

THE MEMORY CONSTRUCTION AND SOCIAL IMAGINARY IN BJÖRK'S "ATOPOS"

Galih Pangestu Jati
Galih.pangestu@isi.ac.id

Faculty of Performance Art, Indonesian Institute of Arts Yogyakarta

Abstract. This research discusses the construction of post-pandemic social memory and imagination represented in the lyrics of the song "Atopos" by Björk. With a qualitative method, this research uses the theory of collective memory developed by Maurice Halbwachs and social imaginary initiated by Charles Taylor. From the analysis that has been done, it can be seen that the memory constructed in the song lyrics is that the COVID-19 pandemic is an event that has an impact on society globally. However, solidarity after the COVID-19 pandemic is a social imaginary offered by Björk. The solidarity in question is not to erase diversity, but diversity is bridged with understanding between community groups.

Keywords: collective memory, social imaginary, solidarity, sisterhood

INTRODUCTION

The global impact of the COVID-19 pandemic has been profound, affecting various aspects of societies worldwide and leaving indelible traumas. Many individuals have grappled with profound sadness, grief, and loss. During this upheaval, literature has emerged as a crucial cultural artifact preserving memories of this unprecedented time. Both domestic and foreign literary works strive to depict the diverse array of challenges arising from the pandemic, spanning from local to transnational issues.

These texts are disseminated across various mediums, encompassing both traditional and digital platforms, and their number is notably substantial. In Indonesia, Budianta (2020) observed the publication of nine-story collections within nine months. Similarly, abroad, Lupton (2022) identified at least five novels portraying the pandemic's impact caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus. Furthermore, beyond novels and short stories, songwriters have also endeavored to capture the essence of the COVID-19 pandemic in their creations, among them Björk Guðmundsdóttir, a prolific Icelandic singer.

Björk, renowned for her distinctive voice and spanning a career since 1993 with the release of 10 albums, drew global attention for her audacious musical style. Her repertoire spans diverse genres including electronic, folk, pop, experimental, trip-hop, classical, and avant-garde music (Erlewine, n.d.). Amidst the pandemic, she penned a song featured in the album "Fossora" (2022). In an interview, Björk revealed that the album was crafted during the pandemic and was inspired by it (Ravens, 2022; Monroe, 2022). The track "Atopos," serving as the album's lead single, encapsulates the events and emotions experienced during the pandemic.

In this context, "Atopos" assumes a role beyond mere entertainment, functioning as a cultural artifact that encapsulates collective memories. Within its lyrics, "Atopos" delves into themes of sorrow and loss experienced amid the global pandemic, along with post-pandemic societal imagery. Consequently, this research aims to dissect the construction of memory and social imagination depicted within the song's lyrics. This exploration is vital, as Erll (2011) posited that studies on memory offer profound insights into issues such as war, genocide, trauma, and reconciliation. Numerous studies on collective memory and social imagination have been conducted. Ullamaija Kivikuru (2018), for instance, discussed the significance of the past in media policy planning in neighboring African countries, Kenya and Tanzania. Collective memory shapes policy-making in both nations concerning their "ideal" policies. Additionally, Bogumil Jewsiewicki (2010) examined

the correlation between collective memory and social imagination in the popular urban painting Zaire. This analysis focused on two discourse levels: images of the past reflecting group collective memory and discussions regarding power dynamics between the state and civil society.

Moreover, Luo et al. (2022) explored collective memory and social imagination following COVID-19 in China. Their study highlighted varied collective memories and social imaginaries among Chinese youth. Interviewees from Wuhan exhibited more negative memories and a deeper understanding of COVID-19's impact compared to those living farther away, who displayed relative optimism and less reflection on trauma and its aftermath. Nonetheless, the shared trauma bolstered solidarity and nationalism among them.

Additionally, Udasmoro and Saktiningrum (2022) investigated the evolution of social imagination regarding women's sexuality in literary works from the New Order to the Reformation period in Indonesia. Their study delineated how the state's hegemonic power influenced social imagination during the New Order, followed by a struggle by women writers against authoritarian rule in subsequent years. Despite initial freedom during the Reformation era, conservative forces aimed to counteract women writers' self-expression, further exacerbating the situation.

Furthermore, studies on collective memory in literary works have been conducted by Pangestu (2021) and Dama (2020). Pangestu delved into collective memory themes in the novel "Secangkir Teh Melati," exploring discourses related to transitions from the old order to the new order, collective memories of historical events, and stereotyping of certain groups. Meanwhile, Dama examined collective memory discourse in Kazuo Ishiguro's novel "Never Let Me Go," identifying efforts to preserve collective memory through group living, mementos, and storytelling among peers.

This research will employ the theory of collective memory and social imagination in its analysis. Song lyrics, akin to poetry (Siswanto, 2011: 23), will be considered as literary works in this study. Erll and Rigney (2006) assert that literary works serve as crucial mediums for the construction of collective memory through narrative retelling of the past. Maurice Halbwachs, a French philosopher and sociologist, initially introduced the concept of "collective memory" in his work "On Collective Memory" (1992).

Halbwachs (1992) posits that human memory operates within a collective context and is inherently selective. Different groups harbor distinct collective memories, shaping their behaviors and perceptions. Thus, memory isn't solitary but molded by the social milieu. Halbwachs illustrated how diverse groups interpret historical events differently, such as pilgrims' varied depictions of the Jesus event or class-based disparities in recalling the past in France.

Consequently, collective memory intertwines with the formation of individual or group identities, distinguishing one identity from another. Nevertheless, Halbwachs (Wattimena, 2016) underscores that collective memory is dynamic and subject to change alongside community dynamics. Additionally, collective memory is politically embedded in people's consciousness, influencing identities, and is interconnected with social imagination—a repository of shared beliefs, values, and experiences that shape group behaviors and dynamics (Luo, et al., 2022).

Taylor (2004) posits that the social imaginary surpasses intellectual schemas, encompassing how individuals conceive their social existence, their relationships with others, and the underlying normative ideas. It's an evolving concept shaped by historical, cultural, and social factors, influencing collective beliefs and practices, and defining social reality across various fields, including sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research will employ qualitative research methods. It encompasses two stages: data collection and data analysis. The data referenced in this study comprise textual units related to the theory and can be categorized into two types: primary data and secondary data. Primary data consists of words, phrases, and sentences extracted from the lyrics of the song 'Atopos' related to the formal object. Secondary data encompass historical, social, and cultural texts that support the research.

The methods and techniques employed for data collection constitute a set of approaches extending human senses. They aim to gather empirical facts relevant to the research problem (Faruk, 2012: 25). The data collection process commences with thorough readings of the material object, namely the lyrics of the song 'Atopos.' Subsequently, the data are organized according to the theoretical framework and research focus. Additionally, materials such as journals, books, and other relevant papers about the formal and material objects of the research were gathered.

The subsequent step involves data analysis, which comprises a series of research methods or techniques extending the human mind's capabilities. Its function lies not in collecting data but in uncovering relationships between data that are not explicitly stated by the data themselves (Faruk, 2012: 25). During this stage, a semiotic reading of the lyrics of the song 'Atopos' will be conducted. This reading involves two stages: heuristic reading followed by hermeneutic reading. Heuristic reading refers to interpreting the first-level semiotic system, focusing on language-based poetry and viewing from the normative system of language. Hermeneutic reading, on the other hand, delves into the second-level semiotic system, occurring within the reader's mind, and involves uncovering matrices, hypograms, and significance within the text. This process aims to extract meaning from poetry and encompasses various levels of interpretation and understanding of the text.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

Disaster memory encompasses the enduring recollections retained by individuals or groups following events that significantly impact their psychological well-being (Le Blanc, 2012). It predominantly emerges among those recently exposed to a disaster, leading to psychological disturbances when confronted with similar patterns of events. Various studies have investigated how disasters generate collective memory (Jia et al., 2022). Individuals or groups witnessing tragic events often possess a heightened awareness of associated risks, frequently resulting in excessive fear or complex psychological conditions (Le Blanc, 2012).

Beyond mere event recall, disaster memory involves a multifaceted process involving mourning, recovery, and individual variability (Fuentealba, 2021). This complexity fosters discussions about disasters, which in turn may alter the memory of such events. There are instances where recollections of catastrophic events might be lost or substantially distorted for various reasons (Sakamoto, 2021), primarily due to the overwhelming pain and trauma experienced by victims (Murti, et al., 2023).

Research on collective memory often centers on public disasters due to their significant impact and customary commemorative practices. For instance, the study of "memorial mania" (Doss, 2012) has focused on events such as wars, conflicts, and disasters like the Rwandan genocide (Ibreck, 2010), Hurricane Katrina (Robinson, 2009), and the London bombings (Allen and Bryan, 2011). Before media involvement, people's remembrance practices revolved around the "materiality" associated with tragedies. Individuals spontaneously create displays of artwork, sculptures, banners, and memorabilia at the physical sites of these events. These memorials perpetuate specific interpretations within collective memory due to their lasting physical presence in the landscape (Foote, 2003), aiding in establishing collective memory after a tragedy.

The advent of websites and social media platforms dedicated to collective memory and commemorating tragic events led to the concept of "virtual Holocaust memory." This approach involves a diverse range of memories conveyed through various media, particularly when revisiting historical trauma (Walden, 2019). Moreover, extensive engagement in online interactions has fostered a "writable collective memory" (Ulmer, 2005). However, this phenomenon has turned the internet into a battleground for competing memory discourses. Hegemonic memory, often established by elite cultures and political systems, faces resistance and challenges from social groups. Memory becomes a narrative battleground promoting social values and beliefs through storytelling (Fisher, 1984).

Traditional media shape public memory by setting agendas in news reporting, known as "memory setting" for the audience (Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011). Repeated news coverage influences audience memory, serving national agendas and maintaining social stability. For instance, Cao et al. (2021) analyzed Chinese netizens' mourning for Dr. Li Wenliang, revealing these expressions of grief as a challenge to official discourse through collective memory, deviating from official norms.

The impact of COVID-19 on collective memory differs across age groups (Mustafa et al., 2021). While not explicitly exploring the collective memory tied to the pandemic, Björk subtly hints at its universal impact in "Atopos." The collective memory of COVID-19 extends far beyond the immediate crisis. It encompasses the emotional toll, stories of loss and resilience, shifts in work and education dynamics, and enduring changes in societal perspectives on health and community. Over time, this collective memory will evolve, shaping future societal behaviors, policies, and preparedness strategies. Narratives will evolve through retrospection, memorialization, and reinterpretation of experiences. The pandemic's legacy will endure in cultural expressions—be it in artifacts, literature, art forms, and the way societies commemorate and contemplate this challenging era.

The COVID-19 pandemic stands as a testament to human resilience, illuminating the interconnectedness of global communities and underscoring the role of collective memory in comprehending and navigating crises. Its impact on collective memory will continue, serving as a reminder of lessons learned and the necessity to forge a more resilient, fair, and prepared future. Björk aims to emphasize this focal point through "Atopos." Instead of portraying the memory of the COVID-19 pandemic directly, she opts to narrate the efforts made toward recovery following the pandemic.

Collective memory transcends the individual, being owned by a group and comprising a collection of collectively owned events (Wertsch and Roediger, 2008; Roediger and Abel, 2015). COVID-19 stands as a global event that impacted numerous individuals. However, the memory associated with COVID-19 isn't singular. The interaction and participation in internet spaces contribute to the varying perspectives on the memory of COVID-19 (Luo, et al., 2022). Furthermore, the representation of collective memory in diverse cultural artifacts varies based on the artist's background, including that of Björk.

In a heuristic interpretation, Björk scarcely delves into the specific collective memory of COVID-19. Instead, she focuses more on the effects resulting from it. The collective memory of COVID-19 is regarded as something universally shared worldwide, inseparable from the relatively recent period of songwriting and release. Björk perceives the COVID-19 pandemic as an event experienced globally. In "Atopos," Björk emphasizes the representation of post-pandemic events related to COVID-19. "Atopos" serves as the first single from the album *Fossora*, released in 2022. In interviews, Björk (Ferrier, 2022) mentioned that the term "Atopos" was inspired by the French philosopher Roland Barthes, renowned as a semiotician exploring how social value systems create modern myths. In his book *A Lover's Discourse* (1978), Barthes explains the meaning of *atopos* as follows:

The *atopia* of Socrates is linked to *Eros* (Socrates is courted by Alcibiades) and to the numbfish (Socrates electrifies and benumbs Meno). The other whom I love and who fascinates me is *atopos*. I cannot classify the other, for the other is, precisely, Unique, the singular Image which has miraculously come to correspond to the specialty of my desire. The other is the figure of my truth, and cannot be imprisoned in any stereotype (which is the truth of others) (pg. 34). Being *Atopic*, the other makes language indecisive: one cannot speak of the other, about the other; every attribute is false, painful, erroneous, awkward: the other is unquantifiable (this would be the true meaning of *atopos*) (pg. 35–36).

In the preceding explanation, it is evident that *atopos* can be interpreted as something that is 'unclassifiable, possessing unexpected originality,' or is 'unusual' and 'out of place.' It denotes things or experiences that are extraordinary and original in a narrow sense that cannot be expressed in words. The word originates from the Greek '*atopy*,' which means 'out of place' or 'unusual.' This elucidation illustrates that the term '*atopos*' refers broadly to human relationships, signifying desires that defy definition and classification. Björk advocates for human relationships that transcend othering and stereotyping. Beyond merely being a song title, the concept of human relationships free from othering is also encapsulated in '*Atopos*,' as illustrated in the following quote."

Are these not just excuses to not connect?

Our differences are irrelevant

Too only name the flaws

Are excuses to not connect

...

Are these not just excuses to not connect?
 Our differences are irrelevant
 To insist on absolute justice at all times
 It blocks connection

In the aforementioned quote, we witness Björk's rejection of othering and stereotyping. The phrase "our differences are irrelevant" signifies that, in this context, the distinctions between people are no longer pertinent. For her, everyone is equally affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, the sentence "to only name the flaws are excuses to not connect" conveys that differences will solely impede human relations during the pandemic. This sentiment is further emphasized by another verse from this song, "our differences are irrelevant to insist on absolute justice at all times; it blocks connection." According to Björk, othering will only obstruct collective justice.

Solidarity and hope share a connection. The term solidarity can be applied in various contexts, encompassing collective experiences, expressions of sympathy, and struggles for liberation (Scholz, 2012:17). Additionally, solidarity necessitates hope as a moral impetus for recovery. Hope can also emerge collectively due to shared experiences and memories (Stockdale, 2021). Given their interrelation, this forms the foundation of sisterhood. Hooks (1986) critiqued the solidarity formed within the feminist movement. According to her, sisterhood takes on two forms. The first form represents the vacuous if not repressive and hypocritical, assertion by middle-class white women that all women share the same experiences.

Conversely, the second form of sisterhood refers to the arduous and sustained political labor that revitalizes sisterhood among women. For Hooks (1986), difference is not to be repudiated but confronted, grounded in a common political commitment. It is this notion of sisterhood that Björk espouses. As is well-known, Björk's works consistently embed feminist values, including in the lyrics of the song "Atopos." The idea of sisterhood based on solidarity and hope is the primary theme conveyed in the song's lyrics.

The concept of sisterhood cannot be divorced from the awareness of differences articulated by Björk earlier. The line "our differences are irrelevant to insist on absolute justice at all times; it blocks connection" demonstrates Björk's acute awareness of existing differences. However, instead of generalizing the experiences of each group of people, Björk advocates understanding as a means to transcend these differences. She acknowledges that for solidarity and hope to exist, there must be a concerted effort to comprehend one another. This sentiment is reflected in the subsequent song lyrics.

I bow to all that you've given me
 Thank you for staying while we learn
 To find our resonance where we do connect
 To find our resonance where we do connect

According to Björk, the effort to understand each other forms the basis of solidarity. Björk's perspective on solidarity isn't global but rather rooted in her identification with a specific collective. The formation of cultural identity cannot be divorced from collective memory. In her book "Theory of Social Remembering," Misztal (2003) explores how memory intertwines with the shaping of one's identity. Misztal categorizes memory into three types: flashbulb, generation, and tradition. Flashbulb memory allows individuals to contextualize themselves historically; when discussing public events, people can place themselves within the narrative (Misztal, 2003: 81). Generational memory, inherited or passed down through generations, is often considered the cornerstone of social sustainability (Misztal, 2003: 81). Lastly, tradition-based memory signifies the transmission of cultural elements and community-specific traditions from one generation to another, fostering loyalty to a particular tradition (Misztal, 2003: 92).

Furthermore, according to Misztal (2003: 120), memory serves as a platform where public and private interests, values, aspirations, and identities intersect and are contested. Consequently, memories are not fixed but tend to be fluid and open-ended. Memory becomes a subject of

contention when diverse groups share a collective attachment to a specific place, city, or site (Misztal, 2003: 121).

Within the context of "Atopos," solidarity plays a vital role in post-pandemic recovery. This theme is reinforced through the following song lyrics.

Our union is stronger
Our union is stronger than us

Hope is a muscle
That allows us to connect
Hope is a muscle
Hope is a muscle
Hope is a muscle
Hope is a muscle
That allows us to connect

The phrase "our union is stronger" refers to the solidarity envisioned by Björk. She believes collective unification is the strength needed to rise in the post-pandemic period. Additionally, she emphasizes hope as the foundation of solidarity, as expressed in the sentence "Hope is a muscle that allows us to connect." Furthermore, the phrase "hope is a muscle" recurs multiple times in the lyrics, almost like a mantra.

CONCLUSION

The explanation provided reveals that the collective memory depicted in the lyrics of the song "Atopos" refers to the event of the COVID-19 pandemic, which had a profound impact on global society. However, Björk does not explicitly define the type of memory represented in "Atopos." Instead, she explores themes of solidarity, hope, and sisterhood in the collective recovery following the pandemic. The concept of sisterhood presented by Björk doesn't aim to erase diversity as white feminism often does. Rather, through "Atopos," Björk endeavors to foster understanding among diverse perspectives, seeking to bridge differences. This social imaginary created by Björk in "Atopos" serves as a response to the pandemic.

References

- Antoine Le Blanc. 2012. Remembering Disasters: the Resilience Approach. hal-00719057
- Allen, M. J., and Bryan, A. (2011). Remembering the 2005 London bombings: Media, memory, commemoration. *Mem. Stud.* 4, 263–268. doi: 10.1177/1750698011402568
- Astrid Erll & Ann Rigney (2006) Literature and the production of cultural memory: Introduction, *European Journal of English Studies*, 10:2, 111-115, DOI: 10.1080/13825570600753394
- Barthes, Roland. 1978. *A Lovers' Discourse*. New York: Hill and Wang
- Bogumil Jewsiewicki. 1986. Collective memory and its images: Popular urban painting in Zaire — a source of "present past"* , *History and Anthropology*, 2:2, 389-400, DOI: 10.1080/02757206.1986.9960775
- Budianta, Melani. 2020. "Tsunami Sastra di Tengah Corona" on <https://theconversation.com/tsunami-sastra-di-tengah-corona-150548> accessed Dec, 10 2023 12.35
- Dama, Idrus. 2020. "Memori, Trauma, dan Respons terhadap Peristiwa Traumatis dalam Novel Never Let Me Go Karya Kazuo Ishiguro" Thesis. Universitas Gadjah Mada
- Doss, E. (2012). *Memorial mania: Public feeling in America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

- Erlewine, Stephen Thomas. n.d. "Björk Biography" on <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/bj%C3%B6rk-mn0000769444> accessed Dec, 10 2023 13.00
- Erll, Astrid. 2011. "Travelling Memory" *Parallax*, vol. 17, no. 4, pages 4-18
- Faruk. 2012. *Metode Penelitian Sastra*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar
- Ferrier, Aimee. 2022. How Roland Barthes inspired a Björk song. on <https://faroutmagazine.co.uk/how-roland-barthes-inspired-a-bjork-song/> accessed Dec 15, 2023 17.09
- Fisher, W. R. (1984). Narration as a human communication paradigm: The case of public moral argument. *Commun. Monogr.* 51, 1–22. doi: 10.1080/03637758409390180
- Foote, K. E. (2003). *Shadowed ground: America's landscapes of violence and tragedy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Fuentealba, R. (2021). Divergent disaster events? The politics of post-disaster memory on the urban margin. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 62, 102389. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdr.2021.102389>
- Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press
- Ibreck, R. (2010). The politics of mourning: Survivor contributions to memorials in post-genocide Rwanda. *Mem. Stud.* 3, 330–343. doi: 10.1177/1750698010374921
- Hooks, Bell. 1986. *Feminist Theory: from margin to center*. Boston: South End Press
- James V. Wertsch & Henry L. Roediger III. 2008. Collective memory: Conceptual foundations and theoretical approaches, *Memory*, 16:3, 318-326, DOI: 10.1080/09658210701801434
- Jia, J., Gao, N., Li, R., Liao, S., Lyu, S., & Wang, Y. (2022). An "OFF-to-ON" shape memory polymer conductor for early fire disaster alarming. *Chemical Engineering Journal*, 431, 133285. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cej.2021.133285>
- Kligler-Vilenchik, N. (2011). "Memory-setting: Applying agenda-setting theory to the study of collective memory," in *On media memory: Collective memory in a new media age*, eds M. Neiger, O. Meyers, and E. Zandberg (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Luo R, Feng W and Xu Y. 2022. Collective memory and social imaginaries of the epidemic situation in COVID-19—based on the qualitative research of college students in Wuhan, China. *Front. Psychol.* 13:998121. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2022.998121
- Lupton, Deborah. 2022. "Life, death, intimacy and privilege: 4 works of COVID fiction – and what they say about us" on <https://theconversation.com/life-death-intimacy-and-privilege-4-works-of-covid-fiction-and-what-they-say-about-us-189311> accessed Dec, 10 2023 12.37
- Misztal, Barbara A. 2003. *Theories of Social Remembering*. Philadelphia: Open University Press
- Monroe, Jazz. 2022. "Björk: Mother, Daughter, Force of Nature" on <https://pitchfork.com/features/cover-story/bjork-interview/> accessed Dec, 10 2023 13.15
- Murti, Desideria Cempaka Wijaya; Marta, Rustono Farady; Almuntarizi, Almuntarizi; and Manalu, Tifani Dianisya (2023) "An Examination of Collective Memory of the Tsunami Disaster: A Comparative Study between Japan and Indonesia," *JURNAL KOMUNIKASI INDONESIA*: Vol. 12: No. 1, Article 7. DOI: 10.7454/jkmi.v12i1.1059
- Mustafa, H., Mukhiar, S. N. S., Jamaludin, S. S. S., and Jais, N. M. (2021). COVID-19 and collective memory among Malaysians: Does generation matter? *Pertanika J. Soc. Sci. Humanit.* 29, 2371–2387. doi:10.47836/pjssh.29.4.15
- Pangestu, Mohamad Akbar. 2021. "Memori Kolektif dalam Novel Secangkir Teh Melati" *Jentera: Jurnal Kajian Sastra*, vol.10, No.2, 188-196
- Ravens, Chal. 2022. "'I got really grounded and loved it': how grief, going home and gabber built Björk's new album" on <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2022/aug/19/i-got-really-grounded-and-loved-it-how-grief-going-home-and-gabber-built-bjorks-new-album> accessed Dec, 10 2023 13.11
- Robinson, S. (2009). "If you had been with us": Mainstream press and citizen journalists jockey for authority over the collective memory of Hurricane Katrina. *New Media Soc.* 11, 795–814. doi: 10.1177/1461444809105353
- Roediger, Henry L & Abel, Magdalena. 2015. Collective memory: a new arena of cognitive study. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, vol. 19, Issue 7, pages 359-36

- Sakamoto, M. (2021). Transferring Historical Disaster Memories: The 1925 North Tajima Earthquake. *Journal of Disaster Research*, 16(2), 163–169. <https://doi.org/10.20965/jdr.2021.p0163>
- Scholz, Sally J. 2008. *Political Solidarity*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press
- Siswanto, Wahyudi. 2011. *Pengantar Teori Sastra*. Jakarta: PT. Gara Studio
- Stockdale, Katie (2021). Hope, Solidarity, and Justice. *Feminist Philosophy Quarterly* 7 (2):1-23.
- Taylor, Charles. 2004. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham and London: Duke University Press
- Udasmoro, Wening and Saktiningrum, Nur. 2022. "The Transformation of the Social Imaginary on Women's Sexuality in Indonesian Literature from the New Order to Reformasi Eras," *Journal of International Women's Studies*: Vol. 24: Iss. 1, Article 11.
- Ullamaija Kivikuru. 2017. "Twinning Social Memory and Social Imaginary: Challenges for East African Media Policies", *African Journalism Studies*, 38:3-4, 50-73, DOI: 10.1080/23743670.2017.1381855
- Ulmer, G. L. (2005). *Electronic monuments*, Vol. 15. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Walden, V. G. (2019). What is 'virtual Holocaust memory'? *Mem. Stud.* 15, 621–633. doi: 10.1177/1750698019888712
- Wattimena, Reza A.A. 2016. "Mengurai Ingatan Kolektif Bersama Maurice Halbwachs, Jan Assmann, dan Aleida Assmann". *Studia Philosophica et Theologica*, vol. 16 No.2, pages 164-196