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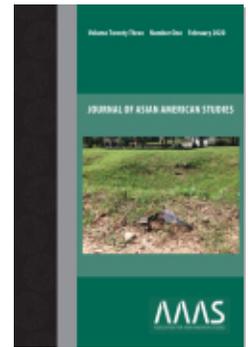
## Time-Image Episodes and the Construction of Transgenerational Trauma Narratives

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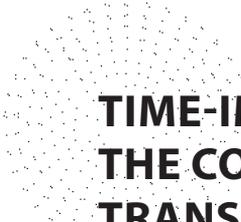
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# TIME-IMAGE EPISODES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRANSGENERATIONAL TRAUMA NARRATIVES

Yvonne Y. Kwan

**ABSTRACT.** Trauma and repressed memory have long served as a critical departure in collective memory studies. This article employs the time-image episode to detail how (post)memories of subsequent-generation genocide survivors are constructed when survivor-generation silences proliferate and transgenerational subjects are temporally and experientially dirempted from the violence experienced by their elders. Time-image episodes function as presently situated, imagined accounts of history and memory. They represent the circulation of narrative and nonnarrative forms of communication, extending the present into other temporalities. By complicating the definition of transgenerational trauma to encapsulate not only psychopathologies but also alienation from a family and cultural history, we can better understand that the trauma experienced by descendants revolves around an absence of knowledge. Empirical data on Cambodian Americans are provided to (1) redefine trauma not solely in pathological terms, (2) analyze nonphysical forms of memory, and (3) conceptualize the multiple temporalities of trauma that shape collective memory formation.

Trauma and repressed memory have long served as a critical departure in collective memory studies. Maurice Halbwachs posited that memory is constructed in collective contexts, and often this exchange is embedded within physical objects, rituals, and language.<sup>1</sup> However, this approach cannot fully address how silences, which are devoid of certain physical forms, may act as conduits of collective memory production. This article employs a new theoretical tool, the *time-image episode*, to detail how (post)memories of subsequent-generation genocide survivors are constructed when silences among the survivor generation proliferate and transgenerational subjects are temporally and experientially dirempted from the trauma and violence experienced by elders.<sup>2</sup> The basic operation

within national histories and state-sanctioned memorial sites is to minimize history into an easily consumable form; while this is convenient, it can often “occlude the trauma and difficulty of individual and collective histories.”<sup>3</sup> To challenge the privileged circulation of national histories, this article places the transgenerational refugee subject as the central figuration of knowledge about collective memory formation around trauma and violence. Empirical data on Cambodian Americans are provided to (1) redefine trauma not solely in pathological terms, (2) analyze nonphysical forms of memory, and (3) conceptualize multiple temporalities of trauma that affect collective memory formation.

The nonnarrative forms of communication discussed in this article include silences and fragments. *Silences* entail both the literal lack of communication about the genocide and the “audible conveyance of all that is left unuttered.”<sup>4</sup> *Fragments* are snippets of information about suffering that lack contextualization. This can include offhand messages about the physical absence of relatives and implicit or explicit mentions of genocide. While these communicative exchanges are largely nonnarrative in terms of the storytelling form,<sup>5</sup> they are inherently expressed in the verbal form due to the structure of qualitative data collection and social communication. This contradiction denotes how narrative and nonnarrative communication along with popular representations of the Cambodian genocide shape collective memory.

In this study of Cambodian American young adults’ perceptions of interpersonal exchange with elders, transgenerational trauma is conceptualized as a form of *latent articulation*, in which existing but not yet manifest forms of memory are (re)articulated at certain moments in time to produce a story or feeling that pieces together disparate sources of information. Such articulations shift when different, contradictory, or new connections about past encounters are made. While there may be various forms of latent articulations, this article focuses on the intersection between silences and fragments wherein the manifestation of such exchanges can be better understood as *time-image episodes*, a concept that exemplifies how Cambodian Americans have come to creatively formulate their own narratives and inquiries about their families’ traumatic pasts. A time-image episode can be understood as a pointillism of silences, fragments, verbal exchanges, sites of memory, and popular culture that highlights how collective memory is constructed and modified over time. These forms of social exchange become articulated (i.e., connected) in order to articulate (i.e., express) a creative and imaginary process whereby children of refugees (and all children, more broadly) come to reconstruct their parents’ and their families’ histories. The time-image episode allows us to grapple with

the literal impossibility of experience, in which one cannot know fully the experience of the genocide, yet one knows that one's own subjectivity is in part owed to—or is—a legacy of genocide. *Transgenerational trauma* is thus understood to be an alienation from trauma—the pains and rituals produced as a result of knowing, but not knowing, a past that supposedly shapes one's identity.

### **Collective Memory Studies**

I situate this discussion among three lines of research in the existing field of collective memory. First, in highlighting the nuances of trauma, I define trauma not in purely negative terms but instead as a “both/and.”<sup>6</sup> From melancholia to studies on psychopathologies, scholars who have written about subsequent-generation Cambodian youth have largely focused on maladaptation, overidentification between parents and children, and emotional and psychological abnormalities (e.g., PTSD, depression, anxiety).<sup>7</sup> But popularized in post-Holocaust collective memory research, a study of fragmented memory and narratives via a Foucauldian lens serves to not only recognize the natural psychological and physical reactions that result from horrific experiences but also shift popular constructions of trauma as simply repressed, silenced, or pathological.<sup>8</sup> I apply such critiques to both recognize the challenges associated with trauma and highlight some generative and productive qualities of trauma and its traces, especially about how trauma may generate potentials for children of survivors to develop knowledges about the past.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, trauma remains in a state of constant becoming, and traumatic memory can be reconstructed as a present-oriented phenomenon. Such an approach to trauma disrupts tropes of melancholic stuckness.

Second, collective memory studies most often use “memory sites” as the source of inquiry.<sup>10</sup> These sites include historical texts, museums and other memorials, documentaries, war tribunals and courts, and memoirs—all of which share a particular material form and discursivity. Because remembering becomes collective when people share the same cultural toolkit, memory sites become the privileged mechanisms of memory circulation.<sup>11</sup> Kaufman and Wolf, for example, identify the centrality of museums and oral archives in shaping Jewish descendant identity—particularly in the absence of direct ancestors.<sup>12</sup> Questions of recognition, access, and capital, however, come to the fore: whose history is deemed worthy to be curated and circulated in official historical archives? Cultural trauma theorists have argued that individual suffering cannot qualify as cultural trauma, even though an entire group may experience pain, unless there is

an authoritative representation of a traumatic event as integral to shaping a collectivity's sense of its identity.<sup>13</sup> Thus, cultural trauma can be designated as such only when persons within a collectivity become aware of a common pain with others, associate negative affects to that situation, and express these pains to the public.<sup>14</sup> The focus on third-party recognition essentially shifts attention from affective resonance to atrocity tourism and consumption.<sup>15</sup> Critiquing this direction of the field, Schwartz and Schuman find that sites, symbol structures, and objects now constitute the sole archive of collective memory.<sup>16</sup> This shift begs a question about power and representation: what kinds of audiences are required to validate trauma narratives as to be legible cultural trauma?

Third, the larger field of collective memory studies within the social sciences has been critical in examining the importance of past events and their effects on cohorts in the present.<sup>17</sup> Schuman and Corning, as well as Conway, discuss how people's identification of important world events is structured within generations, particularly at certain critical periods (e.g., adolescence and early adulthood).<sup>18</sup> Thus, they define collective memory as that which revolves around (1) a general sense of how people in a generation remember a certain event (e.g., distrust and division during the Vietnam War) and (2) a memory that is passed on secondhand.<sup>19</sup> The act of "re-member-ing" or producing shared memories is one of the ways in which group membership is constituted.<sup>20</sup> For Cambodian Americans who do not have firsthand experience with the genocide, they become *members* of that group via the formation of collective memory. Extensive theoretical work in the human and social sciences as well as research in the medical sciences show that direct experience is not a prerequisite for collective memory and trauma.<sup>21</sup> For example, while victims of traumas live with scars that are associated with a particular and direct experience of a traumatic event (e.g., war or abuse), the recipients of transgenerational trauma do not have an exact reference and yet still "experience" trauma collectively.<sup>22</sup> The "barrier of memory" is crossed and "a new collective identity is created *sui generis*, with the collective, rather than the individual, as its basis."<sup>23</sup>

Stein finds that collective stories "constitute reference points that anchor us, and we in turn adopt them as our own, using them to construct a sense of self."<sup>24</sup> Kidron, for example, argues that children of Holocaust survivors can have embodied memories that allow them to "earn the legitimate status of authentic survivor."<sup>25</sup> Wajnryb showed the centrality of silence in constructing Jewish identity, while Kaufman identified that fragmentary stories contribute to descendant self-understanding.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, Hirsch discussed how descendants may not have firsthand experience with trauma but can nonetheless develop a postmemory about the

Holocaust that becomes central to their subject positions.<sup>27</sup> Postmemory can approximate the affective force of firsthand traumatic experience, but the memory comes to them secondhand.

While all these arguments are theoretically powerful, there remains an empirical puzzle regarding the mechanisms of transmission, especially when a proliferation of silences is prevalent.<sup>28</sup> Kidron's work with Israeli Holocaust descendants and Cambodian Canadians posits that a *silent matrix of genocidal presence*, which encompasses parent-child silent face-work, parent-object identification, and sensorial embodied memory, is a form of silent transmission of trauma.<sup>29</sup> Intersubjective transmission is thus conveyed via facial, gestural, and partially verbal forms of interactions between children and parents. Coupled with the emotional gestures and affective connections built around everyday fears of starvation and loss, even in times of stability, children come to identify with parental trauma in ways that also become a part of their everyday lives.<sup>30</sup> While Kidron's silent matrix is theoretically and empirically rich, she found that this matrix was not fully present among her Cambodian Canadian subjects since only 60 percent were interested in commemorating or learning about the Khmer Rouge (KR).<sup>31</sup> She attributes these intergenerational silences and avoidance to Buddhist and other cultural traditions of scolding and dicta, but does not address how these exchanges affect Cambodian children's identity development, as she did for the Israeli Holocaust descendants. By focusing only on survivor tales and moral framing, Kidron could not account for the generative aspects of trauma.

Similar to Tedeschi and Calhoun, I recognize how people who have been exposed to major life crises typically experience distressing psychological and physical manifestations (e.g., sadness and depression, elevated blood pressure and gastric upset).<sup>32</sup> However, their work also gestures to the possibilities of posttraumatic growth—positive change experienced as a result of challenging struggles. While Tedeschi and Calhoun focus on firsthand trauma survivors, this article considers the development of posttraumatic growth across generations. Shifting away from firsthand experiences and physical memory sites as the primary source of empirical inquiry, I examine the absent presence of trauma to reveal how structures of power affect discursive memorial production.<sup>33</sup> In recognizing the oft-marginalized voices of refugees,<sup>34</sup> this work offers a close reading of the relationalities developed between parent survivors and their children and offers the theoretical tool of the time-image episode to better conceptualize how collective memory is constructed. Instead of simply positing that the past affects the present, the time-image episode explains how silences and fragments, multiple temporalities, imaginaries, sites of memory, and interpersonal exchange coalesce to produce collective memory.

### Time-Image Episodes

Lauren Berlant's analysis of *Mysterious Skin*, both novel and film, demonstrates how such cultural productions can portray the present as a continually unfolding yet historically saturated moment that is both coming together and apart at the seams.<sup>35</sup> The present moment is not something that is simply fleeting or uncapturable. While there is always some uncertainty, a becoming of something else or of a potential for a present to become a new articulation of pasts, presents, and futures, we can better understand this complexity by applying Berlant's concept of "episode": an articulation that leaks into pasts and futures at its borders while stretching out the present moment. Rather than engender confidence about a representation of an event, episodes allow us to recognize the "becoming-event" of subjectivity that is ongoing and not closed.

Closely tied to episodes is the image itself, whether in physical (i.e., photographs, film) or nonphysical form (i.e., the mind's eye). While testimonies and narratives emphasize quantifiable facts, as suggested by Murphy and Stevenson, images leave an affective afterlife that tethers the subject to the image itself.<sup>36</sup> Unlike the movement-image, which denotes time in a linear fashion (cause and effect), Deleuze's time-image infuses a circuitry of temporalities. The time-image may reference an "actual" occurrence, but any retelling is always already imbricated with the virtual, an *imagination*—a continual negotiation and exchange between perception and recollection. Through the time-image, we can thus understand that all presents are haunted by pasts and futures; every past is irreducible to a former present, and a future encompasses a present to come.<sup>37</sup>

To better understand the time-image in film, consider a scene fifty-five minutes into *First They Killed My Father* (2017), wherein the main protagonist, Loung Ung, and her family are forcibly removed from their home in Phnom Penh and relocated to a KR work camp. A starving Ung sees the removal of bodies at the camp and begins to daydream. She envisions herself among a table of the most luxurious foods, stuffing herself. The film then overlays that imagined opulence with the present moment as Ung sneaks, in the middle of the night, to steal and eat a handful of the family's precious and meager ration of uncooked rice grain. The juxtaposition between Ung's memory of her previous middle-class life, exemplified by her family's dining room table, and her current hunger bespeaks how the present always includes a contracted past—even when it seems far removed. In her daydream, the virtual (her imagination and memories of the past) and actual (her current lived conditions) become crystalized. In this perpetual exchange between the virtual and actual, it becomes difficult

for her to discern between the two as she risks her family's livelihood in an attempt to quell her hunger and actualizes a fantasy that remains impossible.<sup>38</sup> Deleuze's concept of the time-image demonstrates how the real and the imaginary become inextricable: "the impossible proceeds from the possible, and the past is not necessarily true."<sup>39</sup> It is not about coexistences or simultaneities, but much like Berlant's "episode," it is about becoming (i.e., the potential).

Thus, time-image episodes function as presently situated, imagined accounts of history and memory. They represent the circulation of narrative and nonnarrative forms of communication that capture traumas, extending the present into other temporalities. For José E. Muñoz, in addressing the contours of queer futurity, he writes, "The present must be known in relation to the alternative temporal and spatial maps provided by a perception of past and future affective worlds."<sup>40</sup> By queering time, time-image episodes are always in a state of in-between (articulation and rearticulation). Time-image episodes are immensely imaginative process for the younger generation, as they serve as a mechanism that generates new relationship building between young and old. Because the younger generation does not have direct access to elders' memories, many embark upon a subjective quest where they attempt to reconstruct a nationalized historical knowledge in order to complete what is rendered incomplete by the silences and fragments. And with the time-image episode, I will show how these images can coalesce at various points in time to generate a virtual memory and narrative not grounded in facts or the actual but from the desires to know something unknowable. It is the void of continuity, the inability to distinguish between what actually happened to one's family and what one saw in a film or read in a book, that allows for the collective trauma of Cambodian Americans to be assembled into a new version of "truth," a collective memory that is temporally dirempted from the nationalized and experiential identity of the survivor generation. Silences and fragments combine to produce a new present: an orientation to one's understanding of one's self, subjectivity, and cultural belonging as grounded by a shared, yet abject, memory.

### **Cambodian Genocide**

Even though the KR was in power for only three years and nine months, the United Nations found that between April 1975 and January 1979 the KR committed "some of the most horrific violations of human rights seen in the world since the end of the Second World War."<sup>41</sup> Approximately two million people were decimated, but those who were responsible for plan-

ning and implementing such crimes against humanity did not face any immediate legal repercussions until 2003, with the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia.<sup>42</sup> While all Cambodian people (especially those who were educated) were persecuted, ethnic and religious minorities, in particular, were targeted. Prior to the KR, the U.S. Congress never declared war on Cambodia, but the Nixon administration nonetheless orchestrated widespread carpet bombing over the neutral country.<sup>43</sup>

Due to this widespread destabilization and persecution, it is understandable that there are lingering effects of war trauma and displacement on Cambodian American communities.<sup>44</sup> On a case-by-case basis, this consists of private struggles with mental health, but when analyzed as a larger collective, it becomes clear that the pain and trauma of the past continue to remain in the present for this entire group. Indeed, over the course of 2004, the RAND Corporation found that a majority of Cambodian refugees suffered from PTSD (62 percent) and major depression (51 percent).<sup>45</sup> Many refugee-survivors are affected by the hauntings of genocide, relocation, and resettlement.<sup>46</sup>

## Method

To collect an archive of Cambodian American experiences, I conducted a concurrent mixed-methods study that employed both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. This article, however, focuses on the qualitative data collected from a three-year ethnography at a Cambodian language school in the California Bay Area along with twenty-seven semistructured, in-depth interviews with twenty- to thirty-five-year-old Cambodian American students and recent graduates as well as four semistructured, in-depth interviews with first-generation Cambodian refugees from greater California. These interviews were conducted over a span of a year and a half. Pseudonyms are used to protect the identities of participants. I was particularly interested in the subset of children of Cambodian refugees who did not have direct experience of the genocide but have parents who did. The 1.5 generation includes persons who immigrated before twelve years of age, but in terms of this study, the cutoff is quite arbitrary because age does not reflect the shared "subjective nature of ethnic identification."<sup>47</sup> Given that generations relate not just to birth cohort but instead to a social location that arises from shared cultural experience and context, 1.5-generation participants belong to a similar "sociological cohort" as second-generation participants.<sup>48</sup> The second-generation interviewees were at least twenty years of age and born to parents who had

experienced the war.<sup>49</sup> Among the 1.5 and second generations, there were twelve men and fifteen women, all of whom attended colleges in California. I focused on students and recent graduates because I was also interested in the ways in which higher education mediated collective memory and identity formation. Only three had at least one parent who had completed any college.

Because of a lack of official resources, including textbooks and courses, on Cambodians and the KR, many children did not learn about the genocide until late in high school or in college, if at all.<sup>50</sup> The Cambodian Genocide is sometimes mentioned in passing in American textbooks, but other than that, many students did not have much access to that history. In recent years, this has changed because of the ubiquitous nature of the internet. But for my sample, many did not have personal computers when they were younger, and everyone noted that they did not know what to look for until they had at least some knowledge about the war.

Interviewees were identified through quasi-respondent-driven and purposive sampling. From my community involvement, I identified key informants and leaders from student and Cambodian community organizations. This targeted sampling helped identify possible research subjects. I also employed quasi-respondent-driven sampling,<sup>51</sup> which helped overcome potential bias of oversampling from subjects with large networks. The targeted sampling of college students and recent graduates in California limits the generalizability of the specific findings of this study to all Cambodian American people because the responses must be contextualized within settings of postsecondary education. Also, those who volunteered were likely to be more aware of their Cambodian identities and their relationships with elders and the genocide. But given that California has the largest Cambodian population, this sampling includes demographic commonalities with the larger Cambodian population in the United States.

After transcribing all interviews, I utilized Atlas-ti to conduct a thematic analysis to distinguish initial codes across the entire set of data, identify themes, review the themes in relation to the entire set of data, generate a thematic map, and refine thematic relationships.<sup>52</sup> Codes related to parental relationships and trauma narratives were also assigned subcodes that pertained to affect, silences, and fragments.

## **Analyses**

Although there has been research on the relocation and assimilation of Cambodian refugees,<sup>53</sup> there remains a theoretical and substantive gap regarding our understanding of how first-generation history affects de-

scendants of direct trauma survivors. Rather than consider the fraught communicative exchanges between family members as an inability to narrate trauma, it is important to understand how such exchanges serve as both the content and mechanism of communication and affective exchange: what and how trauma is expressed.<sup>54</sup> These exchanges can have layered and multiple meanings: both revealing and concealing the past. This section begins with a description of the types of nonnarrative communication about the KR genocide. Data will then show how descendants have come to construct a collective memory, via time-image episodes, from such nonnarrative forms of social exchange.

### *SILENCES*

One of the many varied definitions of collective memory includes how social groups remember, forget, or appropriate the knowledge of a collectively shared past.<sup>55</sup> Such studies of collective memory processes can be challenging given the similarities between silence, repression, and forgetting. While Connerton suggests that there are seven types of forgetting, Um has found that forgetting is not an option for most Cambodian refugees.<sup>56</sup> While they may be reluctant to talk about their experiences—for fear that no one else could understand them since they themselves have trouble making sense of their pasts—these silences are not rooted in actual forgetting. Instead, there is signification in the absence.

Sophie shared that although she has largely come to terms with many of the struggles she had while growing up in poverty and with parents who had PTSD, communication challenges between her and her parents remain:

I actually don't know too much about my parents' experience. They don't really talk about it. So, I think living with an absence of any history is what makes them who they are. Kind of always pushing me to figure them out. You know, like what makes them behave in a certain way? So, I wish, I wish, I mean growing up I think, I just wished my parents were more communicative—communicate with me. And my parents seem to always end up [pause], they didn't really want to interact with us.

Because of her parents' struggles, Sophie has had great trouble connecting with and talking to them. Eventually, through gathering "bits and pieces" of information, Sophie found that both parents' entire families died during the genocide. During most of her childhood, Sophie felt that her parents would numb their pains with alcohol and gambling. And when they were not suppressing the trauma through those means, they withdrew within themselves and ignored the children. Sophie believes that her mother

tried to re-create the family they lost by having so many children. But her mother's inability to cope with her mental health made for a difficult home life. Losing their parents at a young age and just nearly escaping death caused mental health challenges to linger among the older generation, which perpetuated the silences across generations.

While many children are afraid to ask their parents about their past or do not know what to ask, Samboun has always tried her best to get her parents to talk. As a part of the 1.5 generation, Samboun knew that she was born in Thailand, but she was never quite sure why she was born in a refugee camp. Growing up, she realized that neither parent wanted to talk about the past. This was especially difficult for her mother. Samboun said, "With my mom, when she tells a story, she gets very emotional. She starts crying. My parents don't really talk about the war. I think it's a very hard memory for them to reflect back. But I'm like, what happened?" Even though parents try to silence their personal nightmares, the younger generation knows that their parents are concealing something painful through their silences and fragmented communication.

Many interviewees discussed strategies for pulling stories out of parents given the widespread silence, but this act of asking requires that the descendants have at least some knowledge about the KR. For some, college becomes a place where children of Cambodian refugees can begin to engage with their histories and pasts. College applications frequently ask students to write about the world they come from or their background. Without much information, many students are tasked to ask their parents about their experiences. Having eased into these discussions, some of my interviewees found that it became easier to speak to their parents. Also, general education classes and cultural clubs were integral to introducing descendants to this history. Only then did they know what and how to ask their parents about their past experiences. My interviewees Alyssa and Vanna said that family stories would not have come up if they had not asked directly. For example, "How did you escape and not die? Why did your brother not make it?" asked Alyssa. Nonetheless, Alyssa said that her parents, like many others', focus only on the less tragic stories. Vanna would ask, "What did you learn in high school when you were in Cambodia? Were you able to finish high school?" By starting with very specific questions that do not directly relate to the war, this circumlocution would sometimes lead into a fuller story. And, for community activist, Chrisna Khuon,

The generation born after the Khmer Rouge must grapple with uncovering our identity via history and experiences of our elders while also vigilantly remembering that our elders are survivors

of a great atrocity that lives within them for the rest of their lives. My generation's responsibility is to empathize with elders and acknowledge that what we feel will never be the same as it is forged into their minds, bodies and spirits. When speaking to elders, it is important to remember we must not act forcefully, pushing them for answers, and further disempowering their ownership of their experience. They deserve basic respect in honor of the community they've created for us in a new land after having their humanity taken from them during the genocide and refugee camps.

So, rather than expect elders to just "get over their fears and emotional scars," young people are tasked to learn how to handle potentially triggering conversations that invoke trauma.<sup>57</sup> For while the past is tethered to the present, the subsequent generation must also respect the privilege of accessing those memories. And when challenged by certain impassés (i.e., silence), they must get creative to carefully chip away at those guarded secrets, using any fragments of information they can retrieve to piece together a time-image episode. The image in the mind's eye can serve as a conduit for linking the generations affectively, especially when words fail.

### *FRAGMENTS*

In addition to interpreting these silences, the younger generation has also learned to interpret fragments, especially when they can sense discordance and contradiction among their exchanges with parents. As Wajnryb has found among Holocaust descendants in Australia, "There's a juxtaposition of elements here that is marked: the desire for information, on the one hand, and the paltry, impoverished resources available."<sup>58</sup> The onus is then on the descendant generation to gather as much information from parents to piece together a past from which they have been alienated. For example, Samboun recalled what she could remember about her family:

My grandma had ten kids. Everyone splits and [by the end of] the war, half of them died, along with many other family members. So, I don't really know about our family tree—family members and mom's brothers and sisters who passed away. My mom never really talks about her brother who passed away. My father doesn't really talk about his siblings. He doesn't talk much. So, we really don't know much about family.

Because of the disintegration of the original family unit, Samboun has a "brother" who is actually her cousin in their reconfigured family. It was common during and after the war for siblings to raise their nieces and nephews

as their own if siblings were killed or separated.<sup>59</sup> Samboun said that as a young child during the time of the war, her brother was forced into a work camp. Samboun commented that her brother also never liked talking about the war: "He doesn't really say anything about the war. He doesn't want to remember those bad memories. I know he can remember a lot. [My sisters and I] ask him, but he includes no descriptive details of what happened or how he feels." This silence along with fragmented information about the hard labor and beatings can be frustrating even though Samboun knows that it is difficult for her brother to recall those experiences. More than anything else, she just wants to know more about her family. This void was a source of inquiry and pain that was never adequately addressed.

When survivors offered glimpses into their pasts, these narratives often came in the form of tangents or outbursts that were difficult to comprehend without a broader context. Diana described not only the trouble she had getting her parents to share their experiences but also the challenges associated with completing the whole story:

Sometimes, you just get little fragments, and it's hard to put things together because you can't really explain it well. You don't really know what's going on. And then you hear different things. And then, our conversations go off on a tangent and then we pick it up again next time. Sometimes they don't want to remember or go into detail about their experiences.

This picking up again next time denotes the creativity and futurity of a collective memory about trauma. The piecing together happens at multiple points in time and becomes a pointillism of information. Memory and identity result not from simple storytelling but from the absence of experience and the generative intersections of these silences and fragments.

Despite being confused more often than not about her family history, Diana tries her best to communicate with her parents. One time, when Diana found out about the Cambodian American documentary *New Year Baby* (2006), she suggested that she and her parents could watch the film together.<sup>60</sup> Diana said that it was one of the first times that her mother actually wanted to share. But despite this sentiment, Diana asserted, "My mom would tell a couple stories and then move on to something else." Diana's mother was not purposely being evasive, but she was able to offer only bits and pieces of the narrative before it became too challenging for her to reflect on those painful experiences. Given these fragments, it was up to Diana to piece them together into a more or less coherent articulation of the traumas.

While these fragments may come in the form of unfinished or illogical stories, they may also manifest as passing comments that are not meant to evoke sympathy or confusion yet still convey to the subsequent generations that their parents must have experienced grave hardships. For example, Vanna explained, "When I can't finish my food, my mom would [say], 'You know that would feed two people under Pol Pot.' She doesn't say it maliciously; she was just stating a fact . . . little things like that throughout my childhood." Her mother often hinted at the starvation that she experienced as a way to compel Vanna to eat all her food. But without the full account of her mother's experience and without knowledge about the KR, Vanna did not understand the source of her mother's guilt-inducing response. As Vanna got older, she had to put together those expressions of disappointment and guilt to try to reconstruct the times of Pol Pot that her mother referenced. While these passing comments about starvation and suffering may be quite common in other low-income households, Vanna's experience is significant when juxtaposed with the other passing comments about terror and violence.

Just slightly more direct than Vanna's mother, Jane's mother also conveyed similar sentiments that caught her daughter off guard. On one occasion, a young Jane overheard her mother and some of her mother's girlfriends talking about their gastrointestinal and digestive problems: "It was probably because during the Khmer Rouge time, I was eating tree bark." At the time, Jane did not react or say anything. But she did recall that there were always "little things like that that would just be spit out of places." For example, when Jane interviewed her mother for a high school oral history project, her mother said, "Everything wasn't too bad. They didn't kill a lot of people in my camp." Jane's mother's nonchalant tone despite the horrible content of her message drastically shifted Jane's viewpoint of her mom's past. She responded, "They didn't kill A LOT of people . . . like they KILLED people?" At first, Jane could not understand why her mother was trying to convince her that the times were not that bad. But in hindsight, Jane suggested that her mother was just trying to come to terms with that violence she had experienced and witnessed. These passing comments came to make more sense once Jane learned more about the KR and developed a clearer point of reference, signifying a new articulation (i.e., an alternate coalescing of information to form a new representation of the past).

Like the others, Sok also actively seeks out information from his parents. When he was younger, all he knew was that he did not have much extended family, as compared to his friends and classmates. Sok had some family members in Canada and some in the United States because of the

refugee resettlement process, while others either had died or had remained in Cambodia. He explained why all of this is so confusing:

When I was growing up as a kid, people would talk about their cousins and grandmas and grandpas. I was just like, I don't know mine. I would just ask my parents. They would bring it up like, "Oh we have this person here." At the same time, they would say, "I did have one, but she died." I didn't really understand the gravity of it until much later. I was just like, "Oh, okay." Then I left them alone. I didn't really understand the concept of death and what it entails in terms of emotions it brings to people, what ideas or meanings it brings up.

When Sok was young, he did not know how to be sad about something he had never directly experienced. Without knowing the relevant context, that missing referential frame became an ordinary part of his life. He simply accepted that void as a fact. Despite Sok's parents' silences and his initial ignorance about his family history, he later reflected on how the feelings of acceptance (i.e., "Oh, okay") transformed into an eagerness to learn as much as he could from reading books on the KR and a sadness about the gravity of it all.

#### *TIME-IMAGE EPISODES*

These aforementioned narrative fragments and silences reveal the immensely complex nature of communicative exchange between elders and children. The construction of a collective memory about the KR genocide thus shows that trauma is not something exclusively rooted in the past. As the children of refugees seek to construct a more coherent family history, they are also constructing their own memories. Their recovery of Cambodia's history during the horrific KR regime enables them to augment their parents' fragmented recollections. Recall that the time-image episode is a representation of imagined accounts of personal, family, and cultural narratives around war and trauma that are sometimes dismantled and reconstructed when new connections are made. Below I show how the subsequent generations have come to (re)articulate this lost history and how this (re)articulation is generative of affective connections that bridge alternative temporalities and space.

Vanna seemed to have always known what had happened to her family even though she did not have the exact details or the full stories. Despite her lack of concrete information, she felt connected to the events that brought her family so much pain. Vanna said,

I just knew that, I've always, yeah, I've always, well yeah, well the whole *what could've been*. I'm not exactly sure when I found out, but I've known for a long time. And partially because I'd be there when they talk about it. I guess in a way, I just always knew. The details came out later.

The confusing stories that are often truncated at random points but repeated over and over in other cases have generated a sense of what "could have been"—demonstrating how the time-image episode functions to shape a present moment as an endless imbrication of nonchronological time wherein the past is dilated, contracted, and protracted to create potentialities of connection—a futurity that shifts trauma from a pathological contagion simply stuck in the past to an immensely generative social condition that helps us understand the complexities of human connection. Although Vanna has trouble articulating her feelings, she nonetheless recognizes that she feels and knows something that she never consciously learned. Her recollections or lack thereof are not reproductions of actual suffering but the affects associated with her inability to know *and* her gut feelings of knowing in her body. This exemplifies how the time-image episode serves as an affective mechanism of postmemory construction. For it is not the dead who haunt the living, but that which cannot be laid to rest that lingers.

Leia did not understand why she felt like her eldest "brother" was not her brother, but she nonetheless felt compelled to believe it. She did not know why she felt that way. And for most of her life, she was too afraid to ask about the truth. So, she creatively filled that void with the knowledge she had overheard about the separations and deaths in her family and imagined what she thought to be true: her "brother" was her half-brother. More recently, Leia got the courage to ask her parents and finally confirmed that her brother was indeed her full brother. Even though the children of Cambodian refugees may not have full access to knowledge about the past, they, like Leia, are able to creatively reimagine a pointillism of history and a memory. Therefore, these time-image episodes are creative processes of becoming that reveal the patchwork nature of Cambodian American young adults' memory making. Leia's previous time-image episode was incorrect—though not necessarily less meaningful to her understanding of her family's past and her relationship with them. The content of the time-image episode, however, shifted after she gathered new pieces of information, demonstrating how such "memories" can be rearticulated.

Chenda's experience with her grandmother shows how the connection that is bridged between descendants and survivors can be a deeply

embodied and trans-temporal process. She shared, "I remember when I was really small. You can see gunshot wounds on my grandma's back. I would mess with it. What's this? She said it's a gunshot. When I was little, I didn't know. You wouldn't realize how serious it was. You can see those wounds." Chenda was too young to understand how her grandmother sustained those injuries, but the act of her touching and feeling her grandmother's wounds produced an affective connection that first introduced Chenda to the horrors of genocide. The gunshot wounds represent the absent presence of war. When Chenda recalled this experience, she suggested that this encounter did not come to meaning until she went to college and took a history class that happened to mention the Cambodian genocide. By learning about the war in a future point in time (i.e., college), Chenda was able to piece together that encounter, that image of her and her grandmother's wounds long ago, with her parents' silence and the poverty and gang violence she experienced in her community. This demonstrates how the infinitely contracted past is always already there. The experiences she had as a child remained affectively latent until she was able to recall them to articulate a collective memory that helped her understand the past. These moments of encounter and later narration with more context show how memory is not rooted in pastness but in articulations of pasts that remain latent in the present.

Seatha has also had seemingly casual encounters that did not physically manifest in communicative exchange with elders, but instead created time-image episodes. When Seatha and her father were hiking through a lush green field near her college, he mentioned that something big must have died for the land to be so green and fertile. Without any context, this comment was jarring for Seatha. Seatha said that she did not ask her father to explain why he said that, but in her mind's eye, she envisioned the time she visited the lush green killing fields of Cambodia. Her imagined connection between the hike (in the present moment) and her father's thoughts about lushness and death intersected with a recollection of her experiences visiting the killing fields memorial. This constitutes a time-image episode. Memory has multiple temporalities that need not be tethered to a specific subject or location; it is always in flux, open to rearticulation.

The younger generation has an immense ability to connect with the traumas of the past even if they are not fully conscious of it. Alyssa mentioned that her parents "lead really normal lives: they have a child who is in college; they eat; they work." But Alyssa shared, "Despite my growing up in a seemingly normal life, my parents still, I don't know. I don't know how to describe it." Alyssa had trouble forming her thoughts into words that could clearly articulate the ways in which the trauma has affected

her and her parents. To explain this, she went on to describe her parents' response to loud noises: "My parents would always talk about how they never liked fireworks. They didn't like the sound; it brought back the bad memories. In their response to loud noises, it wasn't really obvious. It was like physical discomfort, but it wasn't like actual cowering or anything." At first Alyssa thought it was weird, but coming into recognition about her family's experience and the events that ensued under Pol Pot, she gestured that vestiges of the war can be triggered by auditory and visual cues like fireworks. Alyssa said that her parents did not cower, but she, herself, "could almost feel" the discomfort that they experienced when her parents would hear those noises. While referencing "actual" occurrences of bombings and gunfire, the time-image episode associated with Alyssa's relationship with the loud booms of the fireworks is imbricated with the virtual, an *imagination*—a continual negotiation and exchange between perception and recollection with her parents' past (but also a past she can never truly understand). Despite this alienation from the "actual," the affective resonance that reverberates within Alyssa demonstrates how transgenerational trauma can generate potentialities of connection even from seemingly insignificant or preconscious affects.

Alyssa proceeded to describe a photograph of her father when he was a soldier prior to the KR takeover. Other than that single photo "that still remains," Alyssa's grandmother "buried all of the evidence that [her father] was involved in the previous military and political system." Photos can act as a conduit of trauma transmission and mediate the process of time-image episode construction.<sup>61</sup> That photo gave Alyssa a short glimpse into the seemingly normal life that her father had prior to the KR. She said, "He was very young—fifteen or seventeen. His hair is close cut, and he is wearing a nicely starched and ironed button-up shirt." In sharing, Alyssa also lamented that she does not know much about her parents' history. The photo, however, was a "tangible piece of evidence" that was literally dug up from the ground in Cambodia. All of the other photos were ruined, but this one remained when they freed it from the safety of the earth. Like the pain that Alyssa's father and mother carry around, the photo is old, about to crumble, water damaged, and faded, but it still lingers as a sign that references the past. Images have an affective resonance that can "continue to resonate, to animate us, for a lifetime, without necessarily having any narrative or biographical value."<sup>62</sup>

Although most people do not have photographs of their families before the war, many have ones of their parents at the refugee camps or as newly arrived in the United States. For example, Alyssa has never seen images of her mother prior the war, but she has seen ones when "[her

mother] first came here.” Alyssa shared, “[My mom] is wearing huge bell bottoms, really big hair, really big glasses.” When she noticed that her mother was so thin and short, Alyssa thought to herself that she was much taller than her parents—this was probably because Alyssa actually had food and proper nutrition. The photo, when coupled with that discomfort Alyssa felt about fireworks, generated an embodied connection along with a time-image episode that Alyssa created in connection with her mother. That time-image episode became ever more inclusive of the stories and silences that circulated in the continuing expanse of her life, helping her better understand her parents’ experiences and her relations to a past that she can never truly know but also never be separated from.

Overall, such imaginaries of pain and of “what could have been” open up the space for children to formulate time-image episodes that help produce the tendrils of relationality that tether their presents to their elders’ pasts. When juxtaposing the imagined/virtual with the actual, Sok would sometimes wonder what would have happened if his father had gone to school. He explained, “[My dad] might not have survived under the Khmer Rouge.” And, when Sok learned that even just people who needed glasses were categorized as “intellectual” and subject to extirpation, he infused the present moment with an imagined potentiality from the past: “I try to look at myself in that position, in that context. I don’t think I would’ve survived.” Having this deeply affective understanding of the precarious nature of life, Sok has tasked himself with learning about what happened to the Cambodian people. It was the imaginary that sparked an alternative future wherein instead of passively being exposed to his family’s experiences, Sok is inspired to be more involved in his community and his culture. Trauma has the ability to become something else other than a melancholic fixation with a wound: trauma becomes productive, becoming the inspiration for Sok to become a community advocate in the future.

While these imaginaries are empowering for Sok, they are a bit more difficult for Melanie. When Melanie and her mother would watch documentaries about the KR or the Vietnam War, Melanie found that it was always very difficult for her mother: “It was really hard watching it with her. Actors were reenacting something that has happened in her life.” For Melanie, it was difficult imagining her mother and other families going through those horrific events. Melanie recognized that her perspective was quite superficial as compared to her mother’s because her mother’s “whole world literally collapsed around her.” This superficiality, however, brings along with it the complexity of the time-image episode. That is, Melanie can never re-create the actual loss or the experience of loss within, but the continual exchange between the affects of her present and that feeling

of loss and separation from the past produces a complex perception and recollection of something that never existed for her yet seemed so real. Melanie shared, "Sometimes I feel bad because I don't work as hard as she does." The experience of this guilt is not the same as the pain her mother experienced, but it is a mediated, refracted, and virtual form of that past pain, a present affect born out of the time-image episode.

## Discussion

By doing close readings of absent presences and envisioning how they coalesce as time-image episodes, this work shows how memories are often fractured, invisible, multiple, and volatile, especially given that shards of memory may be located in "public commemoration or private morning, in family narratives, in cultural practice and habits, in the *here* and the *there*."<sup>63</sup> Instead of viewing and conceptualizing such memories (which cannot be neatly enveloped and anchored) as deviant memory processes, it is necessary to understand how the social and fragmentary nature of memory (particularly traumatic memory) can allow people to make sense of their physical and psychological displacement from a land, a history, a culture, and an identity.<sup>64</sup> This study shows that interpersonal exchanges and interactions allow for introjection of what Schwab defines as "the autopoietic process in which loss is taken in, transformed, and translated into the emergence of something new."<sup>65</sup> This flow of ideas and affects demonstrates trauma not as stasis but as movement—a movement that violates the linear constructions of time and memory. The present extends into the past through "embodied reactions of individuals as they carry out their daily lives."<sup>66</sup> Meaning making and the construction of collective memory are always incomplete. By not fixating on the actual, we can focus on what can be produced from that incommunicability—which is something deeply creative.

While Kidron and Wajnryb have also shown that descendants of traumas continue to be haunted by traumas of the past in nonpathological ways, this work theorizes and empirically details the process of collective memory construction.<sup>67</sup> As for Kidron's silent matrix, there is definitely parent-child face work in exchanges of silence and fragments as well as embodied sensorial memories as demonstrated by the pains felt by interviewees like Samboun, Sophie, Alyssa, and Sok. Exemplifying the movements of time and highlighting the failures of words to capture the complexities of both individual and collective memory, time-image episodes are thus a constellation of the fragmentary forms of communication that are articulated to different temporalities that arise when dealing with trauma.<sup>68</sup> These virtual recollections expose the patchwork nature of col-

lective memory formation, especially about collective traumas that have yet to be commonly represented or curated by museums, documentaries, memoirs, and other cultural forms. Reconstructions of traumatic memory are constantly formed and reshaped by those affected by the everydayness of living with trauma. In the Cambodian case, Um writes, "Rather than kinship, genocide now defines the Cambodian identity."<sup>69</sup> This research also shows how traumatic memory is (re)constructed and (re)articulated as a future-orientation rather than melancholic fixation to the past—a transgenerational posttraumatic growth. Given that "each present coexists with a past and a future without which it [the present] would not itself pass on," traumatic memories, particularly collective memories about trauma, are experienced in the present.<sup>70</sup> And given that this present is always a future to come and trauma is experienced in the present, trauma cannot be simply understood to be pathologically stuck in the past.

As time-image episodes, subsequent generation accounts of the first generation's experiences describe a temporary articulation (read: connection and representation) of the collective memory formation processes that happen between the first and subsequent generations. According to Hirsch, what the younger generation *feels* is often associated with what they can *remember* from the stories that are communicated through flashes of imagery and broken refrains, which are transmitted through not just spoken language but also the language of the body.<sup>71</sup> The stories from the older generation can become part of the everyday narratives and histories for the second generation. By challenging the linear temporality of memory making and meaning construction, recollection of collective trauma is a negotiated process that places representation in a key role.<sup>72</sup> No single account (personal or official) can ever fully capture the immensity of the events, but the subsequent generations' eagerness to learn about them shows how those narrative gaps and silences are taken in and (re)imagined in ways that help the younger generations make sense of their world.

While this time-image episode conceptual approach is not particular to survivors' sharing of their life experience, since most children learn about their parents' lives in nonchronological fragments, I argue that these time-image episodes perform a crucial task of helping Cambodian American young adults come to understand and process collective memories, as informed by family histories, social and political history, and personal identities. For example, as suggested by Stone and Hirst, Spaniards may share a memory of the value of *pi*, but this does not qualify as Spanish collective memory because it does not bear on what makes Spaniards who they are.<sup>73</sup> Collectively, however, Cambodian American memory work via the construction of time-image episodes reveals how the Cambodian

genocide has come to shape the collective memories and the identities of who the Cambodian people are.

## Conclusion

Collective memory scholars have long documented the circulation of silence and its centrality in forming an American Jewish identity among Holocaust survivors, their descendants, and people of Jewish descent more broadly, demonstrating that phenomenon that we cannot empirically observe may exist and hold immense meaning. This article, however, makes clear that transgenerational trauma cannot be reified as a teleological process, but instead one that investigates how trauma narratives and nonnarrative forms of exchange are articulated in the present to inform one's cultural identity and relationship with political violence. Often, the focus of collective memory studies privileges reified national and unitary identification oriented around linear descent.<sup>74</sup> By problematizing teleological constructions of memory and identity, we are able to analyze the complex and shifting amalgams of history.<sup>75</sup> Although there is no agreement for one singular definition of collective memory, collective memory necessarily requires a group to "represent and invent what we can no longer spontaneously experience."<sup>76</sup> Hence, there will always be a chasm between the "real" (i.e., actual) and "representation" (i.e., virtual). The time-image episode, however, reveals a possible indiscernibility between the two. Thus, a study about trauma is not about Trauma (with a capital T) but about the social realities and possibilities that are produced by trauma. This is particularly salient in cases in which a traumatic event continues to have strong collective meaning. In the case of the Cambodian diaspora, it has been more than forty years since the KR took power and many of the elders of that generation have started to pass away, but the collective memory around genocide remains very present for uncles and aunties as well as the 1.5 and second generations.

By theorizing the fragmented stories and silences that second-generation Cambodian Americans construct as time-image episodes, we can begin to recognize how trauma can be rooted in deeply social and temporal processes. Given that time-image episodes function as *presently* situated *imagined* accounts of history and memory that (re)present a circulation of narrative and nonnarrative forms of communication associated with the process of capturing traumas that extend the present into other temporalities, they are always in a state of in-betweenness and becoming, especially when new latent articulations are made as different, contradictory, or new information arises. This theoretical tool helps us conceptualize collective

trauma given the literal impossibility of experience for descendants. While silences and fragments are often pathologized as an individual's failure to narrate and subsequently cope with the traumas of the past, these expressions carry with them the collective memories of that community.

By privileging curated memorializations and representations of cultural trauma in traditional collective memory research, scholars are unable to capture how micro-level, sociocultural exchanges transmit trauma traces as well as produce cultural identities rooted in these traumatic events. Official narratives can make something horrible more palatable and contained, but because transgenerational collective memory enters the realm of the unspeakable, it reveals the limitations of such curation. As a basic tenet, collective memory is always produced through a history that is always rendered incomplete. But the framing offered by the time-image episode demonstrates how this void of continuity, especially given the proliferation of silences and fragments under conditions of trauma, can become creatively reimagined and articulated.

Challenging dominant representations of refugees as traumatized beings that fail to "move on," I recognize the psychological challenges that result from trauma but also acknowledge how creative strategies of coping and communication allow for the circulation of trauma narratives. The absence of speech as well as the gaps in narrative storytelling denote how an absent presence can convey just as much, if not more, about the resonances of trauma than curated and rehearsed discursive exchange does. The recollections given by the younger generations encompass creative articulations of collective trauma that show how trauma has the ability to traverse generations. By considering such alternative temporalities, we can come to see how trauma is located as much in the present as in the past and the future.<sup>77</sup>

Rather than assume a bequeathing of memory within collective groups, the time-image episode reveals how transgenerational memorial practices around trauma can comprise an alienation from "actual" trauma, including the pains, rituals, and affects produced as a result of being foreclosed from the firsthand experience of the violent past that shapes one's culture and community. The pointillism of information comes to constitute a collective memory, wherein identity forsakes a false assumption of authenticity based only in actual experience. Instead, the time-image episode represents memory and identity as less a reverberation than an echo, a series of reconstitutions that give meaning where there is really only a void produced through the silences and fragments, not only of storytelling and narratives but also of the affects associated with loss in the absence of experience.<sup>78</sup> An analysis of the articulations of trauma via

time-image episodes reveals how Cambodian American youth make sense of their subjectivity, identity, and world despite the void of information that comes with silences and fragments. There is no doubt that the KR genocide has come to define the identities of the Cambodian diaspora, but given the limited global recognitions of the horrors committed by the KR, it is imperative to consider how people can creatively articulate and (re)imagine their cultural pasts in ways that demonstrate the complexities of collective trauma and the agency of marginalized groups.

### Notes

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4. Khatharya Um, *War, Revolution, and the Making of the Cambodian Diaspora* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 192.
5. Kenneth J. Gergen, "Narrative, Moral Identity, and Historical Consciousness: A Social Constructionist Account," in *Narration, Identity, and Historical Consciousness*, ed. Jürgen Straub (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 99–119.
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28. Wajnryb, *Silence*; Dario Paez, Nekane Basabe, and Jose Luis Gonzalez, "Social Processes and Collective Memory: A Cross-Cultural Approach to Remembering Political Events," in Pennebaker, Paez, and Rime, *Collective Memory of Political Events*, 147–74.
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30. Furthermore, prewar mementos act as conduits bridging time and space, thus allowing for the virtual experience of a copresence between past and present.
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34. Yen Espiritu, *Body Counts: The Vietnam War and Militarized Refugees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).
  35. Lauren Berlant, "Structures of Unfeeling: Mysterious Skin," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 28 (2015): 191–213.
  36. Kaitlin M. Murphy, *Mapping Memory: Visuality, Affect, and the Embodied Politics in the Americas* (New York: Fordham, 2019), 48; Lisa Stevenson, *Life Beside Itself: Imagining Care in the Canadian Arctic* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014). As posited by Kaitlin Murphy, memories are the words and the stories we tell of past events and experiences—they shape who we are. But affect "is what gives color and texture to memories." Affect is what circulates in the present, as it may not be seen but is felt. Subsequent generations may not "remember" the war or the dislocation but they *live, sense, and feel* the memories of their elders. Murphy, *Mapping Memory*, 37.
  37. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (London: Athlone, 1989), 99.
  38. In the crystalline regime, "the two modes of existence are now combined in a circuit where the real and the imaginary, the actual and the virtual, chase after each other, exchange their roles and become indiscernible." *Ibid.*, 126.
  39. *Ibid.*, 99.
  40. José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).
  41. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 52/135, "Report of the Group of Experts for Cambodia Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution, 52/135, a/53/850,S/1999/231."
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  44. RAND Corporation, "Cambodian Refugees Suffer from Psychiatric Illness at High Rates Two Decades after Escaping Homeland Terror," [www.rand.org/news/press/2005/08/02.html](http://www.rand.org/news/press/2005/08/02.html).
  45. *Ibid.*
  46. Um, *War, Revolution, and the Making of the Cambodian Diaspora*.
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64. Ibid.
65. Schwab, *Haunting Legacies*, 56.
66. Eyerman, "Cultural Trauma," 65.
67. Kidron, "Toward an Ethnography of Silence"; "Alterity and the Particular Limits of Universalism"; Wajnryb, *Silence*.
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69. Um, *War, Revolution, and the Making of the Cambodian Diaspora*, 195.
70. Deleuze, *Cinema 2*, 37.
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74. Jeffrey K. Olick, "Introduction," in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformation in National Retrospection*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 1–16.
75. Tong Zhang and Barry Schwartz, "Confucius and the Cultural Revolution: A Study in Collective Memory," in Olick, *States of Memory*, 101–27.
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77. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*.
78. Halbwachs posited that participation with group members of the current generation in commemorative spaces can allow people to re-create and imaginatively reenact a past. See, for example, Argenti's work on masked dance performances and the long history of violence and political marginalization in the Cameroon Grassfields. Hence, the creative and

imaginative approach of the time-image episode is not new in collective memory studies. This new conceptual tool, however, does better account for how collective memory is produced in the absence or fragmentation of verbal or discursive exchange. Nicolas Argenti, *The Intestines of the State: Youth, Violence, and Belated Histories in the Cameroon Grassfields* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).