. Hence, one can observe the emergence of grassroots attempts to preserve or to unforget that past, the emergence of practices which before digital media and their spreadable and archival affordances were barely conceivable.

The overwhelming presence of digital media necessitated the emergence of the practice of digital 'heritagisation', that is, the transformation, reformation, recontextualisation and re-presencing of the past in digital media: 'Today mobile and ubiquitous technologies are accelerating these changes by enabling users to participate, spontaneously and continuously, in activities of collection, preservation and interpretation of digitised heritage content and new digitally mediated forms of heritage practice.'[5] In the post-Yugoslav contexts, the process of digital heritagisation was largely motivated, mobilised and indeed radicalised by the Yugoslav Wars and the general ideological drive to purify the past. In this context, the emergence of various attempts to digitally preserve Yugoslav heritage was a response to the physical destruction of Yugoslav sites of memory and the quotidian, a reaction against the selling off and devastation of Yugoslav industries and an affective response to delegitimation of individual biographies. It was an answer to the symbolic restructuring of the past for new purposes: the material-symbolic destruction flung the regimes, the sources and practices of memory, and the entire stock of potential memory sources off radar. 'Old' memories had to give way to the progress of time, while metaphorically, the constitutive elements of everyday life were buried under the rubble of the crumbled state and the material ruins left in its wake. In addition to personal memories, they screened off official records and archives, as well as large portions of popular culture, which was an important place not only of identity performance but also of social critique (Chaps. 5 and 7).

This perspective frames the concept of media archaeology in terms of grasping the practice of 'unburying' media content from archives, personal collections, literary texts, VHS-recorded TV shows and digitised music. In the case of Yugoslavia this entails a twofold 'unburying': (1) excavating, digitising and distributing (mostly popular cultural) mediatised content that, after the break-up of the country and the installation of the new regimes, was left to technological (for example, in the coinciding shift in the music industry from the LP and cassette to the CD; see Chap. 5) and cultural oblivion and ruin, in the wake of ideological and linguistic nationalisation and purification, and the disintegration of the common market and industry; and (2) the 'excavation' from underneath

new ideological edifices that effectively promoted unseeing of significant portions of Yugoslav everyday life, which had repercussions for people on individual and intimate levels: cultural preferences, often enacted and performed, through consumption (of popular culture and products), were rendered unbecoming or problematic, and with them significant parts of personal histories and childhood memories.

This opens up a field for individual or collective grassroots actions to challenge or bypass the newly forming memorial and canonising practices and politics, and leads to the emergence of the conceptual and practical dialogue between Warburg's Atlas and digital media, and also between the canon and the popular in the frame of the two layers of excavation. In this light, media archaeology is both a concept and practice related to and supporting what Parikka calls the radical reassembling of history, but which could also be referred to as (re)assembling of the historical. The creation of grassroots memorials, videos, blogs, social media pages is a tactic of re-presencing of the past and carving out cyberplaces of memory with a view to lend legitimacy and credibility to the (individual's) socialist past and that past's epochality (Chap. 7).

The key correlation lies in the 'guerrilla historian's' practice of searching for mediatised content, of excavating and reassembling predominantly de-canonised popular cultural forms and content. This entails arranging exca-vated media content and recontextualising it in a 'discontinuous sequence that finds expressive significance only when considered in an arrangement of complex interconnections'.[6] And it is the set of interconnections—between various cultural references spanning celebrities and items of consumption, as an important tenet in individual memory construction,[7] photos, sounds, videos, accompanied by user comments—that actually gives the media archaeological practice and the unburied past a new life. Such uses allude to a wider shift in making sense of the past through deciphering the mediatised bits and pieces that make it through—on the one hand, the interconnected networks of ideology and power relations, media policies and corporate channels as places for enacting social activity and, on the other hand, through volatile, fleeting *ad hoc* networks of user engagement. Once gone public on a platform or social media outlet, the memory '"engrams" capable of recreating an experience of the past in a spatial configuration'[8] become the prime reference for seeing, unseeing, forgetting and unforgetting the past.

There is an aspect that should be emphasised at this point—the scale of production and the growing amount of available content (the elements of which, like photos and music, are in limited supply). In this respect, I would like to draw the reader's attention to the 'jukebox principle': the metaphor refers to the relatively limited number of objects available to be used in digital memorials (scanned photographs and songs) which become recognisable and widely used through repetitive use and reproduction. Consequently, they become understood as the authoritative representations of a particular topic. For instance, among a large number of photographs of Yugoslav life-long president, Josip Broz Tito, there is a certain assortment of those most often used, hence most 'representative'; postcard motives featuring tourist sites, national capitals, and so on. The jukebox principle, in principle, implies that an individual can only choose from among a pre-determined collection of objects, images, songs and ideas, not unlike when selecting a tune from a jukebox. The trick is in that every choice is usually understood as 'free choice' and the 'from a ready-made selection' part is often obscured. The jukebox principle includes re-appropriations, re-narrativisations, remixing and remediating pre-digital media forms, genres and content (video, photography, vinyl and cassette), as well as the born-digital renditions of historical figures or events, times and/or places that make it into digitised collections and databases, digital museums, memorials and monuments, websites and blogs as authoritative elements of re-presencing the past.

If we argue that the 'old' channels of production and distribution of (historical) knowledge were, by and large, ideologically centralised and censored, the restricted digital media technologies (despite corporate and state control and surveillance), on the other hand, give room to different strategies and facilitate a considerably more open and dispersed participatory environment, one where sources and interpretations and interpreters of knowledge are decentralised and de-hierarchised.

In this view, media archaeology as discussed above offers a perspective which situates our thinking about re-presencing and recontextualising the past in terms of individual or grassroots action. As such, it contributes to empowering individual agency in creating small-scale medial exteriorisations of memory and commemorative communities. Put this way, the digital enactment of memory and remembering can be rethought through the interplay of media archaeology and practice, which follows the excavation and is deeply related to the Mnemosynal curatorial practice: ordering, editing, cataloguing, montaging.

I Archive … or Do We?

Archiving today can be seen as a practice that goes far beyond collecting documents on long dusty shelves in vaulted corridors. Instead, it can arguably entail wider and less policed grassroots practices of ordering, editing, or montaging and publishing the results of media archaeological practice; not least because individuals entangled in such practices (as discussed in Chaps. 4, 5 and 6) often see themselves as archivists; and because the classical archive seems unable to accommodate the increasing production of content that many deem important enough to be archived and canonised, compromising in this the role and the position of the archiving authority. Archiving in the digital age as a practice is a consequence of, on the one hand, the abundance of audiovisual records that characterise post-scarcity culture and, on the other hand, a relative ease of use and accessibility of technology that, among others things, at least implicitly invites us to think about the deluge of content and its uses through the idea of the archive.

The profanation of archiving that we are witnessing today in forms of personal collections made public through social media can be seen as an implicit, tech-enabled and driven response to the socio-cultural and political upheavals that started in the nineteenth century, which saw the rise of the vaulted archive. That was the time when mnemotechnics became mnemotechnologies, 'the industrial products and machines which open the audiovisual era (the photograph and the phonograph, cinema, radio and television)'.[9] Historically, the archive, with all its interdependencies of the 'medium, through which we encounter archival documents, the material support on which they are inscribed and the physical premises in which the documents are located', only comes into being once these 'basic features are configured in the form of a system, producing a distinct and distinctive order'.[10] The deluge of content further exposes issues with managing the records of the past: who was to remember what, when and for how long, for what purpose, and in what circumstances. The institutional, vaulted archive provided the infrastructure for submitting, classifying and retrieving data. Aleida Assmann argues that

> [t]he function of the archive, the reference memory of a society, provides a kind of counterbalance against the necessarily reductive and restrictive drive

of the working memory. It creates a meta-memory, a second-order memory that preserves what has been forgotten. The archive is a kind of 'lost-and-found office' for what is no longer needed or immediately understood.[11]

In the twentieth century, however, as Bernard Stiegler argues, came 'technologies of calculation, and the mnemo-techno-logical becomes the *actual support of industrial life*, fully subjected to the imperatives of the global, mechanical division of labour—*a fortiori* since by way of generalised digitisation, the technologies of information and communication converge to form the context for what we today call "cultural" or "cognitive" capitalism.'[12] Ever since, digital communications technologies and devices enable far greater production, marketing and amassment of products, as well as the production of legacies, most apparently and significantly through popular culture. The institutional, state-sponsored and local archives and collections are thus increasingly complemented and contested by individual, private, or micro-archives, while the individual and intimate practices of remembering and commemoration shift to more public and mundane spheres. Digital technologies used as archival tools are challenging the limits and barriers of the archival eligibility criteria, primarily by shifting to individual agency the power and the tools to create, co-create, curate and use the archive. Since the nineteenth century and after the emergence of increasingly more accessible recording technologies, the exclusive status of creating memory, of soliciting unseeing and unforgetting attributed to the state archive, has been continually dethroned and de-canonised.

The user who engages in collecting, preserving, archiving and eventually ordering (or curating) the various materials becomes the central agency in creating what—in its moving away from the classical archive—could be called a post-archive of public intimacy in blog entries, YouTube videos, or through Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, and so on. The individual, our 'grassroots archivist' or a guerrilla historian tells the story through creating and co-creating multimodal media objects: a post, a comment, a status update, a digital video memorial. Once a video memorial is posted, it becomes widely available and accessible for others to engage with: visit it, navigate through, comment on, or share it.

The emergence of digital media with the myriad of platforms opens up new opportunities for preservation, distribution and access to content. These new opportunities contest our understanding of how content is stored and retrieved, how it circulates between users and machines and, given the spreadability of content, what sort of 'life' it leads and begets

traversing between users and devices. A case in point is the Memory Loops.net digital monument, made by Michaela Melián, a Munich based artist, musician and lecturer in time-based media.[13] The memorial site is Munich's

> virtual memorial for the victims of National Socialism [… comprising] 300 German and 175 English audio tracks which can be found on a map drawn up by the artist […] Each track is a collage of voice(s) and music thematically tied to a place in the former 'Capital of the Movement.'[14]

When the user surfs to a map that features circles—these stand on locations where some event occurred during the Nazi reign—she can playback an audio track. The tracks are recordings of reports and interviews read by actors and actresses, while historical documents (for example, NSDAP memos, radio broadcasts) are read by children. Clicking through the circles on the map take the visitor through the audio landscape of Munich in the period between 1933 and 1945. Using oral histories and official documents, the website creates an image of the past, devoid of any visual representation (bar the digital map), that enables a connection to that past through words and voices only. In this, the platform is also an archive. The specific approach of reading transcribed texts by actors establishes an 'interpretative distance' through which the 'voices' and the people interviewed are posited into a trans-temporal historical landscape. Furthermore, the children reading official texts make this memorial even more detached from the reality of the past, but at the same time—drawing on the supposed innocence of the child readers—this approach further emphasises the gravity and intolerability of the Nazi rule. Melián's project was created to commemorate the period of the Nazi rule through juxtaposing different archival material and as such resulted in an artistic archive (and an excavation terrain for the user). The author remediated archival sources, recontextualised them and created along the way a new community-level micro-archive.

   Thinking about online platforms and social media as archives then inevitably calls to mind the ephemerality of digital content and also the idea of random access to content,[15] which in the classical archive are at least to some extent settled. On the other hand, the ephemerality of content and the platform in social media brings out the concerns over longer-term availability or sustainability of information. It opens the question of individual agency in preserving the past, in relation to state and corporate

structures and procedures and exposes issues related to individual management of the multitude of content and information.[16] In the case of post-Yugoslavia, this again is cast in a specific light due to material and symbolic destruction of the archives, and the traces of the popular cultural everyday that are counteracted by grassroots archaeological and archival initiatives.

The role of the micro-archive curator is defined on yet another level: in many micro-archival interventions, the user also becomes the curator or co-curator through interventions in co-creation (most notably through commenting or video responses on YouTube). With the increasing number of micro-archives (non-institutional, bottom-up, rogue), the co-curator and indeed the archiving practice have rearticulated or renounced altogether the classification systems and principles governing classical archives and collections.

Everyday Archives

Because of the increase in content production and its spreadability, it is becoming humanly impossible to keep track of, for instance, the content one wants to read/watch/listen to, or to make content readily retrievable, should one like to revisit a particular statement and reflect on it. *Homo Memonautilus* is left wandering over their own or others' haphazard micro-archives, defined by their transience and obsolescence. In such an environment, do we really have much chance to reflect on what we consume before it is gone? Can we at all pursue the desire to reflect when exposed to the rapid flow of updates, excess and ephemera of content, events, status updates, news? Are we not getting dangerously close to the transient realities of Postman's oral cultures, or of the radio broadcasts of the early 1920s?

The informational post-scarcity, the evolving and changing algorithms and formats, and the overwhelming excess and unmanageability of content also open up questions concerning how and what we learn to unsee, and how we manage to choose what we decide to preserve. Laura Schuster argues that '[d]igital information technologies are so rapid and ubiquitous that (objective) information itself becomes less fixed and reliable, and closer to the permeability of subjective experience.'[17] The issue with fixity and reliability of consuming and storing stuff, and questionable content credentials contribute to questions regarding the basic principles of knowledge formation and distribution, and our intimate investment in them. As I discuss in Chap. 6, the loss of fixity and the massive volume

of available content present the crucial components of the emergence of the enhanced immediacy of remembering. An overwhelming aspect of the fluidity and elusiveness of content relates to archiving practices, which in digital media have 'shifted from archival space to archival time' and, in doing so, also shifted from the institution to the individual: 'Whereas the archives of the broadcast era mass media were stored in the archival space of the vault or library subject to the material conditions of order, classification and retrieval (i.e. access), it is connectivity that becomes of primary significance to the digital archive as an unequivocally "mass" medium.'[18]

Two things emerge as prominent here: digital archive as mass medium and connectivity. The former elucidates the relegation of 'archival authority' and interpretive authority from the level of the state to the individual and the collective. It suggests a certain democratisation of archiving, or at least repositions 'the keeping of traces' as a collective, indeed co-creative, practice that dynamises both the archive and its use. The emphasis on connectivity points to a critical aspect in thinking about digital archives. When applied to the concept of the archive as a 'cultural product[s], the organization and meaning of which contribute to the validation of knowledge and the management of meaning',[19] the organisation and management of storing and policing records, documents, knowledge—as functional capacity of exclusive archival power and normalisation—spread outside the institutional grip into the domain of user-curator. Whereas the classical archive rested on alphabetical or thematic ordering and indexing, canonised content and sanctioned access, digital (micro, post, rogue, grassroots, punk) archiving and archives, on the other hand, open up to networked users and devices. This means that the status of what is stored and how it is stored, and how and by whom and for what purposes content is retrieved, is no longer bound to the classical archive domain and authority. The digital archive

> appears to have new potential, liberated from its former inherently spatial and to some extent institutional constraints. Indeed, the traditional materiality associated with the artefacutal archive has been challenged by the fluidity, reproducibility, and transferability of digital data. In this way archives as they have become increasingly networked have become a key strata of our technological unconscious, transcending the social and the technological.[20]

In this respect, micro-archiving—bottom-up interventions in storing, curating, disseminating and interacting with archival sources that have

been given considerable space for expansion in networked social spaces—is the key ingredient of digital sociability. The technological affordances of digital media and devices to gather, organise, store and disseminate content transform the unsolicited, unmanaged, disorderly and random connectivity between users and content into a visible and audible manifestation of interpersonal, highly commoditised relations.

In its disorderliness, roughness and rawness, the micro-archive, or indeed an 'anarchive',[21] offers a practical and analytical approach to the off-institutional, grassroots, individual archiving initiatives. Such activities promise to give voice to dispotentiated stories and lead to preserving and discovering forgotten or de-canonised knowledge, practices, heritage and legacies. With this I primarily refer to the vastness of non-knowledge and non-experience that was, in the case of former Yugoslavia, cast out of the canon by and in the process of 'transitionism'.[22] Once ex*communicated* from the boundaries of interpretative frameworks and media presence, any historical and cultural knowledge is decidedly marginalised, if not lost.

Nevertheless, social media platforms have the potential to give voice to a distinctly subjective experience, and with it, to an individual exteriorisation of memory that is decidedly private and intimate. As such, they point out the wider crisis of the canonisation of culture, where canons are exposed as lacking the once taken-for-granted authority, and are instead considered 'more fragile, more porous and suspectable'.[23] Hence, the extrapolation might suggest that although the individual is given the space to articulate her idea, the corporate and discursive foundation of the individual constructing a micro-archive as part of identity performance is, in light of digital transience and unseeing, utterly fragile, porous and suspectable.

Attention: Quantified Credibility

This brings up the issue of credibility and visibility of archives: a seemingly obscure action can have significant impact because of the spreadability of content via networked users and devices, and also because social media users tend to affectively consume and respond to content. Highly subjective exteriorisations often result in co-created commemorative places and practices where certain (historical) events (and other information) pass unnoticed. The highly individualised and affective imagining of the past—with all the presumed freedom and the inherent fragility it

offers to Homo Memonautilus—also contests and marginalises and even obliterates the relevance of (national) events and stories. Paradoxically, the 'voice of the people' grants a sort of 'quantified credibility' to the most obscure historical facts and blatantly misguided interpretations. This mechanism is explained by Chris Anderson's long tail concept (the term was originally applied to the economy):[24] even a marginal website, topic or idea, or, for that matter, a historical interpretation will appeal to a significant number of people. The sheer quantity of temporally and spatially dislocated global users will make it, through distributed attention and circulation, significant and influential enough to lend it quantified credibility, visibility and relevance. Accordingly, significant numbers of people will produce and many more still will find such content relevant enough to make it into an 'unforgettable' referential framework through which to see and unsee the past.

In other words, in perpetually changing digital media, it takes quite some effort to find last years' news and still more to tell valuable, reliable, credible information from fake bits of data. It is this informational excess and the diminishing importance of accumulative knowledge, not to say agnotology as a derivative of hovering attention, that, in light of instant connectivity, potentially leads to superficial social engagement and fragmented attention.[25] Regardless of the fragmentation of reception and the fragility of the self, this is not to downplay the potential for social engagement and mobilisation (particularly when compared to offline mobilising techniques) and the distribution and co-creation of knowledge.

Storytelling Archives

Although state-sponsored archiving is subjugated to the (ideological) archival gaze that sets and enforces eligibility criteria, and also derives power from policing the information and knowledge stored in the vaults and documents, the official records and archives never truly were the exclusive archivist of the past, let alone its most salient chronicler. They were complemented by different media and techniques of encoding and storing and transmitting information, spanning monuments and memorials, canon literature, arts and architecture and, importantly, off-radar individual collections (for example the Wunderkammer or the commonplace book, as discussed in Chap. 5). Mass production of 'reality-arresting' devices and their popularisation and accessibility gave false hope that they

would finally bring about true democratisation by opening up a new field of grasping and manipulating the meaning of the present and its translation into past. These technologies marked the birth of the modern archive and also its slow demise as the central unquestionable place of truth. Jussi Parikka argues that the

> archive [after] Foucault's expansion of the concept from the concrete physical places of storage of cultural data to the discourses that govern modes of thinking, acting and expression of cultures has been a key node in relaying and storing data of modern culture, and hence acted as a key medium in itself—very much connected to the bureaucratic mode of control alongside registering and manipulating data e.g. in offices and through office technologies (typewriters, calculators, spreadsheets, and later databases, software based applications, etc.).[26]

In the age of digital media, Parikka continues, the '[m]odes of accessing and storing data have changed from centrally governed to distributed and software-based, and the whole culture of digitality has been referred to as one of databases, instead of narratives.'[27] While it is true that the database, and indeed the big data society,[28] is the increasingly dominant ordering principle (of reality) (that governs managing of content favouring at that the distributed and software-based approach), I believe it is both illustrative and timely to re-centre the narrative (and storytelling) in the discussion of memory in digital media. Geoffrey Bowker suggests that the 'epoch of potential memory […is an epoch] in which narrative remembering is typically a post hoc reconstruction from an ordered, classified set of facts that have been scattered over multiple physical data collections.'[29] For the narrative to emerge it is not necessary that the elements be deliberately edited into a new whole; it can happen on-the-fly as we go about our daily internet routines. In the case of YouTube video as archive,[30] a video memorial can be seen as an element in a database; but so are the audiovisual elements used in the video; and so are the comments and the pertinent metadata.[31] Taken together, these elements in some way do come from a database, but they have then been subject to montage, to form a narrative and, collaterally, a micro-archive.

It is difficult to think about waning narrativity in light of the unwaning need to tell stories. Digital storytelling in light of this argument can be seen as a practice of refining 'raw' data into a narrative, that is, editing and

curating 'scavenged' audiovision into a digital story (for more on digital storytelling see Chap. 6, section "Digital Storytelling"), especially so if we think about storytelling as a practice resulting from media archaeology and archiving. In other words, if we follow the logic of the digital video memorial as the quintessential example of grassroots memorial activity (discussed in Chap. 6), the data from which stories are co-created are in fact a pool of images and videos, sounds and texts (subject to media archaeology) which the user transforms into a narrative (micro-archive). Such stories are individual and personal, and affectively combine and resonate with the user's intimate understanding of the past. The way they are used, as described in Chaps. 4, 5 and 6, presents a commentary about the present, which in the post-Yugoslav (and post-socialist) contexts resonates with the burden of 'transitionism' and its inherent assumption that post-socialist subjects are politically incompetent to deal with the present predicament.

In this view, micro-archiving is not just an individual and intimate activity but a decidedly collective action; as such, it goes beyond storing and preserving but rather advocates the engagement and entanglement of the individual, of the users and *ad hoc* collectivities with the(ir) present and the past, aiming to provide an answer to the perplexities of the present.[32] Micro-archiving—as the audiovisual manifestation of media archaeology and intimate obsessions with preserving and re-narrating the past—thus allows for the grassroots inscription of the fragile individual into the networked collectivity of memory.

POST-SOCIALISM: AFFECT AND INFANTILITY

Media archaeology and micro-archiving offer a practico-theoretical framework within which the unremitting academic, political, cultural, historical, popular cultural and everyday interests in things Yugoslav, or indeed the Yugoslav culture of the past in general, are situated. In its emphasis on individual and grassroots action, this framework invites us to think about the past from the perspective of the individual and the collective, through their intimacies and affects. The reinvigorated interest in the elusive, the irrational and the largely unquantifiable that has recently been particularly conspicuous in anthropology and media studies, is embedded in the postmodernist trend of affectivity and postemotionality.

Postemotionality and Affectivity

In contrast to the postmodernist conception that the connection between emotions and intellect has been severed in postemotional societies, Stjepan G. Meštrović argues that 'what seem to be postmodern circulating fictions are not really rootless or chaotic [...] rather, postemotional society introduces a new form of bondage, this time to carefully crafted emotions'.[33] Writing in the late 1990s, Meštrović talks about pre-packaged emotions and opens up a distinct set of issues that also pertain to the situation in digital media, particularly in the part where he investigates the 'mechanisation of emotions' as 'rationally ordered emotions'.[34]

Not unrelated to the idea of mechanisation of life (as discussed above),[35] the argument yet again exposes the complex relationship between humans and technology and alludes to the issue of the structure of feeling in relation to media technologies.[36] What is more, Meštrović's perspective invites us to consider the lacuna between corporate production and consumption of cultural artefacts, on the one hand, and grassroots practices in co-creating digital content, on the other. This relationship seems radically off-balance in terms of affective investments, motives and consequences. Moreover, it poses a pertinent question also in the post-socialist practices and dissonances of memory, not only because of the commoditisation of socialist nostalgia, which entails the commoditisation of feeling through marketing and merchandising, but also because of its politicisation. In the larger picture of how digital media (as the formative elements of the culture of the past) contribute to the emergence of the culture of the past, it is precisely grassroots action that critically questions the dominant, canonised understanding of the past, often also through the consumption of content (which walks the thin ice of reproach of being mere consumption), which adds another component to the debate on memory matters. Grassroots interventions into the commoditised and corporatised culture of the past complicate the practice of historical narrativisation to the extent that grassroots interventions (as cultural *subvertia*, see Chap. 7) undermine the coherence of grand national narratives, in place of which fragmentally individualised meaning-making of the past is emerging.

Now, if we replace 'mechanisation' with 'digitisation' an intriguing picture surfaces: the excessive co-creation of content in digital media conforms to the demands of media technology (for example, character-limited tweeting) and corporate agendas (data mining), and their social uses and applications.

Content is short. Cryptic. Cursory. This bears consequences for how we consume and think about what we hear and see. It squeezes into the milieu of fragmented attention and short attention span a genre of communication that conforms to such limits and propels them. Yet it also allows for carving out spaces for action. The entanglements of users with and through social media thus transplace the potential of action in the liminalities of corporate, state and grassroots action. Social agency seizing these liminal spaces presupposes users entangled into networks of engagement, predominantly through networked investments and exteriorisations of intimacy.

A corollary and indeed intrinsic characteristic of networked emotivity and the culture of the past marked by increased possibilities to create, co-create and engage with the content, endow networked encounters, among others, with fairly intimate exteriorisations of memory. Once 'live', digital trajectories of engagement dispossess the author of the copyrighted (or not) intervention which is then left at the disposal of the public, possibly spread across platforms and among users. Despite issues regarding credibility and credentials of digital content, it may attract, by the long tail logic, significant following and quantified credibility (and cause the digital butterfly effect). In its fragmentedness—inviting inscription of individual and intimate experience, ideas, views and beliefs—the content invites affective user investment into a multimodal object, whether or not the object, or any of the elements it contains, is factually accurate.

'Whatever', Again

Content and user entanglements are continually en-looped dynamics of decontextualisation and recontextualisation: content is radically modified and distorted through interventions of cutting, copying and pasting, in service of fitting it into a new narrative. The 'distorted' content is radicalised through spreading and affective investment in a way much like free radicals that attract other molecules to lock-in to the open radical. The radicality of digital content lies in the decontextualised content (for instance a photograph or a video) that mobilises intimate interpretations and investments. A digital media object that finds its way onto a screen magnetises the user's beliefs and affects that lock-in with the digital object: effectively, a user's story is locked-in with the content-story in unanticipated but real user responses; it is thus recontextualised. Such conduct can hardly ever be reflexive or rational but is instead decidedly characterised by the user's affective investments. In this view, Sara Ahmed's argument is illustrative:

> We are moved by things. And in being moved, we make things. An object can be affective by virtue of its own location (the object might be *here*, which is *where* I experience this or that affect) and the timing of its appearance (the object might be *now*, which is when I experience this or that affect).[37]

The user's relationship with a digital media object—much like, for instance, with a physical artefact or a trace of the past—is crucially defined by the multifarious 'whatever' around that object (see Chap. 2). In the case of material artefacts, 'we' tend to invest the materiality or the presence of an object with assumptions, longings, preconceptions, knowledge of historical facts or blatant misconceptions. With digital media objects, and particularly when we consider the media object's temporal quality,[38] the 'whatever' becomes the crucial aspect in determining the reliability and credibility of content, as well as the key force of entanglement.

The 'whatever' in many cases 'resides' entirely outside the immediate experiential and dominant discursive environments of the present (either the user's or the object's), yet it is still infesting the present everyday. In the sphere of the everyday and the intimate, digital encounters thus generate affective interpersonal entanglements that evolve not only within the entanglement of content and users in the culture of the past, but relate to

> the way in which media function on the one hand to discipline, control, contain, manage or govern human affectivity and its affiliated fillings 'from above' at the same time that they work to enable particular forms of human action, particular collective expressions or formations of human affect 'from below'.[39]

This inevitable dissonance between the 'from above' and 'from below' is particularly relevant in post-socialist environments. On the one hand, because of the legacy of the 1980s grassroots initiatives that set in motion democratising endeavours, importantly promulgated by media (print, radio) and emergent media technologies (photocopier and samizdat, micro-computer) and, on the other hand, because of the salient and painful break in the tradition of social movements and cultural opposition that decidedly marks post-socialist political, social and media spaces. After the collapse of socialism the social movements and cultural opposition suffered acute deficits in social relevance and impact (Chap. 7).[40]

It is thus important to look at how the past is repurposed and reinterpreted in the culture of the past, and how the perpetual revision of the twentieth century's seminal events and socio-cultural and political processes

are mediatised and intimised. This entails official discourses, versatile and abundant grassroots interventions, and their interplays. In their responses to dominant political discourses the latter are particularly intriguing in how they facilitate and spread affectivity and 'irrational' investments.

Transition of Values

The seminal events and processes still disturbing the calmness of the present moment of the post-socialist predicament are primarily those related to the Second World War, anti-fascism and resistance, and to the radically different perceptions of the socialist period and regimes in the post-1989 transformations. As specific as these topics may be in their 'Easterness', they are nonetheless an important aspect in contemporary unresolved European complexities of the shared memory of the twentieth century. The problematised role of anti-fascism in the common foundations of European post-war orientation, the uneasy legacy of fascism and Nazism, and the present economic crisis,[41] reverberate in the heavy politicisation of the Day of Remembrance (23 August). In this regard, the post-socialist perspective, being the offspring of social, cultural, economic and political 'transitionism', engenders an approach to the European past(s) through the processes and discourses of 'democratisation', 'returning to Europe', 'belonging to Europe', 'post-socialism', 'freedom', 'capitalism', all of which importantly shape contemporary European-wide discourses on common or shared pasts, presents and futures.[42]

Given their affective charge and the contemporary context of crisis, these topics invite us to delve deeper into the fascination with the culture of the past. When looking at the processes of Europeanisation, (re-)nationalisation, de-collectivisation, hyperindividualisation and, in turn, to the disempowerment of individuals and collectivities in post-socialist contexts, an approach is in order that acknowledges the scale and pervasiveness of mediation, including media archaeological and micro-archival practices discussed above.

Digital media can be seen as technologies that facilitate the carving out of spaces of entanglements and empowerment. These importantly support the exteriorisation and co-creation of memory, voicing discontent and ambiguities, as well as emotions and affects. But can grassroots memory practices in digital media bypass the sanitising and state-corporately policed discursive

spaces of 'classical' communications channels to confront dominant and pervasive power relations? How can argumentative debate withhold the pressure of hovering attention and its implications? These socio-technical environments ideally enable the transformation and articulation of individual, off-official deliberations, initiatives and interventions into public space and political discourses. With respect to the questions concerning the divisive legacies of twentieth century Europe and the quest for a common/shared history, the focus on the post-socialist recontextualisations of the socialist past indeed allows us to map the 'transgression' and contestation of official interpretations by grassroots initiatives, spanning the affective transience and irrationality of pub-talk. Likewise, it offers a view into the radicality of individual initiatives, which often stem not only from the unresolved past, complicated presents, but also from the inability to think the future (which is crucial for any memory). In this view, the irrationality and affectivity, characteristic of much of the post-socialist dealing with the past and memory (both appreciative and unappreciative), is the constitutive element of the culture of the past: both in its rootedness in technologies of mediatisation as well as, and crucially so, in its incapacity to devise an engaging positive utopia.

Infantility and the Defragmented Affect

The 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall is today often seen as the one historical meta-event, or, indeed, a culmination of events, marking the end of the Cold War and, supposedly, the shattering of the Iron Curtain. It allegedly opened the path to 're-installation' of freedom and democracy. As it has been made clear during the 25 years after the event, the symbolic wall still stands tall, firmly dividing the 'wild East' from the 'civilised' Europe of flourishing democracy and freedom and market capitalism. Moreover, new walls and fences keep sprouting up relentlessly.

The Wall's afterlife is most conspicuous in the discourse of 'maturity' for democracy: the readiness and willingness of the former socialist countries to run a democratic political system and society is systematically questioned or even outright denied. And this, it has to be noted, is a double effect process: in the post-socialist catharsis the East readily denies itself any democratic competence by accepting the patronising discourse of the 'wicked democrat of the West'.[43] What is worse, post-socialist societies,

Boris Buden argues, are victims of 'repressive infantilisation': 'people who in democratic revolutions of 1989–90 proved they are politically mature, were overnight turned into children … people who themselves fought for their freedom must first learn how to truly enjoy their freedom.'[44] This condition is not entirely externally imposed but is rather—and to a significant extent—administered internally: adopted by the externally sub-servient political elites on a mission to exorcise their socialist past, thus to become a respectable member of the 'civilised' West. But, given the 'return to Europe' was often conceived as going back in time to an unknown past, the project was doomed to fail; Aleksandar Popović, Serbian theatre direc-tor, commented in 1991: 'We want to go back, but going back for us can only mean one thing, neo-colonialism.'[45]

On these grounds, Europeans of the East are denied the capacity to fully exercise their newly acquired freedom and to participate as 'fully equal' partners in the EU. They live in the aftermath of a '"catch-up" rev-olution […] they are at the same time rendered immature and condemned to blind imitation of their caretakers, in ludicrous belief that this is the way to achieve autonomy',[46] rather than to be able to accept the complexities, dissonances, perplexities of their own, albeit socialist, past(s). This dem-onstrates the contours of political imbalances and economic inequalities as well as cultural-consumerist hierarchisation in the world after 1989–91, and culminates in the intolerable approach of the EU 'handling' the Greek situation and the migrations in 2015: 'The brutality with which the intent of Syriza was put down by the European Union, and the brutality of many (though not all) European countries vis-à-vis the refugees, show you very well what this situation is about: that power is geographically located in the rich countries.'[47]

The post-socialist condition, seen through the concepts of 'transition' and the 'catch-up' perspective, reveals disturbing aspects of Occidental power relations that push the post-socialist subject into the most straight-forward derivative of mythology of transition. In this case 'transitionism' is overemphasised, eradicating the post-socialist historicity and denying the epochality to the post-1989 condition all over Eastern Europe.[48] What is more, this reveals the structural reasons that drive the affectivity ingrained in the post-socialist taking recourse to the past.[49]

The emphasis on the loss of historicity and epochality in post-socialism serves to elucidate the power of vernacular re-presencing of the past in a

situation where large portions of history have been excommunicated from wider referential frameworks. This, I argue, is the result of post-socialist historical and political discourses, which have, to a great extent, excluded individual and alternative voices (for example the (legacies of the) social movements and cultural opposition of the 1980s) from newly forming political narratives. Likewise, they have excluded the interpretations of the 'problematic' past in exchange for an unsuccessfully implemented substitute that heavily relied on rewriting the past and historical revisionism. What is more, the 'transitionist' discourses significantly disrupted the creating and sustaining of the self and the collectivity in historical perspective. The interruption of the narratives of the heroic past (as false, fabricated and mythicised as they may have been), utterly failed to provide an inclusive substitute narrative that would prevent new divisions, as well as account for the fact that popular culture and life in an increasingly mediated world prevent much radical rewriting of the past (at least state-orchestrated). Doing so, the post-socialist sanitisation of the past in many cases rendered individual biographies entirely unacceptable, undesirable, or incompatible with the present.

What, then, to make of grassroots interventions that negotiate and challenge not only revisionist discourses but in many cases also search for answers to contemporary problems? They do so by disinterring individual, private, intimate traces of the past and refitting them into digital memorial practices, co-creative memorials and affective audiovisual exteriorisations. In this, audiovisions are used in co-creating a more nuanced—if at that also nostalgic, affective, irrational—re-presencing of the past that builds on popular cultural and historical commonplaces as the shared field of (in the case of younger generations often unlived but all the more so mediated) experience. In the context of mediatised lifeworlds and dis-epochalised pasts, dispotentiated presents and distopic futures, and while on a mission to reclaim biographical pasts, post-socialist subjects are invited to turn their (imagined) experiences and (unlived) biographical memories into affective commentaries of the present.

Grassroots media archaeology and micro-archiving in post-socialist Yugoslavia, motivated by the ambiguous urge to unforget the (socialist) past in the dispotentiated present, further add to the affectivity by presupposing simultaneously a more focused and dispersed action that multidirectionally radicalises the search and yields a wide assortment of results.

In this view, users engage with the material quite randomly, haphazardly, fleetingly. Such practices lead to the formation of microworlds of public intimacy, which are built around digital memorials and storytelling, as for example in YouTube videos, Facebook historical pages and music blogs, as I further discuss in the following chapters.

Media archaeology and micro-archiving thus provide the framework to approach media objects in their multimodality and temporality as the seeds and crop of affect. Likewise, this is an approach used to decipher the grassroots tactics of preserving the past, while it also offers a framework through which the re-presences of the past can be understood in the present. Archaeology and archiving in this view to a great extent rely on irrational, emotional, affective individual agency. In relation to archaeology and archiving and memorial activity, the idea of affect can be slightly adapted:[50] in digital media we could talk about the 'defragmentation of affect'.[51]

The understanding of affect for this endeavour rests on Thompson and Biddle's argument that

> music mobilises bodies through affective transmission. Sound [is] used to create a particular ambience or atmosphere, via the induction, modulation and circulation of moods, feelings and intensities, which are felt but, at the same time, belong to nobody in particular.[52]

Although this quote refers to an 'offline' situation and sonic environments, it nevertheless applies well to digital objects in their relation to Stiegler's temporal object and to digitally mediated bodily interaction. It suggests the emergence of an affect-inducing atmosphere which is constituted by temporal objects (often musical) circulating between users and platforms, modulating un-possessable intensities. It is here that communicative, memorial and interpersonal intensities are felt, although at different times and in different spaces. (As is clear, for example, in the ways a YouTube video is accessed, spread, embedded, or deleted.)

Importantly, affect in this view transcends the expected synchronicity of participation and is fragmented among users. Fragmentation presupposes that the physical collectivity is absent and a fragmented state is incurred by the mediating power of communications technology and social media: affect appears to be fragmented because of the lack, or

fragmentation, of bodily/physical interaction that normally generates affective fields.[53] Yet, the technologically enabled co-presence also entices a process running counter-parallel to the fragmentation of individual/bodily presence: defragmented affect applies to networked or mediated bodily interaction (an atmosphere of moods and intensities that are mediated at different times and in different spaces is clearly not limited to physical co-presence). Networked bodily reactions (physicality of clicking, cutis anserine) presuppose dis-simultaneous user engagement with content and with other users. Communication in social media affords interpersonal interaction—through spreadability and viscerality—a 'prosthetic physicality' that resides and is enacted primarily in and through networked bodily responses to the content materialised on screen. Mediated interaction between content and users—upon the presupposition of dis-simultaneity of collective reception, to paraphrase what Victor Burgin calls the simultaneity of collective reception,[54]—mediates affect and, as it does, also defragments it.

Defragmented affect arises where a certain (sequence of) viral digital object/content acts as a catalyst of memory exteriorisation. As such, defragmented affect plays a role in the formation of an *ad hoc* memorial collectivity, connected through content but also through individual bodily/sensory reactions. In view of individual-body and device-content entanglements, such a constellation of ideological, personal and collective, technological, archaeological, and archival liminality plays out not only on the ever-emerging communications technologies and shifting (digital) communications practices but also on user intimacy. The intimacy surfaces in grassroots and co-creative digital storytelling and memorials.

Now, the post-socialist subject, derided of fully-fledged political agency, infantilised and effectively politically subordinated, readily takes recourse to the irrational and affective engagement with (mediated and mediatised) present and past realities. Such an approach subverts infantilisation through exteriorising disquiet and discontent often by excessive identification, ridicule and joke, and, moreover, by using as ammunition legacies of cultural intimacies and popular cultural references. These tactics are used as a means to resist the shrinking field of legitimate memories. In this view, and not unrelated to the issue of freedom of speech and freedom in general (and related to the infantility debate), laughter as an answer to social inequality or the encroachment on freedom of speech is critical but

also comforting. This can make it difficult to effectively transform a critical stance into political action.[55]

This difficulty imbues the endeavours I investigate below but also allows us to ask the question of how the technological reproduction of audiovision and the ideological reproduction of history afflicts power relations in memory-making between producers and consumers, state institutions, corporations and individuals. Particularly if we take heed of Paul Connerton's argument, dating to the pre-new world: 'the storage of present-day information technologies, and hence the organization of collective memory through the use of data-processing machines is not merely a technical matter but one directly bearing on legitimation, the question of control and ownership of information being a crucial political issue.'[56]

Writing in 1989, Connerton emphasised the role of legitimacy, control and ownership in the politics of memory and envisaged the issues that mark the questions of memory 25 years later. What at the time was practically impossible to think about, at least on the scale that we can observe today, was the rise and ubiquity of social media and the entanglements of individuals and collectivities in exchange of information across time and space. Yet, grassroots interventions into the audiovisions of the past, on the part of ad hoc collectivities and the individual, give relevance to these questions. Cast in political terms, these guerrilla interventions are discussed in the following chapters as decidedly individual, intimate and affective interventions into the past.

Notes

1. Erkki Huhtamo, 'Media Archaeology—Definition, Take 2', http://medi-acartographies.blogspot.com/2010/10/media-archaeology-definition-take-2.html, date accessed 31 August 2011.
2. Wolfgang Ernst, 'Media Archaeography: Method and Machine Versus History and Narrative in Media', in Huhtamo and Parikka, *Media Archaeology*, pp. 239–255, p. 239–40.
3. For a different take on media archaeology see Aleksandra Sekulić, 'Korak nazad, dva koraka napred: Medijska arheologija: Devedesete', in *Devedesete*: *Medijska arheologija*, Beograd, Merkur, 2009, pp. 4–12, p. 4.

4. Jussi Parikka, 'What is Media Archaeology?—Beta Definition 0.8', *Cartographies of Media Archaeology*, http://mediacartographies.blogspot.com/2010/10/what-is-media-archaeology-beta.html, date accessed 11 February 2011 (italics added).

5. Elisa Giaccardi, 'Introduction: Reframing Heritage in a Participatory Culture', in Elisa Giaccardi (ed.) *Heritage and Social Media*, *Understanding Heritage in a Participatory Culture*, London, New York, Routledge, 2012, pp. 1–10, p. 2; see also Perla Innocenti, *Migrating Heritage*, *Experiences of Cultural Networks and Cultural Dialogue in Europe*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2014.

6. Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*, p. 258.

7. Codruţa Pohrib, 'The Afterlives of Communist Things: Archiving Feeling in Post-Communist Romania', *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 16 August 2015 (published before print).

8. An engram in Richard Semon's conceptualisation of memory ('the function charged with preserving and transmitting energy temporally, allowing someone to react to something in the past from a distance') is a trace that an event, affecting a living being, leaves in the memory. Quoted in Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*, p. 255.

9. See Stiegler, *Symbolic Misery*, p. 8.

10. Lager Vestberg, 'Ordering, Searching, Finding', 473.

11. Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', p. 106.

12. Stiegler, *Symbolic Misery*, p. 8.

13. Michaela Melián, *Memory Loops.Net*, http://www.memoryloops.net/, date accessed 21 August 2011.

14. Melián, *Memory Loops.Net*.

15. It should be noted that, as Wolfgang Ernst cautions, nothing is actually stored on the internet but only dynamically retrieved through search engines, see Wolfgang Ernst, 'Archival Phantasms: Between Imaginary Museum and Archive: Cyberspace', www.nettime.org, 21 December 2000, http://www.nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-l-0012/msg00115.html, date accessed 11 October 2015. The internet, however, can nevertheless be seen as a 'vast accumulation of sounds, images and data overwhelming in its scale and diversity'. See Michelle Henning, 'The Return of Curiosity: World Wide Web as a Curiosity Museum', in James Lyons and John Plunkett (eds.), *Multimedia Histories: From the Magic Lantern to the Internet*, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2007, pp. 72–85, p. 74.

16. See Viktor Meyer-Schönberger *Delete: The Virtue of Forgetting in the Digital Age*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2011; Meyer-

Schönberger with Kenneth Cukier, *Big Data: A Revolution That Will Transform How We Live*, *Work*, *and Think*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013.

17. Laura Schuster, 'The Trouble with Memory: Reco(r)ding the Mind in *Code 46*', Inter-Disciplinary.net, http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/schuster-paper.pdf, date accessed 8 August 2015.

18. Andrew Hoskins, 'The Digital Distribution of Memory', Inter-Disciplinary.net, www.inter-disciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/.../hoskins-paper.pdf, date accessed 8 August 2015.

19. Lager Vestberg, 'Ordering, Searching, Finding', 472.

20. Hoskins, 'Digital Network Memory', p. 97.

21. Wolfgang Ernst, 'The Archive as Metaphor: From Archival Space to Archival Time', archive public, http://archivepublic.wordpress.com/texts/wolfgang-ernst/, date accessed 13 October 2015; see also his 'Archival Phantasms'.

22. See Buden, Žilnik et al., *Uvod u prošlost*, p. 11.

23. Buden, Žilnik et al., *Uvod u prošlost*, p. 12.

24. See Chris Anderson, 'The Long Tail', *Wired* October 2004, www.wired.com/wired/archive/12.10/tail.html, date accessed 8 October 2015.

25. Sven Birkerts, 'Reading in a Digital Age', *The American Scholar*, http://theamericanscholar.org/reading-in-a-digital-age/#.U57lK6g9ESM.

26. Jussi Parikka, 'The Archive', *Cartographies of Media Archaeology*, http://mediacartographies.blogspot.si/2011/01/archive.html, date accessed 11 February 2011.

27. Parikka, 'The Archive'.

28. See Patrick Tucker, *The Naked Future*, *What Happens in a World that Anticipates your Every Move*, New York, Penguin Books 2014.

29. Bowker, *Memory Practices in the Sciences*, p. 30.

30. Rick Prelinger, 'The Appearance of Archives', in Snickars and Vonderau, *The YouTube Reader*, pp. 268–74, p. 268–69, Pelle Snickars, 'The Archival Cloud', in Snickars and Vonderau, *The YouTube Reader*, pp. 292–313.

31. Bernard Stiegler notes: 'Internet users are invited to produce tags, keywords, indexations and annotations of all kinds for this "new screen," which becomes a collaborative effort [which] has led to an age of the bottom-up production of metadata, which in turn constitutes a radical novelty in the history of humanity. Up to this moment, the production of metadata, whose digital concept was formulated in 1994, but whose practice goes back to Mesopotamia, had always been executed in a top-down

way, by the official institutions of various forms of symbolic power. Produced automatically for the semantic Web, or produced by Internet users' analytic and synthetic capacities of judgement for the social Web, this new type of metadata opens up the possibility of delinearising audio-visual works to include editorial markers, to inscribe pathways and per-sonal annotations, to make signed reading, signed listening and signed vision accessible by all users'. Stiegler, 'The Carnival of the New Screen: From Hegemony to Isonomy', in Snickars and Vonderau, The YouTube Reader, pp. 40–59, p. 52.

32. See Maria Todorova, 'Remembering Communism: Private and Public Recollections of Lived Experience in Southeast Europe', in Maria Todorova, Augusta Dimou and Stefan Troebst (eds.), *Remembering Communism. Genres of Representation*, Budapest, CEU Press, 2014, p. 173.

33. Stjepan G. Meštrović, *Postemotional Society*, London, Sage, 1997, p. xi.

34. Meštrović, *Postemotional Society*, p. xii.

35. See Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2014 [1948].

36. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 128–35.

37. Ahmed, 'Happy Objects', p. 33.

38. See Stiegler, *Symbolic Misery*.

39. Straw, 'The Circulatory Turn', p. 79.

40. See Anikó Imre, *Identity Games, Globalization and the Transformation of Media Cultures in the New Europe*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2009; Colin Sparks with Anna Reading, *Communism, Capitalism and the Mass Media,* London, Sage, 1998; Tomaž Mastnak, 'From Social Movements to National Sovereignty' in *Independent Slovenia: Origins, Movements, Prospects*, Jill Benderly and Evan Kreft (eds.), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1994.

41. Timothy Snyder notes: 'In an era of climate change, the rightwing version of anarchy, economic libertarianism, may pose the more pertinent danger. As all economists know, markets do not function perfectly at either the macro or the micro level. At the macro level, unregulated capitalism is subject to the extremes of the business cycle. In theory, markets always recover from depression; in practice, the human suffering induced by eco-nomic collapse can have profound political consequences, including the end of capitalism itself, before any recovery takes place. At the micro level, firms in theory provide goods that are desired and affordable.' 'Hitler's World May Not Be So Far Away', *The Guardian* 16 September 2015,

http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/16/hitlers-world-may-not-be-so-far-away, date accessed 13 October 2015.

42. Tanja Petrović (ed.), *Mirroring Europe: Ideas of Europe and Europeanization in the Balkan Societies*, Leiden, Brill Publishing, 2014.

43. I use terms 'East', 'Eastern' and 'Easternite' as symbolically laden terms and am aware of their essentialising capacity. I do, however, wish to emphasise the still-existing division and also allude to 'self-easterniziation' of the former socialist regimes.

44. Boris Buden, *Zona prelaska*, *O kraju postkomunizma*, Beograd, Fabrika knjiga, 2012, p. 39–42.

45. Aleksandar Popović, 'Deo smo opšte igre, radi se samo o sniživanju naše cene', *Yugopapir*, 28 July 2015 (RTV Revija, June 1991), http://www.yugopapir.com/2015/07/leto-1991-aleksandar-popovic-deo-smo.html, date accessed 13 October 2015.

46. Buden, *Zona prelaska*, p. 61.

47. Erik de la Reguera, Gáspár Miklós Tamás, 'This is Post-Fascism', Arbetet. Global. 26 September 2015, http://arbetet.se/global/2015/09/26/gaspar-miklos-tamas-this-is-post-fascism/, date accessed 7 October 2015.

48. Buden, *Zona prelaska*, 61.

49. Maruška Svašek (ed.), *Postsocialism: Politics and Emotions in Central and Eastern Europe*, New York and Oxford: Berghan Books, 2006.

50. The literature in affect theory is extensive. This discussion forms central ideas through Ann Cvetkovich, *The Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2003; Richard Grusin, *Premediation: Affect and Mediality After 9/11*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 79, Patricia Clough Ticineto and Jean Halley (eds.), *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007; Melisa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (eds.), *The Affect Theory Reader*, Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2010; Marie Thompson and Ian Biddle (eds.), *Sound, Music, Affect: Theorizing Sonic Experience*, London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2013.

51. See Martin Pogačar, 'Music and Memory: Yugoslav Rock in Social Media' *Southeastern Europe*, 2015, 39(2): 215–36.

52. Thompson and Biddle, *Sound, Music, Affect*, p. 5.

53. The debate on the detrimental effects of digital sociability, clearly, is out of scope, yet bound to dominate the debate about the role of digital media in physical, social and psychological development of individuals and collectivities.

54. Victor Burgin, *In/Different Spaces, Place and Memory in Visual Culture*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996, p. 158.
55. See Serguei Oushakine, 'Introduction: Jokes of Repression', *East European Politics and Societies* 2011, 25(4): 655–57; I thank Tanja Petorvić for pointing this out.
56. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 1.

Museums and Memorials in Social Media

Media archaeology and micro-archiving form an approach and tactic that empowers and gives voice to individual or collective grassroots agency; they offer an opportunity to make the case for preserving and publishing alternative and out-of-canon historical sources and affective histories. This complements and challenges the structural exclusivity of heritage and historiographic discourses and canons,[1] as well as institutionalised power relations, as enacted through media and political discourses. The potential of micro-archiving, however, should not be over-endowed with revolutionary-democratic potential or radical novelty. Private archives and collections have for a long time played the role of unofficial, alternative, if you will, democratising, repositories of memory and traces of the past. Cabinets of wonders (Wunderkammer), scrapbooks and commonplace books, logbooks and diaries are the most salient examples; although they admittedly exert a limited influence in terms of publicness and access, they nevertheless have wider socio-cultural implications.

Unruly Curiosities

In this chapter, I look at the relationship between two distinct practices of micro-archiving in two quite different, if not entirely unrelated, media: museum blogs and Facebook.[2] These contrasting cases expound overlaps and differences in communications practices in the types, styles and motives

of use. Blogs and Facebook do share the overall inclination to enable the creation of micro-archives; in terms of memory-related engagement, they are also related through media archaeology. Most importantly, the counterpoising of the two allows us to tease out the determining aspects of memory activities, while pointing out the underlying assumption that memory practices exceed 'mere' unforgetting and unseeing but entail the redefinition and rethinking of the present.

A record of time and a distillation of a sequence of temporally and spatially disordered collections, micro-archives provide a valuable resource of the past. The curiosity museum is an evident case in point; for example, The Viktor Wynd Museum of Curiosities, Fine Art and Natural History in London illustrates, following the Mnemosyne Atlas principle, the meaning of micro-archive:

> Where contemporary museumology hides 90% of a collection, attempts to educate and explain, to put the world into neat little labeled drawers dictated by an obscurantist elite establishment that has shown itself in error many time over the centuries & is obsessed with a pedantic overspecialization of so called 'knowledge' that means little or nothing to anyone outside it's narrow little field & oft discredited metanarratives this museum will merely display everything that has glittered & caught the eye of it's founder—from rare priceless marvels of the natural and scientific worlds like Dodo Bones or speculum to the intriguing beauty of McDonald's Happy Meal Toys, from old master etchings to prison inmates & mad women's doodles, occultists paintings and pop art prints, the horrors and wonders of nature, two headed kittens and living coral.[3]

This approach resembles the approach of digital micro-archivists, all the more so from the post-socialist perspective: grassroots interventions bypass and contest the dominant 'museology' and engage in finding and exhibiting, curating and archiving bits from the past that may in the new ideological settings seem inappropriate. Viktor Wynd further adds to the point:

> By placing the rare and the beautiful on the same plane as the commonplace, banal & amusing this museum seeks not to educate but to subvert […] [It] has no overreaching aim beyond the theft of it's visitors time and the hope that it will provide amusement by return & hopes to fill the vacuum between what the establishment elite believes is worthy of worship & what exists in the world.[4]

Wynd's museum, clearly, is not a historical museum, if nonetheless virtual, if we follow Elisa Giaccardi's observation:

> All museums are virtual [in that they] extract each piece from an environment that, as the site of origin is deemed to hold significance. The piece is then transferred to a new site, the museum, in which the relationships with its original environment and time are recreated. In this sense, museums are virtual because they collect pieces that work as a switch to 'something else'.[5]

It is an intervention that lays out the underlying features of the tactics employed also in creating online grassroots memorials and their functions (note the emphasis on *subvertia*). Similarly, digital memorials are the result of media archaeology and micro-archiving and affective entanglements of individual's personal history and socio-political and cultural present-day contexts. Thus, they serve much the same purpose as the 'classic' memorials do: as public exteriorisations of memory, they provide fuel for memory and galvanise remembrance. They provide a place of gathering, ritual performance, and contribute to social, cultural and/or political reproduction, by 'keeping alive' the memory of events and people, which normally fall outside the official canons. At the same time, and based on the idea of the democratisation of remembering, digital memorials also complement and contest the existing order: Melián's virtual memorial, for instance, provides a globally accessible cyberplace of memory to people who 'have not done enough' to be featured in hardcopy memorials and archives.

Offline memorials, monuments and sites of commemoration in general contribute to creating a coherent national narrative but, at the same time, exclude from the 'memoryland and sea' a number of interpretive perspectives, along with people and events deemed unsuitable for the present fashion of commemoration. Digital memorials, on the other hand, remediate to some extent offline memorials and monuments and the corresponding protocols of monumentalising or even epochalising the past. However, in the process of memorial-making, less strict eligibility criteria are imposed for a person or an event to qualify for public remembrance. Online memorial sites allow for creating a digital memorial for loved ones and make it globally available next to celebrity memorials, 9/11 victims, or the victims of the Holocaust.[6] What does this mean for remembering, collective or individual? The alleged democratisation of remembering at least to some extent opens up new spaces for remembering and mourning: technological tools and shifting cultural practices of commemorating

private loss publicly permeate the structural frameworks of remember-
ing—alongside the public (on and offline) commemoration of nationally
acknowledged heroes and anniversaries, the intimacy of remembering pre-
viously confined to family and friends is seizing public space (and not
necessarily attention).

In addition to a however limited potential, but a potential nevertheless,
for the democratisation of memory and remembering, digital media also
provide a framework for affective and intimate interpretations and reaf-
firmations of the past, particularly apparent in contesting interpretations
of the Yugoslav Second World War and the post-war period. Perhaps the
most straightforward example of affectivity is the desecration characteristic
of expressing discontent with 'the message' of a material memorial. This
practice seems to have changed in the process of digitisation: if we take
that commentaries in online memorials 'reveal a related ritualistic behav-
iour to that of placing flowers, teddy bears, photographs and messages on
a memory fence',[7] we could also draw an analogy and say that desecration
of online memorials can occur either via hacker attacks, hate-comments,
or through a fairly widespread practice of creating counter-memorials.[8]
Unlike offline counter-memorial practices, where a community can hardly
form around a desecrated monument, digital counter-memorial practices
can provide a vibrant place of encounter.

In the post-Yugoslav 'memory wars',[9] fiercely fought in the media,
memory fighters use symbols, monuments and memorials, idea(l)s and
beliefs to fuel their debates and reinforce often diametrically opposing
worldviews, interpretations of the past and positions on the usefulness of
the past for the present. In terms of differences in virality, enhanced pres-
ence in the everyday and the nature of translating defragmented affect into
mediated memories, the techno-logics of the blog and historical pages on
Facebook offer an illustrative read.

Blogging and Memory

Before tackling Facebook, where the passing of posts into oblivion is the
swiftest, let us take some time and look at the somewhat more oblivion-
resistant practice of blogging. One of the first 'next new things' of the
1990s internet boom, blogging provides a next step in the writing logic
that can be traced back at least to the diary and the commonplace book.
As the predecessors of blogging, diaries served explorers and soldiers

to record their conquests, explorations and daily hardship, while more recently dairies have been kept, for instance, by adolescents dealing with the ups and downs of growing up, or by mothers who want to preserve the minutiae of their offspring's first year of life.

The commonplace book is perhaps not as intimate as the diary: '"commonplacing," as it was called, involved transcribing interesting or inspirational passages from one's reading, assembling a personalised encyclopaedia of quotations. It was a kind of solitary version of the original web logs: an archive of interesting tidbits that one encountered during one's textual browsing.'[10] Moreover, such a 'storage facility', often embellished with exquisite writing technique and meticulous design, provided a hypomnemata for keeping thoughts and memories about everyday occurrences and fragments of the owner's personal history. A commonplace book, Jonathan Swift wrote,

> is what a provident poet cannot subsist without, for this proverbial reason, that 'great wits have short memories': and whereas, on the other hand, poets, being liars by profession, ought to have good memories; to reconcile these, a book of this sort, is in the nature of a supplemental memory, or a record of what occurs remarkable in every day's reading or conversation. There you enter not only your own original thoughts, (which, a hundred to one, are few and insignificant) but such of other men as you think fit to make your own, by entering them there. For, take this for a rule, when an author is in your books, you have the same demand upon him for his wit, as a merchant has for your money, when you are in his.'[11]

Its value not only lies in its (potentially) literary quality but also in giving insight into the mundane and personal details of the keeper's life as well as the wider socio-cultural context. The diary and the commonplace book thus might suit as a technological precursor of blogging and various microblogging activities flourishing in social media. This historical glimpse is interesting in view of the fact that commonplacing never achieved widespread popularity, neither in terms of the number of people practicing it (as opposed to the far more popular diary writing),[12] nor in its 'effect' on the public sphere (which even in diary writing was practically absent).

The key implication for this writing is that commonplace book, diary and blogging are technics of memory and remembering, but perhaps predominantly of storytelling. Although blogging in many cases may not have an agenda to create a record of the past, it nevertheless imposes, through

its existence in time and formal organisation (for example, the chronology of entries), a temporal structure to the flow of writing and posting (the life of blog), and as such presents a means to trace the blog's past.

When bloggers deal explicitly with the past, their activity can be framed as media archaeology and micro-archiving. Many blogging attempts also provide intimate and affective encounters with the past. To illustrate the scope and the distance between numerous narrativisations, let me point out the multi-authored *Bašta Balkana Blog* [Balkan Legacy Blog], which among others hosts the entry 'Treća Jugoslavija—država veća od svojih sinova i poneke kćeri' [Third Yugoslavia—a country bigger than her sons and some of her daughters]. The author published a lengthy post on the past/future fates of the country that rather ironically begins:

> The former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia was a big, beautiful, happy and strong country. Far bigger, better and more beautiful and happier than the new Balkan states, which are sunk in primitivism, corruption, clashes and dealing. The power, greatness and beauty of a country apparently were not enough to make this transnational fabric last longer. The idiocy and passion of her children buried it.[13]

The author then proceeds to trace the reasons why some people today find the country so interesting:

> Easy life, continual progress, work actions and socialising, diverse climate, geography, people, food, flora and fauna, beautiful scenery, wealth of waters, nations and diverse lifestyles, developed music and cinema cultures, friendship with most of world's countries, positioned the country among the top locations for living. An interesting claim, isn't it?[14]

The nostalgic beginning of an indeed nostalgic (textual) narrative (I discuss nostalgia in more detail in Chaps. 6 and 7) is further enhanced by embedded YouTube videos including the Yugoslav anthem, Yugoslav's 'all-time-favourite' 'Od Vardara pa do Triglava' [From the Vardar River to the Triglav Mountain] performed by the Ladarice ensemble, 'Yugo' by the contemporary Slovenian band Rock Partyzani, and a still-famous and often covered song 'Računajte na nas' [Count on Us] by Đorđe Balašević. These videos provide an audiovisual complement to the textual narrative which the author in his entry declares non nostalgic.[15] In the debate that follows, the nostalgic hue seems to be the central issue: it provides

a positive evaluation of the Yugoslav past and its future prospects. In this declaratively non-nostalgic intervention, the blogger downplays the part of the story often untold, that of the authoritarian past and the crimes perpetrated by the Yugoslav state.

Blog as a Museum

In a manner quite different in scope, scale and motive, the *Yugoslavia—A Virtual Museum* blog offers ample material to investigate re-presences of the Yugoslav past and the ways these intervene in the preservation of memory.[16] The blog was regularly updated between 2009 and 2010, followed by a period of little activity which resumed in June 2011 and lasted until 1 August 2012, which at the time of writing is the last recorded activity. In terms of presentation and content, it is a more coherent attempt to present an individual's take on the Yugoslav past, mainly relying on photographic material. The blog's mission statement reads:

> Yugoslavia is gone, but the Yugoslavs stayed. We are scattered all over the world, without a homeland. This blog will be an ever-growing collection of items from Tito's Yugoslavia. The right-wing nationalists that split up Yugoslavia are rewriting history, trying even to erase the memory of our homeland. This blog will be a small step in preventing that, and also a window into a Yugoslavian life between 1945 and 1992.[17]

The blogger, a Yugoslav now apparently residing in New York, USA,[18] assembles audiovisual bits and pieces as an emigrant without a homeland. As opposed to emigration that most often entails at least a hope of returning home someday, Yugoslav (blogger's nickname) and in fact all post-Yugoslavs are de facto 'de-patriated': they are left in their new countries to (nurture) their memories and the shared memories of others. Post-Yugoslavs are one of the first 'virtual nations' to have been en masse put to the test: left without a homeland, they were given digital technology to try and preserve the memory of their homeland, childhood and future in digital media.[19]

For post-Yugoslavs scattered around the world, the internet has served as an affordable, handy and indeed useful tool to re-establish, maintain, or mend the bonds that disintegrated during and after the collapse of the country. And, as Yugoslav alludes, the newly founded states with their once shared national founding 'myths in un-making' have been actively

engaged in eradicating the memory of Yugoslavia. But co-created, mediated and networked memory is not a monument that can be torn down or a street name to be changed. Rather, as a medial exteriorisation, memory emerges out of connectivity in discrete algorithmic exchanges between machines that engender spreadability and define technical limits for users to unsee and unforget.

Yugoslav's virtual museum is a stained window on the Yugoslav past's ephemera and the everyday, featuring numerous very different items, such as photographs, music and video, organised in chronological posts. These mediatised objects 'present the ambiguity of being physically tangible as a museum piece, but also being subject to change according to the different perspectives in which they can be interpreted and displayed'.[20] The first blog posts in 2009 contain scanned film posters of some popular Yugoslav films, photographs of several car number plates, accompanied with a note on the logic of assigning abbreviations. The 'Happy New Year with Lepa Brena' entry posted on the last day of 2009 reads:

> During the entire decade of 1980's it could not be imagined to have a New Year's Eve TV program celebrations without TV stations boasting about the presence of Lepa Brena—a true Yugoslavian mega-star, often referred to as Brena Nacionale, as her millions of fans came from literally all parts of Yugoslavia.[21]

The post includes several photographs (not scans), of the various magazines featuring Lepa Brena.[22] The decision to photograph rather than scan items seems telling: a scan would eradicate much more thoroughly the distinction between the physical object and its digital incarnation, but the photograph of a magazine quite overtly emphasises the fact that the story is about a printed object that can be touched, smelled, or torn apart, which requires much more visceral engagement than 'mere' deleting.

This museum features a selection of other items, including photos of toy phones, military medals and orders, post stamps and a series of photos of a porcelain plate featuring a Yugoslav coat of arms in silver. In a post from 1 May 2010, Yugoslav presents a collection of six LPs featuring workers and brigades songs and a homemade video of a popular marching song, 'Da nam živi rad' [Long live Labour], that guides our gaze over artwork of a number of LPs.[23] Yugoslav's focus on material objects, or rather their encoding, is a constitutive element of (his) virtual museum curatorial

practice. The photos of objects assists him in creating an afterlife for these things, 'translating' the materiality of, for example, the register plate—the scratches, the red star, specific typeset and design that enables pinpointing in historical period—into a coded environment. The materiality of the plate, quite exceptional in its existence, when mediatised and mediated, obliterates historical uniqueness of the plate and upgrades it into a spreadable and universalising trace of the past.

Taken as a whole, Yugoslav's museum constitutes a micro-archive of fragments of everyday life in Yugoslavia and as such works as a museum and an archive that fills the gap between, to paraphrase Wynd, what the post-socialist elites believe and what exists. The blog provides a screen where a photo is in fact a frame opening onto a photographed object and the iconography it conveys. Not least, it opens a view to the 'sticky whatever', anticipated or imagined or perhaps vividly remembered by the user. With a few exceptions, the posts are textually scant, but provide a compelling visual micro-archive. The collection of colour, black-and-white, grainy and pale photographs of the Belgrade airport, for instance, provides the visitor with a view of times past. The effect of 'pastness' is achieved precisely through the 'noise' (randomly deteriorated edges, yellowy hue, or scratched surface) in the photos not normally present in images that are born digital. The 'noisy' imperfection can be algorithmically reproduced, but it often fails by imposing a 'structured randomness' (see Chap. 6), as opposed to the hardcopy genuine randomness of deterioration marks that reveal the flow of time chiselled into the object. Once digitised, however, the corrosion of time will freeze at the point of swapping matter for algorithm.

In Yugoslav's blog museum, the topics are arbitrarily chosen and ordered by the blogger, with a few not insignificant exceptions where the post marks an anniversary of a historical event. In an arbitrary and random approach, Yugoslav created a small-scale virtual curiosity museum which through exhibited objects presents a 'complex and multifaceted reality in which physical, cultural and virtual reality interact and may acquire different functions and different degrees of importance'.[24] Yugoslav thus also demonstrated the power and limits (in terms of running it) of grassroots digital preservation in audiovision, primarily in relation to accumulating and managing the collection.

History and Memory in Facebook

On a similar mission but with a different scope and appeal, Facebook—in addition to being a place for publishing status updates and evanescent chit-chat, or for sharing holiday photos and performing identity, for viral marketing, online gaming and various fan cultures—also a platform for exteriorisation of memory and practicing micro-archiving.[25] The platform, decidedly characterised by fleeting text and audiovision, contributes to performing identity by providing the space and technology to present, in a Tralfamadorian manner, fragmented slices of someone's 'likes', tastes and preferences, occasionally political stances and online activism. Unpremeditatedly, it also serves as an archive of the user's facebooked life. Although hardly the most transparent and efficient in terms of navigability, the platform is nevertheless an ephemeral snapshot of user activity passing into digital oblivion. In addition to personal pages, there are innumerable businesses, public figures, politicians and so on, which also use the advances of viral communication and digital co-presence facilitated by Facebook. Some of them are especially interesting for this discussion: pages which are explicitly historical in their scope and mission and are dedicated to a historical figure, popular culture icon or, as is the case with several post-socialist states, even a country. These pages serve as conduits of digital afterlife. In the case of Yugoslavia, historical pages that assume the persona of the late Yugoslav president Tito, popular culture icons, or the country itself.

The practices of memory and remembering in several Yugoslavia-related Facebook pages illustrate how media archaeology and micro-archiving are at work, both in their practical and theoretical implications. These pages—the way they employ audiovision and textual comments is discussed in more detail below—outline the contours of a facebooked digital memory of Yugoslavia and the emerging digital afterlife in social media. They offer an insight into how the Yugoslav past is used to affectively re-presence intimately relevant fragments of the past, as well as a place and audiovisual source of referencing and commenting on the present predicament.

These pages are approached as digital memorials, constituted through the interplay of media archaeology, micro-archiving and co-creative digital storytelling. These 'historical pages' qualify as digital memorials because they provide the space for remembering and sociability, and enable the emergence of loose, on-the-fly communities. Their members co-creatively partake in the construction of that space by sharing-in their (intimate) thoughts, often

'encoding' them in popular songs and videos. By posting links to videos and other content, by commenting on and discussing various topics, users undertake a process of creating a complex and dynamic digital memorial.

Audiovisual and textual interventions into public space work into the memorial a perpetually evolving, co-creative narrative. With this in mind, I argue that as much as memory in digital media can be seen as on-the-fly, so too can digital memorials be seen as constantly shifting and changing, emerging, or disappearing. Facebook historical pages serve as crossroads of intertwining audiovisuals, textual commentary (descriptions, discussions), links to news, websites, particular articles more or less directly related to the past, present and future (of Yugoslavia).[26] Deeply ingrained into the everyday of several million users,[27] the pages are also a technology that gives rise to the phenomenon of 'enhanced immediacy of remembering' (discussed at the end of this chapter).

Facebook Historical Pages

The investigation of the issues of memory, remembering and commemorating on Facebook positions the platform as a medium of 'performative rather than reproductive'[28] commemoration and remembering. What is more, 'the central architectural organisation of Facebook as a fluid hypertext of interconnected pages'[29] enables for a rapid diffusion of content and contacts, and the creation of *ad hoc* collectivities that may or may not engage regularly nor thoroughly with other users and content but still remain 'connected' or at least digitally co-present.

A case in point is a chronology of the Second World War that uses a Facebook-like structure to trace relationships between countries engaged in the war. The narrative takes in all the major events of the war starting off with this status update: 'Germany and Italy are now friends 1 October 19:36'. One of the following posts states, 'Germany taking Czechoslovakia & Hungary back to my place! 29 September 19:39'. Italy 'likes' the post. France replies, 'gross, you can have'em, just not Poland, she's mine' and the UK, echoing the infamous Munich Agreement of 1938 says, 'i'm going to pretend i didn't hear that'. Czechoslovakia says 'thanks guys … if there was a "dislike" button i'd be all over it:/'.[30] This emulation of a Facebook conversation uses seminal Second World War events and mediatises them in the platform's structure.[31] This case shows how in such mediatisations historical periods, events and countries readily assume the status of a persona and in addition partake in creating the persona.

A more elaborate attempt that actually took place as a 'live' event on Facebook is the case of two Polish historical pages analysed by Dieter de Bruyn.[32] One commemorates the Warsaw Uprising, which involved the creation of two fictitious pages of Kostek Dwadziesciatrzy and Sosna Dwadziesciacztery, who were 'in a relationship' with one another. The other one was an educational project about the young Holocaust victim Henio Żitomirsky, a boy born in 1933 and killed in Majdanek concentration camp by the Nazis.

In the course of their online life, the 'characters' performed as though they were real people: they posted photos of wartime Warsaw and added links to insurgent songs, video clips.[33] De Bruyn traces in both the 'importance of a successful mediation in order to render its consumers a valuable, "prosthetic" experience".[34] In a similar vein, although not as grassroots as the above example, the Slovenian Museum of Contemporary History set up a fictional personal page of Elizabeta Juta Kranjec, a persona based on diaries and historiographical accounts. It was set up in 2014 to commemorate the centenary of the beginning of the Great War and was conceptualised as an exploration of what people would write were social media the medium of the day.[35] Elizabeta's Timeline thus presents a person who lived in Slovenia during WWI and traces her life from birth up until 1916. Interestingly, her life 'resumes' in 2014, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the Great War, and she shares, one hundred years later, her thoughts, fears, photos with her 2014 friends, including the fictional pages of her brother Jožef Pepi Kranjec and her cousin Ortenzija Vuga (actually based on a real person).

These pages, including the Polish cases above, reveal odd aspects of digital afterlife: one is invited to befriend a person from an experientially inaccessible time, a person that by all intents and purposes should no longer be here (regardless of the fact that it's a fictional character). Still, she is here and she, apparently, also manages her Facebook page. Despite the fact that the Museum's project is clear in that the person is a fictional construct based on historical facts, the user nevertheless becomes entangled with a fictional re-presencing of a person and a historical period. But there is more. Such fictional pages serve as excellent examples of the culture of the past: the past becomes viral and personal, we click into it and it pops up on our timelines.

This is particularly relevant for the former socialist countries that have gone through a regime change. For instance, one can find a number of pages dedicated to the president of the German Democratic Republic (1949–1990), Erich Honecker, to the phenomenon of Ostalgie,[36] to

the DDR itself, which rarely have more than a few dozen followers.[37] Czechoslovakia, likewise, is not too exuberantly resurrected on Facebook. There are more than 100 Facebook pages featuring the Soviet Union but only a few have more than 1,000 followers.

Jugoslavija, My Facebook Friend

The search term 'Jugoslavija' yields more than 100 results in Facebook pages. Much like in other post-socialist historical pages, Yugoslavia-related pages rarely exceed 1,000 members or followers. Among these, several pages impersonate the country and often have clearly set administrative policies; the administrator engages in posting and policing the page. The page *SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia* had more than 118,000 'likes' in June 2011 and 161,000 in 2015.[38] In the 'About' section the *SFR Jugoslavija* admin states: 'Nobody in our country has to renounce his national allegiance. But, at the same time we are still also Yugoslavs … -Tito'.[39] The 'Company Overview' gives the words of the unofficial Yugoslav anthem, 'Od Vardara pa do Triglava', which plays the role of territorial marker, delimiting the symbolic, material and mythic dimension of the 'company' in question. Referring to the northwesternmost and southeasternmost ends of the country stretching between the rivers in the east and the Adriatic Sea in the west, the anthem effectively pins to the 'ground' the virtual space of togetherness.

The links posted on the Timeline generally include popular (predominantly pop, rock) songs but also ethno and revolutionary and workers songs, as well as army songs from the Yugoslav period and from the time after the collapse. In many cases they elicit rather nostalgic responses and reminiscences about the popular cultural socialist Yugoslav past. For instance, the post from 4 June 2011 at 01:51 contains a link to Toma Zdravković's song 'Da mi je stari ziv' [If only Stari was alive].[40] The responses to the video are brief, yet emotional: 'What a legend , respect … 04 June at 01:59'; 'when I see this flag I know I'm about to hear or see something good and even remember one old good time regards 04 June at 02:01'; 'It made me cry … 04 June at 02:42'; 'fanatic and unrepeatable legend of folk music … :) 04 June at 09:56'.[41]

The post with a link to the official Yugoslav anthem elicits similarly emotional responses and also alludes to the present-day dissatisfaction with the post-Yugoslav situation: 'the one and only for all the times. 04 June at 13:45; Never forgotten. 04 June at 15:16; we'll never have a better anthem, death to fascism freedom to the people, for yugoslavia,

always ready. 04 June at 21:46.[42] The cursory comments contribute to the emergence of the page as a digital memorial. In response to a topic, the comments demonstrate affective investments triggered by the fact that a photo or a song resonates with users' 'whatever': 'this is the most beautiful anthem in the world. For me even today, this is my anthem. once we would stand up and listen to it. 05 June at 00:33', or: 'The only anthem I ever respected, loved and new the lines, because I often used to sing it at manifestations and celebrations! 05 June at 17:08'.[43]

That such statements rarely give an elaborate explanation of why somebody likes particular music or the description of feelings it arouses, let alone any debate on either politics or history, are trends not to be dismissed: when contributing to Facebook posts—and participating in an act of remembering, thus sustaining digital afterlife—users are not in any way required to justify their thinking or beliefs. By participating in a public interaction they are also not required to make consistent or sensible statements and they are not required to know history or politics and make informed statements; yet, this does not mean that the effect their posts may have in public is negligible. These statements should be read in the context of affective exteriorisation of frustration or enthusiasm, the joy of immersing oneself into an audiovision that allows steeping in an imaginary journey into the past.

The situation is different in a number of pages going by the name of Yugoslavia's president, Josip Broz Tito. In September 2011, the *Josip Broz Tito* page had 7,487 'Likes', but all activity seems to have stopped after 15 September 2008. By 2015, the number of followers had nevertheless risen to 11,310, which suggests that the second, digital death of this particular Facebook page does little to annihilate the memory of Tito.[44] In the 'Info' section Josip Broz explains that he comes from Kumrovec and is 'Currently running for'

County: Jugoslavija was composed by Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia
District: Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia
Party: Komunista Partija Jugoslavije—Savez komunista Jugoslavije[45]

Due to the continual redesign of the Facebook platform that includes changes in privacy policy but also interface, the description in 2015 reads somewhat different. 'Page Info' contains different categories and an expanded 'About Me' section with Tito's short biography and his

'Political Views' set to 'Other'. These small differences could easily be dismissed as minor or irrelevant, but they point to a significant memory issue: the changes in the structure of social media go on mostly unnoticed and can only become apparent through diachronic comparison. This, however, is all but impossible on the level of everyday engagement with media that by each new update reset the interfacial geography of the endless now. It is not easy to assess the effects of the changing environmental structure in social media but, as speculative as it may be, this might just undermine the idea that a structural stability or fixity is needed to form and sustain collectivities. It seems that users tend to adapt to such minor changes without much notice, as opposed to publicised privacy policy changes that, to little or no avail, enrage users from time to time.

This does not mean that there is no reason for doubt or concern: such changes and user reactions reflect a wider phenomenon in public policies and economy of the 'new normal', implying that the introduction of radical changes (massive privatisation, cuts in public spending) appear moderate due small dosages administered one at a time, while only in retrospect they show the full extent of irreversibility, casting simultaneously any opposing voices into the realm of radicality. Similarly, it could be argued that the transience of digital media, perhaps most apparent in social media services deleting content that breaches terms and conditions (for example, hate speech), reinforces preservational affectivity and the culture of the past. This points to an ambiguity in the relationship between transience of experience and the desire to re-presence the past. Does keeping memory in such an environment enhance remembering?

The *Tito* page is a case of an on-the-fly practice of remembering, much like the *SFR Jugoslavija* example: it is not an elaborate or historically accurate record; rather, it is a personal and collective exteriorisation of memory. It rests on the user's participation in the practice of remembering: the posts contribute to textual co-creation of a string of thoughts and feelings, and frame the life of a digital memorial. Yet, on the other hand, such un-policed remembering (or at least permissive administrative policy) gives room to futile exchanges along the lines of 'He is my hero' versus 'No, he was a war criminal', as evident also from other similar pages and debates on the legacy of Yugoslavia in social media in general. For post-Yugoslavs, then, Facebook often provides a media-blend of shared historical and cultural referential points, which contribute to the boiling down of historical facticity to individual affectivity that sprouts from the elusive audiovisual mediatisations. This is indicative not only of a troublesome

and unresolved relationship with the past, present and the future, but also of a wider culture of transience and inattention to fact and detail as a consequence of hovering and fragmented attention.

Romance Departed

The discussion on affect and culture of the past in the time after the future brings in the issue of digital afterlife. From the post-Yugoslav perspective, dying spans the realms of the biological termination of life (victims of the Yugoslav Wars) and symbolic purification (mostly affecting post-Yugoslavs) that allegedly leads to national catharsis. The attempts to preserve Yugoslavia culturally and symbolically took off soon after the state disintegrated, predominantly as an attempt to counter nationalisation, as well as to preserve the legitimacy of biographical memories (see Chap. 7).[46] The development of social media propelled this further into the virtuality of remembering, leading to intriguing cases (some of them are discussed above) of life-beyond-death of the country, its leader and popular culture icons.[47]

I would like to recount here an experience that is interesting from an individual research perspective, yet it also provides an illustration of the immediacy of user engagement. Not least, it is a discussion on the capture of the moment of birth of one digital afterlife.[48] On 2 July 2011, while I was routinely going over several pages I was following and looking at posts on my 'Wall', one of the many *SFR Jugoslavija* posts brought the news that Yugoslav (Serbian) actress and singer, Olivera Marković, had passed away:

> ETERNAL GLORY AND MANY THANKS TO THE GREAT DIVA OF YUGOSLAV THEATRE ….
> OLIVERA MARKOVIĆ—DOVIĐENJA DRUŽE DOVIĐENJA(1973)
> IN MEMORIAM …. After a long and difficult illness the diva of Serbian and Yugoslav theatre passed away in Belgrade, 2 July at the age of 87, says the National Theatre Belgrade spokesperson.[49]

Before I knew it, I was involved in an act of co-creative, on-the-fly commemoration. Browsing through the comments, I was witnessing a digital memorial in the making. Within hours over 70 people expressed their condolences in short comments and over 200 people 'liked' the news. Interestingly, the users offered three different kinds of interventions: first person address ('olivera we love you'), general ('may the earth be easy on her and may she rest in peace, our best cinema actress') and personal/ individual descriptive exteriorisation of grief:

SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia SHE WAS A COMPLETE ARTIST AND
ACTOR AND SINGER OF ROMANCES AND SCHLAGER [CROONS]
AND A COMEDIANNE AND TRAGICIAN ALL IN ONE … IT HURTS
TO SEE ANY GREAT ACTOR GO BECAUSE THEY ARE THE ONES
WHO MARKED AN EPOCH … TOO BAD THEY DON'T LEAVE
BEHIND THEM WORTHY SUCCESSORS … OR AT LEAST VERY
FEW TODAY).[50]

This highlights key dimensions of the memory shift in digital media:
memorialisation and remembering not only breed change in *what* or
whom to remember but also in *how* to remember. In the first case, the
user employs the first person plural, implying a wider grieving commu-
nity into which herself and the 'commemoratee' are inscribed. She also
addresses the deceased in an informal manner, as evident in not capitalis-
ing the actress's name, which alludes to the expression of proximity and
intimacy. Affectivity in *SFR Jugoslavija's* post is expressed through the use
of capital letters, which emphasises the user's involvement and is further
aided by the content of the message. The memorial thus serves as a multi-
vocal space of intimate and singular expression of grief where the assembly
of voices effectively co-creates an affective memorial space.

The bitter realisation that the flow of time is unconquerable is sub-
sumed in the following statement: 'Legend after legend, they slowly
depart … :('.[51] The statement eloquently relates the desolation of post-
Yugoslav realities: slowly but steadily the people who marked the period,
the country and its popular culture are passing away, and with them a
living link to that past.

After some additional browsing, I came across Olivera Marković's
personal Facebook page.[52] Soon enough, I realised the page was not *her*
personal page but rather a fan page in her name. The About section read:
'According to a "Večernje novosti" poll she comes fifth among the greatest
Serbian actresses of the 20th century.' The Facebook page was probably
created in February 2010, with the first post dated 25 February 2010.
The 'Info' section features a short biography and a list of her appearances
in film, TV series and theatre, as well as a list of awards she received. The
creator of 'Olivera' only sporadically posted links, mostly to her songs and
film excerpts on YouTube, as well as to relevant newspaper articles.

One of the linked articles, posted on 2 April 2010, alludes to Mrs
Marković's serious medical condition.[53] This suggests the page was, unin-
tentionally perhaps, already conceived as a memorial when Mrs Marković
was still alive. Surely, it was put up to pay respects to her theatrical and

musical contributions. Olivera Marković's page, which from today's per-
spective can be seen as an 'obituary in the making', became a place of
commemoration, containing numerous routine posts and links to videos
and news.[54]

Despite the fact that the actress did not manage the page herself, people
still tended to respond to 'her' in an as-if-she-were-there personal manner.
In one post the user refers in passing to the technology of communica-
tion: 'Dear Olivera, I'm glad to communicate with you at least this way.
I love Your songs, especially the one: 'Ja o proslosti ne mislim vise' [I
no longer think about the past] and you're also a great artist in acting.
With a bit of a delay: HAPPY BIRTHDAY AND MANY YOU LIVE
HEALTHY THROUGH WHAT GOD HAS GRANTED YOU. 06 May
2010 at 15:28'.[55] In absence of meeting in person, the users decided to
communicate with her through the Facebook page, suspending disbelief
and acting as if she were on the other side of the screen. However, from
the initial motivation, the page was considerably less active in the period
after September 2010, with only a few posts until 2 July 2011.

On 2 July *Olivera Marković* edited her 'Personal Information' and
'Location', which as of then included the date and location of her death,
Belgrade, Serbia. Page activity boomed after Vesna Miletić posted 'RIP
Olivera! :('.[56] (This was followed by a string of unrelated posts which were
solely directed to the subject of commemoration.)[57]

> I thank her for wonderful roles and songs. She enriched our lives … it's
> always difficult to say goodbye to a friend. 2 hours ago

> in Slo [Slovenia] we also loved you and admired you … find your peace of
> mind somewhere there among the stars, where we'll meet again ….condo-
> lences to family and friends 7 hours ago

> Glory! ♥♥ 8 hours ago ·

> Glory and thanks to Olivera Marković for all she has done as a great singer
> and actress in these territories!!! 8 hours ago

> :(((((((((((((((((((((((((((((([58]

Particularly intriguing in terms of digital memories and memorials is the
afterlife activity on the part of Mrs Marković, who had, or so it seemed,

posted the link about her passing away. Equally fascinating are the comments/replies to the post where people reply to 'her', but formally use the third person. Despite the fact that the page was run by another person, the structure of the page (personal photograph, real name, personal, first-person addresses) shifts the understanding of the post-mortem presence of a person through the suspension of disbelief[59], which also enables, if somewhat eerily and limited, interaction with the actress even in 2015. (In mid-2015, it appears that posts from before the date of her death are unavailable.)

If we compare the *Josip Broz Tito* page discussed above to the *Olivera Marković* page, there are certain similarities in terms of structure and content organisation. But the crucial difference lies in the positioning of both personalities within the perspective of digital memorials and commemorative collectivities. In the case of Mrs Marković, it seems that her life has ended digitally as well (despite her eerie presence in social media); the only thing remaining is the digital Facebook tombstone, while many of Tito's pages continue to live and new ones emerge.[60]

Many of these pages increasingly double as forums for 'nostalgicising' and are only rarely the site of engagement in debates about the country's past and, more importantly, its present and future. Among numerous pages dedicated to specific deceased socialist countries, a conspicuous number openly call for resurrecting or recreating them. This is particularly relevant for historical pages and to a lesser extent for blogging. In the case of Yugoslavia, the interplay between the platform's (changing, disappearing and emerging) technological structure, the dynamics of posting content and emergent new pages and posts reveals, as hinted above, a look into the ways that memory and remembering in the culture of the past have permeated the everyday and mediated realities of the present with a deluge of re-presenced themes, topics and events in audiovision.

Enhanced Immediacy of Remembering

In addition to the practical memorial features discussed above, Facebook historical pages and museum blogs open the way to consider theoretical conceptualisation of digital memory practices. Exteriorisations of memory facilitate co-creative inscription of the passing of time, the expiring of an individual or a country, or the debates about its implications and

meanings into the broader socio-cultural contexts and politics of memory. The inscription re-presences a historical event or a personality from the past; it brings the past and the person closer to the individual or a collectivity in the present. Or, what is more, exteriorisations of memory in digital media, in view of the culture of the past, grant a historical event media presence in the present.

In some aspects, museum blogs are remediations of offline memorial practices, not least in that the object is 'always a term within a system within the syntagmatic plan of the museum, which can be a historical order'.[61] Yet they also differ significantly in enabling an *ad hoc*, random and fleeting participation in a commemorating community through the mediation of objects around which an affective field attracts emerging collectivities. Such memorial interventions in digital media facilitate a different kind of temporality and territoriality of participation. Unlike the mass media—defined by the punctuality and rhythmisation of the everyday, structured, for example, through scheduled broadcasts and deliveries ingrained in print, TV, radio—where the community could identify with a specific event and its materiality (through news and collective commemoration) in territorial terms (due to the punctuality of production and reception), the sense of belonging in digital media is critically redefined through an individual's participation in the process that is not necessarily punctual or territorial but dispersed and fragmented.

A mediatised event, which in terms of online publication can be seen as the 'most condensed and semantically wealthy unit of time',[62] is no longer exclusively timed to a specific linguistic, national or spatial context. The pervasive fascination and determinant of online temporality, the 'real time' of publication and experience/consumption, as Lisa Gitelman argues, is 'unlabored, immediately lived and immediately real [...] more of an effect, then, an experience of data on-the-fly, than it is the literal co-presence or co-temporality of users and event'.[63] Because of their potential to encourage *ad hoc* participation, digital memorials differ significantly from offline memorials and monuments. As discussed above, digital memorials use video, sound, image and text to create a digital story, while offline memorials typically feature a statue or a cenotaph, an inscription on a slab of stone, flowers, photos, or candles.[64] The crucial difference is in the spreadability (mediation) of exhibited objects. In this view, an important aspect of online participation is the *anticipated* co-presence or the dis-simultaneity of collective

reception, which rests in media convergence and individualised strategies of mediation of memory.

Physical presence of people at a commemorating event in order to exercise the collective re-inscription of shared memory is the necessary condition for a commemoration to take place. By extension, television and radio allow for displaced, yet territorially bound and still synchronous or punctual 'participation' at an event decidedly marked by liveness.[65] Digital memorials, on the other hand, are characterised by participation and interaction beyond the precondition of live attendance or a designated time of broadcasting on TV, the massive synchronisation machine.[66]

This distinction is of course frail and schematic, particularly if we consider that offline memorials tend to feature different strategies and approaches to employing audiovision. Yet, it is in digital memorials that the shifting temporalities and territorialities can come to their full realisation: for example, through a mobile device, a memorial (as for instance the Yugoslav's Virtual Museum, or one of the Josip Broz Tito Facebook pages) can be 'visited' at any time and from any (connected) location, a trace of the visit can be visibly left using the comment function, and the act of commemoration can be further enhanced by digital contemporaneity of experience: knowing other users may not be 'actually' present but taking the trace of their presence as a sign of presence.

Digital memorials allow for the formation of a dispersed audience (collectivity or nation) that no longer has 'to attend' in order to participate, which is a feature that is particularly useful for former Yugoslavs. Such collectivities are thus granted more flexibility in voicing marginal views and positions, and co-creating and interpreting the past in otherwise nationalised historiographies. As such, marginal views often counter the official revisionist and 'balancing' re-narrativisations of the legacy of the Second World War, the post-war history and the post-1991 period. Fusing the location of viewing (where I am connecting from), the 'whatever' that critically informs (my) views on the past, the location and temporality of the memorial (where I am connecting to), and the intended or unintended 'whatever' that is engrained into the memorial, further adds to the enhancement and defragmentation of affect. The 'whatever', engrained in a digital memorial, constitutes—in the process of user interpretation—the affective field of entanglement of users, content, and imaginaries.

Grassroots digital memorials thus significantly differ from their hardcopy counterparts because of their embeddedness into technologically determined communications spaces. This is furthered by the spreadability of

content between networked individuals, interfaces and devices. Crucially, the use of audiovision largely sourced in popular culture affects how the past can be imagined and how we can think about it. Audiovisions thus define the looks and sounds of the past and are, given their persuasiveness and capaciousness, overwhelmingly attributed 'authenticity'. With this in mind, remembering in digital media can be seen even more as a 'living matter': as some of the Facebook historical pages discussed above suggest, digital memorials as cyberplaces of memory seem to be increasingly turning into spaces where, fragmentally and hoveringly, the intertwining sociopolitical and the intimate are structuring the digital memory playground.

Thus, in the context of the debate on user entanglement with digital communication technology, the pervasiveness of audiovisions of the past, and also in the context of the effects of hovering attention (discussed in the Introduction), we could speak of *enhanced immediacy of remembering*: mediatised and networked events in commemorative acts are brought closer to the user and on-the-fly commemorating community, and form constitutive parts of individual's quotidian traverses. In this view, the commemorated event entangles users into an affective commemorative act, which is crucially (co-)determined by the 'continuous present tense of Web publication [and] imbued with the cultural logic of timelessness [which] make a new medium authoritative in a sense by co-opting cultural authority, by entwining the new means and existing subjects of public memory.'[67]

Now, it has to be emphasised that the individual and often intimate motivations engrained in the co-creation and social life of a digital memorial puts the memorial practice in opposition to much material, architectural and monumental constructions dedicated to remembering or commemorating the dead. Memorials that intervene in a public sphere or in a grieving collectivity are on an intimate mission which may appeal to or attract other users into the community of mourning. Due to the enhanced immediacy of remembering, digital memorials, as private as they may be, have a public status and extend the privacy of mourning into performative, transient acts of grief and commemoration.[68] Eventually, digital memorials are not necessarily on a mission to address a specific mourning collectivity but instead create one that addresses, re-presences, repurposes and recontextualises a specific past event into the present of a culture of the past. This interplay provides a context within which I discuss in the following chapters several other endeavours to re-presence the past and to re-interpret it through uses of audiovision.

Notes

1. See Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, London and New York, Routledge, 2006, p. 44.
2. Some elements of this chapter appear in Martin Pogačar, 'Digital Afterlife: Ex-Yugoslav Pop Culture Icons and Social Media', in *Post-Yugoslav Constellations*, Vlad Beronja and Stijn Vervaet (eds.), Berlin, De Gruyter, 2016, 279–300.
3. The Viktor Wynd Museum of Curiosities, The Last Tuesday Society, http://www.thelasttuesdaysociety.org/museum-curiosities/#.VXgxa-eczNM, date accessed 12 October 2015.
4. The Viktor Wynd Museum of Curiosities.
5. Elisa Giaccardi, 'Collective Storytelling and Social Creativity in the Virtual Museum: A Case Study', *Design Issues* 2006, 22(3): 29–41, 29.
6. See Amanda Lagerkvist, '9:11 in Sweden: Commemoration at Electronic Sites of Memory', *Television and New Media* 2014, 15(4): 350–70; Lee Jarvis, '9/11 Digitally Remastered? Internet Archives, Vernacular Memories and WhereWereYou.org', *Journal of American Studies* 2001, 45, 793–814; see also Andrew Hoskins, 'Signs of the Holocaust: Exhibiting Memory in a Mediated Age', *Media, Culture & Society* 2003, 25(1): 7–22; Anna Reading, 'Digital Interactivity in Public Memory Institutions: The Uses of New Technologies in Holocaust Museums', *Media Culture and Society* 2003, 25(1): 67–85; Anna Reading, 'Scarlet Lips in Belsen: Culture, Gender and Ethnicity in the Policies of the Holocaust', *Media Culture and Society* 1999, 21(4): 481–501.
7. Malin Wahlberg, 'YouTube Commemoration: Private Grief and Communal Consolation', in Snickars and Vonderau, *The YouTube Reader*, pp. 218–35, p. 232.
8. The use of counter-memorial here draws on, but differs from James E. Young's conceptualisation of counter monument, alluding to a shift from traditional monument iconography in order to raise 'awareness of the fact that while monuments do highlight historical connections, they can never replace public and individual responsibility for critical recollection and responsible remembrance', James E. Young, 'Counter-monuments—Criticising Traditional Monuments', Goethe Institut, 2005, http://www.goethe.de/ins/ke/en/nai/kul/mag/aue/kgd/204638.html, date accessed 23 August 2011. Rather, it refers to online action whereas one digital memorial is countered by creating another one prompting a different point of view (for example video responses on YouTube).
9. Ellen Rutten, Julie Fedor and Vera Zvereva (eds.), *Memory, Conflict and New Media: Web Wars in Post-Socialist States*, New York, Routledge, 2013.

10. Steven Berlin Johnson, 'The Glassbox and the Commonplace Book', http://www.stevenberlinjohnson.com/2010/04/the-glass-box-and-the-commonplace-book.html, date accessed 8 August 2011.

11. Jonathan Swift, A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet, About.com, Classic Literature, http://classiclit.about.com/library/bl-etexts/jswift/bl-jswift-letad.htm?IAM=sherlock_abc&terms=commonplace+book, date accessed 8 August 2011.

12. Commonplacing was particularly popular in the (since the 1800s) Anglo-Romance world, unlike diary writing, which seems to be more common; a similar practice, although one perhaps more limited to the elite, was Polish *silva rerum* (forest of things), a cross-generational written and illustrated record of a family.

13. Zlatko Šćepanović, 'Treća Jugoslavija—država veća od svojih sinova i poneke kćeri http://www.bastabalkana.com/2010/11/treca-jugoslavija-drzava-veca-od-svojih-sinova-i-poneke-kceri/, date accessed 8 August 2011. Unless stated otherwise, all translations are from the Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian/Slovenian.

14. Šćepanović, 'Treća Jugoslavija'.

15. For a detailed account on YouTube videos as digital memorials see Chap. 3.

16. *Yugoslavia—Virtual Museum*, http://yugoslavian.blogspot.com/, date accessed 8 August 2011.

17. *Yugoslavia—Virtual Museum*.

18. As can be understood from 'About Me', see http://www.blogger.com/profile/14316229210367248105, date accessed 8 August 2011.

19. The Somalis shared a somewhat similar fate with the disintegration of Somalia. See: Abdisalam M. Issa-Salwe, 'The Internet and the Somali Diaspora: The Web as a New Means of Expression', *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies* 2008, 6, 54–67, http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/bildhaan/vol6/iss1/8, date accessed 8 August 2011. The topic of diaspora and the internet has been covered extensively, see for instance Jannis Androutsopoulos, 'Multilingualism, Diaspora, and the Internet: Codes and Identities on German-based Diaspora Websites', *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2006, 10(4): 520–47; Emily N. Ignacio, *Building Diaspora: Filipino Cultural Community Formation on the Internet*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2005; Kilic Kanat, 'Ethnic Media and Politics: The Case of the Use of the Internet by Uyghur Diaspora', *First Monday* 2005, 10(7): http://firstmonday.org/htbin/cgiwrap/bin/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/1259/1179, date accessed 8 August 2011.

20. Giaccardi, 'Collective Storytelling and Social Creativity', 29–30.

21. 'Happy New Year With Lepa Brena', *Yugoslavia—Virtual Museum*, http://yugoslavian.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2009-01-01T00%3A00%3A00-05%3A00&updated-max=2010-01-01T00%3A00%3A00-05%3A00&max-results=50, date accessed 8 August 2011.

22. Lepa Brena is a musical icon of the Yugoslav music scene. See Ana Hofman, 'Lepa Brena: Repolitization of Musical Memories on Yugoslavia', *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta* 2012, 60(1), 21–32.

23. See 'Labor Day, May 1', *Yugoslavia—Virtual Museum*, http://yugoslavian.blogspot.com/2009/05/labor-day-may-1st.html, date accessed 21 August 2011.

24. Roy Ascott, 'The Museum of the Third Kind', *Intercommunication* 1996, 15, 74–9, quoted in Giaccardi, 'Collective Storytelling and Social Creativity', p. 30.

25. See Joanne Garde-Hansen, *Media and Memory*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2011, p. 85; see also José van Dijck, 'Facebook and the Engineering of Connectivity: A Multi-layered Approach to Social Media Platforms', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 2012, 19(2): 141–55.

26. I would like to bring to attention an aspect of conducting Facebook research: the difficulty of retrospectively tracing user and visitor activities, particularly over a longer period of time. Posts cannot be accessed by date search but only browsed 'analogically', that is by hitting the 'Older posts' button (in 2011), or jumping to a specific year (featured in later interfaces). Moreover, posts cannot be browsed through a topic search, unless the topic is hashtagged. Over the course of one and a half years, in late 2011 and 2012, I followed several pages (hovering attention). From today's perspective, this serves as a two-layered memorial exercise: on the one hand is a historical snapshot of the, indeed fragmentary, Facebook memorial landscape; on the other hand it is a certain archaeology of understanding and thinking about this phenomenon. At the time, I decided not to attempt an analysis of the entire lifespan of a particular page and likewise opted out of using any additional software. During the revision of this text, all pages were revisited and new insights incorporated into the observations.

27. According to a 2015 study, there were 1,44 billion Facebook users worldwide in 2015; see Dan Noyes, 'Top 20 Valuable Facebook Statistics—Updated October 2015', 18 October 2015, *Zephoria—Internet Marketing Solutions*, https://zephoria.com/top-15-valuable-facebook-statistics/. Date accessed 8 December 2015.

28. Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', p. 2.

29. Dieter de Bruyn, 'World War 2.0: Commemorating War and Holocaust in Poland through Facebook', *Digital Icons: Studies in Russian, Eurasian and Central European New Media* 2010, 4, 45–62, also available at http://www.digitalicons.org/issue04/dieter-de-bruyn/, 47, see also Garde-Hansen, *Media and Memory*, p. 85.

30. 'OMG WWII on Facebook', http://www.collegehumor.com/article/5971108/omg-wwii-on-facebook, date accessed 24 August 2011.

31. Note that the time of the post is used to mark the relevant year, and the use of technological affordances of the platform to 'like' a certain event.
32. See de Bruyn, 'World War 2.0'.
33. de Bruyn, 'World War 2.0', 52.
34. de Bruyn, 'World War 2.0', 60.
35. See Elizabeta Juta Kranjec, https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100008298310576&fref=ts.
36. On Ostalgie see Daphne Berdahl, '(N)Ostalgie, for the Present: Memory, Longing, and East German Things', *Ethnos* 1999, 64(2): 192–211; Berdahl, *On the Social Life of Postsocialism*, *Memory*, *Consumption*, *Germany*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2010.
37. Search term 'Deutsche Demokratische Republik', http://www.facebook.com/pages/Deutsche-Demokratische-Republik/147192811966943#!/search.php?q=deutsche%20demokratische%20republik&init=quick&tas=0.5241627246387202, date accessed 18 September 2011.
38. SFR SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia, Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/SFR-Jugoslavija-SFR-Yugoslavia-36436743833/?ref=ts, accessed 13 October 2015.
39. SFR SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia.
40. Stari [Old man] was a vernacular term used to address President Tito.
41. SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia.
42. SFR SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia, post from 4 June 2011 at 03:11.
43. SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia.
44. Josip Broz Tito, https://www.facebook.com/pages/Josip-Broz-Tito/39180551998, date accessed 17 June 2015.
45. Josip Broz Tito, 'Info', http://www.facebook.com/pages/Josip-Broz-Tito/39180551998?sk=info#!/pages/Josip-Broz-Tito/39180551998?sk=info, date accessed 3 August 2011.
46. See the discussion on Cyber Yuga above.
47. See Pogačar, 'Music and Memory'.
48. See also Lagerkvist, 'New Memory Cultures and Death'.
49. SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia, Facebook, post from 2 July 2011, 14:23, date accessed 21 September 2011.
50. SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia, Facebook, post from 2 July 2011.
51. SFR Jugoslavija—SFR Yugoslavia, Facebook, post from 2 July 2011.
52. Olivera Marković, http://www.facebook.com/pages/Olivera-Markovi%C4%87/367876368153, date accessed 24 August. Within hours of establishing the page, the number of people who 'liked' it grew to 1,136.
53. Zeljko Jovanovic. 'Umetnica za sva vremena', *Naša borba*, *Nezavisni politički dnevnik*, http://www.yurope.com/nasa-borba/arhiva/Feb98/0802/0802_15.HTM, date accessed 24 August 2011.

54. Soon after her death three new commemorative pages were created: *Olivera Markovic R.I.P.*, *Olivera Markovic RIP* and *Olivera Markovic (In memoriam 1925–2011)*. At the time of writing the three pages had very little recorded activity (editing 'personal' details). Olivera Markovic R.I.P., for instance, has 544 likes and a single post, 'Now, she's gone too', linking to a news about the death of Amy Winehouse. *Olivera Markovic R.I.P.,* http://www.facebook.com/#!/oliverarip, date accessed 21 September 2011.

55. Olivera Marković, date accessed 24 August 2011.

56. Olivera Marković.

57. Olivera Marković.

58. Olivera Marković.

59. Janet Staiger, *Interpreting Films. Studies in Historical Reception of American Cinema*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992, p. 11.

60. See Pogačar, 'Music and Memory'.

61. Ernst, *Digital Memory and the Archive*, p. 40.

62. Mary Ann Doane, quoted in Gitelman, *Always Already New*, p. 138.

63. Gitelman, *Always Already New*, p. 138.

64. Being aware that the distinction between 'real' and 'virtual' hardly helps us to understand memory in digital media, I deliberately radicalise the difference to extend the point in what follows. As Leopold Lambert notes, 'Arguments about immateriality are excuses that we as people and societies stop thinking. Everything that is around us is material', in Kristina Božič, 'V svetu militizirane arhitekture je upor že hoja', *Dnevnik* 17 October 2015, https://www.dnevnik.si/1042722568/svet/v-svetu-militizirane arhitekture-je-upor-ze-hoja-, date accessed 23 October 2015.

65. On liveness see Lisa Gitelman's discussion in the chapter 'New Media </ Body>', in her *Always Already New*; see also Phillip Auslander, *Liveness*, New York, Routledge, 2008.

66. See Stiegler, *Symbolic Misery*, p. 19.

67. Gitelman, *Always Already New*, p. 145, 141.

68. Kurt Lindeman, 'Listening for Echoes: Hypertext, Performativity, and Online Narratives of Grief', *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies* 2013, 9(2), http://liminalities.net/9-2/lindemann.pdf.

Popular Music Between the Groove and the Code

Music finds various places and numerous hearts where it survives regime changes, technological advancements, or changes in popularity. Today, the most popular sources for accessing music are streaming services (iTunes, Spotify, and the like), YouTube and torrents. However, there is one place where music lives and thrives off-radar: in music blogs. Music blogs invite further development of the idea of the blog as a micro-archive, interweaving it with the perspective that music is one of the most intimate 'technologies' of memory formation and inscription: music is the vessel that soaks in, carries through time and retroactively constructs the Zeitgeist. It is a vessel that transports intimacies and feelings across space and time. It is a transductor of individual experience into collective experientiality and lifeworlds, as well as a vehicle that on an intimate level affectively connects the individual's present and past. The individual's renditions of the past are fuelled by popular culture content that in hyperindividualised worlds provides the last commonly shared experiential field. What is more, Ryan Lizardi argues that 'the individual past-centred subject […] is created by tapping into affective connections to out own past and our desire to feel a part off a collective cultural past. Yet it is a collective past of a peculiarly individualistic type. In today's hypermediated world, technological affordances make it easy to create our own "playlist past" of downloaded vintage video games and DVD box sets'.[1]

One of the more intimate and by far the most easily playlistable elements of popular culture, music enables the cross-encryption of human experiences into individual and collective entanglements of everyday life across time and space. Thus music transgresses the apparent divisions between the individual and the collective, the intimate and the public, the body and the mind, as an affective transformative force enacted through playing, dancing, or listening.[2] In this capacity, music plays a role in social cohesion,[3] and, I argue, also constitutes a link to the past, which is what makes it a technology of memory.

In the frame of technological and political changes and developments, Yugoslav popular music in musical archives is investigated in this chapter through the transposition of music from its physical carrier (vinyl, cassette, CD) to its algo*rhythmic* life.[4] Based on the provisions of media archaeology and micro-archiving, I discuss how Yugoslav popular music is preserved and what purpose the digital incarnation of music serves for old and new fans and collectors today.[5] Or rather, by looking at several music blogs as micro-archives, I investigate the role of Yugoslav popular music as a technology of memory and indeed a time capsule that conveys and co-creates memories of the Yugoslav socialist period and ensures for it, however precarious, a musical afterlife.

Music: A Technology of Memory

Music is elusive in its existence; a song is always in transit, so to speak, and is, as an object that emerges in time, ultimately bound to the linearity of time; its existence is its passing away, its end. Yet it leaves traces in the listener's body and mind; it literally stirs the air, body and emotions; it creates an atmosphere, and inscribes itself in individual experience and memory, and in the passing of time.

It was Edison, over a century ago, who invented the phonograph as a textual device to capture sound in a physical trace, that is, to arrest the sound in passing.[6] The phonograph later made history in the music industry and stardom and fan cultures and as a commodity (this nicely explicates the discrepancies between the intended and actual uses of technology). But even before that speech recording became implicated in experiments on mechanical language reproduction and even in automata, where the technology was used to 'simulate the […] language of the soul: the[ir] dolls said "Mama" and "Papa"'.[7] Since then the recording of sound has come a long way, in terms of technology (from wax cylinders and tin foil

rolls to vinyl, magnetic tape, compact disc (CD), and finally to an array of compression algorithms), culture (the cultural experience of listening to recorded sound, including its influence on popular culture) and culture industry. Over a century of music (as) technology gives ample resource to study music at the intersections of culture, technology and memory. One of the mainstays in thinking about music is the intervention of technology into the preservability of sound and the relation of sound to the source, which has been a topic of philosophical investigation at least since Pythagoras.

In this vein, Pauline Stakelon argues the recording, by 'separating the performance from the sound […] made music into an object to be owned and used at one's discretion'.[8] But, by same token, it can be seen as setting up a screen which turns the linearity of music, as I explain below, into the circularity of audio landscapes. With the digital lives of music files, physicality seems to have been removed from music entirely.[9] What is more,

> [i]n analog cylinder recordings, the recording's referent is the original performance. This relationship is indexical, as a needle records the vibrations of the sound by tracing grooves onto the cylinder. When a digital sound file of a cylinder recording is created, the historical cylinder object becomes the referent. The binary code that makes up these digital files bears a symbolic relationship to the cylinder recording. Both of these procedures, however, involve a translation of the sound into a new object, allowing for culturally contingent expectations about these sounds to be introduced into the mode of production.[10]

Yet, even in the digital era, music remains bisensorial: the sound is a physical force capable of spreading through the air and making things and bodies *move*, while it also has the capacity of *moving* us emotionally through melody, rhythm and lyrics, acting along the way as a translator between the exterior and the interior. Thus, music is leaving traces in the listening subject that may not wear off that easily. Rather, during and after the listener encounters music as a time-capsule: she is left with disquieted emotions, bubbling images from another place or another time, or quite viscerally experiencing the physical effect of music on the body and the mind, for example the cutis anserine,[11] or swelling tears. It is in this view that I see music as a technology of memory, which is partly conversant with Nabeel Zuberi's idea of memory-engine:

> technological developments such as digitization have increased the storage of musical machinery—the instruments of production and the equipment

of consumption. Twentieth-century music is an almost infinitely expanding archive or museum of sounds. Record companies mine rock's past in their back catalogs. Well-known and neglected recordings are recontextualized in new geneaologies. Obscure musics from the past form new genres and 'market categories like "lounge music" or "world music". Boxed sets of multiple compact discs reprocess and compile the famous act's every recorded breath and cough.[12]

While partly overlapping with Zuberi's engine idea, music as a technology of memory emphasises individuality and intimacy of remembering through music, which perhaps is best captured at the interstices of spreadability and Stiegler's temporal object.[13] Listening to a song in a particular time and space co-creates a specific soundscape fatally soaked with Sara Ahmed's 'whatever'. It is distilled from the historical, social, cultural, personal and intimate contexts of the listening individual. The experientiality of music, then, on the individual and collective levels is understood through the fusion and convergence of the song with the individual's mindset and her worldview, as well as the socio-cultural and historical backgrounds individually, intimately and affectively interwoven into memorial soundscapes.

Memorial Songscapes

Music, therefore, plays an important role in the formation, preservation and articulation of memory. And this is an intriguing relationship. Michel Chion wrote about the specific characteristics of a pop song in cinema: materially, it is delimited by the capacity of a circular single record to just about three minutes; formally, it has an overture, peak and ending; and most importantly, the form is repetitive.[14] The dramatic structure of the song is interspersed with a refrain, which breaks the temporal linearity to establish a circular repetition within a temporally limited frame, a musical neverend. In a way the song becomes a 'world' of its own, 'populated' by the listener's 'whatever', fuelled by images and personal renditions of past and present realities. It is important to note that this aids the creation of an intimate, affective landscape which becomes infused by the wider historical, social and cultural contexts, and retrospectively becomes an affective force in imagining the past.

In this respect, the social role of music (experience) entails the circulation of tastes and records, meanings and beliefs attributed to and expressed through music. They crucially contribute to the inscription of the song

into the memory of the listener. A remnant of the past—with its malleability and openness of interpretation—an 'old' popular song transposes the individuality of the listener onto the level of a collectively shared social experience. Knowing that other people are listening to a song simultaneously (most explicitly related to the radio) facilitates a collective experience by positing the listener into a listening collectivity. Stiegler observes similar things when remarking on pop songs in Alain Resnais' film: 'In the course of the film we are surprised to find that we know so many songs that so many other people know as well […] we are surprised that they are interlaced with our consciousness, with its past flow, in the most secret and intimate way possible.'[15]

Simultaneously an intimate, an individual and a collective experience, music adds to capturing, reflecting and enhancing feelings. Crucially, 'music's ability to elicit highly personal emotions and associations seems to help people to relive their past over and over again.'[16] For example, as arrested in Janez Menart's poem 'Nežnost v mraku' [Tenderness in the Dusk][17] listening to a dear song often triggers the feelings and emotions experienced and imprinted in its soundscape while listening to it in a specific environment or mood, at a specific time in an individual's history; this is translated into the present with each new listening. The collective aspect of listening to music posits music as a technology of inscription of individual experience into a broader socio-cultural and historical moment. In this sense, Philip Auslander argues that 'the sense of community arises from being part of an audience, and the quality of the experience of community derives from the specific audience situation, not from the spectacle for which that audience has gathered'.[18] For the purposes of this discussion, an emphasis on the sociality of music encoded in its materiality is important. Karin Bijsterveld and José van Dijck argue that

> sound and memory are inextricably intertwined with each other, not just through repetition of familiar tunes and commercially exploited nostalgia on oldies radio stations, but through the exchange of valued songs by means of pristine recordings and recording apparatuses, as well as through cultural practices such as collecting, archiving and listening.[19]

Bijsterveld and van Dijck suggest that music and music practices are primarily about exchange. Conditioned by the materiality of recording apparatuses and sound carriers, the exchange of either records or files remains the central historical feature of music experience since the invention of

recording and playback devices, and is inextricably related to the specificities of audience situations. Regardless of whether the music is 'carved' or 'coded', the listeners, individually and collectively, partake in an exchange that in the era of digital music files goes beyond the mere swapping of files. Rather, it further extends, as I discuss below, through spreadability and micro-archiving, the role of music as a technology of memory and affect into the realm of socio-historical commentary about the past and the present.

Music Blogs as Micro-archives

Music blogging is a genre of blogging that differs from fan or artist blogging, which typically includes reviews, musicians' presentations, photo galleries, free music, trivia, or merchandise. Music blogs, on the other hand, are an endeavour typically on the fringes of legality, intended to provide downloadable music files to users. Such blogs will also often include artist presentation, music reviews, the blogger's personal thoughts about the music. But this is rather peripheral content that serves to provide a background around which the central activity is based.

Music blogs tend to employ two general approaches to their subject: a music blog can be a focused, genre-specific blog: such blogs provide collections of a particular music genre (e.g., rock, pop), including artists' more or less complete discographies, possibly album reviews, track listings, duration of songs and, occasionally, a blogger's description/contextualisation of a particular piece of music within her own socio-cultural milieu, along with reviews and links to other sites. There are also period-specific blogs which focus on music from a particular music-era, for example the 1960s or 1980s, normally including music from diverse genres. Or, as in the cases discussed below, they focus on a specific historical period; in this case, that of the socialist Yugoslavia. Particularly relevant for this discussion is the affordance of such blogs to enable not only new lives and spreadability of forgotten music from another time but, notably so, also the preservation of music that would otherwise be completely lost.

In this view, the question arises whether music is capable of 'archiving' more than just personal experiences, or can it, in fact, be seen as a complementary chronicler of the past. In other words, is it possible through the music of a certain period to gain access to the gist, or the Zeitgeist of that period? And what can music transfer across time? Due to the massive mediatisation of the quotidian and also due to genre specificities that are,

retrospectively, attributable and discernible in music, music as a technology of memory can re-presence, if only just a fraction of the past. As it does so, it also becomes a tool and emotive stimuli to express a commentary on the present. This issue is particularly resonant if we look at the uses and lives of music in digital media, where the spreadability of music files, as well as manipulating and editing music files points to different aspects of the listening practice and uses of music in the mediatised everyday.

Before it was technologically possible to record sound,[20] listening to music was a unique-in-time, terminable experience, and the only way of consuming music was listening or playing it in real time. With recording technology, music and listening became repeatable in the identical form, but in radically different settings.[21] Digital technologies facilitated the emergence of music practices that allowed listeners to consume fragmented and recontextualised bits and pieces of remixed samples, and frequently to engage less attentively. In the 'good old days' of vinyl, the carrier-centred listening experience revolved around buying a record (which was an event in itself) and then listening to the tracks, usually with a couple of friends, in consecutive order. This story changed somewhat with CDs, as they enable random and repeat functions and programming of track order (impossible with vinyl). It could be argued that the need of the listener to 'physically engage' with analogue machines to replay, rewind, or skip tracks kept her closer to the practice of listening to music. On the other hand, mp3s (and inevitable playlists) on the digital end of storing and replaying music require much less effort to set up a list, which can then be endlessly replayed and/or updated, thus turning music into increasingly just another consumable and a soundtrack of our lives.

Yugoslav popular music and its life on blogs point to an aspect of digitised music that should not be neglected, that is, the origin of the music and the records. In many cases, the music (the records) in question is fairly old and not easily obtainable (as opposed to a number of other blogs that rip music from CDs). This is particularly apparent when looking at music blogging that focuses on pre-celebrity music fandom and subcultures, and, particularly, musical rarities—for example, those that emerged after the rock'n'roll boom in the 1950s, and particularly after the 1960s—that saw comparatively little or no digitisation in the early 1990s. Acute under-digitisation of the music from the socialist Yugoslavia, characteristic of the early post-Yugoslav period—due to the break-up of the country and the ensuing wars—is to some extent compensated by music blogs.

After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the music industry collapsed and several national industries and markets emerged in its wake. The initial political, economic, social and cultural *deprochement* meant—in the field of music (industry)—that cooperation, particularly in the early 1990s, was considerably hindered. Records from other parts of the former country were not reissued due to copyright issues and changing market characteristics (for example, in the early 1990s, in Slovenia, there was a widespread dislike of music coming from the former Yugoslavia and its successor countries). Consequently, the transfer of music from vinyl to CDs was only sporadic. For some time it was all but impossible to buy any of this music legally (with the exception of secondhand shops or flea markets).

Along with illegal releases and, later on, a market-driven increase in reissuing former Yugoslav music on CDs, these blogs provide the most accessible links to music that would otherwise be lost to techno-political circumstances. The music bloggers in search for remnants of the musical past are, in this view, crucial preservers of significant portions of Yugoslav popular music which would only survive in private collections of the lucky few who had a chance to get those records, sometimes in obscure places (and were prudent enough not to succumb to the CD-hype and throw them away as obsolete things of the past).

When we think about the spreadability of music and its circulation in digital media, the old-school file-sharing services thriving at the turn of the millennium come to mind, such as Napster and Audiogalaxy.[22] They have given space to emergent communities of fans and artists who endorsed the principles of democratisation and socialisation, and today epitomise important legal issues in the digital age (copyright) and changes in music culture practices. These services encouraged piracy and the idea of 'free' music, while they, at the same time, significantly extended access and recognition of previously unknown musicians.[23] They were, however, forced to shut down or transform into payable services on grounds of copyright violation. In the context of this debate, such services, and similar smaller-scale services, provided access to Yugoslav popular music that was at the time only scarcely available legally.

The shutting down of the p2p services, however, hardly curtailed the accessibility of music which in response migrated en masse to social media, primarily YouTube and Vimeo. More clandestinely, sharing music outside the financially sanctioned and copyright-abiding services and channels is happening through torrent services where anything from the latest in cinema and music albums to digitised books can be found for free.

But here I discuss a different approach to sharing and spreading music, an approach that transcends mere file sharing and is both a case of media archaeology and micro-archiving. Music blogging typically refers to a practice where the blogger posts links to remote file-sharing services (for instance Rapidshare, Megaupload) that host(ed) zipped folders of entire albums, including scanned artwork. Thus they try to avoid legal sanctions over copyright breach and negotiate the limit on posting large files by blog services. The former is clearly discernible in many blog policies where the blogger still provides links to full albums, but at the same time, encourages the visitors to buy.[24]

Blogging Yugoslav Popular Music

The practice of running music blogs is particularly related to material objects, primarily vinyl records and gramophones.[25] As such, they represent a case that can be used to further elucidate grounding of the digital in the materiality that surpasses the materiality of the computer and electric network. Instead, it emphasises the embeddedness of social practices and culture in social media, and gives room to the materiality of objects and bodies (cutis anserine) in digital media environments. Music blogging presupposes, as do other media archaeological practices, an active role for an individual on a mission to unearth music before posting it to the blog; it is a decidedly 'hands-on' practice.

Today, several blogs exist that more or less actively invest great effort into finding and preserving Yugoslav popular music. Rummaging through old suitcases in attics and boxes at flea markets and antique shops in search of a valuable and rare vinyl record, or a gramophone of a specific make, entails quite the opposite type of experience as the sanitised code might suggest. It feeds and amuses the senses: the scents of decay (the dusty record sleeves, the specific scent of old plastic and 'electricity' in the gramophone),[26] the dry fingers flicking through old grimy records, the delight of finding a long-sought-after record, or a spare cartridge for that 1972 turntable.[27]

Aktivista, the administrator of one of the most extensive music blogs I have encountered in my research, *ZVUCI JUGOSLAVIJE—SOUNDS OF YUGOSLAVIA* (hereafter *Jugozvuk*), explains how he acquires the records:

I love such records and when I buy them I love to listen to them (I buy them at flea markets). This [the Yugoslav period] is a time long since gone. Such

records are today unimaginable. Therefore I'll be putting them up until I am able to find them myself or download them from stealing sites.[28]

The collector's practice runs parallel with the media archaeology view I advocate: digging up assortments of technical and (popular) cultural write-offs entails unearthing the sounds of a different era from the ideological debris and from dusty attics. Next, the blogger digitises unearthed music. This implies ripping the vinyl using a turntable and a digital recorder, and then tweaking the recording to get the best possible quality of conversion. Then follows the arduous task of classifying the tracks and ordering them into a folder (album>author>track name), and adding the scanned or photographed artwork/record cover. The final stage is uploading compressed files to one of the many file-sharing sites, and writing the post.

Much like any other blog, a music blog is usually introduced by a heading explaining in brief what the blog is about, declaring its policy or mission statement. In his mission statement, Aktivista reveals several music blogging implications for the post-Yugoslav condition:

> I love it when you come here, but you should take a more active part in this blog as this is a heritage of a time and you should understand that any preserved sound may represent your part in preserving the memory of and truth about a country. Well, it has disintegrated but I think that it still lives as an idea and it will outlive all of us who come here, and one day, perhaps under a different name this will once again be the land of the South Slavs. Until then we will write about it and put up sounds from this former and pre-former Yugoslavia.
> The number of inhabitants of a large city visited this site or blog and thank you for this. We try (myself and my dear contributors) to provide you with more beautiful things.[29]

The sorting of music into daily posts alludes to the randomness and rhythm of discovering music in shops or at friends' homes, and/or the pace with which the 'curator' manages his collection—this entails digitising and uploading rips. The narratives, as cursory as they often are, develop around a particular record, around a particular blogger's memory and are thus conducive to re-presence the musical past and the blogger's memory of the music and period. Music bloggers often blog about music and the specific historical context of its origin, and through this also reveal aspects of their past and their present socio-cultural and historical contexts. It is essential to state that the varied musical memories thus presented and

preserved invite other users to partake in recreating the musical past, in order to co-create new memories through downloading and commenting and, implicitly, through prolonging the digital afterlife of the music by storing it on their hard drives and listening to it.

Motive and Affect

It is the collecting and archiving involved in running music blogs that makes them grassroots micro-archives. The archiving practice is constituted through articulating—in text and audiovision—the Yugoslav popular music past and the bloggers' relationship to that past. For instance, Aktivista addresses visitors by inviting them to enjoy the music and reminisce about the good old times:

> One great festival from former YUGOSLAVIA that took place in Belgrade, its capital city, in 1963. After all this fantastic music is not buried with YUGOSLAVIA, it lives on this blogs, forever I would like or until BLOGGER lives.[30]

A question that comes to mind: Why would someone want to do this? Music blogging—searching for, buying and digitising the records—is a time- and money-consuming pastime. Clearly, it is a thriving pastime and it seems to thrive mostly because of those people who believe that the musical past should not be forgotten, culturally and technologically. Their motives, however, appear to be distinctly personal: in general, they preserve the music they like. In doing so, they go to great lengths to make the music available across the world, which, given the extensive migration in the aftermath of the collapse, is what serves as the underlying affective grid of the extended space of post-Yugoslavia. To further explain, these blogs attract an audience from across the former Yugoslavia, yet, judging by the 'who's among us' feature on *Jugozvuk*, just as many visitors come from the rest of Europe and North America, with some from South America and Australia.[31]

Music blogging is a socio-cultural practice (and indeed a cultural memorial corrective) which is primarily concerned with preserving the (musical) past. In the case of Yugoslavia, the music thus preserved and shared—particularly in view of the country's history, its demise and the post-Yugoslav realities—is all the more important as a cultural and historical resource. As argued above, the newly forming countries and the new elites tried to

supplant the unbecoming past with newly established national(ist) narratives, in essence, with new politics of the past. This basically also entailed an attempt (on the level of political and media discourses) at breaking the links with the Yugoslav commonly shared field of popular culture and, to some extent, provoked the emergence of Yugonostalgia. But, in a hypermediated age, the past, and no less so popular cultural pasts, tend to find ways into popular cultural presents through off-radar channels, particularly through social media.

In a situation that pre-empted any positive treatment of the recent past, the initial way for the past to 'survive' was through nostalgic practices that cannot be seen just as a yearning for the lost and irretrievable past,[32] but instead as a quest to re-establish the legitimacy of individual memory narratives through the organisation of what Lizardi calls an individual's media history.[33] It is also for this reason that music blogs find audiences interested in the endeavours of 'music preserving activists', striving to preserve what would 'normally' be preserved both in official records/institutions and in the media.

Storytelling Through Music and Archives

Music blogs deserve attention primarily due to the scale of their engagement and the bloggers' persistence, not just in terms of posting links, but also in terms of writing about what they do and how they do it, as well as about the music that *moves* them. In selecting what he blogs about, Aktivista posts music spanning genres from popular, rock, classical, to folk music. Additionally, he also provides various other types of pop-historical materials, such as newspapers and magazine clippings.[34] The blog as a whole is his publicly displayed 'obsession' with the Yugoslav past and represents an important contribution to creating and promoting grassroots re-narrativisations and re-presences of the Yugoslav past in digital media. It opens with a mission statement:

> We're introducing You to the sounds of the old Yugoslavia, music, sports, theatre, politics, literature, propaganda, commercials, all in the form of sound. Everything that once made up Tito's Yugoslavia tells its story here before you. There are many stories about Yugoslavia and all of them are beautiful. You are welcome as well to tell the stories and we'll publish them. YUGOSLAVIA is always a positive inspiration [transl.]. Here on this weblog you can hear and watch the diverse sounds of former YUGOSLAVIA [original in English].[35]

Aktivista here delimits the scope, the aims and the ambition of his endeavours, and concomitantly makes an identity statement: he is self-characterised as a dedicated preserver and distributor of the Yugoslav musical past. This attitude informs the entire blog and is also reflected in his inclusion of music from across the former country; it is in fact a continuation of Yugoslav 'internationalism'. Aktivista further explicates his mission below:

> Here you can expect to find all sorts of sounds and sound memorials of various events that adored this beautiful and strong country. It may sound silly to some, but it doesn't to me. This Yugoslavia meant a lot to me. I was born and raised there. Every single day I spent in this Yugoslavia. I listened to this and that, and now it's time you've heard it too.[36]

Through referring, often nostalgically, to his personal experience, Aktivista passionately addresses visitors and presents his collection. He invites 'us' to share-in his feelings of loss and longing which are to be remedied by providing music from the space-time that is featured as a significant, formative point in his life. He further explains the coordinates of his endeavour:

> Most of all it's about music but of a special kind, music that goes nicely with a story or an event. There will be some live performances of certain great bands from all over the country 'From Vardar River to Mount Triglav'.[37]

Aktivista attempts to make *Jugozvuk* an interactive platform and invites visitors to participate/engage not only in commenting but also in sharing with others the music they like. In this respect, an important part are lists of 'donors' who help him by providing links to remote sharing sites and their own digitised and/or uploaded material. *Jugozvuk* has thus grown to become a joint enterprise of several devoted preservers, and is the result of the combined efforts of several editors and donors; this enables much better 'coverage' of the material and, not least, improves the prospects of the blog's continued existence.

Apart from the time invested into digitising the 'musical artefacts', the creation and maintaining of such music blogs also involves issues of honesty and dignity. Genuine effort is rewarded by public appreciation and half-hearted efforts are discouraged and condemned. At the same time, Aktivista admits to sometimes taking music from the 'stealing sites', that is from bloggers who take the music from other blogs, give no credit to the original sources and invest no time into obtaining the records offline.

'Theft' is established through inspecting the quality of the files (bit rate, artwork scan) and comparing it to their own work.

In his digital storytelling endeavours, Aktivista's fuses text, music and various visual materials, including photos, scans and videos. In textual posts he uses informal, first-person language which is not free from grammatical and typographical errors and is inconsistent it its use of capital letters (although Yugoslavia is consistently capitalised). The textual part of posts typically present general thoughts on the Yugoslav past and details about the posted music:

> Something beautiful for your eyes and ears as well. So, a beauty from Belgrade, my ex neighbour when I was just a kid living next to her place. I know the building where she lived and where she came to from work in show business early in the morning! She starred in [the] Belgrade edition of the Hair musical and recorded a single with the music. A truly remarkable person to see and she actually was BEAUTIFUL![38]

Aktivista's digital storytelling emanates regret and nostalgia for times past which converge in posted music, photos and his textual accounts. His posts are thus not only a means to archive and preserve the music but also a way to exteriorise his memories and his relationship to the past, as well as his attitudes and relation to the present. Aktivista seems to see himself as the 'messenger of the past', saving and re-presencing forgotten music from the pit of oblivion. His posts are digital objects that facilitate the emergence of intimate or affective relationships between the administrator, the posted music, the spacetime of its origin and the user. True, the blog offers little personal information and the recounted memories rarely go beyond clichéd statements such as '[in] those times we seemed to have lived more carefree'.[39] Nevertheless, referring to the role of music in an individual's life and the lives of collectivities, it is clear music is the primary trigger of memories. As scarce as the posts may be in terms of personal details conveyed by text, they provide affective contextualisation of music. *Jugozvuk* endows the activity of following such a blog, browsing through posts and downloading music, with a particular aura of disinterring, excavating the past on the part of the visitor, which resonates with the blogger's affective investments in archaeology and archiving.

Media archaeological excursions into the Yugoslav musical past by both the blogger and the user are probably the most intriguing activities made

possible by music blogs. Although it is a time-consuming mission for the blogger, it is also a rewarding pastime of looking for and finding old music, an opportunity to reimagine the bygone time and hear the record as it would have sounded on the gramophone.

All this invokes quite visceral sensations and, in view of Aktivista's statement that much of the posted music is the music he used to listen to (or at least hear occasionally on the radio) in the 'olden day', such discoveries are a tangible and affective affair for the blogger and the user alike. For both, the intrigue lies in the act of revisiting the music one's past, but also of discovering music one had no idea it had existed. Despite the fact that it cannot be touched or smelled, the distinct crackling and hissy sounds of the needle travelling over the groove,[40] that are duly digitised, are there for the ear to hear and invite the listener to immerse themselves in the materiality of pastness encoded in the algo-*rhythm* of the digital sound. As such, these blogs are more-than-archive of Yugoslav (popular) music.

In some cases, the blog appears as an obituary for Yugoslavia and a living memorial to the county's music:

09 April 2011
WELL BROTHERS AND SISTERS YUGOBLOGGERS TODAY IS THE DAY OF THIS BLOG, ON 9 APRIL THAT DISTANT YEAR THREE YEARS AGO I DECIDED TO BUILD THE FOUNDATIONS OF THIS BLOG WITH A VIEW TO PERSONALLY PRESENT TO YOU ALL THE EXISTING SOUND OF YUGOSLAVIA ON ONE PLACE THIS IS HOW

A BLOG WITH MANY MOST DIFFERENT SOUNDS OF OUR UNSURPASSED AND MOST BEAUTIFUL AND GREAT YUGOSLAVIA. I'M PROUD OF YUGOSLAVIA AND OF THIS BLOG BECAUSE THIS IS THE WAY I REPAY MY DEBT TO THE COUNTRY WHERE I GREW UP AND LIVED AND WAS A FULL FLEDGED YUGOLSAV.[41]

This post recapitulates the general attitude of the blog in general. Celebrating three years of existence, Aktivista subsumes the mission of music blogs in general: 'today we can only remember all this and I will remember all this here on this blog and so can you come here and remember how it once was'.[42] This post thus doubles as a memorial to the country that is now gone, a country that gave life not only to music but also to

people who now live in different countries and in different historicities. Yet many of them are connected with one another across space and time by means of digitised music.

Are Faulty Records Any Good for Memories?

The interlinking among 'brotherly' music blogs provides the user and the researcher with a way to trace other related blogs in post-Yugoslav musical blogging endeavours. One such blog is *Nevaljaleploce* (ova ploca nista ne valja, ima rupu u sredini! [this is a faulty record, it's got a hole in the middle!]),[43] managed by Bassta! Pex a.k.a. Gramofonije Plocanovic. Cross-commenting between the two blogs (which was how I discovered *Nevaljaleploce*) suggests the existence and emergence of a sort of community between music bloggers. But as compared to Aktivista, Gramofonije takes a different approach and makes his blog a much more personal endeavour by also blogging about his private life, his band and his travels.

In the mission statement Gramofonije ironically adapts the usual quotation used to excuse posting copyrighted material (for example 'let me know, I'll remove it') by saying:

> Vinyl and other stuff—if someone finds anything disturbing or if I broke any laws, please feel free to say so—we'll consider everything, but change nothing! I recommend you buy the vinyl/CD, if available. If you wish distribute links, feel free to do so. Those that expire will probably not be re-uploaded, so do share with others, don't be a cunt!'[44]

Formally, Gramofonije's blog is much more manageable and transparent as compared to *Jugozvuk*, also due to the fact that the amount of posted music is comparatively smaller and the pace of postings slower. Additionally, Gramofonije's storytelling is much more straightforward with more extensive textual narratives, supported by references to music records (and links to remote storage services) that clearly are important to the author, who overtly declares himself to be a fan of certain groups. Thus, he establishes a much stronger, more personal relation to the music he blogs about. Gramofonije seems particularly selective about what music he posts and each post is related to his past. He thus consistently gives descriptions of Yugoslav new wave and punk bands (among others Piloti, Haustor and Paraf),[45] which during the 1980s significantly influenced the last decade of (cultural, social and political) life in Yugoslavia; in addition, he also posts obscure and bizarre gems, at least from today's perspective.

In so doing, he explicates his own musical tastes and preferences.[46] Gramofonije's musical preferences come across in his ironic writing style and the overall mission of the blog:

> Greetings comrades,
> H-e-l-l-o, hello, hello, hello!!!!
> Just checking if everything works as it should, so I can get to posting vinyl. I hope the selection will be considerably different from what you can get on the net these days. The goal is the more bizarre the best! Clearly, you should not take the title too seriously—there will be valid records as well;).[47]

Here I would like to note his call for the bizarre and the way 'bizarre' items are selected, presented and above all, re-contextualised from a historical perspective. Clearly, the artwork rather than the music is the criteria. What is bizarre today was not necessarily so 30 years ago.[48] The answer to the question of what is bizarre lies in how the material is perceived in different socio-cultural settings.[49]

Due to whimsical market and taste preferences, it is all but impossible to predict which music become the 'representative' sound of a period. Likewise, it is fairly imprudent to judge past tastes using randomly discovered items that might well have passed unnoticed when they were produced.[50] But, when dealing with the past, such generalisations are inevitable and this, I believe, is indicative of much non-musical dealing with the past. It also demonstrates how easily a decontextualised item from the past teases out responses in its future; they position it in a radically different light, entice interpretations that may not have any artistic value or currency as a historical fact.

In other words, the availability of second-hand vinyl and its subsequent online availability in digital form are not representative of a particular musical past, of past tastes and preferences. On the contrary, such digitised music from the past is a result of what is available on the 'market', what 'attracts the eye' of the buyer and only in the last instance, what 'attracts the ear' of the one who downloads music. Such blog-enabled preservation and dissemination of musical past is hence prone to much 'personalisation' and perpetuation of 'historical inadequacies', in terms of the artist's retro-attributed or assumed popularity. As mentioned above, Gramofonije tends to provide more detailed information about the music, giving his personal opinion on the artists and songs, and intertwining it with bits from his personal life as a Yugoslav emigrant to Australia:

7 MLADIH—Kofa je busna (1972)
When I was a kid this record ruled! If I'm not mistaken we would play it at least once a day, learn it by heart, all of the family would sing. The record disappeared, physically first, then from my memory. In May 2006 I visited an acquaintance of our descent, a guy who strayed somewhat (among others he keeps stocks of bottled water 'in case Iraq invades!') and at this occasion I bought many *our singles*, this one as well. I haven't heard this for nearly 30 years, but the minute I played it I remembered every single note and the feel. Yet, now I also understand some secretive sexual connotations, which escaped me then. Did you?[51]

The above post illustrates how a record, acquired by chance, can serve as a kernel around which a mosaic of personal memory narrative is built. In the comments a number of regular users add their, often scant, thoughts about the record, which transcend the usual 'thanks for posting', and instead discuss the year of publication. This is interesting because record companies started to include release dates fairly late in the Yugoslav period. The practice of inscribing dates manually preceded printing of the date on the sleeve. One commentator replies to another who was looking for the date: 'If the date is not given, take a look on the inner circle of the record whether the date is engraved there. Although I think this practice only started during the 1970s'.[52] Another replies that most of the records already had the date inscribed during the 1960s. In the case of this record, Gramofonije invalidates both: 'I had a look […] this single contains different dates on each side'.[53]

This discussion is not directly related to the music, the users' memories of it, or the period, yet it nevertheless reveals several aspects regarding music blogging and the corrosiveness of memory. In considering the issue about release dates and the practice of inscribing them on records, the users bring into the discussion the materiality of the record and the problem that arises from incomplete information when digitised. The archaeological debate thus corroborates the importance of the material in the digital realm, the importance of the groove even in the digital code. Lisa Gitelman argues that 'Phonography and phonographs converted aural experience into inscribed evidence, the former by representing the sounds of speech on paper, the latter by reproducing the same sounds in the grooves of a record'.[54] Digital music files, particularly those ripped from vinyl, represent in code the sound characteristics of the vinyl, which thus becomes the remediation and emulation of a previous technology.

And this is particularly indicative of issues related to pinpointing the origin of certain records in time, which exposes the problem with historicity in the culture of the past, as well as, as I discuss in the concluding section of this chapter, the question of the materiality of music in digital media.

Blog posts are instances of storytelling where narrative bits emerge through the interrelation of archival kernels and ensuing exchanges. This post, on one level, quite clearly demonstrates how memories of childhood are incorporated into the immigrant present in search of 'connections' to the old country, while demonstrating the importance of assigning the record to a specific point in time. In these attempts, the records are approached as objects of the past (life) and are immediately (re)integrated into the present (life). This tactic turns music blogging as a practice into a relevant factor for the preservation of music through the articulation of intimate memories 'organically' related to music and the technicality of vinyl production.

In this respect, one of Gramofonije's more elaborate blog posts about a selection of records by a 1980s punk-rock/new wave band Paraf, from Rijeka, Croatia,[55] offers insight into storytelling tactics as well as excerpts from the history of Yugoslav popular culture (subculture) and its resonance with the blogger (and users) today. This and other posts related to 1980s rock music are featured prominently on Gramofonije's blog and it is clear from the posts that this genre represents an important feature of his contemporary musical endeavours and 'musical identity' in general. The post links to five remotely stored files (links now expired) and gives a brief history of the music, the band and the period. The narrative is a blogger's review of a CD reissue of Paraf's LPs and offers insight into the blogger's personal rendition of the band's role and impact on the late 1970s and the early 1980s:

'Rijeka/Moj zivot je novi val' CDSINGLE
The legend has it that Paraf played their first ever gig on 31 December 1976 in a park in Rijeka. Regardless of the accuracy of this, the fact remains that the Rijeka three-piece band was one of the pioneers of punk in SFRY. The question is why Rijeka played such a pivotal role in Yu music, particularly in punk/new wave, but I guess it's about the coincidence of (un)happy circumstances: province, working class, large port, greater contact with other countries is a fertile ground for development of rage and its exteriorisation. And what is better than r'n'r? Although it was not our first punk single, the first Paraf's record at the time it was issued (1979, RTV Ljubljana) showed that there's something cooking in Yu rock and that things are going to turn for the better (if only for a while). I suppose it is all about two numbers

from the time of the band's early 'career'. 'Rijeka' is a two-minute 'ode' to Kocijancic's (band leader) birth place, based on the riffs deeply based on the classic 'Chinese Rock'. 'My life is new wave' is nevertheless the best thing on the single with its addictive intro riff and great lyrics. The song also features on 'Blood stains across Yugoslavia' LP compilation of YU punk. As a bonus track features a 'Novi punk Val 78–80' version of 'Narodna pjesma' which is by far superior (particularly textually damn censors!) to the one from original album. On the front cover image we see, assuming classic posture, our bassist Zdravko Cabrijan and the words: 'Play it loud!' Of course![56]

In the post, the blogger re-presences a fusion of his own memory of the 1980s punk-rock/new wave scene (which he lived through and followed), of the period which begot perhaps the most radical musical movement/ subculture in this region. In many respects this movement broke with the tradition of 'state rock' bands and sounds, and the numbing effects of 'social deafness',[57] which up until the late 1970s absorbed and dispotenti- ated much of the musically engaged response to the socio-political situ- ation in the country. In fact, since the early 1960s, state politics adopted a let-it-go kind of attitude towards rock, which turned many rock proj- ects into harmless, pro-regime, or plain de-politicised endeavours[58]—the opposite of what the rock sub-culture was supposed to represent.[59] Paraf, along with other punk-rockers that channelled discontent and rage, influ- enced not only the musical scene in Yugoslavia but also 'disturbed' the political peace by intriguing up-and-coming intellectual elites.[60] This is clearly an important point of reference in the blogger's musical memo- ries of his youth. And by way of presenting this music, Gramofonije also engages in an analysis of musical and culture-historical contexts:

'A dan je tako lijepo poceo' [But the Day started off so nicely] features 14 punk numbers, although you can almost sense the 'scent of new time' and what the band will be doing about a year later. The texts move from socio- political to more jokey ones, such as the one poking Bijelo dugme [Yugoslav band, representative of the so-called shepherd's rock] titled 'Pritanga i vaza'. 'T kao krava' is about a dear opiate of us (another in a line of our pot hymns) and one of the strongest, along the 'Visokotirazni Mir', 'Morao sam ici' i 'Visoki propisi'.

I can't help it not to see some influence of our hard rock bands, such as Yu Grupa […] and Vatreni poljubac. To be fair, most of our early punk band[s]

in the late 1970s were deep into hard rock, psychedelia and similar. The fact is that our then pissed off punkers perhaps heard of about ten foreign most famous bands and that they had roots in 1970s hard rock. Naturally, no hard feelings.[61]

Individual recollections in this post are contextualised into a more universal account of the period and its music. The blogger blends subjective and generally accepted accounts of the past, thus contributing to the creation of a micro-archive of Yugoslav rock music. The comments, however, are a place of dispute or contestation and hence contribute to the co-creation of the narrative in blog as a living re-presence of the past:

> Anonymous said …
> I saw Paraf live at least 5 times. I used to hang out with them and I know Tica didn't kill himself, but died of heart arrest. Tica RIP. In future please check your data.
> July 18, 2009 3:55 PM
>
> Bassta! Pex, a.k.a. Gramofonije Plocanovic said …
> Well, I said I apologize in advance for any stupid stuff, particularly this one. As I heard Tica did die of hear arrest …
> July 18, 2009 7:07 PM
>
> safetblaj said …
> I guess that in 1984 Luna and Katarina II [new wave bands, Katarina was later renamed Ekatarina Velika] issued albums. Pankrti issued their most serious Rdeci album. I think you're mistaken about the reception of Zastave, as far as I remember Polet glorified this album and if it wasn't for Laibach and Borghesia records that were appearing massively, it [Paraf album] would have probably be better off.
> July 20, 2009 1:40 AM[62]

For a reader with little knowledge of the band in question, let alone first-hand experience with the Yugoslav punk-rock scene, this exchange is rather uninformative. Even after reading the central post, little can be gathered from the names of people and bands. However, the post and exchange reference several bands that marked the 1980s rock scene, and that are still considered representative of the period.[63] In this view, in order to fully make sense of the user exchange it must be contextualised

into the popular culture history of the Yugoslav 1980s. As this is out of the scope of this discussion,[64] let me focus here on the affective qualities of such memorial activities. The discussions among users reveal their views on certain kinds of music and their attention to detail, which is apparent in the use of names and references to specific and even intimate events, as is evident from the exchange about the passing away of a Paraf band member.

Grassroots memories of Yugoslav punk-rock in digital media are thus contributing to an emerging digital history in the making, written fragmentally, by fans and connoisseurs who share affective investment in the music and the period, as well as their youth. In this respect, the above exchange is particularly revealing as it brings into interaction users who 'know' or have first-hand experience with those who do not know, but want to. What they are faced with, on the level of theoretical consideration, is the shift from history to memory; on the practical level 'we' as users with little or no first-hand experience are served personalised, affective bits of popular culture history that emerge from the information shared in posts and comments.

In this view, it is rewarding to look at the dynamics between the posts in one blog, or even between various blogs. Roughly, as we have seen, these may appear as an expression of fandom or as ironic depictions of music and artwork. A telling case is an entry on Plavi Orkestar, a once popular Yugoslav pop band that Gramofonije thought deserved some attention; the attention demonstrates his contempt for the band's music. This post also emphasises the controversy this band stirred in the 1980s when they turned too poppy and nationalistic. What is particularly interesting in this post is the way he positions himself in relation to both the music and the period:

> Considering the fact that I never liked 'Plavci', I said to myself right, let's just listen to it see what was to the band and the album that wreaked such chaos in its time. And chaos was massive—who's old enough to remember—he remembers! Who was young doesn't. I remember it all started overnight: they were all over radio and TV stations, in newspapers and magazines.[65]

Illustrative in this account is the explication of a generational boundary (not really exclusion), which posits a distinct delimitation between those who can remember and those who cannot, that is, those who are left to nostalgicise and brood over mediated narratives, historiographies, songs,

films, forums and blog posts like this, to make up their own ideas about the past. Gramofonije, however, goes even further to correlate the rise of nationalism and the war to the nationalisation of music that was overtly practiced by several rock and folk performers:

> 1985 was the year of Plavi Orkestar. Now, we can debate till morning, but I agree with a theory that this band, along some others, was one of the culprits for the war in SFRY. I may be wrong, but Plavi Orkestar, Merlin and the likes massively imbecilized the nation from the role of rock musicians. Naturally it all started with Bijelo Dugme ten years earlier, although there was some hope left in 1983 when Zeljko Bebek was about to leave the group. Unfortunately this escalated a year later in much worse album and sealed the fate of YU rock'n'roll, and much else. Who knows how the political situation might have unravelled had the leading role been taken by still mainstream, but much more cultivised bands such as EKV, Film, Haustor, Leb i sol, Zabranjeno Pusenje …[66]

Now, this post, a joke or not ('for your information this whole text is a joke. and an obvious one at that. Plavi Orkestar is still an awful band. This is no joke'),[67] unlike many at *Jugozvuk* and elsewhere, features more elaborate arguments and actually uses the space for both music criticism and historico-political commentary, situating the music within a broader historical context. In addition to serving as a micro-archive of digitised records, the 'peripheral' content, such as the blogger's entries, complements the archive with personal reminiscences that, along with comments, provide a supplement to the history of popular culture and its re-presenced afterlife.

Music Blogs Interconnected

Among the many blogs engaged in micro-archiving Yugoslav popular music, there are few that provide as elaborate examples of storytelling as *Jugozvuk* or *Nevaljaleploce*. A case in point is another blog created by Aktivista, *ZABORAVLJENI ZVUCI—Forgotten sounds*, a 'blog with forgotten records from the countries that exist no more'.[68] This blog is not strictly limited to Yugoslavia but endorses a wider Eastern European approach:

> WHY ANOTHER SUCH BLOG IF THERE ARE SO MANY ALREADY? You know that a whole world of sounds that once belonged to the eastern bloc is COMPLETELY FORGOTTEN. We here on this blog […] will keep

trying to bring such recordings from the darkness of the past and post them here. These are the sounds of USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania. All these enormous sound archives lurk about foreign attics and it would be good if they are granted a trip into the present here. Welcome!

THIS IS A BLOG ABOUT THE FORGOTTEN SOUNDS OF EASTERN BLOCK IN EUROPE. HERE YOU CAN HEAR THE SOUNDS OF USSR, pOLAND, TCHECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, ROMANIA, BULGARIA AND ALBANIA. WELCOME! [69]

The blog has a much different feel to it, despite being run by the same person: the posts are more uniform in terms of presentation and invariably include a cover image and a short note about the record and often allude to the present (political) situation. In discussing music, Aktivista reveals much more about himself than he does on *Jugozvuk*, particularly with respect to the post-1991 situation. For example, in one entry he blogs about a particular tape-recording containing songs for Bosnian soldiers (made during the Yugoslav wars):

> As you've already grown used to, on this site we keep all kinds of forgotten music, a bit repressed, or a bit nationalistic. Today, it's music made for Bosnian Muslims who were burning down Christian villages or slaughter[ing] Serbian or Croatian civilians to the sound of it, strictly purposeful music. The cassette brings some known names of the former JUGOSLAVIJA who ran to embrace the mujahidin. This nice and educational tape is here for us never to forget what they did to Serbs and Croats. What [it] says on the tape cover that 'our wounds are great' is really funny. How grave are the wounds of other Bosnian nations?
>
> Хитови ОМЕРА ПОБРИЋА
> This cassette contains the music for muslim mujahedins from Bosnia. With this music they went to war and kill Serbs, Croats and Jews. Some of these names are very well known musicians from ex YUGOSLAVIA.[70]

As fiercely critical as he is of the alleged nationalist hue defining this music, he nevertheless fails to see a problem in his statements about the present day political situation in Serbia and turns a blind eye to the complexity of the post-1991 wars situation and the non-negligible part that Serbia played in the latest Yugoslav Wars. On the other hand, as suggested in the discussion of *Jugozvuk* above, Aktivista remains highly appreciative of

music regardless of its origin, particularly if it originates from the former Yugoslavia, and shows great admiration for the music he considers being of good quality. This would suggest that the affective investment in the music is essentially related to the Yugoslavia of his youth, which after the dissolution became a thing of the.

Generally, the blogs I chose to examine feature a number of different music genres but rock and pop music prevail. *Najpogodnije mesto*, for instance, is a music blog strictly devoted to '(ex)yu psychedelic, progressive, rock'n'roll, folk, punk music'.[71] Extremely scarce in terms of textual entries, the blogger uploaded music, or rather album artwork scans, track-listings and links to a remote storage service, and has, during the time of the blog's operation (2006–10), created about 600 posts. The selection of posted music, its broadness and inclusivity, makes the blog an organised micro-archive of Yugoslav rock. The scant textual entries and the small number of user comments suggest that such micro-archives are a poor example of the exteriorisation of memory but nevertheless function as an endeavour to preserve a musical legacy.[72]

At the time of the initial research in 2011, the manageable album listing organised by the year of posting, the working links and the visitor counter—at the time showing 384,111 visitors from 144 countries (spanning Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, USA, Bosnia, Germany, Japan, France, UK and Macedonia, with numbers between 75,000 and 7,000 visitors)—suggested that *Najpogodnije mesto* was receiving significant attention from all over the world. This would imply that users sought and appreciated the music rather than the blogger's blogging activity. This casts *Najpogodnije mesto* in the domain of a micro-archive, which offers an indexed archival service, but unlike *Jugozvuk* and *Nevaljaleploce* it provides no intimate contextualisation of the posted music. Looking at *Najpogodnije mesto* today, however, the blog seems to have nearly stopped functioning with the number of posts per year down to seven in 2014, as compared to 253 in 2007. Revisiting the blog in 2015, the visit counter was removed and the links to most of the music were inactive, or the remote file-sharing sites turned into payable services.

Saving Music in Groove and Code?

Through music blogs, the rhythms of the Yugoslav past are preserved and distributed globally. These blogs significantly contribute to the creation of a network of micro-archives of Yugoslav popular music. Importantly, these

micro-archives represent not only practical attempts to preserve the music but also attempts to re-presence the past. Some music blogs are used as tools and places for expressing personal views about the music and related social and cultural issues. In doing so, they reveal the role and meaning of the past, the present and the future in contemporary identity management in digital media.

However, a question remains: what are the wider purposes and limits of the preservation of music and memory through such grassroots endeavours? Preserving the Yugoslav popular music legacy entails preserving the music that clearly outlasted the country due to the resilience of recording media and the resilience of human memory and curiosity. It is decidedly tied to what Yugoslavia geographically, temporally, ideologically and emotionally was. This is apparent in the resonances of musical and lyrical expressions, which also continually find an important outlet in social media. Music blogging as an approach to preserving popular culture legacy is a social practice that recreates and perpetuates the network of the Yugoslav social and cultural milieu, primarily through triggering and articulating memories among former Yugoslavs in a decidedly global context. It would appear that in the culture of the past, post-Yugoslavs consume music as one of the links to life in a country which gave them their formative experiences. On the other hand, users interested in this music often have, and increasingly so, little or no first-hand experience with the life in Yugoslavia. This puts the role of music in the present in a different perspective: it is not to be seen as a part of experiential individual history but rather as an element of the culture of the past in which the past is defined and structured also through the music preserved on music blogs, and through re-presences of excerpts of Yugoslav history which are randomly built into personal narratives about the past. It is, therefore, as Bijsterveld and van Dijck argue in the quote above (p. 119), through the exchange of songs, through collecting, archiving and play-listing that a musical past is preserved in the algo*rhythm,* and a collectivity (to some extent) that once honoured the groove now seems to honour the groove through the code.

Blogs such as *Jugozvuk*, *Nevaljaleploce* or *Najpogodnije mesto* make it possible for many (not only post-Yugoslavs) to discover and re-discover large amounts of music which was once a part of everyday life in Yugoslavia and, as can be seen in the music posted on *Nevaljaleploce*, even contributed to the democratisation and disintegration of the country. For the most part, however, music that only sporadically, if at all, makes it through

the dissolution of the state is reframed in the nostalgic discourses of pop and rock oldies. In the reframing of music in and through digital media, it appears that the technics and time of re-presencing music blur genre distinctions. The actual or perceived differences between music subcultures, that at the time would radically define fans' worldviews, are nullified or conflated into the 'oldness' or 'Yugoslavness' or 'rockness' of the music. This in turn contributes to the uniform re-presencing of popular music that, in losing its genre specificities, becomes a historical marker of a period, of a worldview, as well as an affective technology for the articulation of memory.

Over the last 25 years, music exchange has never completely stopped between the newly formed states.[73] Many bands gained popularity or remained popular in countries where their 'country of origin' was perceived as 'inappropriate' by the majority of the mainstream media and daily politics; this was for the most part made possible through the dissemination of mixtapes which were a mainstay at parties in the early to mid-1990s and one of the key elements in the burgeoning Yugonostalgia.[74] The post-Yugoslav music industries seem to have realised the commercial potential of the 'Yugoslav approach' as a necessary orientation for re-establishing the circulation of music (records and performers), mostly in view of their survival. However, this does not mean that the sort of consumptive engagement with former Yugoslav popular music implies an actual interest in the country's past any more than eating out in a 'foreign' restaurant presupposes admiration of a culture that is not one's own. Still, it illustrates the basic predispositions of the concept of the culture of the past in which cultural products from the past are used often without knowledge about the past. Yet, border-crossing might have been the case with 'new' productions, while the digitisation and marketing of pre-1991 Yugoslav popular music has at best been sporadic (until recently). For the most part, off-mainstream and 'bizarre' music mostly remained accessible on vinyl and/or cassettes. It is here, in the commercial and institutional preservation void, that the work of music bloggers becomes valuable as preservers of popular musical legacy. Because of the free labour by enthusiasts such as Gramofonije and Aktivista, significant parts of Yugoslav popular music or the musical past are saved for digital posterity. Or are they?

The idea that blogs are preserving the musical past may seem an imprudent expression of techno-optimism as it quickly becomes clear that archiving music outside the long-term (institutional or commercial) preservation schemes exposes certain problems (then again, is popular music ever

massively and deliberately archived?). While these blogs sometimes represent extremely large digital collections of music (Aktivista claims to have posted over 1,500 records), they are admittedly difficult to navigate and maintain. Maintaining such an archive involves extreme demands of organising, updating and managing. Aktivista, for instance, seems to have stopped naming the mp3s files he uploads: the zip file contains, apart from the usual cover scan, numbered tracks with no artist or song title information. This makes it difficult for him to make an organised and navigable database; navigating these files is perhaps even more diffcult for the downloading user.

The blogger's and the users' 'digital laziness' inevitably results in a collection of music that remains fairly inaccessible/unsearchable in terms of matching the title/artist with the sound. This makes listening to such collections considerably different from, on the one hand, listening to vinyl (or CD) which required more 'action' to get the music playing, or, on the other hand, from streaming music services which downplay bodily engagement and affords the practice of music consumption the status of soundtrack/playback. The difference between analogue (which is more intimate and sensual and allows the music to be almost physically interacted with—taking the record out of the sleeve, dusting it, adjusting the cartridge) and digital listening (overwhelming in its abundance and poor classification—file naming—and often quality) begs the question of what kind of listening experience digital archives may offer and what memory function the abundance of 'historical' music may or can play? Is it the act of downloading that gets the user into Menart's synchronicity of sharing/connecting over a song and no longer the act of listening to the music? Or, have listening habits changed so as to make the listener more attentive to the soundtrack-like musical backgrounds as embodied in playlists?

It would seem that the act of downloading has taken on at least some of that participatory feel, as it is in the precise moment that the user is 'connected', on-the-fly, not only to the blog and the blogger, but also to the potentially fairly large community of people who have previously connected to and shared-in their own experience and not least to the pool of the elusive 'whatever' that feeds off the past. This reminds us of the postponed gratification of video recording of a television programme which was to be watched later, but in fact rarely was (TV of today, on the other hand, allows for greater freedom in choosing what to watch). Although rarely expressed, the absence of experiential textual accounts can be generically 'filled in' by the user's own ideas of what the others' motives for coming to the blog are. The visitors all seem to share-in at the

point where music is the cause of affect, a trigger to agitate them to gaze onto the past that others have, at some point, also had the opportunity to see. And when it comes to listening, the playlist provides an immediate aural environment randomly created to re-presence the musical soundscape of the past. Thus it not only connects the digital listener to other temporally displaced users who downloaded the same music but also to people who had at some point listened to this music in the past. This latter cross-temporal 'connection' is reinforced by the 'richness' of digitised vinyl, the crackling and hissing and skipping grooves (which is painfully absent in digitally remastered 'crystal clear' sound).

However, if music preserved in music blogs is to be available globally and over longer periods of time, these privately created, intimately motivated, maintained and multimodally curated micro-archives should be sustainably maintained and independent from the finitude of the archivist's life, interest, resources, or the ephemerality/expirability of links at remote storage sites.

The endeavours discussed above are predominantly self-funded by bloggers (apart from some compensation they might get from ad hosting). In order to reach other interested users, they have to use more-or-less free, and hence more-or-less expirable, remote file-sharing services. Apart from the fact that music blogging is a sort of semi-legal activity, the reality is that many files are only available for a relatively short period of time. Within a couple of months they will expire, move behind paywall, or, as in the case of *Najpogodnije mesto*, the traces of all links to them will be gone. Unless, of course, music is continually re-uploaded, which only further adds to the complexity of micro-archiving. For instance, some of the oldest posts on Gramofonije's blog and on *Jugozvuk* are no longer available (links expired) and Aktivista noted in a comment in January 2010 that he would no longer be re-uploading the files as his archive had become too difficult to navigate. This effectively means that large collections of already digitised music are lost yet again. Thus the digital survival of music preserved through music blogs, despite the spreadability of files as digital media objects, is problematic. Terabytes of downloaded music exist on innumerable private drives and can only potentially be exchanged all over again; they may just as likely become lost in digital attics or buried on corrupted discs.

Yet, the role of music blogs exceeds the question of preserving sounds alone. In addition to basic indexing (time of posting, categories), music blogs often function as cases of digital storytelling, as media-historical resources, and moreover, as personal exteriorisations of memory. In most

cases, the attempt to (co-)create a narrative is clearly discernible, particularly if we see (music) blogging as related to diary writing or commonplacing. The blogger's ambition to present her life, or the music of her life, to perform and manage the collection (or identity), further provides incentive to look into (music) blogging as a historical and/or an archival source. In this capacity, music blogging at least to some extent contributes to the building of a collectivity through merely passive browsing and downloading, or through more active commenting and reciprocal linking among blogs.

Finally, what are the implications of such use of technology in terms of understanding the Yugoslav past? First of all, it enables the recovering, disinterring and re-presencing of music and, along the way, of certain aspects of the past that usually escape the grip of historiography, and even more so in a country that no longer exists. Through re-presencing the fragments of personal histories, these are intertwined with particular music and wider, past and present socio-cultural environments of bloggers and visitors alike. Furthermore, such mediation and spreadability of digitised music and memories functions as a tool and process of constant re-articulation of the past. But listening to music is also a very ordinary everyday activity which, in this context, becomes significantly amplified by the socio-technical conditions of the culture of the past. Music bloggers demonstrate great appreciation of the music they seek and post. Doing so, they are actively engaged with the history of Yugoslavia and its popular music. These cases actively re-establish links with the past and treat Yugoslav popular music as a relevant historical resource that even today may have something to say.

Notes

1. Ryan Lizardi, *Mediated Nostalgia*, *Individual Memory and Contemporary Mass Media*, Lanham, Lexington Books, p. 3.
2. Thompson and Biddle, *Sound*, *Music*, *Affect*, p. 7.
3. Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1993.
4. See Pogačar, 'Music and Memory'.
5. Some of the findings presented in this chapter have been published in 'Music Blogging: Saving Yugoslav Popular Music', in Harris Breslow and Aris Mousoutzanis (eds.), *Cybercultures: Mediations of Community, Culture, Politics*, Amsterdam, New York, Rodopi, 2012, pp. 165–188.
6. Lisa Gitelman, *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines, Representing Technology in the Edison Era*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1999, p. 1.

7. Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone*, *Film*, *Typewriter*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1999, p. 25.
8. See Pauline Stakelon, 'A Sound that Never Sounded, The Historical Construction of Sound Fidelity', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 2009, 5(3): 299–313, 300.
9. See Ruth Benschop, 'Memory Machines or Musical Instruments?: Soundscapes, Recording Technologies and Reference', *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2007, 10, 485–502, 488.
10. Stakelon, 'A sound that never sounded', 300.
11. See Pogačar 'Music and Memory'.
12. Nabeel Zuberi, *Sounds English: Transnational Popular Music*, Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2001, p. 5.
13. Stiegler, *Symbolic Misery*, p. 17.
14. Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1998.
15. Stiegler, *Symbolic Misery*, p. 29.
16. Karin Bijsterveld and José van Dijck, 'Introduction' in Karin Bijsterveld and José van Dijck (eds.), *Sound Souvenirs*, *Audio Technologies*, *Memory and Cultural Practices*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2009, pp. 11–24, p. 11.
17. It is precisely the radio that enabled dislocated collective participation in shared musical experience and caused the emergence of a special feeling one gets when hearing a particular song on the airwaves, assuming that many other listeners are also sharing in this very same experience, at this very same time. The poem by Slovenian poet (Nežnost v mraku / Tenderness in the Dusk) Janez Menart (1929–2004) adequately subsumes the experience (my translation):
    It's night already, look, we're alone now / Quietly, the radio's playing / And on the waves of the song, from me to you / From my heart to yours / Wades our joyful malady / Called happiness / Reminding the lovers of their desires.
18. Auslander, *Liveness*, p. 65.
19. Bijsterveld and van Dijck, 'Introduction', p. 11.
20. Notation is a technique to preserve music, but is not relevant for this discussion.
21. See Sobral, '"Fragments of Reminiscence"', p. 203.
22. As of late 2010, AG is offering a flat-rate cloud place-shifting service, after nearly a decade of paying downloading service, Rhapsody, which succeeded the original free P2P service. The 'new' AG service allows for storing your music remotely and streaming it to whatever device is at hand (mobile, tablet, PC); see Audiogalaxy, http://www.audiogalaxy.com/, date accessed 8 August 2011.

23. The more flexible policies, such as pay-per-song or album, as implemented/promoted by iTunes, Amazon, and others, seem to provide a reasonable response to changes in digital communications and to the shifting power relations in the digital media economy. Instead of the rigidness immanent in the giants of music industry, this approach builds on generating revenue in small pieces from a wider market (that is Anderson's Long Tail Effect).

24. See for instance *Twilightzone! Just for Your Listening Pleasure:* 'The music that I post up on this site is NOT for commercial use. I'll spare you the legal jargon, but in essence, if you LIKE it, BUY it!—pw for most files: rideyourpony', http://twilightzone-rideyourpony.blogspot.com/, date accessed 8 August 2011.

25. There are several types of music blogging: (1) blogging about music, namely, writing about a scene, new releases; (2) adding a music player to a blog that plays tracks or playlists; and, the central topic here, (3) music blogging where the posts or comments feature, along the description of the posted material, also link to a remote file-sharing system where the music is 'actually' located.

26. See Benjamin, *Illuminations*, p. 61.

27. The market for used turntables is thriving. See: http://stari-gramofon.blogspot.com/p/jugoslovenski-gramofoni.html.

28. 'RAZNI IZVODJAČI 1976 Mi smo lmada vojska Titova', *Jugozvuk*, http://jugozvuk.blogspot.com/2009/10/razni-izvodjaci-1976-mi-smo-mlada.html, date accessed 8 August 2011.

29. 'Drugarice i drugovi uskoro prelazimo 500.000 poseta na ovom blogu', *Jugozvuk*, http://jugozvuk.blogspot.com/2010/01/drugarice-i-drugovi-uskoro-prelayimo.html, date accessed 8 August 2011.

30. 'RAZNI IZVODJACI Beogradsko prolece 1963 singl3', *Jugozvuk*, http://jugozvuk.blogspot.com/2010/02/razni-izvodjaci-beogradsko-prolece-1963.html, date accessed 8 August 2011.

31. The counter turned over 600,000 visitors in the first two years of blog's existence; at the time of research in 2011 the number of unique visitors was 751,597; the counter has since been removed.

32. See Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York, Basic Books, 2001; Mitja Velikonja, *Titostalgia: A Study of Nostalgia for Josip Broz*, Ljubljana, Mirovni inštitut, 2009.

33. Lizardi, *Mediated Nostalgia*, p. 8.

34. In 2011, *Jugozvuk* was divided into several sections: 'JUGOZVUK' (the blog); 'JUGOmemorabilia' (mainly featuring newspaper and magazine clips); 'JUGOZVUK forum'; 'Hronologija koncerata iz JUGOSLAVIJE' (featuring an extensive chronology of concerts in Yugoslavia played by foreign performers in the period 1959–92; 'Eks jugoslovenska muzika' (featuring links to music of famous former Yugoslav performers in the post-Yugoslav era); and 'Izložbena galerija JUGOZVUKA' (which at present features

several photographs but aims to be further developed into a 'a free gallery of JUGOZVUK dedicated to the all arts and performing in former YUGOSLAVIA'). In 2015, the layout generally remained the same, with the exception of several sections deleted or renamed.

35. *Zvuci Jugozvuk—Sounds of Yugoslavia*, *Jugozvuk*, http://jugozvuk. blogspot.com/, date accessed 8 August 2011.

36. *Jugozvuk*.

37. *Jugozvuk*.

38. Aktivista, *Jugozvuk*, 12 June 2015, http://jugozvuk.blogspot.com/ 2015/06/nada-simic-cen-cen-cen.html, date accessed 28 August 2015.

39. Aktivista, *Jugozvuk*.

40. 'Upon speaking into a phonograph, the vibrations of one's voice are transferred to a point that engraves lines onto a metal plate that correspond to the uttered sounds—uneven furrows, more or less deep, depending on the nature of the sounds.' Kittler, *Gramophone, Film Typewriter*, p. 30.

41. *Jugozvuk*, http://jugozvuk.blogspot.com/2011/04/opera-iz-davne-1972-godine-uzivo-za-dan.html, date accessed 8 August 2011.

42. *Jugozvuk*, http://jugozvuk.blogspot.com/2011/04/opera-iz-davne-1972-godine-uzivo-za-dan.html, date accessed 8 August 2011.

43. Bassta! Pex, *Nevaljaleploce*, http://nevaljaleploce.blogspot.com/, date accessed 8 August 2011.

44. Bassta! Pex, *Nevaljaleploce*.

45. Basta! Pex, *Nevaljaleploce*.

46. See Martin Pogačar, 'Yu-Rock in the 1980s: Between Urban and Rural', *Nationalities Papers* 2008, 36(5): 815–32.

47. Basta! Pex, *Nevaljaleploce*.

48. Basta! Pex, *Nevaljaleploce*, 20 February 2007, http://nevaljaleploce. blogspot.com/2007/02/juso-pre-nekoliko-godina-kad-sam-bio-u.html, date accessed 13 October 2015.

49. Consider, for instance, the artwork for Svetlana Miljuš's single: it is difficult to believe that her demeanour was perceived as bizarre in 1970s when the EP and two singles were released. See Basta! Pex, *Nevaljaleploce*, 23 February 2007, http://nevaljaleploce.blogspot.com/2007_02_01_archive.html, date accessed 13 October 2015.

50. See Lizardi, *Mediated Nostalgia*, p. 4.

51. Basta! Pex, *Nevaljaleploce*, 23 February 2007.

52. Frog, *Nevaljaleploce*, 23 February 2007 at 11:00 AM, https://www.blogger. com/comment.g?blogID=5189995390510371193&postID= 5226968201624062422&bpli=1, date accessed 23 September 2015.

53. Basta!Pex, 23 February 2007, at 3:54, https://www.blogger.com/comment.g?blogID=5189995390510371193&postID=52269682016240624 22&bpli=1, date accessed 23 September 2015.

54. Gitelman, *Scripts*, *Grooves*, *and Writing Machines*, p. 185.

55. For more information about the band see: Paraf, Band info, http://parafri-jeka.blogspot.com/search/label/Info, date accessed 1 September 2015.

56. Basta! Pex, 'Paraf nas nasusni', Nevaljalaploce, http://nevaljaleploce.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2009-01-01T00%3A00%3A00-08%3A00&updated-max=2010-01-01T00%3A00%3A00-08%3A00&max-results=18, date accessed 8 September 2011.

57. I adapt this term from Fran Tonkiss and use it to denote a socio-political climate that fails or refuses to acknowledge the voices and the messages of marginal(ised) social groups; see Fran Tonkiss 'Aural Postcards: Sound, Memory and the City' in Michael Bull and Les Back (ed.), *The Auditory Culture Reader*, Oxford, Berg, 2003, pp. 303–10, p. 305.

58. See Dean Vuletic, 'Generation Number One: Politics and Popular Music in Yugoslavia in the 1950s', *Nationalities Papers* 2008, 36(5): 861–879; Sabrina P. Ramet, *Rocking the State, Rock Music and Politics in Eastern Europe and Russia*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1994, pp. 103–32.

59. See Pogačar, 'Yu-rock in the 1980s'.

60. The punk-rock scene was perhaps the most eloquent in, but not exclusively limited to, Ljubljana, Rijeka, Zagreb, Sarajevo and in Belgrade, the larger cities where power resided or where rapid urbanisation was by the time well underway. The political implications often attributed to punk and the new wave in Yugoslavia were by no means part of the musicians' agenda, but rather the 'incidental' consequence emanating from the 'interaction' between the sub-culture and power as mediated in the academic discourses which significantly shaped and mobilised social action in the rising nationalisms in the Yugoslav republics. See also Ljubica Spaskovska, 'Stairway to Hell: The Yugoslav Rock Scene and Youth During the Crisis Decade 1981–1991', *East Central Europe* 2011, 38(2–3): 355–72; see also Dragan Pavlov and Dejan Šunjka, *Punk u YU 1980–1990*, Dedalus, http://yupunkval.blogspot.com/2015/08/preuzmi-pdf-knjigu-punk-u-yu.html, https://docs.google.com/uc?id=0ByBxX40CVvn7Y29EZ2Z4ckFsMFE&export=download, date accessed 29 August 2015.

61. Basta!Pex, 'Paraf nas nasusni', Nevaljalaploce, http://nevaljaleploce.blogspot.com/2009/07/uskoro.html, 8 September 2011.

62. Basta!Pex, 'Paraf nas nasusni'.

63. See Pogačar, 'Memory and Memory'.

64. See Sabrina P. Ramet, *Balkan Babel*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 2002; Peter Vodopivec, 'Slovenes and Yugoslavia 1918–1991', *East European Politics and Societies* 1992, 6(3): 220–41. See also references in Preface.

65. Basta!Pex, 'Plavi orkestar', *Nevaljaleploce*, http://nevaljaleploce.blogspot.com/2010/10/plavi-orkestar.html, date accessed 6 September 2011.

66. Basta!Pex, 'Plavi orkestar'.

67. Basta!Pex, 'Plavi orkestar'.
68. *Zaboravljeni zvuci—Forgotten Sounds*, http://zaboravljenizvuci.word-press.com/, date accessed 8 August 2011.
69. *Zaboravljeni zvuci—Forgotten Sounds.*
70. 'RAZNI IZVODJACI Hitovi Omera Pobrića (BIH)—The songs of muslim nationalists from Bosnia', *Zaboravljeni zvuci—Forgotten Sounds*, https://zaboravljenizvuci.wordpress.com/2010/12/10/razni-izvodjaci-hitovi-omera-pobrica-bih-the-songs-of-muslim-nationalists-from-bosnia/, date accessed 8 August 2011.
71. *Najpogodnije mesto*, (Ex) Yu Psychedelic, Progressive, Rock'n'roll Folk, Punk Music, http://yurock.blogspot.com/, date accessed 27 June 2015; blog has been inactive since 2014.
72. Another such example is Jugo Rock Forever, Rock Music from Ex-Yugoslavia 60's, 70's & 80's, http://jugorockforever.blogspot.com/; online since 2011 has over 1,500000 unique visitors.
73. Catherine Baker, 'Popularna glasba v nekdanji Jugoslaviji: Prek meja do novih', *Ƴuniverzum—Ženske v znanosti*, *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 2006, 34(226), 30–43.
74. On mix-tapes see Bas Jansen, 'Tape Cassettes and Former Selves: How Mix Tapes Mediate Memories', in Bijsterveld and van Dijck, *Sound Souvenirs*, pp. 43–54; see also Velikonja, *Titostalgia*.

CHAPTER 6

Memory in Audiovision

Media archaeology and micro-archiving as a practical and theoretical framework for grasping grassroots memory practices in the culture of the past allows for understanding affective investments and excessively transient updates—in social media as well as in more static, yet ephemeral, blogs and music blogs. Unlike blogs or Facebook, YouTube is a platform that mobilises and facilitates the co-creation of digital memorials and audiovisual afterlives of the past on a different level: it primarily serves as a platform where user-made audiovisions are published. In this chapter I focus on digital video memorials: user-made videos that employ photos, video, sound and text to create a short, intimate story or (re)interpretation of the past.[1] Memories in audiovision are seen as interventions into media memorial landscapes on a mission to re-presence the past, or to give the past an afterlife. In the Yugoslav case, the most often used historical references and topics are the foremost Yugoslav founding myths: the 'historical' legacies of the Second World War and the anti-fascist Resistance, as well as the pervasive 'pophistorical' legacies of Yugoslav popular culture.[2]

The history, legacy and myth of the Second World War and anti-fascism in socialist Yugoslavia were important tenets of state ideology and permeated everyday life and popular culture, which at the same time also indigenised elements and genres from Western popular culture.[3] The

practice of 'meshing' ideology and history with the everyday and with popular culture continues to thrive in numerous digital video memorials long after the death of Yugoslavia and the end of the socialist project. This is particularly intriguing in relation to the rising re-nationalisation of the past and the present, and with revisionist and negationist accounts of the legacy of anti-fascism as one of the central formative elements of the European moral landscape.

In this context, grassroots video interventions are examples of the articulation of contesting narratives through 'necrophilic' revitalisations of audiovision. This, I argue, is ignited by the fragility and elusiveness characteristic of rapidly changing socio-cultural constellations, but mostly by Eastern and Central European disillusionment over the false promises of 'freedom' and 'democracy' offered in the 1980s. Grassroots video memorials feed Berardi's 'No Future' argument, and provide additional grounding for the adaptation of Buden's idea of the culture of the past, particularly so, in view of Devin Fore's argument that 'in the time of "decapitated time" [Denis Hollier quoted in Fore], people begin to eye the archaic past and the forgotten resources of deceased generations as possible sources of fuel to start a depleted engine of progress. At these moments, utopia no longer seems to stand before us as a future to be realized, but, reversing its polarity, to lie behind us as a past to be recovered'.[4]

The post-socialist transformation processes brought about disappointment, which is often retrospectively interpreted, Slavoj Žižek notes, as the source that 'gave room for three reactions to emerge: (1) nostalgia for the 'good old' communist times, (2) right-wing nationalist populism; (3) renewed and late anti-communist paranoia'.[5] All these reactions hardly look to the future but rather abide by Fore's observations. Thus, the past keeps resurfacing and bubbling in the cracks of new ideological edifices and media discourses. It informs diverse post-socialist realities and keeps them in a techno-political situation that, more than earlier on, enables the public presence of individuals' stances and beliefs. In such contexts, a battle of competing interpretations is taking place over the legacies of anti-fascism and the Second World War.

Yugo-Tube? Co-creating and Sharing Memories on YouTube

The most distinctive YouTube feature, that is, publishing and sharing user-generated content, has become increasingly regulated but it still allows for a do-it-yourself approach, which is an important part of YouTube culture.

It builds on the technological potentiality of publishing/sharing content, which otherwise (in traditional media) would face considerable difficulties in reaching wider audiences. Regardless of the increasingly strict limits placed on uploaded content (for example, copyright issues), but also because of the service lifting the length limit of uploaded material, user initiatives on YouTube persist and continually reclaim the platform to expose unofficial, contesting, everyday, mundane contents, as well as personal and intimate narratives.

An example of the meshing of different registers of audiovision—the everyday, popular culture, history, both Western and Eastern—is, or rather was, an excerpt from one of the *Star Wars* films dubbed with a popular Yugoslav song by Zdravko Čolić, 'Druže Tito mi ti se kunemo' [Comrade Tito, we swear our oath to you].[6] The song was once a popular hit and it still resonates across the post-Yugoslavia today. It is a reinterpretation of a partisan song from the Second World War, a glorification of Josip Broz Tito and an expression of devotion to the Yugoslav cause. In this video, several mythological levels were fused together, most evidently in the marriage of the song with the *Star Wars* excerpt. Re-contextualised into the wider mythological and fictional framework that distinctly marked the Western hemisphere at the end of the millennium, the song attained a rather different meaning. One commentator even traced the analogy between the film's subject matter and the mythological referential point, the Second World War, of Čolić's song:

> Tito is a hero! Star Wars rule!! The best combination!
> Memories!!! when I was a kid partisans and Jedis were the coolest!
> And also the analogy- alliance-partisans, fascists-Empire.
> At the end of the day, I think this is what Lucas thought! Just look at the uniforms.[7]

There are two interesting aspects of this example: it has been deleted for copyright violation and it illustrates the unlimited possibilities of combining different narratives.

Digital Storytelling

The central concern here are videos on a mission to commemorate Yugoslavia by editing music and images that incorporate the myths and histories of the Second World War and anti-fascism into digital stories. It is in tribute videos that this kind of storytelling becomes a fine conduit for the exteriorisation of memories and remembering.[8] YouTube provides

an outlet for publishing curated excerpts of personal lives, histories and memories that may gain attention, credibility and gain the position of referential commentaries. The reality, however, is that it is difficult indeed to see this as an entirely democratising venture, not least because the question of being heard—the question of attention (see section "Attention: Quantified Credibility", Chap. 3), or rather, the lack of it—is just as pervasive in digital media as it is and was in traditional media and offline power structures.[9]

The characteristic feature of digital video memorials is the use of audiovisions, a trait that resonates with Joe Lambert's definition of digital storytelling: 'short, first person video-narrative created by combining recorded voice, still and moving images, and music or other sounds'.[10] In most cases, digital storytelling entails the making of digital life-stories, as several authors discuss in Knut Lundby's *Digital Storytelling*,[11] usually by fitting the visual narrative to the length of a popular song (see the discussion on music and the technology of memory in Chap. 5). Digital storytelling as a practice of memory takes individuals, authors and users on a journey of audiovisual (self)discovery through finding (media archaeology), editing (micro-archiving) and consuming pictures, moving images, music and text. Most importantly, in a specific media environment, engagement with audiovisual content is the trigger of defragmented affect that binds users to one another, as well as with the content and, in the next turn, the narrated event.

Not forgetting the context on account of the tool,[12] YouTube interventions and online collectivities are, to an important extent, often engaged in production and spreading of decidedly politically laden content, and are often related to and adopt a wide variety of popular cultural and political content. Yugoslav digital video memorials may not be explicitly political, but the way they are framed by the authors and users surely goes beyond the level of mere nostalgia. By bringing in intimacy and affectivity, videos re-presencing the past provide a commentary on the present and thus also contribute to the enhanced immediacy of remembering.

Given the affordances of both audiovision and textual commenting, such exteriorisations of memory, intimacy and affect are subject to scrutiny and (dis)interest and (dis)like by other users who take part in the memorial activity by liking or commenting on the posted material. This contributes to the formation of an on-the-fly community that perpetuates or disintegrates through (non)participating in the co-creation of a

person's digital storytelling process or a memorial: any platform-enabled and based action in relation to the posted video, contributes to its exposition in terms of its content and meaning.[13] A digital video memorial thus becomes a public site for exteriorisation (and indeed management) of memory and intimacy, as well as an everyday place or outlet for expressing frustration and grief.

Audiovision used in creating vernacular digital memorials is sourced through the practice of media archaeology: the maker searches for various media content (photos, songs, archival footage, feature film excerpts) whether online or in books, photo collections, and so on, and edits them into a narrative with which she can express her affective fascination, interpretation, an intimate memory, an interpretation of a historical event, or an experience of any kind. Such a video and its immediate surrounding and metadata (the description, number of views, comments and other statistical data) are hence turned—through the use of different media sources, tags, defining its relation to other contexts, videos and video or textual comments—into a multimodal media object, that is, a digital video memorial.

The path I took in researching Yugoslav grassroots interventions on YouTube is a straightforward one indeed: the most intuitive search term, 'Jugoslavija' [Yugoslavia], when first attempted in 2007 yielded 2110 results; by 2015 this number rose to over 70,000 search results. Clearly not all results are relevant to the scope of this writing: they feature 'curiosities' such as, for instance, an excerpt from *The Family Guy* animated series, where Yugoslavia is mentioned, and a clip from a 1982 football match between Spain and Yugoslavia.

Browsing these results revealed a large amount of music videos, sports clips and topics related to the Second World War and the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s, as well as home videos, film excerpts, and the like. Given the number of videos and the analytical framework, I narrowed the scope to digital video memorials. The analysis of such videos traces the ways in which the Yugoslav past is digitised and audiovisualised. Furthermore, the analysis investigates implications these memorials have for the digital life, or rather, the afterlife, of the country.

In Yugoslavia-related grassroots audiovisual interpretations of the country's past, memorials were mostly engaged with themes, people and events related to the Second World War (1941–45), the post-war period (1945–91) and the post-Yugoslav period (1991–). As mentioned above,

digital video memorials include historical productions—where authors construct an audiovisual timeline, spanning from the birth of the country to its demise—and pop-cultural interventions (featuring photos of celebrities, politicians, food products, industrial achievements, and so on).

Nostalgia, Frustration, Deletion

In digital video memorials, images are often used arbitrarily with respect to the historical timeline, a practice which works to create an intimate narrative that gains affectivity precisely because the timeline has been temporally conflated. In addition to photos and video materials, the memorial videos often feature titles and captions by which the author introduces the video, marks 'chapters', or provides additional explanation. On the audio level, authors typically employ popular music originating in the Yugoslav era or later on, among which partisan and revolutionary songs rival pop and rock songs. The selection of a particular song in many cases is thoroughly considered: much like in cinema, or in music blogs, music enhances the affective force out of visual content and further adds to intimate exteriorisations of memory and grief.

Nostalgia

One such example is a video memorial posted by the user mejerchold which combines a selection of video clips with the 1981 hit 'Triput sam video Tita' [I've Seen Tito Three Times] by Đorđe Balašević, a Yugoslav singer-songwriter.[14] The song is a first-person lyrical memorialisation in which the singer recounts the three occasions on which he saw Tito: first as a five-year-old, then as a young man playing a concert and finally when Tito died and his remains were taken across Yugoslavia in 1980. The events are illustrated in the lyrics: 'There I was, standing so small / with my guitar, and in front of me / my childhood, freedom, peace / brotherhood, unity / and there he was, smiling, eternal / and I saw tall chimneys / factory's smoke, wide fields / cities living in freedom / children and peace and a flock of birds / and I saw Marshal Tito again / the legend, the maker of freedom / the human, comrade and fighter / and again, I saw Tito everywhere.'

The song is an overtly personal narrative, an expression of grief over the loss of the country's leader. Yet at the same time, it offers an appraisal of youth and perhaps even more an adoration of a country that 'materialised'

precisely through the mythology and cult of Tito. Over the years, nostalgic lyrics accompanied by the Balašević-specific melancholia fell out of fashion but regained momentum after the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991, when the song became engrained in memory practices and the post-Yugoslav nostalgic surge. For one, it is a nostalgic rendition of the (nearly) entire Yugoslav post-war history in mythopoetic terms, while at the same time it is also a 'Bildungsgedichte', a song-story of becoming in the age of post-war prosperity marked by the prospects of a bright future. The intersection between these two narrative layers is probably the most affluent space where affective and nostalgic responses flourish.

The user has taken TV broadcast material from history programmes (from Serbian Television and the History Channel) and edited the excerpts to roughly fit the lyrics. The song, already cinematic in its evocative lyrics, was thus fitted with footage of fighting scenes during the Second World War, while random footage of children depicts the singer's childhood. A shot of a tram departing a station is used to symbolise the user's third encounter with Tito. This is followed by a shot of the Blue Train in which Tito's remains made their last cross-country journey. Yet this factual inconsistency (i.e., the footage of a tram leaving a station used to in lieu of the actual Blue Train) does little damage to the narrative.

Although perhaps not as elaborate as some other videos dedicated to Yugoslavia, Tito and/or the Second World War, majerchold's memorial nevertheless presents a historical reinterpretation and a memorial statement, which calls for attention because it selectively remediates televised content (history programmes).[15] Unlike other similar interventions that rely on photographic material, such an approach brings more 'moving' material into the memorial landscape. But what makes this video interesting as a digital video memorial is the use of a particular popular song, the visual material and the commenting function. In this, the lyrics play an important part as they re-tell the story of Yugoslavia, which, in a new historical context, becomes a source of memory and of making sense of the past.

The responses directly related to the lyrics are telling. One user refers to the song and extends Balašević's story into the present. In doing so, she highlights the consequences of failing to live up to the Yugoslav dream:

@peromakata now we have demolished buildings, mines, not to mention health service, education system and other ministries, I'm fed up with profiteers and stealers...but the worst of all is that we've lost those we loved the

best, our memories are burnt destroyed are our memories that no one can ever bring back and now we only have hatred between one another…whatever people say and wrote they are all sorry for yugoslavia…and so we should be for having followed tudman and milosevic (may they burn in hell).[16]

Moreover, this post offers an affective take on the present which is significantly informed by an image of the past firmly embedded in Balašević's nostalgic song, in this case transformed into an entirely personalised and internalised narrative.

The song recapitulates several of the pillars of Yugoslav mythology: industrialisation and post-war prosperity, peace, brotherhood and unity, and indeed an autarchic political, social and cultural world that easily becomes both the topos of further, post-Yugoslav mythologisation and nostalgicisation, as well as an indication of the delusion in which Yugoslavs lived, according to the 1941–91 period's most ferocious critics. At the same time, the life of this song after 1991 and its uses in such interventions also expose social and cultural perturbations faced by the post-socialist societies following the installation of the new states. This period is marked by increasing insecurity and distrust in political, judicial, and economic systems. The following exchange captures the difficulties of translating the past into the present, namely, the affectivity of understanding the present through memory triggers from the past:

@antun
(1) It was a one-party system.
(2) It was nearly fully blown planned economy, especially in the beginning.
(3) The Party had a monopoly over politics, education, culture, the media.
(4) Any disagreement meant punishment, hence no freedom of speech.
(5) Do you remember the Goli otok [Barren Island]?[17] taurunumurban

@taurunumurban
(1) so what, now it's two parties, same shit
(2) does it bother anyone, who wanted to work could find a decent job as soon as he finished school, people lived better, houses were being built, much much less stealing, people weren't slaves to the banks
(3) and now, is it any different? then at least abroad appreciated our faculties, you couldn't buy a degree.
(4) same thing again, now it's the same, where do you live that you believe in the freedom of speech?
(5) if only we had 10 such islands now, so much there's scum. hristo7777

@hristo7777

(1) In Serbia it's not two party, not even in Croatia. And even if it were, so what?

(2) People lived on loans, there was a lot of spending, the economy had to collapse anytime, by the laws of economy. People are not slaves to the banks, because they freely sign contracts with them. This could not be done then. [...] No, there was not less stealing. If people didn't know about it or it was hushed, doesn't mean there was any less of it. taurunumurban

@hristo7777

(3) It is different, but not different enough. The liberalisation goes into that direction and if not before, then when entering the EU this will have to change. There is NO such thing there.

(4) In Zemun [part of Belgrade]. How is freedom of speech sanctioned here?? HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union, party] cannot prevent you from talking about whatever. Tito could do that. And he could also kill for that. taurunumurban

@taurunumurban you seem like a decent enough person for not insulting etc. me at once. The system is not two-party, just seems so, as there are only two parties that can put together a government, and as far as life on loan is concerned, here you're wrong, Croatia inherited some 10 billion euro debt (not sure, something like that) and now we owe 42 billion, in just 20 years, nothing in Cro was done, everything is being sold and everything is in debt. hristo7777[18]

Triggered by Balašević's song, this exchange illustrates different understandings of both the past and the present. Roughly speaking, taurunumurban takes the position of looking at the past through an idealised present (with flourishing democracy, a free economy and an idealised view of the EU), or at least a present seen against the backdrop of an unbearable past. hristo7777, on the other hand, looks at the present through the perspective of an idealised past (and significantly through a should-be-present). This appears to be the archetypal distinction in conceptualising the Yugoslav past in popular renditions, debates and interpretations. Importantly, it exposes many of the most vexing issues in the post-Yugoslav countries today, from malfunctioning multiparty systems to inefficient economies, as the '[i]ndividuals who negotiated these local and national changes were simultaneously caught up in late 20th century consumer capitalism, which sold itself as the most successful model of social organisation'.[19]

Making reference to the Yugoslav socialist past in any sort of positive manner is, as already mentioned, often labelled 'mere' nostalgia. But such reasoning fails to see the broader context within which nostalgic statements

are being made. The most basic observation must acknowledge that post-Yugoslavs were suddenly left without a history and broader social, cultural and political frameworks (with new ones endlessly caught in the misconstrued logic of transition) and, perhaps most importantly, without legitimate individual and collective histories. In this view, the 'mere nostalgia' approach fails to acknowledge that the unseen implies unseen biographies, and that the desire to unforget is a reflection of the need for a coherent past and a comprehensive referential framework. In short, nostalgic treatment of the Yugoslav past is a context, not content. As Kathleen Stewart suggests,[20] it is not an 'end reaction to yearning, it is understood as a technique for provoking a secondary reaction.'[21] Rather, it is yearning not for Yugoslavia as such; but for its cultural, intimate and collectively imagined coherence and epochality. Thus it is a framework for expressing an existential and notoriously neglected quest for normalcy (see Chap. 7).

Frustration

Taking into consideration the great expectations of the pre-1991 period, the post-socialist societies seem to be under persistent subordination to the 'Democracy of the West' discourses. This further adds to re-evaluating the Yugoslav past in light of the present and the eradication and rewriting of the problematic socialist past (which in many cases entails the entire post-Second World War period). The new elites seem to have subordinated themselves: by promoting 'redemption through democratisation', they took on the role of the intrinsically problematic—flawed and essentially handicapped due to their experience with socialism—actor in Europeanizing Europe, while failing to take into account that the Democracy of the West is literally untranslatable into the post-socialist settings. In this view, Tanja Petrović argues that '[t]he East Europeans themselves often treat socialism as something essentially non-European that originated in Asia and was enforced upon them, threatening their otherwise profoundly European identity (as a result, accession to the EU is *returning home*)'.[22] And the point was not missed by one commentator in 2011:

> First of all, they've wrecked our country, then they turned us against each other to a bloody fight and they mugged us and now they're forcing us into 'European Union' which is much like another much bigger Yugoslavia, but we're much much smaller and more pathetic…
> ufaxx[23]

Now, this immediately brings to mind the 1980s and the decade's (popular) cultural and political legacies (entailing the turbulence of forming democratic opposition in the wake of withering state control). Do the early 1980s song and archival footage of Tito have any relevance in explicating post-socialist troubles? mejerchold's digital video memorial brings together a nostalgic popular song and footage that re-presences and spreads, and archives along the way, a specific audiovision of the past. In doing so it obscures the fact that the country was in the turmoil of economic crisis, workers' strikes and ineffective leadership. However, for someone living in these geographical coordinates, history remains tangible even in its absences; and this shows in the comments above referring to the past and perhaps most distinctly in references to the present (juxtaposed to the past). In this memorial, intimate motives drive the author to include audiovision from across the media landscape: thus, a mediated 'public record' of Yugoslav history becomes part of a 'personal reinterpretation' where the comments co-create the elusive 'whatever', which feeds into each subsequent viewer's experience.

Interventions like this have been present in digital media for years and are continually recurring as an affective historical record through which an alternative set of meanings, values and interpretations is propagated. References to the nostalgicised past enable the articulation of a distinctly contemporary reaction to the present everyday, daily-political and economic instabilities.[24] The use of a nostalgic song and its resonance was only possible in a climate (with some variations across the post-Yugoslav countries) where

> [t]he previous, socialist system of values [had to be changed] and transformed into, just as authoritarian, but completely different system which originated in the nationalist ideology that spread by the end of the 1980s. New authoritarian concept of values required the centre be taken by national sentiment, and that the former class collectivism be changed by ethnic one.[25]

Deletion

Much along the lines of the argument regarding frustration (epitomised in the 'no change' view evident in the above quote), which in some cases leads to deletion of comments either by the users themselves or by YouTube administrators, a different kind of deletion affects digital video memorials much more strongly. Deletion or removal of a video on YouTube is a

standard practice in cases where a video breaches the terms and conditions applying to content or copyright (as in the *Star Wars* example). In such cases, a digital video memorial is removed, including the description, tags, statistics and user comments. What remains is a note saying video has been removed. Usually, another user, and yet another, will post a new video using the same song and thus partake in the perpetuation of sharing copyrighted music.

The ephemerality of content, its capacity to migrate and the danger of it being deleted become a problem because along with the video, the emergent ad hoc commemorating collectivities are deleted as well. During my research I came across a video memorial titled 'Azra-Partizan' made by user XPartizani0zauvijekX.[26] The video was uploaded on 5 February 2009 and was dedicated to the user's grandfather ('Mome djedu' [For my Grandad], R.I.P, 21.3.1921-3.1.2009). The tags defined it as: 'antifa partizani azra partizan antifascist red star hammer and sickle tito'.[27] Over a couple of years, a sizeable ad hoc collectivity formed around the video, consisting of those who shared and participated in the lively exchange of fleeting memory bits, reminiscences, recollections and references to users' relatives who took part in the Second World War. Yet, YouTube deleted the video memorial upon request of the copyright holder sometime in late 2011 or early 2012. The video presented an invaluable case of grassroots intervention into the digital memorial landscape not only because of its audiovisual tactics (discussed below) but also because it took on the role of a memorial with a sizeable participating collectivity of digital mourners who shared their memories as well as their views on historical issues and the contemporary situation.

The legally problematic part of the memorial, as it turned out, was the use of the song 'Partizan [The Partisan]' recorded in 1995 by Branimir Štulić, the former leader of the Yugoslav new wave band Azra (featured on his album *Sevdah za Paulu Horvat*). The song is a cover (indeed a thorough re-writing) of the Second World War French resistance song, 'La complainte du partisan',[28] which became increasingly popular after Leonard Cohen released the English version, 'The Partisan', on his 1969 album *Songs from a Room*. It has since been covered by numerous artists because it celebrates the resistance against the Nazi occupation; in truth, the song epitomises an emancipatory conceptualisation of resistance against any oppression.

Štulić built upon this legacy, remaining true to his personal stance of opposition to any regime: throughout the 1980s, Azra and Štulić expressed

through music the public discontent with the state of affairs in Yugoslavia. Yet, after 1991, Štulić refashioned his oppositional stance in response to the changing situation, particularly with regards to the situation in the newly independent nationalist Croatia. He remained true to his dissident credo.[29] Štulić's take on the Yugoslav anti-fascist legacy is relevant on the level of his personal life story. His emigration from Croatia in the early 1990s was itself a statement against the nationali(sti)sation of the post-Yugoslav Croatian political and cultural space. Hence it is clear why XPartizani0zauvijekX chose the song; it fits nicely into the Yugoslav myth and legacy of the Partisan Resistance movement, which was essentially related to the pan-European anti-fascist Resistance during the Second World War and was an important tenet in the post-war rebuilding of Europe.

After 1991, the Yugoslav liberation struggle was continually and radically reinterpreted as a communist revolution, while its emancipatory motives were downplayed or denied. With historical revisionism that emerged most prominently across Central and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s, intimate grief and loss (mostly in relation to the victims of the post-war extra-judicial killings)[30] became the key operational arguments and vehicles of re-approaching the socialist past and perverting the post-war interpretation of the Second World War. In the post-socialist cultural and political environment, the humanist aspect of the resistance (which clearly was not innocent) became obscured by the legacy of the crimes committed by the resistance, the discourse of totalitarianism and 'transitionism'. These aspects of resistance permeated the post-socialist discourses, while the emancipatory legacy of liberation, equality, solidarity and commonality were discarded, through the celebration of victimhood, as part of the totalitarian mythological luggage. With the old generations inadvertently leaving and the new ones only barely managing to find their place in the debris of the shattered post-war dream, the history and legacy of the Second World War is nearing the end of its lived and verifiable life. It comes as no surprise that Xpartizani0zauvijekX's video engages with the preservation of the anti-fascist and Second World War legacy in an attempt to preserve and spread it. There are, however, several videos that use the same song: in June 2008, stjepko357 uploaded another video using Štulić's version of the song, which has also been deleted,[31] and there are still a number of videos that use Cohen's version in co-creating similar narratives.

XPartizani0zauvijekX's video memorial was made using lo-fi images depicting fighting scenes, marching, portraits, and so on. Still photos,

where used, were manipulated in a way to give the impression of 'structured randomness' and motion (white vertical lines are added to give an impression of an old film strip running). The images in the memorial depicted resistance fighters engaged in battle, marching through woods and in scenes of liberation. In several instances it was difficult to tell—due to low resolution—whether an image depicted a partisan or a Nazi. The visitor is likewise in no position to establish whether a person depicted in a photograph is 'real', or is an actor in a feature film. Yet this seems to play no significant role in authenticity of the narrative. On the contrary, digital storytelling here works according to the principle of suspension of disbelief. Despite the factual fallacy, or at least ambiguity, the narrative composition of the memorial clearly contextualises these images as depicting Yugoslav partisans. This adds to the temporal conflation also the dimension of content conflation (that is, historical inaccuracy). The issues of memory and remembering in the age of unsurpassed manipulability of content are thus further complicated: the processes of de- and re-contextualisation easily refurbishes an image (or a sound) to fit into a narrative promoting a radically different story.[32]

The video concludes with footage of a man who just broke the shackles on his hands, with a Yugoslav flag waving in the background. This imagery was accompanying by the considerably revised Partizan song lyrics: "There were three of us this morning / Only one is alive now / But that's not me / The cenotaph is a brothel." The memorial ends with a photo of XPartizani0zauvijekX's grandfather in officer's uniform and the singer sings, over the image shattering into black screen: "Through the cypresses the wind is blowing / Through the graves the wind is blowing / Dear freedom / Will she know how to sing?"[33]

The interplay of images, lyrics and melody contributed to the emanation of the 'whatever', which is filled with over half a century's worth of history and pop-cultural presence of Cohen's 'The Partisan', the legacy of anti-fascism, remediated through the use of war-time archival footage and the whole genre of the partisan film.[34] This contributed both to the conflation of time and content, as well as to the overall infusion of historical imagination with popular culture. Through the 'whatever', however, which is heavily reliant on personal understanding of the past, this video became an extremely powerful memorial: it elicited a visceral response in the researcher as well as affective responses by the users who engaged in commenting.

The historical and pop-cultural 'whatever', along with the affectivity of watching, galvanised through the song, related the memorial to a broader, international framework of the anti-fascist tradition. This relationship is manifest in the entanglement of remembering the Second World War, refashioned anti-fascism as a reaction to the neoliberal decomposition of the social and the not unrelated rise of the extreme right and historical revisionism. Importantly, this memorial and other similar interventions rearticulate the increasingly unseen emancipatory legacy of anti-fascism in the former Yugoslavia. Thus, in contemporary dealings with the socialist past in post-Yugoslavia, Catherine Baker argues, 'insisting on separating anti-fascism and socialism [has] ignored 45 years of their inseparability in the Yugoslav public discourse'.[35] What is more, Tanja Petrović states, the 'rejection of the socialist legacy caused marginalization of antifascism as a value, despite the fact that antifascism is regarded as a foundation of a common European identity'.[36]

The (implicit) correlation of anti-fascism, Yugoslavism and the post-Yugoslav situation (where the latter is particularly apparent in the comments) can be read as an expression of the dissatisfaction with the present situation where interpersonal relationships are being reshaped, which is often seen in terms of deterioration. In other words, reading the individual and the collective (or wider socio-political) levels together, this digital video memorial was an expression of existential uncertainty. Although it is typical for any present to seek stability, this seems to have been exacerbated in the culture of the past which is decidedly marked by the technologisation of communication and bleak future prospects. The past, on the other hand, despite being fragmented, contested and largely mythologised and nostalgicised, nevertheless appears soothingly stable and safe.

This investigation of digital memorials suggests that one of the underlying reasons why the concept of culture of the past appears overwhelming and accurate in its explanatory potential is that the present we live in is on the verge of losing the last witnesses to the making of the dominant historical referential framework. This framework defined and structured the everyday of the latter part of the twentieth century politically and ideologically, mythically and pop-culturally. It is as if a new generation is unable to say a proper goodbye to the twentieth century. On a personal level, losing one's grandparents irreparably breaks the last 'biological' link to a past that thus only remains accessible through (technological) mediation: historiography, memory, daily politics and media discourses. Yet, on the level of collectivity, unable to dream a stimulating future, the culture

of the past is what, pharmacologically, translates the (perceived) coherence attributed to the past into the present.

In this context, the 'Azra-Partizan' digital memorial re-presences the legacy of the Yugoslav past in a considerably different socio-political environment. The archival footage and the song used cast the memorial into the domain of a micro-archive. Given the users' responses, it was also an archive of values and feelings. In this affective exteriorisation of memory, a history once important (then almost annihilated, but not forgotten) came to life again. The comments suggested that the video indeed managed to create an on-the-fly remembering collectivity: it became a cyberplace of memory, a place where personal views and understandings of the past could be voiced. Interestingly, this video did not spur fierce debates but it more explicitly played the role of a digital memorial where other users shared their own memories:

> Thanks for the video I also dedicate this song to my granddad and his fellow combatants from the fourth Yugoslav army. Spring 1945. Eternal glory to them all.
> vucic89
>
> Respect maestro!
> My granddad
> 1913–1991
> 3rd Overseas Brigade (26th Dalmatian Division, 4th Army)
> pozz
> To all our grand fathers, rest in peace!
> Raise your voice against fashism! WooyaBG[37]

The comments and the video made this cyberplace of memory into a place of connection. They constituted an affective field, which contributed to the formation of an *ad hoc* commemorating collectivity. At the point of connection (watching the video and commenting), personal memory became part of the memorial. Participation spurred the unravelling of the historical 'whatever' in the liminality of the individual and the collective, the past and the present. This relies on and enhances the co-creative character of the memorial which extends commemorative cyberplace of memory to other mourners' intimate understanding of the past. When a user navigates to a video, watches it and comments on it, or just reads through the comments, the process of *ad hoc* remembering is enacted through the 'tele-intimate' relation with content and the users who have left a mark of their presence.

The act of commenting is a tool of defragmenting affect, as well as an act of co-creating the memorial: the comment becomes a part of the memorial for other users to react to (or not) in the act of 'accumulative mourning'.

> But the existence of the digital memorial revealed a much wider relevance of remembering and doing memory in digital media. One user commented: Once being a thief was a disgrace while today it is a cherished skill and value and that's why I love this song, because in those times at least you knew who's a thief and who a partisan. TheChongista

> @TheChongista This was a time when men were gentlemen, women were ladies, it was a time of being fair, truthful and proud, the last of the heroes. today the manners, as much as they've been empty then, they were the standard, today everything is alienated. Peacerelm.[38]

This exchange depicts the past beyond any factual degree. Yet, this exaggeration explicates what partisanship and/or anti-fascism today can stand for: not only resistance against fascism or occupation but much more. In these stances, anti-fascism and references to partisan resistance reintroduce an attitude that not only mourns the lost country, the bygone times, but also lost humanism in an age where the future seems bleak at best.

> Unfortunately it did not know how to sing, dear freedom … Our regret and remembering remains, of their grandchildren. Their children had betrayed by letting all this happen…

> It's up to us to spread humanity, cosmopolitanism, brotherhood around us, to emit it into space and let other people know—this is humanism, this is the left. And we can also raise our children not to hate the 'other' and to tell them that once upon a time there lived some great and courageous people, that today they [the children] are being lied to by people in power who lie about them [the great and courageous people] who were their ancestors. IvoLola1[39]

This comment clearly links present-day disillusionment with hopes invested in the post-socialist future, which in many digital memorials dedicated to the former Yugoslavia is seen in light of disillusionment with the democratisation project which fails to offer progressive/proactive solutions to (often times) existential problems. Thus, the options that remain are easily formulated in terms of promoting returning to or re-presencing the ideals and values that were once prominent, and indeed only made possible by the anti-fascist resistance.

Such expressions demonstrate that a digital memorial elicits responses, emotions and affect that clearly 'instrumentalise' the past not only for the sake of memory but also to interpret and define the present. Thus the memorial was used to establish, in combination with user comments, an interpretive lens through which the entire post-Second World War period can be interpreted, its 'essence' re-presenced, this time around, in decidedly intimate and affective terms.

Complicity in Conflation

Over the years, several videos have been posted on YouTube that frame their approach through the topic of resistance. In mejerchold's video, discussed above, this was an underlying topic, circumstantially built into the story through the choosing of a song. In her rendition, history was affectively re-appropriated through the lens of the song format, through the song's textual message and its affective, nostalgic legacy. A different approach was adopted by dugmicMala, who based her video memorial narrative around the history of Yugoslavia. On her YouTube Channel the user states

> I'm living the dream of Yugoslavia, I'm living in a world where it is not important who you are, how you're called and what religion you belong to. You can take [from] me everything, but not my idea of a better world. Fascists will always happen, but in my world, they have no access. Stop the silence and speak up. We need to be brave in a world full of corruption and hate! Maybe we can't change the world, but we can change our attitude![40]

In her video, dugmicMala used the pop song 'Jugoslavija', by Boban Rajović, as a musical structure, dubbing it over a series of digitised images. These were edited into a narrative interspersed with textual captions, not unlike in silent film.[41] The narrative is roughly chronological in order and starts with the caption 'Yugoslavia... What happened? It all fell apart', which is followed by an image of the map of Yugoslavia. The first 'chapter' begins with a caption, 'Comrade Tito... 1892–1980, Glorious President, combatant, communist, fisherman, maker of freedom', which is followed by a series of digitised photos (Tito during the Second World War; meeting politicians and celebrities; addressing people; rebuilding the country; on the cover of the *Time* magazine). The next chapter depicts the year Josip Broz Tito died and is called '1980, Yugoslavia is crying. Yugoslavia is afraid of the future. Comrade Tito is

gone'. It features photographs of his last farewell in Yugoslav capitals. The chapter 'After Tito… The country is falling apart…' features flags of the newly established countries and the inscription: 'Independence is no guarantee for peace'. Photos of the war in Bosnia follow: dead people, concentration camps… 'Did we really need this? Nationalism rules, this has nothing to do with religion, it has everything to do with people and the blood that was spilled'.

The textual question gets a photo-answer in a series of images of cemeteries. 'Sadness, death and pain. Ruins. Cries. Fear. Broken hearts. Ruins. And in the end, only memories… of a glorious country remain'. The depiction of the war-torn reality characterised by political, social, cultural and military breakdown is followed by an attempt to remedy the physical destruction and annihilation of the symbolic through a selection of photos of iconic Yugoslav objects: a one Yugoslav Dinar coin, a monument to Tito, a post stamp, a digitised portrait of Tito on the background of a digitally edited Yugoslav flag. The video ends with the words, 'In the memory of our Yuga, we could have achieved so much with the brotherhood and unity, comrade Tito, without you nothing is as it once was, now we all live in an exile… Ex-Yu'.

As opposed to the memorials created by mejerchold or XPartizani0zauvijekX, dugmicMala structures hers through captions, which provide an overarching temporal structure to the Yugoslav past: clearly speaking from the present, our guerrilla historian attempts to represent her own view of the Yugoslav past. The fact of the state's disintegration is presented at the outset and from this point the narrative takes the viewer back in time to Tito's rule, breakdown of the state, the wars and the establishment of the new states. The narrative arch is completed by the reiteration of the disintegration, which also presents a temporal anchor of the nostalgic yearning for the past and the possible future that never manifested, and a lament over the present reality that was never meant to be.

The captions throughout are extremely emotional, particularly the last line: 'We now live in exile—Ex-Yu.' Ex-Yu is a widely used abbreviation of the former Yugoslavia, but in this statement and audiovisual context, it attains a telling undertone: ex- is an abbreviation of exile. Those who refer nostalgically to ex-Yugoslavia are today's exiled Yugoslavs, both temporally, ideologically and geopolitically. The memorial is thus a highly personal statement that taps into the wider geopolitics of the dissolution. It is a statement of loss and grief that endows any thinking about the past

through this memorial not only with nostalgia but also entices a condemnation of the 'perpetrators unknown' who shattered the country and, concomitantly, the lives and dreams of many people, families and friendships.

Using a specific affective language and tone, the author addresses a wider post-Yugoslav public and aims to mobilise similar feelings in them. The memorial thus becomes an inclusive endeavour addressing people who emigrated (geographical migration) and those who left the Yugoslav past behind to live in the new countries (temporal migration). The relationship between geographical migration and temporal migration (and each in its own right) contributes to the emergence of nostalgia and represents its fuel.[42]

A look at the memorial's visual aspects reveals that the images are, despite the caption-imposed temporal structure, nevertheless ordered randomly. Visually, the narrative defies and indeed negates the historicity of events and imposes a conflation of the past (for example, the images of Tito from the post-war period are followed by images from the Second World War). This fuels the collapse of the present into the past and gives rise to the culture of the past, where the Yugoslav past (much like the music, discussed in Chap. 5) becomes an undifferentiated phenomenon preventing the viewer from seeing the complexity of the historical period. This example demonstrates how affective treatment of the post-Second World War Yugoslav period uproots history from historical context and kneads it into a self-referential symbolic universe, built around selected and curated elements of past ideological, temporal and geographical markers. Disregard of historical linearity is particularly characteristic for digital media and navigation through its content, and is much in line with the logic of the Mnemosyne Atlas. Likewise, this is generally apparent in nostalgic reinterpretations of the past, distilled through the mediation of audiovisuals (see Chap. 7).

If we shift our attention to music, unlike in many other examples, the song used in dugmicMala's video is not an all-(post-)Yugoslav hit but is in fact a post-Yugoslav production. Yet it still works as an overall 'affect enhancer' and it binds the digital memorial together: the music 'fuses' the images and through this interaction emerges a new dimension of re-presencing the past that relies on and repurposes Ahmed's sticky 'whatever'. Much like in mejerchold's memorial, the Yugoslav past, renarrated according to the maker's interpretation, comes to its digital (after)life considerably altered—factually abbreviated, temporally conflated, and affectively enhanced.

Affective Histories

In May 2011, Xpartizani0zauvijekX's video had 2,636 comments, ranging from from bursts of swearing to messages of adoration, with little discussion as such. In 2015, the number of comments dropped to 1,811, which suggests that more than 800 comments were removed either by the users themselves or by YouTube on grounds of violating terms and conditions. In addition to anonymity, commenting elicits fleeting engagement by allowing only short (500-character limit) and (often) provocative messages, suggesting that the majority were deleted due to terms and conditions violations.

The commentators rarely seem to self-censor; formally they often use the upper case to 'shout' and emphasise a point; moreover, the language they use—Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Slovenian, English (or any combination of any of these)—is often grammatically and orthographically inconsistent. This can be ascribed to three reasons: the commentators are not native speakers of the language (for example, Slovenian commentators commenting in Serbian/Croatian, or when posting in English to reach a wider audience); in the case of emigrants, particularly second generation emigrants, the commentators have been socialised in another language (English, German) or were too young at the time of emigration to fully grasp their mother tongue; finally, the ephemerality and fleetingness of engagement with the topic frequently results in abandoning orthographical rules (omission of punctuation, uppercase, diacritics). It could be argued that as the internet has made communication more participatory, written language is being brought closer to the spoken idiom, which further adds to the affectivity of engagement with text in digital media.

The comments elicited by the video memorial offer a range of positive and negative assessments of the Yugoslav past, highlighting in particular its glorious, cherished aspects, such as friendship, brotherhood and security. These, however, are often contradicted by nationalist interventions that generally tend to interpret the Yugoslav past as a history of oppression, unfreedom, and the like:

> Yugoslavia was fake. Allways! All the time.
> Yugoslav nation never existed! Never!!
> Six nation was captured into Yugoslavian association... six nation were prisoners into dungeon called Yugoslavia.

And, now it`s all over.
Croatia is free, finally. :)
Yugoslavia is dead. :) :) :)
Sun9C[43]

Yet, while positive assessments prevail, they frequently radicalise their stance in defending their interpretation: 'dugmicMala respect for the video and the song. And for the rest of you asses, idiots, cretins and all the other similar types, I can only say I'm sorry for you... Fantastic memory...'.[44]

The comments below dugmicMala's video offer an interesting read in that they demonstrate the intertwining of personal memories with textual exteriorisations, with a more or less clear goal to 'reach' another person and potentially motivate her to share-in with her own memories. Yet it appears that the majority of the posts are one-off interventions by the users who use the opportunity to radicalise their stance in order to elicit responses. On the other hand, the comments section seems to be dominated, in terms of a 'feeling of presence', by users who engage in often bitter discussion/clashes. The following string of posts illustrates quite vividly the radicalisation of views posted in response to the memorial:

Only mentally ill can imagine what a life would have been like in any kind of new so-called Yugoslavia. After all that's fallen upon us I can only say DEAR GOD DO NOT PUT US TOGETHER WITH THEM TO BE LOST AGAIN BECAUSE YOU HAVE SHOWN US THE WAY, DEAR GOD, YOU KNOW WHO LOVES YOU SO PROTECT US FROM THE EEVIL THAT AWAITS US.
XBOXEUROPE
Hey there, you great believer cool down a bit. I personally respect all confessions unless sickos are in question like yourself. Take a walk now to some other site and leave us who respect what you do not in peace, so I don't have to use the same primitive vocabulary.
titovpionir
your m***ing yugofascist you call me miserable..
XBOXEUROPE

Now then...again a bit nervous? What for?
Maybe you're bigger 'Yugonostalgic' than you dare admit?
It's not too late to come back to renew our Yugoslav community.
My Bosnia we can cry from Vardar to Triglav! Or we can shout 'Croatia to Zemun' or 'Serbia to Kordun.'
Whichever, I'm open for suggestions.
Jugoslaveni

what am I nostalgic about??? about self-called 'yugoslavia' that I've never recognised as my homeland...
Explain to me how can I be nostalgic for something I was never proud of? There's no way I can or want to be sorry for the selfcalled 'yugoslavia' cause I'm from BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, a land and NAME that was unfortunately covered by 'Yugoslavism... Today when finally there's blue skies over BiH...
XBOXEUROPE
now then xboxeurope, I think you're writing nonsense here, against everything, but I think if you were really against it you'd never set eyes on this site or even seriously watch it if you weren't missing something from old yuga... be real. the directing's been what's been but the times of tito were not all that bad, now when you see nationalism surfacing after his death many forget what it was like back then...
Despoty[45]

Such exteriorisations of rage and mental health diagnostics seem to be a constitutive feature of irreconcilable positions and a constant feature of commenting. The fact that such comments are also part of the exchanges between users raises some questions. Is this a joke, a provocation, or an expression of a troubled mind? I am afraid there is no easy answer. It could be that the radicality stems from the technological limits of communication: it is difficult to translate emotions into writing, particularly if a user is poised against another user and the only means of communication is (translating thoughts into) writing (possibly in a foreign language). But regardless of such limits and the problems they may incur, statements like these remain cybertraces of interpersonal exchanges. They are, likewise, here to stay and constitute the micro-reality of such a memorial (unless deleted along with the video—in copyright breach—or on grounds of violating commenting rules and regulations).

Despite the fact that the majority of comments are fairly short and emotive, some users do engage in more extensive discussions, even though they are frequently utopian or proactively nostalgic and tend to reconciliatorily allude to the nonsense of the wars and the present condition of division, invoking the prospect of a better future:

If only we would get off our asses & do something. Make Yugoslavia thrive again. Protest & do what we can to create a new revolution.
Undo the stupid mistakes the generation before us made. Why does this generation have to suffer?!... Why cant we have the GREAT life everyone

else got to savour before 1991?... We had everything, imagine what we could have been NOW.

I'm very sure there are so many people who want a great future, we would easily overrun the nationallists if we wanted to!

Jasexxxxx (changed name to Jase)

Continued in another comment

I'm a Bosnian, however in my heart I will always be a Yugoslavian. I will always remember the day when I could go outside & play with any child on the street without caring where they came from & what they think of me. Oh man.

What did you do? WHAT DID YOU TURN US INTO? we had everything. We had a friendship ALL countries ENVIED & now, they laugh at us.

WE HAVE NOTHING. WHAT IS WRONG WITH YOU?!!

To every Serb, Croat, Maco, Slovene I WILL ALWAYS LOVE YOU—NO MATTER WHAT!

Jasexxxxx

Hello comrade..LETS GO AND MAKE A REVOLUTION..LONG LIVE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND GERCEGOVINA..SOCIALIST INDEPENDENT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, THAT IS, IT IS THE ONLY SOLUTION FOR OUR PEOPLE. DEATH TO FACISM FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE REGARDS COMRADE

Jugoslavija1945

I'm a croat and must say brother serbs, slowenes, montenegrins, bosnians and macedonians let's offer a hand to one another cause we were and we'll remain in the war we died and didn't get that we were killing our own nation, yugoslav nation, and it was all done by tudjman, alija [Izetbegović] and milosevic and I think without them a new beautiful YUGOSLAVIA will be created. LOOOOOOOOOOOONNNNGG LIIIIIIIIIIIVVEEEEEEEEEE CRO694

there'll be yuga, that's something natural long live yugoslavia

ustaskicetnik[46]

The proactive nostalgia, also feeding on the conflation of history discernible in the memorials, adopts a tactic that—in the absence of commonly imagined (or imaginable) alternatives on different social and political levels—appears as a symptom of a 'disimagined commonality'. The question is whether a society, which 'celebrates choice but in which the only available alternative to enforced democratic consensus is a blind acting out',[47] can in fact accommodate the frustration that emanates both from the imposition of specific technological communications solutions and from the bloated inability to perceive or conceive a change in the socio-political environments of post-Yugoslavia.

Where Do Digital Memorials Go After Enhancing the Memory?

When thinking about the lives of digital memorials, co-creativeness and enhanced immediacy of remembering, we need to think also about memorials' 'itineraries': for example, 'Azra-Partizan' was featured on XPartizani0zauvijekX's channel and became, through spreadability, part of other users' lists of favourites, part of their activities in social media (YouTube, Facebook, and so on). Indeed the video became a migratory cybertrace of memory, a feature in users' digital Mnemosyne Atlases. Thus, this and similar videos contribute to the enhanced immediacy of remembering (see Chap. 4). Exteriorisations of memory and remembering become engrained into the everyday (unlike a planned pilgrimage to a particular lieu de memoire) on an unprecedented scale. While not necessarily exteriorisations of loss or grief, public expressions of remembering thus become part of the everyday, marked by the continuous present, a process which contributes to a certain de-ritualisation of remembering.

Does this mean that the emotionality of remembering has grown weaker? The cyberplaces of memory provide opportunities for expressing emotional exteriorisations, both in creating a memorial as well as in practices of commemoration and other interactions with a memorial. This is quite inconceivable in offline memorials, except from participating in highly orchestrated (state-sponsored) commemorations (taking part in an event along with a multitude of bodies, yet with no active part in creating the memorial), or graffitiing a memorial in the night (a solitary act of co-creation with delayed gratification in terms of others' participation or reception).

Considering the interaction and affective investment on the part of a 'digital mourner', it can be argued that the immediacy of remembering is also facilitating an ever-present engagement of the *memonaut* with the past, the present and the future. Now, this engagement is decidedly marked by the continuous present of content and participation, by the collapse of historicity into the culture of the past, and the complexity which is often translated in affective and intimate reinterpretations. Memory and remembering in digital media, as practice, performance, attitude and belief are thus being transformed 'into ever smaller bits, bits that can be distributed and sampled, even ingested and enjoyed, but that in the glut of multiple circulating contributions tend to resist recombination into longer, more demanding theories'.[48]

The immediacy, then, contributes to rising memorial affectivity but not necessarily to a greater or an in-depth engagement with the past. The fleetingness and cornucopia of stuff to be remembered, along with frustration and deletion, facilitate disengagement and content burnout. So, could it be that the superfluousness of mediated memories and the reactions they provoke lead to empty lingering on bygones, or rather, do they incite a reinterpretation of the past and help devise a(n idea of a) better future?

User interaction with memorials is deeply related to both the past and the present, and it thrives on the discrepancy between the mediated (individually imagined) past and present, on the one hand, and the 'official' reinterpretations of contested histories and memories of the Yugoslav past, on the other. Taking into account the No Future idea suggests that a look into the past might offer alternatives that the future and the present cannot. A closer reading of the videos and the comments, along with media and political discourses in the post-Yugoslav contexts, reveals disillusionment with, and an impasse in, the contemporary technologically advanced age where humans seem to be increasingly unable to catch up with and indigenise technological and ideological frameworks.

In an atmosphere of historical revisionism and contesting interpretations, there often seems to be no way to think or debate about the past, present, or future outside the limits imposed by the interpretive clash of the Second World War unravelling in the post-1991 socio-political constellations. Frequently, the narratives presented in the digital memorials are countered by a wholesale problematisation and criminalisation of the entire socialist/post-Second World War period, a reinterpretive practice that is grounded on decontextualised interpretation of the crimes committed under the rule of the Communist Party and the terror and oppressiveness of the socialist regimes. It is not my intention to resolve this issue here, but I would just like to point out the following: the abundance and variability of digital memories, memorials and storytelling leads to reinterpretations of the past which then present hot topics in societies divided over the interpretations of their pasts. Sadly, however, they usually boil down to positions that are pro-partisan, pro-Yugoslav, or defined by extremely nationalistic or right-wing terms, often drawing on the legacy of the Nazi collaboration during the Second World

War. This closes off any meaningful debate and forecloses the middle ground that could have the potential to mitigate the radicality of exclusive positions:

> I'd rather pact with the Germans than with the southerners [a derogatory term for people from other former Yugoslav republics, often used in Slovenia] and I'd even rather be independent, like Slovenia. It's dishonourable that for so many years we have lived with the southerners. There's heaps of this dirt. The Germans are our only allies. They gave us the reforms which did us good, but it was the communists who made problems. What did we ever get from the southerners? Laziness, stealing, destruction of Slovenianness, hatred among the people [...] commie, do you know that your place is in a gas chamber? Be cautions or the blackhand will come for you.[49]

Unlike many nostalgic expressions that predominantly demonstrate tolerance, pacifist stances and willingness to find and pursue a certain conviviality of dislocated souls, the above commentator overtly expresses ethnic and ideological intolerance, and promotes an attitude that in the name of love, god and home justifies everything.

Regardless of the 'lingering versus action' dichotomy, enhanced immediacy of remembering (potentially) contributes to a more engaged relationship with the present and the prospects of the future, if only in that it provokes users to think about the past. Needless to say, different people invest video memorials with different interpretations and meanings; it seems that a topic, a historical period, or a mobilising ideology, when re-presenced in digital media, are in fact applicable to different cultural, historical and political contexts. And the past, particularly when explained through audiovision, and while emanating the collectively and individually understood historical 'whatever', travels between individuals and collectivities through affective reactions triggered by digital memorials. Digital memorials transcend political borders and, to some extent, offer a platform for maintaining networks of memory.

Commenting: Acting Out Memory

Digital video memorials are not necessarily on a mission to inspire an informed debate, neither do they aspire to give professional historical accounts. But no memorial actually does that. Rather, they are places where individual interventions elicit various kinds of responses. These

interventions into connective and mediated memory are a good indication of the diversity of individual interpretations of histories as well as the diversity of feelings, personal views and beliefs invested into micro-archiving, media archaeology and storytelling.

In the perspective of the culture of the past, the newly established countries 'producing' their national(ised) histories have been gradually eliminating the legacies of the 'shared', 'Yugoslav', 'socialist' and 'brotherhood and unity' past. Today, these legacies find little space in the grand national narratives (if grand has any currency left at all in such national narratives). At best, the unbecoming past is used to establish an ideological, political, cultural, social and historical distance between now and then, and is used to substantiate socio-political 'transitionism' and post-1991 nation-building. Individual interventions, as discussed above, certainly question the idea of the (new) national in the digital (post-socialist) age and also propose a sort of undermining of national (not necessarily nationalist) narrativisations of history by creating and voicing fragmented, singular and individual stories. Nationalistic escapades on the other hand clearly demonstrate the rising reappraisal of territoriality and nationalism (renationalisation) in post-Yugoslavia and contemporary Europe as well.

Digital memorials, as opposed to 'classic' memorials where little room is available for expressing disagreement or even debate about the contested part of history, ideally offer a space where divergent interpretations meet and interact. Despite the potentialities offered by digital storytelling public debates rarely reach beyond the limits of pub talk and even more rarely appear to compromise users' fixed positions. From a techno-cultural point of view, this is an indication of the discrepancy between the intended use of technology and its actual, experiential application.

The prevalent approach to co-creating audiovisions of the past in digital media, and particularly sharing and affectively investing in them, seems to be a more on-the-fly connection with posted content without in-depth involvement in the topic. Yet although short statements demonstrate cursory and superfluous engagement, they just as often profess over-engagement and affectivity in relation to digital storytelling that on many occasions seem to strike a delicate note with the visitor. And in the case of Yugoslavia, it is indeed a delicate topic that storytelling is taking as its subject. Hence, the memorials themselves are bound to fuel, as we have seen, affective interventions into the memorial landscape.

Micro-archival and media archaeological affective interventions—often enacted through intimate exteriorisations of loss and grief, of a relative, or

a country—in digital memorials invite a consideration along the lines proposed by Jonathan Harris: 'Stories online aren't really stories right now. They're like fragmentary reactions to things for the most part. They're like little nerve firings.'[50] Fragmentary stories as micro-archives interwoven with user affectivity are not unlike a fragile, ever-present network that lives off and feeds electric stimuli. Yet, such stimuli, or nerve firings, when joined by the historical 'whatever', evoke a more complex narrative that heavily relies on the suspension of disbelief, as well as on the enhanced immediacy of remembering.

In the case of digital memorials, the effect of the suspension of disbelief presupposes 'incorporating taken-for-granted knowledge and unspoken assumptions',[51] (the historical 'whatever') which is a different magnitude of immersion—into one's own memories or interpretations of the past. Yes, the viewer may 'see' a picture of Josip Broz or of partisans engaged in battle, or one depicting a pop-culture icon, but that is not all. The wide array of comments and opposing views demonstrate that when people engage with video memorials they in fact engage with their memories. They exteriorise, often briefly and loudly, what they 'actually see' when watching a digital memorial. They perform, in a fan dance manner (Chap. 2), what they believe and want to voice as an indication of their identity, attitude, or a worldview, as well as phase out from their comment whatever may not fit in too snugly. It's the dance of unseeing and unforgetting.

Notes

1. See the selection of chapters in Snickars and Vonderau, *The YouTube Reader.*
2. Portions of this research, albeit in a different framework, appeared in Martin Pogačar, 'Empowering Digital Memorials: Post-Yugoslav Dealings with Socialist Past', in Tim Fawns (ed.), *Memory and Meaning: Digital Differences*, Oxford, Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2013, pp. 99–114; and in Martin Pogačar '"Predvajaj svojo preteklost": YouTube in vernakularne digitalizacije jugoslovanske preteklosti', in Tanja Petrović (ed.), *Politike reprezentacije v Jugovzhodni Evropi na prelomu stoletij*, Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 2011, pp. 279–311.
3. See Ana Hofman and Martin Pogačar, 'Partisan Resistance Today? Musical Practices of the National Liberation War and Social Engagement', forthcoming 2016; see also Radina Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam: amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX. veka*, Beograd, JP Službeni glasnik, 2012; Catherine Baker, '"Death to Fascism

isn't in the Catechism": Legacies of Socialism in Croatian Popular Music after the Fall of Yugoslavia', *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku* 2010, 47(1), http://hrcak.srce.hr/file/81655; see also Vuletic, 'Generation Number One'; Dalibor Mišina, 'Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia', *Nationalities Papers* 2010, 38(2): 265–89; for cinema see Pavle Levi, *Disintegration in Frames: Aesthetics and Ideology in the Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Cinema*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2007.

4. Devin Fore, 'Introduction', in Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt, edited by Devin Fore, *History and Obstinacy*, New York, Zone Books, 2014, pp. 1–21, p. 17.

5. Slavoj Žižek, *Living in the End Times*, London, Verso, 2010, pp. vii–viii.

6. See BogdanDLR, 'Star Wars Druze Tito', http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y-irP4AAcyo, date accessed 23 August 2011. The video and comments were removed upon copyright claim by FOX.

7. elendil77, comments at http://www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=y-irP4AAcyo, date accessed 23 August 2011. The video and comments were removed upon copyright claim by FOX.

8. See Wahlberg, 'YouTube Commemoration', pp. 218–35.

9. In the abundance of channels and uploaded videos, corporate media and established publishers get a greater share of attention and also are in a better position to monetise their activity, whereas the vast majority of posted content and its authors, despite the long tail effect, generally seem to have relatively small audiences and negligible impact in terms of virality/penetrability; see Nakamura, *Digitizing Race*.

10. Storycenter, http://www.storycenter.org/index1.html, date accessed 23 August 2011.

11. Lundby, *Digital Storytelling*.

12. Evgeny Morozov, *The Net Delusion*, *How Not to Liberate the World*, London, Allen Lane, 2010, p. xii.

13. See Frank Kessler and Mirko Tobias Schäfer, 'Navigating YouTube: Constituting a Hybrid Information Management System', in Snickars and Vonderau, *The YouTube Reader*, pp. 275–91, p. 279.

14. mejerchold, 'Tri put sam video Tita', YouTube, date accessed 6 August 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E2N-WUeHwRo.

15. Ernst, *Digital Memory and the Archive*, pp. 102–13, Hepp, *Cultures of Mediatization*.

16. See mejerchold, 'Tri put sam video Tita', comments, http://www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=E2N-WUeHwRo, date accessed 2 September 2011. Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević were presidents of post-1991 Croatia and Serbia, respectively.

17. Goli otok was an island turned into a prison mainly for political prisoners (in the period between 1949–56, the prison was under federal authority, later on and until 1988, it was under authority of Socialist Republic of Croatia).

18. See mejerchold, 'Tri put sam video Tita', comments.

19. Baker, '"Death to Fascism isn't in the Catechism"', 164.

20. Kathleen Stewart, 'Nostalgia – A Polemic', *Cultural Anthropology* 1988, 3(3): 227–41, 227, quoted in Maria Todorova, 'Introduction: From Utopia to Propaganda and Back', in Maria Todorova and Zsuzsa Gille (eds.), *Post-Communist Nostalgia*, New York, London, Berghahn Books, 2010, pp. 1–13, p. 2.

21. Sean Scanlan, 'Introduction: Nostalgia', *Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies* 2004, 5, 3–9, 3.

22. Tanja Petrović, *A Long Way Home. Representations of the Western Balkans in Political and Media Discourses*, Ljubljana, Mirovni inštitut, 2009, p. 62.

23. See mejerchold, 'Tri put sam video Tita', comments. http://www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=E2N-WUeHwRo, date accessed 2 September 2011.

24. Not all nostalgic practices (or feelings) should be seen as 'mere' opposition to the 'negative side effects of the "transition period" alone, as nostalgia is also present in post-socialist countries that went through a relatively painless transition'. Monika Palmberger, 'Nostalgia Matters: Nostalgia for Yugoslavia as Potential Vision for a Better Future', *Sociologija* 2008, 4, 355–370, 356. Still, as Haukanes and Trnka argue, nostalgia may be a less salient phenomenon in Poland and the Czech Republic recently, possibly due to relative economic stability. 'Memories, Imagination, and Belonging Across Generations', 5.

25. Dubravka Stojanović, 'Tumačenja istorije, sistem vrednosti i kulturni obrazac', http://www.republika.co.rs/466-467/20.html, date accessed 23 August 2011.

26. XPartizani0zauvijekX, 'Azra-Partizan', http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pSOA_B11SjU, date accessed 23 August 2010.

27. XPartizani0zauvijekX, 'Azra-Partizan'.

28. The song was written in London in 1943 by Emmanuel D'Astier de la Vigérie and Anna Marly. See 'Song of the French Partisan', www.leonardcohensite.com/partisaneng.htm, date accessed 23 August 2011.

29. Valdimir Stakić, 'Branimir Johnny Štulić: Sada ćemo 40 godina da slušamo blejanje ovaca… (1990)', 19 October 2015, http://www.yugopapir.com/2014/06/branimir-dzoni-stulic-sada-cemo.html. Date accessed: 23 October 2015.

30. See Keith Lowe, *Savage Continent*, *Europe in the Aftermath of the World War II*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 2012.

31. stjepko357, 'Branimir Štulić – Partizan', http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Ax1NkaBAWM, date accessed 23 August 2011, no longer available.

32. In 2012, for instance, the Italian Memorial Day (dedicated to the exodus of the Italian population from Yugoslavia in the aftermath of the Second World War) flyer featured a photograph of Italian soldiers shooting hostagesthat was reframed so as to suggest that it was Italians being shot by the Partisans. See Wu Ming, 'Come si manipola la storia attraverso le immagini: il #GiornodelRicordo e i falsi fotografici sulle #foibe', wumingfoundation. com, 11 March 2015, http://www.wumingfoundation.com/giap/?p=20649, date accessed 13 September 2015.

33. Literal translation of the lyrics in Croatian.

34. See Miranda Jakiša and Nikica Gilić (eds.), *Partisans in Yugoslavia: Literature, Film and Visual Culture*, Bielefeld, [transcript] Culture and Theory, 2015; Daniel J. Goulding, *Liberated Cinema: The Yugoslav Experience 1945–2001*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2002; see also Greg de Cuir, 'Partisan "Realism": Representations of Wartime Past and State-Building Future in the Cinema of Socialist Yugoslavia', *Frames Cinema Journal* http://framescinemajournal.com/article/1421/.

35. Baker, '"Death to Fascism isn't in the Catechism"', 174.

36. Tanja Petrović, 'Serbia's Quest for a Usable Past', Institute for Human Sciences, Tr@nsit online, http://www.iwm.at/read-listen-watch/transit-online/serbias-quest-for-a-usable-past/, date accessed 13 October 2015.

37. XPartizani0zauvijekX, 'Azra-Partizan'.

38. XPartizani0zauvijekX, 'Azra-Partizan', comments.

39. XPartizani0zauvijekX, 'Azra-Partizan', comments.

40. dugmicMala, YouTube Channel, www.youtube.com/user/dugmicMala.

41. dugmicMala,'Jugoslavija',http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M7SorJzdBtc.

42. See Berdahl, '(N)Ostalgie, for the Present'.

43. Sun9C, dugmicMala, 'Jugoslavija', posted in 2010, https://www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=M7SorJzdBtc.

44. ru33erman's comment has been deleted from its original location at http://www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=M7SorJzdBtc.

45. dugmicMala, 'Jugoslavija', comments; note that XBOXEUROPE has been banned from posting to any of dugmicMala's videos in 2008, soon after the above exchange.

46. dugmicMala, 'Jugoslavija', comments.

47. Slavoj Žižek, 'Zero-degree Protests', *London Review of Books* 33(17) 8 September 2011, 28–29 28.

48. Jodi Dean, *Blog Theory, Feedback and Capture in the Circuit of Drive*, Cambridge, Malden, Polity Press, 2010, p. 2.

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50. Jonathan Harris in interview with Kristina Loring, 'The Never-Ending
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Conclusion: Unsee and Unforget

Departing from the observation that interaction in cyberplaces of memory is oftentimes a fleeting exchange rather than a substantial debate, it can be argued that the 'gossipy predisposition' of social media render practices of remembering evermore informal, presupposing and preferring face-to-face quotidian communication, including affective and emotional responses, superficial commenting and linguistic inaccuracies. All of this, importantly, tends to remain much more restrained in blogs, as compared to affective outbursts on YouTube and Facebook.

Sharing-in someone else's audiovisualised re-presencing of the past, or the user's reaction to audiovisually exteriorised memory in social media, is performed either through emphatic commenting (for example, commenting on a holiday photo, also using emoticons) or through less engaged actions such as 'liking'. In this sense, communication in social media can be seen as the deterioration of offline face-to-face interaction, particularly when measured against the unfulfilled promises of the knowledge society, or knowledge as rhizome, leading to collective intelligence, which marked the early years of digital communications technologies.[1] Instrumentally, friends are 'stored' to be 'retrieved' when needed, while communication easily ends in unanswered questions or comments, in ignoring or ridiculing what someone else has to say. Or, as I have discussed in several examples above, the facticity of the debate is compromised by rabid escapades and conflating affective simplifications. This is particularly problematic when the victim is the past.

However, this can only be seen as a deterioration if 'real' offline face-to-face communication, on matters both serious and mundane, would invariantly evoke elaborate arguments and high levels of linguistic accuracy and style, if, in other words, one would presuppose the existence of what Zygmunt Bauman calls 'human individual's capacity for immaculate conception'.[2] Attention and devotion to solid argument, respect and mutual understanding in media and political discourses is, more often than not and perhaps increasingly so, staggeringly low, populist and instigative.[3] Media and politics are increasingly extending the field of thriving gossip and argument-bending as well, and resemble pub talk no less than social media (whether this can be attributed to the ubiquity of social media is another question). Hence, attempting to differentiate between online and offline communications practices is futile. Instead, additional caution has to be placed on the contextuality of exteriorisation in all media. John Storey cautions that 'we must always be alert to the what, why, and *for whom* something is being articulated, and how it can always be articulated differently in other contexts'.[4]

Thus, in increasingly complex, multi-layered and cross-referenced communications environments, a more inclusive perspective on the implications of doing history and memory has to be sought: regardless of the 'argumentative power' of what is being said, what eventually matters are the informational ripples, that is, the retentions of the 'communion' between users, content and devices, the little narrative firings that sparkle the interaction and constitute the vibrant fabric of networked social and political constellations. Attention, then, should focus on fanning resonances and effects that mundane, political and media discourses have in networked interaction. Once this is acknowledged, media and political discourses can be approached more critically.

Following Storey's argument, contemporary culture offers the possibility of many different articulations.[5] Hence, communication in digital media in its widest sense is the most direct expression and validation of the possibility of different articulations that, through mediation and mediatisation of everyday life, politics, science, consumerism, entertainment, among other things, open up a different space of engagement. A space where the potentialities of 'nerve firings' outnumber stabilised connections and structure a communicative and experiential environment in which we are often tempted to favour these firings, at the expense of neglecting the more long lasting, settled ones. In their particular ways, networked interactions

become the subject and the field where, among others, mediated memories and emergent sociabilities are continually reinvented.

In the context of the discussion of memory, the culture of the past and the practices of media archaeology and micro-archiving, the relationship between historiography and popular audiovisualisations of history deserves some extra attention. In certain aspects and contexts, this relationship can be seen as an everlasting opposition between history and myth. This does not necessarily imply a collapse or wholesale conflation of fact and fiction but an accelerating withering away of the taken-for-granted distinctions between history and nostalgia, fiction and reality and, ultimately, between past and present.[6] The implications of the culture of the past are not that there is no past or present or future. Rather, the culture of the past emphasises an imaginative impasse and existential uncertainty which is fundamentally locked in with the phenomenon of temporal conflation: 'When we lack a sense of past and future, the present feels like a shaky platform, an uncertain basis for action. The defence of states and rights is impossible to undertake if no one learns from the past or believes in the future'.[7] Idealised modernity and thereafter many a nostalgic quest for the stability of the past and, in the next step, a sense of durability of social structures, presuppose a coherent authoritative historiography and popular visions of the past. Alas, the variability of accessible, viral, and spreadable articulations and their immeasurable effects on constructing contexts of exteriorisation and interiorisation continually contests rigid and static understandings of past realities.

Variegated articulations of the past are a mainstay in cinema, music and literature as the central human storytelling and mnemonic techniques. With the onslaught of accessible and wearable media technologies, increasingly viral articulations have become a relevant companion to the lives of individuals, collectivities and nations. Cinema has successfully shaped the way we see and imagine the past, while music inadvertently structures the feel of times passed. Popular culture thus shapes not only how the past is seen and heard but also how it is felt (what is missing, however, are the scents of the past). In digital communication environments, pop- and sub-cultural practices and legacies are often regarded or interpreted as authoritative and credible historical sources, both in terms of reflecting or re-creating an audiovision of times past,[8] as well as in terms of being closely connected to and embedded in personal histories. Consequently, popular culture sources are massively

shared (quantitative credibility) and acknowledged as 'records' of an intimised historical timeline, of affective inscription of the individual into the in-flux present. Thus they significantly contribute to the phenomenon of enhanced immediacy of remembering.

What we are witnessing today (and have for quite some time) is a historicisation of popular culture (in that popular culture becomes relevant for historiography, not least as micro-archives and celebrities' digital afterlives). Simultaneously, a closely connected process is underway, a process of popculturalisation of history, where history is increasingly interpreted through popular culture. This relates back to Schofield Clark's argument about mediatisation (see Chap. 1) that popular culture becomes central to the narratives of social phenomena, as well as with Lizardi observation that '[h]istory is now about what we loved and consumed, not what happened to us as a culture'.[9]

In the Yugoslav case, the distinction between what we consumed and what happened to us as a culture may not be particularly clear.[10] A lot of what we loved and consumed also happened to us as a culture, be it industrialisation and modernisation, or emancipatory pop-cultural resistance. It is important to understand that what we consumed has survived ideological cleansing and the corrosion of time. The technological affordances that enable massive re-presencing of the past drive us to investigate the culture of the past and see behind the politico-ideological scenery of the present and decipher the role of media in reassembling the coherence of the past. Hence, an investigation into the ways the Yugoslav past is re-presenced in digital social media, video memorials and music blogs, as well as through film excerpts, cultural and political references to historical and present-day events, is a timely and rewarding approach to think about the legacies of the collapse of Yugoslavia, socialism and, in the wider perspective of post-1991 restructuring, of the world and the rise of digital media, the crumbling post-war dream. Yet, it is also a way to think about how, in the age of unprecedented technologisation and mediatisation of the everyday, the idea of utopia and a better future (which were the driving forces of much of twentieth century technological development) became critically compromised, also because of the memory boom and the gluttonous culture of the past.

The specificity of the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav situations politically and historically cannot be asserted unless post-Yugoslav memory practices are seen as being firmly rooted in blooming nostalgia, but at the same time, as Stef Jansen observes in post-war Bosnia, also in yearning in the

meantime of transformation.[11] But importantly, and not unrelated to the global or at least Occidental culture of the past, the limbo of post-Yugoslav socio-cultural and particularly political realities is not a uniquely Eastern or post-socialist phenomenon.[12]

Global changes in memory practices and in understanding emerging realities, geographies and temporalities appear to be decidedly embedded and remorphed through the continuous presence of the past, and as I have argued throughout this book, give a foundation to the culture of the past. The recalcitrance and perenniality of the past—its refusal to stay behind or our inability to let go—is readily derivable from Berardi's thought.

The Legacy of Cultural Opposition

Despite the deadlock of technological progress and the culture of the past, digital communications technologies and practices of memory and remembering nevertheless seem to play invaluable role when it comes to the prospect of change. To better explain this I need to look briefly into the last decade of European socialism. In *Everything Was Forever Until it Was No More*, Alexei Yurchak traces the contours of political opposition and cultural dissent during the late period of Soviet socialism in what he calls deterritorialisation. He argues that

> the logic of the techniques of ideological production […] has hinged on the principles of the performative shift [implying that] the signifiers of the authoritative discourse (how it represents) were meticulously reproduced, but its signifieds (what it represents) were relatively unimportant.[13]

This implies that at that time, in terms of ideological and system reproduction, it was all form and little content. In such an environment it is not difficult to imagine ('uncontrolled') content and meaning sprouting in the most unexpected places (as does the past today in digital media). In Yugoslavia, it was the punk and new wave subcultures.[14] The anecdote of the Yugoslav new wave band Paraf clearly sets out the subversive approach: when recording their second album, the producer told them to change the lyrics because he did not want to go to jail. They toned the lyrics down for the recording but retained much of the initial irony: 'what we want to say most likely will not go through, but we understand each other and sing unanimously: "There is no one better than good police." [Ni jedne nema bolje od dobre policije].'[15]

Alongside relatively marginal, and often hastily subdued, overt confrontation or political dissidence, until mid-1980s at least, opposition voiced 'from within' the system was much more prominent.[16] As Darko Rundek, frontman of the 1980s new wave band Haustor reminisces in a recent interview, 'I thought there was in Yugoslavia a small cultural revolution then […]. We could really easily and quickly get to communicate with wide audiences and publish albums […] It seems in time after Tito's death a need emerged, I'm not sure to what extent it was conscious, to encourage the creative individuals who were not the opposition that aimed to destroy the system, but that would refresh the revolutionary aspect of the communist party.'[17]

More importantly still, a considerable (and also often neglected) part of the 'disagreement' was enacted through the quotidian *ignoria* of official structures, mythologies and socialist ideology, and through cultural *subvertia*, which slowly added to the de-substantiation of the system via pro-forma subjugation that led to the hollowing out of the system's foundations. Such a cultural stratagem could only ever succeed in societies that perceived themselves as culturally, politically and ideologically self-sufficient—in a sort of an autarchic universe.

Such reasoning can be related to Evgeny Morozov's line of argumentation that not too much credit should be given to Western strategies in scheming the collapse of (Soviet) socialism.[18] Even more, in terms of 'Western' political intervention, Yurchak's deterritorialisation could be seen as a practice with effects that radically question the West's 'contribution' to the collapse of socialism. Moreover, Morozov's argument can be read as a proposal to question the role of top-down of (Western) political/ideological intervention as such. The issue of power relations is subsumed in his critical approach to Western Cold War triumphalism. Morozov notes that it was built on over-crediting 'many of the Western strategies tried back then, like smuggling in photocopiers and fax machines, facilitating the flow of samizdat, and supporting radio broadcasts by Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America' for the collapse of socialism:

> Much of the present excitement about the internet, particularly the high hopes that are pinned on it in terms of opening up closed societies, stem from such selective and, at times, incorrect readings of history rewritten to glorify the genius of Ronald Reagan and minimize the role of structural conditions and inherent contradictions of the Soviet system.[19]

Instead of the imported technology and ideology, it was the 'Western' popcultural forms (cinema and popular music) that were particularly well indigenised, winning over the masses and hence put to use in voicing (not necessarily programmatic) alternative views. The alternative views, however, lacked thoroughly 'revolutionary' dissident plots to overturn the regime. In many opposition-inclined actions the dissent relied heavily on ironicisation and *subvertia* that heavily imbued the most mundane social conduct (for example, jokes and puns in some TV shows, films, music, the press). As such, the fledgling opposition, at least in Yugoslavia, lacked an overt political agenda until the late 1980s.

Thus it becomes apparent yet again that it is not until technology or cultural forms have been adopted and adapted into the everyday that a systemic change can be attributed to them. In the case of socialist countries and Yugoslavia in particular, it was the emergence of new social movements and subcultures that significantly contributed to deterritorialisation and effectively provided apt tools for voicing alternative views also through popcultural production.

However, the demise of socialism was a complex affair not driven only by the appropriation of the idea of the mighty West, or its interference alone, nor solely by the new social movements and engaged subcultural initiatives. When looking at the period from today's perspective, we often tend to forget that despite the Iron Curtain and the ideological division between the East and the West, particularly along the penultimate European Wall, cross-border exchanges extended deeply into the everyday of socialist lifeworlds. This also implies, for example, that the role of television and other punctual media at the time should be estimated in their capacity to provide a structural basis for a global awareness (which I now retrospectively claim to have had when playing computer games on my Commodore 64) that fed on affective participation in 1980s technological disasters, as well as on the legacy of the resistance myth of the Second World War.

Nevertheless, the process of deterritorialisation and the practices of popcultural *subvertia* opened up the space in which emerging political figures were able to masterfully appropriate and abuse grassroots initiatives and articulate them in political terms. Žižek argues it was not until the third form of resistance to communism—that is the open struggle for power, which followed the '"revisionist" Marxist critique of really-existing Socialism [and] the demand for autonomous space of civil society'—took stage in 1990–91 that the regime was forced to go.[20] It was then that

the annihilation of the socialist past, along with the problematisation of the legacy of anti-fascism and the Second World War, but also of the history of emancipation, modernisation and industrialisation, broke out most conspicuously. This eventually gave rise to affective re-presencing of the past (Yugonostalgia, Titostalgia, Ostalgie, and so on), which led to massive Miévillian Breaches in self-proclaimed 'politically inept and not quite normal' societies in 'permanent transition'. This primarily rested on the realisation that what 'is no more' opens up to 'what could have been' and allegedly fails to acknowledge 'what is'. And it was then, oh, the historical and technological irony, that the internet emerged as a tool and a global media environment and enabled people to start piecing the fragments of their shattered pasts together.

Now, what role does this play in the story of post-socialist and (post-Yugoslav) memories, memorials and storytelling in digital media? Twenty-five years after the collapse of European socialism and the demise of Yugoslavia, it seems that a thread of continuity in popcultural *subvertia* can be discerned in dealing with the Yugoslav past in digital media and in offline environments. As much as socialism failed due to the intertwining of its internal contradictions and the political, consumerist and popcultural lure of the prosperous West, the *subvertia* present then seems in many respects to have persevered in the newly implemented 'permanent transitionism'.[21]

In a situation of permanent need and desire to 'catch-up' where no (or few) alternatives can be effectively voiced (let alone heard), the future can best be conceived through recourse to the past, as numbing as this may be. The culture of the past, both due to mediatisation and dispotentiated politicisation, points out the immanent deficit of utopian visions, two tenets that profoundly permeated the twentieth century, and even more so post-Second World War societies, cultures and economies (at least occidental). Accordingly, the socialist *subvertia* of the 1980s was oriented into the future; it was ready to face it.

The popular pre-independence-Slovenia mantra went, 'away from Yugoslavia, destination west, capitalism cannot hurt, as it will enhance the feeling of individuality […] Slovenia, a Yugoslavian Switzerland, will be better off'.[22] Yet, the showdown with the future could not have happened without a sharp detour into the treasury of the most mythical nationalist stories, which fail to realise that the yearned for 'West', its futurism and its Future had long since changed. The socialist *subvertia* was immanently emancipatory, visionary and future oriented, yet soon after 1991

it decomposed into (or was rather overridden by) futile daily political deal-ings with the socialist and/or the Yugoslav past, where even its heroic and emancipatory segments were invariantly interpreted as retrograde.

Despite the fact that in the post-socialist societies not everyone is inter-ested in the socialist past and many would simply like to wish it away, the fact remains that this period treasures half a century's worth of architec-ture, cinema, music, literature, industrial heritage and above all personal experiences and biographies. What is more, Serguei Oushakine argues, '[t]he downfall of socialist ideology in the 1990s cannot be limited to the collapse of a particular value system. It also rendered meaningless the existing rituals of recognition. […] [T]he disintegration of established practices of signification and recognition manifested itself in the persistent institutional and individual failure to associate new forms of experience with new categories.'[23]

Through different media outlets and in the physical landscape as well, the 'residuality, durability, and sedimentation of the remains of past events'[24] shapes the present into which the memories of growing up, serving the army, looking up to a better world (in the West and in the future) are inscribed and, in the process, radically recontextualised. In the post-Yugoslav culture of the past, the socialist period remains a mainstay in media and political discourses. And how could it not? Over the last 25 years this past underwent a thorough revision and has largely been discarded. Clearly, the past (in both history and remembering) is always 'being renovated' but such severe interventions—the tearing down of monuments, renaming streets, rewriting history textbooks—into the 'desired tranquillity' of a society's history and memory, necessitate a past in shards. Combined with the increasingly mediatised and mediated socio-cultural realities, and with the intensified re-presencing of the past in and by the media,[25] the annihilation of a coherent and comprehensive past could lead to little else other than a return to and of that past. Or, rather, it could lead to the pervasive recurrence of mediated spectres of the past that haunt the de-historicised, de-mythicised post-socialist presents.

I have argued that dealing with the socialist past in digital media is a grassroots attempt to preserve the legitimacy of personal biographies and memories and, along the way, the Yugoslav past. In the aftermath of the demise of Yugoslavia and in the process of the establishment of the new states, the socialist past was stripped of normalcy, legitimacy and socio-cultural and political currency. In fact, the socialist chapter in the histories of the South Slavs inadvertently became a burden to be discarded

in exchange for a better past (yet to be invented) and a better future (yet to be imagined). But as Katherine Verdery argues, 'revising history in Eastern Europe by snipping out and discarding sections of the timeline, then attaching the pre-communist period to the present and future as the country's true or authentic trajectory will hardly help us put the communist past behind.'[26] In this view, it is not too difficult to see digital memorial practices, including media archaeology and micro-archiving, as the essential building blocks of the memorial and historical foundations upon which our conceptualisation of who we are in global socio-political constellations rests.

After the collapse, there was no 'decent' surrogate past that could be used to substantiate the 'new memory'; there were few historical chapters that would be inclusive, progressive, or emancipatory enough to start building a 'new future', at least not in the time of ever-increasing immersion into the mediated everyday. In the process of the country's demise and 'independentisation' of the successor states, the 'historical epochality' of the country was shattered and invalidated. The new politico-ideological and mythological narratives were being developed but have apparently failed at forging a 'devoted', no-questions-asked community. Impossible as it is to voice and impose a grand narrative, the inappropriate past keeps haunting the present, indecently. The past preserved in films, TV series, music, political figures and celebrities, as well as the values, myths and ideology associated with that past—and in the context of elemental security, incoherence of historical narratives and dispotentiated futures—thus exists as that missing historical substance and cultural reference. Today, in a time when the 'sense of lost unity and disappeared community [and the] disaffection with democratic pluralism and market economy'[27] prevails, any prospect of a future bright enough to look forward to seems radically impossible.

One of the key characteristics of digital storytelling and memorials, as well as media archaeology and micro-archiving, as discussed in previous chapters, is the grassroots character and individual initiative that delimit both the scope (themes and topics) and the tone of remembering and commemorating, as well as content and the context of memory in action. Despite the co-creative qualities of exteriorising memories and remembering, the practice of remembering, I am tempted to claim, is individual and fragmented. As opposed to the universalising tendencies of historiography and political and ideological interpretations, remembering in digital

media is indeed often solitary in that an interpretation is co-created in an on-the-fly community of which 'I' (or any other individual, or another on-the-fly collectivity for that matter) may have little experiential knowledge, apart from that affectively materialised on screen: 'If the bits can mean something to someone they can only do so if experienced. When that happens, a commonality of culture is enacted between the storer and the retriever of the bits. Experience is the only process that can de-alienate information.'[28]

Yet, it is both the co-creativeness and the defragmentation of affect that are easily dismissed, and nevertheless important in seeing connective memory relevant in broader societal terms (and beyond the East/West divide): the practice of making memories and memorial narratives (or rather medial exteriorisations of memory) posits spreadable media objects as kernels around which affective re-presences of the past emerge, entangle and disentangle in and through user activity. The singularity of commemorative and remembering experience nevertheless entails commonality and sharing that unfold through emerging modes of digital sociability and defragmented affect. The awareness of the user that she is participating in an on-the-fly collectivity, that her voice is one of many and that her voice will be heard (a more or less grounded assumption) is tantamount to understanding affective investments: '[p]articular voices can, nevertheless, be crucial in understanding the dynamic between collective memories and everyday life, in illuminating the ways the past is read through the lens of the present.'[29]

The co-creativeness of engaging with the past and the digital co-presence of affective bodies (across time and space), collecting (archaeology), editing (micro-archiving) and publishing, feature prominently in substantiating on-the-fly collectivities. It is the affective investments and motivations, spurred and galvanised by audiovision, that make the results of intimate archaeological and archival work into a product that transcends individual singularity and inscribes it into a wider picture.

Cultural *Subvertia* and Nostalgia

In discussing media archaeology and micro-archiving and examples where they are used as the practical-theoretical framework, the element of nostalgia emerges as an attitude and practice that permeates this framework as well as user interactions with exteriorisations of memory. What makes

this inglorious and often notorious attitude to the past a phenomenon important for micro-archiving and media archaeology? When thinking about and discussing digital re-presences of Yugoslavia (as found in blogs, YouTube memorials and Facebook historical pages) these are effectively a result of individual and co-creative endeavours marked by mnemosynal audiovisual constellations. These are the vehicles through which an intimate past is re-presenced, rearticulated, reframed and recovered. Following Lizardi's observation that history is not what happened to us as a culture but rather what we loved and consumed, combined with the extrapolation that popular culture defines how we see and understand the past, it is of little wonder that whatever we do with the past sooner or later succumbs to oppositional discursive constructions of the past. On the one hand, there is the revisionist denigration of all things socialist and Yugoslav, while on the other there is an attempt to preserve the past for a meaningful future. And this indelibly inscribes such practices and attitudes into nostalgic discourses.

Nevertheless, in the post-Yugoslav situation, nostalgia can be seen as a pro-active socio-cultural practice of navigating through and preserving what was politically and historiographically consigned to cultural oblivion. As a nostalgic mind not only likes to brood over bygones but also often compiles remnants of the past, nostalgia can be seen as an inherently archaeological and archiving practice, which co-creates the new contexts and the new uses of past icons.

As I have discussed in the chapters above, the users engaged in re-presencing the Yugoslav past, and along the way their own, do that principally by disinterring massive amounts of audiovisual material. The archaeology and editing, or multimodal curating, of the emergent micro-archives drives the *memonaut* through records and traces of the past that may no longer be part of the official (political, media, historical, personal) narratives and canons. Thus the *memonaut* navigates her way through 'a jukebox of memories' from where she may pick this or that favourite number, or one that fits her present mood most perfectly; she creates the playlist of the past.[30]

However, rather than digging for material traces, she copies, cuts and pastes the bits and pieces to create a multimodal media object. Published in one of the many digital media outlets, an object that was initially given life by its author gets a spreadable life of its own. No longer a 'mere' trace of the past re-presenced, a media object as a digital memorial or

micro-archive is repurposed as an individual's 'audiovision of the past', only to become the 'victim' of the process of co-creation (for example, comments and video responses) and endless re-contextualisation. In the next turn, such co-intimate and co-creative interventions in the mediated present and mediated past become the key bearers of imagining other places and other times.

Such interventions do, in part, what state institutions fail or refuse to do: preserve vast amounts of, predominantly, pop-cultural traces of the past, as well as public intimacies. Be it a music blogger, a YouTube multimodal curator, an administrator of a Facebook page, or a user participating in any of their online traverses, these individuals—entangled in the on-the-fly tech-enabled commonality—compile, sort, curate and share their audiovisions of the past. Much of such conduct can easily be dismissed as mere (Yugo)nostalgia, as discussed above. Yet, it would be a definite loss to do so. Yugonostalgia, as Monika Palmberger notes is not only 'a longing for Yugoslavia [that] has the potential to paralyse individuals, who realise that what was lost can never be regained, which puts them into a constant state of waiting.'[31] It is, as has been made clear in the chapters above, also an 'expression of criticism of the present situation and in this way can become a source for future aspirations'.[32] It is, however, also considerably more.

Svetlana Boym argues that 'what is most missed [in post-socialist countries] is not the past and the homeland exactly, but rather this potential space of cultural experience that one has shared with one's friends and compatriots.'[33] From this perspective, it is not difficult to agree with Mitja Velikonja's three strategies of approaching, reproducing and referencing the shared past: *inertia* (systemic perseverance); *innovation* (referencing the Yugoslav past and re-contextualising it); and *subversion and revolt* (ral) European political discourses which sometimes degenerate in cultural self-sufficiency and hate-speech).[34] With this in mind, grassroots interventions and re-presencings of the past were approached with attention not only to *what* they deal with but also *how* and in what contexts.

Nostalgia can often be seen as a pre-rational or even irrational phenomenon in that it clearly defies factuality and historicity as outlined during the period of the Enlightenment and later on throughout the age of *ratio*. In the same vein, the archive, an invention that dates to that same period (at least in terms of proportion and arduousness) can, arguably, be seen as the resource of ultimate fact and a pillar of science.[35] However, it may just be that both are much more connected: nostalgia could only erupt

to the extent we can observe today, and not only in the post-socialist states, once the archival 'sanitation units' took over the definition of the past-preserving and archiving criteria as well. In this view, nostalgia can be seen as a reaction against the formalisation and institutionalisation of the past (which excludes the minutiae, the intimate and affective, the marginal extra-national). Nostalgia is established in relation to the loss of childhood in exchange for adulthood (institutionalisation and the consequent loss of freedom), becoming the companion to adulthood in obsessive collecting, compiling (media archaeology), sorting and curating.

To take this somewhat further, a memory boom—and nostalgia as its ultimate distortion and enhancer—can be seen as a reaction formation against technological, political, or cultural developments. It is as an attempt, Andreas Huyssen argues, to

> slow down information processing, to resist the dissolution of time in the synchronicity of the archive, to recover a mode of contemplation outside the universe of simulation and fast-speed information […], to claim some anchoring in a world of […] heterogeneity, non-synchronicity and information overload.[36]

This perspective emphasises the loss of stability in technological development and locates in the penultimate memory boom and memory practices an attempt to stop the pressing drive and desire to leave the present behind and head for the future. Technological advances hardly allow for keeping pace: societies are thrown into a divide between the shifting realities and potentialities of tech-aided human development, into a situation in which social and economic crises hardly help. In this view, the memory boom as reaction formation is importantly related to the technologising of the world and the ensuing invasion of information into the everyday.

But what to do with digital media that is often understood as a tool for saving memory (unforget)? And worse, what to do with those being seen as *agent detoriatorium* of the social, and in many respects also the doom of memory (unseeing)? Mediation of memories and the related co-creative practices prevent—as it is clear from several cases in the above-analysed, often chronologically 'unnavigable', Facebook pages—much contemplation or brooding, characteristic of reminiscing or nostalgic feelings. Instead, they suggest, and all the more so from the perspective of

the culture of the past, that in a world of information overflow the culture of the past readily kneads the past and the present into a synchronicity of times. This demands a different take on (Yugo)nostalgia. I do not want to discard the concept altogether but aim to suggest that it is, having been burdened with the baggage of 'transitionism', essentially insufficient and in need of better theoretical and practical use. Michael Hardt speaks about abandoning terms as being shortsighted:

> We could abandon these terms and invent new ones, of course, but we would leave behind too the long history of struggles, dreams and aspirations that are tied to them. I think it is better to fight over the concepts themselves in order to restore or renew their meaning.[37]

Mediated and connective memories of Yugoslavia as re-presenced in digital storytelling, memory and memorials, I have argued, demonstrate that nostalgia in memory and remembering does not necessarily serve only to tranquilise the individual and the collectivity. To some extent, this is of course inevitable as a response to the technological limits of communication and the changing habits of consuming content online that favour futile arguments and little action. What is more, Halbwachs suggests that 'Individual memory is nevertheless a part or an aspect of a group memory [which] leaves a lasting memory only to the extent that one has thought it over—to the extent that it is connected with the thoughts that come to us from the social milieu.'[38] In in-flux environments it is difficult and even undesirable to ponder and reflect upon the minutiae of the everyday. This points out a tech-induced corrosion of memory in the face of a deluge of information and data and refreshing screens. The reason for tranquillity, therefore, is not necessarily a nostalgic treatment of the past but the slipping away of memory and the feeling of a pervasively dispotentiated Future.

The Quest for Normalcy: Reassembling the Historical

In order to retain the potential of cultural *subvertia* as the constituent part of (Yugo)nostalgia and reinforce both as relevant socio-cultural phenomena, I emphasise an aspect that perhaps seems far too obvious, but is nevertheless all too often missed: to see media archaeological and

micro-archival practices, as well as the various genres and practices of storytelling—in the culture of the past essentially imbued with nostalgia—as a radical urge to reassemble the historical, and by doing so re-potentiate the Future. Discovering unseen audiovision, so as to reposition it as kernels of the post-Yugoslav shared experience, media archaeologists and archivists resiliently keep on saving the (audiovisual) past from oblivion. And in doing so, they reintroduce into the present bits and pieces that are often quite arbitrarily used in co-creating a highly diverse, contesting and unsettling (on the level of society) understanding, which for the individual or an ad-hoc collectivity is the sole coherent understanding of the past and present.

Re-presences of Yugoslavia in digital memorials and storytelling can be read as a desire to 'reassemble the historical'. (The conceptualisation of the and practice of reassembling the historical analogically derives from Bruno Latour's reassembling of the social). The concept bears a twofold significance. It rests on and indeed emanates from the presupposition, as I have argued throughout, that the collapse of socialism effectively rendered the socialist past(s) and the post-socialist present(s) inadequate, problematic, unbecoming, oriental and essentially non European. This, in turn, means that the basic narrative resources, storytelling elements and sources of knowledge, and along the way the legitimacy of biographies of post-socialist subjects, are butchered away, emptied and denied the past as the fuel of telling-life-into-meaning. But if a collectivity is to design and define its identity and sociability, transmit it, spread it across time and among its members, a shattered past will not do. Although the argument about the culture of the past suggests that the past is all around us, it has to be reiterated that the awareness of the past and its influence on the present is losing its role as the condition of the pastness of events (which can only validate the present and open it to the future). This means losing the past to the merciless tyranny of the now, a phenomenon that transcends any remnant of the East/West divide and affects, most notably through popular culture and consumerism, the world at large.

The impetus of revisionism in the context of the culture of the past is hardly surprising. Clearly, foremost it is the instrumentalisation of politics of memory for daily political purposes. But it is also much more pervasive and indicative of the present predicament: the relationship between historical revisionism and the invalidated present, structured by the culture of the past, further discloses existential uncertainty and breeds all-pervasive

uncertainty on grounds of 'making up' the past so as to better fit the dis-epochalised present.

The most human and the most radical stance an individual or a collectivity can take is to try and put the broken pieces back together. In other words, to try and make the past a comprehensive whole again which can (at least potentially) endow the present with meaning and sense. Thus the goings-on in the field of grassroots digital exteriorisations of memory speak of an endeavour to not only save from oblivion the audio-visual records of the past and re-position them in contemporary socio-cultural constellations but also to reclaim the epochality of the present that was, according to Buden, lost and discarded in 'transitionism'. The drive toward 'reassembling the historical' is inherently connected to and cotemporaneous with another activity characteristic of the post-Yugoslav online practices of co-creating and remediating the past, the 'quest for normalcy'.

As it is usually the case with revolutions, wars and regime changes, as well as their immediate aftermath, they present a period of Durkheimian anomie, absence or ineffectiveness of state control structures (for example, the police, army and juridical system) while the entire system is being set up anew.[39] The fall of the socialist regimes, the break-up of Yugoslavia and the establishment of new, independent states was hardly a substantially different process. The new regimes have tried hard to distance themselves from what in the democratic perspective appeared as a stain on the fabric of the Nation and its History. But they have failed, as I have argued in the Introduction, in their crucial, yet inherently impossible mission—to start from *anno zero*.

In the increasingly mediatised and mediated realities, the window of anomie, indeed a window of opportunity to effectively deal with the unwanted past, was far too mediatised itself. There was little room for a wholesale deconstruction, annihilation, or thorough refurbishing of the elusive 'whatever', which the new regimes thought needed cleansing. The authoritarian aspects of the Yugoslav experience may have been justly detected and problematised, and this awareness and knowledge gave impetus to the urge to purify and reconstruct. But the collateral damage in the process was the historicity and the epochality of the past and the present, and as Buden argues, the political maturity of the late-socialist political subject. The collective and personal histories, memories and social bonds among 22 million people were attributed a status of 'historical unfitness'.[40]

In such an ideological constellation, personal memories were displaced from wider social, cultural and political narratives. What is more, the formative episodes and life events of individuals, memories and experiences of childhood, schooling, social and political institutions, and friends and family, were no longer the legitimate stuff of either memory or identity. From the perspective of an individual, this resulted in an utterly unbearable situation, while on societal level such processes undermined the creation of inclusive and convincing memories and collectivities.

The internet and social media provided useful tools to address 'historical unfitness' through grassroots interventions into memorial landscapes. The practice and tactic of displaying media archaeological 'excavations' as micro-archives, the re-presencing of the past in often nostalgic terms emerged as an approach to making sense of the present and past and, as such, a vessel to take post-Yugoslavs on the quest for normalcy.

Networked Lifeworlds in the Culture of the Past?

What, finally, are the implications of mediated and networked memory for the post-socialist condition? I have argued that communications technology and changes in the conceptualisation of connectivity, in individual and collective agency, demonstrate that memory is decreasingly bound to territorial and material traces of the past. In response to ever-swifter 'consignment to the past of everything', thinking about the practices of memory and remembering is increasingly reframed through the perspective of mediation and immediation: much of mediated life is always already past, yet via mediated memories always readily available for (endless?) consumption in the culture of the past.[41]

What in contemporary practices, techniques and technologies of memory appears fascinating is that the work of memory (and publishing and mediating memories) can be, ideally speaking, relegated to an individual, that is, anyone who can use photo and video editing software and then create a blog post or a YouTube video to spread a 'perfectly valid', quantifiably credible grassroots re-interpretation of the past. Such an interpretation is validated if such a spreadable exteriorisation gains some following and hence a wider public presence (quantified credibility), both in terms of approval and contestation. In view of contestation and approval dialogue, the availability of the means to publish various content online, including most personal renditions or reinterpretations of the past, can be seen as

conducive to shifting the relevance of grand narratives, which allegedly in the digital era do not stand a chance. Or do they?

We can observe today the rise of individual exteriorisations of memory and the growing relevance of intimate visions of the past that often go contrary to official interpretations. This suggests that increasing relevance and resonance of individual interpretations, in fact personalised histories, is a phenomenon that governs much of the present day dealings with the past. In this view, the grand-national idea and its legacies are compromised in light of technological and cultural shifts in our increasingly networked lifeworlds: a national history presupposes a collectively accepted interpretation of the past, which is relegated to the position of one among many in a world where individual, fragmented histories are intimately appreciated and accepted. In this view, we could speak of an emergence of ambiguous co-historicity, which implies the emergence of competing, parallel, or counter-parallel interpretations of the past.[42] To look deeper into this, we need to look at the individual versus the grand-national from the Tralfamadorian perspective: 'Later on in life, the Tralfamadorians would advise Billy to concentrate on the happy moments of his life, and to ignore the unhappy ones—to stare only at pretty things as eternity failed to go by.'[43]

The collective and the individual tend to endorse affective interpretations, which lie at the heart of any repurposing of the past for the present. Yet, the intimate and individual, or interventions of small-scale collectivities, as discussed in Chaps. 4, 5 and 6, tend much more wholeheartedly to conflate temporality and fictionalise (or popculturalise) history, thus further reinforcing the culture of the past. When we apply the Tralfamadorian perspective to the practice of re-presencing the past, in post-socialist historiography and politics, we end up facing an assortment of historical events, which can freely be selected, re-presenced and recombined into medial exteriorisations. Despite the apparent freedom to do so, and the obvious beneficial (if not therapeutic) implications for the individual, this nevertheless exposes an already mentioned problem of conflation of history in light of historiographical accounts. Perhaps more pertinently, this exposes the fact that being in time and the whole idea of linearity, which dominates Occidental thought and being, is becoming increasingly unhinged. What is more, unhindered media archaeology and micro-archiving aid transposing interpretive authority from institutions to individuals and collaterally relegate historiography to pub talk and fact to fiction. This alleged hyperindividualised freedom poses a threat to reason, as well as to social values and, in its final instance,

may lead to the absence of (collective) meaning. The collectivity's value system, then, might have to be sought (also) outside national perimeters, as it is at the same time clear that such individual interpretations often attract followers worldwide and are no longer all that national or individual.[44] The supposedly greater freedom of association and more immediate interaction enabled by digital media technology obviously do not open up a direct way to freedom as such, just as no technology is inherently positive or negative or neutral, as Melvin Kranzberg has observed.[45]

In many cases, however, the socialist past in post-socialist settings is dealt with great care and attention, and this dealing often demonstrates high degrees of involvement and personal engagement. As I have shown in Chaps. 4 and 5, for example, the lengths some people go to in order to dig out and then post musical rarities and oddities is astonishing. In some cases, engagement is enormous both in terms of continuity and the amount of content posted. Still, YouTube digital memorials are perhaps the most straightforward examples of individual intervention into how the past is represented/re-presenced, not least because of their audiovisual approach and the ease of user interaction and, at the same time, also the most pervasive conflator of historical imagination.

Despite the potential that technology offers for forming on-the-fly collectivities and for spreading information and knowledge, what remains an ever-present characteristic of these endeavours is a sort of (inherent?) impediment to translating these actions into offline environments or amplifying them online. This applies to content on YouTube and Facebook which host some of the most overt advocates of the 'redemption' of the Yugoslav past. As such, these cyber-places of memory are expected to aim for a larger-scale action; yet, seen as attempts to reassemble the historical and reinstate normalcy, they function perfectly well as 'mere' competing and complementing voices. Individual endeavours and co-creative user interventions generally seem to have no particular agenda to reinstate the past, but rather to open up spaces for re-presencing the neglected past in the context of perennially unsettling present (or just as vents for letting out existential anxiety).

Furthermore, socio-technical affordances of digital media have affected the ways we conceive of collectivity and memory, particularly considering the mobility of the user (wearable devices and Wi-Fi) and the spreadability of content. Mediated memories are much less institutionalised and sanctioned in a top-down fashion, and while social media are enhancing

the immediacy of remembering, they also take part in structuring a collective event of remembering. A digital site of memory extending through a device and a screen, entices users to participate in an unscheduled, non-punctual, displaced and distemporalised memorial event. The mobile commemorator is effectively rendered an abstract partaker in the event and, at the same time, also an active co-creator of the memory of the commemorated event.

Finally, storytelling as an inherent part of memorial activities, knowledge accumulation, transmission and spreadability—and as a prime human solution to deal with the transience of life—enables us to trace the relation between Huyssen's reaction formation and the need for sociability in a hyperindividualised and commoditised world. In the process of wholesale digitisation, mediated and networked memory and related practices have become at the same time more personalised and public, more easily and widely adjustable, yet also more vulnerable and even more elusive, always on the brink of deletion.

With this in mind, digital media can be seen to exert decisive influence on the ways in which the past is appropriated and re-presenced. The digital '"reliquaries" preserve and cherish the fragment, the souvenir, the talisman, the exotic' and treat 'the ephemeral object as if it were the rarest heirloom'.[46] More importantly still, the co-creation of cyberplaces of memory nevertheless seems to offer a space for the portions of the past that in the Yugoslav case 'fell out' of the new canons.

However, due to the decisive interrelatedness of digital and analogue lifeworlds, the pressing nestedness of the past in the present, the temporal conflation of events in the culture of the past, the Miéville's Breach is apparently conquered, particularly from the post-socialist perspective, where the unruly past has never been properly domesticated into its unthought future.

The past, to refer again to Nabokov, in digital media seems to exist concretely and individually, yet it seems that when the human condition is understood through the concept of the culture of the past, all related phenomena, activities and processes that file under media archaeology and micro-archiving, validate the rather bleak prospect of the future. This is particularly the case if we succumb to the underlying assumption of the culture of the past and abolish temporality and duration. For in an attempt to save the past we surrendered historicity to the whim of individual rendition, the dictate of publicness, the multitude of disparate voices, which we are

increasingly unable to temporally pinpoint; this suggests that we are not too far away from the transience of the oral or early electric, radio and television culture. We seem to have sacrificed the whole concept of duration and our being in time to the tyranny of the now, which further reinforces the seductiveness of the past and remoteness of the future.

NOTES

1. See for instance Mark Tovey (ed.), *Collective Intelligence*, *Creating a Prosperous World at Peace*, Oakton, Earth Intelligence Network, 2008.
2. Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2000, p. 168.
3. Particularly if we consider the discrepancy between the ideal values allegedly incorporated into the EU project and the arrogance and humiliation with which the Greek crisis has been handled by EU politicians, or more recently the non-reactions by EU leaders in dealing with the Syrian refugee situation.
4. John Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*, Malden, Oxford, Carlton, Blackwell Publishing, 2003, p. 73, italics added.
5. Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*, p. 73.
6. Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*, p. 73.
7. Snyder, 'Hitler's World May Not Be So Far Away'.
8. Kracauer, *Theory of Film*, p. xlix.
9. Lizardi, *Mediated Nostalgia*, p. 5.
10. See for example: 'Sećanja.com—mladost u Jugoslaviji šezdesetih, sedamdesetih, osamdesetih…', SecanjaCom, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yeJQFOhYoaE, date accessed 12 July 2015.
11. Stef Jansen, *Yearnings in the Meantime: 'Normal Lives and the State in a Sarajevo Apartment Complex*, Oxford, New York, Berghahn Books, 2015.
12. Amira Kahrović—Posavljak, 'Intervju: Jacques Ranciere, filozof—Sistem djeluje izazivajući osjećaj nemoći kod ljudi', tacno.net, 16 October 2015, http://www.tacno.net/interview/intervju-jacques-ranciere-filozof-sistem-djeluje-izazivajuci-osjecaj-nemoci-kod-ljudi/, date accessed 22 October 2015.
13. Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until it Was No More, The Last Soviet Generation*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2006, p. 114.
14. See Pogačar, 'Yu-rock in the 1980s'; Peter Stanković, 'Appropriating Balkan: Rock and Nationalism in Slovenia', *Critical Sociology* 2001, 27(3): 98–115.

15. Punk u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, Yugoslavenski punk val, blog, 20 April 2014, http://yupunkval.blogspot.com/2014/04/yu-punk-val.html, date accessed 13 October 2015.

16. Cultural (and political) critique in Yugoslavia was an ongoing phenomenon since at least the late 1950s, yet it remained firmly within the socialist paradigm. It was not until the late 1980s that the 'extra-socialist' ideas and solutions gained importance (see for instance Mastnak, 'From Social Movements to National Sovereignty'; Božo Repe, *Jutri je nov dan: Slovenci in razpad Jugoslavije*, Ljubljana, Modrijan, 2002. This was reflected in music and cinema as well. On 'dissidentism' in cinema see for instance Goulding, *Liberated Cinema*; Levi, *Disintegration in Frames*; in music Tine Hribar, Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar, Igor Vidmar (eds.) *25 let punka pod Slovenci: Punk je bil prej*, Ljubljana: Ropot, Cankarjeva Založba, 2003; Branko Kostelnik, *Moj život je novi val, razgovori s prvoborcima i dragovoljcima novog vala, Zagreb, Fraktura, 2004; Punk pod Slovenci*, Ljubljana, Univerzitetna konferenca ZSMS, 1985; Sabrina P. Ramet, 'Shake, Rattle and Self-Management: Making the Scene in Yugoslavia', in Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.) *Rocking the State: Rock Music and Politics in Eastern Europe and Russia,* Boulder, CO and Oxford, Westview Press, 1994.

17. Darko Rundek in interview with Tomislav Šoštarić, 'Rundek: Truje nas osjećaj ugroženosti', buka, 15 June 2015, http://www.6yka.com/novost/83439/rundek-truje-nas-osjecaj-ugrozenosti, date accessed 23 September 2015.

18. Morozov, *The Net Delusion*, p. xi.

19. Morozov, *The Net Delusion*, p. xii.

20. Žižek, *Living in the End Times*, p. ix–x.

21. It has to be said that mythologies of transition were among the most elaborate in socialist regimes (the quest for a better tomorrow justified and rationalised scarcity in the present); interestingly, in the process of 'de-socialistisation' it was the same mythological principle that was imposed from the 'West' and excessively self-imposed by the democratising societies of Eastern Europe.

22. Janez Markeš, 'Politični kulturi na rob', *Sobotna priloga* 7 August 2011, http://delo.si/mnenja/kolumne/politicni-kulturi-na-rob.html, date accessed 7 August 2011.

23. Serguei Oushakine, 'Emotional Blueprints: War Songs as an Affective Medium', in Mark D. Steinberg and Valeria Sobol (eds.) *Interpreting Emotions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 2011a, pp. 248–76, p. 265.

24. Dan Hicks, 'The Material-Cultural Turn: Event and Effect', in Dan Hicks and M.C. Beaudry (eds.), *The Oxford Book of Material Culture Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 25–99, p. 27.

25. Lizardi makes a similar point in relation to reruns of television series and films in the US; *Mediated Nostalgia*, p. 4.

26. Katherine Verdery, *The Political Life of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1999, p. 116.

27. Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Fantasies of Salvation: Democracy, Nationalism and Myth in Post-communist Europe*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998, p. 14.

28. Jaron Lanier, You Are Not a Gadget. *A Manifesto*, London, Penguin Group, 2011, p. 29.

29. Luthar, 'Forgetting Does (Not) Hurt'.

30. Lizardi, *Mediated Nostalgia*, p. 6.

31. Palmberger, 'Nostalgia Matters', 358.

32. Palmberger, 'Nostalgia Matters', 358.

33. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, p. 53.

34. Mitja Velikonja, '"Ex-home": "Balkan culture" in Slovenia after 1991', in Barbara Törnquist-Plewa and Sanimir Resic (eds.), *The Balkan in Focus— Cultural Boundaries in Europe*, Lund, Sweden, Nordic Academic Press, 2002, pp. 189–207, p. 200.

35. See Bowker, *Memory Practices in the Sciences*, pp. 1–34.

36. Huyssen, *Twilight Memories*, p. 7.

37. Michael Hardt, 'The Common in Communism', in Slavoj Žižek and Costas Douzinas (eds.), *The Idea of Communism*, London, Verso, 2010, pp. 131–44, p. 131.

38. Maurice Halbwachs, quoted in Joanne Garde-Hansen, *Media and Memory*, p. 99.

39. Lowe, *Savage Continent*.

40. On Yugoslav Army soldiers' memories see Tanja Petrović, 'Nostalgia for the JNA? Remembering the Army in the former Yugoslavia', in Todorova and Gille, *Post-communist Nostalgia*, pp. 61–81.

41. See Will Straw, 'In Memoriam, The Music CD and Its Ends', *Design and Culture* 2009, 1(1): 79–91; see also his 'Embedded Memories', in Charles Acland (ed.) *Residual Media*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2007, pp. 3–15.

42. Pogačar, 'Digital Heritage'.

43. Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse Five*, p. 194.

44. Although comparison with re-emerging right-wing politics in Europe that are regaining momentum in similar on-the-fly formations as the ones

discussed above is out of the scope of this endeavour, it is worth noting that, for example, right-wing extremist sites are gaining followers regardless of their space of origin, and particularly so in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe.
45. Melvin Kranzberg, 'Technology and History: "Kranzberg's Laws"', *Technology and Culture* 1986, 27(3): 544–60.
46. Sobchack, 'Nostalgia for a Digital Object', p. 306.

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