Family, Archive, and the Posttraumatic Imaginary:

An analysis of the role of archival material in the personal documentaries *Stories We Tell, The Imam and I*, and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*

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ABSTRACT

My short documentary, *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* (2021), is the creative research portion of my master's degree submission. The film is heavily influenced by post-structuralist theory regarding the archive as an experiential entity as well as posttraumatic cinema discourse (in particular, Joshua Hirsch's phases of posttraumatic cinema). This critical reflection therefore investigates the intersection of these two theoretical paradigms: looking at how archival materials may specifically be used in personal documentary films dealing with family/ancestral trauma and posttraumatic memory, and positing that these films' engagement with the archive fits into the larger framework of posttraumatic cinema. I reflect on *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* in conversation with two other personal posttraumatic documentaries, *The Imam and I* (dir. Khalid Shamis, South Africa, 2011) and *Stories We Tell* (dir. Sarah Polley, Canada, 2012). I conduct a semiotic and content analysis of portions of all three films in order to both situate them within the posttraumatic imaginary—specifically, within Hirsch's second phase—and examine the role of the archive and artefacts in each. In doing so, I confront the question of record vs. representation in documentary, and argue that—in the archival-based posttraumatic documentary—the distinction between the two lies in the way that the artefact is interpreted or contextualised via meta-textual captioning. This study demonstrates that posttraumatic memory may be nonlinear and non-chronological. The analysis of my film and the two additional case study films examines how this complication of past and present, archival and contemporary, is articulated onscreen: conveying the transmutation of memory as well as the ongoing and self-reflexive act of contributing to the familial archive.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

> *...And the countries, cities, gardens, the bays of seas*
> *assigned to my brush came closer,*
> *ready now to be described better than they were before...*

— Czeslaw Milosz, from *Late Ripeness,* quoted in *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* (Milosz, 2004)

Several years ago, I acquired an audio recording entitled "Grandpa Ernest Speaks" (Lowy, n.d). The recording, which at the time had recently been digitised, was initially taped before I was born. In it, my late great-grandfather Ernest Lowy recounts his life story in detail over 75 minutes. For me, born five years after his death, this recording is the only occasion on which I have ever heard my great-grandfather's voice. For my family members who knew Ernest, this recording is one of the only times they ever heard him recollect on his life. The audio memoir has migrated with me across the evolving digital terrain of iTunes libraries, hard drives, and Cloud backups. Throughout the years, I have felt both a deep uncertainty about what to do with it and, recently, an increasing certainty that do something with it I should. Armed with an artistic interest in the visual representation of memory and time, and an academic interest in trauma and the archive, I finally decided it was due time to apply these interests to my own family history in the form of a documentary. Furthermore, I set out to self-reflexively investigate the significance and theoretical precedents of the process of doing so.

In making my short documentary, also entitled *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*, I have sought guidance and inspiration from existing personal documentaries that utilise family archival materials and operate in a posttraumatic cinema context. The objective of this study, therefore, is to examine three personal documentaries—*The Imam and I* (dir. Khalid Shamis, South Africa, 2011), *Stories We Tell* (dir. Sarah Polley, Canada, 2012), and my documentary, *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* (dir. Madeleine Bazil, South Africa/USA, 2021)—to argue that the use of archival materials can situate a highly personal documentary's narrative of ancestral trauma within the larger cinematic framework of posttraumatic memory. These justifications are grounded in an analysis of posttraumatic cinema discourse, particularly that of Joshua Hirsch (2004), whose theory of the two phases of posttraumatic cinema underpins both this essay and my creative research, in the form of my documentary. This paper will engage discursively with post-structuralist critical theory surrounding the definition and purpose of the archive or artefact, and will also investigate how these films engage with the archive

in ways that challenge or confirm notions of truthfulness, as well with the question of what constitutes record versus representation in documentary-making.

I have selected *The Imam and I* and *Stories We Tell* because they share significant thematic, narrative, and cinematic sensibilities to my film—serving as points of reference during my filmmaking process. All three films, mine included, are personal documentaries which see a self-reflexive filmmaker seeking to make sense of their family history and archives, and incorporating contemporary interviews and family perspectives. I have selected these two reference films as they both share these attributes, but each of them is particularly useful for illuminating different aspects of my argument. *The Imam and I* provides relevant support and perspective to aforementioned issues of the archive and its function or definition; the film engages in an interplay of archival news materials with archival personal/family materials—a technique which is also prevalent in *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*. The analysis of *Stories We Tell* invokes ideas around the social contract of documentary, as well as participates in the conversation regarding what distinguishes or elevates personal archival footage to documentary.

1.1: Posttraumatic Theoretical Framework

Both *The Imam and I* and *Stories We Tell*—as well as my own film, *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*—can be can be understood within the second phase of Hirsch's posttraumatic theoretical framework. In Hirsch's conception of posttraumatic cinema, visual storytelling—in this case, documentary film—is a vessel transmitting "vicarious trauma" (Hirsch 2002, p. 10). The discourse of trauma, as it is encountered through such storytelling mechanisms, "gives one a language with which to begin to represent the failure of representation that one has experienced" (ibid); in other words, seeking to articulate trauma that lies outside the realm of normal memory. Hirsch delineates the posttraumatic documentary into two phases (the second phase is most relevant to this study). The first phase may entail vicarious trauma being transmitted via the unmediated imagery itself; considerable narrative support may not be necessary in order to catalyse this vicarious trauma if the imagery is presented reputably, placed in historical context, and verified (Hirsch 2002). This initial phase, however, is short-lasting as public interest wanes and "collective numbing" to graphic imagery sets in (ibid). As Liani Maasdorp explains, phase two post-traumatic documentaries require "sophisticated strategies" to overcome the phenomenon of collective numbing in the face of familiar material; rather than directly transferring the trauma to the viewer by implicating them as a witness,

the trauma is instead "digested and presented by the filmmaker using a variety of cinematic devices" (Maasdorp 2020, p. 11). Hirsch argues that in the second phase of posttraumatic cinema, when the "images themselves no longer traumatise," documentary images must then "attempt to discover a form for presenting the content that … attempt[s] to formally reproduce for the spectator an experience of once again seeing the unthinkable (Hirsch 2002, p. 11).

The Imam and I, Stories We Tell, and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* can each be understood within the lens of this second phase of posttraumatic cinema. As this paper will proceed to highlight, all three documentaries use cinematic devices to reconfigure and reimagine traumatic events of the past in revitalised ways. In *The Imam and I* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks,* the trauma is both societal and personal. On a societal level, the two films reckon with the anti-apartheid struggle, and with the Holocaust and refugee experience, respectively. On the personal level, they deal in the lives of Shamis' grandfather, Imam Abdullah Haron, a cleric and activist imprisoned and killed by the SAP Special Branch in 1969 (SAHistory.org.za), and my great-grandfather Ernest Lowy. Both films seek to explore these traumatic events and milieus on the familial and cultural level as they ripple down through the subsequent generations of our families. This reconfiguring of trauma manifests cinematically through the use of mixed-media materials to retell historical elements as well as present-day interviews with living family members, and a self-reflexive narration from the director (Shamis incorporates animations to retell historical events; I opt for archival still photos and revisiting historically relevant locations to shoot with vintage-effect Super 8 footage). *Stories We Tell* is distinguished from the other two films due to its wholly personal, not historical/cultural, trauma; however, it nonetheless shares their propensity for revisiting and revitalising a past trauma, using cinematic techniques—namely, snippets of convincingly recreated faux-archival family "footage" intermingled with real archival footage—to reframe family trauma visually and experientially through a self-reflexive lens. In all three films, the filmmakers' self-reflexivity is leveraged to interrogate how trauma, experienced on a personal and/or cultural level, has manifested within our respective families. Indeed, the three films may also be considered within the scope of what Marianne Hirsch describes as "postmemory":

> The relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they "remember" only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. Postmemory's connection to the past is thus not actually

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mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation (Hirsch 2008, p. 106).

All three documentaries are framed (or rather, mediated) through the perspectives of later generations seeking to understand, via embodied encounters with archival materials, the experiences of a past generation. As Hirsch notes—and as I will investigate theory around active engagement with the archive later in this paper—such memory work is therefore not merely recollection but, moreover, its own wholly new and reinvigorated creative endeavour.

Finally, as Joshua Hirsch notes, in posttraumatic memory "one's point of view on the memory changes depending on the conditions pertaining to a specific instance of remembering… In posttraumatic memory, as opposed to narrative memory, linear chronology collapses. Time becomes fragmented and uncontrollable" (Hirsch 2002, p. 12). All three films offer disparate temporal modes and narrative voices: reckoning with and mirroring the fragmented nonlinearity of posttraumatic memory—and/or that of any and all modes of memory—and, in doing so, offering a multiplicity of memoiric viewpoints or interpretations of traumatic events and their repercussions. I therefore proceed in this paper with the understanding that all three documentaries are situated within the scope of this second phase of posttraumatic cinema.

1.2: Research Argument and Structure of Chapters

Over the course of this paper, I argue that posttraumatic memory is manifested onscreen in these three personal documentaries—with the support of archival artefacts—and demonstrates the nonlinearity of memory and contributes to a larger archive. Subject to analysis are visual and cinematic language and semiotics, text (interviews and voiceover narration), and themes/motifs. This argument comprises three activities: an examination of the critical theoretical basis underpinning these three films and my analysis of them; analysis of *Stories We Tell* and *The Imam and I;* and analysis of *Grandpa Ernest Speaks.* My analysis of the former two documentaries will provide a catalyst for reflection on my film, as their theoretical and cinematic choices have informed and shaped my own. I will conduct a limited semiotic and content analysis of these three documentaries and their engagement with the archive in order to advance my research argument. The research that this paper articulates has been essential not only in shaping my filmic choices with *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* but additionally in helping me to understand the precedents and paradigms in which my film is situated. As such, my aim with this critical reflection is to provide relevant context to my film and

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the films I am analysing alongside/in conversation with my own—and to argue the case for common theoretical underpinnings across all three films as they relate to conceptions of archive, memory, and trauma.

Chapter Two provides a survey of literature, begins to examine the theory around second-phase posttraumatic cinema, and engages discursively with post-structuralist critical theory surrounding the definition and purpose of the archive, in order to flesh out the framework in which my research argument operates. Chapter Three, "The Archive and Posttraumatic Memory," continues my investigation into the archive, analysing *The Imam and I* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* in this regard. I then proceed to look at scholarly work around documentary as memory transmission; an analysis of *Stories We Tell* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* invokes ideas around the social contract of documentary as it relates to memory and trauma, as well as further participates in the conversation regarding what elevates footage to documentary status. Chapter Four, "Footage, Documentary, and the Meta-Textual Caption," discusses the role of the meta-textual caption in documentary and investigates the question of what constitutes record versus representation in documentary-making, looking specifically at *Stories We Tell* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*'s use of personal archival photographs and home (and "faux-home") movies. In my concluding chapter, I pull together these lines of analysis and additionally note where further research has the potential to advance the arguments I have put forth onto a larger scale or wider scope.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

A background in critical theory undergirds both Hirsch's framework of posttraumatic documentary as well as my analysis of the three documentaries and their engagement with the archive in a posttraumatic imaginary. Walter Benjamin argues in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1935) that photography (one can extrapolate this to include moving image as well), destroyed the traditional "aura" of art (p. 22) and supplanted it with a new politics of the image, resulting in what he sees—negatively—as the potential for the endless reproduction and dissemination of trauma across history and society (ibid, p. 25). Benjamin's 1936 essay 'The Storyteller' is also relevant in providing the basis for Hirsch's work, arguing that every story "contains, openly or covertly, something useful... The storyteller takes what he tells from experience —his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale" (Benjamin, p. 3).

Writing on the subject of the Holocaust documentary, Hirsch—himself operating in response to Susan Sontag's earlier writing on vicarious film-induced trauma (Sontag 2003)—outlines two stages of posttraumatic cinema and specifically makes the case for these two phases as "a new cinematic discourse, in which modernist narration is aligned to a posttraumatic historical consciousness" (Hirsch 2002, p. 9). This particular theoretical structure informs the entirety of this essay, as I investigate how archival materials may interplay in the posttraumatic documentary. Here, the three films being analysed are contextualised within the posttraumatic framework, and demonstrated—through content and semiotic analysis—to fit into Hirsch's second stage. Hirsch argues that films of the second stage must comprise images which are "submitted to a narrative discourse the purpose of which is... at least to invoke a posttraumatic historical consciousness - a kind of textual compromise between the senselessness of the initial traumatic encounter and the sense-making apparatus of a fully integrated historical narrative" (ibid). This textual compromise is precisely where the three films in this paper are situated.

In considering the archive, French-Algerian philosopher Jaques Derrida's seminal Mal d'archive, or Archive Fever (1995), provides a crucial theoretical framework by taking a deconstructionist approach in response to Freudian conversations around the archive and the artefact. Derrida proposes an etymological journey into the root word *arkhé*, from the Greek, meaning "beginning" or "commandment" (ibid). He is preoccupied with the Freudian notion of locating key moments of inception or origin, and attaching importance to them in pursuit of truth; this irrational

desire is at the core of what Derrida describes as archive fever. Implicit within this concept is the idea of connecting memory with documentation, coupled with the particularly Western obsession with "finding beginnings, starting places, origins" (ibid). Carolyn Steedman, in turn, engages with Derrida in her book *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (2001)—investigating the development of contemporary historiography and arguing that if the archive is a permanent, unerasable, repository, so then the "matter of history" cannot disappear or be erased. The "question of the archive" is largely spurred by Michel Foucault's 1969 *Archaeology of Knowledge*, in which Foucault makes the case for a method of historical analysis wherein expressions or statements become discursively significant by virtue of the conditions of their emergence—in other words, by their context (Foucault 1969). To Foucault, the notion of the archive is not a static canon of texts or "statements"; rather, it is a complex web of transformations and relationships which combine to permit statements to exist: in effect, archiving themselves (ibid). This circularity is evident in documentary, and is demonstrable in the three documentaries that this critical reflection will discuss.

Documentary practice can be situated within recent movements in the broader contexts of historiography and of deconstructionist critical theory. In doing so, the "often nebulous boundaries between what is understood as 'archival' and what is understood as 'found footage'" may be investigated (Baron 2014, p. 17). Drawing on Derrida and Foucault and the notion of the archive as an intangible entity, Jaimie Baron argues that "the contemporary situation calls for a reformulation of 'the archival document' as an experience of reception, rather than an indication of official sanction or storage location": an experience she terms "the archive effect" (2013, p.7). The three films discussed in this paper can be seen not just as reflections of the archive but moreover—particularly as they move between past and present, personal and societal—as historical documents, or contributions to the archive, unto themselves (Rabinowitz 1993, p. 119). However, whilst "documentary film can describe historical reality, demonstrate its effects, and evoke its experience for viewers simultaneously... It is this very immediacy which demands refusal so that we understand our own historicity in order to begin to see what we bring to the viewing process and... what we get from it" (ibid). This connection between documentary and history is essential to this paper's analysis and contextualisation of historical imagery.

In the following chapters, portions of the three films—specifically their introductory segments—are coded for semiotics. By this, I mean that I examine and interpret cinematic language —imagery, motifs, and other visual elements—for meaning. I argue that in my own film, as in the other two, the interplay between archival materials evokes an intentionally fluid temporal landscape.

This, I argue, works to successfully situate the films within the modalities of posttraumatic memory. Documentaries, with their "multi-dimensional dream-life 'aura of insubstantiality,'" may participate in the collective transmission of memory (Saragas 2015, p. 4). Indeed, as Hirsch notes, linear chronology collapses in posttraumatic memory; the past becomes either "too remote or too immediate" (2002, p. 12). All three films in this study approach time in this non-chronological manner: manifesting the fragmented and unpredictable nature of posttraumatic memory.

A further examination of the "nature of testimony" as recorded in documentary becomes essential here (Waterson 2007, p. 53). If documentary storytelling "necessarily involves a performative aspect," it becomes necessary to investigate "the purposes of such performances and their possible effects upon both participants and audiences" (ibid). In other words, this necessity of an audience suggests a "dialogical relationship"—something which has further implications for how viewers absorb and interpret these testimonies and how memory is therefore transmitted onward, becoming somewhat collective (ibid). To this end, Waterson explicates what she observes to be three integral dimensions within memory—trace, event, and trajectory—and looks at how these manifest in documentary film. Building off of this, I draw a through-line to Ariella Azoulay's proposal, in *The Civil Contract of Photography* (2008), of a reframing of the social contract of citizenship with regard to photography. Azoulay argues that images—at each stage of producing, viewing, and sharing—comprise a variegated web of relationships and responsibilities between all parties involved. The civil contract is a binding, implicit agreement inherent to the image. Taking issue with the notion of "compassion fatigue" popularised by Susan Sontag,[1] Azoulay proposes rather that images render evident the inescapable link between civil society and artistic output, highlighting the rights and responsibilities of citizens toward each other. Participation in this civil contract is precisely what defines the role of the citizen in the truest sense (Azoulay 2008, p. 89). In essence, the initial intent of archival imagery becomes less important than its status as part of an ongoing relationship between the historical and the personal—and between the documentarian as archivist, and the audience (real or imagined). It is this relationship which implies inclusion into an overarching or collective archive, and it is here that Azoulay's premise becomes especially pertinent to this paper.

"At issue," Azoulay argues, "is an effort to disclose the inextricable relationship between the populations facing pending catastrophe and the citizens with whom they are governed, doing so by

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[1] "Since *On Photography*, many critics have suggested that the excruciations of war—thanks to television—have devolved into a nightly banality. Flooded with images of the sort that once used to shock and arouse indignation, we are losing our capacity to react. Compassion, stretched to its limits, is going numb. So runs the familiar diagnosis" (Sontag 2003, p. 84).

means of an examination of the civic space of the gaze, speech, and action that is shared by these governed populations" (2008, p. 17). Images are seen as being composed of a complicated fabric of relationships, notable amongst them the varied gaze of the active subject/participant—whose gaze "undermines the perception that [image-making and image-viewing] taken in disastrous conditions can be described and conceptualised as separate from the witnessed situation" (ibid, p. 19). At every stage and angle in the process of constructing, producing, and consuming images there is therefore a binding agreement between image-maker, sharer, and viewer: in other words, the civil contract. In her analysis of Michel Foucault's focus on the right of the governed, Azoulay writes that "what is attempted is the reformulation of the citizenship of the governed and of the citizens who coexist in the same territory in given historical situations with the hope of making them equal in standing" (2008, p. 45). This understanding of symbiotic responsibility is crucial to this paper's analysis of archival material as it relates to the documentary—supporting the conclusion that regardless of the original intent of an archival material, it is its inclusion into the relationship between the personal and historical/political, and between the maker (in this case, the documentarian operating as archivist) and the audience, which renders it a notable inclusion into the collective archive.

Azoulay's work becomes once again relevant to my argument related to the meta-textual caption as she argues that whilst photography—and by extension, documentary film—appears to fix and stabilise the gaze in "an absolute plane of visual immobility… that can be contemplated without disturbance," it actually "is at most a testimony" to the encounter in which it was recorded (2008, p. 93). Even when this encounter "occurs under the difficult conditions of distress or disaster," the imagery produced by it:

> …Might, at least potentially, restore it… Although photography may appear to be a distinctive object of the contemplative life (*vita contemplativa*) […] it is actually deeply embedded in the active life (*vita activa*); it attests to action and continues to take part in it… The photograph always includes a supplement that makes it possible to show that what 'was there' wasn't there *necessarily* in that way (ibid).

This supplement is Benjamin's meta-textual caption: contextualising imagery into something more potent; elevating footage into documentary; reconfiguring it from snippets of chronological time into the nonlinear realm of posttraumatic memory.

Engagement with the three elements or dimensions of memory (trace, event, and trajectory) is what constitutes the civil contract, elevates footage to documentary, and serves as not merely an investigation into the archive but moreover as an entry into the archive (Waterson 2007, p. 53). It therefore follows that documentary image-making and image consumption are ways of making sense

—whether by memorialising, recontextualising, or both—of traumatic memory, and that to engage in this practice is to be a participant in the shared, hopefully symbiotic, responsibility of the citizen. Regardless of the initial purpose or context of the image or footage, it is this intrinsic relationship which situates it in the collective archive and imbues it with meaning.

As Mark Sealy notes, archival images can be understood as anthropological entities; images, "when read from outside the dominant narratives of their making, offer different points of departure from which to translate the past" (2019, p.106)—allowing for new understandings of present conditions via glimpses into historical conditions. This crucial engagement with "cultural memory work," Sealy writes, "helps us reread the actual making of the past and therefore reconfigure different historical narratives concerning the stories that make up history, race, rights and recognition: four vital stations in our understanding of humanity that reminds us of the power relationships between 'the observer and the observed'" (ibid). Archival materials, then, may function as semiotics—linking temporal and spatial disparities and building a contextually cohesive understanding of conditions past and present, personal and societal. I reflect on *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* and *The Imam and I*, particularly with regard to how the stories both of these films tell trickle down into contemporary narratives—both on the personal and larger political level.

The tenuous distinctions between footage and documentary come into play as I investigate the repurposing/recontextualising of informal or amateur archival artefacts and how doing so may therefore elevate said materials from record to representation, and from footage to documentary, using *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* (Bazil 2021) and *Stories We Tell* (Polley 2011) as case studies for this. Stella Bruzzi uses the infamous Zapruder film—Abraham Zapruder's accidental, amateur footage of the assassination of United States president John F Kennedy—to exemplify a piece of film that is of low, amateur technical quality yet which contains extremely significant content (ibid, p. 421). Whilst "not advocating the collapse of reality and representation," Bruzzi argues that inherent to documentary is the understanding that the "document" is open to reinterpretation and re-imagination without such actions necessarily negating or obscuring its original "meaning, context, or content" (2005, p. 420). In fact, she argues, the core issue in documentary is the way the viewer is granted access to a record or document via an interpretation of it, and how this renders an archival material an unstable—rather than fixed—reference point (ibid). An awareness of this mutability of memory is a hallmark of my film and a key element of my use of archival artefacts—an approach largely inspired by *Stories We Tell*.

The research I have conducted for this critical reflection has been central to my understanding of the theoretical through-lines which *The Imam and I, Stories We Tell,* and my own film, *Grandpa Ernest Speaks,* share. As a filmmaker, this research has provided me with necessary context: helping me to shape and frame my own creative choices within a broader paradigm. In rendering evident the linkages between representations of the archive and posttraumatic memory, this literature survey supports my paper's research argument around the role of the archive in the three second-phase posttraumatic documentaries I have chosen to analyse.

moves fluidly into present, where the subject-participants must confront the mysteries and trauma of their lived history. That, at least, is the initial impression.

The film takes a meta twist, however, as it becomes apparent that this is a more intricate construction than it initially seems. Far from being a reluctant participant, Michael has actually written his own memoir script as a personal project of remembering and reckoning; it is he who utters the Atwood epigraph at the start of the film. As the opening scenes bounce between interior setups of Polley's relatives in their homes being mic-ed up for interviews (Illustrations 3.5-3.6)—the film's larger investigations into the fabrications and divergent narratives that go into storytelling become evident. "I told you it's a documentary," Sarah says to Michael, "but it's actually an interrogation process" (Polley 2012). She is only partly joking: each individual is included in the film in order to share their interpretation of Diane's life, resulting in a multiplicity of viewpoints, each one true to each person's differing memories and experiences. As Kate J Waites puts it, *Stories We Tell* arrives at "an approximation of the 'truth'" (2015, p. 543).

Over time, the film's largest act of sleight of hand emerges: revealing that the modalities of filming offer a false distinction between past and present. The historical-looking footage is not necessarily historical. In presenting such a complication in the film's metanarrative, *Stories We Tell* is therefore aligned with Hirsch's notion that second-phase posttraumatic cinematic discourse is defined largely by "the attempt to discover" new formal methods of reproducing, for the viewer, the experience "of once again seeing the unthinkable" (Hirsch 2002, p. 12). When faced with the decision of how to visually represent the trauma of Diane Polley's secret and its impact on the family at large—the sense that one's archival memory bank may be subjective, faulty, or multiplicitous— Polley articulates this visually, constructing a plot twist that is hidden in plain sight and which echoes the story's own implications regarding the authenticity or objectivity of the archive. A makeup touchup is captured on-screen (Illustration 3.7), and many of the vintage clips are revealed to be staged recreations. Actors resembling the family have been cast by Polley's brother (casting director John Buchan) in carefully rendered scenes, including Diane's funeral, which hitherto had only existed in the family's memories (Polley 2012). "I wanted to emphasise the film as a construct," says Polley, "For me, what was interesting about this film was to talk about storytelling and the subjectivity of memory. To do that beyond just talking about it, it was necessary to do some recreation" (Sarah Polley, quoted in Erickson 2013).

By making this fabrication visible, the film raises questions about the role of the archive in posttraumatic documentary. Waites notes that the addition of reenactments in *Stories We Tell* highlights how representations of the self and of others are a product of ongoing performance "constructed in relationship to others" (2015, p. 543). Likewise, historical or archival memory can also be seen in this kaleidoscopic manner. As much as Polley seeks to solve the central mystery of her family—the identity of her biological father —she also toys with the notion that there is no objective answer to reach. Thus, the largest takeaway of the film is perhaps the process of making it: an exercise in family dialogue and investigation. If *Stories We Tell* is Polley's interpretation of her family's lived experience through the lens of her mother's big secret and its traumatic reverberations, this collective familial history can therefore be understood as an archive. Baron's notion of the "archive effect" then describes the process of making the film; the film, as Polley's investigation into her family's archive (reenactments, interviews, voiceovers), becomes an archival document, or artefact, itself.

Similarly, *The Imam and I* approaches the life, death, and legacy of its posthumous subject, Imam Abdullah Haron, with a combination of archival and contemporary material. Much of the latter comprises animations depicting pivotal scenes of Haron's life. These animations—representing and interpreting historical events through a contemporary lens—are a process of constructing a larger, expanded archive of Haron's experiences and persona and are, simultaneously, archival entities unto themselves. In one partially-animated sequence early in the film, Imam Haron's brother-in-law Cassiem Sadan is interviewed on camera. An animated graphic on screen identifies the year as 1966; yet, the visual which follows is footage of Sadan in the present time of the film's production, recounting an anecdote which occurred 50-odd years prior. "One evening," Sadan begins non-diegetically as a photograph of a Langa street appears on screen, "We came into the townships and the police was hunting us" (Shamis 2011). The archival photographic footage melts seamlessly into a larger cityscape, and illustrations of Imam Haron, Sadan, and the police appear in stop-motion animation on screen (Illustrations 3.8-3.9). Throughout this retelling of the anecdote, short present-day clips of Sadan in the interview setup are interspersed: an implicit reminder that this story is filtered through multiple rounds of retelling, first that of Sadan and then that of the animation. Shamis notes to the Mail & Guardian that "if [Imam Haron] wasn't my grandfather, I would definitely still have made the film. I knew who the Imam was. I wanted to make this film to find out who he wasn't" (Khalid Shamis, quoted in Rawoot 2011). By cycling through these layers of

personal memories, the film becomes an historical document as per Rabinowitz (1993) that distinguishes between the public figure of the imam's public legacy—his anti-apartheid activism, his assassination at the hands of the Special Branch of the South African Police—and the personal: the man he was to his family. This re-imaginaation of the Imam's life and death—particularly through the use of animation and archival materials—links back to Hirsch's criteria for posttraumatic documentary, whereby the second phase sees filmmakers attempt to "formally reproduce" the experience of trauma in a new, creative manner (Hirsch 2002, p. 12).

Stories We Tell and *The Imam and I*'s innovative and self-reflexive representations of the archive served as reference points for me in making my film: expanding my understanding of the documentary as an archival contribution and providing me with the cinematic vocabulary to develop my film as such. In addition to being a narrator/character in *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*, I also appear implicitly several times: reflexively peeling back the curtain on the production itself. My reflection, holding the camera, is subtly visible in the glass of a picture frame (Illustration 3.10); my disembodied voice appears, diegetically but off-screen, guiding and contributing to a family discussion (Illustration 3.11); Super 8 shots pan across my digital camera on a tripod (Illustration 3.12), audio recording gear (Illustration 3.13), and, briefly, historical press clippings taped to a wall (Illustration 3.14). In doing so, my intention is to frame the making of *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* as an embodied encounter in its own right: contributing to the archive of familial posttraumatic memory by virtue of investigating it.

3.2: Memorialising the Unthinkable

Powerful stories are indeed "haunting" (Luiselli, 2017), a description which to me alludes—in personal stories—to trauma, and the way that traumatic memory may pop in for a mental or somatic visit, often at inopportune times and in non-linear ways. If stories—and therefore the memories ensconced within them—will continue to be retold and re-imagined, then it stands to reason that the nature of storytelling—or memory transmission—must be examined. In doing so, I situate my analysis within a larger understanding of posttraumatic memory.

Testimony—as recorded in documentary—inherently involves a degree of performativity, which compels the viewer to consider the purpose of performance and its potential impacts on subjects/participants and on audiences (Waterson 2007, p. 53). Waterson describes a "dialogical

relationship" between the film/filmmaker and viewer, affecting how testimony is conveyed and understood; memory may then be collective, comprised of disparate threads and the ways they interact with each other. Evidently, telling stories "doesn't reassemble broken lives"—but it does provide a road map to contextualise, and to memorialise, the unthinkable (Luiselli 2017). I will therefore now proceed to semiotically examine *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*, looking particularly at how the traumatic historical narrative of the documentary has rippled its way to the present day.

In *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*, I incorporate my relationship to archival materials into the film: recontextualising traumatic memory and participating in this civil contract. "I've been thinking a lot about time lately," I narrate non-diegetically in the opening sequence, "It's a privilege to think of time as something linear… something understandable, or predictable" (Bazil 2021). Onscreen, Super 8 footage, scratchy and sepia-toned, depicts a candle burning, and pans over a family tree (Illustrations 3.15-3.16). When the footage subsequently shifts in medium/aesthetic—to clearer, contemporary-looking digital footage—what is depicted is not, however, contemporary. Rather, it is an historic image of Czechoslovakia: the homeland of my great-grandparents, the subjects of the film (Illustration 3.17). This aesthetic bait-and-switch is the first of many instances, recurring throughout the film, in which I subvert the expectation of congruency between visuals and time in order to demonstrate the nonlinearity of posttraumatic memory. Each of the temporal realities of the film— and the semiotics denoting them—serve as embodiments of, and entries into, the archive of my family's lived traumatic history: reproducing the experience of viewing the un-viewable, of undergoing the unthinkable.

Throughout this introductory sequence, various imagery is interspersed rapidly, evoking a free-associating, dreamlike state. My contemporary footage vacillates between digital (brief moments, largely quotidian and contemporary in appearance: a car ride [Illustration 3.18], a flower blooming [Illustration 3.19], a sun-dappled interior wall [Illustration 3.20])—and Super 8 footage, shot in present day yet, in its evocation of 1960s-70s technology, aesthetically redolent of the quintessentially "archival" (Illustrations 3.21-3.22). My family members, all subject-participants in the film, have not yet been introduced at this stage in order to be situated firmly into the present; at this juncture, they exist in temporal limbo. Amidst these images, there are image captures, documented by me contemporarily, of my historic family photographs (Illustrations 3.23-3.24). These photographs exist in contextual remove from their original conditions; they are layered with an additional meta-context. My voiceover narration continues: "It's difficult to parse out what has happened in the past, what is happening now, and where these overlap" (ibid). Indeed, visually, this

is the intended effect: a circular, temporally fluid understanding of both the archive and the artefacts which it comprises.

As demonstrated in the first section of this chapter, all three films engage in interplay between archival materials, resulting in fluid temporal landscapes which situate them within the modalities of posttraumatic memory; the artefact is rendered significant by the archive. This points to an articulation of memory that is less chronological, and more fluid or interpretive. Steedman writes that "dust"—including the metaphorical "malignant, eternal dust of the Archive"—is a word and concept composed of uniquely circular semantics. To dust (as a verb) is to either remove dust (the noun), or conversely to sprinkle it (Steedman 2001, p. 160). Linguistically, one arrives where one started. The means are the ends, and the archive functions similarly as an experience of historical documentation: if the value of the archive lies in the conditions by which one engages in and interprets it, to investigate the archive is therefore to contribute to it.

3.3: Translating the Past

Continuing in the lineage of *Stories We Tell* and *The Imam and I*, in *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* I seek to interpret historical images within a family context. Shamis states that:

> There's a deeper understanding of my personal relationship with [my grandfather,] Imam Haron. How do you have a relationship with someone who you never met and who died? The process of making the film kind of reinforced my idea of him in a way. It also opened up my relationship with my family through their relationship with him and my interrogation of them and helped me to understand my mother a lot more and what she and her family went through (Smith 2011).

I pose similar questions in the narration of *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*: "I've grown up knowing this story. I never knew what to do with it... How do you build a composite story out of a thousand pieces? How do you get to know someone that you've never met?" (Bazil 2021). Like the other two films, *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* approaches this conundrum by reframing an historical narrative, understanding a familiar history in a different light. Michael Renov describes this endeavour, as it involves home movies and family snapshots, as "domestic ethnography" (Renov 1999, p. 140). This reconfiguring, or domestic ethnography, is what *The Imam and I, Stories We Tell*, and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* strive for as Shamis, Polley, and I immerse ourselves in our respective familial stories —from behind the self-reflexive documentary lens—in an effort to better understand our contemporary family dynamics and ourselves.

In effect, this is the civil contract as per Azoulay: scaled down from the political to the personal, the societal to the familial. Rather than assuming the perspective of Imam Haron as a public figure in the context of his role in the anti-apartheid struggle, Shamis reframes his late grandfather in the context of his family: what the Imam's life and death meant to them both then and now. Similarly, I reconfigure Ernest's story: taking apart the elements of his Holocaust refugee and immigrant experiences—experiences shared, broadly, by many—and reconstructing them in a way that examines the specific personal and familial impact on my individual family. "My family and I share this story," I note in the closing voiceover of *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*, "It colours our relationships with the world, and the space which it holds for us. We are each shaped in ways we notice, and ways we are blind to" (Bazil 2021). The posttraumatic documentary can be "non-representative," able to function:

> On two interlinking planes—one narrative and the other affective [...] The first plane, produced at the level of representation, is wholly recognisable, and allows for a cognitive engagement with the film's story-structure... The second plane, which becomes discernible at times when the film's recognisable narrative gives way, allows for an affective engagement with the experience of this disintegration. This plane disrupts the first, and introduces emphatically nonrepresentational and affective moments into the text, which draw spectators into narrated experience, but do so pointedly through non-narrative means (Daniels-Yeomans 2017, p. 94).

Such interpositions are what enable a film to emotionally register, rather than cognitively narrate, the trauma within the story being told—therefore allowing for the film and viewer to engage experientially with the conditions of trauma and traumatisation (ibid). By framing *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* through a dual narrative—Ernest's experience and my own experience, which consciously follows in his geographic footsteps if not in his interpretations—I abide by this concept. On the narrative plane, *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* operates in an historical, linear manner; guided by Ernest's audio memoir, the story follows a chronological timeline through history. On the affective plane, however, this linearity is disrupted. In the present, I retrace Ernest's geographic footsteps through London and New York City, and acknowledge our shared cultural and religious heritage, complicating these elements with the awareness that my relationship with them—naturally—is different than his was. This is most notable onscreen when I visit London's historic Croydon Airport, where Ernest was detained during his escape from Nazi-occupied Prague. Walking with my handheld camera through what is today an office carpark (Illustration 3.25), I explain in a voice note recorded on the scene that I feel "underwhelmed" by the sight before me—but that to feel underwhelmed by the mundanity of an historically traumatic site is, in itself, "jarring" (Bazil 2021). The film's two narratives repeatedly run through cycles of overlap and divergence: demonstrating the

nonrepresentational manner that historical trauma ripples through time and space in different ways depending on the angle or framework from which it is approached.

"Home movies" (i.e. informal, personal amateur footage) can be recycled and leveraged by autobiographical documentarians: offering "valuable traces for the identity search of the filmmakers, who return to their origins as a necessary framework for understanding themselves, especially when those roots arise from the crossing of diverse ethnic, religious or national identities" (Cuevas 2013, p. 18). This footage may take on new resonance when placed in a different context, opening itself to new interpretations, and offering compelling complements—or "points of departure," as per Sealy— to dominant historical or media narratives (2019, p. 106). As such, archival materials gain value, or even gain admittance to the archival canon at all, largely due to the context in which they are examined (ibid). *The Imam and I* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* demonstrate that this analysis holds true for the family historical documentary film.

3.4: The Reclamation of Stories

In the case of both *The Imam and I* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks,* the civil contract or reconfigured ethnography spans generations, and is extremely personal; the filmmakers' gazes focus primarily on the interiority of our respective families—even (or especially) whilst acknowledging a place within a larger historical era or conversation. To do so is an act of pushback against dominant media narratives: for *The Imam and I,* the portrayal of Imam Haron's public-facing role as a hero or martyr without consideration of his complex humanity and the effect of his death on his family; for *Grandpa Ernest Speaks,* the ubiquitous, de-personalised genre of the "Holocaust movie" or, conversely, the fallaciously individualistic narrative of the bootstrapped "American Dream" success story. Both films offer a compelling alternative to these tropes—if not a counterpoint, then a nuanced undertaking of memory transmission which allows for a more expansive interpretation. If the archive may essentially be defined as a repository of semiotics with the ultimate function of historicising or contextualising, the civil contract of the imagery or footage which it comprises is a relationship between image maker and image viewer—linking disparate temporal and spatial modalities in shared pursuit of a holistic understanding of events or conditions both personal and societal. Investigating the relationship between stories, archives, and societies over time is—as *The Imam and I* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* exemplify—an act of reclamation. Not only must the nature of storytelling,

of memory transmission, be examined, but so too must the stories themselves be repossessed, replayed, reimagined as personal stories that—at their core—they truly are.

CHAPTER FOUR: FOOTAGE, DOCUMENTARY, AND THE META-TEXTUAL CAPTION

Used up by the years, my memory
loses its grip on words that I have vainly
repeated and repeated. My life in the same way
weaves and unweaves its weary history.
Then I tell myself: it must be that the soul
has some secret, sufficient way of knowing
that it is immortal, that its vast, encompassing
circle can take in all, can accomplish all.
— Jorge Luis Borges, *Poem Written in a Copy of Beowulf*, translated by Alastair Reid (Borges 1974)

Much as Borges writes, history weaves and un-weaves itself, with memory being the tenuous thread—mutable over time—connecting stories that are repeated and passed down. In the posttraumatic context, a reckoning emerges; at the juncture of "realism's discourse of omnipotent representation and modernism's discourse of the impossibility of representation," the posttraumatic documentary holds formal and historical weight (Hirsch 2002, p. 13). Thus it must contain what Walter Benjamin would call "meta-textual captions" (1935, pg. 8)—archival materials, interviews, narration, the conscious sequencing and narrative decisions of the editing process—which situate it in an historical context instead of simply an ontological one. In this chapter, I investigate the distinctions between footage and documentary, examining the effect of meta-textual captions in both *Stories We Tell* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* as they repurpose or contextualise informal or amateur archival artefacts into the posttraumatic imaginary.

4.1: The "Dumb" Image

In combing through my own family photo repository in the process of researching *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*, I wondered what makes this type of footage—"this combination of the accidental, the amateur, and the historically significant event"—so engaging (Bruzzi 2005, p. 422). I argue that the answer lies in the focal distance between the perceived and the interpretation: the chasm between the inherently "dumb" image (Rabinowitz 1993, p. 121), and the meaning or value that it comes to hold and/or signify through its interpretation and representation. The word *documentary* denotes a process, implies an educational or evidential action. Raw footage must be funneled through a

pipeline of intention, or of understanding, in order to function as documentary; this pipeline is the implementation of meta-textual captioning.

In *Stories We Tell*, Polley is aware of the multiplicity of overlapping truths, and structures the film in such a way that this awareness becomes an organising principle. Polley's "sleight of hand documemoir," as Waites describes it, utilises various viewpoints—interviews with family members; archival footage both real and deliberately faked—to build a narrative that is fundamentally "refracted" or fragmented (2015, p. 544). The reenacted archival segments sprinkled throughout the film (Illustration 4.1), intermingled with 'truthful' or authentic archival footage (Illustration 4.2), serve as implicit reminders of performance—of the "constructed nature of identity and memory-driven storytelling" (ibid). The boundaries between truth and fabrication, then, are hazy; the definition of each of those terms are too, particularly in the context of Diane's big secret and the various facets of herself that the film depicts her as portraying to her family, husband, lovers, and even herself. By intermingling these differing types of footage in a nonlinear story arc, framed with a literary bent by Michael's narration, *Stories We Tell* tempers the filmic evidence it provides with equally compelling alternative histories. "I didn't want to intentionally confuse people," Polley recounts to the LA Times, "but I did want [viewers] to have moments where they wondered, but in a conscious way, what was real and what wasn't. I was surprised at how well it worked" (Sperling 2013). As *Stories We Tell* exemplifies, a personal documentary's meta-textual captions grant context to filmic material: shaping it into an intentional narrative and bestowing it with meaning.

4.2: The Meta-Textual Caption

As *Stories We Tell*'s reenacted past unravels into clarity, the onus falls on the viewer to understand the mechanism of this historical reconstruction and the purpose it serves as a narrative framework or thematic device. *Stories We Tell*'s "sleight of hand" (Waites: 2015, p. 544) therefore visually illustrates the idea, first argued by French psychiatrist Pierre Janet in the 19th century, that narrative memory—that is, non-traumatic memory—is unself-conscious, flexible in perspective, and 'master-able' in understanding (Hirsch 2002, p. 12). In contrast, Janet posits, posttraumatic memory is characterised by a collapse of linear chronology: "time becomes fragmented and uncontrollable… The present 'I' is invaded by the memory of the past 'I'" (ibid). Mere footage—the sort of

inconsequential or nostalgic home video recordings that many families, like the Polleys, have—is transformed by context, and complicated by the fact that it is not what it appears to be.

Inspired partly by *Stories We Tell*, my goal with *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* is to invoke and evoke fragmented temporal modes as a means to deconstruct documentary form and interrogate posttraumatic archival memory. As Janet suggests, the present "I" of my meta-narration of the story is interspersed with or at times subsumed by that of the past, with the contexts of past and present each colouring the viewer's understanding of the other. In composing the film as such, my intention is to convey a diachronic understanding of time and memory, a permeated membrane between past and present (ibid). By retracing Ernest's steps and filming my contemporary encounters with historically relevant locations (Croydon Airport; the Koch & Lowy factory in Long Island City, New York; Jackson Heights, Queens, New York), I acknowledge an awareness of Azoulay's *vita activa:* engaging in the archive as an ongoing, experiential entity even—or particularly—as I also highlight the subjectivity inherent in it (Illustrations 4.3-4.5). In interpolating digital footage with Super 8 footage, I further complicate the viewer's conception of linear time: forcing a collapse of conventional modalities of memory and evoking the nonlinear, cyclical format of posttraumatic memory itself.

In line with Hirsch's description of second-phase posttraumatic documentary, both *Stories We Tell* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* rely on a creative reimagining of historical events—whether through temporal jumps, the revisiting of historically relevant sites, or reenactments—all of which position the films as arbiters of narrative discourse. "As in all families, time passes, new generations appear, and we take what we have inherited and form our own stories. Even if what we have inherited is ambivalence, confusion, or silence," Alexandra Zapruder observes (Zapruder 2016, p. 419). As this chapter has demonstrated—and much as Borges writes of his life's "weary history" weaving and unweaving itself—both *Stories We Tell* and *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* interrogate notions of traumatic historical memory: transforming footage into artefacts and memories into ongoing archives.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Throughout this study, I have examined how familial artefacts may articulate and revitalise a personal documentary's narrative of ancestral or inter-generational trauma. I have contextualised three documentaries—*The Imam and I, Stories We Tell,* and my own film, *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*—within the framework of posttraumatic cinema theory, arguing that archival/historical materials within the films serve to situate familial narratives within a larger theoretical paradigm. Furthermore, I have postulated that in their use of cinematic devices and mixed media materials, the three films visually and experientially reimagine or reframe historically traumatic events—whether familial, societal, or both—into new narratives. As such, trauma is reconfigured and retold, and its ripple effects interrogated.

Cinematic memory is a tremendously rich and nuanced topic of study. In this paper, I chose to hone in on qualitative research dealing specifically with the subtopic of posttraumatic memory in the three selected personal documentaries. However, further research may be conducted on the role of the archive in a broader selection of second-phase posttraumatic documentaries.

"For where we come from there is no division / into Yes and No, into is, was, and will be," writes Milosz in his poem 'Late Ripeness' (2004), the epigraph of this paper's introduction and the conclusion of *Grandpa Ernest Speaks*. A stanza later, the poet elaborates:

> *…Moments from yesterday and from centuries ago—*
> *a sword blow, the painting of eyelashes before a mirror*
> *of polished metal, a lethal musket shot, a caravel*
> *staving its hull against a reef—they dwell in us,*
> *waiting for a fulfillment…* (ibid).

Like my great-grandfather, Milosz—though not Jewish—fled Central Europe as a refugee during World War II ("Czeslaw Milosz | Poetry Foundation"). Unlike my great-grandfather, who rarely spoke of his earlier life apart from the day he recorded his audio memoir, Milosz wrote often on questions of exile, home, and belonging; his poetry is consistently preoccupied with historical memory and "the impact of history upon moral being" (Poetry Foundation). I selected 'Late Ripeness' to bookend *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* not merely for Milosz's relevant biography but moreover for the poem's description of non-chronological memory, and its attention to the role of the archive in the context of trauma and loss. The "moments" that the poem's speaker foregrounds as temporal markers—a sword blow, painting, musket shot, caravel—can be understood as archival entities, made literal.

Similarly, this paper has supported the claim that posttraumatic memory in the personal documentary functions in a nonlinear manner: less a clearly delineated chronology and more a "collapsed or circular structure" (Hirsch 2002, p. 11). It is evident that in incorporating archival materials/artefacts, these three self-reflexive, family-centric posttraumatic documentaries evoke and exemplify this nonlinearity—participating thusly in the social contract of "cultural memory work" (Sealy 2019). The filmmakers' inclusions of these archival artefacts elevates them: functioning as semiotics which cohere time, place, and stories within the broad and non-narrative realm of the posttraumatic imaginary (Daniels-Yeomans 2017). *Grandpa Ernest Speaks* and the two supporting films I have analysed in conjunction therefore offer nuanced representations of posttraumatic memory and serve as further archival entries into the filmmakers' respective family narrative canons and in larger historical contexts.

(9450 words)

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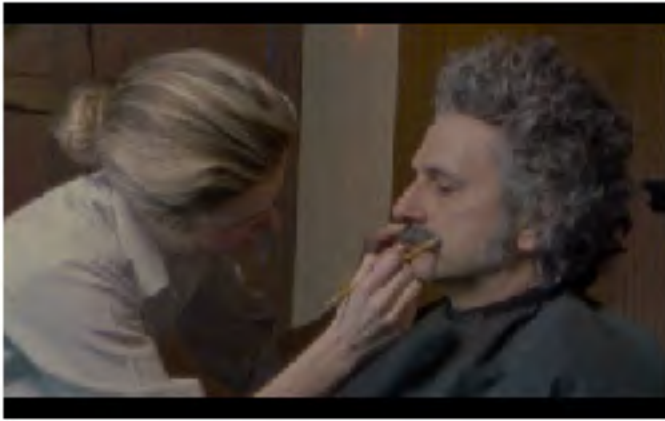
Illustration 3.7: Make up touchup (*Stories We Tell*)

Illustration 3.8: Cassiem Sadan interview (*The Imam and I*)
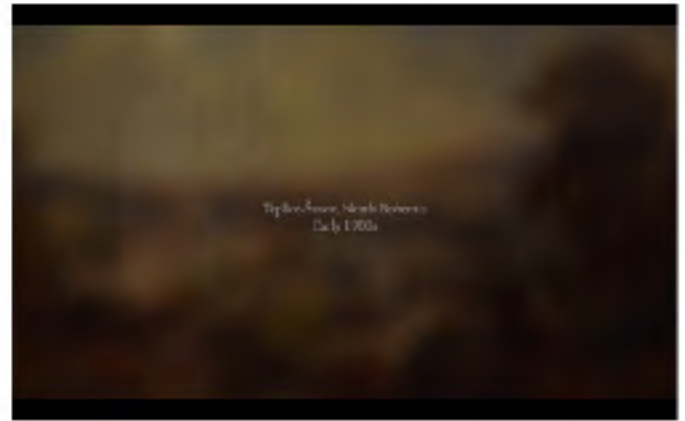

Illustration 3.9: Langa animation (*The Imam and I*)

Illustration 3.10: My reflection (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.11: Bazil family discussion (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.12: Super 8 recording of digital recording, Jackson Heights (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.13: Audio recording equipment (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.14: Double exposure with press clippings (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

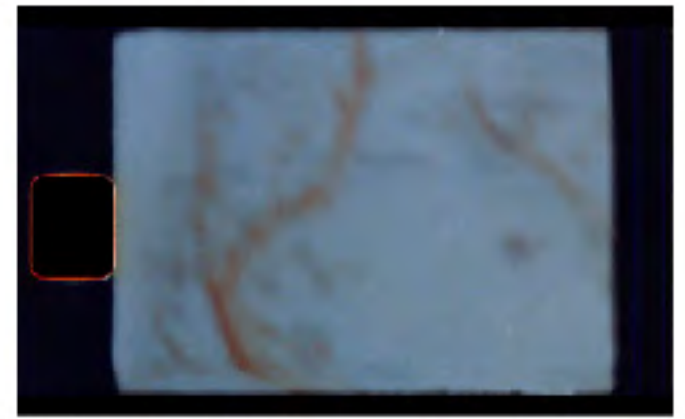Illustration 3.15: Candle burning (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

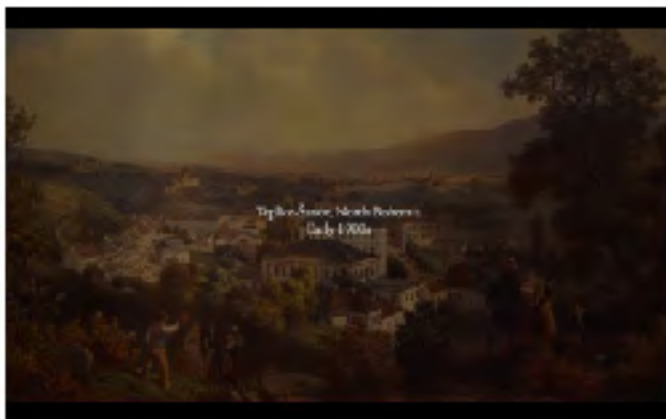Illustration 3.16: Family tree (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

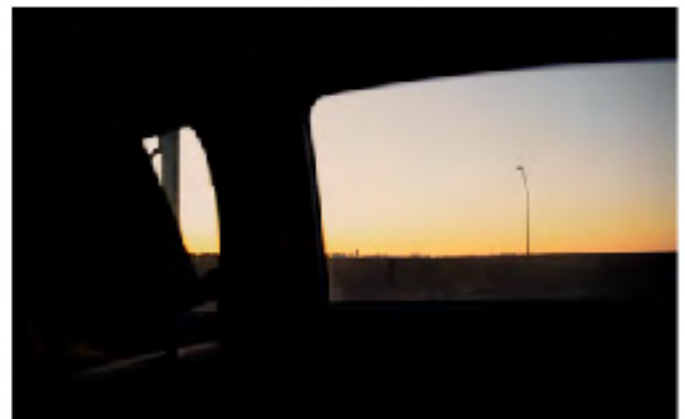Illustration 3.17: Historical image of Teplice, Czechoslovakia (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.18: View from car at sunset (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

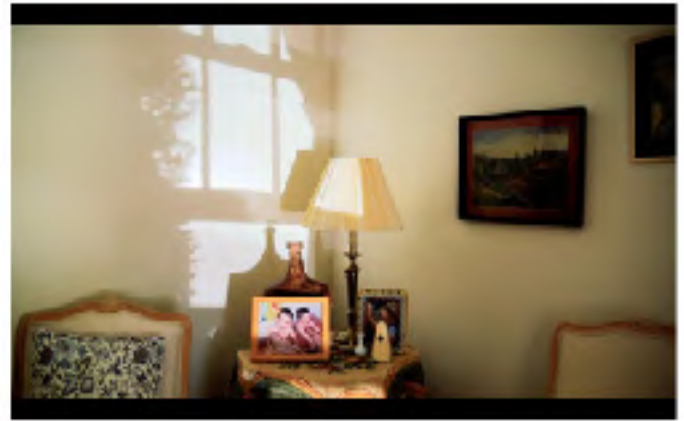Illustration 3.19: Yellow flowers, West Stockbridge (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.20: Sun-dappled room, West Stockbridge (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.21: Amy Bazil Beaumont and Stephen Bazil (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.22: Stephen Bazil and (obscured) Karen Bazil Martorana (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.23: Photo album (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.24: Assorted archival photographs and documents (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 3.25: Croydon Airport (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 4.1: Re-enacted scene (*Stories We Tell*)

Illustration 4.2: Diane Polley onstage (*Stories We Tell*)

Illustration 4.3: Croydon Airport sign (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 4.4: Factory exterior, Long Island City (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)

Illustration 4.5: Jackson Heights (*Grandpa Ernest Speaks*)