



ABSTRACT

December 17th marks the International Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers. Historically, on this day sex workers carry red umbrellas and march through the streets of large cities to fight for their rights, reduce stigma, and to make their presence visible in a city. In 2016 Changing Lives organised the first of these marches in Newcastle upon Tyne. We joined sex workers, support workers, police, and other supporters on this march as well as the remembrance service that took place afterwards. Through ethno-mimesis, we recorded our experiences of the march and subsequent service, focusing on the use of digital technologies. Between the march and the service, we also encouraged attendants to partake in our 'red umbrellas' activity. Here we used the open source JigsAudio tool to begin to craft a living activist archive of Newcastle's experiences on the International Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers.

With this activity, we have supported Changing Lives service delivery, while simultaneously developing a digital archive of sex worker voices. To our knowledge, this is the first time that experiences of those marching to end violence against sex workers are archived in this format. We archive the voices in a hybrid craft where playful crafting is mixed with tangible technologies to develop a space where the archive is manifested not only through the digital audio recording of voices, but also through the tangible crafted artefact.



We would like to take this opportunity to say a huge thank you to everyone who helped organise and took part in the first Red Umbrella march and the service that followed this in Newcastle on December 15th 2016. We also want to thank everyone who decorated a red umbrella and those who shared a message with us. A special thank you goes out to Sarah, without whom this activity could not have taken place. Also, thank you to Zander for building JigsAudio and letting us use it for this activity.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2016 Changing Lives organised the first Red Umbrella March to mark International Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers (IDEVASW). Since we had been working with some of the service users and members of staff in different ways already, we heard about this exciting event early on in the organisational phase. We take an activist stance in our research, so we wanted to support the organisation in whatever way we could in the organisation of this day, and from conversations around this the idea of the building of an archive started to emerge. The imagery used in this project stems from the imagery used by sex workers to mark this important day in the sex worker calendar: red umbrellas.

The aims of the project were to understand the ways in which Changing Lives staff, service users, and supporters interact with digital technologies on this important day, and to develop implications for future technologies to be used by Changing Lives (and others) on IDEVASW in the future. We did this through exploratory research practice as well as the trialing of a novel digital technology that developed out of existing collaborations with Changing Lives.

As we were discussing potential projects we could collaborate on, we mentioned that Open Lab had developed an easy to use tool to record experiences of an event through tangible artefacts. Combining this technology with our own creative research methods, and changing lives' service user-led and person centred initiatives we developed the idea of our activity. Fitting with the day, we laser cut thin wood into umbrellas and collected a variety of different craft materials in different shades of red. These materials were then used to decorate the umbrella, and with the help of a technology called JigsAudio (see pg x), we started to create a living activist archive of IDEVASW.

The methods we used in this project are based on ideas of O'Neill's ethno-mimesis (O'Neill et al. 2006; O'Neill & Hubbard 2010) and research through design (Zimmerman et al. 2007). In this way, the focus is on ethnographic field notes, experiential walking, and researcher reflections. We make use of pictures that were taken on the day, researcher field notes that are based on our own experiences as well as conversations with staff and service users, as well as an audio-recorded 1.5 hour reflection of Janis and Angelika. This recording took place after the event had finished and we had come back to the research lab to reflect on the day. This recording was then transcribed and analysed in relation to the sections outlined in this report. All direct quotes from the research seen in this report stem from this transcribed reflection. Since Annie Sprinkle, one of the founders of IDEVASW, describes the day as "always a deeply moving experience" (Sprinkle n.d.) we entered the space carefully, respectfully, and as supporters. We do not want to infringe on the space and do not want to 'research' sex workers who engage with it. Because of this, we do not use the recordings of the archive as part of our data, and instead focused on the ways in which digital technologies are used to support the reflexive, personal, and collective remembrance of the day.

In this report, we provide a brief overview of the importance of and symbolism used in this day before delving into the use of digital technologies during the march in Newcastle. We describe the march and multi-media service to remember those who have been lost before providing an overview of the activity we carried out. Then, we provide instructions on how the beginnings of the living activist archive were crafted before reflecting on the ways in which this could be reproduced, focusing on which elements were particularly important. We end the report with implications for designs of potential technologies to support IDEVASW.

THE RED UMBREUM

December 17th marks International Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers. The day was initiated by Annie Sprinkle and her colleagues at the Sex Workers Outreach Project USA (SWOP-USA), an American sex worker rights organisation, in 2003 as a response to the Green River Killer. Gary Ridgeway confessed to having murdered 90 women in the Seattle, US area over 27 years. In a public letter, Annie Sprinkle writes: "When Ridgeway was finally caught, I felt a need to memorialize my whore sisters that had died so horribly and needlessly. I cared, and I knew other people cared too. So I got together with Robyn Few, Founder of the Sex Worker Outreach Project, and SWOP members Stacey Swimme and Michael Fowley, and we claimed Dec. 17th as the International Day to End violence Against Sex Workers." (Sprinkle n.d.).

Sex workers, allies, charities, and others have worked across the globe to organise events on IDEVASW for the last 13 years. And in 2016, Newcastle joined the growing number of cities and towns that carry out public events. Changing Lives opted to host a public red umbrella march and semi-public vigil to remember those who have been lost in the last year.

The Red Umbrella is a symbol of resistance to discrimination for sex workers. It was recogenised as such by the International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe (ICRSE) in 2005, but was allegedly first introduced in Venice, Italy in 2001. It was used by Tadej Pogacar, a Slovenian artist who collaborated with sex workers, to create the "Prostitute Pavillion" and CODE: RED art installation at the 49th Venice Biennale of Art. As part of this installation, sex workers marched along the geography of the social history of sex workers, using red umbrellas and megaphones to draw attention to the bad working conditions and human rights abuses they face (International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe (ICRSE) 2015).

The ICRSE explains the choice of symbolism in a blog post on their website: "Red is a color of beauty and an umbrella is the resistance to sky's and humans' attacks. It symbolizes protection from the abuse and discrimination faced by sex workers everywhere but it is also a symbol of our strength. Continuing this tradition and in honour of all sex workers who dare to resist oppression everywhere, the ICRSE adopts the red umbrella as a symbol of sex worker rights." (International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe (ICRSE) 2015)

At the end of this same blog post, the ICRSE asks us to share the imagery of the red umbrella publically, and in her public letter, Sprinkle calls on us all to "Start organizing now!" (Sprinkle n.d.) because we will be glad if we do, signing off "In whore pride solidarity" (ibid.).

TEN WAYS TO PARTICIPATE IN IDTEVASIO BY ANNUE SPRINKLE

- 1. Organize a vigil/memorial/gathering in your town. Simply choose a place and time. Invite people to bring their stories, writings, thoughts, related news items, poems, lists of victims, performances, and memories. Take turns sharing.
- 2. Organize or attend a candlelight vigil in a public place.
- 3. Do something at home alone which has personal meaning, such as a memorial bath, or light a candle.
- 4. Call a friend and discuss the topic.
- 5. Send a donation to a group that helps sex workers stay safer. Some teach self-defense or host web sites that caution workers about bad Johns. Donate to Sex Worker Outreach Project.
- 6. Read the Sex Workers Outreach Project www.swopusa.org, Do let others know about any planned Dec. 17 events by listing them on the site
- 7. Spread the word about the Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers and the issues it raises; blog, email, send a press release, forward this text to others.
- 8. Attend a Dec. 17th Day to End Violence event/action/memorial. Everyone is welcome.
- 9. Organize a panel discussion about violence towards sex workers. Procure a community space and invite speakers like sex workers, police, and families of victims.
- 10. Create your own way to participate. People have done celebrations, Xmas caroling, protests at jails, lobbying at City Halls, naked women reading whore writings, performance art, visual art projects, and other creative, fun and moving things.

The rest of her public letter can be found here: http://www.december17.org/about/from-annie-sprinkle/



DESCRIBING THE MARCH

Changing Lives service users, staff, and volunteers, as well as Northumbria Police worked together to organise Newcastle's first Red Umbrella March in December 2016. This was a client led initiative to show pride in doing sex work, but also to remember those who have been lost throughout the years due to different forms of violence. Here, we describe the day, focusing on the use of digital technologies throughout the build-up to, and the march itself.

As part of our reflection, we drew the path that was taken on the map to the right. The two different colours represent different stages of the march: the pink represents the path taken before the march itself started, and the purple line represents the path taken on the march itself. The circle with the cross in it represents the church in which we met before the march. but it is also the place where the service after the march took place. The triangle that is outlined in purple and coloured in with pink is the location where we congregated before the march and waited for others to join us before it started. It was here that police officers joined the march and that a journalist from a local radio station interviewed some of the marchers.

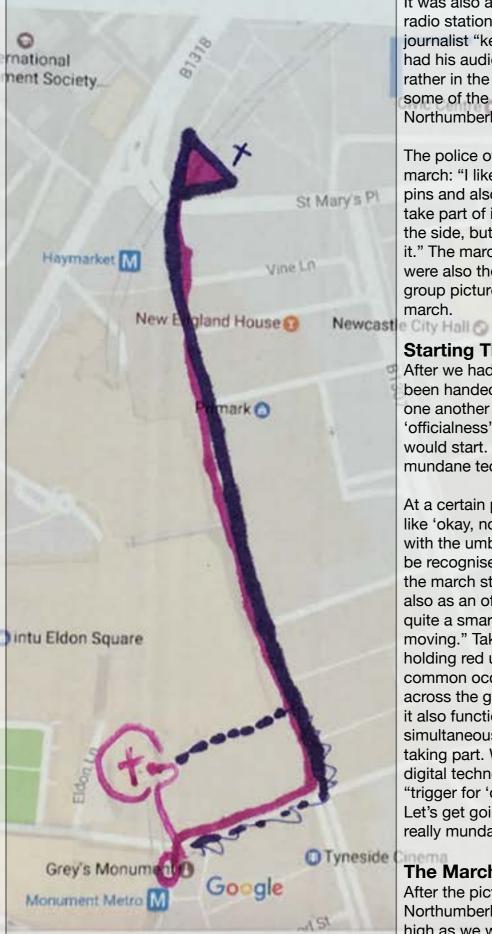
Meeting Up Before The March

The initial meeting point we had decided on was Bunswick Church. There we met some members of staff from Changing Lives, but nobody we knew yet. We were able to leave the wooden umbrellas and red materials for our activity here before heading to Monument to meet the rest of the team from Changing Lives who will be marching. It was here that we waited for Sarah, the member of staff from Changing Lives we knew best at this time. While there, mobile phones were used both by staff and service users to communicate with others either through phone calls or sms. Questions like 'when is x going to arrive?' and 'is y going to join us too?' were common, and were often answered after a look at a phone screen. We also saw that members of staff and service users were standing together, but slightly apart, hugging each other upon arrival, making it clear that the relationships that are built through service delivery are more than traditional case work; that they are relationships between people, bringing to life the people-centred approach that Changing Lives promotes through their website.

Based on our reflection, we were all "standing in a big circle and not everyone knew each other, [but] some demonstrated a, like, a very closeness. I mean, just the way, for example some people greeted each other [...it was...] visualising like 'oh we're close!'". Researcher A added to this: "it's a very kind of friendly and inclusive space, I think!"

After a small group had collected next to the Metro station at Monument, umbrellas and pins were handed out for people to hold onto until the march itself started. "We were standing there and we were just holding the umbrellas and meeting some of the other people and there was more handing out of umbrellas and more handing out of the buttons." Once everyone that was expected had arrived we started to walk towards Northumberland street, very quickly walking up towards the civic centre. We stopped walking again at the top of Northumberland street where St Mary's Place and the Great North Road meet.

"This whole gathering in front of the statue and how people were positioning themselves. In some ways it was almost like a little mini-protest in itself through togetherness. Everyone is assembled in this kind of mini-square where a lot of people have to go through. And I think it actually got a little bit of an extra mini-protest for some individuals being rather on the side where a lot of people have to squeeze themselves through. They way how they were handing out the information flyer with the pins was almost like a little bit provocative. Like: 'Here you go! You need to take this!' but it was only happening because they were there in their small group



surrounded by the big group."

It was also at this point that a journalist from a local radio station as well as police officers met us. The journalist "kept really in the background [...] he had his audio recorder with him, but uhm, he kept rather in the background." But we saw him interview some of the people marching while walking down Northumberland street. Gallery North

The police officers were more integrated into the march: "I liked how the police was even putting on the pins and also taking some pins to hand out and really take part of it. Okay, they were standing a little bit on the side, but they were definitely a supportive part of it." The march itself was led by a police woman. They were also the only ones' who's faces were seen on the group picture that was taken at the beginning of the march. University

Newcastle.

Starting The March

After we had gathered, pins and umbrellas had been handed out, and everyone had said hello to one another we needed "a little bit of this kind of 'officialness' in some way" to say that the march would start. This was done through the use of a mundane technology: photography.

At a certain point, the following occurred: "there was like 'okay, now we are going to take this group photo with the umbrellas covering our faces so nobody can be recognised.' And taking this group photo before the march starts but at the same time, this served also as an official starting point. So that was actually quite a smart way of actually getting the group really moving." Taking this kind of picture, one of people holding red umbrellas in front of their faces, is a common occurrence at other red umbrella marches across the globe. In this particular case however, it also functioned as a catalyst for the march that simultaneously created an air of oficiality for those taking part. While there was only a minimal use of digital technologies during the march itself, but the "trigger for 'okay, now we're all together, let's start. Let's get going' that that was triggered by a camera; a really mundane technology."

The March Itself

After the picture was taken, we began walking down Northumberland street, raising the red umbrellas high as we walked. The path of the march took us down Northumberland Street, and then down a side street towards the church we initially met Changing Lives staff. It was during this march, that it became

clear that this march was something that the service users had helped organise: "on the march it ended up actually being very client lead, which I thought was really nice and it was a nice combination of everything." The march was attended by service users, staff, and volunteers from Changing Lives, as well as staff from other connected organisations, police officers, and ourselves as advocates for sex worker rights as well as research collaborators of Changing Lives.

As we were walking, perhaps uncommonly, different people were walking at different speeds. At this particular march however, the different speeds were very apparent: "the front was walking quite quickly, and then there were some people in the middle and I think where we were [in the middle but towards the back] it was like: 'Oh they're going really quick, we should slow it down' and then in the back they were walking really slowly." It affected the ways in which the marchers interacted with the surroundings, and the ways in which others walking up and down Northumberland Street interacted with those on the march: "I think those in the back were also doing a little bit more of the information work, because people see them in the front, and then we come slower so we seem to be more approachable in the back."

Technologies On The March

While it seemed like the only use of digital technology was everyday and private use of mobile phones and smartphones, two other technologies was particularly important during the march: (1) the red umbrellas; and (2) the pins that were attached to a piece of card with information about sex work and the 17th of December.

The red umbrellas were used for the same reason as during the 'Prostitutes Pavillion' (International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe (ICRSE) 2015) in in Venice in 2001: to bring attention to the march. Since the march took place on a busy December Friday, the umbrellas brought about much attention in the shape of looks as well as questions and started conversations from passers-by: "People were handing out the pins and explaining and there were people who came up and asked." To further stimulate conversations, many of us on the march carried pins (mostly people who were not holding umbrellas, but some people held umbrellas and had pins) that were handed out in a similar manner as flyers would be handed out at other activist marches. Based on our experience: "the awareness raising actually worked quite well. Some [passers-by] were really eager to find out."

While the umbrellas were a useful tool for getting attention, it is unclear whether passers-by understood what they were about. While it is a very well known international symbol for sex worker rights in communities associated with sex work, those who do not know much about the fight for sex worker rights are not aware of this symbolism. This was made clear through some of the interactions we had with passers-by on the march: "there were also a couple of people that you, like, many just realised when they got the flyer and then read the capitalised 'Sex Work and Sexual Exploitation' where they were like 'Oh, Okay! But it's a pin, so that's nice'." It was also through the interaction that it became clear that having not only the flyer but also the pin attached to it was very important: "I think it was quite good that they had the pin on it as well as a little gimmick, because that probably makes a couple of people that would shy away otherwise, you know still keep the set of the pin and the paper."

The march ended as we walked down the side alley towards the church at which the service was held. Due to the many different speeds and the spread out nature of the march, everyone walked down the side street at different times, many starting to close and pack away the umbrellas as they did so. It was here that "one of the staff members said actually: 'oh it would be nice to have a group photo again in front of the church' but then half of them were already in" the church.



CRAFTING A LIVING ACTIVIST ARCHIVE FOR IDEVASIVI

Once inside the church, we had roughly half an hour to spend before the service was scheduled to start which resulted in a spontaneous change in schedule of the day: instead of doing the 'red umbrellas' activity after the service, we used the 30 minutes or so to use the activity as a bridge between the march and the multi-media service: "we ended up doing it before the service and had a really slow start. I think there were like one or two women there and then suddenly there was loads of people that wanted to do it".

We used an open-source technology to begin to build a living activist archive of Newcastle's International Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers. We will describe the use of the tool, as well as our activity in the section titled 'Interactive Red Umbrellas' on pg. x, rather here, we want to discuss what we mean with a living activist archive.

Describing it in this way, we place an importance on the unfinished nature of this project. While the day has finished, and we are writing this report as a kind of 'finishing' of the project, it will continue to live on. This report illustrates the activities that took place in December 2016, the first red umbrella marche in Newcastle as well as first iteration of the archive, but this is only a part of the story. In 2017 (and hopefully also years to come after that), the march will take place again, and hopefully so will the red umbrella activity to continue to contribute to the archive of experiences and voices. Due to this nature, the archive is not only something for others to

explore, but where the process of its production in and of itself becomes a materiality of the (un)finished product.

To define the term activist archive we make use of two particular pieces of work: Ferris and Allard's sex work database (Ferris & Allard 2016) and Harris' account of archives and archivists in the context of South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy (Harris 2002). Activist archives embrace and emphasize that archives are socially constructed spaces of struggle over meaning-making (Ferris & Allard 2016) and a "crucible of human experience, a battleground for meaning and significance, a babel of stories, a place and a space of complex and ever-shifting power-plays" (Harris 2002, pg. 85). Particularly when placing an archive in a justice-oriented ecology, they can be a tool to operationalize "particular social justice objectives" (Ferris & Allard 2016, pg.192). With this we mean that we hope to use the collection of stories as a tool for advocacy, for power-shifts in expression of thought.

Since this activity was placed in a context of 'service delivery' of the charity, we forefront the voices of sex workers and other GAP/MAP clients. Similar to Ferris and Allard's sex work database, we see the umbrellas, recordings, and the website that was subsequently created as a translation of our activist intentions into tangible manifestations that are useful for service delivery (the production of these artefacts, and the potential use of these artefacts for personal reflection), but that can simultaneously be used as tools for advocacy through exhibition(s). In this way then, the red umbrellas, their use, and the ways in which non-digital craft, tangible digital interaction, and web-technologies work together the archive is a type of hybrid archive.



GRAFTING OUR LIVING ACTIVIST ARGIIVE

The Red Umbrellas activity was developed in collaboration between Changing Lives staff and us as researchers. It incorporated elements of digital technologies as well as crafting. We had been working alongside some of the Changing Lives staff for roughly half a year before this day to get an understanding of the ways in which the organisation functions, what kinds of activities they incorporate in their service delivery, and to get to know some of the service users prior to this day. Based on this exploratory work, we designed a creative activity that would allow for individual introspection, while also providing a space for exchange and support among those working on the activity at the same time: "it was still quite a low barrier to get engaged for people who were doing it. [...] they found it kind f natural to do [the activity] and I think that's also really because of the [existing service delivery]. They could really relate to it, and I think they had a very positive impression of it". Carrying on from this reflection, we also compared this activity to some of the activities we had heard about or witnessed ourselves from previous Changing Lives service delivery: "If you look at the photos from the workshops as well, a lot of them are about card making, crafting, or something like that. And I think that's kind of why we chose that activity as well, because the whole technology was previously just used with writing on it, or drawing on it, and I specifically chose not to do that because I knew of that history of [service delivery] and the making."

Prior to the day, we borrowed one of our colleagues JigsAudio tool (an open-source digital tool that allows one to record an audio message that is digitally linked to a tangible artefact using RfID technologies). We laser cut umbrella shapes out of 3mm plywood and placed an RfID sticker on the back of each of these. Then, we collected various craft supplies and pens in different shades of red to decorate the wooden umbrellas.

In the church, we placed the supplies on a small table close to the entrance and set up the cardboard JigsAudio tool in a small nook next to this table. We used this little nook to create a little bit of privacy for those wishing to record an audio message to their crafted umbrella. We increased the privacy of the corner by placing a piece of fabric as a curtain to cover the area. Furthermore, we used red and white twine as a pop-up exhibition space in the private nook to display the finished umbrellas. In the little nook, this is what participants did: they placed the umbrella on top of the cardboard box. To start the recording, they pressed a button on the cardboard JigsAudio. Once the recording is finished, they pressed the button again to stop the recording. Then they hung the umbrella on the twine next to the other finished umbrellas.

All in all, we collected 15 decorated umbrellas; these were all decorated by women who either provide or use services the GAP project provides. Not all of these umbrellas have audio recording associated with them, and some have multiple recordings.

The crafting of the umbrellas took place in a very small space with little opportunity for sitting down other then a few small steps. Despite this less than ideal space, people used the activity as a time to calm down in silent making. It was only after some of the members of staff also joined the activity that it became "far more chatty."

This mix of introspection and chatting resulted in umbrellas that care had gone into. They were not something that people 'just made' but rather they are artefacts that thought and care had gone into: "there was a lot of the more sophisticated looking things [more artistic than crafty materials such as paint and paintbrushes, for example]. You know, they could have just taken like a brush and acrylic paint and it would have been done in like two seconds, like just smear

it over and 'here we go!' But no, they wanted to have the glitter gluing up there, they wanted to have the little flowers in very even spaces between it. And it was not just he bow being attached on it, on the right, the exactly the right place, they also had to have like little flowers on them as well." A particular instance of this, was when a woman wanted to do an umbrella and hang it directly next to the one her daughter had made. As she went to hang it up, one of the roses that was glued onto the umbrella that was already hanging in the makeshift exhibition space had "slightly fallen off and was stuck to the glitter rather than the place it was supposed to be. And we went and fixed it right away, because it needed to be perfect."

On top of this care, some of the women who made umbrellas also wanted the umbrellas to be perfect: "I think the one who gave up was actually, she wanted to make a heart-shaped glitter thing and the glue didn't stick equally, so, after she saw like 'oh my god! This doesn't look like a heart at all!' and just like 'no'. So there was a lot of perfectionism."

Based on the care and perfectionism involved in the creation of the living archive, we believe that those who took part in the activity "definitely produced something that has some kind of value and can't just be some quick something. It is, they definitely created some kind of meaning in it. It's just hard, I don't think that, maybe the recording is not the right way to really get this kind of meaning out of it."



Step 2: record an audio clip to the umbrella using JigsAudio



Step 3: display the umbrellas that have embedded recordings

Step 4: link pictures of the umbrellas and the embedded audio files up via the JigsAudio website

A MULTI-MEDIA SERVICE FOR REMEMBRANCE

While the march did not use many digital technologies, and the red umbrella archive built on existing technologies, the most surprising use of digital technology took place during the service. This was a multi-media experience that incorporated various different digital and non-digital technologies in a "a smart church" to structure an interactive, service user-led, peoplecentred, remembrance service for the lives of service users from GAP and MAP who had been lost in the last year. This service was made up of poetry readings, sharing of stories, a (sadly cancelled) musical performance, and three activities dedicated directly to remembrance.

Throughout the day, there was a back-and-forth between the ways in which the activities throughout the day were curated: "there was an interesting dynamic of now, is this now a march really for the outside, public awareness raising, or is it more like, a gathering or an event that happens in the outside but is actually more for strengthening the inside?"

While the march was "down a busy Northumberland Street, [so] it was for awareness, [but] I think it was with the combination of 'you know what no, I'm going to do this, I'm going to do this walk!' but also to show others", the service was clearly an activity that was meant for those who were present. While it may make sense that the march was an activity that focused the importance on those 'outside' the organisation, it was also something that was created for those 'inside' the organisation. Not only was this a sentiment that we as researchers felt throughout the day, but it was also something that the priest mentioned towards the beginning of the service: "you've been out, you've done the thing for outside, you've raised awareness. You've shown people what you've done, but now this is for us. And this is for the community, and for togetherness, and for you as an individual." Following this, she also shared the following sentiment: 'I don't know if you've been here before, but if you haven't you're welcome here'.

Not only did the red umbrella activity make use of digital technologies, but the "smart church" itself had a multimedia suite:

A: "at the back there was a projector and a woman sitting on a laptop that had all the slide shows and videos and music on it."

B: "no, the music was coming from the priest's smartphone! because she was turning down the music manually with her smartphone"

Activities for Remembrance

Throughout the service, different kinds of pop music were played through speakers: "Robbie Williams played a lot, but I thought it was nice to have that. And I thought it added a different layer to the whole service." For us researchers, this took away the feeling that we were in 'a church' while adding to the introspection and remembrance that was the focus of the day. This was particularly useful but also clear in the three activities that were particularly focused on remembrance: (1) the lighting of candles; (2) the angel activity; and (3) the displaying of the names on a slideshow.

Attendants of the service were invited to light a candle and place it at the front of the line of chairs in remembrance of someone who had been lost in the last year, or as a symbol of remembrance for themselves. All attendants (police, staff, volunteers, service users) helped each other out in handing out the small candles. Then people started to get up and move towards the front of the church where someone was stood with some lighters. The candles were lit and carefully placed on the floor in the shape of a heart.

Another activity that was carried out for remembrance was one that we call the 'Angel Activity'

in this report. Attendants were given a piece of paper that, when folded and cut in a certain way, turned into an angel. They were encouraged to write a message to someone they were thinking about onto this piece of paper, shape it into an angel and to then, one-by-one, hang this up on the Christmas tree that was placed at the front of the church. From looking at the Christmas tree, it was clear that this was an activity that the priest had carried out with others before as the church "already had some on the tree." Bringing this example back to the discussion we had earlier that asked whether the day was an activity that was made for those 'inside' the charity or for others 'outside' the organisation to learn more about the day, we see that this is a complex and multi-layered discussion that can be explored further. This quiet, introspective activity was one that was made for 'inside'; for the individuals who were present at the service. Hanging these up publicly on a Christmas tree where others had already shared these messages however also brings this activity into the realm of 'outside' the charity metaphorically (in sharing a thought with someone who may never see it) and visually (in placing it on the Christmas tree alongside angels of others they do not know and, again, may never meet). Witnessing this activity and feeling the air in the room at the time, we as researchers reflected on this activity: "it definitely served it's purpose: there were a lot of tears. Very silently, but they were there. And I think it was quite impressive to see how many people really had a message for someone to write on the paper angel to then hang it up."

The third activity that was directed at remembrance was a very quiet one. Unlike the others, this one did not contain an element of moving or creative output. Instead, this activity was a way of commemorating all those who had died in the last year directly. The multi-media suite of the church was used to share a slideshow of names of people who had been lost in the last year. Contrary to the previous audio-cues for introspection through music or readings, "they commemorated all the people that had died this year, it was nice to not hear the names being said out, but to just have some nice music and to look at the screen where they just appeared: white writing on black screen, just the names of people. I thought that added a quite different perspective to it."

At the end of the day, after the service, our activity, and the food an drinks reception that followed these were over, we had the chance to chat with the priest. As we were cleaning up the glitter and feathers from the red umbrella activity, she came over to find out more about what we had done. It was here that she told us that this was the first time she had lead this service. While the church was known to Changing Lives staff and service users, she did not know exactly what to expect from the day; which is why she welcomed everyone so dearly at the beginning and the end of the service where she shared a brief prayer (the rest of the service had been very non-religious despite being held in a church) with which she shared the following sentiment: "okay, you can take it as if you want to" The two researchers also reflected on this topic, as can be seen in the exchange below:

A: "I think it's a collaboration that's been going on for years, because everyone knew where they had to go once they got in the building"

B: "and also the pictures from last year they had a lot of pictures from in the church, actually, so it seemed like last year's Christmas party or something like that"

A: "I think everybody kind of knew the space, and the space knows them"





