

Wikipedia as a Medium for Cultural Remembrance

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Abstract

By first analyzing the edit history of the English Wikipedia page of "Bloody Sunday (1972)" and then comparing the English Wikipedia page to pages in other languages, this article proposes to consider the Wikipedia page "Bloody Sunday (1972)" from the perspective of cultural memory studies, as a medium of cultural remembrance. The program Contropedia is used as an aid to visually present the editing history of "Bloody Sunday (1972)" which enables one to analyze which elements are controversial regarding this event. Subsequently, these elements are analyzed in Wikipedia pages about Bloody Sunday in other languages. In addition, the formal elements of the Bloody Sunday Wikipedia page (sources and categories) are also compared. It is concluded that Wikipedia, in its multiple linguistic manifestations, exemplifies the principle of travelling memory (Erll) and the principle of multidirectionality (Rothberg), but that it also complicates received views of such memory dynamics; more empirical research is needed to develop further tools for analyzing Wikipedia as a medium of cultural memory.

Keywords: Wikipedia; Contropedia; cultural memory studies; multidirectionality; transnational memory; travelling memory; Bloody Sunday (1972).

Introduction

'Bloody Sunday' is the phrase commonly used, since the late nineteenth century (Rigney 2015), to describe the violence perpetrated by a state against its own citizens, on a Sunday, usually during a protest. The 1972 Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland is one of the most well-known of such events. On January 30, a group of protesters in Derry was shot at by British paratroopers, who mistakenly had been informed that the protesters were carrying firearms. The shooting, in which 14 civilians were killed, was a key event in the Troubles in Northern Ireland, and led to controversy about what had happened on that day and who was to blame for it. The first official report, produced by the Widgery Tribunal, quickly came to the conclusion that the army was free of blame and that the protesters had provoked the violence. A second investigation, the Saville Inquiry, however, concluded in 2010 that the victims were unarmed and the paratroopers were to blame for the incident, which led to an official apology from British Prime Minister David Cameron. Throughout the years, Bloody Sunday has been the subject of many acts of cultural remembrance, both in the political sphere, for example by a public apology, and in art in the form of murals, songs and films, which all have been analyzed within the framework of cultural memory studies (i.e. Conway 2003; Dawson 2005; Rigney 2015).

A new medium of cultural remembrance has arisen over the past 14 years: Wikipedia. The online English encyclopedia Wikipedia was launched on January 15, 2001. Other languages followed in the subsequent months and years, and the website has grown into one of the top 10 biggest websites on the internet. The internet in general and Wikipedia in particular has become a valuable research object in cultural studies for multiple reasons. Its inherent networked structure allows people to link subjects in multiple ways. Furthermore, Wikipedia involves a democratized mode of publication as potentially anyone can edit pages. Moreover, since Wikipedia is in constant development and keeps track of changes and allows for discussions, it has the potential to archive both historic and "real time" thinking in society. The academic use of the site in the field of cultural studies started around 2006 (Pfeil et al). In a 2009 article which has a very strong foundation in the contemporary theories of cultural memory studies, Pentzold explores the possibilities and difficulties involved in including Wikipedia in the framework of cultural memories studies. Pentzold's article does not analyze Wikipedia in detail, as it only uses short analytic illustrations to support its theoretical argument.

Research into Wikipedia can focus on several elements, including: the content, the edit pages (who, what, when, where), talk pages, sources, websites that Wikipedia pages link to, and websites that link to Wikipedia. A logical development in research on Wikipedia has been the use of digital tools to visualize the multitude of data that Wikipedia contains. A current project in cultural research on Wikipedia is Contropedia (2015), in which the aim is "to extract and represent the information in these pages so that it becomes clear which topics within a page have sparked controversy and why" (Borra "Societal" 193). This digital program is being developed by Erik Borra et al. and visually presents the instances of lower or higher levels of controversy in Wikipedia articles based on the edits of a certain page. One case study within this project was Borra and Weltevrede's representation of the Global Warming Wikipedia page. This topic was chosen as it was known to be highly controversial and it has a high number of edits, which is key to generating reliable results in Contropedia. Using Contropedia, they could pinpoint at which moments controversies were peaking and which words - and implicitly, which facts - were controversial at which time.

Another element of Wikipedia which lends itself well to cultural (memory) research is the development of pages in different languages. In Rogers' 2013 publication *Digital Methods*, one chapter is devoted to the comparative study of a selection of Wikipedia articles that concern the Srebrenica massacre of July 1995 in "languages spoken by significant parties to the events in Srebrenica" (166). The analysis includes several parts of the Wikipedia pages, including title, authors (incl. location of the author), contents, images, references, and talk pages. The research builds on earlier projects (e.g. Pfeil et al) which employ cross-cultural approaches by comparing the same Wikipedia topic in different

languages. Rogers's study adds to this previous research "in the sense that it rests more on web content analysis than on automated concept compatibility analysis" (168) and its contribution lies in "the approach to comparative article analysis, providing a means to operationalize generally the question of Wikipedia as cultural reference" (171). Rogers notes the issue of translation: "The plea for cultural specificity - for homegrown articles in one's own Wikipedia language version, and for transplanted articles to be allowed to grow organically in the local language - could be read at the same time as a critique of (American-content) values embedded in an encyclopedia" (200).

In this research project, we wish to combine the approach developed in Contropedia with the language comparison stipulated by Rogers. We take Rogers's approach a step further by not only investigating the differences between languages that were involved in the conflict. Investigating a corpus of languages that shows variation in distance and proximity vis-à-vis Bloody Sunday, we outline a more complete theory of the ways in which Wikipedia functions as a cultural medium. An investigation of the controversies in the edits of the Bloody Sunday (1972) page can be used as a springboard for analyzing the differences between different language pages of the same Wikipedia topic. A range of researchers contributed to the project by investigating the Bloody Sunday (1972) page in languages with which they are familiar. This case study is done in the framework of a longer study by Ann Rigney on Bloody Sunday (1972) as a transnational site of memory (Rigney "Transnational").

Contropedia

The program Contropedia has been developed to detect controversial elements in Wikipedia articles. It does so, first, by retrieving the full edit history of the article, which includes the revision that has been made coupled with the metadata of who the editor was, when the revision was made, and, if applicable, which edit comment was made alongside the revision (Borra "Societal" 1). To make sure the program identifies the most relevant controversies, the program focuses on the MediaWiki markup of wiki links¹ in the article "as they identify key concepts and entities of an article" (Borra "Societal" 2). Based on the edits, a controversy score is attached to the wiki links in the same sentence.

¹ wiki links are hyperlinks within a Wikipedia article.

Bloody Sunday (1972)

For other uses, see [Bloody Sunday](#).

Bloody Sunday — sometimes called the **Bogside Massacre**^[1] — was an incident on 30 January 1972 in the **Bogside** area of **Derry, Northern Ireland**. **British soldiers** shot 26 unarmed civilians during a protest march against **internment**. Fourteen people died; thirteen males were killed outright, while the death of another man four-and-a-half months later was attributed to his injuries. Many of the victims were shot while fleeing from the soldiers and some were shot while trying to help the wounded. Two protesters were also injured when they were run down by army vehicles.^{[2][3]} The march had been organized by the **Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association** and the soldiers involved were mostly members of the **1st Battalion, Parachute Regiment**, also known as "1 Para".^[4]

Two investigations have been held by the **British government**. The **Widgery Tribunal**, held in the immediate aftermath of the incident, largely cleared the soldiers and British authorities of blame—John Widgery described the soldiers' shooting as "bordering on the reckless"—but was widely criticised as a "**whitewash**".^{[5][6][7]} The **Saville Inquiry**, chaired by **Lord Saville of Newdigate**, was established in 1998 to reinvestigate the incident. Following a 12-year inquiry, Saville's report was made public on 15 June 2010, and contained findings of fault that could re-open the controversy, and potentially lead to criminal investigations for some soldiers involved in the killings.^[8] The report found that all of those shot were unarmed, and that the killings were both "unjustified and unjustifiable." On the publication of the Saville report the British prime minister, **David Cameron**, made a formal apology on behalf of the United Kingdom.^[9]

The **Provisional Irish Republican Army's** (IRA) campaign had begun in the two years prior to Bloody Sunday, but public perceptions of the day boosted the status of, and recruitment into, the organisation enormously.^[10] Bloody Sunday remains among the most significant events in "**the Troubles**" because of the high number of casualties and fatalities caused by British soldiers in full view of the public and the press.^[1]

Bloody Sunday

Part of **The Troubles**



Father Edward Daly waving a blood-stained **white handkerchief** while trying to escort the mortally wounded Jackie Duddy to safety.

Location	Derry, County Londonderry
Coordinates	Coordinates:
Date	30 January 1972
	16:10
Attack type	Shooting
Weapons	L1A1 SLR rifles
Deaths	14 (13 immediate, 1 died 4½ months later)
Non-fatal injuries	14 (12 from gunshots, one of whom died 4½ months later, and two from vehicle impact). Possibly also three from

Figure 1. A screenshot of the layer view of Bloody Sunday (1972) in Contropedia, in which the redness of the markup indicates its level of controversy.

Contropedia uses two interfaces to visually represent the controversial elements of a Wikipedia article. The *layer view* contains the complete text of the Wikipedia articles, in which words are marked for their controversialness² (Figure 1). The redness of the markup indicates how controversial the wiki link is based on the edit history. This is a visual representation in which the controversial words can be considered within the text itself, thus contrasted with uncontroversial words. Each word marked as controversial can be clicked on to see the edit history which contributed to the marking of that wiki link. This edit history is similar to the second interface of the data, the *controversy dashboard*. Instead of the distribution of controversial elements throughout the text, the controversy dashboard ranks the wiki links based on how controversial they are, accompanied by graphs that show how many edits were made to the individual wiki links throughout time. By clicking on a controversial word, one can review the edit history which contributed to the marking of that wiki link as controversial. As can be seen in figure 1, the red marking of a text fragment indicates a removal in the revision and a green text fragment means that this text was added in the revision. For each edit, metadata - date, editor, and comment - is also included in the interface. Both the layer view and controversy dashboard show a graph of the distribution of the

² 'Controversialness is a term used by Borra and Weltevrede to indicate the level or intensity of a certain controversy.

number of edits throughout the editing history, allowing the researcher to see when the page was most actively edited. For a more detailed explanation of the algorithm and interfaces of Contropedia, I refer to Borra et al.'s "Societal Controversies in Wikipedia Articles".

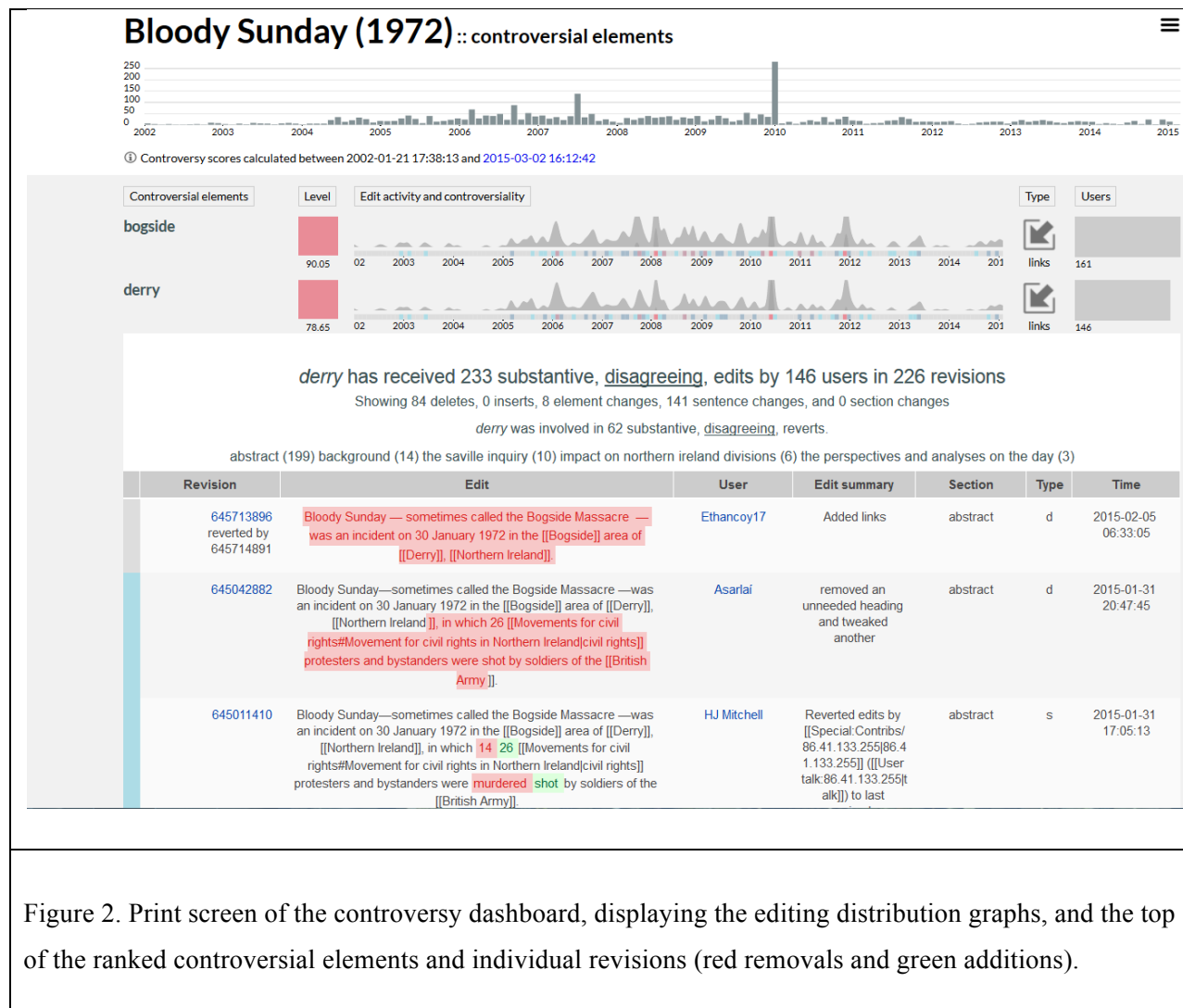


Figure 2. Print screen of the controversy dashboard, displaying the editing distribution graphs, and the top of the ranked controversial elements and individual revisions (red removals and green additions).

Controversial elements of the Wikipedia page "Bloody Sunday (1972)"

Contropedia has been used for several case studies, but this project is the first one to look specifically at its findings from the perspective of cultural memory studies rather than merely in relation to current controversies about facts. Rather than disputes over facts, the case of Bloody Sunday shows controversies in Contropedia that are often signs of word choice in descriptions. These disputes reflect the two sides of the debate of who is to blame, the protesters or the paratroopers, or more broadly speaking: Northern Irish nationalists or the British state. These words can be described as 'intensifiers', as the connotation of

judgment and emotiveness³ changes per word choice. This parallels what Rogers describes specifically on the title of the Wikipedia page "Srebrenica Massacre", a page about the killing of thousands of Bosniaks during the Bosnian war. In the related talk pages, the title of the article was discussed. Not only were there accusations that the principle of neutrality had been breached, but the neutral alternative was also criticized for being offensive in its very neutrality. When the article was called "Srebrenica Massacre" and Wikipedians argued that this "would be the equivalent to a point of view" (173), it was pointed out that using the word "drama" was "be hurtful to the survivor families" (173), thus demonstrating that neutrality is also a position in itself. Many of the edits of the Bloody Sunday page involve word choice and can be attributed to concerns about the same principle, and reflect the difficulty of negotiating the boundary between 'neutrality' and 'distortion.' The Wikipedia page calls Bloody Sunday an "incident", and it keeps returning to this Neutral Point of View. Yet, people have changed this word several times to more emotive words. Generally, the word "incident" is edited into "massacre" and then edited back into "incident" within an hour, as is shown in figure 3. This can be seen as a serious attempt to change the page. Not only is the word "massacre" more emotive, it also more specific and it displays a clear judgment on the situation. Sometimes, a more colorful word is used: at different times Bloody Sunday was described, for example, as "a slaughter", "a human carnage", "a military crackdown" and even "a major fuck-up", which was changed back to "incident" promptly every time (see figure 4). Although it might be easy to dismiss some of these edits as 'trolling'⁴, it can also be seen as a demonstration of taking offence at the neutrality of a term such as "incident" to describe the emotionally and legally charged case of Bloody Sunday. Neutrality, thus, can fail to describe the facts accurately if all words that are emotive or contain judgment are simply avoided. It is important to keep these different elements in mind when analyzing the meaning of the edits. The words "slaughter", "carnage" and "military crackdown" are high in specificity compared to "incident", and by extension more emotive and judgmental. The description "a major fuck-up", on the other hand, is very unspecific and the main message is its moral and emotional commentary on the situation.

³ The level of positive or negative connotation that words have.

⁴ When a person deliberately and without reason causes problems and annoys other people on the internet just because one can do this anonymously.

<div><div>454944771</div><div>Bloody Sunday () —sometimes called the Bogside Massacre —was a massacre an incident on 30 January 1972 in the [[Bogside]] area of [[Derry]], [[Northern Ireland]], in which twenty-six unarmed [[civil rights movement civil rights]] protesters and bystanders were murdered shot by soldiers of the [[British Army]].</div></div> <div><div>454939882</div><div>Bloody Sunday () —sometimes called the Bogside Massacre —was an incident a massacre on 30 January 1972 in the [[Bogside]] area of [[Derry]], [[Northern Ireland]], in which twenty-six unarmed [[civil rights movement civil rights]] protesters and bystanders were shot murdered by soldiers of the [[British Army]].</div></div> <div>reverted by 454944771</div>	<div>Bloody Sunday ([[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe a human carnage an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]], on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]], who had joint responsibility for the operation, during a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.</div> <div>Bloody Sunday ([[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident a human carnage in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]], on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]], who had joint responsibility for the operation, during a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.</div> <div>Bloody Sunday ([[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe a slaughter an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]], on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]], who had joint responsibility for the operation, during a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.</div> <div>Bloody Sunday ([[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident a slaughter in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]], on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]], who had joint responsibility for the operation, during a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.</div>
Figure 3. Cropped image showing edit history in Contropedia.	Figure 4. Cropped image showing edit history in Contropedia

The name of the city where Bloody Sunday took place also has a high controversy score in Contropedia. Officially, the city is named "Londonderry" by the British government, but in general the city is known by its Irish name "Derry". On Wikipedia, the Derry-page describes the city as "**Derry** (/ˈdɛəri/^[2]), officially **Londonderry** (/ˈlʌndənˌdɛəri/^[2])". On the Bloody Sunday page, there have been many revisions alternating between "Derry" and "Londonderry", as Londonderry represents the British unionist perspective and Derry represents the Irish nationalist perspective. This is not a factual dispute, as generally editors will know about the double name, but rather a controversy over which perspective will be taken in the article.

The descriptions of the people involved and the description of the protest at which the incident took place also give rise to controversy. In the previous examples, a negotiation is seen between a neutral point of view - which can be considered offensive nonetheless - and an Irish nationalist point of view. There is, however, a third point of view, that of the British state. This is illustrated in the dispute over descriptions of the day's protest as an "illegal" march. The word "illegal" has been inserted and removed several times, at one point by two people in a short time period, which constitutes it as an 'edit war' (see figure 5). In the first section of the Wikipedia page, titled "Background", the issue of the legality of the protest is explained clearly: "In a *quid pro quo* gesture to nationalists, all marches and parades were banned, including the flashpoint march by the Apprentice Boys of Derry which was due to take place on 12 August" (Wikipedia "Bloody Sunday (1972)"). In the edit wars relating to the use of the term 'illegal', the issue is not whether this is factually accurate, but whether the term 'illegal' is not overtly negative in its connotations. As a result, the word "illegal" has acquired a value as an intensifier and judgment for the unionist side, amplified by the fact that the editor's user name is "Traditional

Bloody Sunday [[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]] , on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]] , who had joint responsibility for the operation, during an illegal a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.	One Night In Hackney	! Events of the day " Reword	abstract	s	2008-02-24 12:16:00
Bloody Sunday [[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]] , on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]] , who had joint responsibility for the operation, during a an illegal a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.	Traditional unionist	replaced fully and adequately referenced verifiable fact.	abstract	s	2008-02-24 11:51:59
Bloody Sunday [[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]] , on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]] , who had joint responsibility for the operation, during an illegal a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.	One Night In Hackney	Please seek consensus on talk - current consensus is against it	abstract	s	2008-02-24 11:50:19
Bloody Sunday [[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]] , on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]] , who had joint responsibility for the operation, during a an illegal a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.	Traditional unionist	Replaced fully and adequately referenced important fact. No basis for exclusion within wikipedia rules.	abstract	s	2008-02-24 11:49:19
Bloody Sunday [[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]] , on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]] , who had joint responsibility for the operation, during an illegal a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.	One Night In Hackney	rv per talk - please seek consensus for inclusion	abstract	s	2008-02-24 11:47:40
Bloody Sunday [[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]] , on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]] , who had joint responsibility for the operation, during a an illegal a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.	Traditional unionist	replaced referenced information removed for whatever reason	abstract	s	2008-02-24 11:39:46
Bloody Sunday [[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]] , on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his poop second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]] , who had joint responsibility for the operation, during a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.	Keys	[[WP:UNDO Undo]] revision 192934063 by [[Special Contributions 68.40.200.135]] 68.40.200.135) [[User talk:68.40.200.135 talk]])	abstract	d	2008-02-21 01:15:53
Bloody Sunday [[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]] , on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]] , who had joint responsibility for the operation, during an illegal a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.	One Night In Hackney	rv per talk page - see the discussion there before editing please	abstract	s	2008-02-15 14:44:56
Bloody Sunday [[Irish language Irish]]: Domhnach na Fola) is the term used to describe an incident in [[Derry]] , [[Northern Ireland]] , on [[30 January]] [[1972]] in which 26 civil rights protesters were shot by members of the 1st Battalion of the British [[Parachute Regiment (United Kingdom) Parachute Regiment]] led by Lieutenant-Colonel [[Derek Wilford]] and his second-in-command Captain (later General) [[Mike Jackson]] , who had joint responsibility for the operation, during a an illegal a [[Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]] march in the [[Bogside]] area of the city.	Traditional unionist	illegal	abstract	s	2008-02-15 14:41:25

Figure 5. 'Edit war' on the revision of the word "illegal".

Unionist" (see figure 5). A more extreme example can be seen in figure 6, where one can see a dispute over the protesters as "unarmed protesters and bystanders" or "dangerous terrorists". This is an extreme example of the different points of view people can defend. In this case, the current Wikipedia page says "unarmed civilians". The fact that "unarmed", which is high in specificity and judgment, is generally considered the neutral point of view has to do with the 2010 Saville report which officially concluded that the protesters were unarmed and, thus, free of blame. This demonstrates that neutrality is not necessarily in opposition to emotiveness and judgment.

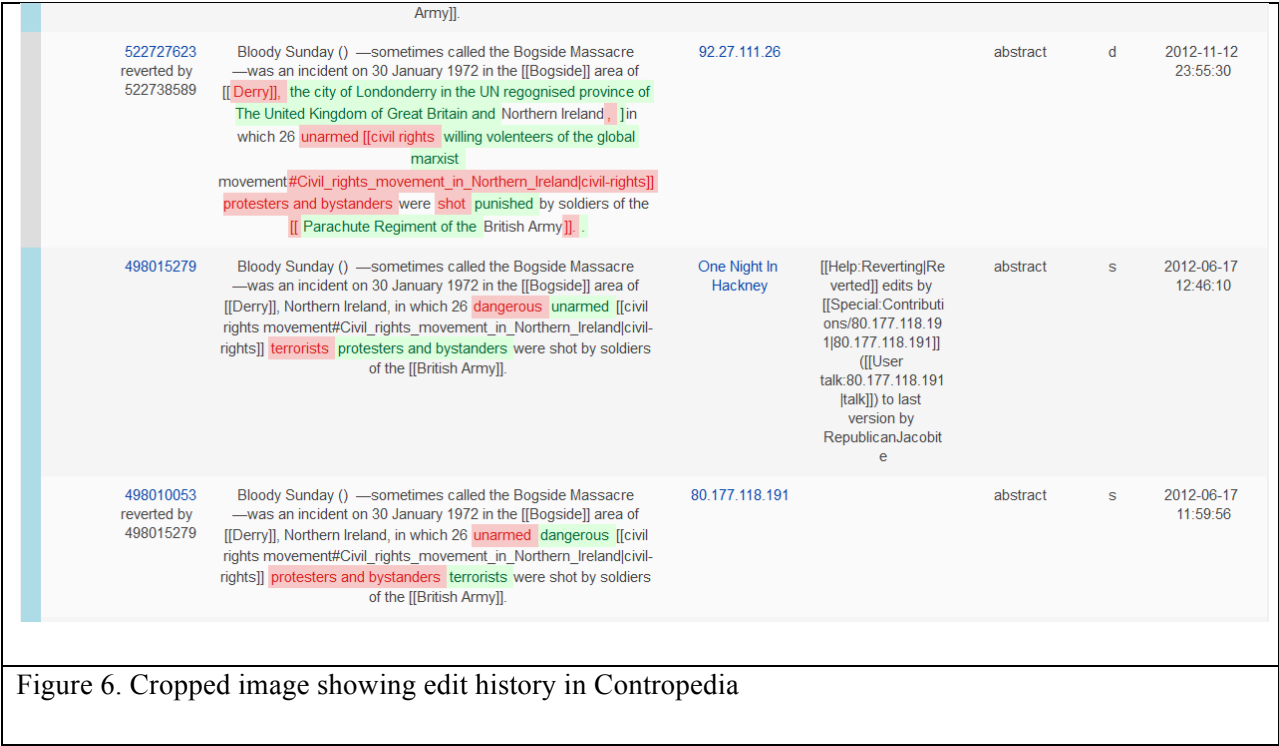


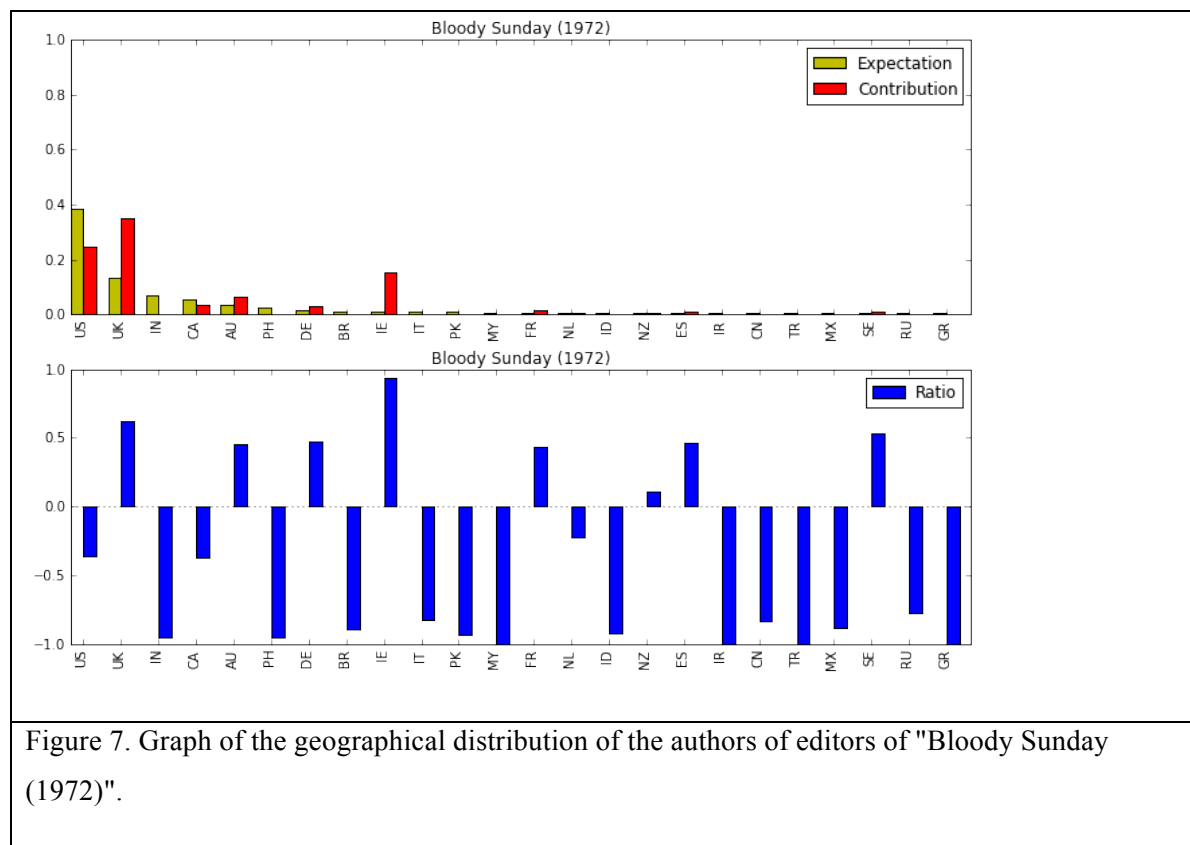
Figure 6. Cropped image showing edit history in Contropedia

It is evident from the number of edits that the publication of the Saville report and Cameron's subsequent apology caused a great number of edits in June 2010, after which the number of edits became quite sparse compared to the number of edits before the apology. This can be seen as an illustration of Rigney's assertion that, as a result of the apology, "although Bloody Sunday [...] continues to generate some debate, a marked change in its scale and intensity is evident" ("Apologies" 256). The number of edits backs up this assertion, yet it is noteworthy that although the scale and intensity have changed, the content of the controversy on Wikipedia has not. After the apology, the same intensifiers were used in edits. For example, the alternation between "incident" and "massacre" still exists, and the last example (Figure 3) took place in 2012. This demonstrates that although the number of edits has gone down, the issues themselves have not been resolved.

Bloody Sunday, Domhnach na Fola, Blodiga söndagen: a language comparison of Wikipedia

One of the affordances of Wikipedia is its existence in many different languages, and the formatted linkage between these languages. On any article page, one can click on another language to see the same subject treated in that language. The content of articles on the same subject may overlap due to translation and the use of the same source material, but in general a lot of text is original for a given language. This gives academics the opportunity to conduct research on cultural differences by means of a comparison of Wikipedia pages. In 2006, Ulrike Pfeil, Panayiotis Zaphiris, and Chee Siang Ang examined how cultural influences are represented in Wikipedia articles in different languages. Pfeil's study concluded that "cultural differences that are observed in the physical world also exist in the virtual world" (88). This type of research uses Wikipedia as its corpus of online texts to research cultural bias and assumptions online, rather than looking at the specific structure and dynamics of Wikipedia itself. As summarized above, Rogers researched the Wikipedia page on the Srebrenica Massacre in six languages involved in the event. Building on this project, we take the analysis of the controversy in the English Bloody Sunday page one step further by comparing it to Bloody Sunday pages in other languages, of which there are currently 43 (September 2015).

As Contropedia does not provide data for non-English pages and these pages usually have a smaller edit history (thus, providing statistically less reliable results), the current pages are analyzed without considering their edit history in great detail. We are aware that the automatic translation program Manydia can be used to translate Wikipedia pages into a chosen language, which may aid cross-language research on the pages. We have, however, chosen not to use automatic translation as subtleties of word choice can get lost in translation. Instead, a range of researchers contributed to the project by investigating the Bloody Sunday (1972) page in languages with which they were well familiar. Languages were, therefore, inevitably selected based on the availability of people to translate foreign languages. We ensured having languages that are of differing proximity and distance to the event, including West-European, East-European, and non-European languages, to outline Wikipedia as a cultural resource in a more inclusive way. The thirteen languages included in this project are: English, Irish, Swedish, Dutch, French, German, Spanish, Romanian, Norwegian, Danish, Italian, Serbian, Russian, and Chinese. The exploration of the features of the different pages is based on the results from the Contropedia data and the 'formal' elements of the page, such as the sources that are used, the Wikipedia categories in which the pages are listed and the index of the page. In this paper I will draw from these analyses to specify how different languages deal with the Bloody Sunday event.



As is to be expected, the English Wikipedia page about Bloody Sunday (1972) is longer than the pages about Bloody Sunday (1972) in other languages. The appearance of language pages is, however, not the full extent of the international contribution to the Bloody Sunday Wikipedia. Figure 7 shows that the English Wikipedia page about Bloody Sunday was written by people from different countries. Edits emanating from European countries in particular show an overrepresentation of edits in relation to the contribution one would expect based on the average contribution on Wikipedia. The English page is, thus, also a page where different countries and perspectives are brought together to find consensus on the descriptions of the event, a finding also shared by Rogers. This can be explained by the fact that English is the largest language on Wikipedia, and also because both parties involved in the content - the English and the (Northern) Irish - speak (varieties of) English as their native language.

Of the 43 pages on Bloody Sunday (1972), 31 are in European languages. Minority languages from the so-called 'Celtic fringe' are represented, such as Irish, Breton, Galego, and Welsh, and also other minority languages such as Catalan, Basque, Frisian, and Nynorsk. This is impressive because many of these languages are usually underrepresented on the internet in general and Wikipedia in particular as they are usually used in spoken conversation rather than text. The appearance of pages in minority

languages shows that although the length of the article is an indicator of the proximity of a nation to the event, it does have to be regarded in its context on Wikipedia. The fact that these languages have a page on Bloody Sunday, however small, can be explained by the engagement of these languages with the nationalistic element of the event.

Wikipedia pages in different languages are partly made up by sections translated from other languages. In the case of the Bloody Sunday pages, there were mainly texts that were a hybrid form between translation from the English page and original text, differing per language how much translated text is used. Almost all texts have translated the section on the victims, in which the names of the dead are listed coupled with the details of their deaths and sometimes additional information. The level of detail differs per language. The Norwegian page has shortened the description to one sentence per victim. The Dutch page has translated all details relevant to the event itself, but did not include local details such as family members of the victims who are famous in Ireland. The Swedish page translated the descriptions of victims but did not include the controversy over one of the victims, Gerald Donaghey, who was reported to have nail bombs on him. The Widgery Tribunal had used this as evidence that the protesters had started the violence, but it was later disproved and is now regarded as a hoax. The French page is a close translation of the English page, and narrates all the details about the victims, but this is an exception in the languages that were reviewed in this project. Although translation is sometimes seen as a threat to Wikipedia as it copies one perspective to another language instead of allowing the article to grow naturally (Rogers 2013), the comparison between Bloody Sunday pages show that translation is always an active choice that can be made again for every new sentence and that the choice of translating certain details rather than others can also be seen as adopting a perspective. This oscillation between neutrality and perspective is aggravated by the selection of sources. Some pages use sources from their own language, such as the Spanish Bloody Sunday page, whereas other pages, such as the Serbian one, use English sources. Yet others use a combination, such as the Russian page, or no sources at all, such as the Dutch and Romanian page. The sources used can influence the way in which the event is presented on Wikipedia, showing a national perspective (no sources or national sources) or an English and/or Irish perspective (when using English sources). This can partly be seen as an instance of 'traveling memory' as outlined by Astrid Erll (2011), (9). As this case study of the Bloody Sunday (1972) Wikipedia pages demonstrates, choices are constantly being made in the constitution of memories that cross borders to other languages and countries. Rather than a passive transfer from one language area to another, the event is actively retold in various ways. It is therefore key to build more specific theories on which trajectories cultural memory follows through different channels and countries.

This perspectivism of involvement and distance is not as straightforward as one might expect. In the previous section about Contropedia, it became clear that the English page displayed a controversy about which words should be used to write accurately about the event, whether to be more neutral or more specific, judgmental and/or emotive. Since it is a point of reference for many people from different backgrounds, it is important for the English page to keep returning to the neutral words in an attempt to avoid adopting a perspective, which would go against the Neutral Point of View policy of Wikipedia. In countries where there is less discussion about the event, it is easier to maintain a perspective in the text by using intensifiers. The Dutch text, for example, uses multiple intensifiers that favour an Irish nationalist perspective. They describe the event as a "schietpartij" [outburst of shooting] and describe the protesters as "vreedzaam" [peaceful]. Most of French page is a translation from the English page, but in the translation it also leans towards an Irish nationalist point of view in the use of certain words. For example, they call the event a "tuerie" [killing, massacre] instead of an incident. The Swedish page displays a mixture of intensifiers in favour of both the Irish nationalists and the British unionists. It describes the deaths of the victims as "den fruktansvärda sanningen" [the terrible truth], but in the next section the IRA is described as the "Vinnarna denna dag" [winners of the day] because many people joined the IRA afterwards, which is an ironic remark considering the losses of the nationalists on that day. The Swedish page also calls the city "Londonderry", which indicates a unionist perspective. The dilemma of how to describe the event is also seen in some pages, such as Danish, which avoids referring to Bloody Sunday as anything else than "Bloody Sunday", yet it calls the city "Londonderry". Other pages, such as Italian, start out neutrally, calling Bloody Sunday an 'incident' and later move to stronger terms, such as "strage" [massacre]. To some extent, distance to the event seems to indicate a potential to describe the event in intensifiers because their emotiveness will not be questioned as much as on the English page. When moving geographically further away from the event to Eastern Europe (Romania, Serbia) and outside Europe (Russia, China), the descriptions tend to be neutral, calling Bloody Sunday an incident or event and referring to the city as Derry, which links to a page about the city describing it as "Derry or Londonderry". This can be explained by the fact that these countries have very little ties with the event and thus do not feel the need to talk about it in emotive terms.

Bloody Sunday (1972) has been the subject of many artistic works, including songs and films. The English page contains an extensive list of films, songs, literature and theatre under the subheading "Artistic reaction". Other languages often have a smaller list of creative projects mentioning only the most well-known works. Although creative works are often listed in a separate subheading (generally the last one of the article), the French page already mentions the famous song "Sunday Bloody Sunday" by U2 in the abstract of the article. This suggests that songs are especially important in transmitting cultural

memory and that people abroad may know about the event because they have heard this particular song. However, the creative works listed are not limited to English/Irish works. In some languages, songs produced locally are also mentioned, which has a localization effect. For example, the Swedish page mentions the Swedish troubadour Fred Åkerström's song "Den 30/1-72", which is also listed on the extensive English list, but not on any of the other language pages. The French page also mentions an allusion to Bloody Sunday in a rap song by Médine. This is not mentioned in any of the other languages. The rap says "la V^e république nous enguirlande, époque ensanglantée comme un dimanche en Irlande". The allusion to Bloody Sunday is thus used in relation to French history. The localization effect of the appearance of creative works in different languages can show the differences in perception of the event, which is amplified by their reference on the Wikipedia page. The range of references to arts within these nonfiction texts shows that the localizing features operate within an intermedial space. For Eastern-European and non-European languages these localized elements did not occur and these pages generally only mention the most famous English/Irish works. As with the neutrality of the descriptions in these languages, this can be explained by the fact that these countries have very little ties with the event and thus do not have locally-produced creative works about the events.

Voir aussi

- Conflit nord-irlandais
- Bloody Sunday (1920)

Sur les autres projets Wikimedia :

des monuments relatifs aux troubles à Derry, sur Wikimedia Commons

Liens externes

- (en) Site officiel de l'enquête
- (en) Chronologie des événements, CAIN

Conflit nord-irlandais		
Groupes paramilitaires	Loyalistes	Ulster Protestant Volunteers • Ulster Volunteer Force • Red Hand Commandos • Ulster Defence Association • Ulster Freedom Fighters • Ulster Resistance • Loyalist Volunteer Force • Orange Volunteers • Red Hand Defenders • Ulster Army Council • Ulster Loyalist Central Co-ordinating Committee • Combined Loyalist Military Command • Young Citizen Volunteers • Ulster Young Militants • Shankill Butchers
	Républicains	Saor Éire • Armée républicaine irlandaise provisoire • Official Irish Republican Army • South Derry Independent Republican Unit • Irish National Liberation Army • Irish People's Liberation Organisation • Armée républicaine irlandaise de la Continuité • Armée républicaine irlandaise véritable • Irish Republican Socialist Movement • Óglaigh na hÉireann • Irish Republican Liberation Army • Continuity Liberation Movement • Active service unit
Forces de sécurité officielles	Ulster Defence Regiment • Royal Irish Regiment • Police royale de l'Ulster • Ulster Special Constabulary • Service de police d'Irlande du Nord • Garda Síochána • Forces de Défense irlandaises • Special Air Service • Forces armées britanniques	
Partis politiques	Unionistes et loyalistes	Parti unioniste démocrate • Parti unioniste d'Ulster • Parti unioniste progressiste • Parti conservateur • Parti unioniste du Royaume-Uni • Ulster Democratic Party
	Républicains et nationalistes	Sinn Féin • Parti social-démocrate et travailliste • Irish Republican Socialist Party • 32 County Sovereignty Movement • Parti des travailleurs d'Irlande • Republican Sinn Féin
Événements	Grève de la faim irlandaise de 1981 • Bloody Sunday • Attentat d'Omagh • Attentats des pubs de Guildford • Bloody Friday • Bataille du Bogside • Bataille de Saint Matthew • Affaire Littlejohn • Siège de Balcombe Street	
Processus de paix	Accord de Sunningdale • Accord du Vendredi saint • Accord de Saint-Andrews • Independent International Commission on Decommissioning	
Chronologie du conflit nord-irlandais		

Portail de l'histoire militaire

Portail des années 1970

Portail de l'Irlande du Nord

Catégories : Massacre au Royaume-Uni | Manifestation au Royaume-Uni | Conflit nord-irlandais | 1972 en Irlande du Nord | Janvier 1972 | Londonderry | [+]

Figure 8. Screenshot of the bottom of the French “Bloody Sunday (1972)” page, showing, inter alia, the “See Also”-, “portals”-, and “categories” sections.

Another way of situating the event is by means of the 'see also'-section and category-sections. A

formal availability of Wikipedia is the linking between pages not only via wiki links but also by listing pages under certain categories and portals. Figure 8 shows an example of the interface of this on the French Bloody Sunday page. This is an interesting section to consider for a language comparison of perspectives as this section is often less heavily edited, making it easier to show judgments in its categorization. For example, the English page showed an editing controversy between using the word "incident" or "massacre", as is explained in the last section. To maintain neutrality, the word "incident" was chosen to describe the event, yet in the categories section, the page turns out to be listed under "Massacres in Northern Ireland" and "Massacres committed by the United Kingdom", as well as "Terrorism deaths in Northern Ireland". Through these categories, the Bloody Sunday (1972) event is linked to other events, such as Bloody Sunday (1920) which took place in Ireland, but also Jallianwala Bagh massacre, better known as the Amritsar Massacre, in India and the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya. Via this linkage, Bloody Sunday is thus framed as an event within British colonialism. Interestingly, the Swedish Bloody Sunday page lists the page under "Religionsåret 1972" [religion year 1972] and focuses throughout the article on the fact that many protesters were Catholics. These broad categories frame the event within an international setting. The French page, however, mainly uses categories that link to events in the UK and Northern Ireland, thus compartmentalizing the event within its national setting. This is highlighted by its 'see also'-section which lists "Conflit nord-irlandais" [Northern Irish conflict, The Troubles] and Bloody Sunday (1920), which took place in Dublin. These linkages thus show a form of multidirectionality (Rothberg 2009).. Rothberg argues that cultural memory is "always marked by transcultural borrowing, exchange, and adaptation" (524) such that memories relating to one group can inspire or model other group's memories, a phenomenon already illustrated by the example of the French rap which combines Bloody Sunday with French history. The linking of events is also a clear element of the structure of Wikipedia. Instead of being 'just' an open database, Wikipedia's interface displays a certain hierarchy in its articles by linking to other events by categorization. Articles provide not simply information on their own but they are linked into a certain narrative by situating it within a framework of other events. It needs to be stated that the notion of multidirectionality alone cannot account for the different linkages that are being made within Wikipedia. Potentially everything can be linked to everything, but this does not happen. Choices are made regarding which events can be linked to each other within a complex cultural framework. Detailed research on the linkages between Wikipedia articles can potentially provide more insight in the particular functioning of multidirectionality and the distribution of memory.

Conclusion

This project used a mixed method approach to research the Wikipedia pages relating to Bloody Sunday (1972) as media of cultural remembrance. The first part of the research shows, via the representation of edit history in Contropedia, that the choice of words in which the event is described on the English Wikipedia page is still controversial. The alternation between neutral words and intensifiers of varying specificity, judgment, and emotiveness both before and after the official apology by British prime minister David Cameron demonstrates that this is a highly contested memory site.. The analysis was taken a step further in the second part of the project, which consisted of a language comparison between a wide range of Bloody Sunday (1972) pages on Wikipedia. The hybrid combination of translation and original text indicates a complex variation on what Erll has called ‘travelling memory.’ This shows that more specific theories are necessary to account for the particular pathways along which memory actually travels, out of all the possible directions in which it could travel.. The specific transformations of transnational memory is demonstrated by the different perspectives in describing Bloody Sunday which can be found in the use of discourse in different languages, which shows both an engagement with and a distance from the event. The English Bloody Sunday (1972) Wikipedia page aims to be neutral but has a lot of negotiations going on in edits. Other West-European languages generally show more perspectivism but in East- and Non-European languages the perspectives flatten out to more neutral and general descriptions low in specificity as the distance to the event makes it less relevant for these countries. The concept of multidirectionality in particular can be a gateway to research the dynamics of Wikipedia. Each language page deals with Bloody Sunday differently, but the pages cannot be separated from each other, because of the importance of translation but also because of their formatted linkage. Moreover, the different categories under which the page is listed demonstrate different multidirectional frameworks of memory. This research project displays how new possibilities in digital source material as well as research tools can be used within the framework of cultural memory studies as they are both a reflection of national perspectives and instigators of new productions of cultural memory. The constant updatability and the combination of distributed and centralized linkage gives both users and, subsequently, researchers the opportunity to regard Wikipedia as a site of active cultural remembrance and, therefore, as a site for research.

Discussion

This research project combines methods from Digital Humanities with discourse analysis. Digital tool Contropedia gives researchers the opportunity to look at a vast amount of editing history in an orderly way, but only on the condition that the article is in English and that there is a large number of edits. This

limitation needs to be taken into account when considering the conclusions of any Contropedia case study. This limitation does not just apply to Contropedia, however, but to many digital tools. The use of languages other than English, especially when actually comparing different languages, is still a challenge for Digital Humanities tools, which means that traditional discourse analysis remains a key element of research. The digital and 'manual' data do, however, need to be evaluated within their own framework of assertions and limitations.

Contropedia approaches controversy focusing on 'wiki links' as they are generally key concepts. Although his approach is certainly visionary and applicable in prior research, such as the case study on the Wikipedia article on Global Warming (Borra and Weltevrede), this analysis shows that in the case of Bloody Sunday, the wiki links are not always the subject of controversy. Many of the words discussed in this analysis are what we consider 'intensifiers', words that do not necessarily point to factual disputes but rather show different connotations of the topic discussed. The word "incident", for example, was revised many times to more emotive words, such as "massacre", "slaughter", and even "a human carnage", but in the layer view of Contropedia the word is not marked as controversial as it is not a wiki link. Instead "Bogside", a wiki link in the same sentence, got a very high mark on controversy, because the number of edits in the sentence is distributed over the wiki links in that sentence, even though this word itself is hardly the subject of dispute. This discrepancy between wiki links and controversy is explained by the shift from disputed facts to disputed language, as this research on Bloody Sunday aims mainly to analyze the discourse used in the article.

A last limitation of this research project (as well as Wikipedia research in general) is the sole focus on authorship. The differences between Wikipedia pages in different languages are interpreted here by reference to the producing side. It is, however, difficult to analyze readership in Wikipedia. The focus on community has been criticized by Antin and Chesire because it implies that Wikipedia is meaningful to the extent that people actively participate as editors, excluding Wikipedia readers as "free-riders". Antin and Cheshire instead propose that readers provide a valuable service for Wikipedia as they are the audience and "reading without modifying a piece of text can reflect the perception of reliability" (128). It would be a valuable addition to the current state of growing Wikipedia research to include readership as a full-fledged actor within the cultural dynamics of Wikipedia.

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