



Hawdon and Ryan 2008; Komac 2009). Memories are also social reconstructions wrought by present concerns (Halbwachs 1992; Trouillot 1995), reaffirming, as Ricoeur (2004) says, that the recursive process of memory (re)construction makes the distinction between recall and imagination an often elusive pursuit.

I have found that invocations of memory are common among the people I have studied in post-disaster resettlement in the Andean highlands of Ecuador and in wildfire response in the American northwest. In this paper, I consider their significance for the interpretation of human behavior in disaster response and recovery. I have been concerned primarily with investigating the ways in which memories inform practice and, perhaps, the ways in which practice informs memory. Here,

In March 2009, my colleagues and I hosted a series of focus groups in the Penipe Nuevo resettlement in the Andean highlands of Ecuador. Roughly six months prior, the 287 houses in this small, periurban township had been granted to 1500 agro-pastoralists displaced from their villages by the eruptions of Mt. Tungurahua in 1999 and 2006. This tripled the predisaster size of the town (Faas 2015). The first focus group discussed several important events and processes that had occurred since the catastrophe. Families had been separated during evacuations, and separations often lasted months or years. Most resettlers now lacked access to land, productive resources, or employment. The group noted that a host of other all-too-common postdisaster and resettlement hardships had also taken place.

In the second group, an unexpected quarrel broke out after our first several questions. In response to the query, "How did you first become aware that the volcano was erupting?" Rafael Ocaña,* a soft-spoken, portly farmer who was pushing 70, began to tell the story of hearing sirens as soon as he felt tremors from the eruptions. He indicated that the time was roughly 9 am on October 15, 1999. He had barely uttered these words when eight men from the other side of the room protested, rudely shouting that the tremors were felt first several minutes prior to 9 am, and the sirens did not wail for another 20 minutes. Sr. Ocaña politely reiterated that these were the facts as he recalled them, that he and his family had spent no small amount of time recalling them, and that the local bus service arrived near his home with bus 552.5(E 169(e t)-17.9(he f)112.6(n)66(r)-6.T* [(a)-2 43.1(9)-5.7(9)2(k)7..9(he)-17(o)2.3A



dozens of interviews with national (Type I and Type II) IMT personnel and others in wild fire service. We wanted to map the contours of the ways in which wild fire team leaders identified, prioritized, and managed relational risks (the interpersonal, cultural, and political aspects of fire management) in the social life of wild fire incident response. One of the more salient issues that stood out during these interviews was that IMT and other wild fire personnel were often quite attuned to the ways in which memories shape perceptions, relations, and action for themselves and the individuals, groups, and organizations with whom they communicate and coordinate in an incident. In what follows, I identify some of the themes that emerged in their chronicles of wild fire response.

First, some IMT personnel speak of entering communities where bitter memories of past incidents and IMTs linger; they discuss how they have to actively work to build and repair relationships with local agencies and communities who felt they had been unfairly treated by outside agencies in the past (see also Carroll, Cohn, Seesholtz, and Higgins 2005; Carroll, Higgins, Cohn, and Burchfield 2006). One local fire chief, with experience working on IMTs for dozens of Type I fires, recalls a story:



Chief with 24 years of experience on the US Forest Service re staff tells a story that re ects popular memory of the decline in logging and attendant animosity toward the agency.

As you well know, the Forest Service used to cut a lot of timber and was typically well inserted into small communities throughout the West as a result. Now, right, wrong, or indifferent, and because of the discovery of the Spotted Owl and the lack of numbers of Spotted Owl...and the requirement for us to protect the habitat for the Spotted Owl, obviously, we pretty much stopped cutting timber. And that goes everywhere from the corner of Oregon all the way down there to the southeast corner of New Mexico.

So, as a result, we had a lot of small communities whose livelihood depended on the logging industry. Their economies basically fell apart...So there was a lot of animosity against the Forest Service because all they knew is that the Forest Service stopped cutting timber...all they remember is that the Forest Service was responsible for their lack of the livelihood that they knew for generations. Because, in a lot of those 5all tpBcsauf35.7(l(d t)-72.7(u)-4.4(s)-5.3(e a)Tg5(r)-10.4.5(r)-9, a)-13.5(s a r8)0.17(pB)1.1(r g)8.7(e)-0oor tr Fot ol ttrececa.9(s52e)112t l5(e)-16(l)14(e l5(e)-112t .1(20.7(i)17.8(v)22.1(e)1.0h-11.25.1316(uf(l)14(e5,-16-28on t)-. (n a)-1.2





