

Journalism and Memory

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INTRODUCTION

Journalism and memory have an uneasy relationship which has long kept this area of study outside the core of both journalism studies and journalists' own role perceptions (Zelizer, 2008). At the root of this tension is journalism's perceived orientation to the present in contrast to memory's inherent connection to the past. The absence of a chapter on journalism and memory in the previous edition of this handbook may be viewed as another indication of this strained relationship and the relative marginality of this area of research within journalism studies.

Yet, as an increasing number of scholars have argued and documented, journalism and memory are far more interwoven than common perceptions of these two domains suggest. The growing recognition that journalism's memory work goes far beyond the role of news as the first draft of history, and that understanding it can shed light on the workings of both journalism and memory, has led to the flourishing of this area of research. Dozens of articles focusing on the relationship between journalism and memory have been published over the past couple of decades in flagship journals of both journalism and memory studies, and in leading general interest communication journals (e.g., *Journal of Communication*, *Communication Theory*). Palgrave Macmillan's series on memory studies dedicated a book to the topic of journalism (Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014), as well as sections and chapters in other books in the series (Hajek, Lohmeier, & Pentzold, 2016; Neiger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011). Before the 2016 Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, 13 percent of the volunteers who reviewed papers for the Journalism Studies Division chose "collective memory" as a keyword to describe their expertise.¹ Now, with the full establishment of this subfield of journalism studies, questions arise regarding the way forward and the remaining gaps in our understanding of the complex relationships between journalism and memory.

The aim of this chapter is to consider the past, present, and future of journalism and memory in two senses: first, as time periods in the evolution of this area of research and, second, as thematic elements in the scholarship on journalism and memory. In other words, how does journalism address societies' past, present, and future through its memory work? Reflecting this twofold purpose, the chapter moves from the roots and founders of this subfield to four main contemporary areas of research focusing on: (1) journalists' direct engagement with the past through practices such as commemorative/anniversary journalism; (2) the various ways in which memory is used by journalists in their coverage of current events; (3) the relationship between memory and journalism's orientation to the future; and (4) the memory of journalism itself and how journalists use it to establish their identity, boundaries, and authority. In addition to surveying key studies and concepts with regards to these themes, each of these four sections also discusses remaining challenges and questions. The concluding section of the chapter presents a broad agenda for future research. We argue for the need to broaden and fine-tune investigations of journalism and memory in ways that take into account the full range of news temporalities and

journalistic forms, systematically compare journalists' memory work across different journalistic cultures, and consider the interactions between journalists and other social actors in the construction of collective memories.

THE BEGINNINGS OF JOURNALISM AND MEMORY STUDIES

Mneme, the muse of memory, is one of the three original muses in Greek mythology, along with the muse of thought and meditation (Melete) and the muse of voice and song (Aoide). Indeed, the role of memory in the human experience has intrigued artists, writers, and philosophers ever since. In the last century, psychologists, historians, anthropologists, and sociologists, among other scholars, have developed a constructionist approach to understanding the concept of "memory," and many of them have critically observed its narratological characteristics. From this perspective, memory is not a mere faculty of the mind that encodes, stores, and retrieves information. Rather, it is a complex process of selection and reimagining that is affected by the social framework and by present perspectives on past events.

While uses of the term collective memory can be traced back to 1902 and the Austrian writer Hugo von Hofmannsthal (see Schieder, 1978, and Olick & Robbins, 1998), it is the French sociologist and philosopher Maurice Halbwachs who is considered the founder of the field of memory studies (Gensburger, 2016). Shifting from the psychological focus on individual memory to a sociological perspective, Halbwachs (1992 [1952]) suggested that collective memory, as a social activity, reconstructs the past according to a group's present needs and concerns. This understanding of the concept of collective memory suggests that societies, like people, can have shared perceptions of the past based on agreed collective perspectives on events. Halbwachs's writings on the topic were translated into English in the early 1980s, and his ideas have gained momentum ever since. The concept of collective memory has continued into other disciplines as well and has become important for scholars from both the social sciences and humanities.

In communication and journalism scholarship, one of the first studies to introduce the concept to the field was Kurt and Gladys Lang's article "Collective Memory and the News," published in 1989. The authors approached the exploration of collective memory from the perspective of public opinion in an attempt to understand how the mediation of public events shapes their meaning for the audience and reconstructs the past. They suggested that direct experience and mediation by the mass media are two complementary ways in which events shape people's collective memory: "One produces memories through the direct impact of the experience. With time and as these personal recollections fade, the second takes over. The more remote the event the more will memory of it be based on mediation" (Lang & Lang, 1989, p. 132). Beyond recognizing the role of the media and distinguishing between vivid-personal memory and mediated-collective memory (although today both are understood as constructed and interrelated), the authors offered four journalistic practices for the use of collective memory in the news: (1) defining "the limits of the memory span" (p. 127), i.e., helping the audience to identify and relate to a specific epoch; (2) providing a yardstick to estimate current events in light of past events; (3) invoking the past in order to draw analogies to current events; and (4) using the past as a "short-hand and explanation" of events and to carry lessons for their understanding.

An important milestone was Barbie Zelizer's, 1992 book *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory*. In this book and the ensuing papers (Zelizer, 1993, 1995), Zelizer explored the role of journalists in modern society as agents of collective memory who shape the way people remember mediated events, especially critical incidents of public life, and ascribe meaning to them. In order to serve as memory agents, journalists make use of their journalistic authority, "promot[ing] themselves as authoritative and

credible spokespersons of ‘real-life’ events” (Zelizer, 1992, p. 8). Furthermore, journalists not only shape the collective memory of audiences; they also make use of collective recollections to define themselves as a professional community based on shared narratives concerning not only the events themselves but also their own role and practices when covering these events. Journalists thus function as “an interpretive community, a group that authenticates itself through its use of narratives and collective memory” (Zelizer, 1992, p. 9). The distinction and interplay between memory by and of journalists has been central to the development of memory and journalism studies and the study of memory and media more generally.

Another significant work that marked the beginnings of the exploration of memory work in journalism was Michael Schudson’s book *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, and Reconstruct the Past*, also published in 1992. In this book, Schudson observed how American society remembered the Watergate scandal and discussed the impact of these recollections on American politics, journalism, and public discourse. Journalism is viewed in this analysis as having a double role in regard to collective memory: on the one hand, the news media serve as the stage where many political actors promote their understanding of events in order to influence how the past is narrated and understood in the public arena; on the other hand, journalists themselves act as political actors on the “collective memory” stage. In this particular case, for example, they not only exposed the break-in at the Watergate building and the involvement of the American president and “all the president’s men” in the scandal, but they were also one of the main agents to preserve and shape the scandal in public discourse, determining what would be remembered and serve as the takeaway from the event and what would be omitted from these recollections.

In a later influential article, Schudson (1997, p. 3) offered a useful distinction between commemorative and non-commemorative forms of public memory:

Memory studies suffer from the drunk-looking-for-his-car-keys-under-the-lamppost phenomenon: we look for effective public memory at self-conscious memory sites not because that is where we will find what we are looking for but because that is where the illumination makes looking most convenient.

Thus, while most studies on shared recollections focus on intentional commemorative activities (such as museums, monuments, textbooks, or historical films), they should also examine non-commemorative forms of memory, which keep the past alive through various social, political, linguistic, and psychological processes.

This approach to memory studies exposed an array of potential opportunities for research in communication studies, as media professionals, and specifically journalists, make use of past narratives on a daily basis. Kevin Barnhurst and Diana Mutz (1997) highlighted the importance of looking at the role of the past in journalism, showing the changes in newsmaking over the last century: “news stories grew longer, included more analysis, expanded from specific locations to broader regions, placed more emphasis on time frames other than the present, and named fewer individuals and more groups, officials, and outside sources” (p. 27). Accordingly, this process of change has led to the inclusion of more references to the past and collective memories in routine journalistic practices.

JOURNALISM AND THE COMMEMORATION OF THE PAST

Having discussed the distinction between commemorative and non-commemorative memory (Schudson, 1997), this part of our chapter centers primarily on journalistic work within

commemorative contexts, when the news media purposefully focus on the past in order to mark and honor (or condemn) meaningful events and their protagonists.

An important type of such coverage is what Carolyn Kitch (2002) termed “anniversary journalism,” namely when the news reporting marks the anniversary of historical events and thus directly engages with the past. Kitch explored how American magazines (such as *Time*, *Life*, and *Harper’s*) commemorate and celebrate their own anniversaries, thus strengthening their journalistic authority as community storytellers and public historians who define the meaning of national events, including their moral and political lessons (see also Edy, 2006). Further research on “anniversary journalism” extended this idea and explored the theme of anniversaries of historical events such as conflicts, natural disasters, atrocities, and terror attacks, on the one hand, and positive occasions such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, on the other.

In her article regarding the anniversary coverage of the 2005 Hurricane Katrina in American newspapers, Sue Robinson (2009a) described how the national media “demonized New Orleans as an example of what the country needed to avoid politically, economically, structurally, morally” (p. 236), in comparison to local news outlets which focused on the community’s reconstruction and the significance of the collective ritual. Both types of anniversary coverage promoted American values such as individual ingenuity, democracy, and responsible capitalism and positioned the media as a political actor alongside dominant institutions such as the government and the church. In another example of the study of anniversary journalism, Li and Lee (2013) scrutinized the coverage of the Tiananmen Square crackdown and the fall of the Berlin Wall in the elite US press over two decades and demonstrated the stability of the coverage’s ideological, namely anti-Communist, structure. Song and Lee (2017) later demonstrated the persistence of this ideological structure in the anniversary coverage of these two events in the UK press, alongside an increasing use of cosmopolitan themes in both the US and UK coverage.

Research examining cross-media anniversary journalism can be found in *Communicating Awe: Media Memory and Holocaust Commemoration*, in which Meyers, Zandberg, and Neiger (2014) examined the Israeli press, radio, and television during Holocaust Remembrance Day since the establishment of the state in 1948. Using their previous definition of media memory as “a multi-directional process of concretizing a narrative of the past into a functional, socio-political construct” (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 9), they demonstrated the dynamics of memory narratives regarding the Holocaust, namely how different media outlets adapted and manifested their own version of the traumatic past and its lessons and how news stories that are part of the commemoration ritual aim to provide both news values and commemorative values (see also Zandberg, Neiger, & Meyers, 2011).

Another commemorative practice is the coverage of the death of public figures and the publication of obituaries in their memory. In Kitch’s (2000, 2008) studies of the mourning rituals after the death of celebrities, she demonstrated recurring themes such as the notion that the celebrity was “one of us” and represented our societal values. This media ritual is characterized as blanding emotional storytelling alongside factual information about the celebrities’ public and private lives. In her exploration of US news magazines after 9/11, Kitch (2003) focused on the role of the media as a forum for national mourning and its centrality in the civil religion guiding the cultural ceremony that should lead to recovery and healing. Moran Avital (2019) explored these aspects in the coverage of the death of controversial Israeli public figures.

An important avenue of research concentrated on the visual aspect of journalists’ engagement with the past. In *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory Through the Camera’s Eye*, Zelizer (1998) explored photojournalism as a significant practice in the coverage of important past occurrences and the role of images as vehicles of collective memory. Indeed, the materiality and texture of the visual distinguishes them from verbal manifestations of shared

recollections: “Images help to stabilize and anchor collective memory’s transient and fluctuating nature in art, cinema, television, and photography, aiding recall to the extent that images often become an event’s primary markers” (p. 6).

By combining this approach to visuals and memory with the concept of anniversary journalism, Meyers (2002) offered an analysis of images published in commemorative newspaper supplements in Israel, tracking the selection of events and protagonists as well as the construction of the national group. The images that appeared in these supplements illustrate the attitudes of different media outlets toward the narratives of the state’s past and the change from an authoritarian master narrative to varied interpretations of the past.

Julia Sonnevend (2013) examined the media coverage of the 1956 Hungarian revolution by connecting its visual and verbal messages. She demonstrated how Hungarian journalists constructed iconic people, objects, and places in order to frame the revolution, along Communist Party lines, as a counterrevolution. In *Stories Without Borders*, Sonnevend (2016) elaborated on the link between collective memory and iconicity by following the mythologization process that turns occurrences into global iconic events—stories that resonate across countries and become part of the collective memory reservoir.

Future research on commemorative journalism is likely to address the plethora of manifestations of collective memory in the digital age via tools such as social network analysis. One current example that highlights the potential of such analysis is the article “@todayin1963: Commemorative Journalism, Digital Collective Remembering, and the March on Washington” (Watson & Chen, 2016). The research follows the Twitter activity of US National Public Radio (NPR) in August 2013, which used the handle “@todayin1963” to refer to and commemorate the 50th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (where Martin Luther King delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech), as well as the network that developed around this coverage. Such network analysis approaches enable the study of new questions, especially regarding the complex interactions between journalists and audiences in the process of collective remembering.

THE ROLE OF MEMORY IN JOURNALISTS’ ENGAGEMENT WITH THE PRESENT

While direct engagement with the past is an important part of journalists’ memory work, in most cases, manifestations of collective memory appear as part of the coverage of current affairs. The use of the past in these cases carries various functions in the news. Following the early typology by Lang and Lang (1989) of the different roles played by collective memory in news coverage (see discussion above), several researchers have offered a mapping of these functions. In her article “Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory,” Jill Edy (1999) suggested that, beside commemoration, collective memory is manifested in the news in two main forms: historical analogies and historical contexts. In both uses, the news media look back to the past as a resource for news narratives on current events. Likewise, Schudson (2014) offered three ways in which journalism makes non-commemorative use of the past: (1) by increasing the news value of a story in order to catch the audience’s attention (“look at me!”); (2) by helping the public understand the news and its meaning (“let me explain”); and (3) by covering non-commemorative experiences of time, i.e., “cover[ing] some moment of human drama in which individuals or groups themselves employ non-commemorative practices that have some news interest” (p. 93).

Drawing analogies and using the distant past as a yardstick and context for the present always carries political significance. Journalists need to determine with which past events current affairs can be compared; what the basis is for the comparison; how the past makes the present more comprehensible; and what specific lessons should be learned from history, its protagonists,

and antagonists. Edy (1999, 2006) explored how the Watts riots—the 1965 clashes between the Los Angeles police and the local African-American community— were used as a framework for understanding the 1992 riots that started in the city after a jury acquitted four officers of the Los Angeles Police Department of beating Rodney King. Analogies, she claimed, are

powerful symbolic resources that are pressed into service by various political actors. They may be applied to events very distant in space, time, and circumstance. . . . Historical analogies can be constructed so that the outcome of certain courses of action in response to the current problem appear predictable. That is, they can be used to suggest that the course of the future will resemble the course of the past.

(1999, p. 78)

As noted by Schudson (1992), analogies to the Watergate scandal led reporters a decade later to misinterpret the Iran-Contra affair and the involvement of the US political elites.

The use of collective memory for context provision is somewhat different. Unlike with analogies, providing a wider historical prism that brings information regarding past occurrences and relates it to current events does not call for a direct comparison between the earlier incidents and present happenings. However, as in the case of analogies, the question of what information to provide (and what to leave out) is a crucial part of shaping the meaning of current events.

Invocations of collective memory are particularly prominent in the coverage of collective traumas, as a way of giving meaning to the events and working through them. Zelizer (2002) demonstrated how the news photos of 9/11 were linked to images from historical events such as Iwo Jima, the Kennedy assassination, and the *Challenger* explosion. The most intriguing photographic linkage was between the events of 2001 and the liberation of the concentration camps at the end of World War II, despite the numerous differences between the two events. As explained by Zelizer:

Journalism's response to September 11 was thus not a novel reaction to events even if it was based on a faulty parallel. Rather, historical record became its pedagogical template, an earlier precedent that had successfully employed photography to move collective sentiment from shock and horror into post-traumatic space demanding responsiveness and action.

(p. 58)

The traumatic past also served as a narratological resource in the coverage of the 2007 Virginia Tech shooting (Berkowitz, 2010). Berkowitz showed how many of the news items regarding the attack referred to an ironic hero, Professor Liviu Librescu, who survived the Holocaust and was killed at Virginia Tech, when he held the doors of his class closed, allowing his students enough time to escape through the windows until the perpetrator killed him. The Holocaust— both as the personal background of the event's hero and as a shared framework for the story— becomes the tool for bringing a stronger positive message of healing.

Addressing the coverage of events whose very definition as a trauma was a subject of public controversy, Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2008) showed how the coverage of the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip used collective memory to emphasize the liberating and positive dimensions of the evacuation and work through a potential collective trauma in real time. To counter the narrative offered by the Jewish settlers, which linked the disengagement to prior collective traumas— specifically the Holocaust and the destruction of the Second Temple— some of the Israeli newspapers that supported the plan called upon positive collective memories, most notably the Jewish Exodus from Egypt, as an organizing interpretive framework for the disengagement.

The extensive use of shared recollections as part of the daily routine of news coverage can be linked in part to the decline in event-centered reporting (Barnhurst & Mutz, 1997) and the rise of contextual and interpretive journalism (Fink & Schudson, 2014; Salgado & Strömbäck, 2012). News stories, both print and online (Barnhurst, 2013), tend to provide more context, analysis, and interpretation (Barnhurst, 2013). Thus, although the present is still the anchor of news narratives (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016), news stories include references to a large spectrum of temporal manifestations, including various layers of the past. The prominence and uses of these past layers vary across journalistic cultures. For instance, US journalists tend to provide more contextual information within reports on current events than their Israeli counterparts, while the Israeli news media have a stronger tendency to use front/home pages for commemorative purposes (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016). However, there are many open questions regarding the differences between different journalistic cultures in their uses of the past.

In the digital era, the use of historical data and analogies in the coverage of current events is facilitated by technological developments. Journalists have immediate access to online archives across the globe and may therefore use large amounts of data and texts from different points in time to construct news narratives about current affairs. This “extended retrievability” (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2018), as one of the digital temporal affordances, is manifested in journalistic products such as hyperlinks to past stories and complex infographics that present longitudinal trends. Understanding the various ways in which different layers of the past interact with the coverage of current affairs in the digital era and contribute to people’s perceptions of both the past and the present is one of the challenges for future research in this area.

JOURNALISM, MEMORY, AND THE FUTURE

News stories are oriented not only to the past and present but also, to a large extent, to the future (Hansen, 2016; Neiger, 2007; Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2015). While the present-past dyad has long been at the center of both general conceptualizations of collective memory and studies of journalism and memory, more recent literature has started to consider the complex relationship between memory and journalism’s future orientation. This relationship can be divided into three major categories: the parallels between collective memory work and future work in the media, the uses of memory in journalistic projections, and the role of journalists as agents of prospective memory.

On one level, journalists’ memory work and future work can be seen as functionally parallel. Neiger (2012) suggested the concept of collective vision as a mirror image of collective memory. While collective memory looks backward into the past, collective vision looks into the future and contains societal expectations, including both fears and hopes. Drawing on the characterizations of collective memory discussed above (in particular Zelizer, 1995), Neiger sees collective vision, similar to collective memory, as a continuous, multi-directional process which constructs functional, socio-political narratives (in this case about the future). Here, too, the news media play a central role in the formulation of narratives, and much is still to be learned about journalism’s construction of collective vision using the tools developed in collective memory research.

Parallels between collective memory and future work in the media can also be found in Szpunar and Szpunar’s (2016) development of the concept of “collective future thought,” as well as in earlier complementary notions of remediation and premediation (Erll, 2008; Grusin, 2010; Hoskins & O’Loughlin, 2010). While remediation refers to “the fact that memorable events are usually represented again and again, over decades and centuries, in different media,” the concept

of premediation relates to how “existent media which circulate in a given society provide schemata for future experience and its representation” (Erl, 2008, p. 392).

However, future and memory work are not only parallel processes, they are also closely interwoven; premediation involves a remediation of the past. The schemata used for premediation constitutes “a kind of framework and standard, which the unit of memory (mind, group, society) forms from past experiences and by which new experiences are expected, measured and also reflexively shaped” (Hoskins & O’Loughlin, 2010, p. 90). In Richard Grusin’s (2010) particular development of the concept of premediation, the focus is on the media’s engagement with future scenarios in order to prevent the surprise and shock associated with past traumas (such as the events of 9/11).

Indeed, in our empirical analysis of the clustering of the various temporal layers in the news (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016), we found that the clusters of news stories that focus on the future—whether the near, foreseeable future or the distant, unknown future—almost always include various past layers. In contrast, the clusters of news stories that focus on the past—reporting on recent events or engaging with a distant past—do not necessarily address the future. In other words, while journalists do not necessarily need the future to tell stories about the past, they need the past to talk about the future. Projections are thus often justified and anchored through the use of memory, be it through concrete historical analogies (e.g., World War II as a basis for doomsday predictions) or through populist formulations about a return to some mythical, abstract past (e.g., “Make America Great Again,” Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018).

The use of the past in making predictions is also evident in the area of computational and algorithmic journalism, in which big data and new technologies support “predictive journalism” (Maycotte, 2015) and create “anticipatory infrastructures” (Ananny, 2017). Notably, the quantitative and empirical orientation of this type of journalistic prediction does not mean that they are not constructed from past experiences. To a large extent, the more sophisticated the predictive models, the more they rely on interpretations of historical patterns (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018). The use of memory in data journalism, however, remains a relatively unexplored field.

If the first two types of relationships between journalists’ memory work and future work focus on representations of the future in the news, the third category focuses on future remembrance, that is, the role of journalists in shaping what will or should be remembered in the future. A central concept in this category is “mediated prospective memory” (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013), which addresses the various ways in which the news media remind us not only of what happened (retrospective memory) but also of what still needs to be done (e.g., return MIAs home, fulfil a campaign promise for healthcare reform), based on past intentions, commitments, promises, and traumas. The idea of journalists as agents of prospective memory thus provides a bridge between the theoretical frameworks of agenda setting and collective memory and emphasizes the uniqueness of news stories as sites of memory that connect past, present, and future. It has been argued that, “in their location vis-à-vis the social nexus of time, and in the combination between their agenda-setting role and their functioning as agents of collective memory, the news media are uniquely positioned to serve as agents of collective prospective memory” (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, p. 107).

The notion of mediated prospective memory has been broadened by scholars to account for the ways in which journalists shape forward-looking memories for various purposes: from commodifying and branding war memories (Volcic, Erjavec, & Peak, 2014), to generating digital records of past wrongs which will serve future generations as live reminders of the past and as a guarantee of “never again” (Lindgren & Phillips, 2016). A promising research direction concerns the relationship between prospective memory and alternative forms of journalism that characterize the new media environment, such as citizen journalism and other user-generated

content. Shifman (2014), for instance, argued that unlike iconic news images in the old media environment, which are primarily past-oriented, photos of key current events in the contemporary digital participatory culture are far more prospective in nature, as they are increasingly viewed as the basis for the generation of new memetic versions (e.g., the many variations of the “Situation Room” image, taken originally during the operation leading to the killing of Osama bin Laden; see also Reading, 2014). In a similar vein, Smit, Heinrich, and Broersma (2017) illustrated the involvement of various actors in shaping the future memories of the Ghouta chemical attack in Syria through uploading and remixing witness videos on YouTube. The ways in which the affordances of the digital environment affect the roles played by traditional and new forms of journalism in relation to societies’ future-oriented memories is an area that is likely to receive growing attention in the coming years.

THE MEMORY OF JOURNALISM

Journalism is, at times, not only the agent but also the object of memory. In particular, like other social and professional groups, journalists use memories of their own past to define and negotiate their identity, authority, boundaries, and values; to justify contemporary practices; and to project their future. Such memory work becomes particularly useful against the background of journalism’s constant state of crisis and uncertainty about the future.

Studies in this area have explored the constructions of memories and journalistic authority in two main contexts. The first involves the roles played by journalists in key historical events and in the remembrance of these events, from the Kennedy assassination (Zelizer, 1992) and the Watergate scandal, in which the investigative role played by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein has remained a foundational myth of journalism (Schudson, 1992), to more recent events, such as Hurricane Katrina (Robinson, 2009b) and the Obama inauguration (Kitch, 2011). The second context has focused more specifically on the memories surrounding individual journalists and journalistic institutions, from studies on the remembrance and commemoration of deceased journalists (Carlson, 2007, 2012; Carlson & Berkowitz, 2012, 2014) to explorations of the construction of the past and legacy of specific news outlets (Gilewicz, 2015; Kitch, 2002; Meyers, 2007).

Both groups of studies have demonstrated the various ways in which journalists use memory to establish their cultural authority and professional ethos, both retrospectively and prospectively. While some of this memory work has addressed the merits and significance of journalism in general, other parts have focused on specific segments of the journalistic field, particularly those that struggle to reassert their authority in the contemporary information environment or to establish their legacy. For instance, the studies of Carlson and Berkowitz (2012, 2014) on the commemoration of television journalists showed that their deaths provided an opportunity for journalists to discuss the contemporary state of television news in relation to its golden era, assert its cultural centrality, and emphasize the active reporting done by the deceased (in response to common critiques of television anchors). In his examination of the final editions of newspapers that were closing down, Gilewicz (2015) demonstrated the retrospective and prospective techniques used to establish how and why the journalistic work of these newspapers should be remembered, while Robinson (2009b) examined the tension between mainstream and citizen journalists over the authority to tell the story of Hurricane Katrina in its anniversary coverage.

Conceptually, many of the works on the memory of journalism itself draw on the view of journalists as an interpretive community (Zelizer, 1992, 1993) and can be positioned within the framework of “metajournalistic discourse,” defined as “public expressions evaluating news texts, the practices that produce them, or the conditions of their reception” (Carlson, 2016, p. 350).

Accordingly, on the methodological level, such studies usually analyze publicly available journalistic discourse as expressed in venues such as trade journals, memoirs, anniversary journalism, and other commemorative and non-commemorative coverage. However, as with studies of metajournalistic discourse more generally (Carlson, 2016), little attention has been paid to constructions of the journalistic past by non-journalist actors. How do other social actors and institutions, from actors in the political and educational systems to the general public, remember and tell the story of journalism and its role in their communities?

In addition, while this strand of research has shed important light on the relationship between journalism and memory, it seems, more than any other subfield in the study of journalism and memory, to have remained mostly within the confines of the US journalistic community. How other journalistic communities tell their own stories about their pasts and how these stories (re)assert similar or different values, norms, and boundaries largely remains to be investigated.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This chapter has presented key themes and strands in the study of journalism and memory, which has established itself in recent decades as central for understanding both journalistic practices and collective memory. So what does the future hold for this area of research? Beyond the specific remaining challenges presented above in relation to the study of commemorative practices, the use of memory in the coverage of current events, journalists' future-oriented memory work, and journalism's own memory, we propose several directions for future investigation, which emerge as broad themes from the above discussion and from the gaps in the literature.

First, there is a need to consider journalism's memory work within the broader context of news temporalities. While the temporal dimensions of journalism were of major interest in early journalism scholarship (e.g., Schlesinger, 1977; Schudson, 1986; Tuchman, 1978), recent interventions have highlighted the surprising neglect over the years of an area which is vital for understanding what journalism is and could be in the contemporary media environment (e.g., Barnhurst, 2011; Bødker & Sonnevend, 2018; Zelizer, 2017). In particular, the relationships between memory and the multiple aspects of news temporalities are yet to be fully explored. One example is the relationship between memory and journalism's future work. While there are some beginnings in this area, as reviewed above, there is still much to be done in bringing the future closer to the core of journalism and memory studies. Another direction in positioning memory within the broader context of news temporalities concerns the relationship between journalism's memory work and the temporal affordances of different news media. Elsewhere we have defined temporal affordances in the news as "the potential ways in which the time-related possibilities and constraints associated with the material conditions and technological aspects of news production and dissemination are manifested in the temporal characteristics of news narratives" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2018, p. 39). Like other temporal characteristics of news narratives (e.g., reporting on the recent past, analyzing the future implications of current events), the technological characteristics of various types of news media— from printed newspapers to tweets— and their different position on the news cycle support and constrain various mnemonic practices. An exploration of these temporal affordances is crucial for understanding the roles played by journalism in relation to collective memory in the digital information environment.

Second, the time has come for a wider and more systematic, cross-national comparative perspective in the study of journalism and memory. While recent years have seen important developments in this area (as demonstrated in some of the studies discussed above), research on journalism and memory has, for the most part, remained focused on case studies in specific national contexts, with a heavy emphasis on the US media. At the same time, while comparative

journalism research has flourished over the past decade— for example, the Worlds of Journalism Study (Hanitzsch, de Beer, Hanusch, & Ramaprasad, 2019) and other projects focusing on journalists’ role perceptions and role performance (Mellado, Hellmueller, & Donsbach, 2017)— these studies have usually overlooked the role of journalists as agents of collective memory. Some of the challenges in incorporating memory aspects into these types of studies are methodological; it is difficult to capture through surveys dimensions that are not part of journalists’ self-conceptions, and quantitative content analysis is not well suited to grasping the symbolic and culture-specific dimensions that are at the core of mnemonic practices in the news. However, theory development in both comparative journalism research and journalism and memory studies could greatly benefit from the development of new approaches to comparing journalism’s memory work in different contexts, using methodological approaches such as in-depth reconstruction interviews (Reich & Barnoy, 2016); nuanced manual content analyses of temporal dimensions (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016); and fine-grained automated approaches to discourse analysis (Baden, 2018) .

Finally, in addition to the temporal and cross-cultural extensions of journalism and memory research, we need to broaden and deepen our investigations into the relationship between journalists and other social actors in shaping collective memories. Regarding the input into journalism, questions remain regarding the ways in which collective memory references in the news are co- constructed by journalists and their sources. In turning the statements of sources into news, journalists can select and highlight, ignore, or question collective memory references or, alternatively, add their own references. Such practices belong to the category of cultural journalistic transformations (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2018), but we know little about the conditions under which journalists use different kinds of such transformations in their relations with other social actors. Regarding dissemination, scant attention has been paid to the reception of journalism’s memory work by audiences— an issue that gains new relevance in a fragmented information environment where the very term collective memory may lose its meaning (Edy, 2014). While a few research projects have started to examine the relationship between collective memory, news, and the public (e.g., Cohen, Boudana, & Frosh, 2018; Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011; Volkmer, 2006), we are still a long way from understanding the ways in which audiences process, negotiate, react to, and remember mnemonic representations in the news. In addressing this gap, the rich psychological literature on memory can be an important resource that has so far been largely disregarded in media memory studies. In order to account for the full cycle of journalists’ memory work, from its production to its social implications, we may therefore need to bring the story of memory studies full circle by re-linking collective memory to the minds of individuals.

NOTE

1. Based on a survey run by the first author as the program planner for ICA’s Journalism Studies Division. The survey was filled in by 129 members of the division.

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