3 Journalism and memory: First draft or final say?

To explore journalism's role in the (re-)construction of the Herero and Nama genocide, it is first necessary to clarify the role between journalism and memory. Journalism is often called "history's first draft" (Zelizer, 2021, p. 1215), a first record rather than a final account of what occurred in the past. However, as the examples in chapter 2 showed, journalism's role is more complex than merely providing the initial account of what occurred during the colonial war: It has also played a role in debates on the genocide or establishing interpretive frameworks at events such as the Waterberg Day.

Hence, the following chapters introduce and connect theoretical approaches from memory studies, cultural studies and communication studies to explore how journalism produces memory within and beyond national boundaries. To begin, chapter 3.1 clarifies key theoretical terms and concepts from the field of memory studies, particularly collective and cultural memory. Then, chapter 3.2 builds on these theoretical concepts to consider the role of journalism within memory production. Finally, chapter 3.3 discusses the previous research literature and outlines blind spots, especially regarding journalism's production of memory on colonialism.

3.1 Cultural memory: A theoretical orientation

In the past decades, scholars have typically theorized "memory" from disciplines such as psychology, history, or literature studies (Erll, 2017, p. 35; Olick et al., 2011, p. 41). Yet, as the following chapter indicates, memory studies offers numerous connection points for considering how memory is produced through journalism. To explore this, chapter 3.1.1 begins by defining memory as a social construction using Halbwachs' (1991) idea of "collective memory." Then, chapter 3.1.2 refines this very broad theoretical approach for my research interest using the concept of "cultural memory" by A. Assmann and Assmann (1994). Finally, chapter 3.1.3 considers the role that media have played in previous theorizations of memory, specifically drawing on the ideas of "remediation" and "premediation" by Erll and Rigney (2009). Throughout these chapters, I ask how "cultural memory" has been critiqued and expanded, with a focus on transnational or even global processes

of memory production. From this basis, I reflect on how journalism studies can provide a useful perspective to previous theorizations of cultural memory.

3.1.1 Collective memory: The social construction of the past

Memory studies is premised on the idea that memory is not merely an act of individual recollection but rather part of a process of social meaning-making (Olick et al., 2011, p. 37). In the memory literature, this foundational understanding is often traced back to the works of Maurice Halbwachs (Olick et al., 2011, p. 16). A sociologist in the early 20th century and a student of Émile Durkheim, Halbwachs was particularly interested in the relationship between the individual and the social environment (Gensburger, 2016, pp. 402–403). From the examination of this relationship, Halbwachs (1991) postulated that memories are shaped by social interactions and memberships in particular groups. Our experiences often take place in social settings, which determines how we later recollect our past (Erll, 2017, p. 13). Individuals share their experiences with other group members through communication, in the process often coming to similar understandings of the past (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 12). Moreover, individuals draw on events that are well-known to other group members to make sense of and orient their own experiences (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 2). In this understanding, changing group membership also changes the shape or expression of memories (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 32). Halbwachs (1991, p. 25) notes that events that were experienced by the largest number of group members often become the most prominent in collective memory.

Halbwachs (1991, p. 14) uses the term "collective memory" to describe this relationship between the group and individual memory production. He writes that, for memory to become comprehensible in social settings, the individual must learn how the group perceives certain past events (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 43). To explain how the individual becomes aware of the group's assessment of the past, Halbwachs (1991) focuses primarily on personal interactions or conversations between individuals. However, when the group becomes so large that individual members cannot personally speak to each other, as in nation-states, he also notes that media such as books or newspapers become vital for conveying the social frameworks of memory (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 27). Anderson (2016, p. 44) has shown that this circulation of knowledge through newspapers and literature was essential to the formation of nations as "imagined communities" by enabling members of previously unconnected social groups to partake in a shared sense of time. Suddenly, people that had never met one another became aware that they were part of a larger audience all receiving the same information. This, in turn, enabled them to begin to imagine their own historicity as a group rather than as individuals experiencing different events in different places (Anderson, 2016, p. 63).

Yet, shifting the medium of interaction also shapes the temporal horizon of memory: "During my life, my national society has been theater for a number of events that I say I 'remember,' events that I know about only from newspapers or the testimony of those directly involved. These events occupy a place in the memory of the nation, but I myself did not witness them." (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 51) The shift from personal to mass communication, described in Halbwachs' quote above, is important: Rather than mem-

ory only encompassing personal experiences, it can now also include events that may have occurred outside a person's lifetime or realm of experience.

However, this transition between the social frameworks of individual memories and a form of memory that is primarily social in origin remains ambiguous in Halbwachs' work. While he differentiates between "autobiographical" and "historical" memories, these descriptions concentrate primarily on the relationship between personal experiences and historic moments, which he contends are interrelated as they shape an individual's memory (Halbwachs, 1991, pp. 34–36). In this understanding, there is one "history" and multiple collective memories that relate to this history (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 31). Halbwachs stops short of explaining the processes of selection, power or hierarchy that exist in the production of the past. If everyone represents an individual perspective on collective memory, there is still a reason why some memories, such as the Holocaust, can become motivators of collective action while others cannot (Kansteiner, 2010, p. 4; Wertsch, 2021). Halbwachs' description of collective memory also does not adequately explain how traumatic or unpleasant memories could arise in collectives that may not even want to talk about what occurred in the past. In his telling, memories that are forgotten or are no longer present are often the result of altered group membership (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 32). From this perspective, however, it is difficult to explain exactly how events such as the Herero and Nama genocide could have reappeared.

To add clarity to the two processes that Halbwachs (1991) outlines in his social frameworks of memory, Olick (2013) offers a terminological distinction between "collected" and "collective" memory. "Collected memory" refers to the aggregate of individual memories in a group, for instance in a generational cohort or school class (Olick, 2013, p. 23). "Collective memory," in turn, goes beyond the individual and instead encompasses institutions and social processes that (re-)produce memory for the group (Olick, 2013, p. 29). Thus, collective memory relies on "technologies of memory," or tools "other than the brain," to enable and establish memory (Olick, 2013, p. 29). Memory here becomes a metaphor for social meaning-making about the past rather than a process of psychological recollection. For my research interest, I will specifically focus on these institutional processes of memory production while recognizing that collective memory does not exist separately from its constitutive groups and individuals.

Although Olick (2013, p. 29) highlights the importance of "technology" for collective memory, his use of the term is still quite vague. It leaves open the question: How do media bridge the gap between individual experiences and collective understandings of the past? This becomes especially important for the Herero and Nama genocide, where collected and collective memory are not in harmony but are instead often dissonant (cf. chapter 2.2). To shed light on this question, I now draw on the concept of cultural memory by A. Assmann and Assmann (1994). Cultural memory specifically concentrates on the strategic use of memory to shape collective identity and enable political legitimization (Erll, 2017, p. 24). This will provide me with the necessary analytical framework to consider the role of the media, and particularly journalism, in memory.

3.1.2 Cultural memory: The institutional frameworks of memory production

With the term "cultural memory," Jan and Aleida Assmann expand on the social frameworks of memory established by Halbwachs (1991). From their respective disciplinary roots in Egyptology and English literature, A. Assmann and Assmann (1994) draw attention to the inherent relationship between collective memory and the culture in which it arises. They define culture as "the historically variable link between communication, memory and media" (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, p. 114, transl. CH). From their vantage point, culture has two primary functions. First, it establishes simultaneity and enables different group members to experience time together. Second, it creates continuity between different generations. Hence, instead of each new generation having to relearn key moments from the community's past, culture enables groups to anchor certain aspects of their joined memory in everyday institutions and practices of meaning-making (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, pp. 115–116). In this way, A. Assmann and Assmann (1994, pp. 119–120) differentiate between communicative and cultural memory. At first glance, this broadly mirrors the distinction already presented by Olick (2013). However, their focus on culture provides a targeted look into the mediated production and circulation of symbols underlying memory production.

In A. Assmann and Assmann's (1994) terminology, communicative memory involves events that were personally witnessed and are passed on in group settings of personal contacts, such as in families. It is stored in conversations, diaries, and private photographs, to name a few examples (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 28). Since it is bound to personal experiences as the source of its legitimacy, communicative memory is also temporally limited to the lifetime of individuals – roughly 80 to 100 years (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 25). By contrast, cultural memory encompasses the symbols, institutions and practices by which memory becomes part of culture and is preserved across generations (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 55). In contrast with communicative memory, the institutional organization of cultural memory means that its legitimacy comes from its claim of transgenerational stability rather than the personal experiences of group members (J. Assmann, 1995, p. 131). Thus, communicative memory could encompass the individual recollections of colonial soldiers and indigenous communities that experienced the Herero and Nama genocide. When aspects of these recollections are ritually circulated and take on group-specific meaning, for instance through Red Flag Day or in popular literature (cf. chapter 2.2), they cross the threshold from communicative to cultural memory.

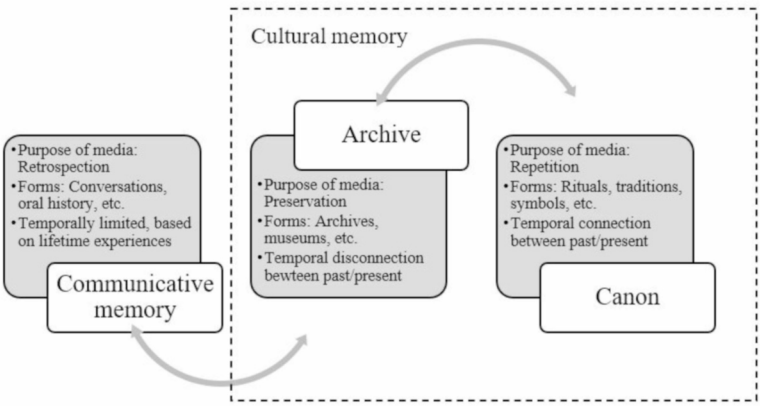
Cultural memory is inherently shaped by exclusive selection processes, and only some moments are preserved and circulated among group members (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 52). Therefore, cultural memory is actively curated and constantly adapted to meet the needs of the group, "a victim of every new desired identity and every new present" (J. Assmann, 2011, p. 210). To shed more light on the selection processes and power struggles underlying cultural memory, A. Assmann and Assmann (1994, p. 121) further differentiate between the archive ("*Speichergedächtnis*") and canon ("*Funktionsgedächtnis*"). The archive describes all knowledge of the past that is saved, for instance in museums. While there might be an expectation that group members *should* visit museums to learn more about the collective past, it is generally understood that the archive

does not have to be common knowledge for every individual group member. In this sense, archival memories have a dual temporal structure: The past is viewed in contrast to the present, with a clear boundary separating the events that have occurred and the current reality (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, p. 129). At the same time, the archive represents the possibility of past events that could be incorporated into a society's canon (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, pp. 127–128).

By contrast, the cultural canon of society selects key events from the archive that are then symbolically condensed and ritually repeated and reactivated through festivals, ceremonies and memorials (A. Assmann, 2018b, pp. 56–58). Whereas archive separates the past from the present, canon actively connects the past to the present (A. Assmann, 2018a, p. 133). By symbolically reactivating and reviving past moments, canon serves not only as a reminder to the collective of what has occurred but also as a way of explaining the collective's actions and values in the present. By participating in rituals and ceremonies, individuals practice recognition and mimicry and thereby learn which emotions towards the past are appropriate (von Scheve, 2012, p. 70). The canon's inherent connection to the present also means that the boundaries of the canon are continuously shifting: New moments from the archive can come to the forefront, whereas moments from the canon can also recede into the archive. This constant tension between archive and canon reflects the struggles for power in the construction of collective identity (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 57).

Figure 1 depicts the subdivision of communicative and cultural memory, archive and canon according to Assmann. Each arrow depicts the selection processes by which memory begins to fulfill different societal functions and, in this way, reaches an ever-wider potential audience. The transition between communicative memory, canon and archive should not be understood as a unidirectional process but as a constant flow that is shaped by shifting power dynamics. These distinctions and aspects of memory are mutually reinforcing rather than mutually exclusive (cf. Leicht, 2016, p. 21).

Figure 1: Forms of cultural memory



Source: Own depiction based on A. Assmann (2018b, pp. 54, 58)

Given its inherent connection with collective identity, A. Assmann (2018a, p. 138) writes that canon fulfills three main functions for society: legitimization, delegitimization and distinction. To begin, canon legitimizes the current shape of the collective by rooting it in a shared origin story. Moreover, canon can also legitimize present power relations by rooting them in seemingly age-old traditions and customs. By the same token, canon can also be used to delegitimize ruling power by pointing to memories that have previously been repressed by rulers (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, pp. 125–126). Finally, canon also helps to distinguish one collective from another, as members of one group have difficulty understanding the symbolic and cultural mnemonic landscape of another (A. Assmann, 2018a, p. 139).

This understanding of canon highlights processes of distinction between rather than within groups. A. Assmann and Assmann's (1994, p. 125) conceptualization of power delegitimization through critical or subversive counter-memory ("*Gegenerinnerung*") also rests on an assumption that previously suppressed memories are theoretically available in the archive. Interestingly, A. Assmann (2008) notes that archives reflect existing power structures in society:

> "We must acknowledge, however, that archives are selective as well. They are in no way all-inclusive but have their own structural mechanisms of exclusion in terms of class, race, and gender. These mechanisms, however, have in recent decades become the focus of critical attention, debate, and investigation, which are themselves powerful agents of change. Luckily, there is not only intentional but also accidental preservation when hidden deposits are discovered." (A. Assmann, 2008, p. 106)

In this understanding, Assmann notes that cultural memory cannot arise from nothing – some vestige of the past must remain to become remembered. Her answer to the structural asymmetries in archival collection and preservation is that previously "hidden depots" could reveal parts of the past that have previously remained undiscovered. Yet, what if the archival memory of past events has primarily been shaped through the perspective of colonizers?

This tension is visible in A. Assmann's (2017, pp. 155–156, transl. CH) explanation of the Herero and Nama genocide's reappearance in Germany, which she describes as "the emergence from forgetfulness" ("*das Auftauchen aus dem Vergessen*"). She writes, "It has been proven in many ways that ignoring, denying and erasing a traumatic history cannot be a sustainable foundation for a state under the rule of law ["*Rechtsstaat*"], because silence and denial simply do not resolve issues that have not been dealt with over time." (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 152, transl. CH) In this description, "ignoring" the Herero and Nama genocide is an aberration rather than a constituting factor for a nation-state like Germany. This reflects a European national perspective at the root of cultural memory that has often ignored the historical impact of colonialism in the construction of (national) identity and cultural memory (Rothberg, 2013, p. 364).

Furthermore, the current appearance of the Herero and Nama genocide is not a discovery of a "hidden depot" or previously suppressed archival material (A. Assmann, 2008, p. 106). As chapter 2 has shown and as A. Assmann (2017, p. 152) mentions, the events of 1904–1908 have not been completely obscured. Instead, they were overwhelmingly

archived and publicly memorialized from the perspective of former colonizers. The explanation for the sudden recognition of the genocide also cannot simply be explained by the sudden recognition of victims' perspectives, as the Herero and Nama have continuously critiqued their absence from the genocide negotiations (cf. chapter 2). This raises the question: Is power delegitimization through the canon possible if the archive supports existing power relations?

To answer this question, it is necessary to consider the selection processes at the heart of cultural memory production. A. Assmann and Assmann, transl. CH (1994, p. 120) write that "[t]he transition from communicative to cultural memory is enabled by media." They elaborate: "Through the materialization of the media, the horizon of embodied, living memory is broken and the conditions for abstract knowledge and unbodied tradition are created." (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, pp. 121–122). This places media in an important position of being able to not only record what occurred in the past but also strategically select which past events will outlive their witnesses or be presented to a broad public. This is especially important for the Herero and Nama genocide, where there are no more living witnesses. Media now determine how and if this event will become available for present generations that might not have any personal connections to the events of 1904–1908.

At the same time, communication scholars have critiqued Assmann and Assmann's separation of communicative and cultural memory via different media sources (Pentzold et al., 2023). A. Assmann (2018b, p. 54) still roots communicative memory in personal networks and conversations, whereas cultural memory is shown as the purview of (mass) media. This separation has always been tenuous and is increasingly being challenged through digital communication platforms, which enable biographical memories to be presented to a wider audience (Pentzold et al., 2023, pp. 9–10). This critique is amplified by the fact that A. Assmann and Assmann (1994) maintain a very broad description of "media," from books to speeches, stone tablets and monuments. They also often list media such as books or films under examples of archive rather than canon, which is often associated with "rituals" or "symbols" such as national flags (cf. A. Assmann, 2018a, p. 151, 2018b, p. 58).

The specific media examples that A. Assmann and Assmann (1994) provide show that it is necessary to add theoretical nuance to the role of the media in memory production. Concepts such as "cultural memory" provide a useful first framework for considering the function that media play in hierarchizing different forms of memory. Yet, A. Assmann and Assmann's (1994) use of the term "media" still broadly focuses on the media as a source of preservation. However, this perspective cannot adequately answer how the media not only preserve memories but also produce frameworks by which the past is used to explain or legitimize the present. Hence, I now ask how memory studies has explicitly conceptualized the role of the media in memory production. I then discuss the benefits that a disciplinary perspective from communication studies can add to these considerations.

3.1.3 The (re-)mediation of cultural memory: Perspectives from memory studies

In their work, Assmann and Assmann primarily focus on the outcome of mediated memory production rather than on the strategies and practices by which these selections are made. To counter this relatively static view of cultural memory, Erll (2017, pp. 31–32) in-

troduces the term "memory cultures" to highlight the dynamic and pluralistic processes of memory production. In this understanding, memory is "performative rather than […] reproductive […] as much a matter of acting out a relationship to the past from a particular point in the present as it is a matter of preserving and retrieving an earlier story" (Erll & Rigney, 2009, p. 2). The idea of memory as performative builds on the relationship between memory and culture outlined in the previous chapter while emphasizing the ever-changing practices underlying memory production.

Erll (2017, pp. 99–100) proposes that memory culture is produced at the intersection of a material, a social and a mental dimension. The material dimension comprises media that physically store memory, including "historiography, monuments, documents, photographs, souvenirs" (Erll, 2017, p. 100). The social dimension reflects the social practices and institutions that enact memory. Finally, the mental dimension encompasses the cultural codes and value hierarchies that make memory meaningful to society. Although Erll (2017, p. 100) places media in the material dimension of her model, she writes that media can also take on a social dimension insofar as individuals consume, interpret, and react to media. Scholars from media studies have previously critiqued this separation, even though they have continued to focus on the "social" and "material" rather than the "mental" dimension of media production and reception (Finger, 2017, pp. 71–72; Zierold, 2008, p. 161). Rather than trying to distinguish the media, and especially journalism, in one category, it is more helpful to consider how journalism's material and social dimensions are constitutive for and constituted by the "mental" dimension of memory production.

Erll and Rigney (2009, p. 1) offer a first glimpse at how the media could integrate all three dimensions of memory culture through their concept of "remediation." This term describes the circular processes by which the media (re-)use other media representations in their production of memory (Erll & Rigney, 2009, p. 4). In this sense, "media are more than merely passive and transparent conveyors of information. They play an active role in shaping our understanding of the past, in 'mediating' between us (as readers, viewers, listeners) and past experiences, and hence in setting the agenda for future acts of remembrance within society." (Erll & Rigney, 2009, p. 3) Remediation draws attention to the dual role of media in simultaneously shaping society's archive and its canon (cf. chapter 3.1.2): By drawing on previous constructions of the past, the media function as both archive and canon in the continuous reshaping of the past. Building on this idea of remediation, Erll also introduces the term "premediation," which notes that "media which circulate in a given society provide schemata for new experience and its representation" (Erll, 2009, p. 111). Here, the media are not only producing knowledge about past events but, in so doing, also producing the boundaries through which new experiences are anticipated and made meaningful to audiences.

The multifaceted position of journalism in p/remediation becomes visible in Erll's (2009) study of the 1857 Indian mutiny against British colonial rule. In an arc echoing the memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide, she shows how the British press initially played an important role in producing the "atrocity stories," typically focusing on the betrayal of Indian troops and the rape and mutilation of the British, that still shape memories of this event today (Erll, 2009, p. 113). At one point, Erll shows line-by-line how an 1857 British newspaper account of a massacre was remediated twenty years later in an Indian work of fiction that was written in English (Erll, 2009, p. 123). However, jour-

nalism is only mentioned as providing the "first draft" of memory (Kitch, 2008, p. 312), and the rest of the study concentrates on how the mutiny is remediated in British and Indian memoirs, fictional novels and films (Erll, 2009). This reflects Erll's disciplinary background in literature studies and typifies a common preconception of journalism's role in memory studies: Journalism is shown as the basis for later memory work rather than conducting memory work itself (Zelizer, 2008b). Erll (2009) does not show how journalism remediates past versions of its own coverage. Moreover, showing journalism as merely one more medium next to books and films also neglects the different processes of production and reception that determine how a medium's content can become effective and take on meanings in society. The content and distributary potential of a newspaper, for instance, has a very different intent and purpose than a fictional novel or movie.

Neglecting these media-specific differences obscures the power structures that ultimately determine which memories are or are not remediated. This becomes especially important when memories travel across national boundaries, as Erll's (2009) study of the Indian Mutiny suggests. In recent years, a variety of theoretical approaches have described the transnational or even global spread of memories through media technologies. These approaches are particularly important for my research interest, since the transnational framework of the Holocaust has been used to explain why the Herero and Nama genocide is or should be remembered and rectified in the present (cf. Wolff, 2016). To understand the problems that have arisen from the implicit reliance but lack of explicit theorization of journalism in these frameworks, I now briefly outline these theoretical approaches before showing how journalism can theoretically be positioned in memory production.

Mediated memory production in global contexts

To describe memory in global frameworks, Erll (2011, p. 11) introduces the idea of "travelling memory," which outlines how memories are constantly moving and shaping one another across national boundaries. This already became clear in Erll's (2009) study of the 1857 mutiny, which showed how memory has been shaped within and between India and Great Britain. Remediation is a useful concept to track memory's travels, as it shows how the media draw on previous mediated representations to describe the past, frequently crossing boundaries in the process. With the words of A. Assmann and Conrad (2010, p. 2):

> "Until recently, the dynamics of memory production unfolded primarily within the bounds of the nation state; coming to terms with the past was largely a national project. Under the impact of global mobility and movements, this has changed fundamentally. Global conditions have powerfully impacted on memory debates and, at the same time, memory has entered the global stage and global discourse. [… I]t is impossible to understand the trajectories of memory outside a global frame of reference."

Memory's transnational travels are often rooted in the theoretically global reception of (new) media products (Erll, 2011, pp. 12–13): Films on the Holocaust or images of 9/11 can, in principle, reach a wide audience that surpasses the collective of individuals that ex-

perienced this event. In the following, I unpack the relationship between memory and media at the heart of many of these theories to show where a perspective from communication studies adds crucial insights.

The seed for the idea of increasingly global cultural memories can be found in Landsberg's (2004, p. 2) concept of "prosthetic memory," where she writes that media, particularly novels and films, enable audiences to vicariously experience memories that did not personally involve them. This becomes possible because "mass cultural technologies have the capacity to create shared social frameworks for people who inhabit, literally and figuratively, different social spaces, practices and beliefs." (Landsberg, 2004, p. 8) Memory is "prosthetic" insofar as it is not personally experienced but can still become a part of how audiences view the world. Memories experienced in this way "do not belong exclusively to a particular group; that is, memories of the Holocaust do not belong only to Jews, nor do memories of slavery belong solely to African Americans" (Landsberg, 2004, p. 2). This contrasts with prior conceptualizations of collective and cultural memory, which suggest that the past must in some way have a relationship to prior group composition. Landsberg (2004, p. 25) suggests that memory consumed by a growing audience can produce "unexpected alliances across chasms of difference."

Landsberg's (2004) idea shows that changing technological potential in media products is often aligned with moral claims for how to make memory more inclusive: The ability of more individuals to discover or connect to memories from around the world is shown as a way for previously marginalized memories or perspectives to come to the forefront of memory. Another concept in this direction that is particularly relevant for the Herero and Nama genocide is the idea of "multidirectional memory" (Rothberg, 2009). This concept suggests that the production of cultural memory is not a competitive "zero-sum struggle" where the recollection of one memory automatically assumes that another will be forgotten (Rothberg, 2009, p. 3). Rather, the production of cultural memory is "subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing" across national boundaries, adding to instead of detracting from one another (Rothberg, 2009, p. 3). To exemplify this, Rothberg (2009) describes how memories of the Holocaust and colonialism have been connected to one another, from Hannah Arendt's "*The Origins of Totalitarianism*" to W. E. B. Du Bois' observations on the Warsaw Ghetto for the magazine *Jewish Life*. Although Rothberg does not explicitly theorize the role of media in-depth, he writes that "[w]hen we talk about collective Holocaust memory or about collective memories of colonialism and decolonization, we are talking primarily about shared memory […] that has been mediated through networks of communication" (Rothberg, 2009, p. 15).

However, by not exploring the strategies, processes and practices by which the media cover or connect memories, these concepts evade some of the (post-)colonial power structures that continue to shape memory production. This becomes especially clear when considering the travels of Holocaust memory, which is often at the center of many transnational or even global memory concepts and theories (Adebayo, 2023, p. 7). One example that illustrates this complexity is the Kigali Genocide Memorial, which commemorates the Rwandan Genocide. The museum contains multiple references to the Holocaust, "expressed for instance through paired pictures: […] measuring the noses of a Tutsi and a Jew; anti-Tutsi and anti-Semitic newspapers; or Tutsis' personal belongings

left in haste and piles of shoes, widely recognized as one of the symbols of Auschwitz" (Wosińska, 2017, p. 193). These recognizable "symbols of Auschwitz" become possible through the circulation of memory through media – people must first recognize the "piles of shoes" before they can ascribe any meaning to them (Wosińska, 2017, p. 195). Furthermore, regarding the Kigali Genocide Memorial's connections to the Holocaust, Wosińska (2017, pp. 193–194) writes, "This is not very surprising given that its sponsor and co-organizer is the Aegis Trust, whose main office – called the Holocaust Centre – is located in Great Britain."

In addition, in his study on African genocide novels, Anyaduba (2021, p. 62) writes, "In trying to witness and make genocides occurring in the African postcolonies thinkable, African and non-African writers have appropriated cosmopolitanized memories of the Holocaust in ways resulting in the depiction of African genocidal suffering understood in Eurocentric terms". These examples raise a fundamental question: For whom are mnemonic connections made – and for whom are they not made? Erll (2011, p. 15) notes that "[n]ot each 'memory around the globe' will automatically become a veritable 'global memory'". However, the question of how and why some memories travel further or connect more than others is not centered in many of the theoretical concepts above.

This connects to the fundamental critique that has become clear throughout this chapter: A focus on media through technological possibility can lead to the presumption that the globalization of memory is a new process, enabled by new technologies (Landsberg, 2004, p. 3). However, as Erll's (2009) example of the Indian Mutiny and as historians such as Conrad (2013) have shown, memories traveling across national boundaries have deep roots in the colonial experience and have often helped to establish the very boundaries they transcend. To capture these processes and answer the question above, the research perspective must shift from *whether* to *how* specific media institutions such as journalism connect memories in their coverage. While concepts such as remediation and premediation draw attention to the dynamic processes of memory construction, a more media-centered perspective is needed to understand not only the processes by which society makes sense of media products but also by which media themselves reflect and shape the social structures in their production of memory.

To summarize, the chapters above have shown that journalism is often conceptualized as a "first draft" in memory production. However, previous literature has often neglected the various institutional amplifications or repressions that are required for individual testimonials to actively become part of cultural memory (Kansteiner, 2010). The absence of journalism in conceptualizations of memory production has had considerable impact on the claims of what memory can and cannot do, as shown in theorizations of memory's transnational or even global travels. This has occasionally led to generalizing concepts of an essential "memory" that has specific ("healing") qualities in and of itself rather than considering the specific actors and motives involved in creating competing versions of the past (Engert, 2009, p. 277). To escape this quagmire, Kansteiner (2002) has argued for methodological approaches from communication studies to draw attention to the institutional structures, producers, and audiences of memory construction. Beyond a mere methodological addition, however, a theoretical framework that connects journalism to memory is crucial for addressing many of the blind spots above. To this end, the following chapter 3.2 now combines perspectives from cultural and communication

studies to show how journalism produces cultural memory as a discursive authority in society.

3.2 Journalism's production of cultural memory

This chapter connects journalism studies with memory studies to show how journalism produces cultural memory in society. For this, chapter 3.2.1 begins by using approaches from cultural studies to situate journalism as a (contested) discursive authority in society. This is particularly useful for connecting journalism with the theoretical concepts outlined above. Next, chapter 3.2.2 shows how objectivity functions as a discursive practice through which journalism outlines how statements about the past can (not) become effective in maintaining or contesting power.

3.2.1 Journalism as a (contested) discursive authority

Embedded within most descriptions of journalism lies a common expectation: journalism should provide orientation and guidance in a complex world (Arnold, 2009, p. 162). In the past, theoretical explanations of how journalism achieves this societal function have typically been rooted in Western historical experiences and norms (Arnold, 2009; Schudson, 2018; Vos, 2018; Zelizer, 2014). This means that much of the theoretical literature, both within and beyond communications studies, broadly relies on an idea of journalism supplying information to a well-defined audience of citizens with certain ideals of political participation – notwithstanding the persistent patterns of exclusion that belie these ideals (Fraser, 2007, p. 8). This normative underpinning is not limited to communication studies but has become a central part of journalism's self-description, leading to discrepancies between scholarly, professional, and practical descriptions of journalistic work (Zelizer, 1993, 2004). Defining what journalism is often becomes an exercise in comparison with a Western ideal rather than a description of societal function (cf. Mamdani, 1996, p. 9). Moreover, journalism's institutional claims of topicality and novelty have also hindered previous connections between journalism and memory studies: "A recognition of journalists' work as engaged with memory thereby proceeds by definition against journalists' own rhetoric of what they claim to do." (Zelizer, 2008a, p. 381) In a field concerned primarily with reproductions of the past, journalism often does not seem like an obvious research object (Olick, 2014, pp. 20, 23; Zelizer, 2008a, p. 379).

The following chapter addresses these challenges by describing journalism's role in society through its relationship with power. For this, I use approaches from cultural studies to locate journalistic work in the broader context of power and knowledge production in society (Dorer, 2002, p. 54). Cultural studies is a transdisciplinary project focused on critical cultural analysis through radical contextualization, critical self-reflection and political intervention to contest hegemonic power relations in society (Hepp & Winter, 2003, p. 11). Approaches from cultural studies have previously been used in journalism (Zelizer, 2004, p. 182) and memory studies (Keightley, 2008; Lohmeier & Böhling, 2021). Combining these two approaches helps me to analyze journalism's production of mem-

ory as the organization and hierarchization of (un-)true and (un-)comfortable knowledge about the past.

In this perspective, "culture" is a historically structured pattern of symbolic meaning-making that encompasses all activities and interactions of everyday life (Fiske, 2003, p. 15). Compared to A. Assmann and Assmann's (1994) definition of culture (cf. chapter 3.1.2), cultural studies places a heightened emphasis on the actual "doing" of remembrance through everyday cultural practices (Lohmeier & Böhling, 2021, p. 3). Through their productive ability to shape how meaning is expressed in daily interactions, cultural practices are both constitutive for and constituted by existing social orders (Göttlich, 2008, p. 99). As such, culture is a site of constant struggle between different institutions and groups (Thompson, 1961, p. 33). Whereas cultural memory often views this struggle from a top-down perspective (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 36), cultural studies specifically analyze resistance to hegemonic knowledge structures (Hall, 2019b, p. 360). Thus, the research gaze shifts from the extraordinary to the everyday to question how memory is perpetuated and power is de/legitimized in routine social and institutional interactions (Hepp & Winter, 2003, p. 11). This is not to say that extraordinary moments of commemoration and ritual lose their significance. However, it expands the importance of these events to view how they impact collective meaning-making beyond one celebration per year.

Understanding culture in this way opens a unique vantage point for viewing journalism in relation to memory. Through the ritual of repetitive consumption, production, and societal appropriation of journalistic texts, journalism can be analyzed as a cultural practice in society (Lünenborg, 2016, p. 329). Its coverage serves to structure and explain everyday events in a way that ascribes meaning to them. In the words of Carey (1989, p. 20): "News reading, and writing, is a ritual act and moreover a dramatic one. What is arrayed before the reader is not pure information but a portrayal of the contending forces in the world." By addressing a general audience in its texts and achieving (or at least professing to achieve) broad reception, journalism signifies that its texts represent common knowledge and enables a collective process of meaning-making about the past (Meyen, 2013, p. 33).

The process of meaning-making in and through journalism is not merely an act of knowledge conveyance but rather of knowledge circulation. Hall (2019a, p. 258) conceptualized this circulation of knowledge with his en-/decoding model of television discourse: "In the moment when the historical event passes under the sign of language, it is subject to all the complex formal 'rules' by which language signifies". In this model, journalists encode information based on institutional structures, professional networks, organized routines, and technical infrastructures. Audiences then decode this knowledge based on their discursive position within society (Hall, 2019a, p. 259). Journalism is thereby understood as the constant process of knowledge circulation between producers and audiences.

This understanding leads to the important insight that the producer's initial intention is never fully realized in the audience's decoding (Hall, 2019a, p. 272). In other words, journalism's portrayal of cultural memory is the site of multiple points of interpretation. The boundaries of canon and archive remain permeable through subversive interpretive potential. While Hall focuses on the importance of class, researchers have also noted

that gender, ethnicity, and racial identity, among other aspects, play an important role in defining how texts are produced, read, and understood (Eason, 1990, p. 211; Lünenborg, 2005, p. 52). This latter point will be considered in more detail in chapter 4.

Through the lens of cultural studies, journalism is not a finished product but rather an active process of symbolic collective orientation that occurs through the circulation of knowledge between audiences and producers. This understanding differs slightly from previous analytical approaches to journalism, which often separate processes of production, reception and the media text itself (Zelizer, 2004; cf. chapter 3.1.3). By understanding journalism as knowledge circulation instead of mere transmission, I can locate journalism's role for memory in the social frameworks of memory described in the previous chapter.

Many of the descriptions above rest on the assumption that journalism is one of the primary sources of information that group members use to learn about the world "out there." However, this understanding of journalism is increasingly being challenged. New technological possibilities, particularly the rise of social media, have fueled debates on journalism's changing (or waning) role in society (cf. Deuze & Witschge, 2018). This leads to the question: Does journalism still maintain the societal function outlined above? To answer these questions, it is necessary to consider how power is effectively negotiated, enacted and challenged through journalism, especially outside of heavily studied Western contexts. For this, I will now briefly outline the critiques against journalism's authority, which will help me to clarify my conceptualization of journalism in relationship to (post-)colonial memory production.

Journalism and the contested production of "truth" in society

From its inception as a field, scholars in cultural studies have argued that the overwhelming academic emphasis on "quality" media has privileged hegemonic (white, male-dominated) knowledge production in research (cf. Fiske, 2003). Hence, cultural studies focuses on "alternative" and popular sources of knowledge production, such as tabloids or reality television shows, to explore topics that remain unaddressed by mainstream journalistic production (Arnold, 2009, pp. 210–211; Zelizer, 2004, p. 198). A similar argument is also brought forward in African media studies, where scholars argue that the previous academic attention on "quality" media has reflected Western imaginations of what journalism should be, continuing to entrench colonial power structures within and beyond academia (Nyamnjoh, 2013).

These critiques point to an important blind spot that was outlined at the beginning of this chapter: Previous research has often equated Western experiences with definitions of journalism and journalistic practice. Journalistic practices of meaning-making in former colonies were thus often shown as "different" while continuing to normalize the practices and (self-)representation of journalism in Western nations (cf. Mutsvairo et al., 2021). On top of this, there is very little research on journalism in countries like Namibia, a challenge that will be reflected throughout this dissertation (cf. chapter 5.2.3).

As shown above, many critiques have built on a dichotomy between "quality" and "alternative" journalism. In previous research, this dichotomy has often reinforced a juxtaposition between traditional journalism as a reflection of hegemonic power and alternative journalistic practices or media outlets as resistance to power. This has led to the term

"alternative media" often being used synonymously with participatory and/or emancipatory media, especially in the context of the Global South (Forde, 2011, p. ix). In this understanding, the "media" can refer to any number of objects, from "talking drums" to "folk songs" (Mare, 2020, p. 82). This reestablishes many of the critiques that have already been pointed out in chapter 3.1.3: The idea of the "media" becomes so wide that specific practices and their function in society can become lost. This can serve to essentialize differences between Western and non-Western experiences and obfuscate the role of power in knowledge production, especially regarding media access.

To underline this point, it is useful to briefly consider that communications research from Namibia suggests that digital media is not necessarily replacing but rather complementing traditional media consumption in a nation with an internet penetration of about 50% (Shihomeka, 2019, p. 64). Moreover, Cheruiyot et al. (2021, p. 1) write that "the dominant agenda-setting media in most African countries [are] either state- or privately run press" and identify this as a challenge to non-legacy media. Instead of distinguishing media as "quality" or "alternative," it is instead helpful to define journalism through its specific relationship to power. While it is necessary to critique the (post-)colonial power structures in the theoretical conceptualization of journalism, these power structures should not be ignored in the description of how journalism is practiced and consumed in both formerly colonizing and formerly colonized nations.

Therefore, rather than focusing on journalism as a static product, it is necessary to ask how journalism articulates and produces a particular relationship to power in different societies. Hence, building on Bach (2016, p. 46), I conceptualize journalism as a cultural discursive authority that formats and thereby produces knowledge in society. This definition of journalism builds on work by Foucault (1981, pp. 58, 61), who uses the term "discursive formation" to describe similarities in the construction of a set of statements (a "discourse"). When discursive levels such as journalism change the constitution of statements that make up a particular subject, such as the Herero and Nama genocide, they also shape the way this event can become meaningful and shape power in society (Foucault, 1970, p. 8).

Through a variety of practices and performances, journalism outlines a particular relationship to "truth": It purports that it is not merely interpreting but reflecting reality (Broersma, 2010b, p. 26; Hartley, 1996, p. 36; Zelizer, 2004, p. 24). For their part, readers are aware of these performances and use them to gauge the importance of various events for their decisions and actions in the present, particularly in relation to reigning power relations (Broersma, 2010b, p. 26). Audiences must understand these rules, if only to break them, to make effective claims for subjects such as the Herero and Nama genocide.

In this line of thinking, journalism's claim to "truth" and its production of truth go hand in hand. This societal function is mutually reinforced through journalism's institutional relationship to sources of power in society. In the words of Schudson (2018, p. 15): "What news items have the President or the Congress, governors or mayors, or corporate executives been forced by law or by public opinion to respond to?"[1] Through its

1 See Daniels (2018) for an examination of journalism's role in the criticism and eventual resignation of Jacob Zuma, the President of South Africa.

practices of knowledge production, journalism is neither purporting to provide a historical (re-)enactment of the past nor a comprehensive explanation of the past. Rather, it is suggesting that it is only providing those pieces of the past that are "true" in the sense that the imagined audience needs them to understand and make decisions in a present shaped by power structures (Meyen, 2013, p. 51). It is precisely this function of journalism that makes it so crucial for understanding societal memory production, as the following chapters explore in more detail.

Linking journalism to the enactment and experience of power in society means that journalism can and does look different in various temporal, spatial and cultural contexts. Thus, the way a Namibian journalist might signify "truth" can differ from a German journalist, as will be explored in the following chapters. At the same time, journalism did not arise in a vacuum but was shaped by historical processes such as colonialism (cf. Zeigerer, 2016). These experiences have not only shaped the Namibian media system (Rothe, 2010) but have also shaped how "truth" is produced and circulated in German journalism today. Tracing journalism through its relationship to power can help to include regional differences without essentializing them or reinforcing national boundaries as the limits of journalistic practices.

There is no doubt: Journalism's authority is and always has been contested by different actors and sources of information (Forde, 2011, p. ix; Lünenborg, 2012, p. 448). Mass media are not the all-encompassing mode of public communication that memory researchers like A. Assmann and Assmann (1994) tended to assume. Instead, new practices of knowledge production and consumption are increasingly arising with digital media, while established practices such as the *radio trottoir* continue to hold significant subversive potential (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 209; Shihomeka, 2019, p. 65).

The question now becomes: How does journalism defend its societal position against these potential contestations? To answer this question, I now shift my focus to the practices and performances by which journalism signals a specific relationship to "truth," and thus to power. This will then enable me to consider how journalism specifically shapes cultural memory.

3.2.2 Performing "truth" in journalism through objectivity

Journalism is constantly deciding which events to cover and which to neglect in its coverage (Neuberger & Kapern, 2013, p. 159). This provides it with a unique ability to limit knowledge and determine which events will or will not become relevant in explaining power. At the same time, these selection processes leave journalism open to criticism from outside sources of information (Broersma, 2010b, p. 28).

Tuchman (1972, p. 662) writes that objectivity is one of the main "performance 'strategies'" that are "used offensively to anticipate attack or defensively to deflect criticism" in journalism. In the research literature, objectivity is typically rooted in the professionalization of journalism in the early 20th century, typically in European or Anglo-American contexts (Neuberger & Kapern, 2013, 157 f.; Schudson, 2018, p. 51; Zelizer, 1993, p. 220). This reflects the conundrums that have already been outlined above: Academic concepts of objectivity have ignored non-Western experiences while also making it impossible to include these experiences by labeling them "subjective" (Adeduntan, 2018, p. 1712). Yet,

research shows that journalists and audiences around the world still overwhelmingly use this category to define or demand journalistic work (Craft et al., 2016, p. 687; Edgerly & Vraga, 2020, p. 426; Zirugo, 2021, p. 273).

In the following, I build on Tuchman (1972) to define objectivity as a strategic ritual that is anchored in temporally and spatially variable contexts and is materially visible in journalistic work. Objectivity functions as a discursive practice that outlines the rules by which a particular statement is considered "true" and can therefore become effective in (de-)legitimizing power (Foucault, 1981, p. 171). Instead of viewing objectivity as a set relationship between the text and "reality" (Mateus, 2018, p. 66), this definition views objectivity as a way of performatively hierarchizing knowledge and, in this way, regulating and challenging power relations in society. Viewing how objectivity is maintained or challenged provides insights into journalism's relationship with power in different contexts.

Tuchman (1972, p. 662) breaks objectivity into form, content and the interorganizational relationships of journalism. In the following, I briefly explore Tuchman's (1972) division to show how the various aspects of journalistic knowledge production come together to draw the boundaries around legitimate knowledge about the past.

Organizing knowledge through journalistic form

As Zelizer (2008a, p. 382) has pointed out, journalism evokes "memory through form and content" by determining how, when and why memory can arise in reporting. Understanding these distinctions is important for my later analysis of journalistic content. Hence, in the following, I first focus on journalistic practices of form before moving on to content.

Schudson (1995, p. 54) writes that "the power of the media lies not only [...] in its power to declare things to be true, but in its power to provide the forms in which the declarations appear". By selecting a specific form to present its information, journalism determines a specific relationship between the event it describes and the journalistic (re-)presentation of that event (Lünenborg, 2017, p. 371). In so doing, journalism determines how audiences will experience and interact with the content of the text. The "form" of journalism can be further subdivided into the design, structure and genre of a text (Broersma, 2010b, p. 21).

Design encompasses the haptic layout of a media text, from typography to graphic elements such as news images (Broersma, 2010a, pp. 21–22). These design elements, along with the physical length of news items, signal to the audience the significance of a particular event for the collective (Broersma, 2010a, p. 21) and help to convey meaning before the audience has even read the content (Zelizer, 1998, p. 10). For instance, colonial images in articles can convey meanings not made explicit in the text, as will be explored in more detail in chapter 4.2.2.

The choice of design generates expectation, stimulates interest and provides a preliminary indication of significance for the audience (Pörksen, 2008, p. 297). Journalists will often use design to indicate temporal differences between past and present in their reporting by publishing special anniversary editions or using music to indicate that they are now moving on to special commemorative coverage (Meyers et al., 2012, p. 71). Meyers et al. (2012, p. 72) show that on the annual Memorial Day for the Holocaust and Heroism (MDHH), Israeli television news broadcasts will usually omit the typical sports segment

and the upbeat sign-off jingle to signal the transition from the news into memorial coverage. In this way, they signal a break from "ordinary" reporting. Moreover, before MDHH ceremonies, Israeli broadcasters will air teasers using footage of previous commemorations, preparing the audience for what is to come before the actual coverage has even begun (Meyers et al., 2014, pp. 93–94). Design elements function as a strategy of premediation (cf. chapter 3.1.3): By using (or not using) specific design elements, journalists decide how audiences will assess and interact with commemorative coverage.

Next, *structure* describes how the importance of a subject to the audience's reality is performatively conveyed to the audience. This becomes visible in journalism's hierarchization of topics, which has previously been studied through journalism's selection of rubrics or placement of a topic under a particular page number (Tuchman, 1972, p. 671). Determining where memory is placed in the structure of a journalistic article or report can provide an insight into how its relevance is signaled to the audience. Much of the previous research literature has focused on memories that are prominently placed on the front pages of newspapers, such as Holocaust commemoration or the commemoration of 9/11, which clearly signals that a memory is part of a collective's canon. By contrast, past events covered under "lifestyle," "international news" or "culture" sections signal a different relationship to present reality, suggesting that past events might be more important for some groups rather than necessary knowledge for the entire collective. Through its topical choice, journalism effectively draws the boundaries between archive and canon in society (cf. chapter 3.1.2).

Finally, on the boundary between Tuchman's (1972) descriptions of form and content lies the *genre* of an article. A genre encompasses culturally recognizable and ritualized forms of knowledge presentation in journalism (Lünenborg, 2017, p. 371). Genres fulfill a specific purpose in journalism's production of knowledge by providing legitimized spaces where "news" can be separated from "opinion" in journalism (Neuberger & Kapern, 2013, p. 151; Pörksen, 2008, p. 298; Tuchman, 1972, p. 664), even though these boundaries are fluid and not static (Edgerly & Vraga, 2020; Lünenborg, 2017, p. 376). Whereas design and structure indicate how important a text is for a reader, a genre begins to address how the "truthfulness" of a text is constructed for the audience.

A study of indigenous language radio broadcasts in Nigeria indicates the fluidity between genres, which often rely on the juxtaposition to other genres to establish a specific claim to truthfulness (Adeduntan, 2018). In Yoruba talk shows, reading and translating English-language newspaper stories out loud is a mainstay of coverage. Newspapers are viewed as high-quality and "objective" sources of information by both audiences and government alike (Adeduntan, 2018, p. 1716). However, as the hosts read from these papers, they implicitly mock their stilted way of writing. They then add elements, such as performing the stories in traditional dialogues or drawing on religious symbolism and emotions (Adeduntan, 2018, p. 1723). The news reporters draw on established genres of news presentation in the newspapers to show that they are reflecting "truth" and emphasize that they are not adding anything. At the same time, their performance of this information is used to convey "truth" in a specific cultural context (Adeduntan, 2018, p. 1719).

While it is also not part of most descriptions of genre or journalistic form, it is useful to mention that language is also an important aspect of performing objectivity, particularly in (post-)colonial nations. An analysis of journalism in Indonesia found that the

choice to publish in English in a non-English-speaking country often made newspapers appear more objective to readers (Carpenter & Sosale, 2019). The choice of English-language reporting both suggested that readers and writers were shielded from potential government backlash while simultaneously performing proximity to sources of power in society, particularly those economic or intellectual elites that could read English (Carpenter & Sosale, 2019, p. 287). "Through this interpretive strategy, journalists transferred the status and power associated with English […] to both readers and the newspaper itself." (Carpenter & Sosale, 2019, p. 288) Thus, the choice of language both signifies and produces a certain relationship to power that shapes how readers can interact with the text.

These examples show how journalistic form both uses and produces cultural cues to signify its relationship to truth, indicating a relationship between the content of the article and the lived reality of the audience (Broersma, 2010a, p. 17; Hanitzsch et al., 2019, p. 27): This determines expectations of truthfulness and relevance for the article and leads to Tuchman's (1972) second pillar of objectivity: content.

Content: Un/truth as acceptable controversy

In the content of an article, journalists make strategic decisions that determine which subjects will be shown as consensus or controversy. Depending on how much background information journalists give, they determine which topics are shown as "common sense" (Tuchman, 1972, p. 674) and which require further explanation. Moreover, the boundaries of consensus and controversy also determine which perspectives can become visible and which remain invisible throughout the story. A common practice of objectivity, for instance, is quoting "both sides of a story" (Broersma, 2010b, p. 28). By suggesting that they are presenting "both sides," journalists simultaneously limit how many perspectives can be heard on an issue.

To understand this process, it is helpful to draw on Hallin's (1986) division of objectivity into three concentric circles. The first, innermost circle is the "sphere of consensus," which reflects events and concepts whose interpretation is generally accepted in the collective (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). These are issues that do not have to be explained by the journalist – they can be openly supported and still be viewed as objective. In Hallin's (1986, p. 116) study, which dealt with the Vietnam War, the "sphere of consensus" encompassed ideals such as the necessity of patriotism or the superiority of capitalism. From the perspective of memory construction, this could include the idea that the Holocaust was a horrible event.

Surrounding the sphere of controversy is the sphere of legitimate controversy, which comprises everything that can be reasonably debated within society (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). The sphere of controversy is the space where journalists draw on "the judicious use of quotation marks" to suggest that they are merely conveying various viewpoints (Tuchman, 1972, p. 668). It also gives journalists decision power in determining which positions can or cannot become visible in the journalistic text. In keeping with the example of Holocaust memory above, this could encompass discussions over how the Holocaust should be remembered. Finally, the sphere of deviance is the outermost layer that Hallin (1986, p. 117) identifies. It has no firm boundaries and includes everything outside of the realm of the acceptable, such as explicit Holocaust denial. This sphere of deviance, ac-

cording to Hallin (1986), outlines the boundaries of knowledge in society. However, given the theoretical perspective I have outlined above, I view the sphere of deviance as the space from which journalism's societal position can become criticized and contested by other sources of knowledge production in society. Journalism's work thus consists in continuously (re-)establishing the boundaries of legitimate controversy, consensus and deviance.

Cultural memory is both constituted by and constitutive for the establishment of consensus and legitimate controversy. "Common sense" (Tuchman, 1972, p. 674) becomes established in society through the ritual repetition of knowledge over time, as chapter 3.1 has already indicated. Memory is thus both produced by and utilized in journalism's production of the sphere of consensus. This is clear in Schudson's (2018) description of how the practices of objectivity have changed in U.S. journalism over the past fifty years. Whereas objectivity used to be portrayed through the direct repetition of official sources of power, signaling the proximity of journalists to elite decision-makers, this is no longer the case. Instead, in what Schudson (2018, p. 59) calls "objectivity 2.0," journalists since the 1960s have increasingly drawn on a more "contextual" style of journalism to signal critical distance between themselves and sources of authority in society. Rather than merely reporting on what occurred, journalism now also presents itself as an authority in describing *why* something occurred, using references to the past, historical facts and statistics to make sense of an event (Schudson, 2014, p. 88).

Finally, by presenting certain events from the past as consensus or legitimate controversy, journalism also determines which events can become part of society's cultural memory. Li and Lee (2013) show how the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Tiananmen Square Massacre were shaped by memorial coverage in leading U.S. newspapers. The Tiananmen Square Massacre was shown as an object of legitimate controversy, enabling it to become an object of interpretation to de-/legitimize U.S. foreign policy (Li & Lee, 2013, pp. 836–837). By contrast, the Berlin Wall was shown as an immediate object of consensus and became widely associated with the definitive end of communism. The difficulties of the transition period were thus largely placed on former residents of East Germany rather than on West Germany; this interpretation could be shown as "common sense" since a general interpretation of the fall of communism had already been established (Li & Lee, 2013, p. 838). Journalism's production of the past as consensus and controversy will continue to be explored throughout the remainder of this dissertation. As chapter 2 has shown, the Herero and Nama genocide has been alternatively viewed as an object of legitimate controversy in political discourse (cf. Robel, 2013). Is information from the sphere of deviance now changing how the Herero and Nama genocide is being shown in German and Namibian journalism? Is it now becoming consensus, and if so, what are the boundaries of this newfound consensus?

For the boundaries of consensus and legitimate controversy to become effective in shaping power relations, journalistic media often have relatively similar interpretations of past events. For instance, most media often report on similar past events in their memorial editions. This points to the final pillar of objectivity outlined by Tuchman (1972): interorganizational relationships.

Inter- and intraorganizational interpretive communities

Tuchman (1972, p. 672) describes interorganizational relationships as journalism's performative interactions with and judgment of other institutions, which shows them as being close to the power structures that they report on. These organizations are not only important for shaping journalism's relationships to other institutions in society but also for intraorganizational professional relationships. So-called leading media, which are consumed by societal elites, often have an outsized role in shaping coverage throughout the journalistic field (cf. Foucault, 1978, p. 52; Meyen, 2013, p. 33). Journalists of leading media are also often personally acquainted with societal elites as part of their profession. Taken together, this provides journalism with a powerful discursive position to write "exclusive" information that other media then cover and amplify (Meyen, 2013, p. 52). Given this relationship to power, journalism's coverage also often centers on elite individuals in society, furthering the interrelation between knowledge production and power (de-)legitimization (Dorer, 2002, 54 f.; Fürsich, 2010, p. 117; Meyen, 2013, p. 25).

The performance of objectivity, or the ability to reflect and shape "truth," through interorganizational relationships has clearly been shaped by (post-)colonial power relations. Many media sources in southern Africa, particularly state broadcasters, were often founded during colonialism to further colonial aims or during the independence struggle to fight colonial power (Ibelema & Bosch, 2009, pp. 295–296). While the role of the media has changed post-independence, the ownership structures have often transferred from former colonizers to the newly independent governments (Kivikuru, 2005, pp. 326–327; Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 40; Rothe, 2010, p. 13). This proximity to the government has often been used to critique sub-Saharan African media products, reflecting serious concerns with press freedom in some nations (Nyamnjoh, 2013, p. 2).[2] However, by defining interorganizational relationships as part of journalism's performance of objectivity, it is possible to add more nuance to this understanding. Through the understanding of objectivity above, journalism's relationship to power must be understood against a historical backdrop of power legitimization and production. Namibian and German journalism's specific relationship to power in these (post-)colonial contexts will continue to be explored in more detail in the following chapters.

In addition to these interorganizational relationships, it is useful to also draw attention to the intraorganizational relationships at the heart of journalism's performance of objectivity: Journalism is continuously describing (and rewriting) its role in society through the production of institutional memory. To understand this process, it is useful to draw on Zelizer's (1993) concept of "interpretive communities." Journalists are a community of individuals "united by [their] shared discourse and collective interpretations of key public events" (Zelizer, 1993, p. 219). In other words, journalists tend to come to similar conclusions about events not only because they are influenced by other institutions or by what certain leading media with a high circulation and high-profile authors write: Similar interpretations also strengthen journalism's discursive authority in society.

Zelizer (1993, p. 224) locates this authority in journalism's ability to do "double-time," which she loosely bases on Homi Bhabha's description of national subjects as both the ob-

2 The specific relationship of the Namibian media to power sources in the country and its production and reception conditions within the nation will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.2.3.

jects as well as the subjects of historical signification (Bhabha, 1990, p. 297). She broadens this explanation to the practice of journalism as a community of individuals that crystallizes around certain "hot moments" of collective interpretation (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 259, cited in Zelizer, 1993, p. 224). In a locational mode of interpretation, journalists first establish a way of reporting about a significant event within the community as the event is happening. Then, in the durational mode of interpretation, journalists retell the event while shifting the details over time to reinforce their authority (Zelizer, 1993, pp. 224–225).

In transferring Bhabha's (1990) description to journalism, Zelizer (1993) focuses on how the journalistic interpretive community interprets past events to establish its current boundaries as a professional collective. By comparing the locational and durational mode of interpretation around key events such as McCarthyism or Watergate in U.S. journalism, Zelizer (1993, p. 232) shows that these events have continuously been reinterpreted to reflect current values for the U.S. journalistic collective. When journalism explains moments of professional lapses, such as the Janet Cooke scandal, it usually creates a memory of this event that focuses largely on individual over institutional scandals (Carlson, 2014, p. 38). These examples show that objectivity is not merely a set of practices that journalists adhere to but also a set of stories they retell over time.

To summarize, the sections above have shown how journalism's form, content and interorganizational organizations produce the conditions in which knowledge is shown to be "true." Objectivity thereby functions as a discursive practice in journalism to regulate how cultural memory can be evoked by determining how statements about the past must be organized in specific times and spaces to become effective (J. Assmann, 1995, 130 f.). Given this background, the following chapter now goes one step further: How does journalism strategically (dis-)connect the past, present and future through the discursive practices outlined above? To answer this question, chapter 3.3 now delves into the previous research literature from communication and media studies and shows possibilities and gaps for analyzing the Herero and Nama genocide.

3.3 Forms of memory in journalism: Research perspectives and gaps

The preceding chapter has theoretically situated "journalism within culture, not apart from it, reminding us that journalism is a form of, not merely a conduit for, memory." (Kitch, 2008, p. 317) Previous research in communication studies on the relationship between journalism and memory has typically clustered around three points of interest (cf. Pentzold et al., 2022, pp. 7–13): The first revolves around different media technologies enabling various forms of memory production (Frosh & Pinchevski, 2009; Hoskins, 2016; Meyers et al., 2011), combined with a focus on how audiences employ these media formats to establish or recall certain memories (Finger, 2017; Volkmer & Lee, 2014). The second point of interest asks how journalism produces institutional memories to uphold and defend its discursive authority in society (Carlson, 2014, 2016; Carlson & Berkowitz, 2012; Zelizer, 1990, 1993; Zirugo, 2021). The third focal point explores how journalism's reporting reflects and produces social norms, often with a primary emphasis on the content of reporting.

Given my research interest, I will be concentrating primarily on the third of these focal points to show how journalism, through the discursive practices outlined above, determines which knowledge about the past can or cannot become visible. For this, I will highlight two specific aspects: journalism's use of temporality in its reporting and the performance of witnessing the past. Both aspects show how journalism's circulation of knowledge between audiences and producers produces temporal and spatial boundaries that enable or suppress specific engagements with the past.

3.3.1 Temporal (dis-)connections: From commemorations to analogies

In this section, I consider how journalism produces a particular relationship to time for the imagined audience. In this vein, Edy (1999) separates journalism's use of the past into commemorations, contexts and analogies. Commemorations are moments when the collective "looks back" at what has occurred. Also called "calendar journalism" or "anniversary journalism," this type of reporting focuses on the past as an explicit topic of reporting, frequently in special issues, rubrics or magazines (Li & Lee, 2013, p. 840; cf. chapter 3.2.2). By making the past the explicit topic of reporting, journalism clearly outlines both what happened and how the collective is reacting to the past today, often by covering present-day commemorations or memorial ceremonies (Edy, 1999, pp. 74–75). This is the most visible form of journalistic memory production and has often been at the center of previous communication research (Arnold et al., 2012).

How does journalism select which events will become covered in commemorative journalism and which will not? Edy (1999, p. 74) writes, "The process by which the events to be commemorated are chosen is unclear. In many cases, it appears that a kind of social inertia is built up behind the event, bringing a variety of social events (e.g., wreath layings, reenactments, speeches at a memorial or the site of the event itself) that provide news pegs for journalists." This suggests that journalism follows pre-established mnemonic frameworks; however, it does not consider how journalism could build up this "social inertia" itself (Edy, 1999, p. 74).

Interestingly, journalism's role in producing commemorative events is especially clear in moments when coverage goes against established mnemonic structures. For example, Johnson (2016) shows how English-language South African newspapers produced the memory of the Soweto uprising on June 16, 1976, by ritually reporting with a blank front page on that date. During apartheid, newspapers were restricted in what they could write about the uprising. On the ten-year anniversary of the Soweto uprising, the *Weekly Mail* published a blank page, noting that it was not allowed to write about what had happened or was happening that day (Johnson, 2016, p. 1144). Through performative silence, the newspaper both established its own discursive authority by pointing to something that it was not allowed to report on while also engraining the events of June 16 in audience members' minds. Johnson (2016, p. 1153) shows how newspapers not only set up the date but also established the appropriate framework for remembering the Soweto uprising by calling on individuals to go to church to avoid potential unrest in the streets. This helped to construct June 16 as a fundamentally depoliticized event that focused on the death of innocent individuals, which was later important in the establishment of the holiday in independent South Africa (Johnson, 2016, p. 1155).

Another example by Meyers et al. (2014) shows how the Israeli Remembrance Day for the Holocaust became established during Israel's founding years as a nation through journalistic debates and controversies. Initially, there was disagreement over whether and when to commemorate the Holocaust. Potential dates brought forth by various factions of society included the day of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the day of the destruction of the first Temple of Jerusalem, while the Israeli Knesset suggested a date closer to Independence Day (Meyers et al., 2014, p. 24). By habitually reporting on the Knesset's date (even if just to criticize the "wrong" date), Israeli newspapers gradually cemented the holiday within Israeli society, which now takes place as a precursor to Independence Day (Meyers et al., 2014, p. 28). These examples show that the ritual reporting of newspapers can produce mnemonic sites and commemorative events, even when these events are not yet established within the collective.

The examples above show that, in commemorative coverage, journalists are not just retelling what happened in the past but also showing how collectives should react to what happened in the past today. McConville et al. (2016) show that in print coverage of Anzac Day in New Zealand (Aotearoa), those who do not adhere to this framework – for instance, a motorcycle group that made too much noise and disrupted a commemorative ceremony – are portrayed in journalism as "disrespectful menaces" (McConville et al., 2016, p. 105). Indigenous Māori are often not shown as part of these ceremonies or, when they are, as participating in ways that support the hegemonic emotional framework, such as through performances in established commemorations (McConville et al., 2016, p. 105). In this way, those that disrupt commemorative performances become part of journalism's "sphere of deviance" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117).

In her analysis of U.S. anniversary magazines, Kitch (2005, p. 128) also finds that journalism edits out dissonant voices or perspectives to facilitate nostalgic representations of the past that typically reflect dominant perspectives in the collective. In decade reviews, U.S. magazines often focus on the 1920s or the 1950s, which are shown as exotic times of flappers or "postwar, suburban domesticity and prosperity" (Kitch, 2005, p. 29). Markedly less referenced are the 1910s, when the Socialist Party gained national prominence, or the Great Depression of the 1930s. Kitch (2005, p. 29) writes, "While these omissions have political implications, they most likely have narrative causes: it is not the unpopular but rather the incongruous that gets left out of these summary stories." In other words, these events do not lend themselves to the ritual retelling of the past that journalism has established.

While these results can help explain why the Herero and Nama genocide has previously been absent from depictions of colonialism in Germany and Namibia (cf. chapter 2), it again does not help to explain why the genocide is reappearing today. This points to a broader blind spot underlying the previous research: Most studies on journalism and memory have analyzed moments that mirror hegemonic interpretations of the past. Audiences are thus assumed to easily be able to identify the commemorative frameworks that journalists both use and produce in their coverage. Yet, how does journalism construct the relationship to the past when the events in question are not widely established or even negate previous constructions of the past?

A first indication can be found in Röger's (2009) study of German and Polish news coverage on the forced expulsion of Germans from present-day Poland after the Sec-

ond World War. She writes, "In the case of flight and expulsion other 'occasions for remembering' besides the anniversaries can be observed. The main causes for reporting about this issue are political events connected to the historical event." (Röger, 2009, p. 191) Hence, in Germany, much of the media coverage focused on reviews of cultural products, such as books and documentaries. In their reviews, journalists would pronounce the importance of certain cultural products, following up on novels or films and thereby prolonging the initial moment of mnemonic reactivation by producing their own mnemonic events (Röger, 2009, p. 192). As with the example of the Soweto uprising above, the German news media did not claim that it was echoing the speakable but rather explicitly thematizing the unspeakable through its coverage:

> "Regarding the (false) claim that the forced migration had been a taboo, the idea almost suggests itself that some media not only legitimize their coverage this way but also stage their own coverage as an event: if there is a taboo, it can be broken, and the very coverage itself can become an event this way. […B]y constantly repeating that there had been a taboo, they created it and that way created a new status in cultural memory for the topic of flight and expulsion." (Röger, 2009, p. 193)

In Poland, much of the coverage centered on academic research and debates (Röger, 2009, p. 191). This produced the memory of German expulsion as part of the "sphere of legitimate controversy" in journalism, showing it as an event that had "two sides" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). Röger's (2009) study provides useful clues for showing how journalism reports in the moments when memory is not yet settled, providing the possibility for numerous interpretations by focusing on present political events rather than on settled commemorative ceremonies.

In her study, Röger (2009) blurs the boundaries between "commemorative" and "contextual" journalism. Whereas commemorative journalism is used to describe "what happened," contextual journalism is used to explain "how we got here" (Edy, 1999, p. 80; cf. Schudson, 2014). The blurring between both boundaries is especially clear when acts of commemoration become acts of protest. A study on protests in Hong Kong on the day of the Tiananmen Square Massacre found that mnemonic conflict and contextualization were conducive strategies of collective mobilization (Lee & Chan, 2016, p. 1007). When a local politician disputed China's role in the Tiananmen Square Massacre, activist groups were able to mobilize and generate newspaper coverage that cemented their interpretation of the event by using it as an explanation for their present protests (Lee & Chan, 2016, p. 1008).

In addition, Kinnebrock (2019, p. 385) shows how German women's movements use and produce "bottom-up" memories as a form of activism in the present. These movements are often in a symbiotic relationship with the media to generate attention for their interpretation of the past (Kinnebrock, 2019, p. 376). News factors such as personalization, conflict, surprise, and geographic proximity determine if and how past events can become part of media coverage (Kinnebrock, 2019, pp. 393–395). The last of these factors – geographic proximity – is especially interesting in the case of the Herero and Nama genocide and will be discussed in more detail below.

Finally, journalism does not only use the past to explain the present but also to make prescriptions and predictions for the future. This is especially clear in the context of the Herero and Nama genocide, which is part of ongoing negotiations between the German and Namibian governments for financial compensation. This use of the past shifts the temporal horizon of journalistic coverage yet again, from "how we got here" (Edy, 1999, p. 80) to "what do we do next?" Rather than using the past as a context, it can now become an analogy for the present. In analogies, "[a] present dilemma is constructed as being similar to a past crisis […], and the past is referred to as a kind of 'lesson of history.'" (Edy, 1999, p. 77) Analogies thereby function as "powerful symbolic resources that are pressed into service by various political actors." (Edy, 1999, p. 78) Asking how journalism uses analogies adds important context to ideas such as "multidirectional memory," or which memories can be connected to one another (Rothberg, 2009; cf. chapter 3.1.3).

Edy (1999, p. 78) showed how analogous references to the 1965 Watts riots were used to explain the 1992 Los Angeles riots. In this way, the connection between Black riots and mass destruction could immediately be established as "common sense" (Tuchman, 1972, p. 674), something that was established as irrefutable "truth" rather than journalistic interpretation. To describe this journalistic construction of analogies, Meyers et al. (2014, p. 148) introduce the concept of "dog whistle news items." They point out that analogies typically send "dog whistles" out to members of a particular community that convey messages of (un-)acceptable behavior or group values.

To illustrate this, Meyers et al. (2014) dissect an Israeli newscast in the context of Holocaust memorial ceremonies. During the 2007 newscast, the journalists report a story about German military officers telling recruits that they should picture shooting "Blacks from the Bronx" during training. Then, the news report shows an image of U.S. athlete Jesse Owens at the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin (Meyers et al., 2014, pp. 148–149). Both images outwardly appear disconnected from one another. For the audience, however, the image of Jesse Owens immediately conjures up knowledge of Nazi German discrimination. The selection of the image of Jesse Owens is thus embedded within the larger context of Holocaust commemorations. For the Israeli audience, this sends a "dog whistle" that suggests a continuity of German discrimination from the 1930s to the present (Meyers et al., 2014, pp. 148–149). In another example, Kitch (2005, p. 44) shows that U.S. news coverage of the 9/11 terror attacks restaged an image from World War II (the raising of the flag at Iwo Jima). This immediately produced a framework of meaning for audiences, connecting the work of the New York firemen in the present with pre-established societal values of masculine courage and patriotism that had been established with the original image (Kitch, 2005, p. 44).

Analogies and dog whistle news items not only suggest similarities between past and present events, but this similarity can also be used to suggest what will happen in the future. According to Edy (1999, p. 79): "Even if the prediction of what is to come is wrong, the act of prediction makes people more comfortable with taking action." This idea of using the past to suggest or generate action for the future is also described by Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2013) as "prospective memory." This moves away from the idea of memory as a merely "retrospective" activity (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, p. 98) and ties to Erll's (2009, p. 111) idea of premediation: Journalism uses the past to delineate the space of future possibilities (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, p. 99).

In her examples of how journalism shapes memory through prospective demands, Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2013, 2014) analyzes hostage crises and kidnappings. Here, newspapers will often mention how many days it has been since someone was abducted to build pressure on politicians to do something (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, pp. 97–98). In the German-Namibian genocide negotiations, for instance, journalists could note the amount of time that has passed since the government negotiations began. Beyond the mere mention of time, Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2013) also uses the example of the 2006 kidnapping of the Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit to show how Israeli newspapers drew on a previous case, the kidnapping and disappearance of Israeli soldier Ron Arad in 1986, to make suggestions for present action. By continuously pointing out the connection between these two cases, the newspapers built up pressure to negotiate the liberation of Shalit under the message of "never again" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, p. 102). While Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2013) focuses on events that occurred within the last few decades, this dissertation aims to expand the previous research by asking how German and Namibian newspapers use connections between past, present and future to potentially de-/legitimize demands in the present.

Through commemorations, context and analogies, the sections above have shown how journalism uses the past to describe, explain and predict the present and future. While these strategies have primarily explored the flow of the past into the present and future, Neiger et al. (2014, p. 114) introduce the term "reversed memory" to describe how a traumatic past is strategically reinterpreted from the perspective of the victorious or triumphant present in journalism. To exemplify their point, the authors point to the intrinsic connection between Israel's ongoing wars and the constant backdrop of the Holocaust. These two events become interlinked in news coverage, such as when a high-ranking military officer at a Holocaust memorial ceremony is asked about the killing of a Hamas leader (Neiger et al., 2014, p. 121). The Holocaust functions in the journalistic piece to justify present military incursions through an interpretation of the Holocaust as perseverance against external foes (Neiger et al., 2014, p. 119; Zandberg, 2010, p. 13).

The reversal of the past through the perspective of the present has also become clear in research on post-colonial nations. Here, the struggles of colonialism in nations such as Namibia are often interpreted through the lens of the successful anti-colonial struggle, which helps to legitimize the current ruling party (Becker, 2011; Zuern, 2012; cf. chapter 2.2). However, there has not been much research into whether this "reversal" of memory is maintained or challenged by Namibian journalism. This is a research gap that this dissertation aims to address.

The reversal of memories also foregrounds the position of the subjects at the center of traumatic memories, shifting them from passive victims to active sacrifices (cf. Leicht, 2016, p. 48). At the same time, the "reversal" of traumatic memories described by Neiger et al. (2014) leads to the question: What happens when there is no triumphant present for affected groups to draw upon or if they do not fit the current shape of the imagined national community? In the research outlined above, the audience called upon to act in the present or future has often been presupposed to be part of the same national community that experienced the past. There has been little research on how strategies such as contextualization or commemoration occur when the events in question took place in a different country. A first step for understanding how journalism commemorates the

suffering of "others" can be found in another discursive strategy: witnessing. Through witnessing, journalism relays suffering in other parts of the country or the world to its audience and enables it to also become a witness to past or present events. In the following, I consider how this strategy shapes memory production in and through journalism.

3.3.2 Witnessing traumatic pasts in and through journalism

Witnessing is a central tenet of journalism's performative production of "truth": By placing themselves in the center of (past) events, journalists signal to their audiences that they were at the site of action, justifying their depiction of events as a reflection of reality (Frosh & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 11; Li & Lee, 2013, p. 841). Zelizer (1990), for instance, has shown that in the news coverage surrounding the assassination of John F. Kennedy, journalists often presented themselves as spectators or witnesses to what had occurred, even if they arrived at the scene long after the initial events had transpired. In the following, I show how journalistic practices of witnessing are both constitutive for and constituted by temporal and spatial boundaries. This will enable me to specifically focus on practices of witnessing the suffering of "others." This is important for understanding journalistic coverage on the Herero and Nama genocide and can also showcase the gaps in previous research literature.

Witnessing across spatial boundaries

Personal proximity to past and present events provides a way of thinking about how journalists perform their discursive authority when writing about colonial memories. This becomes especially clear when journalists write about catastrophes, atrocities or suffering that occur outside the boundaries of their audience's imagined community. Chouliaraki (2008) differentiates three types of reporting on "foreign" atrocities. In "adventure news," distant suffering is shown in news reports as something that happens in a typically exotic location and emphasizes the geographical or locational distance between the audience and the event of occurrence (Chouliaraki, 2008, p. 375). With other words, suffering is shown on the map rather than as part of people's lives (Chouliaraki, 2008, pp. 375–376). In "emergency news," the suffering of others is shown as something that is actively being aided by others, typically with "historical depth" to contextualize and explain the suffering of distinct groups and individuals (Chouliaraki, 2008, p. 377). The final way of reporting on suffering is "ecstatic news," where journalists provide live coverage of events and actively involve audiences in what is unfolding (Chouliaraki, 2008, p. 377). Here, audiences both suffer as events are occurring and are shown ways of acceptably mourning the events that occurred, for instance in live coverage of commemorative ceremonies (Chouliaraki, 2008, pp. 377–378).

These results already provide a first indication of the interplay between geographic proximity and commemoration. To further understand how these events become part of memory, Kyriakidou (2014) conducted a series of group interviews with Greek audiences to explore how they remembered mediated instances of foreign suffering. She shows that events such as Hurricane Katrina or the earthquake in Kashmir were not remembered specifically by audiences but were characterized as instances of "banal suffering" (Kyriakidou, 2014, p. 1479). These events were "de-evented" and shown as routine or perhaps

unavoidable natural disasters (Kyriakidou, 2014, p. 1484). This reflects findings by Mükke (2009, pp. 104, 110) that war and suffering are two of the primary topics that German foreign correspondents cover in Africa. Combining this with Kyriakidou (2014, p. 1479) suggests that the repetitive coverage of violence in Africa could serve to make violence appear "banal." It is unclear whether this constant coverage of violence could also color how past events such as the Herero and Nama genocide is remembered. F. C. Ross (2003, p. 325) writes that "[t]he memory of violence is considered to constitute the post-colonial subject," suggesting that the Herero and Nama genocide could potentially be shown as one more act of violence among many, rendering it one more example of "African" violence to the audience.

In addition to the "banal suffering" outlined above, Kyriakidou (2014, p. 1485) writes that the 2004 tsunami in South Asia and the 9/11 terror attacks were widely remembered by audiences and termed "iconic suffering." Through the live coverage, or "emergency news" coverage (Chouliaraki, 2008, p. 377), audiences remembered where they had been when the events occurred (Kyriakidou, 2014, p. 1487). Finally, in what Kyriakidou (2014, p. 1488) terms "cosmopolitan suffering," Greek audiences also remembered a Turkish earthquake from 1999. The geographic proximity of the event aided remembrance, and audience members expressed sympathy, despite traditional animosities (Kyriakidou, 2014, pp. 1488–1489). Audiences could not only empathize with suffering but were also placed in direct relation to either experiencing, causing or being able to ameliorate suffering.

The results above show that audiences often remember events that they witnessed and where they can participate in the structures of mourning established by journalism. This personal attachment enables these lives to appear precarious and, by extension, worthy of mourning (Butler, 2009, p. 5). While this dissertation does not explicitly contribute to the research on affects and emotions in journalistic memory production[3], it is impossible to speak about journalism's coverage of the Herero and Nama genocide without speaking of mourning. Here, I focus on mourning through the performative journalistic structures for speaking about pain that has historically been inflicted on groups and communities (cf. Leicht, 2016, p. 49).

Furthermore, the ability of audiences to personally witness past events is useful for enabling individuals to remember past catastrophes. However, the examples above describe events that occurred throughout the past decades and are only partially applicable to the Herero and Nama genocide, which occurred more than 120 years ago and has no more living witnesses. Much of the research on witnessing across temporal boundaries has thus, in A. Assmann's (2018b, p. 25) terminology, focused on "communicative memory." This leads to the question of how witnessing and "mourning" is mediated not only across spatial but also temporal boundaries.

Witnessing across temporal boundaries

Zelizer's (1998) study of Holocaust photography provides a first insight into how witnessing can transcend generations as "cultural memory" (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 52). Zelizer

3 See Rausch (2023a) for an important contribution to the research on emotions and affects in the memory of the Herero and Nama genocide.

(1998) shows that in the aftermath of the Holocaust, many individuals held private images of the mass death and atrocity that they had witnessed at the end of the war. The graphic nature of these images meant that many journalists initially did not know what to do with them and often were hesitant to publish them (Zelizer, 1998, pp. 143–145). However, over time, journalism began to circulate images that became central to how the Holocaust is culturally evoked and remembered today.

Zelizer (1998, pp. 160–161) writes that the images that became prominent in U.S. journalistic reporting often featured images of camp liberation, which emphasized the role of the U.S. Army and, by extension, the U.S. journalists following them. Moreover, images of "accoutrements of atrocity," such as camp gates or empty ovens, became more prominent than images of (especially female) death, naked piles of bodies or violent confrontations between former inmates and guards (Zelizer, 1998, pp. 160–161). This adds to studies on suffering in the Global South that show that children, women and the elderly often are used in reporting as ideal victims for conveying and evoking compassion, as they symbolize innocence (Höijer, 2004, p. 513). Men, by contrast, are often seen as actors within the conflict and do not inspire similar feelings of compassion by Western audiences (Buffon & Allison, 2016, p. 176; Höijer, 2004, pp. 521–522). By contrast, the canon of Holocaust imagery has often centered liberated men rather than dead women and children. Historically, this has enabled journalism to circulate the images without being viewed as potentially breaking taboos or moral rules in its reporting. Yet, this has also shaped the memory of the Holocaust in various ways, continuing to emphasize a story of liberation over senseless death (Zelizer, 1998, p. 160).

While imagery is not the focus of this dissertation, Zelizer's (1998) study highlights a crucial point: Determining whose perspectives are centered in the (re-)telling of the past determines how the suffering of others will become relayed to and remembered by the audience. It is thus not only important for the audience to personally witness suffering, as became clear in the research above, but also the perspective from which this suffering is conveyed to the audience. This leads to a second level of witnessing in journalism: determining who can be the "right" witness of the past for the audience (Zandberg, 2010). In slight contrast with Zelizer's (1990) findings above, Israeli newspapers are often the least likely to rely on other journalists to speak about the Holocaust (Zandberg, 2010, p. 10). Instead, biographic sources (survivors) and official political and government sources are often at the center of journalistic reporting (Zandberg, 2010, p. 9). These biographic and political positions are not mutually exclusive: Witnesses are selected based on whether they adhere to official accounts of the Holocaust (Zandberg, 2010, p. 12). As Zelizer (1998) also finds, stories of survival are at the heart of these reminiscences. Interestingly, Zandberg (2010, p. 15) finds that as the number of remaining Holocaust survivors is decreasing, journalists are drawing on the relatives of former Holocaust survivors to tell their stories as well as "Israeli youth, who have participated in the many commemorative trips to the death camps in Poland" (Zandberg, 2010, p. 16). The idea of personally being at a place where the past occurred builds on the same strategies also employed by journalists to legitimize their discursive authority (see chapter 3.2.2).

The importance of personal witnesses is also shown in audience studies of Holocaust remembrance. In her analysis of German audiences, Finger (2017, p. 148) finds that even if German audiences did not remember the exact content of documentaries, they remem-

bered that witnesses had been part of the documentary (even if they didn't remember individual witnesses). These witnesses are often viewed positively and as especially authentic (Finger, 2017, p. 151), mirroring what Zandberg (2010) finds for journalism above. Audiences also remembered television formats best where they established an emotional connection to individual characters, either real or fictional (Finger, 2017, p. 169; cf. Landsberg, 2015).

At the same time, changing the perspective in which witnessing takes place can also lead to new or even subversive interpretations of the past. Kitch (2005, pp. 95–97) shows how historically Black magazines in the U.S. have produced counter-memories of U.S. history by showing Black people in historical moments that are typically associated with white populations, such as Black actors in Hollywood, Black students graduating from Ivy League schools or Black cowboys. By changing the perspective of the individual behind the lens and, by extension, the subject of the photograph, these photographs emphasized the ordinariness of the portrayed actions and enabled a vision of the past that challenged hegemonic narratives (Kitch, 2005, p. 100). Yet, Kitch's study focuses on media that speak to a specific group. The question remains: Could the publishing of these images evoke collective actions from the entire U.S. population, such as providing reparations? This question goes beyond the expression of witnessing outlined by Chouliaraki (2008) and Kyriakidou (2014) to ask how the mediation of certain perspectives on the past can also become motivators for prospective demands in the present and future (cf. Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014).

Whereas much of the previous research in journalism studies has analyzed how the Holocaust has been remembered in Israel, memory studies has offered complex and multifaceted considerations of how the Holocaust might be remembered from the position of a German perpetrating society today. Konitzer (2012) differentiates between positions of victim identification ("*Opferidentifizierung*"), where individuals take on the position of victims, and victim orientation ("*Opferorientierung*"), where individuals feel *for* victims (Konitzer, 2012, pp. 119–120). Victim identification as a response to previous traumatic memories has often been critiqued, with Ahmed (2014, p. 200) writing, "Responses to testimonies of injury can 'cover over' the injury, for example, by claiming it as 'our own' (appropriation)." Scholars such as A. Assmann (2018b, p. 80) have often pointed to the media to explain why, after a period of relative silence after the Second World War in Germany, individuals began to identify with the victims: Mediated events such as the Eichmann trial or later documentaries, films and series amplified the perspectives of former Holocaust victims (Berberich, 2019, p. 3; Kansteiner, 2019, p. 23; Keilbach, 2019).

In an analysis of films and documentaries depicting the Holocaust, Bösch (2010, p. 41) finds themes that are indicative of how positions of victimhood and perpetratorship continue to be negotiated in German television today. These themes include an emphasis on rescued children, the ideal innocent victim, whereas scenes of actual death, such as gas chambers, or Jewish resistance are rarely shown (Bösch, 2010, pp. 42–43). This echoes the results by Zelizer (1998) above. Yet, Bösch (2010, p. 44) finds that the perspectives of perpetrators are not erased or silenced through this focus on victims but are rather often given large leeway in being protagonists narrating, describing or experiencing events. In this vein, a study by Kansteiner (2019) on Holocaust television films in Germany shows that the position of the innocent bystander has become an

increasingly popular figure through which audiences witness the past, enabling them to take on a position of seemingly uninvolved observation. This reflects theorizations within memory studies of former perpetrators as "implicated subjects" (Rothberg, 2019, p. 1) or as "third figures" (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 115, transl. CH) who are no longer directly involved in the past. Kansteiner (2019, p. 25) suggests that by showing these figures as innocent bystanders, the German media continues to engrain the perspectives of German individuals in the (re-)telling of the past.

Fictional depictions have become dominant in shaping the cultural memory of the Holocaust, more so than archival footage (Finger, 2017, p. 152). This already became prevalent during the lifetime of Holocaust survivors, where Zelizer (1998, p. 158) notes that "[o]ther individuals who had experienced the camps in other ways – liberators, reporters, photographers and officials – testified too that the photograph's mnemonic power was so great that it displaced individual memories." The recollections of survivors often became secondary to the "authentic" reconstruction of their experiences (Bösch, 2010, p. 54; Paul, 2010, p. 18).

So far, however, there has been little engagement with how this perspective is (re-)produced through journalistic coverage – particularly in post-colonial contexts where previous crimes have *not* become the context of wide mediation in prior decades and there are no more living witnesses to either maintain or contest current media depictions. It is at this junction that the gaps of the previous research become clear: The previous research on journalism and memory production from communication studies has typically centered on events that have occurred within the previous century, especially the Holocaust. Moreover, these are often events that journalists and audiences want to remember. Finally, there has been no in-depth analysis of the production of memories through journalism in sub-Saharan Africa. These gaps have left ambiguities about how and why journalism does or does not produce memories about atrocities that are temporally and perhaps even spatially removed from present audiences. This could explain why colonialism has rarely been a topic of research.

Some questions that arise from these gaps are: Is it necessary to view past suffering as "our" suffering to functionally use the past as context or analogy for present actions? How does the construction of "our" memory make alternative versions of past events (im-)possible in journalism? To answer these questions, it is necessary to expand the previous literature with theoretical approaches from postcolonial studies. First, however, I provide a brief preliminary summary of this chapter that will outline potential connection points to postcolonial studies.

3.4 Chapter summary: Journalism's memory production between past and present

The chapters above have shown how to situate journalism in the production of collectively shared knowledge about the past. To this end, chapter 3.1 began by outlining the connection points between memory and communication studies. Through the description of memory as socially constructed (cf. chapter 3.1.1), journalism becomes one of the sites where knowledge about the past is selected and circulated in society. This ritually

reactivated knowledge of the past, or cultural memory, becomes powerful through its ability to explain or describe the present, thus shaping reality (cf. chapter 3.1.2). Media play an important role in helping memories to circulate beyond individual groups and even national boundaries (cf. chapter 3.1.3). However, chapter 3.1 has also shown that in memory studies, journalism has previously been shown primarily through its technological potential and its role in circulating and preserving rather than actively producing knowledge about the past.

Chapter 3.2 then connected memory and journalism through the lens of cultural studies. Journalistic coverage is both rooted in and simultaneously produces the cultural context of a society through the en-/decoding of information between producers and audiences, which relies heavily on moments and symbols from the past (Lohmeier & Böhling, 2021, p. 6). Therefore, journalism functions as a (contested) discursive authority in society (Bach, 2016, p. 46), ascribing meaning to everyday experience and placing these experiences in a relationship with the enactment and experience of power in society. Journalism signals its discursive authority through performative strategies that materialize in the form and content of journalism and are institutionally perpetuated through various organizational relationships (cf. chapter 3.2.2). These performative strategies are temporally and spatially dependent, even as they are not limited to national boundaries, especially in post-colonial contexts. In this way, journalism imparts "preference statements about what is good and bad, moral and amoral, and appropriate and inappropriate in the world" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 177).

Previous research provides insights into how journalism maintains or subverts temporal and spatial boundaries through its construction of the past (cf. chapter 3.3). The way journalism (dis-)connects past, present and future through its discursive practices not only determines what is remembered (cf. chapter 3.3.1) but also normalizes certain perspectives in the description of the past (cf. chapter 3.3.2). Journalism thus functions as an important mnemonic institution where knowledge of the past is negotiated and dominant expressions can both emerge and, during moments of disruption, be contested. However, much of the previous literature has asked how dominant expressions of power emerge through journalism's production of memory for past moments that are broadly commemorated in society. More research is needed on how and why journalism suppresses certain perspectives in its coverage of the past, a perspective that is crucial for understanding the Herero and Nama genocide's (lack of) commemoration in Germany and Namibia. For this, I now add perspectives from postcolonial studies to the theoretical approaches above.