

palgrave macmillan memory studies



journalism and memory

edited by barbie zelizer and
keren tenenboim-weinblatt



Series Editors: **Andrew Hoskins** and **John Sutton**

International Advisory Board: **Steven Brown**, University of Leicester, UK, **Mary Carruthers**, New York University, USA, **Paul Connerton**, University of Cambridge, UK, **Astrid Erll**, University of Wuppertal, Germany, **Robyn Fivush**, Emory University, USA, **Tilman Habermas**, University of Frankfurt am Main, Germany, **Jeffrey Olick**, University of Virginia, USA, **Susannah Radstone**, University of East London, UK, **Ann Rigney**, Utrecht University, Netherlands

The nascent field of Memory Studies emerges from contemporary trends that include a shift from concern with historical knowledge of events to that of memory, from 'what we know' to 'how we remember it'; changes in generational memory; the rapid advance of technologies of memory; panics over declining powers of memory, which mirror our fascination with the possibilities of memory enhancement; and the development of trauma narratives in reshaping the past.

These factors have contributed to an intensification of public discourses on our past over the last thirty years. Technological, political, interpersonal, social and cultural shifts affect what, how and why people and societies remember and forget. This groundbreaking series tackles questions such as: What is 'memory' under these conditions? What are its prospects, and also the prospects for its inter-disciplinary and systematic study? What are the conceptual, theoretical and methodological tools for its investigation and illumination?

Silke Arnold-de Simine

MEDIATING MEMORY IN THE MUSEUM

Empathy, Trauma, Nostalgia

Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (*editors*)

MEMORY IN A GLOBAL AGE

Discourses, Practices and Trajectories

Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt (*editors*)

MEMORY AND POLITICAL CHANGE

Rebecca Bramall

THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF AUSTERITY

Past and Present in Austere Times

Brian Conway

COMMEMORATION AND BLOODY SUNDAY

Pathways of Memory

Richard Crownshaw

THE AFTERLIFE OF HOLOCAUST MEMORY IN CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE
AND CULTURE

Irit Dekel

MEDIATION AT THE HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL IN BERLIN

Astrid Erll

MEMORY IN CULTURE

Anne Fuchs

AFTER THE DRESDEN BOMBING

Pathways of Memory 1945 to the Present

Irial Glynn and J. Olaf Kleist (*editors*)

HISTORY, MEMORY AND MIGRATION

Perceptions of the Past and the Politics of Incorporation

Yifat Gutman, Adam D. Brown and Amy Sodaro (*editors*)

MEMORY AND THE FUTURE

Transnational Politics, Ethics and Society

Andrea Hajek

NEGOTIATING MEMORIES OF PROTEST IN WESTERN EUROPE

The Case of Italy

Amy Holdsworth
TELEVISION, MEMORY AND NOSTALGIA

Jason James
PRESERVATION AND NATIONAL BELONGING IN EASTERN GERMANY
Heritage Fetishism and Redeeming Germanness

Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering
THE MNEMONIC IMAGINATION
Remembering as Creative Practice

Mikyoung Kim and Barry Schwartz (*editors*)
NORTHEAST ASIA'S DIFFICULT PAST
Essays in Collective Memory

Amanda Lagerkvist
MEDIA AND MEMORY IN NEW SHANGHAI
Western Performances of Futures Past

Philip Lee and Pradip Ninan Thomas (*editors*)
PUBLIC MEMORY, PUBLIC MEDIA AND THE POLITICS OF JUSTICE

Erica Lehrer, Cynthia E. Milton and Monica Eileen Patterson (*editors*)
CURATING DIFFICULT KNOWLEDGE
Violent Pasts in Public Places

Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg (*editors*)
ON MEDIA MEMORY
Collective Memory in a New Media Age

Anna Saunders and Debbie Pinfold (*editors*)
REMEMBERING AND RETHINKING THE GDR
Multiple Perspectives and Plural Authenticities

V. Seidler
REMEMBERING DIANA
Cultural Memory and the Reinvention of Authority

Evelyn B. Tribble and Nicholas Keene
COGNITIVE ECOLOGIES AND THE HISTORY OF REMEMBERING
Religion, Education and Memory in Early Modern England

Barbie Zelizer and Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt (*editors*)
JOURNALISM AND MEMORY

Forthcoming titles:

Owain Jones and Joanne Garde-Hansen (*editors*)
GEOGRAPHY AND MEMORY
Exploring Identity, Place and Becoming

Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies
Series Standing Order ISBN 978-0-230-23851-0 (hardback)
978-0-230-23852-7 (paperback)
(outside North America only)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills,
Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

Journalism and Memory

Edited by

Barbie Zelizer

University of Pennsylvania, USA

and

Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt

Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

palgrave
macmillan



Introduction, selection and editorial matter © Barbie Zelizer and Keren
Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2014
Individual chapters © Contributors 2014

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this
publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted
save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the
Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence
permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency,
Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication
may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work
in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2014 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited,
registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke,
Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies
and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States,
the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-137-26393-3 ISBN 978-1-137-26394-0 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137263940

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully
managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing
processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the
country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Table</i>	vii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	viii
Journalism's Memory Work	1
<i>Barbie Zelizer and Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt</i>	
Part I Trajectories of Journalism and Memory	
1 Reflections on the Underdeveloped Relations between Journalism and Memory Studies	17
<i>Jeffrey K. Olick</i>	
2 Memory as Foreground, Journalism as Background	32
<i>Barbie Zelizer</i>	
3 Shifting the Politics of Memory: Mnemonic Trajectories in a Global Public Terrain	50
<i>Ingrid Volkmer and Carolyne Lee</i>	
4 Collective Memory in a Post-Broadcast World	66
<i>Jill A. Edy</i>	
Part II Domains of Journalism and Memory	
Journalism and Narrative Memory	
5 Journalism as a Vehicle of Non-Commemorative Cultural Memory	85
<i>Michael Schudson</i>	
6 Counting Time: Journalism and the Temporal Resource	97
<i>Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt</i>	
7 Reversed Memory: Commemorating the Past through Coverage of the Present	113
<i>Motti Neiger, Eyal Zandberg and Oren Meyers</i>	
Journalism and Visual Memory	
8 Hands and Feet: Photojournalism, the Fragmented Body Politic and Collective Memory	131
<i>Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites</i>	

9	Journalism, Memory and the 'Crowd-Sourced Video Revolution'	148
	<i>Kari Andén-Papadopoulos</i>	
10	The Journalist as Memory Assembler: Non-Memory, the War on Terror and the Shooting of Osama Bin Laden	164
	<i>Anna Reading</i>	
11	A New Memory of War	179
	<i>Andrew Hoskins</i>	
Journalism and Institutional Memory		
12	The Late News: Memory Work as Boundary Work in the Commemoration of Television Journalists	195
	<i>Matt Carlson and Daniel A. Berkowitz</i>	
13	American Journalism's Conventions and Cultures, 1863–2013: Changing Representations of the Gettysburg Address	211
	<i>Barry Schwartz</i>	
14	Historical Authority and the 'Potent Journalistic Reputation': A Longer View of Legacy-Making in American News Media	227
	<i>Carolyn Kitch</i>	
15	Argentinean Torturers on Trial: How Are Journalists Covering the Hearings' Memory Work?	242
	<i>Susana Kaiser</i>	
	Epilogue	259
	<i>Paul Connerton</i>	
	<i>Index</i>	268

List of Figures and Table

Figures

6.1	Marking 1000 days in captivity for Gilad Shalit (<i>Yedioth Ahronoth</i> , 20 March 2009, front page)	102
6.2	Countdown to Gilad Shalit's release (<i>Yedioth Ahronoth</i> , 14 October 2011, front page)	107
7.1	'We Took-Off Like the Phoenix', an article from the Israeli newspaper <i>Yedioth Ahronoth</i> (12 April 2012). Photograph: Tal Shahr	114
8.1	A woman holds on to a truck containing food for distribution in Iraq. Petr David Josek, Associated Press	133
8.2	Nepalese farmers resting. Narendra Shrestha, European Pressphoto Agency	138
8.3	Occupy Wall Street protest, Zuccotti Park, New York City. John Minchillo, Associated Press	142
10.1	'The Situation Room' (Flickr, 3 May 2011)	171

Table

10.1	Journalism and memory within the global memory field: six dynamics of analysis	168
------	---	-----

Notes on Contributors

Kari Andén-Papadopoulos is Associate Professor at the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication, Stockholm University, Sweden. She has published internationally on photojournalism in times of crisis and war, with particular interest in amateur visual practices and new social media. Her forthcoming book, *Global Image Wars: Geopolitics and Post-9/11 Visual Culture*, considers the increasingly important role that visual images and practices play in the conduct and critique – and later memory – of global political affairs. She is currently engaged in an international research study, *I – Witnessing: Global Crisis Reporting Through the Amateur Lens* (funded by the Swedish Research Council), which examines how the contemporary proliferation of citizen-created imagery – documenting breaking news events as they happen – is recasting the production, reception and recollection of global crisis news.

Daniel A. Berkowitz is Professor, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, and Associate Dean, Graduate College, at the University of Iowa, USA. His research involves social and cultural approaches to the study of news, journalists and journalism, with a focus on mythical narrative, collective memory, professional boundary work and news of terrorism. He is editor of *Cultural Meanings of News: A Text-Reader* (2011) and *Social Meanings of News: A Text-Reader* (1997). He has published more than 40 articles in journals and edited books.

Matt Carlson is Assistant Professor of Communication at Saint Louis University, USA, where he teaches and researches in the area of media and journalism studies. His work examines public discourse about journalism with a focus on the cultural construction of journalistic norms and practices and competition over journalistic boundaries. He is author of *On the Condition of Anonymity: Unnamed Sources and the Battle for Journalism* (2011) and co-editor of *Journalism, Sources, and Credibility: New Perspectives* (2011). In addition, his work has appeared in *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *Journalism*, *Journalism Studies*, *Journalism Practice*, *New Media & Society*, *Journal of Communication Inquiry* and *Media, Culture & Society* among others. Carlson holds a PhD from the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania.

Paul Connerton is the author of *The Tragedy of the Enlightenment: An Essay on the Frankfurt School* (1980), *How Societies Remember* (1989), *How Modernity Forgets* (2009) and *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body* (2011). He has been a Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University, Canberra, and a Simon Senior Research Fellow at the University of Manchester. He is currently Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, and Honorary Fellow in the Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies in the University of London.

Jill A. Edy is Associate Professor of Communication at the University of Oklahoma, USA. Her academic interests include collective memory, political communication, public opinion and journalism studies. She is the author of *Troubled Pasts: News and the Collective Memory of Social Unrest* (2006). Other recent publications include 'The Democratic Potential of Mediated Collective Memory,' in *On Media Memory* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and (with Shawn Snidow) 'Making News Necessary: How Journalism Resists Alternative Media's Challenge,' *Journal of Communication*, 61(5) (2011), 816–34.

Robert Hariman is Professor of Rhetoric and Public Culture in the Department of Communication Studies at Northwestern University, USA. He is the author of *Political Style: The Artistry of Power* (1995) and *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy* (2007), which is co-authored with John Louis Lucaites. He has published three edited volumes and numerous book chapters and journal articles in several disciplines, and his work has been translated into French and Chinese. He and co-author John Lucaites post regularly at nocaptionneeded.com, their blog on photojournalism, politics and culture.

Andrew Hoskins is Interdisciplinary Research Professor in Global Security and Director of the Adam Smith Research Foundation, University of Glasgow, UK. His research focuses on the theoretical and empirical investigation of today's 'new media ecology' and the nature of/ challenges for security, and individual, social and cultural memory in this environment. He has an established record of leading externally funded empirical research into the shifting relations between media, war and terrorism, media and radicalization, and media and memory. He is founding editor-in-chief of *Memory Studies*, founding co-editor of *Media, War & Conflict*, co-editor of the Palgrave Macmillan book series *Memory Studies* and co-editor of the Routledge book series *Media, War & Security*.

He has given invited lectures and keynotes in 20 countries. His books include *War and Media: The Emergence of Diffused War* (2010, with Ben O'Loughlin) and *Radicalisation and Media: Connectivity and Terrorism in the New Media Ecology* (2011, with Awan and O'Loughlin).

Susana Kaiser teaches Media Studies and Latin American Studies at the University of San Francisco, USA. Her research focuses on communication, cultural/political memory and human rights. She has written about the communication strategies developed by the mothers, grandmothers, and children of the disappeared in Argentina, the construction and transmission of memories of political violence, and the role of film and popular music in writing memories of state terrorism. Her book *Postmemories of Terror: a New Generation Copes with the Legacy of the 'Dirty War'* (2005) explores young Argentines' memories of the last dictatorship. Other publications include 'Memory Inventory: The Production and Consumption of Memory Goods in Argentina' (in *Accounting for Violence: Marketing Memory in Latin America*, 2011), 'Singing, Dancing and Remembering: The Links Between Music and Memory' (in *Inhabiting Memory: Essays on Memory and Human Rights in the Americas*, 2011) and 'The Struggle for Urban Territories: Human Rights Activists in Buenos Aires' (in *Ordinary Places/Extraordinary Events: Citizenship, Democracy, and Urban Space in Latin America*, 2008).

Carolyn Kitch is a Professor of Journalism at Temple University's School of Media and Communication, USA, where she is also a faculty member and the former director of the doctoral program in Media and Communication. Her research and teaching areas include media history, memory studies, magazines and women in journalism. She has published four books: *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (2001), *Pages from the Past: History and Memory in American Magazines* (2005), *Journalism in a Culture of Grief*, co-authored with Janice Hume (2008) and *Pennsylvania in Public Memory: Reclaiming the Industrial Past* (2012). Additional scholarship has appeared in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *Journalism History*, *American Journalism*, *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*, *Journalism Studies*, the *Journal of Popular Culture*, *Critical Studies in Media Communication* and *Memory Studies*. Kitch is a former writer and editor for *Reader's Digest*, *Good Housekeeping* and *McCall's* magazines.

Carolyne Lee is a Senior Lecturer and Researcher in the Media and Communications program in the School of Culture and Communication at the University of Melbourne, Australia. Her research area is predominantly media language, and she has been published in academic journals

in Australia, France, the UK, the USA and China. She is the editor or author of four books, the most recent of which is *Our Very Own Adventure: Towards a Poetics of the Short Story* (2011).

John Louis Lucaites is Associate Dean for Arts and Humanities and Professor of Rhetoric and Public Culture in the Department of Communication and Culture at Indiana University, USA. He is also an Adjunct Professor in American Studies. He is the co-author of *Crafting Equality: America's Anglo-African Word* (1993) with Celeste Condit and *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy* (2007) with Robert Hariman. He has published two co-edited volumes, as well as numerous journal articles and book chapters. He co-hosts the blog nocaptionneeded.com with Robert Hariman and is a contributing editor at the blog BAGnewsNotes.com.

Oren Meyers is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Communication at the University of Haifa, Israel. His research interests focus on journalistic practices and values, collective memory and the security discourse in the Israeli media. Meyers is co-editor, with Motti Neiger and Eyal Zandberg, of *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). His recent publications include 'Past Continuous: Newsworthiness and the Shaping of Collective Memory' (with Zandberg and Neiger, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 2012); 'Journalists in Israel' (with Yariv Tsfati, *The Global Journalist: News People around the World*, 2012) and 'Purity and Danger: Newsworthiness, Framing of Image Crises and the Kishon Diving Investigative Report' (with Asaf Rosen, *Media Frames: Israeli Journal of Communication*, 2013). He is currently working with Roei Davidson on an Israel Science Foundation sponsored research project looking at the professional life histories of Israeli journalists.

Motti Neiger is the Dean of the School of Communication, Netanya Academic College, Israel. His academic interests include media memory, popular culture and journalism during conflicts. Among his recent publications (together with Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg) are the edited volume *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and the articles 'Past Continuous: Newsworthiness and the Shaping of Collective Memory' (2012, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*), 'Tuned to the Nation's Mood: Popular Music as a Mnemonic Cultural Object' (*Media, Culture & Society*, 2011), 'Structuring the Sacred: Media Professionalism and the Production of Mediated Holocaust Memory' (*Communication Review*, 2011), 'Communicating Critique: Towards a Conceptualization of Journalistic Criticism' (*Communication*,

Culture and Critique, 2010) and 'Prime Time Commemoration: An Analysis of Television Broadcasts on Israel's Memorial Day for the Holocaust and the Heroism' (*Journal of Communication*, 2009). He served as the president of the Israel Communication Association (2006–09) and as the founding editor of the Association's journal, *Media Frames: Israeli Journal of Communication*.

Jeffrey K. Olick is Professor of Sociology and History at the University of Virginia, USA. He is author of *In the House of the Hangman: The Agonies of German Defeat, 1943–1949* (2005) and *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (2007), and most recently, editor of *The Collective Memory Reader* (2011) as well as editor and translator of two critical editions of Frankfurt School work on public opinion. His current work addresses the problem of theodicy in contemporary culture.

Anna Reading is Professor of Cultural and Creative Industries at Kings College, University of London, UK. She was Professor of Communication at the University of Western Sydney (2011–12), where she is now an Honorary Visiting Professor and member of the Institute for Culture and Society. She founded and was Head of the Centre for Media and Culture Research at London South Bank University, UK, 2009–11, and is an Honorary Visiting Professor in the Department of Social Sciences at the University of Loughborough and a Research Associate at the Centre for Cultural Policy Research, University of Glasgow. She is currently writing a book on how new media technologies are changing gendered memory through 'the global memory field,' and co-editing a book on memories of nonviolent struggle. She is the author of *Polish Women, Solidarity and Feminism* (1992) and *The Social Inheritance of the Holocaust: Gender, Culture and Memory* (2002), researched *Communism, Capitalism and the Mass Media* (with Colin Sparks, 1998), and is a joint editor of *The Media in Britain* (1999) and *Save As...Digital Memory* (with Andrew Hoskins and Joanne Garde-Hansen, 2009). She is a joint editor of *Media, Culture & Society* and is on the boards of *Memory Studies*, the *Journal of Media Studies*, the *Philosophy of Photography* and the *Journal of Media Education Research*.

Michael Schudson is Professor of Communication at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, USA, and Adjunct Professor in the Department of Sociology. He was a founding member of the Department of Communication at the University of California, San Diego where he taught from 1981 to 2009. He is the author of seven books, co-editor of three books, and author of many articles and reviews in both professional

and popular journals. His most recent books are *The Sociology of News* (2003), *Why Democracies Need an Unlovable Press* (2008), *The Good Citizen* (1998) and the co-edited *A History of the Book in America, volume 5: The Enduring Book* (2009). He is currently working on a book on the history of the emergence of 'transparency' as a cultural norm and social practice in the United States, focusing on the 1950s–1980s.

Barry Schwartz, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, University of Georgia, USA, is author of numerous articles and seven books, including *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, which traces popular views of Lincoln from 1865 to the 1920s. His second volume, *Abraham Lincoln in the Post-Heroic Era: History and Memory in the Late Twentieth Century*, tracks Lincoln perceptions from the Depression decade to the turn of the twenty-first century. He is now working on *The Gettysburg Address in American Memory*, a book-length treatment of the original and changing meanings of Lincoln's famous eulogy, documented in part by national surveys. Schwartz's research on collective memory addresses many issues in many national cultures, including memories of shameful and exemplary events in the United States, Europe, the Middle East and Asia. His most recent book, with Mikyoung Kim, is *Northeast Asia's Difficult Past* (2010). Barry Schwartz's recent work also addresses the problem of Jesus in first-century Christian memory through the lens of twenty-first-century research and theory. These works develop common themes: the resistance of memory to distortion, the academy's emphasis on memory's imperfections, history's dependence on memory, the functions of forgetting, memory as a source of national unity and disunity, the tension between mnemonic continuity and social change, and the enduring need of individuals to find orientation and meaning for their lives by invoking, assessing, embracing, rejecting, revising and judging the past.

Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt is Assistant Professor at the Department of Communication and Journalism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. Her research focuses on cultural and political dimensions of journalism from a comparative perspective, news temporalities, media and conflict, and the intersection of journalism, political communication and popular culture. Her award-winning work has appeared in *Communication Theory*, *Media, Culture & Society*, *Political Communication*, *Journalism*, *International Journal of Communication*, the *Communication Review*, and *Communication & Critical/Cultural Studies*, among others. Her most recent articles are: 'Bridging Collective Memories and Public Agendas: Toward a Theory of Mediated Prospective Memory' (*Communication Theory*, 2013) and

'The Path to Political Substance: Exploring the Mediated Discourse Surrounding Controversial Media Texts' (*Political Communication*, 2013).

Ingrid Volkmer is Associate Professor, Media and Communications Program, University of Melbourne, Australia. She has taken up visiting positions at the University of Vienna, the LSE, London, and the University of Amsterdam. She has published widely in the area of global political communication and implications on journalism, satellite cultures and generational 'world' perceptions. Volkmer has directed one of the first international studies on the construction of mediated memories in three generations, results are published in *News in Public Memory* (2006). Volkmer currently leads an international study on 'Global Youth & Media,' is the editor of the *Handbook of Global Media Research* (2012) and her book *The Global Public Sphere* is forthcoming.

Eyal Zandberg is a senior lecturer at the School of Communication, Netanya Academic College, Israel. His academic interests focus on the interrelationships between popular culture and collective memory and on journalism during conflicts. Recent publications (together with Motti Neiger and Oren Meyers) include the edited volume *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age* (2011) and the articles 'Past Continuous: Newsworthiness and the Shaping of Collective Memory' (*Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 2012), 'Tuned to the Nation's Mood: Popular Music as a Mnemonic Cultural Object' (*Media, Culture & Society*, 2011), 'Structuring the Sacred: Media Professionalism and the Production of Mediated Holocaust Memory' (*Communication Review*, 2011), 'Communicating Critique: Towards a Conceptualization of Journalistic Criticism' (*Communication, Culture and Critique*, 2010) and 'Prime Time Commemoration: An Analysis of Television Broadcasts on Israel's Memorial Day for the Holocaust and the Heroism' (*Journal of Communication*, 2009).

Barbie Zelizer is the Raymond Williams Professor of Communication and Director of the Scholars Program in Culture and Communication at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication, USA. A former journalist, Zelizer is known for her work in the area of journalism, culture, memory and images, particularly in times of crisis. She has authored or edited thirteen books, including the award-winning *About To Die: How News Images Move the Public* (2010) and *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory Through the Camera's Eye* (1998), and over ninety articles, book chapters and essays. Recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, a Freedom Forum Center Research Fellowship, a Fellowship from Harvard

University's Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy, and a Fellowship from Stanford University's Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Zelizer is a fellow of the International Communication Association and a Distinguished Scholar of the National Communication Association. She is also a media critic, whose work has appeared in *The Nation*, the *Jim Lehrer News Hour*, *Newsday*, the *Huffington Post* and other media organs. Co-editor of *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*, her work has been translated into French, Spanish, Hebrew, Portuguese, Italian, Romanian, Chinese and Korean. She is a past president of the International Communication Association.

Journalism's Memory Work

Barbie Zelizer and Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt

Since Marcel Proust first noted that the remembrance of things past is not necessarily the remembrance of things as they were, the question of how memories form has produced multiple answers. So too with the positioning of the platforms by which memory takes shape. Though the recognition of collective memory clearly implicates some notion of institutional presence, which institutions are central has never been clear. And though one of the most productive take-away points of collective memory studies is that institutions with no direct connection to memory in their remit are engaging in memory work all the time, journalism is nowhere in these discussions.

This book aims to remedy that neglect, by tracking the ways in which journalism and shared memory mutually support, undermine, repair and challenge each other. How is journalism's address to memory different from that of other institutions, such as education, politics or the legal system? How does it resemble other institutional engagements with memory? Bringing together journalism scholars who have charted journalism's memory work and memory scholars who have investigated the broad trappings of collective memory, *Journalism and Memory* makes explicit the longstanding and complicated role that journalism has played in keeping the past alive. From anniversary issues and media retrospectives to simple verbal and visual analogies connecting past and present, journalism incorporates an address to earlier times across the wide array of its conventions and practices. How it does so and what this suggests about our understanding of collective memory constitute the charter of this volume.

Ever since memory studies coalesced as a recognizable field of inquiry, its reliance on a wide array of institutional settings has been an implicit part of understanding how collective memory works. Journalism's

relative absence from those settings, however, has left journalism's status as a primary recorder of a shared past both unsettled and unarticulated. Though the very surfacing of collective memory depends often on a wide range of institutional engagements, more so today than perhaps ever before, the neglect surrounding journalism's role in the establishment and legitimation of shared memory leaves a curious hole in our understanding of memory's trappings.

Journalism has not made it easy to consider its forays into the past. Long touted as the first draft of history, journalism has typically exhibited a reticence to move beyond the topical, novel, instantaneous and timely. Undergirding the sense of self by which journalism has kept itself distinct, the play to the temporally proximate has remained journalism's defining attribute. But in an era of increasingly blended performative domains, of recycled narratives, pictures and impulses that are no longer identifiably tethered to one point in time, of information that seems to come from nowhere, a recognition that journalism regularly and systematically looks backward is long overdue. It is important not only for understanding the complex temporal nuances by which the news works but for understanding journalism's central role as a primary repository of collective memory in every society in which it finds itself.

In large part, the kinds of ellipses reflected in journalism's understated placement in memory studies can be found in nearly all instances of knowledge acquisition. As Thomas Kuhn (1964) argued long ago, what we know has a social life that privileges certain ways of knowing. Inquiry depends on consensus building and on developing the kinds of shared paradigms that name and characterize problems and procedures in ways that are recognized by the collective. As individuals battle over definitions, terms of reference and boundaries of inclusion and exclusion on the way to achieving consensus, they classify what emerges along already proven lines. In other words, what we think has a predetermined shape and life-line, one that privileges community, solidarity, and power.

This has clear implications for the centrality, or lack thereof, of journalism in collective memory studies. Once scholarship started to amass and journalism was nowhere inside it, it became more difficult to find a place to include journalism down the line. And yet, the lack of consonance between how we think memory works without journalism and the evidence by which journalism engages in shaping our version of the past is troubling. It exposes a significant hole in our understanding of how enmeshed journalism and memory are, particularly in the contemporary moment.

On trajectories and domains

Relevant to the processes by which collective memory studies have evolved are the broader processes of knowledge acquisition. And perhaps there are no aspects more central to our acquisition of knowledge than the temporal and spatial dimensions by which knowledge unfolds. Though time and space have been applied to understanding phenomena as diverse as global markets, agricultural models and language systems, their relevance to knowledge systems and the ways in which we acquire knowledge have been less documented.

This is curious, for the twinning of space and time is not new. Long central to work in anthropology on primitive cultures, to Einstein's theory of special relativity and to notions of time-space in physics, it has more recently been implied across the curriculum, specifically in the work of Giddens (1981), Harvey (1990) and Virilio (2000); and this evolving recognition that time and space are necessarily related – though not always in parallel ways – suggests that unpacking the stuff of knowledge as it organizes along temporal and spatial lines might be a worthwhile exercise.

As a type of knowledge, memory is no exception to these circumstances. Two constructs – trajectories and domains – are relevant to understanding how ideas about memory, and the practices that accompany them, have unfolded, and both have clear temporal and spatial biases. Though not mutually exclusive and separated here more for heuristic value than because they tell us something about the memories that result, they nonetheless serve to elucidate what has been obscured in the relationship between memory and journalism.

Trajectories, which signal the temporal aspects of memory, are defined as the paths of a projectile or moving body through space – in other words, time defined spatially. By contrast, domains, which signal the spatial aspects of memory, are defined as fields of action, thought or influence as they have evolved into some kind of recognizable form – in other words, space defined temporally. While trajectories offer a chronological unfolding of activity between two or more points in time, domains drive a focus on the concentration of efforts in a coherent plane of activity at one point in time. Taken together, they highlight what is most relevant about the acquisition of knowledge – that it evolves in some kind of recognizable fashion across time and that its particulars offer sufficient detail at one point in time. Temporal and spatial complexity, then, complement each other.

In this scenario, the study of memory might thus be approached through a disciplined set of procedures that reflect the temporal and

spatial dimensions necessary for its establishment, legitimation and maintenance. *Journalism and Memory* reflects the logic of these two aspects of memory's unfolding. It first traces the trajectories of memory by which journalism has figured in uneven ways and then addresses a select set of domains of memory, by which mnemonic work takes on a particular shape within journalism.

Trajectories of memory

The questions of where memory comes from and how we know have been interrelated for longer than tends to be readily admitted. It is thus no surprise that the uneasy alliances through which memory and journalism have been set in place over time reveal varying and often illogical configurations regarding what they tell us about memory and what they suggest about its source environments.

The received trajectory about how collective memory surfaced as a concept tells the story of shared memory emerging in response to the inadequacies of the notion of individualized recall as a tool. Though it is difficult to generate agreement about this trajectory's particulars, it is clear that collective memory is presumed to have emerged from a perfect storm of circumstances – dissatisfaction with how individualized recall connected with complicated pasts, the changing nature of the historical record, burgeoning questions about interpretive authority, complicated events that forced a tentativeness onto the memories that engaged with them. Significantly, as the study of memory moved from individual to collective dimensions, institutions became increasingly relevant as a primary source environment for memory work. And as the polity, the market, education and religion began to figure in the transformation from individual to collective remembering, journalism was not part of that repository of knowledge that resulted.

Four vantage points in this book tackle the ways in which journalism and memory have connected in existing trajectories of memory; each of them considers what has been gained and lost in the evolving alliances between journalism and memory that ensued. In Chapter 1, 'Reflections on the Underdeveloped Relations between Journalism and Memory Studies,' Jeffrey Olick reflects on the barriers and biases that have inhibited analysis of the connections between journalism and memory. Part of the problem, he argues, resides in the respective scholarships – journalism studies and memory studies – and part resides in the ways in which journalism and memory entail each other. Olick first explores these disciplinary blinders and their origins, outlines aspects

of journalism's memory work and addresses memory's dependence on journalism. Maintaining that the practice of journalism involves both individual and social memory, he considers how it also constitutes an archive of social memory that provides an immediate record, is implicated in forms of commemoration, and acts as a site of memory itself.

In Chapter 2, Barbie Zelizer tracks the chronology of journalism's placement in ideas about memory from early conceptualizations of mnemonic work up to the present day. In 'Memory as Foreground, Journalism as Background,' she reminds us that though memory studies has long argued for the importance of a wide variety of institutional settings engaging in memory work, journalism has not typically been one of them. But evidence suggests that early work on collective memory always attended to journalism, even if its reliance was not articulated as such. Zelizer revisits four main stages of thinking about memory in which central notions of memory implicated journalism's presence to varying degrees. Showing how central the journalistic record was to the evolution of the field of memory studies, she asks whether collective memory could exist without some journalistic function and maintains that it could not. In so doing, she considers how the backgrounds of academic inquiry impact the shape of what we think we know.

Ingrid Volkmer and Carolyn Lee orient the discussion of memory's trajectories toward the global landscape. In Chapter 3, 'Shifting the Politics of Memory: Mnemonic Trajectories in a Global Public Terrain,' they show that despite the fact that journalism in today's networked contexts has a transnational reach, memory studies mainly focus on the national model of journalism practice. Based on qualitative interviews with international students in Australia, Volkmer and Lee identify a new memory space situated across multiple public spheres. That space, they contend, is not only of relevance for identifying cosmopolitan civic identity but also for national journalism in a globalized context. In particular, it requires new forms of journalistic practice, which can open up the narrowly defined frameworks of public memory to a wider range of narratives and communicative modes.

In 'Collective Memory in a Post-Broadcast World' (Chapter 4), Jill Edy demonstrates how the current transformation of journalism has important implications for the ways in which societies remember. While the mass media era made plausible the idea that journalism could create a shared public understanding of the social world and was therefore instrumental in creating shared public memory, today's media environment suggests otherwise. Selective exposure to media content and particularly news content, she claims, produces a public with less common

ground than it had in the broadcast era and brings into question previous assumptions about mediated collective memory. Edy maintains that what has been particularly troubling is the continued resonance of outdated concepts like 'dominant' and 'alternative' memory and the potential emergence of memory silos, in which groups of people within a social system share a collective memory exclusive to them, unaware that this memory is atypical or even unknown beyond the boundaries of their group. Such silos, Edy offers, likely strain community decision-making processes.

Each of these four views troubles and complicates the received trajectory of memory's connection with journalism. Taken together, they show not only the multifaceted, uneven and at times disputed nature of this connection over time but also map out the terrain for future trajectories in the study of journalism and memory.

Domains of memory

Despite the uneasiness of journalism's incorporation within ideas about memory, there is ample evidence of memory work unfolding within a wide array of journalistic settings. Existing work on memory has long foregrounded the domains through which versions of the past are shaped, disseminated and maintained, and this book focuses on three such domains. Though not the only aspects of journalism in which memory surfaces, they reflect three aspects of the news – narrative, visual and institutional parameters – that are both reflective of journalism itself and central to distinguishing journalism from other kinds of mnemonic settings. Narrative and visual memory each incorporates the conflicting impulses of journalism – the referential versus the symbolic, information versus ritual. Together – at times consonant and at times dissonant with one another – they constitute the primary discursive domains for the construction of memory in journalism. The institutional domain connects journalism's verbal and visual memory work to the unique and contingent values, histories and authority of journalism as a social institution.

Journalism and narrative memory

The centrality of narrative – the verbal record by which events both past and present become known – has always been a distinguishing feature of the news apparatus. Similarly, ever since the inception of collective memory as a concept, narrative has been viewed as one of the major devices in its social construction. We can thus expect that storytelling

would constitute an important link between journalism and memory. Given the inherent temporality of social narratives, it is also not surprising that cultural critic Douglas Rushkoff recently identified 'the collapse of narrative' as one of the first casualties of what he sees as a social reorientation to the present in the twenty-first century (Rushkoff, 2013: 7). The three chapters in this section challenge this observation, while disentangling the intricate relationship between journalism, narrative and memory. Focusing on the diverse uses of memory in the creation and management of news narratives, as well as the application of journalistic storytelling devices in the construction of collective memories, they expand and systematize the conceptualization of narrative memory in journalism. In so doing, they also demonstrate the sustained presence of temporal narrative in public discourse, with journalism constituting a central site for the social construction of narratives that span from past to future through the nexus of the present.

In Chapter 5, 'Journalism as a Vehicle of Non-Commemorative Cultural Memory,' Michael Schudson discusses what it means to say that journalism is our most widely distributed and easily accessible storehouse of memory. Scholars have long noted the role of news in commemorating persons and events, but its role as an agent of 'non-commemorative memory' may be even more important. With examples drawn from the *New York Times*, Schudson argues that journalists make news a mechanism for non-commemorative memory in three ways – by referencing the past to show the rarity or uniqueness of an occurrence to justify front-page prominence, by using the past as a context to help explain a news event, and by showing how people act in ways that incorporate a sense of past or future, of aging or of impending death. In all these ways journalism makes itself a vehicle of cultural memory without aiming to commemorate.

Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt extends the discussion of narrativity toward an explicit engagement with the temporal domain. In Chapter 6, 'Counting Time: Journalism and the Temporal Resource,' she suggests that while we tend to think of time as a factor which shapes and constrains journalistic practices, time also serves as a rich discursive resource for managing news stories. Drawing on a study of the media coverage of stories of kidnapping and captivity around the world and focusing in particular on the mnemonic practice of counting time in the news, she discusses the multilayered functioning of time as a discursive and narrative resource for journalists. She argues that such temporal practices allow journalists to both sustain continuous stories in the news and discursively enact a rich array of mnemonic roles, associated

with both retrospective and prospective remembrance. Within this framework, Tenenboim-Weinblatt suggests that the challenge facing journalism may not be how to overcome its temporal inferiority in relation to new media actors but how to claim time as a resource for creation and re-imagination.

Motti Neiger, Eyal Zandberg and Oren Meyers address the intersection of commemoration and narrativity. In Chapter 7, 'Reversed Memory: Commemorating the Past through Coverage of the Present,' they show how temporality works in the reverse direction of present to past: new details or developments regarding significant past occurrences become the main focus of the news narrative, while the historical details of these past occurrences are pushed to the background. Naming this narratological device 'reversed memory,' they discuss how the past is commemorated by means of narration of the present and reversed memory enables the creation of narratives that qualify both as news items and commemorative tools. Drawing on an analysis of Israeli media coverage of the Remembrance Day for the Holocaust and the Heroism across the past decade, they offer a typology of reversed memory components. These narrative practices, they contend, are most pronounced at the intersection of national commemorative rituals and everyday news production and dissemination.

Journalism and visual memory

Some notion of visibility has long been a central part of journalism's workings, even if it has been largely absent from its rhetoric. It is precisely this absence, combined with the mnemonic power of images, which has made visual memory a particularly useful starting point in scholarly explorations of journalism's memory work. Digital culture, marked by a profusion of visual technologies of memory and visual archives, has further challenged longstanding assumptions about visibility in journalism, while raising new questions on journalistic authority and values. This section offers four perspectives on visual memory within journalism. Ranging across diverse visual practices and different types of interactions between journalists and other agents of visual memory, the four chapters in this section complicate our understanding of journalistic practice and journalism's unique contribution to public culture in a changing media landscape.

In Chapter 8, 'Hands and Feet: Photojournalism, the Fragmented Body Politic, and Collective Memory,' Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites demonstrate how photographs featuring only hands or feet productively offset the idea that images provide fragments of the past

that are incidental or harmful to the narrative continuity of collective memory. Arguing that the isolated body part can fulfill an elocutionary function by creating gestures that communicate emotions and provide an iconography for democratic speech, Hariman and Lucaites contend that such gestures articulate a vision of the body politic and its implication as a trope of political imagination and memory. Because the body is shown in ways that are increasingly fragmented and heterogeneous, its representation lends a vitality and representativeness toward what it signifies. They argue that by accepting the incompleteness, plurality and pathos of collective memory, one can reconsider the relationships between image, narrative, fragmentation and community.

In Chapter 9, Kari Andén-Papadopoulos takes the discussion of visual memory toward contemporary videography. In 'Journalism, Memory and the "Crowd-Sourced Video Revolution,"' she considers how journalistic memory work changes the so-called 'new memory ecology.' As smartphone-carrying citizens increasingly replace professional journalists as eyewitnesses to breaking news, they produce images that linger as historical markers of disruptive events. Analyzing the mobile footage of the killing of Neda Agha Soltan, Andén-Papadopoulos traces a shift in the representation of authenticity in crowd-sourced images of news events, recasting professional crisis reporting as a political, affective space that exceeds normative renderings of impartiality and detachment. As news organizations become more reliant on citizen eyewitness images that claim partiality and subjectivity as the route to 'truthfulness,' so too might a different kind of journalism emerge that is more audience-centered and cognizant of the limitations of objectivity and impartiality. While crowd-sourced footage now endows the news with a new moralizing potential, professional journalists add value to crowd-sourced content, giving it global visibility and significance and mitigating the issues of reliability, accuracy, verifiability, security and dignity that are raised in the new circulatory memory-scape.

In Chapter 10, 'The Journalist as Memory Assembler: Non-Memory, the War on Terror and the Shooting of Osama Bin Laden,' Anna Reading deconstructs the news of the shooting of Al Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden in May 2011 by US security services, as it was first broken via Twitter. Showing how Twitter feeds coincided with the simultaneous withholding of video and photographs by US authorities, with no images of the shooting or the dead body released to news sources or shown to the general public, Reading demonstrates how journalists and non-journalists reassembled and reworked available information to fill the void, focusing on an image entitled 'The Situation Room.' She

argues that this example – of journalism and ‘non-memory’ – shows how journalistic practice can be understood as a process of assemblage within ‘a global memory field.’ It embodies the ways in which the professional work of the journalist now intersects with that of non-journalists as they ‘assemble’ and ‘reassemble’ witnesses to the story, even in the absence or withholding of digital witness images.

Andrew Hoskins, in Chapter 11, ‘A New Memory of War,’ orients the discussion of visual memory to war journalism. Following the increased pervasiveness and accessibility of digital technologies, devices and media in a ‘post-scarcity culture,’ he asks which conditions now shape a journalistic vision of warfare. He identifies two incompatible memorial trajectories – a diffusion of memory, by which everything is connected, remediated and networked in a journalism liberated from its profession, and maintenance of traditions in which the continuity of the past is constantly referenced and re-referenced. This coupling of Big Media’s projection of twentieth-century warfare with the more recent depictions of catastrophes and conflicts together generate a ‘new memory’ of warfare. Hoskins argues that the media are engaged in a complex meshing of forces, where some memory technologies appear to bring audiences closer to the frontline (helmet cams and online archives), while some warfare technologies appear to move military action out of journalistic reach (drones and computer viruses). Under these conditions, Hoskins asks, what will endure of the memory of both warfare and journalism?

Journalism and institutional memory

The notion of institutional memory permeates the contemporary imagination. In an episode of popular NBC television series *The West Wing* titled ‘Institutional Memory,’ the newly elected president offers one of the series regulars the opportunity to continue serving in the new administration, because, in the president’s view, ‘institutional memory is an invaluable commodity.’ No surprise, then, that in the end, considerations of journalism invariably rest in part on its institutional presence and that not unlike new fictional administrations, journalists draw on institutional memory to meet the challenges of the time. The four chapters in this section demonstrate how institutional memory is strategically mobilized by journalists across time and place, and how changing institutional parameters of journalism are shaping memories of key historical events.

In Chapter 12, Matt Carlson and Dan Berkowitz discuss the commemorative lore that helps shape the institutional culture of journalism. In ‘The Late News: Memory Work as Boundary Work in the

Commemoration of Television Journalists,' they examine how the US television news community uses the memory of deceased journalists to construct symbolic boundaries delineating acceptable forms of practice. Surveying news coverage surrounding the deaths of several television journalists, including Walter Cronkite, Edward R. Murrow, David Brinkley, Peter Jennings and Mike Wallace, they show how in this professional moment mediated remembrances turn from the external world to gaze inward, anchoring current practice firmly in place and legitimating a boundary shift for future practice. In essence, this rite shores up cultural authority in the face of a tumultuous present and an uncertain future; by doing so, memory work becomes boundary work.

Barry Schwartz transports the discussion of institutional memory to early American journalism. In Chapter 13, 'American Journalism's Conventions and Cultures, 1863–2013: Changing Representations of the Gettysburg Address,' he recounts how most American newspapers in April 1863 ignored or made no comment on the Gettysburg Address, and how the few journalists who responded split along party lines. Yet, he argues, as an interpretive framework, Lincoln's speech had to be drastically reworked before issues involving racial integration could be keyed to it. Schwartz shows that not until the twentieth century did the Gettysburg Address come to occupy a prominent place among American political symbols, when a new journalism conveyed to the public a new perspective on history: Lincoln at Gettysburg had declared the war's purpose to be racial equality. Showing how this interpretation was linked to the emergence of an adversary culture – left-leaning, cynical of established authority, and committed to the well-being of minorities – Schwartz argues that a new Gettysburg Address, a new journalistic culture and a new history emerged simultaneously, in which Lincoln's words were deployed to gauge the meaning of strife over racial equality.

Carolyn Kitch, in Chapter 14, 'Historical Authority and the "Potent Journalistic Reputation": A Longer View of Legacy-Making in American News Media,' offers a similarly long view of the strategic uses of memory by news media, surveying two centuries of legacy American journalism. Tracing the uses of memory in media across an initial pursuit of cultural and commercial prominence, a period of influence and dominance and a contemporary struggle for relevance and survival, she argues that the success of news organizations has always rested in part on their ability to stake a claim to 'history.' In the nineteenth century, newspapers and magazines made frequent references to both the future and the past, describing 'American history' as they worked to establish brand-name recognition during a race for mass-circulation audiences. The twentieth

century saw the rise and dominance of the mainstream news media, whose authority and influence were symbolized by iconic reporters and broadcasters. In today's beleaguered environment, those same 'legacy' institutions turn to summary journalism and reminiscence about their own great pasts; in the meantime, the newest forms of journalism now stake their own claims to public memory and historic importance.

Susana Kaiser turns the discussion of institutional memory in journalism toward the global South, where three decades after an Argentine dictatorship (1976–83) in which 30,000 people disappeared, hundreds of torturers and assassins are now on trial. In 'Argentinean Torturers on Trial: How Are Journalists Covering the Hearings' Memory Work?' (Chapter 15) she addresses the way in which the trials are taking shape within a dynamic process of memory construction. Using three sets of data – ethnographic observation of the hearings, assessment of newspaper coverage and interviews with journalists – Kaiser sees the trials as public spaces for the ongoing writing of memory, arenas for memory battles and forums where new knowledge about state terrorism continually emerges. Asking what memory work takes place at the hearings and how journalists use the raw material of memory, she examines the role of journalists as professional witnesses and memory agents and what their coverage of events reveals about the relationship(s) between journalism and memories of state terrorism.

On making journalism matter in memory studies

In bringing journalism to the forefront of collective memory studies, this book reveals the significance of journalism as an agent of memory and a repository of shared memory across time and space. It also sheds light on the ways in which shifting the gaze to journalism can facilitate the development of broader conceptual and theoretical frameworks in memory studies. Acting in the fashion of a transparency slide newly affixed to a longstanding – and previously familiar – set of visual data, these ruminations about journalism and memory complicate existing conversations in many ways. Not only do they offer new variables through which to think about memory, but they also suggest a retooling of some of memory studies' most steadfast components.

First, *how* journalism works suggests that memory may at times operate differently from the templates supported by memory studies. Journalism's unique location vis-à-vis the social nexus of time and the link between its memory work and its social role as a primary teller of current events help expose conceptual territories that may be less

visible, though not insignificant, in the workings of other agents of collective memory. Among the examples discussed in this book are the practices of non-commemorative memory, prospective memory and reversed memory, each of which underscores alternative configurations of past and present that can illuminate the operation of memory across a wide swathe of institutional settings.

Second, *why* journalism works introduces new perspectives into the repository of knowledge about memory. Focusing on journalism – the strengths, weaknesses and contradictions inherent in its practices, values and aspirations – usefully refracts longstanding questions that have not been adequately resolved by existing scholarship in memory studies. These range from questions about the practices and processes of mobilizing, structuring and reproducing collective memories – as they take shape, for instance, across narrative and visual domains of practice – to the discursive modes, social interactions and cultural conditions that shape them in complex institutional settings. As shown in this book, examining these issues through the prism of journalism can substantially contribute to their development and refinement by taking into account contemporary temporal and spatial conditions. This reminds us that the margins of study often contain powerful impulses that can and should tweak its centers; otherwise, scholarship ossifies.

Third, *where* journalism works complicates what can be expected of memory. Though *Journalism and Memory* began with the supposition that memory studies has not taken sufficient account of mnemonic practices in journalism, these chapters show how energetically such practices vary in journalistic settings around the globe. The scholars gathered here – from the US, the UK, Sweden, Argentina, Israel and Australia – give diverse answers to the question of how journalism matters for memory studies and, vice versa, how memory studies matter to journalism, across different geographic and cultural contexts. From terror trials in the global South to Holocaust remembrance in the Middle East, all have attempted to clarify a temporal relationship whose spatial parameters have been insufficiently addressed in scholarship despite decades of engagement on the ground.

Fourth, *what we know* about journalism raises important questions about how we evaluate what we think we know about memory. The exercise at the heart of this volume raises questions that go beyond journalism's relevance to collective memory studies. Memory has been employed here as a gateway for addressing questions regarding the production of academic knowledge and the position of journalism in relation to other media players. How do we best differentiate between the