'Remembering as forgetting':

Organizational commemoration as a politics of recognition

Abstract

This paper considers the politics of how organizations remember their past through commemorative settings and artefacts. Although these may be seen as 'merely' a backdrop to organizational activity, they form part of the lived experience of organizational spaces that its members enact on a daily basis as part of their routes and routines. The main concern of the paper is with how commemoration is bound up in the reflection and reproduction of hierarchies of organizational recognition. Illustrated with reference to two commemorative settings, the paper explores how organizations might perpetuate a narrow set of symbolic ideals attributing value to particular forms of organizational membership while appearing to de-value others. In doing so, they may communicate values that undermine attempts to achieve equality and inclusion. Developing a recognition-based critique of this process, the discussion emphasizes how commemorative settings and practices work to reproduce established patterns of exclusion and marginalization. To this end, traditional forms of commemorative portraiture that tend to close off difference are contrasted with a memorial garden, in order to explore the potential for an alternative, recognition-based ethics of organizational commemoration that is more open to the Other.

Introduction

Underpinning this paper is a question posed by Edward Casey (2000: 263) in his phenomenological study of the ways in which societies acknowledge past members

and events, namely, 'how does recognition relate to commemoration?' For us, Casey's question is a profoundly organizational one. This is not simply because commemoration takes place within organizational settings or through organizational practices, but because commemoration itself can be understood as a process of organization, one that orders and communicates who and what matters. Arguing that it is embedded within power relations and struggles, we explore commemoration as a politics of recognition. Following Casey's (2000: xxii) observation that when we commemorate 'we come back to the things that matter', we use the term 'matter' to refer to a phenomenon that both gives material form, and at the same time conveys value (see also Butler, 1993). This issue, of who and what matters, brings the theme of organizational recognition to the fore, emphasizing that remembering depends upon a corollary process of forgetting (Casey, 2000). But more than this, because of its temporal nature, the citation of past members sets out the terms by which value is ascribed by an organization not just in its past, but also in its present reproducing established power dynamics.

Commemoration can also be seen as a way of 'producing the appropriate individual' (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002: 619) within organizational life. Communicating the common features of those who appear to be idealized, commemorative portraits and other traditional forms of 'commemorabilia', such as named or dedicated buildings, implicitly convey the norms governing organizational recognition, setting out the terms of 'membership' (Höpfl, 2003). In this sense, commemorative portraits materialize a normative ethos governing the conditions of belonging that is far more ubiquitous and persistent than a few seemingly dated portraits might suggest. Commemorative artefacts such as portraits can be taken as illustrative of a much wider organizational issue, one of symbolic exclusion and

inequality. Such artefacts make a significant but often overlooked contribution to managing the contours of what is required in order to be or become an ideal member of an organization, one deemed worthy of sustained recognition. Conversely, failure to be able to find recognition in these symbolic orders thus also conveys a message, that one's face does not fit, that one is outside the norms of membership, that one is effectively forgotten or invisible to organizational memory. As Jan Betts (2006: 157) has emphasized in one of the relatively few publications to consider how commemorative portraiture 'frames power', such artefacts work to reproduce patterns of legitimacy and exclusion.

It is therefore important to consider how commemoration reflects and reproduces organizational hierarchies of recognition and repression (Beyes and Steyaert 2013; Orr 2014) in ways that potentially undermine a rhetorical commitment to equality, re-producing 'appropriate' individuals according to a relatively narrow set of idealized criteria. Yet with a few notable exceptions (Acevedo, 2014; Betts, 2006; Davison, 2010), commemoration continues to be a relatively neglected theme in the study of organizational life. Indeed, as Bell (2012) has noted, we rarely consider the kinds of repetitive imagery that characterizes the commemorative cultures of the organizations we inhabit. Nor do we pause to reflect on the various normative ideals they perpetuate. This being the case, it seems that a critique of commemoration remains something of a 'void in the cultural study of organizations' (Bell et al, 2014: 4).

Commemorative artefacts and practices contribute to the organizational management of the past, particularly the management of its 'collective memory' (Rowlinson et al, 2010), and thus to the mobilization of this memory in the present. These material artefacts of corporate memorabilia, such as buildings, awards, plaques,

portraits, and statues are all embedded within relations of power and control (Willmott, 2000). What insights such as these emphasize, but which has yet to be considered in any sustained way within organization studies, is how through commemoration some lives come to 'matter' more than others[i]. The aim of this paper is to open up discussion and to encourage critical reflection on this particular theme. With this in mind, we consider the following questions: Who and what do organizations commemorate, and how? What do commemorative artefacts and practices tell about who or what is valued by an organization? What alternative forms of organizational commemoration might be possible? What political and ethical opportunities might alternative forms of commemoration open up for organizations?

In responding to these questions, and in drawing on insights from phenomenological geographer Edward Casey's (2000) writing on lived experiences of commemoration and recognition, we do not seek to provide answers to the questions above in a way that is somehow removed from our own social positioning, but rather to offer our own interpretations of the examples considered below. Our aim is to open up discussion of the multiple ways of experiencing and making sense of the phenomena we consider. In this sense, we are mindful of the extent to which the spaces and settings considered below are 'doubly constructed': they are structures that have been designed and built in a physical sense, but they are also 'interpreted … felt and imagined', and hence are also constructed in a more phenomenological sense (Gieryn, 2000: 465, cited in Shortt, 2015: 635), including in our own account of them.

With this in mind, we begin by considering the background to the thematic issues explored here, focusing on relevant literature on organizational memory, commemoration and portraiture. We then move on to explain the theoretical ideas we draw on, particularly Casey's (2000) recognition-based critique of commemoration,

before outlining and evaluating the methodological approach that we took to our analysis of the artefacts and settings discussed. Following this, we examine commemorative portraiture at Keele Hall [ii]. We argue that in traditional commemorative settings such as this, organizations continue to perpetuate narrow ideals shaping who or what is valued and deemed worthy of commemorative recognition, and conversely to imply who and what is marginalized through this process. We then consider a second commemorative setting – Sackville Gardens in Manchester. Here we shift our focus, away from what might be regarded as a more traditional, institutional organizational setting, to a more open site. In considering the Gardens, we explore how commemoration might be practiced differently in a setting that is more open to difference and multiplicity, and more communal in its orientation.

In examining the contrasting example of the Gardens, we explore some of the ways in which organizations might commemorate differently based on an embodied ethics[iii] of mutual recognition rather than the perpetuation of narrow ideals of symbolic membership premised upon a traditional hierarchy of the 'great and good'. In doing so, we hope to encourage a wider critical reflection on the ethics and politics of how commemoration is and might be organized. We do so for two main reasons. First, to unsettle established experiences and ways of understanding the hierarchies of recognition that characterize the organizations we inhabit, past and present. Second, we aim to consider how organizations might think differently about commemoration, in order to address the disjuncture between an espoused, rhetorical commitment to equality on the one hand, and the perpetuation of a narrow set of membership conditions, conveying who and what 'matters', on the other.

Making memory: Organizational memory, commemoration and portraiture

As noted above, practices and artefacts of remembering are rarely the focus of critical reflection or inquiry within organization studies (Bell et al, 2014). This is possibly because commemoration is such a widespread, seemingly benign aspect of the material culture of our organizational settings that we remain largely insensitive to it. Portraits of 'great leaders' are arguably 'so commonplace that they have become hidden in plain sight, with the result that scholars of management, organization and leadership have not explored the issues they raise in any depth' (Guthey and Jackson, 2005: 1058; see also Davison, 2010).

Notable exceptions to this relative neglect of the 'past life' of organizations can be identified in several strands of literature focusing on marketing and branding, as well as organizational history and memory studies. Within the marketing field, the focus is primarily on understanding how the past is mobilized as a corporate resource, particularly through so-called heritage branding (Balmer and Burghausen, 2015; Urde et al, 2007) and retro-marketing (Brown et al, 2003).

The organizational history literature is concerned largely with the management of organizational narratives and memory (Rowlinson et al, 2010; 2014), and with documenting labour history (Mills, 2006; Strangleman, 2004, 2012, 2016). Rowlinson et al (2010) in particular have emphasized how the management of organizational memory is embedded within power relations so that organizations are able to signify the extent to which they value some histories more than others and thus how members relate to the contemporary workplace through a mobilization of resources associated with the past (see also Olick, 2007). Mills (2006) has also highlighted the significance of idealized images of the past in the management of contemporary workplace identities and hierarchies. In his study of the changing symbolism and aesthetics of

British Airways, Mills emphasizes how the continuing presence of 'nostalgic', retrospective imagery may serve to undermine a contemporary commitment to equality. Similarly, Strangleman (2012) has highlighted the importance of adopting a spatial-historical perspective in his research on the visual landscape of the former Guinness Brewery at Park Royal in London. His study draws on a range of archival and contemporary visual sources to bring to the fore how space and setting shape workplace cultures and practices. Bell and Taylor (2011, 2016) have also emphasized the significance of visual culture in their research on organizational grieving, highlighting the importance of understanding the latter as a shared, embodied experience.

Resonating with but moving beyond this literature on the management of organizational history and memory, Casey's (2000) phenomenological study of remembering highlights how the ontologies of memory that predominate in social (and by implication, organization) theory tend to be overly preoccupied with individual, cognitive recollection. His aim is to 'pursue memory beyond mind' and in doing so he points to the significance of what he describes as body memory and place memory. He argues that conventional accounts of memory underplay collective, lived experiences of remembering, leading us to overlook the extent to which remembering always involves a corollary process of forgetting as the 'primary Other of memory' (Casey, 2000: xi). It is this latter point in particular, forgetting as the Other of remembering, that emphasizes commemoration as an *organizing* process, one that reflects and reproduces power relations and hierarchies of recognition. In this respect, Casey frames commemoration as to the past what recognition is to the present, namely the mechanism through which participation as a socially viable, intelligible subject is either conferred or denied.

Insights such as these begin to take the study of organizational commemoration in a new direction, encouraging us to ask not simply 'How do organizations remember?' (Fiedler and Welpe, 2010), but rather, '*Who* and *what* do they commemorate, and *why*?' Asking these questions leads us to think about how and why organizational settings of memory making, such as websites, museums, exhibitions, galleries and so on (Nissley and Casey, 2002) offer a rich array of artefacts through which to explore *which* pasts and *whose* lives are remembered and on what basis. In other words, they encourage us to consider the political dynamics of commemoration as both reflecting and reproducing organizational power relations.

One of the most empirically ubiquitous but analytically neglected media used by organizations to convey who and what is deemed worthy of commemorative recognition is arguably the display of past 'members' (Höpfl, 2003), with prominent ancestors adorning the walls of organizational spaces often through a process of, in its simplest terms, 'hero worship'. Such practices and artefacts shape perceptions of 'who and what should be commemorated' (Wasserman, 1998: 42), perpetuating established symbolic orders (Fotaki, 2013).

While written and spoken texts have played an important role in connecting the past and present in Western cultures (Levi-Strauss, 1968), it is the visual that has perhaps been the most significant in the materialization of heroic mythologies, and which arguably has the most immediate, performative impact upon the senses, including those influencing our collective memories. It is for this reason that commemorative portraiture, most commonly in the form of the 'classic' oil painting, performs a particularly notable role in the revivification of organizational past members.

Classic oil painting has long been regarded as a means of '*performing memory in art*' (Plate and Smelik, 2013: 1, *emphasis added*). In its simplest terms, commemorative portraiture is a genre of art that depicts the visual appearance of the subject, one that has tended to flourish in societies that value the individual over the collective (West, 2004). Portraits are often commissioned on the basis of a desire to elongate a particular individual's period of influence and to convey both authority and longevity (West, 2004). Historically, portrait paintings have traditionally been the preserve of the rich and powerful, with a well-executed portrait being expected to constitute a flattering representation of inner strength and charisma. Although there are examples of portraits that do unsettle and challenge the individualized subject, these are arguably exceptions within the genre and often achieve their effect for the very reason that they are transgressing the usual expectations of their form. Unlike caricature, which often exaggerates particular physical features in order to reveal or emphasize certain character traits, the aesthetic conventions governing the production of classic, commemorative portraits mean that they are often relatively expression-less in order to emphasize gravitas and moral capacity rather than 'anything temporary, fleeting or accidental' (Aymar, 1967: 94). Hence, both aesthetically and politically, such portraiture gives the impression of neutrality, either in the form of detached indifference or more commonly, particularly in portraits of relatively powerful subjects, of moral standing.

In materializing the past in the present, therefore, commemorative portraits play an important performative role in communicating not simply who is recognized but the *terms* of recognition. Evoking authority, longevity and continuity, portraits are able to signify the conditions of contemporary belonging, and shape the contours of future identification. In this vein, Casey (2000: 223) connects commemoration

specifically with 'solemnization', the construction and communication of dignity, honour and formality. His account of 'memorialization' fits well with the characteristics of organizational portraiture. This process is about paying a fitting tribute to the subject through the use of proportion and placing, as well as producing a lasting artifact; 'it seeks to preserve and stabilize the memory of the honoree, and to do so in a *time-binding, invariant way'* (Casey, 2000: 226, *emphasis added*). This apparent 'fixity' of the medium, its materiality, and its symbolism make critical engagement difficult, partly as commemorative portraits rely on reverence and respect. Added to this, their temporality effectively places them as somehow 'bound' as Casey puts it, and therefore 'beyond critique'. In this sense, the apparently retrospective nature of our engagement with commemorative portraiture suggests that the subjects depicted are somehow fixed in the past so that, by implication, the present has moved on or beyond the patterns of repetition, the 'invariance', on display. This makes these repeated patterns easy to dismiss as no longer relevant to the organizational present, or as part of a quaintly outmoded, naively un-reflexive culture we have now 'moved on' from. Yet, they do matter in and to the organizational present, materializing who and what is of value, and is accorded recognition:

> Acts of recognition … exhibit a present-ness not only in the sense of occurring *in* the present, dominating it, and making it prevail over the past and the future. They also *aid in the constitution of the present itself* (Casey, 2000: 123, *original emphasis*).

By way of illustration, work by MacLeod (2009), Hottinger (2016) and others shows that 'there is a clear connection between the images we have of our most

famous scientists and mathematicians and *our contemporary understanding of who can engage in this kind of work*' (Hottinger 2016: 91, *emphasis added*). Jordanova (2000, 2003) makes a similar point in her studies of commemorative portraits of influential medical practitioners and their social networks, emphasizing how significant portraits are to practices of professional and occupational closure[iv].

Jordanova (2000, 2003) in particular illustrates why portraits are so relevant to understanding commemorative practices within organizational life. She notes how, whilst depicting individuals, portraits are most often found grouped together, so that

> They constitute an important element in a shared culture *organized* not around birth, beauty or marriage but around skills, achievements and work. Hence it is particularly striking that historians of specific occupations have made rather little use of portraits, of their production and consumption, their use in institutions and their role in the formation of workplace identities (Jordanova, 2003: 294, *emphasis added*).

For Jordanova, portraits facilitate the formation of particular ways of being, since 'they enable practitioners to *feel, think and reflect* upon their occupational identities' (ibid, 2003: 294, *emphasis added*).

Soussloff (2006) develops this argument more philosophically in her book *The Subject in Art*, emphasizing that subjectivity is not only discursively constructed through text, but also visually. Following Sartre's (2004) analysis of consciousness in relation to portraiture in *The Imaginary*, she argues that in the inter-subjective, social experience of viewing a portrait, we strive for a sense of resemblance or recognition. Thus in looking at portraiture there is an imaginary process in which we see ourselves

– or not – in the image portrayed. Failure to achieve this form of resemblance or recognition can lead to an uneasy sense of what Butler (1993: 219) describes as 'standing under a sign to which one does and does not belong'; in other words, to an experience of being physically present, yet symbolically negated.

Before turning to two illustrative examples of how commemorative artefacts and settings effectively organize this process within and through their visual landscapes (Hancock, 2005; Rippin, 2012; Strangleman, 2012), we first explain the approach that we take to the analysis.

Analysing commemorative artefacts and settings

Following Betts' (2006: 161) study of corporate boardrooms, our research into these settings, and the artefacts displayed within them, placed considerable methodological emphasis on the 'value of looking'. In practice, this meant drawing on methods of visual analysis (Acevedo, 2014; Berger, 1972; Rose, 2007) focusing on their content as well as context, including their framing, positioning and spatial organization. Attention to content led us to explore phenomena such as hue, pigmentation and light saturation in order to describe the effects of colours in the portraits, especially the use of deep and rich colours, and to focus on themes such as posture and gaze (Hancock, 2005; Rippin, 2012). A concern with spatial organization meant also thinking about the configuration of different elements within the image, as well as its wider setting. Latimer (2013: 5) alerts us to issues of *assemblage* and *juxtaposition*, focusing our analytical attention on what she argues is one of the most important characteristics of commemorative settings and practices, namely the bringing together of elements that then come to be perceived as related. This attuned us to thinking about some of the ways in which the portraits at Keele Hall might constitute a 'collection', and to think

about this is relation to the relatively diverse assemblage of artefacts and practices we encountered in Sackville Gardens, our second example.

Our analysis also moved beyond the techniques of 'looking at [the artefacts and settings] for what they are' to a more interpretive, analytical engagement, thinking about how the portraits implicate the viewer (Sørensen, 2014), or how the Gardens engage with the visitor or participant. In this sense, we focused on 'the way the picture [or setting] also offers a particular *position* to its viewers' (Rose, 2007: 46). This positioning is important to reflecting on how commemorative artefacts and settings impact upon those who engage with them, appealing to our analytical capacities but more so to the embodied immediacy of our senses (Hancock, 2005). It also acknowledges that engaging with such artifacts or settings is a relational activity (Freeland, 2010). With this in mind, we gave particular attention in our analysis to *gaze* – the constructed relationship between the subject and viewer of an image or artifact and the shared meanings and resonances implied by this relationship (Acevedo, 2014). Doing so allowed us to explore some of the ways in which the spatial organization of the portraits and the Gardens '*design* the position of the viewer' (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 119, *emphasis added*). In this sense, we extended our compositional and spatial analysis of the portraits at Keele Hall to the sculptures and other artefacts in Sackville Gardens. In particular our analysis of the Gardens incorporated exploring *context* - the broader cultural significance, social-spatial setting and power relations in which the monuments and sculptures were situated (Acevedo, 2014).

Throughout this analytical process, we drew from Casey (2000) an emphasis on the importance of understanding how commemorative artefacts and settings are lived and experienced. In practice, this means that our interpretations are inevitably

based upon our own situated ways of being in and making sense of the world. As Merleau Ponty (2002: 78) asks, in his phenomenological account of knowledge as a reflection of our embodied, situated existence, 'is not to see always to see from somewhere?' But our accounts are not simply 'ours'; they are inter-subjective in so far as they are based on shared experiences, discussions and reflections between us, and with others[v]. The subjective nature of our analysis is of course in no sense unique to the approach we take here, or to embodied or visually orientated research more generally. Rather, it is a characteristic feature of *all* research, although rarely is it explicitly recognized that research is the outcome of a reflective process shaped by the social positioning and situated perception of the researchers and others who contribute to that process (Stanley and Wise, 2002). The experiences, perceptions and interpretations discussed below, therefore, are not arbitrary, but nor are they in any sense definitive; other 'readings' are possible and this analytical multiplicity is something we would wish to encourage. Indeed, we offer our own thoughts in the hope that these will provide the basis for a critical, reflexive and dialogical engagement – they are merely a starting point as it were.

To this end, our aim in presenting our own situated account of commemoration is to open up discussion and invite others who write and speak from different situated positions to reflect on, and share, their own perceptions and experiences in order to think not just about how organizations currently commemorate but particularly how they might potentially do so differently. With this aim as its underlying premise, we outline below our findings from this visual analysis, beginning with the portraits at Keele Hall.

Commemorative exclusions: Portraiture at Keele Hall

The empirical starting point for our analysis was our attendance at the *Gender, Work and Organization* conference at Keele Hall in 2012, when we became aware of the disjuncture between the thematic focus of the conference and the materiality of its setting. Whilst attending the conference, we became increasingly aware of the extent to which rich oil paintings of former chancellors and vice chancellors are hung in heavy gilt frames positioned in prominent places throughout the Hall, most notably on the walls of the main staircase[vi]. These paintings appear to have been hung so that they could be viewed from several angles, but most obviously by looking up at them; they occupy an imposing, authoritative position (by our estimation, the lowest hung one was at least eight feet from ground level). As Betts (2006: 162) notes in her account of commemorative portraits hung in corporate boardrooms, the positioning of these paintings brings together both the organizational status and the symbolic importance of the subjects. The portraits are to be looked up to; they demonstrate their continued authority over those they look down upon and their positioning means they are able to 'keep an eye on the whole organization'. In Keele Hall, a particular type of painting, typically within a 'heavy' hanging frame used to convey 'quality, longevity and investment' (Betts, 2006: 163), dominates the staircases and galleried areas. We have reproduced one of these paintings in Figure One. It is an oil painting of Professor Stewart, Vice Chancellor of Keele University from 1967 to 1979. He and his robes are the sole content of the picture. His robes and his formal demeanour suggest status (Rippin, 2012). The colours are bold, clear and sharp resembling the colours of a photograph, thereby creating a heightened sense of realism (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Saturation is high with the colours of the robe the dominant hue. In contrast, the flesh colour is light giving it high value thereby drawing our attention to the face. As

Rose (2007: 41) explains, in portraits, the high value of the face colours serves to draw the viewer to the gaze of the portrait subject.

Figure One: Oil painting hung on main staircase, Keele Hall

The oil painting of the Vice Chancellor, and many others just like it, are situated among carved stone arches and recesses or are hung in prominent moulded plasterwork, adding another layer to the apparent significance and stability, the solidity and continuity of the figures depicted. This 'double' framing gives an impression of protection and containment, preserving the authority of the figures for posterity and in doing so, reinforcing their value and continued importance to the organization (see Figure Two).

Figure Two: 'Double framing' and position of oil on canvas portrait, Keele Hall

Close-up details of the portraits show folds of rich red fabric, detail on their clothing, ties, folded, firm hands and confident, direct gazes, conveying objectivity, longevity, authority and status (Figure Two).

Figure Three: Detail of oil on canvas portrait, Keele Hall

Even though they are in one sense merely reflecting the constituency of a profession and its hierarchy at a particular point in time[vii], these portraits are much more than simply artefacts of the past: their presence continues to frame the conditions of possibility attached to the present within this physical and symbolic space.

In stark contrast to these paintings of 'great men' that adorn the walls of the main reception rooms, we noticed a set of small watercolour paintings, hung in simple, unvarnished wooden frames, with no moulding or additional decoration, on an upper landing. These depict a Black man undertaking grounds maintenance; an (apparently white) woman typing; and another (again, apparently white) woman using a vacuum cleaner (see Figure Four).

Figure Four: Watercolour painting of a woman vacuuming, Keele Hall

One possible reading of the content and context of this painting might be that it is a progressive recognition of the value of the work undertaken by the female cleaner, and other employees like her. Possibly to support this, like the painting in Figure One, the woman vacuuming is not the sole focus of the watercolour. The lanyard and security pass around her neck act to signify her place in the University as the robes do for the Vice Chancellor in the painting at Figure One, although arguably the cleaner's badge emphasizes her restricted access and conditional membership as something placed 'on' her rather than embodied by her. Whereas the flowing robes of the Vice Chancellor, and the apparent comfort with which he is seated seem to attest to the sense of belonging that is embodied by him as he confidently fills the frame of his portrait, the items that signify the cleaner's role are foregrounded. She appears to have been given five arms by the artist and holds a number of objects, including keys and the vacuum. Again, these may signify her capacity to multi-task, and her value to the

organization. At one important level, her labour and contribution are recognized; the woman's five arms arguably emphasize her importance to the smooth running of the organization, and possibly how many different roles, and how much work, she must undertake. Yet she is painted in very low hues and with low colour saturation (she is little more than a line drawing), while the background is more dominant, emphasizing the place and setting, rather than the person depicted. The contrast in the colours between the woman and the background seem to signal that the setting is somehow 'real' but she is not (see Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). Compared to both the substance and apparent solidity of the setting, and of the 'great men' depicted in the oil paintings, the woman in Figure Four is relatively ethereal, even spectral, implying that her role and presence are somewhat fleeting by comparison. In contrast to the subject in Figure One, whose gaze is directed straight at the viewer, the woman in the watercolour has a distant, disconnected gaze. Further, the viewer's gaze is directed by the painting's geometrical perspective to the background, then to the objects held and last to the woman herself. From the composition of the painting, it would seem that it is the setting and work roles, rather than the woman herself, which to be commemorated in this painting.

Hung in a dark corner away from this set, between two service doors, is an additional painting of a woman, another pale watercolour also hung in a simple unvarnished and otherwise unadorned frame, this time of a woman who appears to be a geisha[viii]. This painting stands out in contrast to others hung in this area (see below) because of its bright colours and bold imagery. In contrast to the authority and gravitas signified by the colour and symbolism in the images hung in the main stairwells considered above, however, the painting of the geisha is simply framed and delicately painted (in watercolours rather than oils). In keeping with the image of the woman

vacuuming (Figure Four) and again in contrast to the commemorative portraits of men (see Figure One), the subject's gaze is deferentially averted, and her pose is poised and contained. The red on her lips and kimono collar, and particularly the exposed nape of her neck, all constitute signifiers of sexuality traditionally associated with geisha imagery and symbolism (Dalby, 1983, 1993).

Figure Five: Watercolour painting of a geisha woman, Keele Hall

The aesthetic of the inner landing where the paintings of the geisha and the woman with the vacuum cleaner (as well as the two other water colours that make up the set to which the latter belongs) hang is functional – it has thinner carpet, bright lighting, plain white walls, fire extinguishers and safety notices: the whole area has a 'backstage' feel to it. Contrasting with the brass plaques underneath the oil portraits of principals and chancellors, no names are attached to any of these pictures to identify them, or give them any importance or lasting connection to the organization. The three pictures in the watercolour set on the upper landing are almost identical in style. Their

very transparency, anonymity and the way the figures are colourless and seem to be vanishing compared to the detail of the landscape, suggests ephemerality, emphasizing the difference between these pictures and the formal portraits perhaps even more than their complete absence might. The watercolours may be an attempt at inclusivity but rather than commemorate the 'other', the constrast in their style, form and positioning tends to reinforce the idea of a generalized other whose primarily role is to support the organization and its dominant members. Collectively, the oil and watercolour paintings, and Keele Hall as a commemorative space, communicate a relatively narrow set of conditions governing who will and who will not be remembered; and thus which lives are positioned as 'mattering'.

Drawing on Casey (2000), we would argue that taken together, these portraits, their framing, gaze and context (Acevedo, 2014) materialize and perpetuate commemorative exclusions in two inter-related ways. First, through a repression of difference, the commemorative painting adorning the walls of Keele Hall evoke (for us at least) a feeling of being both familiar and strange at the same time; that is, of being there but of not being recognized as such. We sensed this primarily as women academics, in relation to our identities and the context of the conference. But given the complex fusions and formations that constitute identities (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Collinson, 2003; Skeggs, 1997), we would anticipate that for many others who encounter the commemorative oil paintings considered above, they would also evoke a sense of 'not-belonging' through their (literal and symbolic) elevation of narrow ideals of white, middle or upper class, middle aged, able bodied hegemonic masculinity. The contrast between the paintings, their framing and positioning served to reproduce a hierarchy of valued roles within the organization, but also to mark out who would be most likely to be found in those roles: we see a placing against each other of the

typical characteristics of 'men's work' and 'women's work' (Bradley, 1989). Second, in this respect, their repetitive imagery is deeply unsettling; through repetition, the constant recurrence of particular images produces a sense of being surrounded by disembodied 'doubles' (Freud, 2003), or clones of idealized human forms[ix].

This exclusion or marginalization of difference means that, within Keele Hall as a commemorative setting, there are multiple pictures echoing the same theme – the 'great man' – and although there may be minor changes of stance or dress, they typically provide mirror images of the same. Of course this sameness is in itself significant: it is a valorised sameness that *excludes* difference and which, in doing so, negates the organization's Other, past and present. It reproduces a selective, exclusionary idealization of particular ways of being that separates off the wider, more diverse collectivity of the organization and reproduces hierarchical power relations. We see this not just in the subjects of the portraits, but also in their substance - in their framing, gaze, composition and context (Acevedo, 2014, Rose, 2007); they communicate who and what matters in a way that sits uncomfortably with espoused commitments to equality, with the watercolours seeming to materialize simply a failed, rhetorical attempt at inclusivity[x]. We turn now to consider a setting that suggests alternative ways of commemorating, materializing an ethos of openness rather than of exclusion.

Commemorative openness: Sackville Gardens, Manchester

Sackville Gardens in Manchester, UK is a small city park bounded by Canal Street (the heart of Manchester's Gay Village) and various college buildings. At the time of writing it has four memorials among its paths, lawns and flower beds: the Tree of Light which was planted on World AIDS Day, 1993; the Beacon of Hope (see Figure

Six), erected in 2000 as a memorial to victims of AIDS/HIV; a statue of Alan Turning, 'the father of modern computing', unveiled in 2001; and the Transgender Remembrance Memorial, established in 2013, the first of its kind in the world to commemorate those who have lost their lives as a result of trans-phobia.

Figure Six: The Beacon of Hope, Sackville Gardens, Manchester

The Gardens, then, are a very different kind of commemorative setting from the one discussed above – and deliberately so. We have included Sackville Gardens here as a way to produce a contrast and a disjuncture that might disrupt the 'sameness' and 'repetition' of a more traditional commemorative setting such as Keele Hall. We could have continued with our discussion of commemorative portraits here, as there have been some attempts to re-think and re-organize the use of organizational portraiture. For example, Aston University in the UK has recently commissioned a series of fifty portraits of men and women from a range of backgrounds who are current members of the institution and the University of Sydney has commissioned

two portraits of academic women as an attempt to represent its commitment to gender equality. Similarly, Oxford University has chosen to add 25 commissioned portraits of women who have been associated with the institution to go on permanent display in the Grade 1 listed Exam School. Trudy Coe, who oversaw the commissioning of the Oxford portraits explained to us that underpinning the project was a belief that 'who you see on the wall matters'[xi]. Another similarly reflexive project has been undertaken at the Stockholm School of Economics, evaluating the symbolic and aesthetic qualities of the Board Room, and the paintings displayed on its walls, based on the conviction that the past 'matters' to the ways in which organizational members are perceived in the present[xii]. However, we consider the Gardens here as a poignant example of how commemoration might be organized differently, beyond the confines of traditional portraiture and Halls, emphasizing a more inclusive, immersive, and inter-subjective commemorative recognition (Butler, 2004; Casey, 2000). It is for this reason that our critique of commemorative portraiture would still stand we feel, even if the portraits at Keele (or elsewhere) were more ostensibly inclusive. For us, it is not just the content of who and what is depicted in commemorative portraits that perpetuates a particular identity norm. It is also the nature of the medium itself, in particular its conditioning of the relationship between the subject and the viewer, that (drawing on Casey's critique) we consider to be particularly problematic.

To elaborate a little, in order to draw out the different possibilities for commemoration that the Gardens suggest, we explore three points of contrast with the portraiture at Keele Hall. Our first point is that within the memorial gardens there is a diversity of materials and forms. In comparison to the formalized repetition of style and presentation of organizational portraiture, the memorials in the Gardens are all different, both from conventional memorials and from each other. More abstract forms

inviting touch and interaction, taking commemoration beyond individual bodies in human form, into something more inter-corporeal and collective, replace the implied patrilinearity of the portraits of 'great men' at Keele Hall. This contrasts markedly with the repetition of particular themes in the frame, gaze and context of the commemorative portraits discussed above. The memorials are not placed so as to create an aesthetic whole in a planned or structured way. There are a multiplicity of symbols and tactile elements. This material and symbolic diversity materializes an ethos of commemoration based on an inter-subjective recognition of the negated Other, opening up the potential for a radical alternative to organizational meaning and memory making that reminds us of our mutual vulnerabilities, and invites us to share this poignancy rather than exclude or co-opt difference[xiii].

Park (2016) describes a similar example of this multiplicity and openness in relation to the public memorials that arose at the Pulse site following the shootings in Orlando in June 2016. As Park (2016: 5) explains, these memorials acknowledged the specificity of the lives lost in so far as they 'took on the aesthetic qualities of Hispanic graveyards with an LGBTQ twist: crosses were laced with Mardi Gras beads, vigil candles were left behind in holders emblazoned with the Virgin of Guadalupe, Puerto Rican flags were interspersed with rainbow flags, and sea shells were arranged around Pule signs'. Emphasizing the political and ethical potential attached to this commemorative multiplicity, Park argues that this collective recognition of the specificities of the lives lost, and the multiplicity attached to practices and artifacts of remembering, 'at their best, can become organized networks of care that support grievers and networks of solidarity' (Park, 2016: 5).

This links to our second point of contrast: that the Gardens are an open participative setting, creating a space for moving around and engaging with the

memorials. Whereas the commemorative portraits discussed above require deferential passivity, framed and positioned as they are so that they dominate their setting and literally (as well as symbolically) have to be looked up to, the Gardens invite an active engagement; they beckon connection in a setting that seems to materialize an ethos of openness to the Other. For example, the design of the statue of Alan Turing is deliberately not monumental compared to traditional commemorative bronze figures placed on high plinths. [xiv] Visitors can sit next to Turing as if able to have a conversation with him (see Figure Seven).
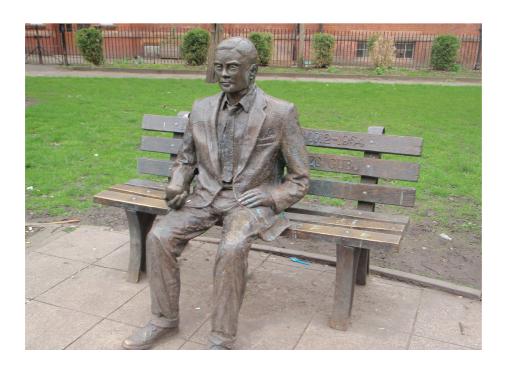

Figure Seven: Statue of Alan Turing, Sackville Gardens, Manchester

Indeed, while spending time in the Gardens, we noted several visitors sitting with the Turing on the statue. In this way, embodied interactions with the memorials are encouraged; unlike elevated, 'double hung' portraits they invite touch. When we

visited, there were the remains of red roses on the Transgender Memorial and red ribbons tied around trees, a trace of this commemorative participation.

Thirdly, the Gardens convey a sense of an inclusive community of commemoration that embraces both the memory of individual past members and the possibility of collective change in the future. As an example, the Transgender Memorial is twelve feet high, and was carved *in situ* by Shane Green from a sycamore tree showing butterflies emerging from the chrysalis (see Figure Eight).

Figure Eight: Transgender memorial, Sackville Gardens, Manchester

The memorial was erected by and collectively represents the transgender community, while individual plaques placed on the memorial acknowledge deaths by murder or suicide of some members of the community. Whereas in Keele Hall commemoration is premised upon patterns of repetition thereby repressing the Other, in the Gardens,

the Other seems to be evoked more reflexively, precisely as a commemorative recognition of processes of negation and marginalization. Because of this reflexive shift, our sense is that the Gardens are a poignant example of a potentially radical re-organization of what it means to commemorate within and through organized settings. To borrow from Casey (2000), the Gardens arguably materialize a commemorative ethos of 'remembering as recognition' that contrasts with the 'forgetting' that characterizes more traditional forms.

The Gardens are peaceful and contemplative, but they are also the focus of active, participatory commemorative and celebratory events, including World AIDS Day and the Transgender Day of Remembrance, when memorial services and candlelit vigils are held. They are also the setting for Manchester's Sparkle Festival, which celebrates the trans community, and they are a focal point for the Manchester Pride LGBT festival. The Gardens were the setting for a candlelit vigil and series of events marking the LGBTQ lives lost at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida in June 2016 (see Park, 2016). In stark contrast to the commemorative settings discussed above, these community events embody and enact collective remembrance; in Casey's (2000: 217) terms, they materialize a sense of commemoration as 'a matter of something thoroughly communal', a direction in which Rowlinson et al (2010) urge organizational commemoration to move. On occasion literally, and otherwise symbolically so, within this setting 'we are thrust headlong into a crowd of co-rememberers' (Casey, 2000: 217). The references to disease and death, and to medical tests and treatments in the textual materials that form part of the memorials to those who have died from AIDS/HIV related illnesses serve as poignant reminders of our shared, inter-corporeal vulnerability (Butler, 2004); the lived, fleshy bodies of those who are commemorated are recognized as vulnerable and ephemeral, in contrast to the

evoked invincibility and implied longevity of the 'great men' depicted in the portraits at Keele Hall. As we experience this particular space, we are immersed into an embodied process of collective remembrance based not on a forgetting of the Other, but on a commemorative recognition of those who have been violently persecuted and demeaned.

Further, Sackville Gardens enables us to explore the ambiguities and contradictions of memorialization, a possibility facilitated through its very openness compared to formally organized and organizational settings. The inclusion of Turing's statue here illustrates a tension between the commemoration of an individual as a representative of those who have been victim to prejudice and exclusion, and the potential for the focus on an individual to obscure the collective identities and experiences of those who have been persecuted. As Grey has noted (2012), in these circumstances there is a tendency for organizational memory to become mythologized and even sentimentalized, as Turing's association with the wartime code-breaking at Bletchley Park has arguably facilitated. Yet, what the particular setting of the Gardens, its relative openness and interactive tactility, combined with the textual material woven into its design and memorabilia arguably facilitates is a commemorative, collective recognition of those 'Other others'. So just as we are invited to recognize Turing's suffering, so we are encouraged to think of Turing not just in terms of his own persecution, or even his individual achievements, but as part of a wider community who might otherwise (and elsewhere) have been 'forgotten' in Casey's (2000) terms.

Yet while the openness of the park materializes inclusiveness, it also allows for the possibility of other forms of violence and exclusion. For example, the Transgender Memorial was vandalized within days of it being erected. However, as the chair of the

Friends of Sackville Gardens said, this violence is part of what the Gardens represent as a commemorative space in so far as it re-enacts the experiences of trans people throughout their lives; violations of the space signify LGBTQ people's struggle within and through the materiality of the setting. This risk is both a physical one, but also an ethical and political one; as Butler (2004) emphasizes, opening oneself up to the Other always carries with it the risk of violence. Thus, despite or perhaps because of this, the Gardens can be seen as an alternative way of organizing commemoration; they reject a traditional approach that tends to reproduce existing hierarchies of valuing and recognition, in favour of a collective, commemorative ethic materialized in several ways in the Gardens, in addition to their physical openness.

At the risk of imposing our own interpretation on this site and its significance in this respect, we sense that within the conditions of possibility materialized in Sackville Gardens, unintelligible lives, those whose lives don't otherwise 'matter' become collectively remembered. Through the counter-narratives materialized in this setting otherwise eradicated pasts and struggles are recognized, as Rowlinson et al (2010) and Sørensen, (2014) have advocated. We are encouraged to engage inter-subjectively with the negated Other that more conventional forms of remembering depend upon. In this sense, the Gardens materialize a commemorative ethos that takes us, as Casey (2000: 309) puts it, 'beyond ourselves'.

Discussion: Towards a commemorative openness

Casey's (2000) phenomenological account of commemoration helps us to develop a critique of traditional forms of organizational commemoration and to explore the radical potential that alternative commemorative settings such as the Gardens open up

in several important ways. First, Casey frames remembering as a performative act through which 'acts of past recognition … aid in the constitution of the present' (Casey, 2000: 123). As he puts it, 'this sort of bodily remembering might usefully be termed 'performative' remembering' (Casey, 2000: 148) in so far as the immanence of the past becomes embodied in the present through repeated acts of remembering and through the repetition of particular commemorative motifs. He links this bodily memory to the materiality of place. Thus it is our lived, embodied experience of the artefacts of commemoration that creates 'the co-immanence of past and present' (Casey 2000: 169). This is also significant to the experience of being *displaced*: 'Not to know where we are is torment and not to have a sense of place is a most sinister deprivation' (Russell 1981, cited in Casey 2000: 195). Hence to encounter commemorative practices and artefacts that make one feel 'out of place' has a powerful effect on the experience of belonging and recognition, not only perpetuating but idealizing past exclusions.

Second, in this sense, Casey connects this process specifically to the constitution of idealized ways of being, arguing that through acts of consolidation, identities marked by sameness become settled and situated, 'acting in concert … as a coherent and customary entity' (Casey, 2000: 151), so that past recognition provides the conditions necessary for intelligible perception in the present. To borrow from Casey, this means that in organizational terms, membership conditions become fixed through the commemoration of past members and through communicating their shared characteristics. It is precisely because these conditions become 'fixed' in the past, yet are not just mobilized but seemingly idealized in the present, that they function as powerful mechanisms through which particular subjects are valued and validated, while others are constrained or negated. This combination of longevity and apparent

fixity means that these conditions of membership and the idealized subjects they shape, exist as part of what appears to be a benign backdrop. This suggests that the idealized organizational member is brought into being in the present through the mobilization of a perceptually 'fixed' past. To illustrate this latter point, Casey himself provides the (hypothetical) example of a commemorative painting which 'possesses the quality of being *finally and fully* expressive of itself, auto-iconic… [in] the sense of having-come-already-into-its-own' (Casey, 2000: 127, *emphasis added*). This emphasizes the extent to which, as a form of recognition, commemoration constitutes a process of organization through which who or what is to be remembered comes to be classified, categorized and hierarchically ordered and hence, 'made to matter', in Butler's (1993) terms.

To recap, we have argued that traditional artefacts and commemorative settings such as portraiture organize which subjects or members come to matter most. This depends upon a 'remembering as forgetting' (Casey, 2000), where those who are not commemorated in the same way constitute an Other that is negated or marginalized. We illustrate our argument with reference to commemorative portraiture at Keele Hall, showing how the idealised member depends upon a repetition of sameness and a repression of difference, one that frames (both metaphorically and literally) who and what 'matters'. Recognising this dynamic, through which narrowly configured social norms governing the conferral or denial of recognition are perpetuated, highlights the negation of the Other on which the 'framing' of idealized forms of the organizational subject depends.

In the example of Keele Hall, the Other is repressed within a hierarchy of recognition by being marginalized or portrayed in such a way that draws attention to difference, through not conforming to conventions of portraiture that have historically

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conferred value. Practices of repetition serve as reminders of the repressed nature of the commemorative Other that evoke those who belong and those who do not. In the framing, gaze and context of the portraits on display, the Other is excluded through its absence, or relegation to a secondary, peripheral presence. The gardener, the woman vacuuming and the woman who is depicted in the form of a geisha, are kept in their place, both physically and metaphorically.

In his critique, Casey (2000) makes an important ethico-political distinction between commemoration characterized by distance and deference and an embodied, collective, commemorative immersion. The former, we argue, can be discerned as the predominant mode of the commemorative portraiture and settings discussed above. In comparison, rather than an objectified or reified sense of the past as being 'settled and actual' (Casey, 2000: 174), in the ethos underpinning the more immersive commemoration materialized in the Gardens, the body becomes the lived site of a co-presence of past and present, self and other. The Gardens, in this respect, constitute an alternative site of commemorative immersion that illustrates the organizational potential of Casey's distinction. In contrast to materializing an exclusionary ethos of commemoration, such as that which we encountered at Keele Hall, the Gardens take us into an ethics of commemoration premised upon a mutual recognition of multiplicity and embodied vulnerability.

In this respect, the Gardens highlight for us the radical potential of a recognition-based 'remembering' of the Other, drawing on Casey's understanding of commemoration as an embodied process of recognition premised upon an ethic of openness to Otherness rather than a commemorative erasure of difference. Following Casey (2000), we would argue that this is an ethos that forms the basis for a radical politics of commemoration that moves us beyond the more traditional organizational

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artefacts and practices discussed above. In Casey's (2000: 251) terms, as 'representation cedes place to participation' an alternative commemorative ethos potentially emerges, moving from discrete individuals to collective sociality and from passive deference to inter-active, 'reciprocal engagement', an ethos that we argue is materialized in the Gardens, and that Park (2016) discusses in a similar vein with reference to the queer politics underpinning the Pulse memorials in Orlando. In these forms, commemoration becomes 'an essentially *inter*personal action … undertaken not only in relation *to* others and *for* them but also *with* them in a common action of communalizing' (Casey, 2000: 225, *original emphasis*) creating a commemorative sociality premised upon a mutual recognition of the ways in which we are intertwined.

Concluding thoughts

In conclusion, our aim in this paper has been to develop a critical, reflexive account of organizational commemoration that enables us to understand more about the dynamics of how the latter is lived, experienced and made meaningful within and through organizational processes and settings. As such, we have presented an analysis of two different commemorative settings in order to examine the reflection and reproduction of hierarchies of organizational recognition, emphasizing how the valorization of sameness that is achieved through the portraits at Keele Hall is premised upon a corollary process of 'forgetting' that marginalizes difference.

The theoretical approach that we have taken throughout the paper has sought to emphasize that commemoration is both an organizational process and a process of organization, one that classifies, categorizes and orders who and what 'matters' hierarchically (Beyes and Steyaert 2013). This processual approach is premised on the belief that organizational commemoration is something that we do and, therefore, that

we might enact and embody differently, thereby 'undoing', in Butler's (2004) terms, hegemonic, hierarchical ways of remembering. Through the management of meaning and materiality, organizations perpetuate a relatively narrow set of norms governing who and what is worthy of remembrance. As well as contributing to a critique of the politics of organizational commemoration, our analysis has sought to emphasize how commemoration might be organized differently, through a more collective, inter-subjective form of commemoration than allowed for in the more traditional organizational artefacts and practices considered above.

Our closing (rhetorical) question would therefore be, if we are to 'undo' commemoration as it is currently practiced and materialized within organizational settings, how might we 'redo' it, so as to do it differently, in such a way as to recognize rather than negate the commemorative Other of organizations past, present and future? In thinking through this question, we have examined here a commemorative site that, in contrast to the traditional settings considered above, we argue opens up the potential for an organizational commemoration that is collective in its ethics, aesthetics and politics. In doing so, it potentially provides a radical alternative to the negation and normalization, the repression and repetition that characterizes traditional forms of organizational commemoration. Rather than render the Other 'interminably spectral' as Butler puts it (2004: 34), such commemorative openness to the Other, based upon an inter-corporeal, mutual recognition and a commemorative ethos of openness, undoes the idealized organizational subjects that are predominantly materialized in traditional forms of organizational 'remembering as forgetting' (Casey, 2000). In other words, a commemorative ethos premised upon a recognition-based ethics has the potential to 'undo' both past and present undoings and (literally) re-frame who and what matters within organizational life.

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[i] Although our primary empirical focus here is on artefacts of commemoration – in the form of organizational portraits - we argue throughout our analysis that to fully understand the socio-materiality of organizational commemoration, we must consider the interrelationship between commemorative artefacts, rituals, practices and settings. As Dale (2005: 652, *emphasis added*) explains, 'materiality is imbued with culture, language, imagination, *memory*; it cannot be reduced to mere object or objectivity'.

[ii] Our analysis focuses on commemorative portraits in a particular organizational setting that we ourselves frequent as University-based researchers. It is a space and setting in which we ostensibly feel 'at home', recognized and valued and which we are relatively free to occupy, yet at the same time it is a setting in which we have each experienced the relative discomfort of being positioned as not belonging. In this respect, our focus is largely on gender, as we each share a sense of being both 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in academia *as women*, although our analysis connects to other aspects of identity such as social class, race and ethnicity, age and embodiment and we focus on intersections between these various aspects of identity in our discussion.

[iii] We use the term 'embodied' here and throughout the paper to refer to the connection between lived experiences of subjectivity and the body's socio-materiality. An embodied ethics refers to a relational ethics premised upon a mutual recognition of our embodied relationality and hence our shared, inter-corporeal vulnerability. (For examples of recent calls for the development of a more embodied, relational ethics within organization studies see Hancock, 2008; Pullen and Rhodes, 2013, 2015.)

[iv] Based on Weber's (1978) thinking, the term 'social closure' is used here to refer to the maintenance of a privileged social and organizational position, and therefore access to and control of resources, as a result of processes of demarcation and exclusion. See also Parkin (1979) for a discussion of social closure and class, and Witz, (1990) and Witz and Savage (1992) for a critique of gender and social closure in professional work.

[v] In this respect, we recognize the specificity of our own perceptions, those that we share as white, middle class women who are academics, and those that differ between us.

[vi] Of course not all University buildings are used for commemorative purposes. While many may be named or dedicated, or are adorned with traditional commemorative artefacts such as portraits, others are much more open and fluid. Our analytical focus here, however, is on a particular space that does have such a commemorative function.

[vii] Of course until quite recently, universities were workplaces dominated by white, middle and upper class men occupying relatively powerful institutional and social positions (see Fotaki, 2013). Our concern is that this historical patterning is sustained through traditional forms of commemoration that effectively undermine a more

contemporary commitment to equality, or to a more equitable distribution of organizational power relations and of representation and recognition. This is not necessarily overt or purposeful, but it is nevertheless powerful in its effects. That portraiture does not simply recall the past but reproduces legitimacy, through the display of embodied examples of academic excellence helps to support this. We are not suggesting that this is somehow incontestable or all-encompassing, simply that these are powerful mechanisms through which past exclusions and normative regimes continue to impact upon the present.

[viii] Geisha are traditional Japanese female entertainers who act as hostesses, performing various arts such as classical music and dance, primarily to entertain male customers (the closest literal translation of the Japanese terms *gei* and *sha* are 'art person' or performance artist – see Dalby, 1983). The white make-up and elaborate kimono and hair styling depicted in this painting are all associated with the popular image of a geisha, particularly outside of Japan, but are more likely to signify that the woman in the painting is a *maiko* or apprentice geisha (Dalby, 1993).

[ix] As Latimer (2013) emphasizes, what portraits depict in Freudian terms are the 'double', which in its objectification in a work of art detaches the individual from his or her lived, embodied form.

[x] This is, of course, in no sense particular to Keele Hall or the University, on the contrary. We simply discuss this particular example here to illustrate our emphasis on organizational commemoration as a process of 'remembering as forgetting' (Casey, 2000) as it was while taking part in the *Gender, Work and Organization* conference 2012, that we began to develop our interest in this theme, prompted by the disjuncture between the conference and its setting. It is important to note that, like many universities and other significant public buildings or spaces, the University also has a memorial garden:
https://www.keele.ac.uk/supportkeele/howcanisupport/memorialgarden/

[xi] For further details on these projects, see:
http://www.aston.ac.uk/about/news/releases/2011/january/aston-people-project/;
http://sydney.edu.au/sydney_ideas/lectures/2017/portraits and place forum.shtml, and
http://www.hertford.ox.ac.uk/hertford-college-women-portrait-display. To understand more about the Oxford project, we undertook a telephone interview with Trudy Coe, the project organizer, on 18th April 2017.

[xii] For further details of the Board Room project at the Stockholm School of Economics, see: https://www.hhs.se/en/outreach/art-initiative/the-board-room---introduction/

[xiii] An important risk associated with commemorative spaces such as the Gardens however is what Park (2016: 3) calls 'grief tourism' or 'conspicuous compassion' whereby the specificities of the lives of those commemorated, and the community ethos of the spaces themselves become subject to co-optation and a potential 'straightening' of grief. Park writes about this with reference to the social media response to the Orlando shootings, but we were acutely aware of this ourselves when we visited the Gardens, especially when taking photographs, feeling that we were somehow 'capturing' the space in a way that objectified those involved, integrating them into our own performance outputs without their knowledge or consent. For a similar discussion of how this process occurred in relation to Manchester's 'Gay Village' in and around Canal Street, see Binnie and Skeggs (2004). Ahmed (2004) also warns of the dangers of this co-optation when she argues that a cultural

appropriation of grief runs the risk of transforming loss into 'our' loss, or convert loss into a political project, thereby wrenching loss away from 'Others'.

[xiv]Turing (1912–1954) was a British mathematician whose contributions are seen as central to the development of modern computing, through his work at Cambridge in the 1930s, which laid the theoretical bases for computing, and particularly his code-breaking work in the Second World War. He was a victim of state persecution when, in 1952, he was convicted of gross indecency under Section 11 of the Sexual Offences Amendment Act 1885. Following his conviction, Turing accepted chemical castration rather than go to jail; and is recorded as having committed suicide in 1954, although this verdict is contested. He is shown in the statue holding an apple, a symbol of forbidden love as well as the fruit of the tree of knowledge, but also thought to be the means of Turing's suicide (by an apple laced with cyanide).