



The Palgrave Handbook of Testimony and Culture

Edited by
Sara Jones · Roger Woods

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For Alys and Rosa, and Tommy and Dougie

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This *Handbook* has a long history that begins with an interdisciplinary ‘sandpit’ event that brought together researchers from the Universities of Birmingham and Nottingham in 2012. We were divided into teams based on common interests and asked to write a proposal bidding for up to £1000 to spend on a research collaboration. Our team, which included some of the contributors to this volume, won the pot and used it to co-organise a workshop in Nottingham in June 2013 under the title *The Uses of Testimony*. We would like to thank the University of Birmingham and University of Nottingham for this initial support for our project.

The collaboration begun at the Nottingham workshop grew into a cross-disciplinary and cross-sector research network, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and with the title *Culture and its Uses as Testimony*. The AHRC funding supported three workshops, a conference and the co-production of educational resources. It allowed us the time and space to discuss and share our ideas across disciplines and with partners from beyond academia on questions around the role, value, mediation, politics, ethics and use of testimony. Many of the contributors to this volume were participants in the network, and we would like to thank all network members for the vibrant discussions that shaped the development of the *Handbook*. The AHRC also supported the follow-on impact and engagement project *Testimony in Practice*, which included the co-production of the innovative documentary theatre play *A Land Full of Heroes*, discussed in the chapters by Banciu, Effe and Schuh, and Jones and Pine.

The writing of the chapters and the editing of the *Handbook* took place to a significant extent in 2020–2021, at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, when all our lives became more difficult in diverse ways. We would like to thank our contributors for sticking with the project in these challenging times. Thanks also to our ever-patient spouses, Sean and Diana, for their support and understanding as we brought the *Handbook* to completion.

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Habré, Sharon Weill, Kim Thuy Seelinger and Kerstin Bree Carlson, eds. (2020) and “Legitimacy, Procedural Justice, and Victim Participation in Uganda”, *The Legitimacy of International Criminal Tribunals*, Nobuo Hayashi and Cecilia Bailliet, eds. (2017).

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Introduction: Testimony in Culture and Cultures of Testimony

Sara Jones and Roger Woods

Abstract Jones and Woods state the case for a *Handbook of Testimony and Culture* against the background of the growth in the amount and types of material that are regarded as testimony, the ever-present nature of testimony in the public sphere, the relatively new interest in perpetrator testimony and the discussion of how to evaluate it. The authors also set out the new ways in which emerging technologies mediate testimony. In the light of all these major developments Jones and Woods argue that many of our existing assumptions about testimony and models for working with it need to be revisited, and they explain that the purpose of the *Handbook* is to do just that by bringing together a wide range of disciplinary, theoretical, methodological, and practice-based perspectives.

This *Handbook* recognises the enormous growth in the amount and types of material that are regarded as testimony, and it examines the ways in which researchers and practitioners theorise, analyse, produce and make use of testimony. Testimony in all its forms has gained considerable prominence in the public sphere: we have seen a substantial expansion in the number of

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institutions of remembrance that seek to keep alive the memory of trauma by fostering “secondary witnessing” in the broader public. The phenomenon of what Frosh and Pinchevski (2009) term “media witnessing” has garnered increasing interest in the lives of distant others, an interest that has also been extended to the testimony of perpetrators. Newly emerging technologies mediate testimony in new ways: virtual reality (VR) reconfigures the relationship between witness and audience towards an interactive and user-oriented experience. A growing body of research shows how complex and multi-layered testimony can be, how much this complexity adds to our understanding of our past, and how creators and users of testimony have their own complex purposes. In the light of all these major developments we argue that many of our existing assumptions about testimony and models for working with it need to be revisited. The purpose of this *Handbook* is to do just that from a wide range of disciplinary, theoretical, methodological and practice-based perspectives.

We opt for an understanding of testimony that is at the broad and inclusive end of a definitional spectrum that extends from statements presented before a court of law to “telling another person something, expecting to be believed, and making oneself accountable for the truth of what one says” (Moran, 2018: 38). Our focus is on verbal and textual forms (including those incorporated into visual media); however, we also consider the potential of images and objects to function as or inspire testimony (e.g. in the chapters by Éva Kovács on sensual memory, or by Silke Arnold-de Simine and Eugene Ch’ng on virtual reality). Sybille Krämer rightly points out in this volume that “bearing witness to a traumatic experience of violence by survivor-witnesses of war and genocide forms the powerful gravitational centre of cultural studies in testimony”. The broad definition and the concentration on traumatic experience are reflected in the contributions to the *Handbook* that examine testimony presented by survivors and perpetrators of trauma, writers, playwrights, filmmakers, asylum-seekers, political and cultural activists leading community initiatives, museums, commemoration foundations, educational bodies, war crimes tribunals, truth and reconciliation commissions, the press, new social media and virtual reality projects. The final chapter in this volume—a dialogue between Sara Jones and Emilie Pine—represents a further form of testimony. It does not focus on a traumatic event, but rather on the challenges of working with testimony in research and the interweaving of the personal and professional in academic lives. It is a moment of reflection about the ethics of our professional practice and a need to recognise our embeddedness as complex individuals in the work that we do, including with partners outside academia. In this Introduction, we bring these diverse contributions together to consider what the *Handbook* can tell us about the qualities of testimony and the differences and similarities in how it has been conceptualised and put to use across disciplines and sectors.

Researchers who have contributed to the *Handbook* come from the UK, the USA, Canada, Germany, Austria, Norway, Spain, Cyprus and China, and they are based in a wide range of academic disciplines—history, political science and international relations, law, sociology, education, English, German studies,

French studies, Iberian studies, European studies, communication studies, theatre studies, gender studies, literature, philosophy, theology, Jewish and Holocaust studies, digital studies, media studies, and film studies. Practitioners include novelists and a community theatre director, museum and memorial researchers, exhibition designers, community education programme developers and film producers. As Jones and Mark Wolfgram observe in their chapter in this volume, models of memory and justice developed in the Global North—especially in response to the Holocaust—dominate conceptualisations of what testimony is and how it can be put to use. It is also the case that memories of the Holocaust and “cosmopolitan” approaches to memory and human rights (see Levy & Sznajder, 2010) are the focus of many of the chapters of this *Handbook*. The volume also includes a number of chapters that incorporate or have as their focus witnessing from the perspective of actors in the Global South, including consideration of how they challenge these paradigms. For example, Carmen-Francesca Banciu, Alexandra Effe and Melissa Schuh’s chapter includes exploration of hybrid and collaborative testimonial forms produced by writers from Sudan and South Africa; Mónica Jato examines innovations in documentary testimony by Latin American filmmakers; Ana Belén Martínez García and Christian Karner interrogate the use of social media to produce and circulate the testimony of young female human rights activists from Pakistan, North Korea, Syria and Iraq; Hari Reed and Rebecca Hayes Laughton show how refugees from the Global South counter the testimonial constraints of the UK’s border regime with a creative theatre practice that allows collective accounts, ambiguity and fragmentation. Many of the contributors first came together in 2016 as participants in the Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded research network *Culture and its Uses as Testimony*,¹ and its members shared and developed their expertise in a series of three workshops and one international conference. The *Handbook* is one outcome of their collaboration.

1 THE QUALITIES OF TESTIMONY

We begin with some general reflections on the qualities of testimony as they emerge in the contributions to the *Handbook*. A common thread that runs through the diverse conceptualisations of testimony gathered here is the primacy of individual experience. One of the driving forces behind the interest in testimony is its capacity to put “the ‘I’ into the story”, thereby restoring agency (Waltzer in Greenspan et al., 2014: 209). Saul Friedländer is perhaps the best-known historian for showing how testimony in the form of individuals’ diaries and memoirs can be used in writing the history of Nazi Germany and the Jews. He challenges some historians’ assumptions that turn victims into “a static and abstract element of the historical background” (1997: 2). The powerful bond between testimony and the individual generates one of the key characteristics of testimony: its uniqueness. The urge to communicate the unique experience is the impulse behind much testimony from survivors of trauma for whom

recognition of this uniqueness is essential if the individual is not to be reduced to a mere object of others' research (Klüger, 2010: 83). Yet, as contributors to the *Handbook* demonstrate, the need to recognise the uniqueness of survivor testimony often stands in tension with, if not at odds with, the need for testimony to be presented and received as representative. This latter need is a combative response to challenges to its value that focus on individual testimony's subjectivity, its partial nature, its authors' susceptibility to misremembering, and its sometimes demonstrable wrongness.

Indeed, witnessing texts themselves often provide only an incomplete representation of trauma. With works such as Claude Lanzmann's documentary film *Shoah* in mind, Shoshana Felman (1992: 5) characterises testimony as "bits and pieces of a memory that has been overwhelmed by occurrences that have not settled into understanding or remembrance, acts that cannot be constructed as knowledge nor assimilated into full cognition, events in excess of our frames of reference". Testimony to trauma is often characterised as fragile, incomplete and fragmentary, and trauma itself as unrepresentable. As Dan Stone (2014: 20) puts it, the "crisis of testimony [...] is usually understood as manifesting itself in the paradox that the necessity of speaking, of testifying, immediately runs up against the impossibility of doing so". Stone argues that testimony is always spoken in the present and never complete; there always remains something to be said.

The qualities of testimony are frequently reflected not—or not only—in the production of witnessing texts, but in their reception: this reminds us of Frosh's (2009: 56) call for us to explore witnessing texts from the "wrong end", that is, in the relationship between text and audience, rather than witness and text. One such quality of testimony that forms the focus of several contributions to the *Handbook* is its affective power and its presumed ability to foster empathy and understanding among its audiences. Contributors ask how one balances emotional responses in the audience with the need to subject testimony to scrutiny. The question has arisen in the past because researchers and audiences have been reluctant to challenge accounts by survivors of extreme trauma. More recently the opposite concern—a reluctance to accept witness accounts—has emerged as a fundamental issue for researchers who have turned their attention to perpetrator testimony. A similar tension surrounds the richness of testimony as a source of knowledge and what happens to that quality in the process of reception. While testimony has the potential to enhance our understanding of the past, users of testimony can flatten it in efforts to build a coherent story that can be deployed in educational, political or legal contexts. In the writing of history, complex testimony may be reduced to soundbites that merely serve to confirm pre-existing theories. Against this "depleting [of] the richness of the archive" (Bloxham & Kushner, 2005: 41), the *Handbook* presents approaches to testimony that seek to capture its illuminating complexity and ambiguity.

A further quality of testimony relates to its social and cultural function. The giving and receiving of testimony have long been associated with concepts of

justice inside and outside the courtroom, most commonly in societies recovering from a period of acute violence. However, our broad understanding of testimony allows contributors to the *Handbook* also to explore incidences where forms of testimony are used to challenge systemic injustice, including misogyny and racism. We understand social media as a locus of testimony and as a means of circulating it on an unprecedented scale: the #MeToo movement provided a forum for individuals to recount their experiences of sexual assault and harassment, and from mid-October to early November 2017 #MeToo was retweeted 23 million times from 85 countries (Collins, 2019: n.p.). While a broad understanding of testimony is associated with “symbolic justice” outside a court and with recognition on the part of a community that the victim suffered an injustice (Jones, 2015), the impact of the #MeToo movement can also be seen in the numerous court cases that followed from the testimony it presented and in its capacity to prompt anti-harassment legislation.

Contributors to the *Handbook* set out the affordances of individuals’ testimony, but they also draw attention to the debate about the potential narrowing of vision that may result from placing the subjective experience centre-stage when commemorating past injustice. Katherine Stone and Roger Woods quote Annette Wieviorka’s key question: “People say that the suffering of survivors and families must not be forgotten, that one has to be empathetic toward them. But what end will this empathy serve in the making of our history?” (in Greenspan et al., 2014: 224). Pursued in isolation, the subjective experience approach at once elevates individual testimony to a prominent public position in the cultural landscape and accords it minimal explanatory value. The *Handbook* explores approaches to testimony that address these concerns and seek to restore agency to those who bear witness in the dual sense of public acknowledgement and influence. Agency is a leitmotif of the *Handbook*: Does the existence of testimony from an ever greater range of voices, coupled with the expanding range of forums at which to present it, enhance the agency of survivors of trauma and help them process that trauma? Or do the multiple mediations that testimony undergoes amount to a “return to powerlessness” (Gready, 2008: 47)?

The conceptual qualities of testimony are particularly tested when witnessing texts are put to use in different fields of practice, for example artistic, legal and educational. The *Handbook* explores the practical and ethical challenges that arise when working with survivors of trauma, ranging from the need to build trust and avoid retraumatisation, to the danger of misappropriating testimony. Against this background the volume seeks to disseminate good practice, not least by bringing together researchers and practitioners as co-authors of individual chapters. Reading the co-authored chapters and reading across all the chapters, one cannot fail to notice a tension between purist theory on the appropriate use of testimony and the restrictive contexts within which practitioners choose to or are obliged to work. However, it is not only practitioners who need to consider the ethical and methodological demands of working with testimony: academics increasingly find themselves working across sectors with

partners with other lived or acquired expertise, something explored in detail in the dialogue between Jones and Pine.

Taken together, the contributions to the *Handbook* make it clear that anyone making use of testimony needs to reflect on approaches that are frequently at odds with each other: the need to be an “adequate witness” (Gilmore, 2017: 5) does not sit easily alongside the need to be a “cognisant reader” who retains critical distance (Shen & Xu, 2007). While research encourages us to appreciate that the problems witnesses have in telling and retelling their stories may result in inconsistency, we are also urged to be on the lookout for inconsistencies with extra-textual reality. The need to do justice to complex testimony by means of “thick description” (Bloxham & Kushner, 2005) often has to be reconciled with the practical need to fit it into a narrow time or space slot and, in educational contexts, the need for measurable learning outcomes.

The *Handbook* chapters—and the remainder of our reflections in this Introduction—are grouped into three broad and overlapping areas that reflect its central concerns: concepts in testimony, mediations and methodologies, and the ethics and practice of testimony. Broad theoretical and conceptual discussions of testimony are followed by analyses that are genre-specific, and these in turn are followed by contributions that draw out the challenges that confront practitioners and present the ways in which they have dealt with them in testimony-based projects.

2 CONCEPTS IN TESTIMONY

The first challenge in discussing the form, function, use and impact of testimony is defining what “testimony” is and, equally, what it is not. In editing the *Handbook*, we worked with a deliberately broad definition that incorporates the multiple ways in which narratives about the self are produced, mediated and remediated. We understand testimony to be an account given by an individual about something they have experienced, received by someone who has not had that experience and who makes a judgement about it. We include in this analytical framework the activity of individuals who mediate and remediate the first-person accounts of others, including consideration of concepts such as “secondary” and “tertiary” witnessing (Wake, 2013). We argue that what marks testimony off from other forms of communication is that it stands as evidence in a contested field and has a particular public purpose. This starting point allowed us to gather together the diverse range of cross-disciplinary and cross-sector approaches that the reader finds in this *Handbook*.

Within that basic framework, our authors had free rein to define testimony according to their disciplinary or sector-based norms. This means that there are multiple definitions of testimony across the volume. For some, the term designates specifically the accounts of survivors, especially survivors of the Holocaust, told live or with only limited mediation (especially in the format of video testimonies). This is the focus of the contributions in this volume exploring the use of testimony in educational (Christina Brüning, Verena Nägel, and Sanna

Stegmaier; Rachel Century, Isabel Wollaston, and Alex Blake; Claudia Reese and Louise Stafford; Fransiska Louwagie, Caroline Sharples, Charlotte Schallié and Andrea Webb) and legal or transitional justice settings (Helena Vranov Schoorl, Sara Rubert, Kimi Lynn King and James David Meernik; Stephen Cody and Eric Stover; Jim Keys, Stephen Gargan and Alan McCully). Stone and Woods explore testimony outside these settings in their analysis of how autobiography and other forms of life writing can function as testimony. Several authors examine more elaborated mediations of first-person accounts in documentary film (Jato, Rémy Besson, Kovács), theatre (Isaias Fanlo, Reed and Hayes Laughton, Kovács), virtual reality (Arnold-de Simine and Ch'ng), and social media (Olga Michael; Martínez García and Karner). Banciu, Effe and Schuh consider the potential of fictionalised narratives by witness-survivors to function as “testimony”. This broad conceptualisation of testimony allows the volume to trace how individuals and institutions harness the rhetorical and affective power of narratives of the self to a variety of political, cultural and social ends.

Central to discussions of the power and effect of testimony are questions of epistemology, that is, if and how testimony can be considered a source of knowledge. This question lies at the core of many philosophical analyses of testimony as an everyday practice. These analyses recognise that we are reliant on the accounts of others and that knowledge based purely on our own sensory perception is extremely limited. But testimonial knowledge is, as Benjamin McMyler (2011: 47) notes, “knowing at second hand”. It is at its core an interpersonal form of knowledge, and the justification for accepting it as such is based on the perceived authority of the speaker, who also takes responsibility for the accuracy of their accounts (described as the “assurance view”; see Scholz, 2011: 35). On the other hand, the epistemological value of testimony in what Krämer and Sigrud Weigel describe as “cultural approaches” (Krämer & Weigel, 2017: x)—emerging principally from the study of Holocaust testimonies—is centred on “existential or embodied truth” (2017: xii). Here, the truth of the testimony of survivors of violence is inseparable from the speaker of that testimony.

Krämer and Weigel (2017: xv) offer a potential bridge between these two approaches in the increasing recognition in both that the knowledge contained within testimony is produced in an “intersubjective relation of trust, authentication and accreditation with the witness”. This is what Krämer describes in her contribution to the *Handbook* as the “triadic relation” between witness, auditorium and event: the “basic grammar” of testimony. Krämer notes the multiple definitions of and approaches towards testimony, which lead to “tensions, ambivalences, dissonances, divergences, and paradoxes”, also seen in the *Handbook*. She identifies “truth-telling” as the “lowest common denominator” in these varied discussions. This is similar to Berel Lang’s (in Greenspan et al., 2014: 197) statement that testimony, “whatever the context, suggests authenticity, accuracy, precision”. In her chapter in the *Handbook*, Weigel explores the concept of testimony between juridical and historical contexts. The question of

accuracy and truth, Weigel argues, is central to the use of witnesses in court and in the writing of history. In the courtroom, the witness is part of a search not for truth, but for certainty; witness accounts, contingent as they are on subjectivity and memory, cannot provide that certainty. However, they can provide a form of truth that is distinct from what Weigel terms “factual evidence”. Krämer similarly points out that testimony is not equal to evidence, even when it is used in legal contexts; instead, it must be not only believable but also worthy of being believed (“glaubhaft” versus “glaubwürdig”). The credibility of the witness—especially the survivor witness—relates to their having “been there”, but it is the audience who invests them with trustworthiness.

The kind of truth referred to here is at the heart of the concept of authenticity, which we can view as inherently interpersonal and relational. Achim Saupe and Helen Roche’s contribution highlights how the discussion around authenticity has developed in the field of historiography, particularly in the use of first-person accounts. They note that as history emerged as a discipline, first-person accounts were seen as a problematic source for exploring the past. Historians in the majority favoured empiricist and positivist approaches over the inherently subjective nature of eyewitness statements. However, studies of the Second World War and, in particular, the Holocaust started to operate with a different understanding of eyewitness and survivor testimony. Richard Evans (1997: 189) makes the general point: “One of the very great drawbacks of generalizing social-science history, with its reliance on averages and statistics was its virtual elimination of the individual human being in favour of anonymous groups and trends”. The concept of “Zeitzeuge” emerged in Germany—translated roughly as “contemporary witness”. “Zeitzeugen” could be victims, perpetrators or bystanders. Their role was disassociated from that of the legal witness: they did not (or not only) report on crimes, but on their personal experiences in the period under study. Historians (notably Friedländer and Christopher Browning) began to integrate testimony with analysis of official documents and to recognise that accuracy and authenticity were not identical.

Researchers who make use of individuals’ testimony have attempted to address criticism of its subjectivity by adopting a form of mediation that looks for the commonalities across individual testimonies. Browning (2010) has worked through large numbers of individual accounts by Holocaust survivors and identified the “core memory” that the individual testimonies contain, an approach that has clearly produced impressive results. Similarly, Waltzer argues that “testimonies [...] must be read in aggregate and comparatively, the researcher seeking a core of commonly remembered reality across multiple recounting” (in Greenspan et al., 2014: 208). In this volume Saupe and Roche register a similar approach in the early work of oral historians, but they also point to the “cultural turn” that has imbued testimony with a “different credibility”—one that celebrates the fluidity and contingency of “memory stories”. Against this background Penny Summerfield (2019: 5) has considered how much the truth of personal narratives matters to researchers: “While some historians focus on the evidence to be found in personal narratives, others explore