

social landscapes: from graves, the countryside, slave ships, caves, haunted houses, literature, music and psychoanalysis. Some chapters are looser in their implied connections between landscapes and social ghosts, while others dealing with slave ships, music and the revolutionary conjuring of spirits make the link between landscape and social hauntings more explicit. Hudson builds on original arguments that are mentioned in passing, for example, Laqueur on burial practices and humanity, Hirsch on ghosts as a transformative social force and Gordon on the social power of ghosts; however, these lines of argumentation often remain implicit and are not brought into sharp focus. Although the chapters are thematically delineated, the reader has to sometimes go back and forth in order to follow the narrative threads connecting the different types of ghosts to their social landscape. However, given the ephemeral subject matter, Hudson mirrors the difficulties that the living face in trying to grasp and describe the social power of ghosts. The experience of being haunted by ghosts in certain places is difficult to pin down. Hudson is to be commended for an original, interdisciplinary analysis of social ghosts and landscapes that will be of interest to readers in sociology, memory studies, philosophy, cultural studies and literature.

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### Author biography

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Jason R Finley, Farah Naaz and Francine W Goh

*Memory and Technology: How We Use Information in the Brain and the World*. New York: Springer, 2018. xvii + 217 pp. \$119.99. ISBN 9783319991696.

**Reviewed by:** Kourken Michaelian, *Université Grenoble Alpes, France*

In this highly stimulating book, Finley, Naaz and Goh are concerned with two interrelated questions. How does internal and external memory interact? And what impact are new external memory technologies having on their interaction? The book reports the results of an investigation of these questions by means of online surveys, results that are both interesting in their own right and suggestive of promising avenues for further research. Due to the authors' decision to conjoin their empirical report with extensive theoretical discussion, the book will be of interest

to readers not only in psychology but also in a range of other disciplines. Readers in philosophy, in particular, will appreciate the authors' willingness to address a number of highly general conceptual questions.

This willingness is on display from the outset of the book, as Chapter 1 describes the authors' method – based on surveys conducted using Mechanical Turk – and introduces their general theoretical framework. As far as method is concerned, a fine-grained methodological assessment will have to be left to others, but it is worth noting that this sort of survey-based research has – as Finley, Naaz and Goh readily acknowledge – an obvious limitation, namely, that, while surveys might be able to get at what subjects believe about how they make use of internal and external memory, they cannot get directly at how subjects do in fact make use of them. The importance of this limitation should not, however, be overstated: it is plausible that subjects have some insight into their own use of internal and external memory, and survey-based research is thus a legitimate means of furthering our understanding of the consequences of widespread and increasing reliance on novel external memory technologies.

As far as the theoretical framework is concerned, Finley, Naaz and Goh are to be commended for offering clear, explicit definitions of their key concepts. Memory, they tell us, is 'information transmitted from the past that may be recovered in the present. Memory is information transmitted across time' (p. 6). Given this extremely undemanding definition of memory, they are bound to recognize the existence not only of internal memory but also of a variety of forms of external memory: '[i]nternal memory', they write, 'is information stored in an individual's brain. External memory is information stored outside of an individual's brain' (p. 5). The intent behind this very broad definition is no doubt to accommodate a wide range of forms of external memory, but it is arguably overly broad. In essence, the authors equate the category of stored information with that of memory and then treat any information that is stored externally to an individual as being external memory 'relative to' that individual. The consequence, as the authors acknowledge, is that even information in a book that one has never read or on a website that one has never visited counts as external memory. While the authors do not appear to be troubled by this consequence, there is a real methodological worry here: the particular kinds of high-tech external memory with which the book is primarily concerned may constitute a reasonably unified category, but it seems unlikely that we will be able to produce useful generalizations about phenomena as varied as those grouped together by their broad definition (Finley, Naaz and Goh invoke examples ranging from 'songs and legends of oral tradition' through cuneiform clay tablets and ink on paper to the Internet and smartphones). Consider the three basic forms of external memory acknowledged by the authors: social external memory ('information stored in other people'), low-tech technological external memory ('information stored in the external environment' that 'does not require a power source to operate') and high-tech technological external memory ('information stored in the external environment' that 'does require a power source to operate'). The differences among these forms of external memory – which go far beyond whether one needs to plug them in – may well be sufficiently deep for it to be misleading to apply a single term to all three. While it is natural to begin the search for a definition of memory with the notion of stored information, it is unfortunate that the authors opted not to refine their definition any further.

There are other worries about Finley, Naaz and Goh's definition of memory that one might have – for example, it seems not to take into account the possibility that remembering involves the generation of new information – but readers with reservations about the definition will nonetheless find Chapters 2–4 – which report the results of their surveys and thus constitute the heart of the book – to be rewarding. Some of the results are unsurprising. For example, suggesting that external memory plays – or at least seems to play – an increasingly prominent role in our cognitive lives, 36% of subjects judge that they use low-tech external memory to help them remember things often

or always, while 53% judge that they use high-tech external memory to help them remember things often or always; 69% judge that they use high-tech external memory more often or much more often than they did 5 years ago. Others are much more surprising, even outright puzzling. For example, while it may not be surprising that 53% of subjects agree or strongly agree that they 'use external memory to store and retrieve factual knowledge', it is quite intriguing that 25% agree or strongly agree that they 'use external memory to store and retrieve personal experiences', despite the fact that subjects tend to see internal memory as 'working better for' episodic memory and external memory as 'working better for' semantic memory. No attempt will be made here to provide an overall summary of Finley, Naaz and Goh's results, but perhaps the most interesting lesson to emerge from their analysis is that subjects perceive high-tech forms of technological external memory as playing an increasingly central role in remembering but are relatively optimistic about the consequences of this development for human memory. The obvious next question is whether these perceptions are right. Answering this question will require methods that go beyond surveys, and the authors discuss a number of different potential methods in Chapter 7.

Chapters 1–4 make up Part 1 of the book. Part 2 is devoted to a reviewing relevant theoretical literature from psychology (Chapter 5) and a variety of other disciplines (Chapter 6). On the one hand, the scope of the literature review is impressive. Philosophers, for example, will be interested in seeing what the authors have to say about the extended cognition hypothesis, and they will also be rewarded by discussion not only of literatures from other disciplines with which they are likely already familiar (e.g. the transactive memory framework in psychology) but also of literatures from a number of other disciplines – including dynamic systems, personal information management, library and information science, media and cultural studies, research on photography, collective memory research and anthropology and archaeology – with which they may be less familiar. On the other hand, the literature review has a pair of important limitations. First, the sheer scope of the review means that the discussion is sometimes necessarily superficial. Second, there is – perhaps because the authors' method focuses on people's beliefs about external memory, whereas the theories reviewed focus on people's use of external memory – relatively limited interaction between Chapters 5 and 6 and the book's empirical chapters. These limitations notwithstanding, Finley, Naaz and Goh have put a wide range of approaches to external memory together into a coherent and accessible package, an accomplishment already sufficient to ensure that the book will constitute a valuable resource for memory researchers in multiple disciplines.

Part 3 of the book provides a general summary (Chapter 7) and discusses directions for future research (Chapter 8). In addition to summarizing the authors' conclusions, Chapter 7 considers alternatives to survey-based methods, including experiments, developmental methods, content analysis, ethnography and experience sampling. The challenges involved in applying these methods would, in certain cases, no doubt be considerable, but it is to be hoped that we will see more work done using some or all of them. It is likewise to be hoped that we will see more work done on some of the research directions outlined in Chapter 8. For example, while there is a growing body of work on the metacognitive monitoring and control of external memory, there is certainly a need for additional research in this area.

Overall, the interest of the book may lie more in the questions that it raises than it does in the answers that it proposes. This is by no means intended as a criticism. New forms of high-tech external memory can be expected to have important cognitive, epistemic, and ethical consequences, and we have yet to come to grips with these. Getting clear on the basic questions that need answering is a necessary first step towards doing so, and the book represents a valuable contribution, in part, due to Finley, Naaz and Goh's willingness to reflect on these questions. While the book speaks most directly to psychologists, and while this review has emphasized aspects of the book that are likely to be of interest to philosophers, it can thus be read with profit by researchers based in all disciplines that contribute to memory studies.

## Author biography

Kourken Michaelian is Professor of Philosophy at Université Grenoble-Alpes and Director of the Center for Philosophy of Memory. His research is mainly in the philosophy of memory and includes numerous publications including *Mental Time Travel: Episodic Memory and Our Knowledge of the Personal Past* (MIT Press, 2016).

Anita Bakshi

*Topographies of Memories: A New Poetics of Commemoration*. Hoboken, NJ: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017. 340 pp. \$89.00. ISBN 9783319634623.

**Reviewed by:** Ksenia Robbe, *Leiden University, UK*

During periods of war and conflict, urban environments often become major targets; at least, these are the images – of semi-destroyed houses, neglected buildings and empty public spaces – through which the violence suffered by ordinary people and the interruption of everyday life are routinely mediated. In the aftermath, especially when a conflict remains dormant within a city which is divided along political, ethnic or religious lines, these images become the realms of forgetting. Not only the violence but also the peaceful life in the once-multicultural spaces is cordoned off and divided into personal and collective memories as cities are being regenerated. For the younger generations, these areas become projections of the divisions introduced by official histories that arrest curiosity and inquiry. And when gentrification projects eventually embark on refurbishing these ‘no-go’ zones, the glossy urban surfaces tend to create new ‘screens’ and layers of forgetting.

Anita Bakshi’s *Topographies of Memories* inquires into these complex processes of remembering/forgetting and negotiating space in the old city of Nicosia, thereby making an innovative contribution to our understanding of divided cities and ways of working across these divides. Building on research at the interstices of memory and (urban) places (such as Huyssen’s (1997) and Till’s (2005) studies of Berlin, Mills’ (2010) of Istanbul and Herzfeld’s (1991) of the Cretan town of Rethemnos), this new book not only adds a close exploration of a new context but also develops critical perspectives on the workings of memory in practices of reinhabiting contested urban spaces. The readings untangle the nexus of place, memory and conflict, and the analysis moves fluently between examinations of image and praxis, provides contextualized insights into the dynamics of memory and place, elaborates on the specificities of the city as an archive and perceptively engages with the role of embodiment in the production of memories. But the most important contribution of this book is its operationalizing of the critiques of *lieux de memoire* and its development of new methodologies for creating truly dynamic and inclusive memorial spaces.

The book resulted from several years of fieldwork and close engagement by the author with the spaces and communities of old Nicosia – the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot sides as well as the buffer zone of military presence and neglected urban structures often populated by recent migrants. Having observed the reluctance of the older inhabitants to share their memories before the 1974 division and the younger generation’s lack of interest in the histories of once-vibrant city spaces, the author began to reconstruct the topographies through which people engaged with city spaces before the division. On this basis, the project sought to develop alternative ways of commemoration by focusing on the memories that recollect the praxis of everyday urban life. This approach affords more complex and inclusive visions of the past than are allowed by the polarized national histories and social imaginations dominating both parts of Cyprus. For this purpose, the author interviewed shopkeepers of both Turkish and Greek background who worked during the 1950s in what is now the buffer zone. Having been given archival maps and old photographs, the interviewees retraced the routes they walked, relived the memories of forgotten places and retold