

4 Journalism and silence: The “Other” side of memory

The previous chapter has shown how journalism functions as a discursive authority in constructing cultural memory as “true” knowledge about the past. Now, I will expand my previous theoretical and research basis to probe what *cannot* be said, or what is considered “*untrue*,” about the past. This is admittedly a difficult undertaking, as it requires looking beyond the manifest content in journalism to ask how alternative versions of the past are inhibited or suppressed. However, it is precisely this perspective that is critical for understanding how journalism constructs cultural memories about colonialism, a topic that has largely been missing from the previous research literature (cf. chapter 3.3).

Hence, in this chapter, I now ask how the recognition of past colonial crimes is structured, represented and organized by journalism. To answer this question, it is necessary to go beyond an equation of journalistic reporting with “memory” and a lack of journalistic reporting as “forgetting” to instead ask which (post-)colonial positions of belonging and difference are produced through journalism’s representation of the past (cf. Kitch, 2018, p. 179). Chapter 4.1 begins by locating the connection points between post-colonial studies, memory studies and journalism studies. While there have been numerous calls to connect these fields individually (Kumar & Parameswaran, 2018; Kai Merten & Krämer, 2016; Moyo, 2020; Rothberg, 2013; Shome, 2016), this section considers the benefit of viewing all three theoretical perspectives together. The next chapter 4.2 outlines the concept of silence according to Spivak (1988). With silence, I critique and expand A. Assmann’s (2017) understanding of forgetting to address the research gaps identified in the previous chapter. Chapter 4.3 ties these ideas of silence and forgetting back to journalism through the concepts of cultural citizen- and subjectship (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014; Nyamnjoh, 2005). With these terms, I ask how journalism produces positions of difference and belonging in its coverage of the past. This chapter also explores how these boundaries are negotiated by journalism in multiethnic contexts. Next, chapter 4.4 uses the theoretical lens developed in the preceding chapters to analyze the research literature on the journalistic coverage of the Herero and Nama genocide. Chapter 4.5 then provides a final summary of the main theoretical concepts and assumptions that arise from the previous research literature, which will guide the methodological and analytical implementation of this dissertation.

4.1 Connections between journalism, memory and postcolonial studies

Before applying a postcolonial lens to the theoretical framework outlined in chapter 3, it is useful to consider how the field of postcolonial studies¹ has previously been integrated into memory and journalism studies. This will also help me to describe how I will use postcolonial studies in this dissertation. “As a field [postcolonial studies] is positioned within the broader critical project of cultural studies” (Shome & Hegde, 2002, p. 250), making it particularly applicable to my theoretical background. Postcolonial studies aims to analyze and critique the ways in which the colonial experience has shaped cultures and societies up to the present day (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 168). Postcolonial scholars have pointed out that well after the end of formal colonial domination, the cultural and economic effects of colonialism continue to be felt and experienced through material inequalities around the world (Ashcroft et al., 2013, pp. 168–169). Thus, a large focus of postcolonial theory has rested on the entanglement of power and knowledge across national boundaries, particularly between formerly colonized and colonizing nations, rather than taking these boundaries for granted (Adebayo, 2023, p. 12; Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 24).

Memory is a central, if often implicit, piece of postcolonial scholars’ theories; however, postcolonial scholars have rarely relied on the theoretical tenets of memory studies in their work (Rothberg, 2013, p. 359). Rothberg (2013, p. 360) notes that it is useful to connect both fields to consider “the *disjunctive temporality* of colonial legacies – colonialism’s ability to colonize not just space, but time as well.” (emphasis in original) With other words, colonialism has shaped not only the imagination of “other” places (cf. Said, 1978) but also of “other” times. Moreover, postcolonial studies provides useful impulses for how to recover “the traces of non-dominant pasts” (Rothberg, 2013, p. 364). As became clear throughout chapter 3, previous theorizations of cultural memory and journalism have often focused on how the media produce and amplify hegemonic versions of the past. Postcolonial studies offers a theoretical lens to ask how, if ever, silenced voices can be found in the gaps of the historical archive – while critically questioning who can or cannot “discover” and fill these gaps today (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 165).

The connection between postcolonial studies and journalism studies is less commonly established than with memory studies. However, this link can provide the necessary bridge between postcolonial critiques and cultural memory. Postcolonial studies has often used the terms “history” and “memory” interchangeably, thereby equating

1 In the following, I draw on postcolonial rather than decolonial theoretical approaches. Postcolonial and decolonial approaches are closely related in that they seek to not only describe but also critique and change colonial power structures (Mutsvairo & Moyo, 2018, p. 19). However, in seeking to dismantle these power structures (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 56; Mohammed, 2021, p. 126), decolonial approaches explicitly reject “Enlightenment’s myths of progress, rationality and science” (Moyo, 2020, p. 5). The aim is not merely to question previous power structures but to act out “epistemological disobedience,” discarding “restrictions from the European ‘scientific’ rules of knowledge production” (Mutsvairo & Moyo, 2018, p. 20). For the following empirical project, I rely on the idea that theoretical concepts from the social sciences are “inadequate but indispensable” in describing how post-colonial power functions (Chakrabarty, 2008, p. 5), even as I critically discuss and reflect on the limitations of these approaches throughout the following chapter.

the academic and cultural production of knowledge (cf. Said, 1993; Trouillot, 2015). This perspective also continues to view journalism as merely one source of media among many. For example, in Said’s (1997) book *Covering Islam*, Said justifies his interest in journalism by saying that the mass media are replacing the Orientalist academics who had previously produced knowledge about the Middle East (Said, 1997, p. 27). Journalism studies can add crucial nuance to prior theorizations by focusing on specific cultural practices of (re-)producing the past.

In recent years, communication scholars have increasingly called for more connections between communication studies and postcolonial studies (Shome, 2016, 2019; Shome & Hegde, 2002). These calls have often hinged on the ability of postcolonial studies to provide “historical and international depth” to prior understandings of journalism (Shome & Hegde, 2002, p. 252). In addition to this historical context, postcolonial studies is used to justify calls for internationalizing the field of journalism studies and moving away from heavily studied Western contexts (Shome, 2019, p. 306). Similar calls can also be found in memory studies, where scholars reference postcolonial studies to emphasize the need for transnational and transcultural research that includes more non-Western experiences (Erl, 2017, p. 129; Göttsche, 2019).

Despite the importance of including more non-Western perspectives into the study of both journalism and memory, Willems (2014a) has criticized that postcolonial studies is typically invoked to justify adding “more” research subjects instead of challenging underlying theories. Hence, postcolonial theoretical approaches are practically used as a justification for including Africa rather than rethinking Europe (Willems, 2014a, p. 8). Yet, postcolonial theoretical approaches offer a way of thinking not only about how experiences of journalistic production in Europe and Africa are different but also about how they have both been historically connected in ways that have enabled the (re-)production of difference across time (Creech & Kavoori, 2016).

Given the theoretical orientation above, the following chapters use postcolonial studies as a theoretical lens for analyzing journalistic memory production from a power-critical perspective. They ask: What (post-)colonial power relations does journalism produce or contest through its performative construction of memory?

4.2 Silence and journalism’s representation of the past

To analyze how journalistic memory production functions in entangled, (post-)colonial contexts, it is first necessary to understand how some forms of knowledge have historically been silenced to uphold colonial power structures. For this, I draw on the conceptualization of silence by Spivak (1988) to critique and expand ideas of “forgetting” in journalism and memory studies. Chapter 4.2.1 begins by outlining Spivak’s idea of silence and shows how silence is maintained and structured through practices of mediated re-(p)resentation. Then, chapter 4.2.2 connects this idea to prior conceptualizations of “forgetting” in memory studies and introduces the concept of “aphasia” (Stoler, 2016) to explore journalism’s role in producing silence through its coverage.

4.2.1 Strategies of re(-)presentation: Speaking for and about colonial subjects

What would the past look like if remembered from below – and what is preventing this version of memory from being told? Spivak (1988) provides a starting point for answering this question in her essay “*Can the subaltern speak?*” Spivak’s work is situated in the broader context of the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 196). Rooted in Marxist analytical critique, this group analyzed groups that had systematically been neglected and ignored in the historical record of the anti-colonial struggle (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 198). Spivak’s work builds on the Gramscian concept of subalternity at the heart of this work. In her understanding, the defining factor of subalternity is its relational position of radical difference to dominant groups in society (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 198). Importantly, subalternity is not a mode of self-identification. Instead, it encompasses a wide range of heterogeneous groups (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 198).

Building on this work, Spivak critiques the innate academic aim to imbue subalternity with revolutionary or emancipatory will, suggesting that this reflects the desire of the intellectual rather than the subject (Spivak, 1996a, p. 205). Subalternity is rooted in the inability of the subaltern to speak about their condition, making any attempt to speak for this group a further act of imperial erasure (Spivak, 1988, p. 274). Therefore, (Spivak, 1996a, p. 203) roots the silence of subaltern positions not only in gaps in the previous historical record but more specifically in representative structures that have enabled intellectuals to suggest that they are both speaking about and for subaltern groups.

Spivak’s (1988) work on silence is useful for this analysis since she breaks the process of representation into two constituent parts. Spivak draws on Marx’ theorization of class and points to translation errors between the English word “representation” and Marx’ use of the two German words “*Darstellen*” and “*Vertreten*” (Spivak, 1988, p. 275). The former word, *Darstellen*, written as re-presentation in Spivak’s (1988, p. 275) terminology, encompasses speaking *about* a subject. Re-presentation draws on the rhetoric of tropology to describe subjects, for instance through academic studies about indigenous communities in former colonies (cf. Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988, p. 276). By contrast, *Vertreten*, or representation without a hyphen, encompasses speaking *for* a subject through the rhetoric of persuasion (Spivak, 1988, pp. 275–276). The purpose here is to convince an audience that someone is speaking for the interests of the represented group. By conflating speaking *about* with speaking *for* a group, the desires of the speaker thus become synonymous with the supposed interests of the subject, leading to the effacement of subaltern perspectives (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 205). Spivak calls this absorption of certain perspectives into the voice and desires of their oppressors “epistemic violence” (Spivak, 1988, p. 283). The focus on the “epistemic” nature of silence points to the role that knowledge production plays in silencing and representing subaltern perspectives (Brunner, 2020, p. 13). Epistemic violence is inseparable from political and economic structures that continue to exploit subaltern populations (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 193).

Hence, Spivak (1988, p. 276) argues that the subaltern cannot be easily described through unifying markers such as race, gender, class or ethnicity. At the same time, some group members can be subject to overlapping structures of representation and can be silenced in multiple ways (Spivak, 1988, p. 306). This is important for considering

the position of different communities in the mnemonic construction of the Herero and Nama genocide. Rather than immediately presuming that everyone introduced as a Herero and Nama represents a subaltern position in the discourse and is therefore fundamentally opposed to existing power structures, Spivak (1988) instead shifts the gaze to query which expectations and power structures underlie the description of this community through a single, homogenizing signifier.

To demonstrate this point, Spivak (1988, p. 299) has pointed to the example of the *sati*, or the ritual self-immolation of Hindu widows in colonial India. She describes how British colonizers attempted to outlaw the practice, in the process both drawing on and contesting the knowledge of Brahmin men to argue whether the practice constituted the free will of the widow (Spivak, 1988, pp. 303–305). In this way, the women at the heart of the practice were effectively silenced “[b]etween patriarchy and imperialism,” as men attempted to both speak about the practice and speak for the woman’s desire (Spivak, 1988, p. 306). Thus, indigenous women were doubly silenced in the question of their desires (Spivak, 1988, p. 306). Yet, Spivak also points out that the women in question were not completely absent from the discourse; however, it was impossible for them to directly speak about their experiences. Their voices were superfluous in the construction of their own subjectivity, since their perspectives were ostensibly already being heard (Spivak, 1988, p. 306).

Rather than violently effacing some groups of people from the historical record, representation instead makes these individuals visible for the audience in a way that hinders their ability to speak against the power structures that construct and exploit them. In this process, speaking *for* and speaking *about* go hand in hand. In the case of the *sati*, the speaking position of widows became further impossible through the production of difference between the position of the speaker and the subject through re-presentation (Spivak, 1988, pp. 305–306). Spivak (1988, pp. 280–281) describes this as “the remotely orchestrated, far-flung and heterogenous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other.”

This points to the process of Othering, a concept at the heart of postcolonial studies. Othering refers to the “process by which imperial discourse creates its ‘others’” (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 156). Through the description of colonial subjects as Others, Europe has historically established itself as the normalized perspective in historical and archival texts through which indigenous subjectivity is represented and thereby produced through homogenous descriptors. The speaker not only speaks for the interests of the indigenous community but also becomes a translator between “us” and an exotic “them.”

The idea of translating between “us” and “them” is particularly important when considering the position of foreign correspondents in journalism (Mükke, 2009, p. 185), who could play an important role in shaping coverage on transnational events such as the Herero and Nama genocide. In self-descriptions, German foreign correspondents often describe themselves as intermediaries between Germany and Africa; their primary goal is not merely to report on events, but rather to explain these events to an audience at “home” (Mükke, 2009, p. 183). This position necessarily continues to uphold boundaries between “us” and “them.” At the same time, many journalists write that they specifically aim to counter colonial stereotypes in their audience (Mükke, 2009, p. 185). Foreign correspondents are increasingly aware of the potential of their coverage to reproduce pat-

terns of Othering and attempt to counter it, as Nothias (2020, p. 246) confirms in interviews with British foreign correspondents. However, these attempts are made difficult through the form (cf. chapter 3.2.2) of journalistic reporting, which often reflects the expectations of the editorial office in the “metropole” (Mükke, 2009, p. 191). Despite the reflexivity of some foreign correspondents, the images, subjects, teasers and headlines chosen by editorial staff to highlight stories about Africa continue to emphasize the Otherness of African subjects to draw the attention of European audiences (Nothias, 2020, p. 254).

Therefore, to understand how silence functions in journalism, it is useful to first combine Spivak’s (1988) ideas with Hallin’s (1986) description of objectivity (cf. chapter 3.2.2): Representation² is not merely the construction of “legitimate controversy,” or pitting some positions against one another (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). Instead, it can best be understood as the production of “deviance” (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). Silence is not the outcome of a willful or constrained deference on the part of a marginalized group but the presupposition that these perspectives are already being heard (Spivak, 1988, p. 283). Any attempt of this group to speak for itself is therefore perceived as a deviant position or an irritation in the discourse.

This understanding can partially address one of the main criticisms against Spivak’s theory, namely that the subaltern can appear passive, unable to change their position or resist the hegemonic power order in which they are exploited (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 209). Spivak (1996b, p. 292) counters this by saying that her point is not to outline the speechlessness of the subaltern, but rather the hegemonic structures of listening that inhibit alternative perspectives from being heard. This opens the potential for considering the role of journalism as a space where legitimate positions of speaking and listening are negotiated. It also shifts the focus away from trying to recover subaltern perspectives to instead asking how hegemonic structures of representation are upheld in the mediated production of reality.

The production of indigenous subjectivity, particularly the expectation of subjectivity that is both reflected and shaped by journalistic coverage, is deeply connected with the construction of the past. As Spivak (1984, p. 129) points out, European colonizers not only described their present encounters with indigenous populations but also set about writing the history of those populations they encountered. This led to an assumption that previous populations did not have any history prior to the arrival of European colonizers, even while normalizing the perspective of European colonizers in the (re-)production of the past to the present day (Spivak, 1988, p. 287). Hence, there is much to gain from viewing this process through the lens of journalism’s production of cultural memory to understand how these structures might continue to be perpetuated or challenged. To explore this in more detail, the following chapter now shows how Spivak’s (1988) concept of silence can be used to critique and expand prior theorizations of forgetting in memory studies.

2 In the following, I will use the term “representation” to refer to the synergy of speaking *about* and speaking *for* the past (Spivak, 1988). When I am referring to one specific process, I will specify accordingly.

4.2.2 Silence, forgetting and aphasia

Representation, according to Spivak (1988), has often been used to ask how Others are defined and produced through the imagination of spatial difference. In this chapter, I now consider how difference is also temporally produced through the construction of cultural memory (cf. Rothberg, 2013, p. 360). For this, I first show how Spivak's (1988) conceptualization of silence expands Assmann's (2017) conceptualization of forgetting. This makes forgetting a function of knowledge production rather than absence, which is crucial for an analysis of silence in journalistic coverage. To make this process more concrete, I then draw on the concept of "aphasia" according to Stoler (2016) to show how patterns of mediated memory and forgetting around colonialism are perhaps best understood as ritual rediscovery. With these concepts, I can begin to show how journalism's (dis-)connection between past and present plays a vital role in determining the boundaries of (post-)colonial inclusion and exclusion in society.

A. Assmann (2017, p. 16) writes that forgetting is a necessary pendant to memory; one is not possible without the other (cf. chapter 3.1.2). Forgetting has often been shown as the negative counterpart to memory, perhaps best summarized by the common adage "Never forget!" (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 12) In the research, forgetting has typically been described in psychological terms of trauma. This reflects memory studies' roots in Holocaust research; however, this has simultaneously led to the conflation of social with individual processes of information retention and loss (cf. Kansteiner, 2004, p. 194). Thus, many studies have focused on forgetting as events that are blocked from memory, for instance because they cause pain or shame to an individual or the collective, particularly from the perspective of former perpetrators (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 169).

The conflation of individual psychological and structural cultural processes becomes clear in the concept of "amnesia," which describes the loss of memory about an event, originally because an individual has suffered a traumatic brain injury (Erll, 2017, p. 82). Similarly, the term "colonial amnesia" has frequently been used to decry the lack of cultural memory production on the Herero and Nama genocide (Silvester & Gewalt, 2010, p. 14). Yet, as Bürger and Rausch (2022, p. 272) have pointed out, this understanding has an exonerative function, suggesting that the forgetting of the Herero and Nama genocide has been the result of a lack of available knowledge (cf. Connerton, 2008, p. 64). In this understanding, a state of amnesia can also be "healed" by giving an individual or a group access to memories that have previously been blocked (Bürger & Rausch, 2022, p. 272). Here, the role of the media is merely to provide information about the past.

Another common understanding of forgetting results from the excess rather than a dearth of knowledge about the past (Connerton, 2008, p. 64; Hoskins, 2022, p. 567). In this understanding, only a certain number of memories have space in public knowledge, and remembering inevitably leads to the forgetting of other memories (Rothberg, 2009, p. 3). This presumption is part of another common explanation for why the Herero and Nama genocide has been "forgotten" in Germany:

"Public silence particularly leads to individual forgetting when moments that are silenced are closely related to the aspects that are loudly remembered. [...] In addition to political and financial reasons (which should by no means be neglected in analysis),

this could also be a reason why the Herero and Nama genocide is repeatedly ‘forgotten’ in German memory culture that continuously keeps the Holocaust present.”³ (Erll, 2017, p. 120, transl. CH)

In this understanding, the Herero and Nama genocide is “forgotten” because the Holocaust continues to be dominant in German memory culture.

The two examples above can be broadly summarized as forgetting through the passive or active loss of knowledge about the past. A. Assmann (2011, p. 334) describes this as a process of “losing” or “trashing,” which she suggests as two counterparts to the archive and canon of cultural memory (cf. chapter 3.1.2). In her later work, A. Assmann (2017, pp. 30–66) expands on this dichotomy and differentiates between seven forms of forgetting (cf. Connerton, 2008):

- Automatic forgetting: Technical, material or biological restrictions to remembering
- Archival forgetting: Transition from archive to cultural canon
- Selective forgetting: Making space for “important” memories
- Punitive and repressive forgetting: Politically motivated acts of forgetting
- Defensive and complicit forgetting: Forgetting to protect perpetrators
- Constructive forgetting: Rehabilitating members of society for social reconciliation after disruptive events such as civil wars

Assmann explicitly references Spivak’s (1988) concept of silence in her category of “punitive and repressive forgetting” (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 49). In this category, A. Assmann (2017, p. 52) gives the example of book burnings in Nazi Germany, where knowledge was literally destroyed. She then mentions that repression can also be enacted through a lack of access to knowledge structures (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 53). She then mentions Spivak’s (1988) essay “*Can the subaltern speak?*” and writes:

“In this essay, [Spivak] explicitly shows that certain members of society do not have the right to their own voice. In this case, it is not enough to change the frameworks of memory; power relations must also change so that silence can be broken and forgotten moments can be returned to language.”⁴ (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 53, transl. CH)

For A. Assmann (2017, p. 53), silence is a result of repression that hinders some members of society from speaking about their past.

3 German original: “Öffentliches Schweigen führt insbesondere dann zum individuellen Vergessen, wenn die beschwiegene Inhalte in enger Beziehung zu jenen Aspekten stehen, die lautstark erinnert werden. [...] Es könnte auch neben den (in der Analyse keinesfalls zu vernachlässigenden) politischen und finanziellen Gründen ein Grund dafür sein, dass in der deutschen Erinnerungskultur, die den Holocaust präsent hält, der Völkermord an den Herero und Nama immer wieder ‘vergessen’ wird.” (Erll, 2017, p. 120)

4 German original: “In diesem Aufsatz zeigt [Spivak] ausdrücklich, dass bestimmte Mitglieder der Gesellschaft kein Recht auf eine eigene Stimme haben. In diesem Falle müssen sich nicht nur die Gedächtnisrahmen, sondern auch die Machtverhältnisse ändern, damit das Schweigen gebrochen und das Vergessene in die Sprache zurückgeholt werden kann.” (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 53)

It is telling that A. Assmann (2017, p. 49) places silencing under “punitive and repressive forgetting.” This understanding presumes the preexistence of memories and voices that are both known and therefore can be repressed, for instance for punitive aims. In theory, these voices can also speak again about their past once repression ends, thereby “return[ing] to language” their past experiences (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 53, transl. CH). However, this goes against Spivak’s (1988) understanding of silence: Rather than considering the expulsion or repression of already-existent perspectives, silence instead suggests that certain perspectives are silenced precisely through the assumption that they are already being spoken for.

To bring these two ideas together, I conceptualize forgetting in (post-)colonial contexts as a form of silence. It is not the absence of knowledge but the presence of exploitative colonial knowledge structures. In this way, forgetting is best understood as irritation and not as overt repression: Subversive perspectives become impossible because they appear to contradict understandings of the past, ostensibly speaking “for,” or in the interest of, affected communities.

This understanding can begin to address a common conundrum in research on colonial memories: There is a disconnection between claims of not knowing about colonialism (“colonial amnesia”) and the “colonial traces” of public monuments, street names and cultural artifacts that memorialize colonialism around the world (Erll, 2022, p. 4). To address this disconnection, Erll (2022) argues that it is necessary to move away from the explicit memorialization of the past, which has often been at the center of past studies of memory and journalism (cf. chapter 3.3), to instead consider the gray area between remembering and forgetting. For this, Erll (2022, p. 3) introduces the term “implicit collective memory” to describe cultural knowledge that circulates in society but is not made explicit. Thus, individuals may not even be explicitly aware that they possess this knowledge, even though it can be reactivated in certain moments and even passed on across generations. Erll (2022, pp. 6–8) draws on the ideas of framing and priming from communication studies to describe how preexisting knowledge is activated through media coverage.

However, the idea of implicit memory is very vague and difficult to analyze through textual research. Approaching memory and forgetting through the lens of (post-)colonial representation (Spivak, 1988) makes these ideas more concrete: Memories remain implicit if the knowledge about them continues to normalize the same structures of speaking and listening that make alternative versions of the past impossible. Much of the literature on the forgetting or “amnesia” of the Herero and Nama genocide has typically focused on German contexts, notwithstanding the entangled production of this event that has also shaped public memorialization in Namibia (Bürger & Rausch, 2022, p. 272). This reflects a presumption that, in contrast to German forgetting, the Herero and Nama continue to remember this event, and their voices simply need to be rediscovered to enable memory. Silence can consider how some individuals or groups continue to speak *about* the Herero and Nama genocide and *for* Herero and Nama interests across national boundaries.

How does journalism uphold these speaking structures, and can it uphold these structures even when moments from the past, such as the Herero and Nama genocide, suddenly reappear in public discourse? Previous literature from history and memory

studies offers some clues. In the context of the Haitian Revolution, Trouillot (2015, p. 96) writes that silencing occurs not only through “formulas of erasure,” or direct repression, but also through “formulas of banalization.” By showing revolutions against colonial power as dispersed, random and singular events, it is impossible to grasp their significance in cultural memory; they are interesting but not necessary to remember (Trouillot, 2015, p. 96). In addition to not connecting past moments such as the Haitian Revolution to other past events, forgetting can be understood as disconnecting the past from the present. Past moments are shown as unimportant or irrelevant to the explanation of current events – in contrast with the processes of contextualization or analogy described in journalism in chapter 3.3.

This process is described by Stoler (2016, p. 12) with the term “aphasia,” which is again rooted in individual psychology and encompasses the inability to communicate effectively. She writes:

“Aphasia is a condition in which the occlusion of knowledge is at once a dismembering of words from the objects to which they refer, a difficulty retrieving both the semantic and lexical components of vocabularies, a loss of access that may verge on active dissociation, a difficulty comprehending what is seen and spoken.” (Stoler, 2016, p. 12)

On a collective level, this definition points to the fact that while traces of the past remain visible, the concepts that are available to describe these traces reinforce hegemonic interpretations of the past. Aphasia captures the shift away from forgetting as the absence or repression of knowledge towards the presence of speaking structures that hinder memories from being reinterpreted in subversive ways (Stoler, 2016, p. 125). “It attempts to ask not why its colonial history has been so repeatedly effaced but, rather, how it is that such a history can be rendered irretrievable, made available, and again displaced.” (Stoler, 2016, p. 12)

In her work, Stoler (2016, p. 123) concentrates on the topic of French colonialism. She shows that, despite numerous French intellectuals and public figures broaching the topic in recent decades, the topic of French colonialism and colonial atrocities “has repeatedly come in and out of focus, has more than once been represented as ‘forgotten’ and then rediscovered.” (Stoler, 2016, p. 133). She then considers how French colonialism has been omnipresent within and simultaneously disconnected from debates on French immigration, racism and “questions of security” in the present (Stoler, 2016, p. 168). The topics of colonialism and racism are shown as separate issues, continuing to portray current issues, such as the 2005 French riots, as irritating, isolated and surprising (Stoler, 2016, p. 133). In this sense, it is not only past events that are rendered (in-)visible, but also the needs and desires of present groups and communities (Stoler, 2016, p. 150).

Stoler (2016, p. 153) notes that, in recent years, the French “press” has played an important role in thematizing colonial atrocities even “before most French historians made their way to it.” What role does journalism play in the repetitive forgetting and “discovery” of the colonial past? Bijl (2016) offers useful insights into this question in his exploration of photographs of Dutch colonial massacres that have repetitively reemerged in Dutch media. The photographs show atrocities inflicted on the indigenous population during a 1904 expedition by Dutch colonial forces in present-day Indonesia. Bijl (2016,

p. 185) analyzes how these images have repeatedly been shown as testaments of an event that was “forgotten” by Dutch audiences, even though the photographs were both the target of publications at the time of the massacre and have been visible repeatedly since the 1960s – mirroring a process that is also visible for the memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide (cf. chapter 2.2). He then asks why these events did not “stick” but rather continued to be used by journalists to performatively “expose” seemingly hidden parts of the past (Bijl, 2016, p. 185). For this, he analyzes a variety of media scandals and events, such as the publishing of controversial books, statue defacements, and debates on the War on Terror in the early 2000s (Bijl, 2016, p. 185).

Throughout the analysis, Bijl (2016) writes that the images continued to disappear almost as soon as they appeared in media coverage. He writes that this is because the perspective of a Dutch perpetrator was not an available subject position in the discourse (Bijl, 2016, p. 195). Moreover, by emphasizing and producing temporal differences between the present and the colonial past, journalists could continue to use colonial language to describe the events of the past (Bijl, 2016, p. 199). The images of the 1904 atrocities became indicative of a larger pattern of Dutch colonialism (Bijl, 2016, p. 197), even though there was no real consensus about what the photographs truly meant (Bijl, 2016, p. 204). Thus, the media controversies tended to inflame over whether the photographs could be attached to various other moments in time, such as the Vietnam War, the Holocaust or the War on Terror (Bijl, 2016, p. 221). This ultimately led to the images of Dutch colonial atrocity being used as shock value that was continuously renewed with new moments. Here, it is helpful to connect Bijl’s (2016) with Kinnebrock’s (2019) study on the news factors of memory production in journalism. From this perspective, the “newsworthiness” of the atrocity images in journalism could be described precisely through their position as “forgotten” images. By continuing to highlight the fact that these images have been “forgotten,” journalism could present itself as a legitimate discursive authority that presents its information as “true” knowledge about the past. This idea of “forgotten” images can also adhere to factors of surprise or exoticism to explain their relevance to the audience (Kinnebrock, 2019, pp. 393–395).

At the same time, the idea of “surprise” or “exoticism” could continue to uphold the boundaries of “us” and “them” via colonial frameworks of speaking. Bijl (2016, p. 205) shows this continuation of speaking structures through the Dutch film *Max Havelaar*, which at one point restages a photograph from 1904 in its reenactment of Dutch colonialism. Through the reenactment of colonial source material, the viewpoint of the Dutch colonizers is normalized as the perspective through which the past is told. A similar pattern is found in German documentaries and films on German colonialism. In documentaries, “the reenactment of key moments” or the inclusion of “vintage film footage” performatively suggests authenticity (Struck, 2013, p. 137). Similarly, German movies such as the 2001 Oscar-winning film “Nowhere in Africa” (*Nirgendwo in Afrika*) often recreate key scenes from colonialism by drawing on colonial source material, thereby transporting the power structures embedded within that material (Struck, 2012, p. 264). Reenactments of colonial crimes are overwhelmingly shown from the perspective of German colonizers, and the subject position given to Africans serves to personify suffering (Struck, 2013, p. 135). The reenacted image of suffering is “condemned morally but strangely, at the same time, enjoyed aesthetically” (Struck, 2013, p. 134). The public whipping or lynching

of African men, for instance, is a commonly reenacted scene that iconically depicts colonial atrocities while also making the Black body a subject to be viewed by the Western audience (Struck, 2013, p. 135).

In both Bijl's (2016) and Struck's (2012, 2013) findings, the rediscovered and reenacted colonial imagery does not fundamentally challenge the speaking structures that the images originally produced. According to Bijl (2016, p. 13), one of the reasons why the 1904 photographs continue to be recycled in Dutch media is "because they prove hard to integrate into the existing narratives that a mnemonic community tells about itself and its past." He also writes that "[t]he nation remained a crucial social frame in which the photographs were semanticized," rendering it unnecessary to hear indigenous perspectives from Indonesia in what has essentially become a debate about Dutch history (Bijl, 2016, p. 221). This produces an aphasiac structure in which the images are not invisible but also do not become an established part of cultural memory: The structures of speaking about and for the past have not changed, thus making these images irritations that exist primarily in the archive but never make their way into canon (cf. chapter 3.1.2). The following chapter will now specifically consider the role of journalism in the performative process of (re-)discovering the colonial past and, in so doing, (re-)defining the boundaries of the collective.

4.3 Cultural citizen- and subjectship through journalistic memory production

This chapter expands on the theoretical premises from chapter 4.2 to analyze the conditions under which individuals can represent themselves or be represented within journalism's construction of memory. This can enable me to consider not only how silence is maintained but also how silence can be challenged through subversive strategies of speaking and listening in journalistic coverage. Chapter 4.3.1 begins by introducing the concept of cultural citizenship (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014). It asks: How does journalism produce and challenge (post-)colonial hierarchies of belonging through its construction of cultural memory? Then, chapter 4.3.2 explores how cultural citizen- and subjectship have been conceptualized in (post-)colonial southern African media contexts, which point to the multiplicity and strategic utilization of practices of belonging in multiethnic states. Taken together, both chapters examine how journalism uses its construction of "true" knowledge about the past to signal who can legitimately speak and be heard in the present. In this way, cultural citizenship functions as the lynchpin between memory, journalism and postcolonial studies. This will provide me with a lens to critically examine the previous research on the Herero and Nama genocide in journalistic reporting (cf. chapter 4.4).

4.3.1 Drawing the boundaries of belonging in journalism

Conferring or withholding the rights and privileges of citizenship has historically functioned to establish power and delimit participation in society. For this reason, the idea of "citizenship" is fraught for its role in reproducing Western ideals that normalize some identities (often white, heteronormative, male) and marginalize others (Klaus & Lünen-

borg, 2014, p. 200). In colonial societies, the rights of citizenship were often based on racial criteria – and, in turn, the attainment of these rights was used to legitimize independence struggles against colonialism (Mamdani, 1996). Yet, as scholars have pointed out, the attainment of a legal status of “citizenship” in independent African nations has not necessarily led to new structures of participation in society: Instead, existing patterns of exclusion have often remained intact after the formal end of colonialism (Ekeh, 1975; Mamdani, 1996, 2020; Melber, 2003).

Hence, in the following, I build on the concept of “cultural citizenship” (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014) to show how the boundaries of participation and belonging continue to be negotiated and challenged in (post-)colonial contexts. Cultural citizenship focuses on “the dynamic and ambiguous process of affirming a sense of belonging embodied in and appropriated through practices of citizenship” (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 203). In this understanding, cultural citizenship is not a one-time status that is either attained or denied, for instance through a passport, but rather a continuous process that takes place in various cultural practices in society (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 199). The struggle over who can participate in these cultural practices also determines who can signal their belonging in society and, by extension, their ability to effectively speak and be represented (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 204).

With its focus on the cultural practices of belonging, the concept of cultural citizenship is also applicable to cultural memory, even if Klaus and Lünenborg (2014) do not explicitly address this. The processual and performative nature of cultural citizenship means that it is not formally conferred but rather repeatedly (re-)learned through a cycle of meaning-making between audiences and producers (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 205). The media are therefore used to learn, express, participate in and challenge the practices of citizenship and processes of identity formation (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 205). This became especially clear in the previous chapter 3.3, which showed that journalism not only determines what can or cannot be known about the past but also which reactions to the past are (in-)appropriate or (un-)desirable. Audiences can either mirror or disrupt these reactions in their own process of meaning-making (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 204; cf. Lünenborg, 2015, p. 256). With cultural citizenship, it is possible to break open the somewhat static boundaries of “our” and “their” memories that have been visible throughout some of the previous research (cf. chapter 3.3) and theory (cf. chapter 4.2.1) to instead consider the processual nature by which these boundaries are upheld in journalism.

Connecting cultural citizenship to cultural memory therefore opens important questions about how memory functions to both produce and withhold belonging in a group. In theory, if an individual knows which past events are important for the collective and how to react to these events, they should theoretically be able to signal their belonging and thus effectively participate in society. However, the very construction of the past can determine which individuals can (or cannot) fully be considered part of “our” collective. To illustrate this point, it is useful to briefly reflect on the literature on memory and immigrant communities. Members of immigrant communities are not only expected to express knowledge about the past in citizenship tests but are also expected to perform emotional labor to adhere to existing practices of cultural memory in their new country. These emotions towards the past are often presupposed for the remainder of the commu-

nity (cf. Ayata, 2019, pp. 336–337). The performance of emotional labor is required but not shown as natural, continuing to exclude the immigrant community from the imagined collective. This adds an important temporal dimension to the construction of cultural citizenship: The imagination of shared past experiences as a collective determines who can meaningfully participate and speak in society in the present. This imagination is shaped not only by those who can speak today but also by historical voices that are remediated and circulated by journalism (Erl & Rigney, 2009; cf. chapter 3.1.3), continuing to draw historical boundaries around “us.”

The “double bind” of “memory citizenship” has been illustrated by Rothberg and Yildiz (2011) in their description of the (im-)possibilities of Turkish immigrant communities participating in German memory culture on the Holocaust. Even though the performance of certain knowledge about and reactions to the Holocaust are necessary for signaling the right to belong to society, immigrant voices are rarely heard speaking about the Holocaust, which has become tied to a particular imagination of an ethnic German collective that historically experienced the events of 1933–1945 (Rothberg & Yildiz, 2011, p. 35). To counter this “double bind,” Rothberg and Yildiz (2011, p. 41) propose that memories from immigrant communities could be connected to German memories of the Holocaust.

The suggestion above repeats a political theory-oriented perspective on cultural citizenship, which has often focused on “the right to be different [...] without compromising one’s right to belong” (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 57). In this perspective, often described as “multi-cultural citizenship,” various ethnic groups assert the right for their traditions and memories to exist equally next to others in the community, which theoretically means that no expression of identity is hierarchized over another (Bornman, 2013, p. 438). However, while this emphasizes the right of memories to exist next to each other, it does not quite answer the question of how these memories can become “our” memories. This is especially important in the case of the Herero and Nama genocide: This event involved two tribal communities that predate the national boundaries of the present. However, these communities are now making demands towards the German and Namibian national collective. How can these two communities connect the past to “our” present?

Ong (1996, p. 738) rejects the idea that “immigrant or minority groups can escape the cultural inscription of state power and other forms of regulation that define the different modalities of belonging.” In contrast with the “right to be different” (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 57), Ong (1996, p. 738) defines cultural citizenship as “a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society.” In this way, the question shifts to how individuals or groups can break up or shift the (temporal) boundaries through which their difference is established in the first place. This opens a pathway to uncovering the subversive potential of journalistic memory production. According to Klaus and Lünenborg (2014), cultural citizenship is not “something everyone *has or should have*, but a set of strategies and practices to invoke processes of empowerment in order to subversively listen and to speak up” (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 204, emphasis in original). The Herero and Nama do not immediately challenge power structures simply by speaking about the events of 1904–1908. Instead, this act of speaking must be constructed through a position of belonging in journalism, as something that impacts “our” collective experience. Yet, the case of the Herero and Nama genocide not only opens the

question of national "belonging," but also how this belonging is constructed in entangled, (post-)colonial contexts.

Many of the theorizations on cultural or memory citizenship above have concentrated exclusively on national frameworks, even as they have emphasized the theoretical possibility of extending these concepts beyond the nation-state (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 200). Ong (1996, p. 737) notes that cultural citizenship is conditioned on a "subjects' location within the nation-state and within the global economy". Ong's (1996) focus on global economic conditions helps to consider how belonging is structured both within and between national boundaries in the present.

To further explore journalism's production of cultural citizenship in post-colonial contexts, I now expand the concepts above by introducing the idea of citizen- and subjectship, which has been used to describe the practices of belonging between national and tribal identities in sub-Saharan Africa (cf. Mamdani, 1996). Whereas cultural citizenship has been used above to describe the ability to effectively speak about one's past ("self-making"), cultural subjectship can now begin to uncover the processes of "being made" through post-colonial representative patterns that essentialize the past of Others. This dual process of "self-making and being made" (Ong, 1996, p. 738) is often fractured along national and ethnic or tribal boundaries in sub-Saharan African nations. Hence, the following chapter asks: How does journalistic memory production intersect with the practices of belonging in post-colonial sub-Saharan African contexts? Answering this question will provide crucial context to the ideas above to understand how both German and Namibian journalism report on the Herero and Nama genocide. It can also begin to consider how different forms of belonging exist concurrently and even in conflict with one another in journalistic reporting.

4.3.2 Citizen- and subjectship in African media contexts

Mamdani (1996) describes belonging in sub-Saharan African contexts as bifurcated between national and tribal dimensions, which he differentiates as citizen- and subjectship. In the following, I explore and challenge this bifurcation through the theory of cultural citizenship described above. For this, I first focus on the historical roots of this differentiation before considering how journalism plays into this dual construction and contestation of belonging.

Mamdani (1996) roots the bifurcation of citizenship in colonial systems of direct and indirect rule, which determined how colonizers would interact with and grant rights or privileges to indigenous communities. In direct rule, indigenous populations were excluded from "civil freedoms guaranteed to citizens in civil society" by being defined outside the purview of citizenship, for instance based on racial categories (Mamdani, 1996, p. 18). By contrast, indirect rule "was about incorporating natives into a state-enforced customary order." (Mamdani, 1996, p. 18) Also called "decentralized despotism," indirect rule made the exclusion of indigenous populations from power a function of "custom" (Mamdani, 1996, p. 18). Traditional communities could nominally participate in society, but only through representative structures that ensured that they could not directly speak or be heard. This echoes the idea of representation outlined by Spivak (1988): Colonial subjects were silenced because they were presumably already being spoken for.

A position of cultural subjectship can thus be understood as a function of silence in the discourse: individuals are spoken *about* and *for*, but it is difficult for them to be directly heard in the mediated structures of journalistic reporting about the past.

To achieve indirect rule, colonizers built on and expanded existing cultural practices and traditions in indigenous communities. Some examples included the idea of communal land ownership (thereby erasing the possibility of individual property), the concept of tribes as ethnically exclusive groups linked to a set location, and the position of chiefs as the primary and exclusive source of power in a community (Conrad, 2016, p. 40; Mamdani, 1996, p. 50). This description of indirect rule by Mamdani (1996) adds an important perspective to the representative patterns described by Spivak (1988) and Said (1978): Instead of a one-way ascription by Western scholars speaking *about* and *for* indigenous populations, Mamdani (1996) shows how representation both builds on and shapes existing indigenous cultural practices. In this perspective, “custom” is constantly negotiated between various factions of society – something that was actively used by colonizers and could also become a site of indigenous resistance (Mamdani, 1996, p. 22). Although Mamdani (1996) does not explicitly focus on memory, custom is legitimized through the imagination of long-standing tradition and must be ritually reactivated to remain relevant (cf. chapter 3.1), making memory a core aspect of how the practices of citizen- and subjectship are maintained or challenged, as I explore in more detail below.

While structures of direct rule have officially been challenged in independent sub-Saharan African states, the colonial structures that underpinned indirect rule are still visible today (Daniels, 2018; Mamdani, 1996, p. 21). Hence, “the duality of native-nonnative gave way to another, subject-citizen.” (Mamdani, 1996, p. 296) The cultural practices underpinning tribal belonging have become ways of both performing proximity to national power and enforcing exclusion from it. In some nations, the new government’s open acknowledgment of tribal identity functions as a foil to prior colonial structures and as an indicator of distinct Africanness (Wasserman, 2005, p. 79). Yet, this continues to hierarchize some tribal identities over others, fundamentally linking the struggle for political power with questions of identity. Subjects are “stamped with an ethnic identity” that determines their relationship to power and their ability to effectively speak and be heard (Mamdani, 1996, p. 296). Alternatively, the cultural expression of tribal identity can also be delegitimized as a hindrance to national identity and “unity” (Bornman, 2013, p. 434), thus requiring individuals to negate traditional identity (typically in favor of party affiliation) if they wish to become visible in society (Mamdani, 1996, p. 296).

Various cultural expressions are at the heart of determining who can effectively speak in society from either a “tribal” or a “national” perspective. The struggle to attain or withhold cultural citizenship is visible in the role that journalism has historically played in newly independent nations such as Namibia. As outlined in previous chapters, journalism produces and reflects the conditions through which it becomes possible to effectively speak and be heard in society. Most tangibly, this becomes clear in the selection of a language for publication (cf. chapter 3.2.2). During the liberation struggle, newspapers that published in English often conveyed imaginations of an independent national community united by a common language – as evidenced by newspaper titles such as *The Namibian* (cf. Ibelema & Bosch, 2009, p. 296; Rothe, 2010, p. 29). English was even actively promoted after independence, including by the government-owned Namibian Broadcasting

Corporation (NBC): “In August 1991, the NBC Board decided to introduce in a 9–10 a.m. time slot a ‘national window,’ broadcasting in English via National Radio but also being sent out on the whole spectrum of the Language Service channels.” (Kivikuru, 2005, p. 330) Yet, publishing in English continues to produce urban and rural distinctions of citizen- and subjectship, (re-)producing the “prototype subject [as] a poor inhabitant in the rural areas, a peasant” (Mamdani, 1996, p. 296). Media that have a wider rural reach, such as the public broadcaster NBC, are owned by the government and often limit direct criticism of the government (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 39; Ibelema & Bosch, 2009, p. 324; Kivikuru, 2005, pp. 326–327).

While the Namibian media system will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.2.3, these brief examples show the multiplicity of speaking and listening positions in post-colonial contexts. Positions of citizen- and subjectship must be understood as a spectrum, with individuals taking on different roles depending on which discursive space they find themselves in (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 26). There has, so far, been very little research into how these positions are negotiated or conveyed in the content of journalistic reporting, focusing instead mostly on the structure of African media systems or the self-perception of journalists. This is a gap that this dissertation seeks to address.

In much of the previous research on African journalism, “cultural citizenship” has been used to juxtapose the concept of “citizenship” typically assumed in Western research (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 27). Thus, the idea of “culture” is employed primarily to distinguish specifically African practices of journalism and citizenship. Interestingly, much of the literature has focused on cultural similarities rather than differences across the African continent to describe a specifically “African” expression of journalism (Mutsvairo et al., 2021, 6). This includes, for instance, highlighting seemingly continental values such as “*ubuntu*”⁵, which emphasize communal responsibility and identification over Western understandings of individually held rights and obligations (Mutsvairo et al., 2021, 7; Nyamnjoh, 2013, p. 5; Rao & Wasserman, 2007, p. 40). However, this equation of “culture” with tradition bears the possibility of taking distinctions between Western and non-Western performances of journalism and cultural citizenship for granted without considering how these differences were colonially produced or how cultural practices are strategically utilized by power sources or challenged in society (Mutsvairo et al., 2021, 7).

It is here that a connection with Klaus and Lünenborg’s (2014) idea of cultural citizenship is helpful. While Klaus and Lünenborg (2014) view culture and cultural practices as an essential part of citizenship, the bifurcation of belonging outlined by scholars such as Mamdani (1996) has led to an understanding of culture primarily in opposition to the rights and obligations of national belonging. Linking Klaus and Lünenborg’s (2014) concept with the context described above can shift the question away from *whether* culture

5 The concept of “*ubuntu*,” which refers to “a broader humanist philosophy that emphasizes the interconnectedness of human beings” (Willems, 2014b, p. 428), has often been used as a normative ethical framework in media scholarship, primarily in African media studies of the 1980s and 1990s, as an “inversion” of Western media practices (Willems, 2014b, p. 426). At the same time, it has also been used in journalism practice to advocate for and demand community-based journalism that centers the experience of communities and gives community members a voice (Mutsvairo et al., 2021, 7). In the following, I focus primarily on the cultural practices by which these perspectives are excluded and by which specific concerns, desires and memories are made “tribal” or “local.”

plays a role in shaping the practices of belonging and identity formation to *which* of these cultural factors are normalized and used to legitimize power (citizenship), and which are used to emphasize difference or enforce silence (subjectship) in journalism.

In addition, while the distinction between tribal and national identity has primarily been emphasized in African national contexts, it is important to note that this bifurcation is not limited to former colonies but has also shaped formerly colonizing nations (Ahmed, 2000, p. 10). For example, ethnic roots are often shown as a “natural” part of identity in German reality television, something individuals have but cannot actively achieve or even escape (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 209). Hence, the cultural practices of certain immigrant communities, such as wearing head scarfs, can be used to distinguish between un-/worthy citizens (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 203).

The memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide offers a unique opportunity to view how cultural citizen-/subjectship is not only negotiated within but also between German and Namibian boundaries. Do Herero and Nama representatives seek to connect the events of 1904–1908 to a present national Namibian collective, or is it instead used to emphasize their singularity as a community that actively challenges the Namibian national collective? And how are these struggles between positions of citizen-/subjectship conveyed and negotiated in German journalism?

Answering these questions requires a final look at how memories of colonialism and trauma intersect with the construction of citizen- and subjectship in African contexts. So far, the chapter above has shown that cultural subjectship can be viewed as a form of silencing whereby cultural memories are ascribed to certain communities to produce them through a position of difference to the wider collective. In addition, Mamdani (1996, p. 296) points out that certain cultural practices are actively constructed as threats to the independent post-colonial nation. Cultural subjectship thus describes a position in which individuals or groups are simultaneously marked by past experiences but cannot legitimately speak about these experiences without endangering the larger collective. In this sense, whereas cultural citizenship encompasses those memories that must be remembered to signal belonging in society, cultural subjectship can now be understood as those moments that must be performatively forgotten to signal the right to speak and be represented in journalism, as the following section explores in more detail.

Defining citizen-/subjectship through traumatic memories in post-colonial nations

In Namibia, the anti-colonial struggle is used to legitimize the post-colonial government (cf. Becker, 2011; Zuern, 2012). What identities and positions can become part of or exist next to this memory? In previous research, memories of colonialism have been described as hindrances for achieving post-colonial belonging in and through journalism. In an analysis of South African journalism, Wasserman (2005, p. 82) writes:

“Perhaps a better route to follow in constructing an African identity would be one premised on shared or ‘lived’ experience [...], which would be influenced but not determined by identity categories inherited from colonial or apartheid discourses. This would mean that the past is continually re-interpreted in new contexts, rather than unequivocally invoked [...].”

Here, Wasserman (2005) proposes focusing on shared lived experiences in the present rather than the past experiences of separate communities (cf. Bornman, 2013, p. 444). The previous chapters have challenged this interpretation: Connections to the past in journalism determine which perspectives can become indicative of “collective” present experience.

At the same time, previous studies on traumatic memories in African contexts have often pointed to memory as a source of conflict in the production of national identity. In this sense, the past is something that is often shown as something that ought to be forgotten. For instance, an analysis of ethnic violence after the 2007 presidential election in Kenya documented the “attempt to shut down an individual memory and create a collective one for the sake of survival” (Muhoma & Nyairo, 2011, p. 422). Similar results have been found in results of truth and reconciliation commissions (TRCs) in nations such as Sierra Leone, where individuals were reluctant to speak about the violence they had experienced, even though they were prompted to do so by the government (Shaw, 2005, p. 4). Shaw (2005, p. 4) writes that this hesitance came not just from a “fear of retaliation by former perpetrators” or a “fear of government reprisals,” but also from a “deeper historical legacy of violence and its linkage to the development of grassroots practices of social recovery,” as many ex-combatants returned to their homes long before the TRCs began searching for stories (cf. Buckley-Zistel, 2012, p. 83; Shaw, 2005, p. 9).

This connects to results from Buckley-Zistel (2012) on the local remembrance of the Rwandan genocide, where communities often refuse to speak about specific violence that occurred in their communities in a process Buckley-Zistel (2012, p. 75) names “chosen amnesia.” By refusing to speak about the past, individuals could avoid ascribing categories such as victim or perpetrator that would jeopardize community cohesion and co-existence (Buckley-Zistel, 2012, p. 85). This connects to the idea of “constructive forgetting” by A. Assmann (2017, p. 57), whereby memories are forgotten to ease the rehabilitation of societal members after traumatic events such as civil wars. Yet, as Buckley-Zistel (2012, p. 76) notes, the point of forgetting in her examples is *not* to produce a “group identity which is separate from the opponent who caused the trauma,” thereby actively “hindering the formation of a shared, group-specific past”. Multiple versions of the past exist side-by-side and remain unspoken for fear of reactivating conflict in the present.

Here, cultural subjectship is upheld as a position of silence whereby speaking about the past is shown as detrimental to survival in a national present. In the examples above, categories of victimhood and perpetratorship are often tied to different ethnic or tribal communities. Hence, speaking about the past becomes a danger to the cohesion of the national unit.

How does this change when moments such as the Rwandan genocide or the Herero and Nama genocide begin receiving (inter-)national interest? Wosińska (2017) shows how connections to the Holocaust shape how the Rwandan genocide is memorialized and publicly spoken about in Rwanda (cf. chapter 3.1.3). She writes that references to the Holocaust are found “above all in media discourse, in which the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda is commonly referred to as ‘the Second Holocaust’” (Wosińska, 2017, p. 188). These discursive connections mean that the language and symbolism of the Holocaust is often used to speak about the Rwandan genocide while also maintaining the si-

lences that Buckley-Zistel (2012) points out. Wosińska (2017, p. 191) writes that, in this context, “the specificity of local experience and the local landscape disappear.”

In this way, transnational mediated frameworks provide a way of speaking about events; they do not necessarily convey cultural citizenship and can instead erase local nuance and the specificity of individual experiences. This reflects the broader context of journalistic knowledge production about the past. Zelizer (2011) has pointed out that journalism often “cannibalizes” local memories in favor of broadly comprehensible (inter-)national mnemonic frameworks. She writes:

“The West’s central role as a key player in the global news media environment is instrumental in cannibalizing local mnemonic impulses. In part this stems from the difficulties among those from afar in grasping the often contradictory, tentative, partial, and multiple interpretations that produce mnemonic hesitation among those who experience trauma, crisis, or catastrophe.” (Zelizer, 2011, p. 29)

Zelizer’s (2011) study points to the transnational effects of “Western” media in the Global South, even though she does not study these in more detail. This is a blind spot that this dissertation seeks to explore. Zelizer’s (2011) idea of “cannibalization” challenges points that Rothberg and Yildiz (2011) make in their conceptualization of “memory citizenship” (cf. chapter 4.3.1): Whereas Rothberg and Yildiz (2011) advocate for more individuals to connect their memories to one another, Zelizer (2011) points out that this connection can also function to collapse local specificity, thereby furthering positions of cultural subjectship.

Zelizer (2011) points to the difficulties of journalism conveying local memories to a wide audience. In this vein, previous research has indicated that the position of the individual journalist relative to the collective shapes how past crises are (or are not) integrated into cultural memory. Mannik (2014) demonstrates this in interviews with national and local Canadian journalists who covered the arrival of a refugee boat in a small Canadian town. In contrast with local journalists, national journalists had almost completely forgotten the event and their reporting after 25 years (Mannik, 2014, p. 567). However, local journalists often remembered the event because it gave their work and their community a national spotlight (Mannik, 2014, p. 568).

Integrating local/tribal memories into inter-/national mnemonic frameworks in journalism offers a dual opportunity: They could be used to amplify the need for local speakership, thus opening opportunities for subversive speaking and listening (cultural citizenship), or instead be used to make this local speakership superfluous (cultural subjectship). In this way, cultural subjectship could function as a precursor to aphasia (Stoler, 2016): The past continues to be shown as an aberration or an add-on to established mnemonic frameworks and can continue to be reintroduced by the media as a surprise.

The Herero and Nama genocide offers an interesting example to begin exploring the conundrums above. Here, an event that was previously localized to specific communities suddenly becomes an issue of transnational importance (Robel, 2013, p. 268; Zuern, 2012). Can journalism depict experiences and perspectives from the Herero and Nama community while also showing how this event shapes the collective present in a German

and Namibian national framework? To answer these questions and to make the broad theoretical tenets of the previous chapters more tangible, I will now focus on the specific mnemonic practices that have been used to produce positions of inclusion and exclusion in media coverage on the Herero and Nama genocide. For this, I will connect the theoretical lens above with the previous research that has been conducted on the Herero and Nama genocide as a topic of media reporting. This will enable me to begin formulating the concrete assumptions and analytical questions that my dissertation aims to answer.

4.4 Never forget? Constructing the Herero and Nama genocide in journalism

Over the past two decades, journalism’s reporting on the Herero and Nama genocide has become a topic of research across a variety of disciplines, often in history, political science and media and communication studies (Augsten et al., 2022; Boehme, 2020; Böhle-Itzen, 2004; Förster, 2010; Haritos, 2019; Krautwald, 2022; Rausch, 2023a; Robel, 2013; Wolff, 2021). These studies have, with a few exceptions (Förster, 2010; Krautwald, 2022), studied German media contexts. This regional focus is amplified by the fact that most previous studies have been conducted in German academic institutions or written by German scholars. In this chapter, I examine the results of these studies through the theoretical lens outlined in the chapters above, especially in chapter 4.3, to consider which speaking positions have become evident in the previous journalistic coverage and which gaps still exist in the research.

In a quantitative analysis of articles in the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, Boehme (2020, p. 244) finds that only 10 articles on the genocide were published in the magazine between 1970 and 2003. The primary focus of coverage during this time was the 1985 television film “Morenga,” which is based on the 1978 novel of the same name (Boehme, 2020, p. 244). During the centenary year 2004, there was a marked uptick in German press coverage (Boehme, 2020, p. 245; Robel, 2013, p. 265; Wolff, 2021, p. 254). This finding is also reflected in news coverage in Otjiherero-language radio stations, where the centenary year in 2004, along with the visit by the German development minister Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, led to increased coverage on the genocide as well as an increased prominence of reparations demands (Förster, 2010, p. 266). This media attention could also be explained through the participation of the Namibian government in the 2004 centenary celebration (Zuern, 2012, p. 501). Previously, the Namibian government had not officially attended commemorations by the Herero community, indicating a potential shift in the mnemonic practices of cultural citizenship at the 2004 centenary (Zuern, 2012, p. 501).

Nevertheless, in an analysis of German coverage about Africa, Namibia does not appear in the top ten African countries that received the most reporting by German newspapers in 2004 (Mükke, 2009, p. 95). Instead, most media attention in 2004 was paid to German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder’s official trip to Africa, where he visited the countries of Ethiopia, Kenya, South Africa and Ghana (Mükke, 2009, p. 95). By contrast, the German development minister’s trip to Namibia garnered much less attention – in fact, it is not even mentioned in Mükke’s (2009) analysis of Africa coverage. Throughout his analysis, Mükke (2009, pp. 112, 127) finds that even though German foreign coverage tends to

highlight German political figures and topics in Africa, such as development aid, this does not extend to the topic of German colonialism, which is very rarely a topic of coverage.

These findings contextualize the German press coverage of the 2004 centenary celebrations and can also help to explain the later trajectory of the memory discourse. Robel (2013, p. 261) notes that 2004 was an important year not only for the centenary, but also for the first time that the Herero and Nama genocide became an explicit topic of debate in the German Bundestag. Interestingly, however, German media rarely covered German political debates in 2007, 2008 and 2012 about “redress” (“*Wiedergutmachung*”) for the Herero and Nama genocide (Robel, 2013, pp. 266–267). Overall, between 2004 and the commencement of negotiations between the German and Namibian governments in 2014, relatively little coverage was reported (Boehme, 2020, p. 247). A small spike in coverage could be seen following a scandal in 2011, after Cornelia Pieper, a former Minister of State at the German Foreign Office, refused to directly apologize during a ceremony repatriating human remains to Namibia (Boehme, 2020, p. 247; Robel, 2013, p. 266).

These results show that the Herero and Nama genocide has not been a consistent topic of reporting in German journalism. Moreover, the impetus for reporting has not been inner-German political debates on reparations or financial compensation. Wolff (2021) notes that many speakers quoted on the Herero and Nama genocide in German newspapers are German academic experts, especially historians (Wolff, 2018, p. 425), and German politicians as well as political or traditional representatives of the Herero and Nama communities (Wolff, 2021, p. 340). This reflects the finding by Mükke (2009, p. 120) that most individuals quoted in foreign reports about Africa are German individuals, politicians or representatives of Western NGOs. In addition to these Western speakers, German journalists also rely predominately on African politicians to provide indigenous perspectives in their coverage (Mükke, 2009, p. 114), with representatives of African civil society rarely being quoted (Mükke, 2009, p. 121).

These findings, along with the theoretical perspective of subalternity and silence outlined in chapter 4.2.1, add nuance to the “diversification of speaking positions” (Wolff, 2021, p. 422) that has been suggested for German newspaper reporting in recent years. While Herero and Nama perspectives are visible in German journalism, the theoretical chapters above have highlighted that it is necessary to consider which positions these individuals speak from and how they either maintain or challenge existing representative structures. This is especially important given the complicated positions of citizen- and subjectship outlined in chapter 4.3.2: The relationship of an individual to the Namibian government is vital for understanding from which position they can speak and be heard on the topic of colonialism. At the same time, being quoted as a legitimate representative of Herero and Nama interests in German journalism might be able to challenge previous boundaries of speaking and listening in Namibia. However, to date, this remains a gap in the previous research.

Much of the previous research has concentrated on how Herero and Nama representatives are spoken *about* in German journalism, or the “strategies of tropology” in Spivak’s (1988, p. 276) conceptualization of silence. In this vein, Robel (2013, pp. 299–300) and Wolff (2021, pp. 320–321) have noted that Herero and Nama speakers are often introduced through a paternalistic gaze in journalism. Particularly in the early 2000s, the

Herero were often described as a “pastoral people” (*“Hirtenvolk”*) in German journalism (Robel, 2013, p. 300). This echoes historical depictions of indigenous subjects as “noble savage[s],” stoking fear at indigenous revolt while normalizing colonial domination (Steinmetz, 2007, p. 79). In present journalism, this means that present-day Herero (and, to a lesser extent, Nama) leaders are shown as both potentially dangerous and politically powerless (Wolff, 2021, p. 327). The Paramount Chiefs of the Herero, particularly Kuaima Riruako and Vekuii Rukoro, are primarily shown as traditional leaders, with aspects of their tribal identity placed at the forefront of descriptions (Wolff, 2021, p. 341). In German journalism, they have even been introduced with the title of *“Häuptling,”* where the diminutive ending “-ling” is used to describe and diminish the power position of indigenous chiefs (Lohner & Wolff, 2022, p. 199).

Through these descriptors, the Herero are legitimized as speakers through their tribal affiliation. This description also extends to both political figures, such as the former chief negotiator for the Namibian government, Zedekia Ngavirue (Wolff, 2021, p. 353). It is unclear whether these descriptors are also used for the Nama, as they are mentioned far less frequently in prior research. Yet, by focusing primarily on the tribal affiliation of speakers to legitimize their representative function in the text, journalism obscures the different social positions of the speakers (Wolff, 2021, p. 353). This serves to underpin expectations of homogeneity towards communities of survivors (Robel, 2013, p. 310): All representatives are shown as equally legitimate in speaking for the desires of “their” tribal community, reflecting the construction of cultural subjectship described in chapter 4.3.2.

These expectations of homogeneity not only limit who can speak in journalistic coverage but also serve to delegitimize Herero demands through expectations of unity and cohesiveness (Robel, 2013, p. 211). In coverage, the Herero and Nama communities are shown as the primary groups responsible for bringing forward demands for the 1904–1908 genocide (Robel, 2013, p. 310). Through a construction of speakership that assumes homogeneity, any disunity between community members can thus be shown as an irritation or a surprise and undercut demands for reparations (Robel, 2013, p. 334). Wolff (2021, pp. 342–343) has shown that the former paramount chiefs Kuaima Riruako and Vekuii Rukoro are frequently depicted as contested leaders in journalism who do not have the support of the entire community, which serves to relativize their claims.

At the same time, Herero and Nama demands for legally binding reparations are often shown as threats, particularly in combination with Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro, who is frequently portrayed as bellicose (Wolff, 2021, p. 347). This connects to the idea of cultural subjectship in chapter 4.3.2, whereby the past is actively construed as a danger to the position of the present collective. Beyond the one-sided ascription of German journalists, it will be interesting to see how performances of traditional belonging or authority are used or challenged to de-/legitimize the speaking position of Herero and Nama speakers in Namibian journalism.

Additionally, this dissertation aims to expand the previous research by exploring whether changes in the political discussion surrounding the 1904–1908 genocide have shaped the representative patterns described above. Robel (2013, p. 274) points out that the word “genocide” is conspicuously not used in political debates in Germany in the early 2000s for its association with legally binding reparations. In Namibia, Förster

(2010, p. 302) shows that the word “genocide” was increasingly used in the Herero community from roughly 2004 onwards to describe the events of 1904–1908, which was typically combined with demands for financial compensation. Interestingly, rather than in German politics, the debate over whether to use the word “genocide” is primarily found in German journalism, which has used the term relatively consistently since the early 2000s (Robel, 2013, p. 277), notwithstanding some examples of revisionism or even outright denial of the genocide, particularly in letters to the editor (Robel, 2013, p. 297).

The perspective in German newspaper reporting about the “genocide” is largely centered on the question of what “we” should do (Rausch, 2023b, p. 185; Robel, 2013, p. 396). The primary question of the debate therefore hinges on a question of the scope and extent of German responsibility. Wolff (2021, pp. 366–368) writes that this often condenses the debate to a question of internal shame rather than external guilt, and there is often very little identification with the victims. This reflects the ethnocentric framework of reporting that Mükke (2009, p. 112) finds for German foreign correspondents and that Kinnebrock (2019, pp. 393–395) confirms for journalistic memory production. Thus, in German newspapers, development aid has long been shown as a “solution” to the events of 1904–1908, a way of Germany offering money for past crimes that it nonetheless can place into its own projects (Robel, 2013, p. 310; Wolff, 2021, pp. 391–392). Reparations, by contrast, have previously been relativized in journalism by pointing to the amount of development aid that Germany already pays to Namibia (Rausch, 2023b, p. 188).

However, in recent years, there has been a shift in this debate, whereby financial compensation has become more prominent in journalistic reporting, even as this has been accompanied by an equation between recognition and reparation (Rausch, 2023b). In this sense, paying financial compensation to the Herero and Nama is now viewed as a moral rather than a legal obligation:

“Thus, although the moral rules shift to the effect that naming the genocide is unavoidable, the socially imposed collective ideal does not include the obligation to pay compensation. The repeated rhetorical reference to a morally justified responsibility is set in opposition to a political and legal reappraisal of the colonial past.” (Rausch, 2023b, p. 189)

These speaking structures can also be found in German journalism’s connections between the Herero and Nama genocide and the Holocaust (Wolff, 2021, p. 368). Pointing to the in-/comparability of the Holocaust has alternatively been used to both negate and support reparations claims:

“In 2001/2003, most of the articles published on the class action referred to Germany’s Holocaust memory to reject the OvaHerero’s reparatory demands, thus stressing the emotional uniqueness of the Holocaust. In 2017/2018, the reference is used to exemplify how Germany’s colonial past should be remembered.” (Rausch, 2022, p. 428)

In these examples, the focus is on Germany’s role as a perpetrator and how the Herero and Nama genocide should fit into its self-image as a nation (Rausch, 2022, p. 430). In this sense, the Herero and Nama genocide is no longer outwardly denied but instead

shown as something that can or already has been integrated into a more positive present understanding of the German collective. By contrast, Krautwald (2022, pp. 15–18) has found that references to the Holocaust have also sporadically been made by Herero speakers since the 1960s, often to critique West German actions or the actions of German-speaking Namibians. It remains to be seen how and if these connections have changed in present Namibian newspaper reporting, especially considering the ongoing negotiations.

Rausch (2023b, p. 191) finds that, in contrast to German reporting in 2015/16, all analyzed major German newspapers critique the exclusion of some Herero and Nama representatives from the German-Namibian government negotiations and “unanimously demand at least financial compensation in their reporting in 2021”. The demands of the Herero and Nama appear to be finding some responses in German newspapers; however, the question remains whether this shift to accept financial compensation comes together with changed representative structures in journalism.

The past research shows that the Herero and Nama genocide has been and remains a contested mnemonic site in journalism, characterized by a variety of ambiguous and even contradictory trends over the past decades (cf. Böhlke-Itzen, 2004, p. 125; Wolff, 2021, p. 316). While the Herero and Nama appear to be achieving more visibility, this has not translated into the ability to effectively make demands in German journalism (Rausch, 2023b, p. 188). Moreover, even though the Herero and Nama are frequently shown as responsible for making demands in journalism (Robel, 2013, p. 211), they are simultaneously not shown as “our” victims, and there is little identification with the affected communities in German journalism (Robel, 2013, p. 391; Wolff, 2021, p. 366). Despite a growing recognition of the historical events of 1904–1908, there is no recognition of the Herero and Nama as legitimate speakers about “our” past and present (cf. Bijl, 2016).

The theoretical concepts outlined in the previous chapters 3 and 4 help to describe this process of (non-)recognition through representative patterns that deny or confer the ability to effectively connect past and present in journalism. So far, many of the previous studies have asked whether and which present demands from the Herero and Nama are heard in (predominately German) journalism and how these demands are relativized or denied. However, one cannot understand how these demands become in-/visible in coverage without considering the mnemonic practices by which journalism hierarchizes and normalizes certain perspectives. Finally, even though the discussion on the Herero and Nama genocide transcends national boundaries, many previous studies have only explored how the demands of the Herero and Nama become in-/visible in German journalistic contexts. So far, there is little engagement with how this debate is currently being shaped by Namibian journalism. A singular perspective on German memorialization cannot grasp the full context of power negotiation between both countries on the topic of the Herero and Nama genocide. It also does not do justice to the entangled nature of power-knowledge flows that has been discussed throughout the previous chapter.

Given the previous research gaps and questions that have arisen throughout this chapter, I will now summarize the previous chapter 4 and formulate analytical questions that will shape my methodology and analysis. This will help me to situate my project

within the previous literature and specify my personal contribution to the growing field of research on the Herero and Nama genocide.

4.5 Chapter summary and questions for analysis

The chapters above have addressed the research gap outlined in chapter 3 by moving beyond highly commemorated past events to showcase journalism's role in preventing alternative versions of the past from being heard. In this way, they set out to explore the many gray areas between remembering and forgetting by placing a spotlight on the positions of speakership that become im-/possible and ab-/normalized in journalistic reporting.

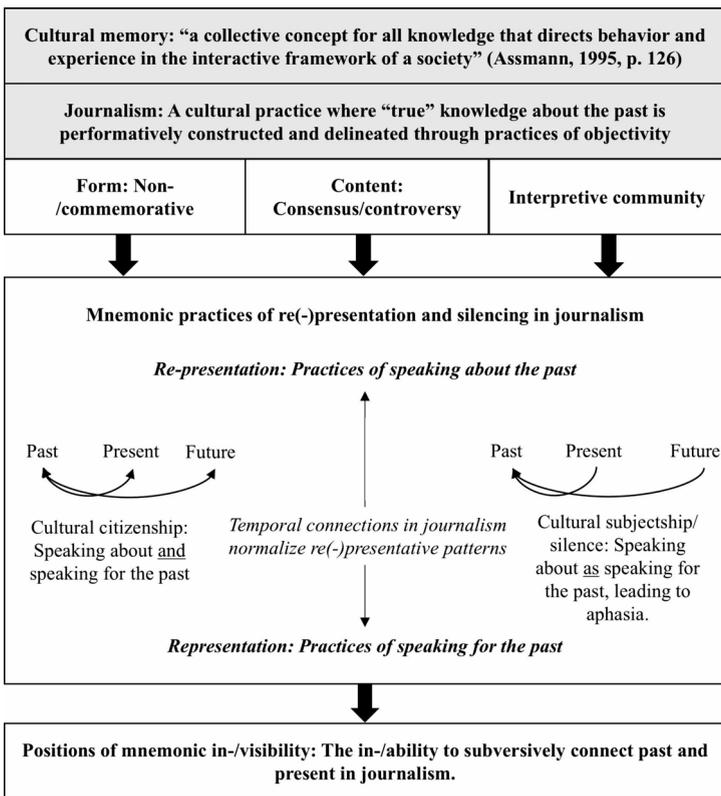
The chapter began by showing the connection points between postcolonial studies, memory studies and journalism studies that can help to add to the existing research literature (cf. chapter 4.1). Much of the previous research literature has focused on the dimension of re-presentation, or how journalism speaks *about* past events or historical subjects (Spivak, 1988, p. 276). However, as chapter 4.2 outlines, Spivak (1988) provides a way of exploring how silence is perpetuated by equating speaking *about* the past with speaking *for* the interests of subaltern subjects. This is vital for expanding the previous theorizations of forgetting: Rather than viewing forgetting as absence, it is now possible to define forgetting as the presence of hegemonic knowledge structures that continue to entrench the perspectives of former colonizers in describing the past and, in so doing, limiting potential connections to the present. Thus, it is helpful to view the past memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide as patterns of “aphasia,” or the blockage of connections between past and present (Stoler, 2016).

Journalism shapes silence by producing mediated conditions of speaking and listening that determine which perspective can become audible in the (re-)construction of the past. To conceptualize this process, chapter 4.3 introduces the idea of cultural citizen- and subjectship. Cultural citizen- and subjectship refer to the ways in which journalism produces positions of legitimate speakership and thereby delimits who can fully belong in society. In my understanding, cultural citizen- and subjectship is determined through the present reactions to past events that journalism reflects and produces through its coverage. The past can be shown as constitutive for or, by contrast, as irrelevant or even dangerous for the present, something that must actively be “overcome.” This goes beyond a question of recognition as mediated visibility to ask how past events can or cannot become “our” memories by determining *who* can connect the past with a collective present.

This struggle for meaning about the past becomes especially clear in the previous research literature on journalism's reporting about the Herero and Nama genocide (cf. chapter 4.4). This literature has found that Herero and Nama speakers are often portrayed through strategies of exoticization and expectations of homogenization. However, much of the previous research has predominately focused on how the Herero and Nama become visible in journalistic coverage through a national (German) lens. This repeats many of the theoretical blind spots found above and continues to come to a similar conclusion: The Herero and Nama genocide as a past event is increasingly visible in journalistic coverage, but this has not equated with a recognition or even visibility of Herero

and Nama claims in German media. I argue that this is because the genocide functions to outline a speaking position for the Herero and Nama marked by difference. To examine this theoretical claim, however, it is necessary to move beyond a purely national perspective to consider how journalistic memory production is not limited to but rather produces national boundaries through strategies of inclusion and exclusion. This is especially important given the transnational impact of the current reparation negotiations between Germany and Namibia.

Figure 2: Journalistic memory production in (post-)colonial contexts



Source: Own depiction

To illustrate the theoretical lens that will guide my methodology and analysis, figure 2 provides a broad summary of the key theoretical concepts of chapters 3 and 4 that will shape my analysis of journalistic memory production on the Herero and Nama genocide. With this theoretical compilation, I explore the mnemonic strategies by which journalism dis-/connects speaking *about* and *for* the past to produce positions of inclusion and exclusion between and within national boundaries. Thus, I can now specify two of the research questions outlined in chapter 1 with the following theoretical concepts:

- How does journalism delimit what can be said about the events of 1904–1908 in its coverage?
 - How does journalism formally produce the Herero and Nama genocide as a non-/commemorative topic of reporting?
 - What sources does journalism reference in its coverage, including its previous reporting? (Bijl, 2016; Zelizer, 1993)
 - Given these sources, which symbols and terms does journalism remediate in its description of the events of 1904–1908? (Erll & Rigney, 2009)
 - Which connections to other memories does journalism make in its coverage? (Erll, 2011; Zelizer, 2011)
 - How do these connections function to dis-/connect past and present in the article? (Edy, 1999)
- How does this construction of knowledge about the past shape who can speak for Herero and Nama interests in journalism?
 - Which locational and temporal markers does journalism use to dis-/connect the events of 1904–1908 from the present audience? (Chouliaraki, 2008; Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016)
 - Which reactions to the past are thereby shown as in-/appropriate in journalism? (Kitch, 2005; McConville et al., 2016)
 - Which speakers are connected to the events of 1904–1908, and how does this shape their ability to speak for certain groups and individuals in the article? (cultural citizen-/subjectship, cf. chapter 4.3)
 - Given this construction of speakership, which prospective visions and demands for the genocide are (de-)legitimized in journalism? (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014)
 - Which demands are placed in the sphere of consensus, controversy or deviance? (Hallin, 1986, p. 117)

With these theoretical concepts, I aim to also address my final research question, which asks how these representative structures work together to (de-)legitimize power relations between Germany and Namibia. To answer these questions, the next chapter introduces the method of critical discourse analysis, which can uncover the various power structures both reflected in and produced by journalism's construction of the Herero and Nama genocide.