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Mapping grief. A conceptual framework for understanding the spatial dimensions of bereavement, mourning and remembrance

Avril Maddrell*

Department of Geography and Environmental Management, UWE, Bristol, UK

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This paper highlights the significance of the spatial dimensions of the universal human phenomena of bereavement. Grief, mourning and remembrance are experienced in and mapped upon (i) physical spaces, including the public and private arenas of everyday life; (ii) the embodied-psychological spaces of the interdependent and co-producing body-mind and (iii) the virtual spaces of digital technology, religious-spiritual beliefs and non-place-based community. Culturally inflected, dynamic emotional-affective maps of grief can be identified, as a form of deep-mapping, which reflect the ways in which relationality to particular spaces and places is inflected by bereavement, mourning and remembrance. Individual's emotional-affective cartographies can intersect, overlap, or conflict with, others' maps, with social and political consequences. The conceptual framework outlined here is illustrated by a schematic representation of grief maps. This framework provides geographical scholars with a lens on the dynamic assemblage of self-body-place-society that constitutes culturally inflected individual and shared everyday grief maps, providing insight to relational spaces, emotional-affective geographies and therapeutic environments. The reflexive identification of such maps represents a potential resource for the bereaved and their therapeutic counsellors, facilitating the identification of places which evoke anguish or comfort etc. and which might be deemed emotionally 'safe' or 'unsafe' at particular junctures.

Keywords: Death; bereavement; relational-space; emotional-affective; corporeal virtual

Cartographier le chagrin. Cadre conceptuel pour comprendre les dimensions spatiales de la perte, du deuil et du souvenir

Cet article souligne l'importance des dimensions spatiales du phénomène humain universel du deuil. On peut faire l'expérience de la perte, du deuil et du souvenir et les cartographier dans (i) les espaces physiques, comprenant les cercles publics et privés de la vie quotidienne; (ii) les espaces incarnés psychologiques du corps et de l'esprit interdépendants et coproducteurs et (iii) les espaces virtuels de la technologie numérique, les croyances religieuses-spirituelles et la communauté, en dehors de l'espace physique. On peut identifier des cartes du deuil à inflexion culturelle, qui ont une dynamique émotionnelle-affective, sous forme de cartographie en profondeur, qui reflètent les manières dont la relation à des espaces particuliers ou des endroits est influencée par la perte, le deuil et le souvenir. Les cartographies émotionnelles-affectives d'un individu peuvent croiser, coïncider ou entrer en conflit avec celles d'autres individus, avec des conséquences sociales et politiques. Le cadre conceptuel défini ici est illustré par une représentation schématique de cartes du deuil. Ce cadre

*Email: Avril.Maddrell@uwe.ac.uk

fournit aux chercheurs en géographie un objectif à travers lequel peut être observé l'assemblage dynamique du moi-corps-lieu-société que constitue l'individu influencé par la société et les cartes partagées de deuil quotidien ; ce qui offre un aperçu des espaces relationnels, des géographies émotionnelles-affectives et des environnements thérapeutiques. L'identification réflexive de ces cartes représente une ressource potentielle pour les personnes endeuillées et leurs thérapeutes, facilitant ainsi l'identification des lieux qui évoquent la détresse ou le réconfort etc. et qui seront considérés comme « avec ou sans risque » émotionnel dans certaines circonstances.

Mots clés: Mort; deuil; espace-relationnel; émotionnel-affectif; virtuel corporel

Esquematizando la aflicción. Un marco conceptual para la comprensión de las dimensiones espaciales de la pérdida, el luto y el recuerdo.

Este artículo pone de relieve la importancia de las dimensiones espaciales del fenómeno humano universal del duelo. El dolor, el luto y el recuerdo son experimentados y esquematizados sobre (i) los espacios físicos, incluyendo los espacios públicos y privados de la vida cotidiana; (ii) los espacios corporales-psicológicos del interdependiente y co-producente cuerpo-mente; y (iii) los espacios virtuales de la tecnología digital; creencias religiosas-espirituales; y la comunidad sin asentamiento. Los esquemas dinámicos de aflicción, culturalmente influenciados y emocionalmente afectivos, pueden identificarse, como una forma de esquematización profunda, que refleja las formas en que la relacionalidad hacia espacios y lugares particulares es afectada por la pérdida, el luto y el recuerdo. Las cartografías emocionales-afectivas de individuos pueden entrecruzarse, superponerse o crear conflicto con los esquemas de otros, con consecuencias sociales y políticas. El marco conceptual esbozado aquí es ilustrado con una representación esquemática de mapas de aflicción. Este marco ofrece a estudiosos de la geografía una mirada al ensamblaje dinámico del yo-cuerpo-lugar-sociedad que constituye esquemas de aflicción influenciados culturalmente y compartidos cotidianamente, proporcionando información sobre los espacios relacionales, geografías emocionales-afectivas y entornos terapéuticos. La identificación reflexiva de tales esquemas representa un recurso potencial para los afligidos y sus consejeros terapéuticos, facilitando la identificación de los lugares que evocan angustia o consuelo, etc., y que podrían ser considerados emocionalmente 'seguros' o 'inseguros' en momentos particulares.

Palabras clave: Muerte; duelo; espacio relacional; emocional-afectivo; corporal-virtual

Introduction

Geographical scholarship on death and loss is an emerging field and includes work on nationalist and roadside memorials (Hartig & Dunn, 1998; Johnson, 1995), cemeteries and columbaria (Kong, 1999; Yarwood, Sidaway, Kelly, & Stillwell, 2015), wider deathscapes (Maddrell & Sidaway, 2010) and absence (Maddrell, 2013). This paper includes reference to, but also moves beyond, spaces of bodily disposal and memorial culture to explore ways in which we can map the 'invisible landscape' (Ryden, 1993) of grief across multiple contiguous time-spaces and understand more of the spatialities of bereavement, mourning and remembrance, and how these relate to wider experiences, identities and world views. Exercises in cartography map the territory of a given place and function as a navigational aid and a route map for those wayfaring within that territory. They also frequently reveal previously hidden patterns and relationship to place, including the political and the poetic (Harley, 1988; Kitchin, Gleeson, & Dodge, 2013), the emotional and affective (Harris, 2015; Warf, 2015), and in so doing, maps provide a vantage point and analytical tool for seeing, understanding and responding to those

patterns and relationships, as well as knowledge of potential routes between places, and what might lie therein.

Bereavement, grief and mourning represent different aspects of loss, the experience of sorrow, and associated processes and rituals. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, to be bereaved is to be robbed or dispossessed, usually of some immaterial thing, such as a relation to someone, which leaves one desolate, hence bereft; grief is a deep felt or violent sorrow or keen regret, the experience of which is referred to as grieving and mourning refers to the signs and practices associated with the sorrow and regret associated with a dead person, or other form of loss or misfortune. As will be evident in the ensuing discussion there is more nuance to these terms, e.g. the grief experienced on the loss of a home or job, or the death of a pet; but nonetheless these commonly held meanings provide a useful starting point for exploring these related emotions and practices.

My own experience of bereavement and mourning has ranged from the sad but anticipated death of elderly friends and relatives, heart-wrenching premature deaths of those with terminal illness, and the unanticipated death of a child at birth, which contradicted the apparent natural order of life in a western society. All death prompts questions and reflection, but the latter shocked me to my core and made me question everything about my beliefs, world view and life-decisions. In that, I reflected Rohr's (2002) view that grief is a 'sacred' place because even one's most cherished identities and beliefs can be challenged and questioned. Geographical metaphors came to the fore as I attempted to navigate this emotional and ontological flux, with others and by myself, but I came to realise that my emotional geographies were more than metaphorical. Rather, that my experiences of grief and mourning were framed within a detailed topography of significant spaces and practices. Initially I considered this sensitivity to the spatial dimensions of grief simply to be a normal response for a professional geographer, it was a natural, inevitable even, part of my discursive framing. However, some five years of voluntary work within a national bereavement support network showed that there was a much wider significance for these observations, that everyone's experience of bereavement and their negotiation of life after bereavement had particular geographies, some more explicit than others. Furthermore, understanding these geographies offered significant insight to often complex experiences, responses and strategies. Just as mapping personal experience may provide a 'useful self-analytical tool' (MacKian, 2000, p. 102) for research participants, I argue here that mapping grief offers a framework not only for theoretical insight to geographies of death and mourning, but also as a resource for individuals and groups engaged with understanding and sense-making in their own experiences associated with bereavement, mourning and remembrance, as well as for bereavement service practitioners such as counsellors.

While personal experience has been my starting point, a place from which wider geographies of death, mourning and remembrance could be observed, explored and mapped, the conceptual framework of physical, embodied-psychological and virtual spaces outlined below has also been informed by the experience of others and subsequent research, and situated in feminist scholarship on emotional geographies (e.g. Anderson & Smith, 2001; Bondi, Davidson, & Smith, 2005), embodied experience and gendered social norms, diversity and intersectionality (e.g. Longhurst, 2005). This framework is 'unpacked' below, but first, a brief discussion of the interrelations between grief and space.

The interrelations between bereavement, grief, mourning, remembrance and space

Space/place

Mapping death has long been an important preoccupation of epidemiologists and social scientists, with demographers and health geographers mapping varying rates of disease and mortality between (Stamp, 1964) and within countries (e.g. Dorling, 1997; Dorling & Gunnell, 2003 on suicide). Useful as these maps are, medical geography itself has shifted from studying ‘dots on maps to embodied subjects’ (MacKian, 2000, p. 95). Furthermore, rather than being fixed, maps are increasingly recognised as relational and always in process, always becoming (Kitchin et al., 2013). Ultimately, whether quantitative or qualitative, ‘maps’ continue to be powerful exploratory and theory-building tools which can represent patterns and relationship, including a holistic view of a person’s ‘world of experience’ and how this might vary over time (MacKian, 2000, 2004). The purpose of this paper is to consider how to identify and map individual and collective experience of the impact of the death of another significant person, a question of how to access the non- or more-than-representational ‘geographies that exceed representability’ (Bondi, 2005, p. 438), how to articulate something of the ineffable.

Whilst death itself is often described in spatial terms e.g. ‘passing to the other side’, ‘going to a better place’, grief and mourning tend to be described in more temporal language, such as ‘it takes time’ and ‘time heals’. However, as Bondi et al. (2005, p. 5) have argued ‘embodied emotions are intricately connected to specific sites and contexts’: bereavement, grief and mourning are experienced within space and can be both triggered and ameliorated in relation to particular places at particular times (Maddrell, 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2013). While the significance of *particular* places have been studied, e.g. national or regional cultural contexts (see Yarwood et al. (2014) on geographies of green burials and Watkins (2013) on Britain’s varied regional mourning rites and practices), the focus here is on understanding how bereavement mediates and influences the embodied and lived relationship to and with an assemblage of different spaces at any given time. The varied ways in which the experiences of grief and mourning intersect with different spaces and can be understood in ‘spatial’ terms are explored with reference to mapping meaning or the invisible topography of grief, a form of emotional deep-mapping, and thereby to understand more of the spatialities of bereavement, grief and mourning.

In the *Production of Space* (1994) Lefebvre describes space as organic, fluid, alive and dynamic. He challenged his readers to ‘capture in thought the actual process of [the] production of space’ (Merrifield, 2000, p. 173). Understanding the impact of death and bereavement on people’s understanding and relation to place is part of that ‘production’ process. ‘Theory must render intelligible the qualities of space which are at once perceptible and imperceptible to the senses ... It will doubtless involve careful excavation and reconstruction, necessitate both induction and deduction, journey between the concrete and the abstract, between the local and the global, between self and society, between what’s possible and impossible ...’ (ibid.). This is the challenge addressed by this paper: how to render intelligible the perceptible and imperceptible qualities of space and spatial relations shaped by bereavement and grief; how to provide a framework that brings to light the spatial relations which underlie emotional geographies of grief, mourning and remembrance without objectifying them; how to reveal the interrelation of the material and emotional-affective, cognitive and the sensory, the individual or group and their wider social-cultural contexts.

Doreen Massey has argued that space is the product of interrelations, constituted through interactions; it is a sphere of multiplicity, contemporaneous plurality; whereby 'space is always under construction ... a simultaneity of stories-so-far' (Massey, 2005, p. 9). However, it is not only shifting in its meaning, it is also polysemic. Thus, individual and group responses to spaces associated with death and mourning may vary over time, whether by calendric and seasonal rhythms and associated rituals, or as a result of personal, social, cultural, economic or political positionality and contexts. Contemporary patterns of death, bodily 'disposal' and remembrance overlay historical ones: prehistoric burial mounds, historic burial grounds, battlefields, execution sites, cemeteries without surviving mourners, sites of industrial disaster, past and present sacred places, to name but a few. The landscape is a palimpsest not only of life, but also of the social relations and practices associated with death and remembrance. While the focus here is on the contemporary, the present always needs to be contextualised by past practices, norms and the legacy of attributes ascribed to and inscribed upon particular places (see Maddrell, 2009a on the Witness Cairn at Whithorn, Scotland).

Today's everyday geographies of death and dying are much more varied than the spatial pattern of cemeteries, crematoria and formal memorialscape associated with the dead. In the West these geographies typically include hospitals, hospices and homes (see Hallam & Hockey, 2001; Morris & Thomas, 2005); highways and byways; places of work, sport and leisure; and the virtual space of the webpage (Kasket, 2012; Maddrell, 2012a). Yet more than this, if we recognise the primary space of mourning as embodied by the mourner, they (we) carry grief *within* and can potentially be interpellated by it at any juncture of time-space. In the words of an evocative pop song: 'Everywhere you go, you always take the weather with you' (Crowded House, 1991). If we recognise the mobility of embodied and relational grief, greater understanding of the complex dynamic spatial patterns of grief, mourning and remembrance will follow.

In recent years, a significant body of work has responded to Anderson and Smith's (2001) call to be sensitive to the geographies of emotion. As Karen Till notes: '... places are never merely backdrops for action or containers for the past. They are fluid mosaics and moments of memory, matter, metaphor, scene, and experience which create and mediate social spaces and temporalities' (2005, p. 8). Thus, particular spaces become emotion-laden *places*. For the mourner this is true of both those spaces they have consciously – actively – designated as significant and those affectively charged spaces which unexpectedly interpellate them. Given that 'embodied emotions are intricately connected to specific sites and contexts' (Davidson et al., 2005, p. 5), which can be expressed at various scales, 'place', i.e. those spaces which are endowed with meaning (Cresswell, 2004; Tuan, 1974), is central to giving the bereaved a focus for locating grief (Hallam & Hockey, 2001; Hartig & Dunn, 1998). Places that have or take on meaning in relation to the dead can therefore act as a catalyst, evoking grief, memories, sadness and comfort – or an unpredictable combination thereof. Specific locations associated with the deceased in life or death, can also be sites for *action*, the active emotional-affective practices and performances of expression, remembrance and ongoing relation, for example a roadside shrine (Collins & Opie, 2010; Hartig & Dunn, 1998; Margry & Sanchez-Carretero, 2011; Santino, 2006).

Death and bereavement produce new and shifting emotional-affective geographies, whereby artefacts, places and communities can take on new and heightened significance. For the mourner, bereavement results not only in changed personal identity and status, but can produce a whole new set of emotional topographies, mobilities and moorings. This includes those places individuals and communities navigate as emotionally 'safe'

and ‘unsafe’ in relation to the dead, emotional thresholds and locales inscribed through mourning practices. Before discussing these dynamic maps, an outline of key theorisations of bereavement, grief and mourning is necessary.

Bereavement, grief and mourning

Questions of whom or what is deemed ‘grievable’ in any society is both discursively framed and inherently political (Butler, 2009; Wells, 2012). Here the focus is on human bereavement through death and consequent grief and mourning, but with an awareness of other forms of loss, such as the loss of home, nation, job or partner, and numerous embodied health-related losses such as mobility, fertility and sight. Grief and mourning may also occur as a result of cross-species bereavement between humans and pets, which can have profound effects on both parties (Kaufman & Kaufman, 2006).

The death of a significant other forever changes the life of the bereaved. Although often assumed to be negative, absence of the deceased can be viewed and experienced as part of the natural lifecycle, as relief from debilitating illness, release from a difficult relationship, or liberation from an exhausting duty of care – or may simply have minimal impact in cases where there was little attachment (Worden, 2008). However, for most, the death of a ‘significant’ person is experienced as a bereavement which results in grief and mourning. This grief and mourning can be experienced and expressed individually and communally, with grief varying in duration and intensity, impacting on physical, emotional, cognitive, behavioural, sexual and spiritual characteristics (Dent, 2005), which various theorisations or models have attempted to capture.

Theorising experiences of bereavement, grief and mourning

The dominant discourse within grief counselling in the twentieth century West was that of a Freud-influenced model whereby the bereaved were encouraged to work through their emotions in order to be able to live without the deceased (Walter, 1996a); but as Walter highlights, there is more than one ‘grief process’. Typically based on stages or phases grounded in Freud’s notion of grief work and Bowlby’s (1980) attachment theory, various models of bereavement have been devised which centre on the *temporalities* of grief and mourning and which are often predicated on an implicit assumption of an ideal, often linear, route to ‘recovery’. For example, building on Kubler-Ross’ (1969) *On Death and Dying*, Parkes’ (1972) identified four stages of numbness, yearning, disorganisation and despair, and reorganised behaviour; similarly, Sanders’ (1999) five stages of shock: awareness of loss, conservation, withdrawal, healing and renewal. More dynamic qualities of grief and associated mourning are recognised in Worden’s (1983) *tasks* of mourning and Stroebe & Schut’s (1999) axes of psychological oscillation between loss orientation (focusing on the deceased) and restoration orientation (dealing with secondary losses resulting from the death, such as practical matters). Psychologists’ recognition that the mind can act to screen out or ‘forget’ that which it can’t deal with (Damasio, 2000), is developed in Machin’s (2009) schema for exploring loss through narratives which locate individuals on axes representing a continua between overwhelmed and controlled grief, vulnerability and resilience. Whilst each of these approaches has the potential to offer useful insights, such models or theories have a tendency to explicit or implicit normative claims regarding particular expressions and temporalities of mourning, which have resulted in the pathologising of those whose experience does not conform to these models. For example, within these approaches, a

continued depressive symptom is commonly labelled as pathologic and abnormal (or at least as symptomatic of ‘complicated grief’), despite this applying to some 15% of those widowed (Clayton, 1990). Significantly, this has typically been attributed to women or minorities (Bennett & Bennett, 2000; Valentine, 2008) symptomatic of highly gendered, patriarchal and ethnically determined or racially determined diagnoses.

Since the 1990s less normative and linear therapeutic frames have gained currency in western society, in the face of increasingly diverse modes and practices of grieving and memorialisation. The continuing bonds theory (Klass, Silverman, & Nickman, 1996) has been central in this and accommodates a more fluid ongoing relationality between the bereaved and the dead, acknowledging that emotional attachment to someone doesn’t necessarily end simply because they have died (ibid.; Bennett & Bennett, 2000; Conant, 1996). This perspective has been integrated within other therapeutic approaches, such as Worden’s (2008) schema which acknowledges continuing bonds within a revised configuration of tasks of mourning.

Experiences of the continued ‘presence’ of the deceased are reported as ranging from ephemeral to bodily, sensual experiences (Conant, 1996) and are experienced by half of mourners in the UK and higher proportions where this is deemed the cultural norm e.g. West Africa (Wolpert, 2006). While sceptics may dismiss such experiences as mere projections, these sensory encounters were nonetheless very real to the person experiencing them, whether welcomed or not (ibid.; Bennett & Bennett, 2000). In the same way that continuing bonds challenge assumptions about the impermeable nature of the boundary between the living and the dead, acknowledging these experiences, their impact and spatial expression pushes the boundaries of relational geographies to include the dead and people’s beliefs in the realms of the afterlife and spiritual arenas.

Thus, in contrast to those models based on assumptions of ‘normal’ or ‘successful’ grieving being achieved through speedy ‘closure’ or ‘recovery’, for many the experience of grief is varied and discontinuous (Woods, 2006). While the experience of absence is anchored by attachment to the absent (Frers, 2013) (whether positive or negative), although apparently contradictory, that same depth of attachment often fosters a simultaneous ongoing sense of presence – hence the oft-experienced relational absence-presence of the deceased, which may remain relatively constant or ebb and flow (Maddrell, 2009a, 2013).

Thus, rather than a finite process to be completed within an appointed timeframe, grief is recognised as a potentially life-long engagement, i.e. a part of life ‘right up to death’ (Derrida, 1996, p. 172). This understanding underpins this paper: for some mourners and some deaths grief is a mantle worn for a season and then shed in due course, for other mourners and other deaths, grief is both inhabited and inhabiting, strands of which can be woven into one’s very being, forever changing emotional and affective DNA, shaping and influencing experience of the world. This is not to essentialise grief or the bereaved as grief-stricken and incapacitated, not least as grief can be an inspiration and catalyst, but rather to recognise the intertwining of loss in one’s ever-emerging self and relations with others, as well as places and practices. Ultimately, ‘If, rather than a finite event, grieving is recognized as an ongoing process in the life-journey of the bereaved, that process can be identified as an *individual and dynamic blend of leave-taking and way-finding*’ (Maddrell, 2013, p. 513; italics added here).

Contextual factors such as the specificity of the nature of the death (notably whether it was (un)expected and/or (un)timely), relation to the deceased (Worden, 2008), family relations (Dent, 2005) and cultural practices and expectations are increasingly

recognised as significant filters in individual and collective experiences of grief. Each grounds understanding of bereavement and its impact on individuals and communities, as well as defining normative parameters for behaviour and expression. Where attention is given to gendered experience of leave-taking and way-finding in western society, it tends to be characterised in terms of a stereotypical dichotomy of more cognitive expressions of loss on the part of women and more instrumental responses by men (Martin & Doka, 2000). Gender, not least through the mechanisms of social norms, is a significant factor in bereavement, grief and mourning but varies enormously depending upon individual, community and cultural setting. Shared cultural values and practices shape the leave-taking and way-finding associated with bereavement, as they influence both the experience and expression of grief and mourning (see Machin & Spall, 2004; Martin & Doka, 2000; Watkins, 2013) e.g. culturally defined gendered roles in body preparation or funerary ritual. Furthermore, culture has been shown to be a significant factor shaping grief *responses* and there is a growing awareness of the need to be sensitive to this therapeutically (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Field, Hockey, & Small, 1997; Machin & Spall, 2004; Oltjenbruns, 1998; also see Jassal (2015) and Hunter, this issue).

Relationality is at the heart of understanding the experience of and responses to bereavement. New relationships which develop within the fellowship of the bereaved range from spatially fixed communities such as those grounded on the shared tending of graves in a cemetery (Francis, Kellaher, & Neophytou, 2005; Hallam & Hockey, 2001) and new associates within a face-to-face support group or online social networks. However, while shared experience of bereavement can bring people closer together, existing relationships can be put under pressure by bereavement, particularly if any fault lines already exist within that relationship (Henley & Kohner, 2001). Bereavement can result in seismic shifts in sense of self and relational emotional geographies, which in turn may interact/overlap with those of other people and other forms of grief, such as relationship breakdown, loss of home or job, as well as sites and experiences of support and consolation, all of which represent additional dimensions to the cartographies of loss which inscribe dynamic maps of mourning and remembrance.

Furthermore, bereavement is rarely a once in a lifetime experience, but rather a recurring experience throughout the lifecourse. Maps of grief become layered palimpsests of multiple emotional and affective experiences. While each experience of bereavement will have its own characteristics, grief and mourning can also be recursive and reiterative, bringing forgotten artefacts, places and embodied practices to the fore, transporting the bereaved back to earlier experiential spaces of trauma or consolation. These often unconscious cyclical characteristics underpinned the narrative of John Banville's *The Sea* (2005), in which Max, on the death of Anna, his wife, is simultaneously and paradoxically repelled by his home and compelled to return to the site of childhood bereavement and trauma (Maddrell, 2012a).

In summary, while grief may be shared and may even generate or reinforce a sense of the collective, as evidenced in the case of community response to disaster and tragedy (Foote, 2003), each mourner has their own individual internal emotional-affective map, reflecting what Robinson (2005, p. 53) describes as '... a particular inter-relation of self and body and place'. This internal map is a complex and dynamic assemblage, shaped and marked by emotions, acknowledged and unacknowledged, memories and affective responses evoked via the senses. The next section explores contemporary examples of a threefold dynamic assemblage of spaces within which grief can be

experienced, with the final section exploring how these emotional affective experiences might be ‘mapped’.

The spatialities of bereavement

Attempts to conceptualise space have commonly employed triads e.g. Werlen’s (1993) threefold subjective, physical and social spaces and Pile’s (1993, 2013) real, imaginary and symbolic spaces, these approaches being most effective when seen through the lens of spatialities, i.e. a framework which links the different spaces (Keith & Pile, 1993; MacKian, 2000). The three spatial arenas deployed here are the overlapping and inter-relational: (i) physical or material, (ii) embodied-psychological and (iii) virtual or immaterial spaces, which are discussed in turn below.

Physical spaces associated with grief and mourning are material in form, and can range in scale: artefacts such as books, clothing or memory boxes (Riches & Dawson, 1998), domestic shrines with photographs and candles (Wojtkowiak & Venbrux, 2010), public formal or informal memorials or evocative landscapes (Foote, 2003; Gough, 2000; Maddrell, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011; Margry & Sanchez-Carretero, 2011). Physical spaces of memorialisation are part of the fabric and meaning of place (see Howard, 2003; Johnson, 1995). Some of these material forms of memorialisation and memory inscription, such as war memorials, are familiar cultural markers within the landscape of western societies, and their symbolism and social functions are well-documented. Others such as informal or vernacular roadside or mountainside memorials, long common in societies where there is a focus on the material culture of religion, are relatively new additions to the lexicon of remembrance in the nominally Protestant countries of western Europe (Maddrell, 2006, 2011). These vernacular memorials, whether associated with a formal belief system or not, reflect a desire to mark death and remembrance *in situ*, demarcating one of the most powerful examples of what Anderson and Smith (2001, p. 8) describe as ‘emotionally heightened spaces’. It is through specific contextually located studies of such places (Kong, 2001) that insight can be gained to ‘the complex arrangement between the living and the dead in changing modern societies’ (Worpole, 2003, p. 12). There are obvious resonances here with notions of representational and symbolic spaces and associated practices and performances.

The first and most obvious space to address is that of death itself. For a minority of extra-ordinary deaths this may be situated at a location not usually associated with death, e.g. a workplace, social or sporting venue, road, beach or bridge. However, for most people in the industrialised ‘West’ our own death and that of those who are significant to us will most likely occur within the physical and social space of an institution, such as a hospital, hospice or care home. This institutionalisation of death may limit access to the dying and the bereaved may also subsequently be distanced or barred from the place of death if their contact with the institution naturally comes to an end at the time of death.

The next most obvious set of spaces associated with death and remembrance are those physical spaces of burial, cremation and memorialisation. In most societies, cemeteries, crematoria and columbaria are the most obvious material spaces associated with death and are endowed with social and symbolic meaning (see Francis et al., 2005; Grainger, 2006; Kong, 1999; Woodthorpe, 2010). Cemeteries and memorials are sites of identity markers and places of representation, and as such are socially, culturally, economically and politically embedded; e.g. burial and memorial spaces are significant places within the Judaeo-Christian and Muslim theologies and traditions, as is the *ghat*

and river Ganges for Hindus. They are symbolic spaces invested with meaning: respect for the remains of kith and kin and symbolic remembrance of them – and as such are often discursively framed as ‘sacred’ in religious, communal and/or personal terms. This sentiment is expressed through domestic shrines in Japan and literally inscribed on Anglo-American memorials which declare themselves to be: ‘sacred to the memory of ...’. This discursive process of sacralisation of sites associated with the dead has been evidenced in cases of sudden, unexpected, violent or mass death, especially when bodies are not recovered (Foote, 2003; Jacobs, 2004), e.g. the USS Arizona at Pearl Harbour, Auschwitz concentration camp, the Killing Fields of Cambodia and Ground Zero in New York.

Sites of burial, cremation and memorialisation are not simply macrocosms of collective expression and practice, but also need to be recognised as being (re)constituted through microcosms of intensely personal meaning-making.

Within the West, deathscapes have become more diverse as society has become simultaneously more secular, multi-cultural and multi-faith – hence more (post)secular – prompting a growing range of spaces and practices of bodily disposal and remembrance. The freedom to bury bodies or disperse cremated ashes outside of official cemeteries varies according to national and religious regulation, but where choices are unconstrained, mourners are increasingly choosing to locate the dead in what are deemed to be ideal environments, such as woodland cemeteries which reflect changing attitudes to burial, memorials and traditional cemeteries, as well as growing environmental consciousness (see Clayden, Green, Hockey, & Powell, 2010; Maddrell, 2011; Yarwood et al., 2014). Likewise, where ash dispersal is permitted, this practice affords maximum expression of personal or communal identity and place attachment, when deciding on the final destination – or destinations – for those ashes. Through cremation, the dead become ultimately mobile. Ashes can be launched into space, by private companies such as Celestis Space Flights or Elysium Space, space being the ‘final frontier’ presented discursively as a secular ‘Nirvana’. More typically, ashes are interred at a cemetery or scattered in some significant or symbolic place. The spot may be marked with memorial statuary, a plaque or digital link, with a living memorial such as tree, or a facility which will give pleasure or service to others – or left unmarked, the environment apparently unaltered. More intimately, ashes can be metamorphosed into ‘precious’ jewels, ground into paints or made into ornaments, whereby the remains of the dead body – dull ashes – are rendered beautiful, but also kept close, worn in sensual proximity to the body or retained within the domesticated space of the home, as an expression of continuing relation and remembrance. These deeply personal choices may reflect the deceased’s or chief mourners’ religion or world views, as well economic opportunities or constraints, but also aspirations to situate the dead in an ‘ideal’ environment for the deceased and/or the bereaved; e.g. ashes scattered in a cherished domestic garden, venerated football pitch or an English river sanctified by water from the Ganges; or burial in a woodland cemetery on the edge of a National Park with a pub nearby (see Maddrell, 2011).

Cemeteries, as both real estate and material expressions of identity, are spaces of capital exchange, socio-economic, cultural and political power. Likewise, other memorials, whether domestic or civic, can be sites of power and contestation (Hallam and Hockey, 2001). At a localised level, such contestation frequently centres (i) perceived disconnection between the deceased and site of memorialisation; (ii) an unregulated proliferation of vernacular memorialisation in public spaces; and (iii) opposing views regarding the aesthetics and longevity of those memorials. This illustrates how tension

can also arise where emotional maps conflict, e.g. one mourner's desire to mark loss and enact remembrance in a particular place, while others resist the permanent inscription of place as deathscape and object to persistent reminders of mortality or tragedy (Maddrell, 2010, 2011).

For the mourners, bereavement itself can also be experienced as a space of conflict: conflict over the cause of death, funeral costs, competing rights to probate, choice of rituals, or disagreement over how to narrate and memorialise the deceased. Grief can lay bare previously submerged conflicts, as can the politics of the deceased or their legacies, financial or personal. In turn, some memorials can also become a site of protest and resistance (see Howard, 2003; Jacobs, 2004; Johnson, 1995), e.g. 'ghost bikes', which are simultaneously a memorial for and protest against a cyclist fatality.

Valuable as studies of memorial places and landscapes are, it is necessary to move beyond them in order to understand the full range of spaces significant in bereavement, grief and mourning. Just as the embodied dead give rise to the mortuary geographies of morgues, burial grounds, crematoria, networks of repatriation and places of remembrance, so too mourners are embodied and it is central to the framework presented here to acknowledge the embodiment of grief as a space of experience, practice, performance and trace. Being attentive to the grieving body contributes to understanding the contextualised co-constitution of bodies and places, as Nast and Pile (1998, p. 1) argue: 'this is how we live our lives – through places, through the body'.

The body has been recognised as an identity project in late modernity/postmodernity (Featherstone, Hepworth, & Turner, 1991) and it has become part of the scholarship of the 'everyday' within the social sciences (Watson & Cunningham-Burley, 2001). Described as 'the geography closest in' (Riche, 1984, p. 212), feminist scholarship in and beyond geography, has highlighted the body as an important site of enquiry since the 1990s. The body can be seen as physical *container or canvas* for inscription but it is also a deeply inter-connected emotional, psychological and biochemical system with associated processes, as well as a site of *embodiment*, of identity, experience, performance (Moss & Dyck, 2003). It is a space where things happen, such as illness, ageing, pregnancy, a site of sentience and sensual experience (Valentine, 2001), but also a space of expression, marked by one's culture and life-history. Robyn Longhurst summarises the body's complexity as simultaneously 'material, discursive and psychical' (2005, p. 91), a space where intertwined corporeal and psychological processes occur – and this includes the mapping of grief within and upon the body and mind.

Embodied spaces of bereavement represent an overlap between the material space of the body and emotional-psychological space, corporeal wellbeing being intimately tied to conscious and sub-conscious processes and associated biochemistry (Damasio, 2000). Grief is 'an embodied practice' (Robinson, 2005) and bodies are 'maps of meaning and power' (Pile, 2013), thus, people can themselves become texts of grief, the signs of bereavement, grief and mourning written on mind-bodies. As argued above, grief can be both inhabited and inhabiting and the intertwined corporeal and psychological processes that map grief within individuals are exemplified by two parents who recently discussed the unexpected deaths of their respective children in the British media. The bereaved father described his visceral response to hearing the news of his son's death: 'It is as if someone has literally just kicked you in the heart' (@DyingMatters, Twitter 3/12/13). Heartache is not merely a metaphor, it is experienced physically, a *somatic* response to bereavement and other forms of acute loss. Bereaved mother, Anne-Marie Cockburn described her own primordial keening on sight of her dead daughter, Martha, writing later 'my heart is beating but it pangs with loss, knowing that I will always miss her'

(Moorhead, 2013, p. 2). Other well-documented psycho-physiological responses can include reduced immunity, stress-related illnesses, eating disorders, premature ageing, agoraphobia and self-harm (Dent, 2005). Bereavement-induced shock may cause feelings of feel disembodiment, distant from the full reality of loss and its implications. Bereavement has long been identified as a potential trigger for depression (Clayton, 1990; Wolpert, 2006) and agoraphobia (Evans & Liggett, 1971). In the case of the latter, bereavement is a catalyst for loss of confidence, fear of people and the unknown and that which cannot be controlled, an embodied-psychological response, whereby anywhere beyond the immediate home environment is considered to be 'unsafe'. In a similar way to the homeless, who deploy a strategy of 'survival through safe places' (Robinson, 2005), those disorientated through bereavement may withdraw to a single 'safe' space or, more typically, consciously or unconsciously, develop a highly refined sense of where it is (im)possible to go and what one might expect to confront emotionally in particular time-spaces. Physical places which are too painful to confront may include the site of death, particularly if this was sudden or violent.

Whilst emotional responses to bereavement can be visceral, they are relational to wider external factors such as prior relationship with the deceased, whether the death was expected or not, and the bereaved person's social and cultural context (see Kaufman & Kaufman, 2006); they also relate to an individual's internal world view and baseline psychological state prior to bereavement and how they approach 'sense-making' of a death, which is central to the grieving process (Davies, 2002; Walter, 1996a, 1996b).

Just as cultural norms shape bereavement practice and experience, studies suggest that somatic responses can also be culturally mediated. For example, a comparative study of Mexican-American and Anglo-American students showed greater embodied responses in the Mexican-American group, who culturally identify bereavement as both an emotional and physical process (Oltjenbruns, 1998). Cultural norms also include dominant beliefs about an after-life and rites associated with death and bereavement. These can also be related to bodily mapped cultural practices for the deceased and the bereaved, including rules or conventions about the wearing of mourning clothes (e.g. traditionally black in western Europe, white in Ethiopia and India), the physical location of the bereaved in social and cultural situations (see Dunn, this issue), and bodily markers such as the Hindu tradition for women to signify their widowhood and associated change in status by cutting their hair short.

In addition to embodied psychosomatic responses to bereavement and grief, within bereavement studies psychological processes are particularly associated with work on the 'stages' of grief and mourning, typically defined as denial, shock, anger, guilt, resolution/adaptation, etc. (as outlined above). Therapeutic progress is frequently represented as a 'journey' through these stages – an inherently geographical metaphor. However, whilst attention to common 'stages' of grief and metaphors of mourning as a journey can be therapeutically helpful, emotions and emotional geographies are much more unruly than any prescriptive linear or nodal frameworks suggests.

One well-documented spatial manifestation of bereavement is the so-called 'geographical cure' (see Worden, 2008 for example) in cases where grief is so focused on a particular location or set of locations and associated relations, that it is necessary for the bereaved to move away in hope of breaking the circular reiterative co-production of emotional pain and place. This is explored eloquently in Manette Ansay's (2006) novel *Blue Water*, when a middle class couple give up their jobs, rent out their house

and embark on a long-distance sailing trip after the death of their son in a road traffic accident.

The final set of spatialities to be discussed here are the ‘virtual’ spaces associated with grief and mourning. In the widest sense, the term ‘virtual’ encompasses all non-material spaces of interaction, practice and performance. I focus here on three key arenas, firstly, those associated with technological spaces or ‘neographies’, such as Internet chat rooms; secondly, those non-geographical emotional spaces found within ‘communities’ of the bereaved and related support groups and services and thirdly, non-material spaces associated religious beliefs and spiritual practices, such as ‘heaven’ and prayer. These discursive senses of ‘virtual’ can coincide, e.g. when a sense of ‘community’ is forged between bereaved people who belonging to the same religion through the medium of an online forum. However, while referring to the immaterial nature of the ‘virtual’ arenas, even apparently virtual milieux are usually anchored somewhere in the material world (Kinsley, 2014), e.g. a place of worship or the physical equipment of computer or phone, which affords access to the spaces, resources and relationships found via media technology.

Whilst it was suggested in the 1990s that emerging media technologies were anti-theoretical to memory-making (Frow, 1997), this has been challenged by contemporary practice (Hallam and Hockey, 2001). Rather, information technologies have created repositories of information and spaces of support for the bereaved and have become sites of communal remembering and interactive experience.

Another key form of virtual relational space that is becoming increasingly common and significant is the online memorial. Memorial web pages, such as those on Facebook or dedicated online memorial sites, commonly include photographs, biographies, candles (reflecting common religious tropes and practices), copies of readings from funerals, blogs by the next of kin describing their emotional and/or existential journeys, and visitor pages where messages of condolence can be posted. Thus, online memorials have the technological functions and electronic storage capacity to create what in effect can be an illustrated archive of a person’s life, as well as an interactive book of condolence and space of memorialisation. Online memorials may be symptomatic of a trend to cenotaphisation (Kellaheer & Worpole, 2010), but the use of digital links can connect the bodily remains of the dead with physical and virtual memorials.

Such online memorial sites can be profit-generating or not-for-profit ventures and many have adopted the practice of expression-through-consumption from online gaming arenas such as *Second Life*, with the provision of memorial icons to be ‘gifted’ to the deceased’s memorial page. Examples of icons include a wide range of items such as flowers, birthday cards, toys and balloons, as well as culturally symbolic and religious items e.g. a Koran or Bible. Thus online memorial sites, like cemeteries, become spaces of consumption and capital exchange, albeit for a relatively modest sums. The financial economy of remembrance to one side, many of the practices associated with virtual memorial pages re-inscribe Santino’s (2006) notion of the ‘performative commemorative’: they are sites of ‘acting’ and ‘doing’ through writing, gifting and fund-raising. They are also places of ‘being’, notably places of ‘being with the deceased’, where expressions of continuing bonds are commonly expressed in textual form, exemplified by those dialogic posts which address the deceased directly through messages, poems and prayers (see Kasket, 2012; Maddrell, 2012a, 2013).

Digital technology can also facilitate remote access to the dying and associated end of life and funerary rites. Webcams are increasingly being used to facilitate virtual participation in death-related rituals and ceremonies by international mourners, as can be

seen in the case of the webcam link between Hindu cremations in India and globally dispersed networks of kith and kin, whereby technology affords virtual participation in key lifecycle events of family and friends. This includes witnessing and even participating in funeral rites in real time via prayers, giving a 'remote' eulogy and other observances shared via webcam links. Media technology likewise allows access to events of global interest and significance, such as the funeral of Nelson Mandela in December 2013.

In addition to virtual co-presence and participation in rituals, the Internet also facilitates access to information, which can be empowering and/or bewildering: practical information about legal requirements relating to death or funeral arrangements, information on medical conditions and cause of death, details of financial costs or entitlements; as well as relevant counselling or support groups. An extension of face-to-face and phone-based support services offered by numerous bereavement support charities, these networks can become spaces of belonging as well as information. The Internet also accommodates therapeutic spaces where it is possible to take part in chat room support groups from a 'safe distance', e.g. without necessarily leaving home or making visual contact, but where one is free to express feelings considered too weighty or repetitive to impose on immediate kith and kin. Such fora have the potential to constitute a community of peers based on shared experience, a social network which is able to address the immediate practical and emotional needs of the bereaved.

The international character of some online support group chat rooms cuts through the limitations of place-based temporalities; e.g. an international Anglophone support group could operate across European, North American and Australasian time zones, meaning that participants could access and engage with someone else, no matter what the time of day or night, transcending the boundaries of space and time. Detailed analysis of users of these resources has yet to be made and could shed important light on patterns relating to socio-economic class, ethnicity and gender. However, early observations suggest that there may be a gender dimensions at play, as a higher proportion of men participate in the relatively anonymous spaces of online bereavement support networks compared with the vulnerabilities of face-to-face meetings. As with webcam links to funerals, access to these experiential networks of co-produced support and care are important at a time of high domestic mobility and international migration when personal networks may be dispersed (Maddrell, 2012a).

Within the conceptual framework outlined in this paper, communities of the bereaved who meet face-to-face, such as support groups, are also designated as 'virtual' because they are experience – rather than place-defined, but nonetheless afford an emotional space in which the bereaved can meet, express their feelings, share experiences and make new relationships. For some there is a real sense of kinship in shared bereavement and these groups can generate a strong sense of belonging – 'home' even – a place where other members are experience-peers and bereavement is the norm. This is articulated by one member of WAY (Widowed and Young) UK, whose socially conditioned experience of bereavement led her to feel abnormal in everyday society: 'WAY has given me the freedom to feel normal in an abnormal world. To meet up with other widows/ers and not need to explain my marital situation is truly liberating' (Penny, www.WAY.com; retrieved 1/7/13).

The final set of 'virtual' spaces discussed here, are those perceived or imaginative spaces associated with religious-spiritual beliefs. The inter-relation of death, bereavement, religion and spirituality has been explored at length by a number of scholars (e.g. Davies, 2002; Garces-Foley, 2006). While not rehearsing these in detail here, for the

purposes of this discussion it is important to underscore the *immaterial* as well as material spaces associated with various belief systems and practices. For those who hold religious-spiritual beliefs, especially those that pertain to an afterlife, immaterial spaces are highly significant to the *situating* of the dead, as well as the mourner's sense of continued relation to them. Depending on personal or community beliefs, the dead may be held to be reincarnated in an embodied host, inhabiting a localised spiritual realm, heavenly kingdom, Nirvana, an ethereal 'up above', intermediate limbo or hellish underworld. For the faithful, these beliefs play an important role in mediating loss, envisioning the ongoing life of the deceased, and the spiritual obligations and practices petitioning to or on the behalf of them, such as prayers, requiems and libations.

The framework outlined here offers a means of being attentive to corporeal-psychological experiences of bereavement, grief and mourning and their relation to particular spaces and places and how this may vary over time; it is one response to Nast and Pile's (1998, p. 4) call to demonstrate, clarify and exemplify 'the particular ways in which spatial relations come together to make bodies and places, through the body and through places'. A focus on the experience of bereavement in specific embodied place-temporalities shaped by contextual and relational factors affords attentiveness to how grief and mourning are experienced and manifest over space, as well as time, and within particular socio-economic and cultural contexts. The conceptual framework for mapping grief outlined in the following section attempts to capture and illuminate something of these complex, relational and dynamic emotional geographies in a simplified form.

A conceptual framework for mapping grief

The emotional and affective geographies associated with bereavement are varied and often polysemic. As Tuan (1974, 1979) illustrated, the relationship between emotion and place can be positive or negative; hence bereavement can lead to places being associated variously with past memories, current habitus and future aspirations, prompting a sense of comfort or anguish, each of which may vary over time as well as between individual and groups of mourners. After death, material objects associated with the deceased can become 'newly visible' to the bereaved e.g. shoes and shopping lists (Hallam & Hockey, 2001) which become emblematic of the deceased or of their absence. Likewise, previously everyday spaces can take on new significance – the last place shared with the deceased, their hairdressers, work place, toiletries or Facebook page, each having the agency to trigger memories and emotional responses. This may take the form of an individual making their own conscious invisible map of symbolic status, mapping emotions: 'Mum's allotment', 'Grandpa's chair'; or, in Althusser's terms, experiencing an affective map of places which interpellate, hail, or even ambush the bereaved in an unanticipated way: 'Hey you, this is the last place you went together', 'Hey you, this was her/his favourite cereal', prompting an emotional response.

An individual's internal emotional-affective map is shaped by emotions, acknowledged and unacknowledged, visible or hidden. Affective responses are pre-discursive, interactive and relational (Nayak & Jeffrey, 2011), often evoked by sensory experience, a touch or smell. While emotions can be recognised cognitively, anticipated even, affective responses can be mapped only *after* they have been triggered, by definition part of the unpredictable and shifting map of grief.

There are numerous challenges in attempting to capture and structure such emotional and affective mapping. In many ways it is an artificial distinction to separate the exter-

nal material world from the embodied-psychological and virtual spaces when discussing a sense of place, symbolic space or space deemed to be sacred. However, there are aspects of bereavement, grief and mourning that manifest themselves principally in external material spaces and constructs, such as places of burial or cremation, and those which are principally experienced as internal spaces: disorientation, healing and psychological response, as well as those experienced in ‘virtual’ spaces or ‘neogeographies’ of technology, community or belief. Thus, the exercise of mapping grief can illustrate something of the differential space of individual and collective *experience and meaning making*, linking lived emotions to particular geographies, e.g. within a home or across continents. Simply for reasons of navigating the complex spaces of bereavement, grief and mourning, physical, embodied-psychological and virtual spaces are employed here as useful indicative descriptors, but always with the explicit understanding that these are overlapping, interdependent and cannot be fully separated, as illustrated in Figure 1 and demonstrated in the case of physiological changes which bridge physical and embodied-psychological categories.

Likewise, in some ways attempting to express the complex spatialities of death, mourning and remembrance in a conceptual framework may seem counterintuitive within the context of emotional geographies, but I argue for this as a means of accommodating reflexive deep-mapping which afford the tracing of the spatial narratives and deep geographies associated with loss, as exemplified by Gemma’s maps in Figure 2. As Warf (2015, p. 135) articulates, deep maps are topological, relational and conversational, ‘inseparable from the contours of everyday life ... positioned between matter and meaning’. Other scholars have deployed similar approaches e.g. Kwan and Ding’s (2008) ‘geo-narratives’ which represent qualitative biographical material through GIS maps; Harris’ (2015) deep geography of spatial narratives; and Aitken’s (2015) ‘ethnopoetics’, motivated by a belief that ‘The coproduction of bodies, memories, emotions and space matter’ (ibid., p. 113). Relational approaches to space have moved away from notions of stable Euclidian bounded areas to accommodate more fluid, dynamic arenas, socio-relational distance and the simultaneous mobilisation of and participation in multiple territorial ‘scales’ or units (e.g. local and global). This in turn has informed understanding within various sub-disciplines, including health geographies (Curtis, 2010), as well as processual approaches to cartography (Kitchin et al., 2013). Such

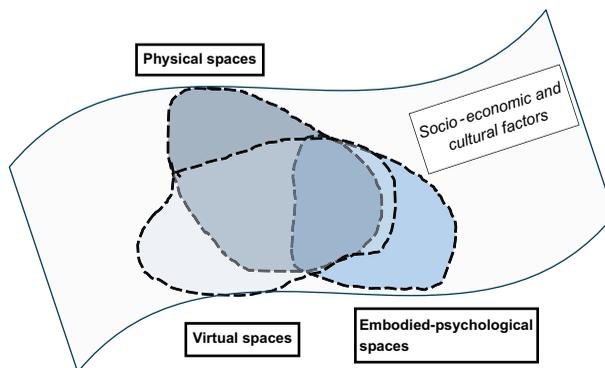


Figure 1. Overlapping physical, embodied-psychological and virtual spaces, experienced through the lens of socio-economic and cultural factors.

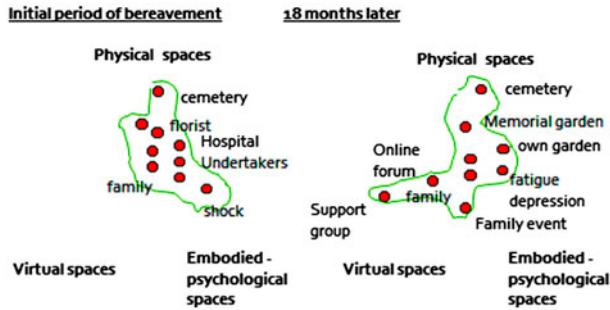


Figure 2. Gemma's evolving map of places of mourning and consolation.

'mapping' affords a means to 'articulate, negotiate and represent complex emotional landscapes of everyday life' (MacKian, 2004, p. 615). Both emotions and spaces can be seen as dynamic shifting assemblages, and, combined, represent a complex interrelation of lived place-temporalities, shot through with socio-economic, cultural and political norms (see Figure 1). The contingent and 'messy' reality of mapping grief is further represented by the porous outline of any individual or collective map, represented by the uneven, overlapping and permeable areas in Figure 1.

Emotional-affective geographies need to be sensitive to the geometries of difference and power in order to avoid homogenised universalist claims (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). As signalled above, while the experience of bereavement and ensuing grief, mourning rites, sites and practices of memorialisation may be shared, e.g. by a family, workforce or community (see Foote, 2003), ultimately at least some aspects of the experience are individual, shaped by personal characteristics and a unique relation to the deceased. This is illustrated by parents who share a common bereavement on the death of their child, but whose experiences of grief and mourning may have different rhythms and be expressed differently in varying times and places (see Henley & Kohner, 2001). However, these can also coalesce around sites of shared memories, meaning-making and symbolic spaces, such as the site of death, workplace or memorial, resulting in maps of communal meaning and experience. This is illustrated by Figure 3 which shows a snapshot of overlaid and interrelated emotional mappings of three members of a hypothetical family after a shared bereavement. This simplified map shows the significance of physical or material spaces, such as the home, and overlapping embodied-psychological spaces, such as the time-space of grief-induced insomnia, and the comfort of an online memorial which proffers a place of consolation in virtual space. In this case all three identify common places (the crematorium and the home), different pairings share other common places of association (the park and the cinema) and a virtual space (an online memorial site), but each have individual dimensions to their emotional geographies (one experiences agoraphobia, another attends a support group, while another finds a café deeply evocative of the deceased etc.). The larger symbols on the map are indicative of those places which are powerfully evocative at this juncture, but as Gemma's maps indicate, these can change over time. Similar collective mappings could be produced for extended families, communities and networks, over various timescales.

The dynamic nature of the cartographies of mourning and remembrance are fundamental to this conceptual framework, reflecting the fluid, non-linear nature of living with loss: we cannot predict the nature of loss (Butler, 2009), nor its lively qualities,

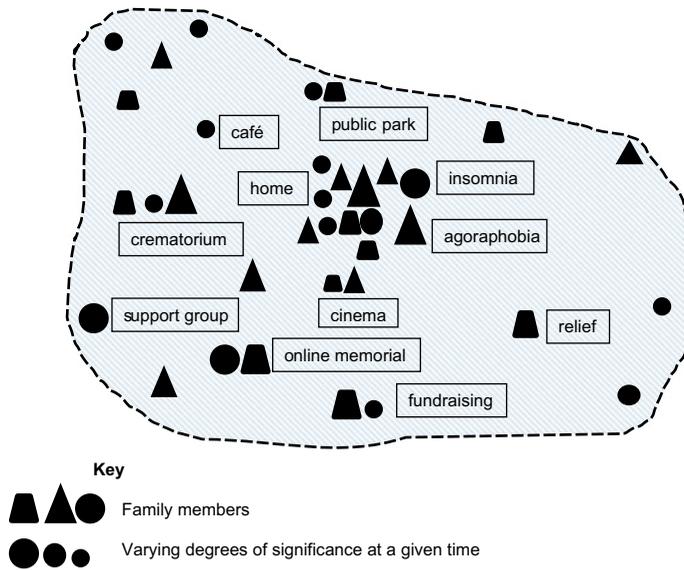


Figure 3. A simplified 'snapshot' of three family members' overlapping individual-collective emotional-affective maps of mourning and remembrance.

reflecting the relationship between the bereaved and the deceased, and the narratives that circulate around them. These dynamic and processual qualities are reflected in the continuities and changes in significant places seen in Gemma's maps (Figure 2, based on interview material), as well as the significance of interpersonal relationality, in Gemma's case evidenced by the persistent significance of family and the emerging emotional-social-therapeutic space of a peer-support group. Any grief map may have certain key places or emotional nodes which persist in their significance over time e.g. a grave, park or online memorial, but other places may recede in significance e.g. the funerary florist, while others still may oscillate, reasserting their emotional charge at significant times, e.g. a birthday or anniversary, or generate affective responses in unanticipated ways, times and spaces.

Through the mechanism of mapping grief it is possible to explore the impact of bereavement on dynamic experiential place-temporalities in two intertwined ways. The first relates to an ongoing process of identifying spaces significant to the experience of bereavement, mourning and remembrance, resulting in a dynamic cartography visualised in the figures above. The second process centres on the facilitation of conscious reflection upon the nature of that map at any given point in time. Both of these processes could be explored through self-reflexivity, including with a counsellor or therapist.

Conclusion

This paper has illustrated the different ways in which bereavement and subsequent experiences of grief, mourning and remembrance are experienced within an always emerging nexus of self-others-place, and that these emotional geographies can be identified and 'mapped'. It is hoped that the mapping grief framework outlined here, in the spirit of Bondi's (2005) agenda, combines interior subjective realities of the emotional-

affective (cognitive and sensory) spatialities of bereavement, grief, mourning and remembrance with wider social relations, and thereby sheds light on the at once everyday and extraordinary, tangible and intangible, often ground-shifting experience that bereavement-grief-mourning can be.

Bereavement results in perceiving, inhabiting and experiencing some spaces, places, material and immaterial arena in new and different ways, e.g. through bereavement-induced (im)mobilities, or as sites of comfort and ongoing attachment. The framework deployed here signals the ways in which the experience and practices of grief, mourning and remembrance is coloured by socio-economic class, gender, religion, ethnicity and other cultural-political factors, but further empirical work is needed in order to begin to understand the detailed interplay of these complex intersectionalities in the time-spaces of death, bereavement and living with loss at individual and communal levels in different regional and national contexts, as well as in different types of social spaces such as online support groups.

Mapping grief is not intended to objectify or enclose knowledge production of the spatialities of bereavement, mourning and remembrance. It is offered rather as a window on to the messy, shifting, multi-layered geographies of living with loss, not just in the immediate aftermath of bereavement, but potentially across a lifetime, which likely includes successive bereavements. Any grief map is dynamic, often complex and recursive and there are inevitable limitations to the two-dimensional model presented here which may not capture all the nuances and intersections of the maps we carry within. Nonetheless, this framework represents a significant shift in both geography and death studies in firstly, giving due significance to the *varied* spatial contexts of grief, mourning and remembrance; secondly, in moving the geographies of death and loss beyond a focus on the external material landscape to the intersecting and overlapping physical, embodied-psychological and virtual spaces and thirdly, provides an initial schema and vocabulary for articulating the spatial aspects of bereavement that have previously been marginalised or ignored, and which can provide a basis for exploring the significance of intersectional factors such as gender, class and ethnicity in the spatial experience and expression of grief and mourning. In addition to providing a framework for theoretical insight, enhancing understanding of spatialities, cartographies and relational self-place-making, and thereby contributing to emotional-affective and therapeutic geographies, the mapping grief framework outlined here seeks to offer a resource for the bereaved and their counsellors engaged with the lived sense-making and way-faring associated with bereavement, mourning and remembrance. Furthermore, as Wolpert (2006) highlights, advances in understanding bereavement have the potential to provide insights to other life events and losses.

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