MEMORY AND MEDIA
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Kommunikationswissenschaftliche Erinnerungsforschung:
Grundlagen und Arbeitsfelder

Transnational Memory Cultures and Journalism

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Zum Netzwerk „Kommunikationswissenschaftliche Erinnerungsforschung: Grundlagen und Arbeitsfelder

Das Netzwerk hat das Ziel, kommunikationswissenschaftliche Gedächtnis- und Erinnerungsforschung in ihren Grundlagen, ihren Arbeitsfeldern und ihren Perspektiven aufzuarbeiten und weiter zu entwickeln.

Dazu unterstützt das Netzwerk eine ortsübergreifende themenbezogene Kooperation. Im Zeitraum von 2018 bis 2021 wird die in unterschiedlichen Bereichen der Kommunikationsforschung und Medienanalyse stattfindende Auseinandersetzung mit kulturellem Gedächtnis und sozialem Erinnern gesichtet, verglichen und als Elemente einer kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Gedächtnis- und Erinnerungsforschung dokumentiert. Dafür ist der fachübergreifende Austausch mit anderen sozial- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Disziplinen in internationaler Perspektive ein wichtiger Bestandteil des Netzwerks.

Das wissenschaftliche Netzwerk wird durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft gefördert (PE 2436/1-1). Es wird von Christian Pentzold, Zentrum für Medien-, Kommunikations- und Informationsforschung (ZeMKI), Universität Bremen, und Christine Lohmeier, Universität Salzburg, koordiniert.

About the "Memory and Media" research network

The aim of the scientific network is to explore, systematize, and develop the nascent field of communication memory studies. It elaborates its fundaments in different areas of social sciences and cultural studies, maps its pivotal areas of inquiry as well as its analytical perspectives.

The network fosters the translocal, issue-driven cooperation in order to survey and compare the disparate theoretical and empirical strands of research on cultural memory and social remembering in communication studies. They are critically reviewed, conjointly documented, and further examined as the constitutive elements of the emerging area of communication memory studies. Due to the variety of paradigms and approaches it is necessary to work across disciplines and interact especially with the social sciences and cultural studies as well as to take an international perspective.

The network is funded by a networking grant from the German Research Foundation (PE 2436/1-1). The network is coordinated by Christian Pentzold, Center for Media, Communication and Information Research (ZeMKI), University of Bremen, and Christine Lohmeier, University of Salzburg.

Transnational Memory Cultures and Journalism

Abstract

The paper investigates *transnational* memory cultures and its relationship with journalism. The "transcultural turn" in memory studies serves as a starting point for a discussion of the fruitfulness of established theoretical concepts and approaches for media and communication studies as well as shortcomings and future challenges for empirical research. With regards to the state of the art, the observation is made that there is a lack of critical and theory-based empirical studies of the 'mediated connectivity' of transnational memory cultures. The paper presents two research projects that attempt to operationalize the study of transnational memory cultures from a communication studies perspective with a focus on journalism. The first project develops a differentiated model of Europeanized memory public spheres to investigate journalistic coverage of the European turn. The second project uses a discourse analytical approach to study the cosmopolitanized memory in the German press coverage related to the Ovaherero- and Nama-genocide from a critical postcolonial perspective.

1. Introduction: On the "transcultural turn" in memory studies

Processes of spatial conglomeration, which have been described as globalization, transnationalization or cosmopolitanization, or more specifically, Europeanization can be detected on different levels: in politics, economy or (memory) culture. Given these developments the question in how far memories also transcend national borders is empirically relevant, as Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad have pointed out. "Today, nations no longer construct their past in a totally self-contained fashion. Instead, they find themselves increasingly under the observation and subject to the criticism of other nations." (Assmann/Conrad 2010a: 4-5)

Other scholars have pointed to the normative necessity of cross-cultural forms of remembering: "It is difficult to realize the promise of a new peaceful and democratic globe without a mnemonic community that transcends the nation-state and enhances cultural diversity and global solidarity. The creation of cosmopolitan memory is an important step leading to post-nationalist solidaristic political communities." (Misztal 2010: 41)

While the conventional concept of 'collective memory' is firmly embedded within the "Container of the Nation-State" (Levy/Sznaider 2007a: 25) and research on collective memory in the 1980s and 1990s was seen as a national reflex on the discourse about globalization,[1] the new millennium has arguably brought about a "transcultural turn" (Erll 2012: 146) or a "transnational turn" (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 3; Erll/Rigney 2018) signaling a "third wave" in memory studies.[2]

> "Thirty years on, the time is ripe to move memory studies itself beyond methodological nationalism. Globalized communication and time-space compression, post-coloniality, transnational capitalism, large-scale migration, and regional integration: all of these mean that national frames are no longer the self-evident ones they used to be in daily life and identity formation. As a result, the national has also ceased to be the inevitable or preeminent scale for the study of collective remembrance. By now, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, it has become a matter of urgency for scholars in the field of memory studies to develop new theoretical frameworks, invent new methodological tools, and identify new sites and archival resources for studying collective remembrance beyond the nation-state." (De Cesari/Rigney2014: 2)

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[1] „nationaler Reflex auf den Globalisierungsdiskurs" (Levy/Sznaider 2007a: 25)
[2] De Cesari/Rigney (2014: 3) content, however, that "[i]t might be going too far to speak already of a transnational turn in memory studies, but there are stirrings in that direction."

In this context, media and communication are crucial elements. With regard to a global culture of memory, Andreas Huyssen highlights the importance of news media, in particular, as follows:

> "Print and image media contribute liberally to the vertiginous swirl of memory discourses that circulate globally and locally. We read about Chinese and Korean comfort women and the rape of Nanjing; we hear about the 'stolen generation' in Australia and the killing and kidnapping of children during the dirty war in Argentina; we read about Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in South Africa and Guatemala; and we have become witnesses to an ever-growing number of public apologies by politicians for misdeeds of the past. Certainly, the voraciousness of the media and their appetite for recycling seems to be the sine qua non of local memory discourses crossing borders, entering into a network of cross-national comparisons, and creating what one might call a global culture of memory." (Huyssen 2003: 95, quoted from Erll 2011a: 156)

In this paper, we take the "transcultural turn" or "transnational turn" in memory studies as a starting point to discuss the current state of the art and localize the fruitfulness of such approaches in media and communication studies. Our special interest is on the role of journalism within transnational memory cultures – an agent which has rather been neglected in the field of memory studies, as Barbie Zelizer and Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt have pointed out in their groundbreaking volume "Memory and Journalism" (2014):

> "Ever since memory studies coalesced as a recognizable field of inquiry, its reliance on a wide array of institutional settings has been an implicit part of understanding how collective memory works. Journalism's relative absence from those settings, however, has left journalism's status as a primary recorder of a shared past both unsettled and unarticulated." (Zelizer/Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2014: 1f)

Investigating *transnational* memory cultures and its relationship with journalism, our main questions are the following:

- *What are (social, cultural, and (geo-)political) conditions and processes of transnational memory cultures? Which role do journalism and journalistic products have in these processes?*

- *How to explain these developments through existing theoretical concepts and analytical approaches within existing research? Which shortcomings need to be challenged?*

- *In other words: How might transcultural memory studies inspire research in communication studies and journalism and vice versa?*

In the first part of this paper, we will review theoretical research on transnational, respectively transcultural memory in the multidisciplinary field of memory studies

and present some of the major concepts as well as the related critique. We will show that various conceptions of "cosmopolitan memory," "multidirectional memory," or "travelling memory" can be subsumed as "transcultural memory" whereas our own focus remains on "transnational memory" as the latter concept emphasizes the ambiguous role of borders as well as issues of power related to globally circulating memories and struggles over historical justice. Furthermore we will focus on empirical research on transnational/transcultural memory that integrates media and journalism, pointing out shortcomings and future challenges (2). In the second part, we will then present our own current projects as exemplary attempts to confront the gaps and challenges of current and future research (3). Finally, we will summarize the findings and the desiderata related to research on transnational memory cultures and journalism in the field of communication studies and outline suggestions for future research (4).

2. Theoretical research on transnational and transcultural memory in the multidisciplinary field of Memory Studies

2.1. Disciplines Contributing to the Field: An Overview

Over the last two decades, questions of (mediated) globalisation and memory cultures have become a major issue in the interdisciplinary field of memory studies. Numerous studies focus on the various transnational or transcultural dimensions of collective memory in diverse contexts such as Europeanization as a prominent case study or studies on the globalisation or "cosmopolitanization" of Holocaust memory. Among the *interdisciplinary publications* one can refer to the reader "Memory in a Global Age" (Assmann/Conrad 2010b) which included historians, scholars from cultural studies, literature sciences sociologists, political scientists and psychologists. In 2011, the interdisciplinary journal Parallax published a special issue on "Transcultural Memory" (Crownshaw 2011). *Memory Studies* issued a "Roundtable Discussion" dealing with future dynamics of memory research, listing transcultural memory amongst them (Vermeulen et al. 2012), and most recently the journal published the special issue "Cultural Memory Studies after the Transnational Turn" (2018) edited by Astrid Erll

and Ann Rigney. Edited volumes presented studies on various historical and cultural contexts, focusing on processes of remembrance between and beyond boarders, reflecting on the challenges of transcultural memory discourses and research, see e.g. "Transnational memory: Circulation, articulation, scales" (De Cesari/Rigney 2014), "The Transcultural Turn" (Bond/Rapson 2014), and "Scales of Memory" (Kennedy/Nugent 2017); for a theoretical discussion on developments in the field of memory studies in course of a "third wave" see Erll 2011b; Feindt et al. 2014a.

With regard to different scientific disciplines, research on the topic is particularly active in *historical sciences.* Edited volumes on transnational memory in the European context have been offered by König et al. (2008), Frank/Hadler (2011) and Buchinger et al. (2009). Huyssen (2003) presented some historical-philosophical thoughts on international politics of memory. More recent volumes include Engel/Middell/Troebst (2012) and Feindt et al. (2014b).

Political sciences focus on transnational memory politics in Europe or the EU (Kübler 2012, Schwelling 2012, Lebow et al. 2006, Kroh 2008). Leggewie/Lang (2011) published a volume on the inter- and intra-national memory conflicts in the periphery of the EU. The edited volume by Kissel/Liebert (2010b, see also Liebert/Müller 2012) deals with memory conflicts in the post-soviet countries, but also with transnational memory dynamics in Western Europe and problems of law and justice as basis of a coming to terms with the past and reconciliation in several EU member states.

In sociology, the nexus between coming to terms with the past and processes of global legal norms has been in the focus of research by Kastner (2011). This is linked to publications by Levy, Sznaider and Beck and their very influential research on "cosmopolitan memory" (see, e.g., Levy/Sznaider 2006, German original Levy/Sznaider 2001/2007a; Levy/Sznaider 2002, Levy/Sznaider 2007b, Sznaider 2008, Beck et al. 2009). An edited volume on "Collective memory and European Identity" has been published by Eder/Spohn (2005).

In *literature and cultural studies,* groundbreaking research on "transcultural memory" and "travelling memory" has been offered by Erll (2012, 2011b). One should also mention the edited volume on "World Memory" by Bennett/Kennedy (2003), and the seminal study on "Multidirectional Memory" presented by Michael Rothberg (2009).

The question of memory and *reconciliation* has opened up an interdisciplinary field of research focusing on public acts of remembrance and the politics of apologies with regards to historical injustices, mass atrocities and genocide, see e.g. Barkan "The Guilt of Nations" (2000), Barkan/Karn "Taking wrongs seriously: Apologies and reconciliation" (2006). In this context, Jeffrey K. Olick coined the term "The politics of regret" (2007), also see the special issue of the Memory Studies Journal edited by Ann Rigney dedicated to the subject of "remembering and reconciliation" (2012). In view of the "reconciliation paradigm", memory studies attend to various forms of memory, as Rigney points out, that are often described in terms of transitional justice:

> "The challenge for memory studies is to analyse from a multidisciplinary perspective the narratives and discourses underlying the reconciliation scenario, the repertoire of mnemonic practices that have accompanied its emergence, and the political mechanisms at work in its application. Truth commissions and inquiries, compensation settlements and state apologies have become part of the fixed repertoire of reconciliatory remembrance and are key instruments in managing the transition between a divisive past and new forms of co-existence." (Rigney 2012: 252)

The growing field of comparative *genocide studies* also focuses on memory and forgetting, both in social-political, cultural and legal-justice terms, often in relation to Holocaust memory (for an overview see Robel 2013, chapter 2 and 3). As Stef Craps and Michael Rothberg (2011: 517) have emphasized, "arguments about the transnationalization or globalization of memory typically reference the Holocaust, still the primary, archetypical topic in memory studies." In other words, the memory of the Holocaust functions as a key reference in studies on transnational and global memory culture related to trauma, recognition and reconciliation processes across various disciplines.

While the list of relevant publications appears to be quite extensive, it has to be noted that some publications are rather basic contributions which do not offer theoretically or empirically thorough research. Moreover, many of the publications do not really focus on forms of transnational or transcultural memory but take on comparative perspectives and compare national memories. In the next section, we will thus discuss some of the most elaborated, well-known theoretical conceptualizations of memory which question the "national container" and point towards new frames and practices of collective remembrance on local and global scales.

2.2 Theoretical conceptualizations of transnational/transcultural forms of memory

Cosmopolitan Memory (Levy/Sznaider 2001)

The concept of cosmopolitan memory, developed by Daniel Levy and Nathan Sznaider (in line with Ulrich Beck's programme of "cosmopolitanization") has been quite influential not only in sociology but in broader memory studies (see, e.g. Levy/Sznaider 2006, German original Levy/Sznaider 2001/2007a; Levy/Sznaider 2002, Levy/Sznaider 2007b, Sznaider 2008, Beck et al. 2009). "The groundbreaking study […] paved the way for research on 'cosmopolitan memory'" (Erll 2011b: 9) and is perceived as seminal work for the 'transcultural turn' in memory studies.

By cosmopolitan memories, Levy/Sznaider refer "to a process that shifts attention away from the territorialized nation state framework that is commonly associated with the notion of collective memory. Rather than presuppose the congruity of nation, territory and polity, cosmopolitan memories are based on and contribute to nation-transcending idioms, spanning territorial and linguistic borders." According to Levy/Sznaider, the 'national container' of the conventional concept of collective memory is slowly being cracked. "Distinctive national and ethnic memories are not erased but transformed. They continue to exist, but globalization processes also imply that different national memories are subjected to a common patterning." (Levy/Sznaider 2007: 160) With regard to Europeanization they claim that "Europeanization develops in accord with common rhythms and periodizations. But in each case, common elements combine with pre-existing idea(l)s to form something new." (Levy/Sznaider 2007: 160)

In this sense, cosmopolitan memory, as developed by Levy/Sznaider, is being practiced by identifying with the victims of the others (Beck et al. 2004: 448),[3] it means recognizing the history (and the memories) of the others and integrating them into one's own historical narrative (Beck et al. 2004: 464-465).[4] This way, perspectives are getting entangled, with reconciliation becoming the main experience

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[3] „Identifikation mit den Opfern der ‚Anderen'" (Beck et al. 2004: 448)
[4] „die Geschichte (und die Erinnerungen) des ‚Anderen' anzuerkennen und in die eigene Geschichte zu integrieren" (Beck et al. 2004: 464-465)

while remembering (Beck et al. 2004: 465).[5] Thus, everyone turns into a victim, but also into a perpetrator (Levy/Sznaider 2007a: 10).[6]

Levy's/Sznaider's concept gives a first idea of how memories (reaching) beyond the nation-state might look like and under which structural conditions they are likely to develop. However, several limitations have to be mentioned. First, as the concept has been developed based on the example of the Holocaust, it has been put into question if the concept can be applied to other memory events and topics or to other geocultural spaces and societal contexts: "The Nazi genocide of the European Jews was a particular event, and its mourning is rooted in a specific place and cultural tradition – and thus, it cannot be easily appropriated everywhere. Claims to the Holocaust's universality, therefore, are received in many parts of the world as a form of Euro-American imperialism in the field of memory" (Assmann/Conrad 2010a: 8-9). Second, the concept can be criticized for its implicit normativity, as the cosmopolitan memory is presented as being "better," i.e. "more ethical" than the mnemonic narrative of the self-righteous nation (Beck et al. 2004: 465, see also Misztal 2010: 38).[7] Third, scholars have noted that the structural characteristics of the cosmopolitan memory are being described only vaguely: "(…) we still get the impression from their research that the global language about memory exists without a context for framing it. Put another way, we're left wondering about how the new global idiom around memory gets constructed at local level (…)." (Conway 2008: 191; see also Ashuri 2007, Misztal 2010, Reading 2011a) And finally, Levy/Sznaider and Beck do not refer to the role of mass media and journalism when it comes to the development of cosmopolitan memories not to mention potential characteristics of cosmopolitan memory in journalistic coverage (Bisht 2013).

Multidirectional Memory (Rothberg 2009)

Michael Rothberg has shown how Holocaust-discourses enabled discourses of decolonization and thus turned to the question of suffering, transcultural empathy and political mobilization of Holocaust memory. "Against the framework that

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[5] „Verschränkung der Perspektiven, in der dieser Akt der Versöhnung zum zentralen Erinnerungserlebnis wird" (Beck et al. 2004: 464-465)

[6] Jeder „zum Opfer, aber auch jeder zum Täter" (Levy/Sznaider 2007a: 10, vgl. auch Beck et al. 2009: 125)

[7] „Narrativ der selbstgerechten Nation" (Beck et al. 2004: 465)

understands collective memory as *competitive* memory — a zero-sum struggle over scarce resources" he suggests to consider "memory as *multidirectional:* as subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing; as productive and not privative" (Rothberg 2009: 3). Pursuing a normative perspective in this regard, Rothberg believes that "the interaction of different historical memories illustrates the productive, intercultural dynamic" that he calls "multidirectional memory" (Rothberg 2009: 3) which potentially creates new forms of solidarity and justice (Rothberg 2009: 5). The "multidirectional memory," as it was conceptualized by Rothberg includes a permanent traffic of memory contents, media and practices between memory communities, which develops in public spheres and evolves complex mnemonic links:[8] "(…) the borders of memory are jagged; what looks at first like my own property often turns out to be a borrowing or adaptation from history that initially might seem foreign or distant." (Rothberg 2009: 5)

The strength of Rothberg's concept is that already the term "multidirectional" indicates the dynamic, cross-referencing character of memory. Moreover, Rothberg points to the importance of public arenas and spheres in order to render the interaction of different memories possible. As Susannah Radstone highlights: "Rothberg's impressive study of the relations between Holocaust memory and decolonialization struggles advances contemporary memory research's engagement with transnational and transcultural theory by developing a critique of the widely held view that different catastrophes and historical traumas are fated to vie for attention in the public sphere." (Radstone 2011: 120) However, Rothberg does not integrate the specific role of mass media and journalism into his concept. Moreover, as multidirectional memory consists in decontextualizing and schematizing the historical events, multidirectional memories seem to be only one possible and rather superficial form of transnational remembering. We argue that, in the case of news media, in particular, "the scarcity of the public arena" is indeed a crucial factor (de Wolff 2017: 415).

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[8]   „unablässigen Verkehr von Gedächtnisinhalten, -medien und -praktiken zwischen Gedächtnisgemeinschaften", der in öffentlichen Arenen stattfindet und bei dem „komplexe mnemonische Verweisstrukturen" (Erll 2012: 150) erfolgen:

Travelling Memories (Erll 2011)

Astrid Erll has elaborated on the concept of transcultural memory and "travelling memory", seeking to distinguish empirical observations and normative assumptions. With regards to the huge body of work on e.g. "transnational," "diasporic," "hybrid," "syncretistic," "postcolonial," "translocal," "creolized," "global," or "cosmopolitan" memory, she takes the term "transcultural memory" as an umbrella term to subsume the various conceptualizations, or as a "research perspective,", in the first place.

> "Therefore, 'transcultural memory' seems to me rather a certain *research perspective*, a focus of attention, which is directed towards mnemonic processes unfolding across and beyond cultures. It means transcending the borders of traditional 'cultural memory studies' by looking beyond established research assumptions, objects and methodologies." (Erll 2011b: 9, orig. emphasis)

Adopting such a "transcultural lens" (Erll 2011b: 16) Erll draws on Aby Warburg's approach of "mnemohistory," on the one hand, and Clifford Geertz' anthropological studies on "travelling culture," on the other hand, she highlights the "movements" of memory in its synchronic and diachronic dimensions, presenting the concept of "travelling memory". As Erll emphasizes, "[t]ravelling memory is a process that scholars can describe; but its outcomes cannot be predicted."

The fruitfulness of "travelling memory" is that unlike other conceptions (such as Levy/Sznaider's cosmopolitan memory), it separates the transcultural dimension of memory from a normative perspective and suggests focusing on the specific routes and characteristics of memories' global-local dynamics in particular local contexts.

> "There is no inherent connection to good or bad, positive or negative, reconciliatory or destructive, enabling or banalizing uses of the past. The idea that (as Levy and Sznaider seem to suggest in a view to Holocaust memory) that there is a 'de-territorialized, transnational and globalizing *and therefore* cosmopolitan memory is thus only partly correct. Not each 'memory around the globe' will automatically become a veritable 'global memory'; not every worldwide available object of remembrance will be turned into a cosmopolitan, an ethical, or an empathetic memory. Although we can discern a functional potential that comes with specific media and contents [...], much of the actual semantic shape that travelling memory takes on will be the result of the routes it takes in specific contexts and of the uses made by specific people with specific agendas. It is the localizing aspect of travelling memory which requires a close reading of our material." (Erll 2011b: 15, orig. emphasis)

Furthermore, Erll also addresses *media* as one important (next to "carriers", contents, practices and forms) dimension of movement (ibid: 12). Hereby, she identifies at least four central aspects of the media's role within the travels of (transcultural) memory, referring both to its diachronic as well as synchronic dimensions. The conception of

travelling memory thus provides a fruitful perspective for empirical studies on transnational memory cultures with regards to media and communication. However, whereas Erll highlights the importance of media (and social actors), the role of journalism is not being addressed here.[9] Besides, in our view, the conflictual dynamics of travelling memory regarding the question of power asymmetries and hegemony in present media cultures and (mediated) public arenas might be further strengthened. In particular, the concept of transculturality "seems to lose some of its analytical purchase" on the issue of (national) borders and their role in processes and practices of memory, as De Cesari/Rigney (2014: 4) have pointed out. They argue convincingly in favor of the term "transnational memory" instead of "transcultural memory," as the latter – despite the fruitfulness of the concept – "has been applied above all to the study of mobility and flows rather than the social and political factors, as well as cultural ones that may impede them." (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 4)

Transnational Memory (De Cesari/Rigney 2014)

The conception of "transnational memory" as presented by Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney in their introduction to a collection of essays emphasizes the role of "national frameworks alongside the potential of cultural production both to reinforce and to transcend them." (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 4) The authors are especially concerned with issues of historical (in)justice, human rights and questions of power of transnational memory embedded in often asymmetrical social formations. The studies just point towards "new possibilities for examining the interplay and tensions between culture and institutions, and hence for developing a new dialogue between those approaching the field from the Humanities and those approaching it from the Social Science" (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 4).

With regards to "transnational dynamics," De Cesari/Rigney emphasize, as several contributions of their volume demonstrate, that "globally circulating memories and particularly the memory of the Holocaust [...] have helped provide a language in which to articulate other narratives of suffering and loss [...] in an increasingly transnational yet fragmented public sphere." (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 11) However, unlike

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[9] See discussion below, p. 11.

conceptions such as "cosmopolitan memory," "multidirectional memory," or "travelling memory" discussed above, they highlight that these dynamics do not necessarily lead to "power-free interaction" (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 11).

> "Memory discourses are deeply entangled; yet such interconnections are often, if not always, asymmetrical ones, as the interactions between the memory of the Holocaust and the memory of the Palestinian Nakba illustrate, or the privileging of some genocides over others as part of a global canon." (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 11)

De Cesari/Rigney suggest that studies of "transnational memory" might start from the issue of "circulation" and "the question of how stories ad models for remembrance shape what is remembered and provide conditions for exchanges between groups and individuals" (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 13); in contrast to the widespread idea of the 'flow,' a focus should lie on "frictions and blockages in what a discontinuous memory movements" (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 14)

With regards to the double meaning of the term "articulation" they emphasize that (mediated) cultural memories are seen, firstly, as "articulated discourses" (Hall), i.e. they are "made up of heterogeneous elements, borrowings, and appropriations from other languages and memorials traditions that are assembled together into narratives" (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 17); secondly, "the help to link up ('articulate') individuals and groups through their common engagement with those narratives." (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 17) Hence, transnationally circulating memories are thought as "both the medium and the outcome of the entanglements between groups and people." (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 17)

One of the crucial challenges of a transnational approach, according to the authors grounds in a critical rethinking of the issue of "scale" and of "the unspoken hierarchies of scale" (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 20) that are often implicit in research practices. As De Cesari/Rigney sum up:

> "Crucially, I opens up an analytic space to consider the interplay between social formations and cultural practices, or between state-operated institutions of memory and the flow of mediated narratives within and across state borders. It makes it possible to move to the centre of analysis the material presence of borders in the 'flows' of globalized memories; these may be nonhierarchical and deeply democratic in appearance, but may well themselves be the sites of hegemonic and governmental processes in ways that both reproduce and alter those of older national memory forms." (De Cesari/Rigney 2014: 4f.)

The strength of this approach is that, especially with regards to studies on powerful struggles over memory and recognition in the global age, it highlight the ambiguity of

"transnational memory" that might be both emancipative and yet marked by frictions, asymmetries and exclusions. However, due to the anthological character of the volume, the authors do rather point towards new directions of study and demonstrate various specific and surely insightful case studies that also critically reflect on transnational public spheres that might serve for further empirical studies on transnational memory cultures and journalism, in particular. However, they do not provide a coherent model and the approach thus needs to be further operationalized for empirical research in media and communication studies.

2.3 Empirical research on transcultural memory in and through media and journalism

Empirical research on transcultural forms of memory in (journalistic) media content focuses on (anniversary journalism) of collective traumas, first and foremost the Holocaust, which is deemed to be the 'master narrative' of transnational remembering (see publications focusing on media content by Böhme-Dürr 1999, Bösch 2010, but also publications by Levy/Sznaider und Beck, Assmann 2010, Rothberg 2009). Studies focusing on the remembrance of 9/11 in journalistic media have been published by Ammann/Grittmann (2013) and Ammann (2015).

While most of the research comes from disciplines that do not use methods of empirical social research, studies using 'classic' methods of communication research (i.e. content analysis of media texts and pictures) are still rare (see Ammann/Grittmann 2013, Ammann 2015 and Lohner 2014). Among the core findings of empirical studies, one can summarize that the transnational character of memory communicated by journalism is dependent on the events to be remembered: Historical events that have been *media events* (Dayan/Katz 1992) are likely to enhance transnational memories: "On a transnational level, media events synchronize the witnessing of worldwide events for a global spectatorship. As this audience transcends the nation, it has the power to critique and challenge national myths and authorities" (Assmann/Conrad 2010a: 4). In this vein, the *Holocaust* is being considered the "paradigmatic case" (Beck et al. 2004: 441) with regard to the transnationalization of memory because of different characteristics which can be summarized as follows: (1) transnational range and impact of the historical event, (2)

emotional character of the event, (3), institutionalized transnational practices of remembrance, (4), event has served as main reference point for a shared understanding of values (Lohner 2014).

On the other hand, (empirical) research has also noted a decontextualization or dehistorization of memory of the Holocaust: in this vein, Holocaust memory becomes a kind of 'memory religion' or empty construct that everyone might be able to refer to but also is not challenging anymore because it does not do justice to the real experiences and antagonistic memories (König 2008: 26, Delanty/Rumford 2005).[10]

With regard to the memory of 9/11, Ammann/Grittmann (2013: 383) conclude that photo journalism creates the idea of a cosmopolitan community of destiny which is based on an iconography of compassion with the suffering of the others as the dominant journalistic framing (Ammann/Grittmann 2013: 368).[11] However, this iconography focusses on the US victims and their mourning. A shared construction of identity which could have been visualized, for example, by showing mourning in other nations does not take place (Ammann/Grittmann 2013: 383).[12]

Apart from studies on journalistic commemorative coverage, another strand of (empirical) research focuses on the role of the internet and online media for the development of transnational memories; however, not necessarily dealing with journalistic products online: Hoskins (2009: 92) points to the development of a "digital network memory" as a new phenomenon, "driven by the connectivities of digital technologies and media" (see also Hoskins (2011) on a 'connective memory'). In his study on Wikipedia, Pentzold (2009: 255) describes the online encyclopedia to be a "global memory place", fostering the transnational discursive production of mnemonic content through its global accessibility and network structure. In her research on the public witnessing of the death of Iranian protester Neda through smartphones, digital camera and social media, Reading (2011b: 249) claims that the "globytal memory

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[10] „Erinnerung an Holocaust wird zur Gedächtnisreligion, zum „(…) zum entleerten, inhaltslosen Konstrukt, auf das sich vielleicht alle als gemeinsamen Bezugspunkt beziehen und verständigen könnten, das aber alles Herausfordernde verloren hat und zum Kitsch wird, weil es der Härte der realen Erfahrungen und antagonistischen Erinnerungen gar nicht mehr angemessen ist" (König 2008: 26)

[11] „die Idee einer kosmopolitischen Schicksalsgemeinschaft", „Ikonographie des Mitgefühls mit dem Leiden Anderer als dominantem journalistischem Deutungsmuster" (Ammann/Grittmann 2013: 368)

[12] Eine „gemeinsame (…) Identitätskonstruktion, die beispielsweise durch Motive von Trauermomenten in anderen Nationen visualisiert werden könnte" findet nicht statt (Ammann/Grittmann 2013: 383).

field" developing through digitization did not only enhance a quick, cross medial and global diffusion of the event but also triggered a glocalized mnemonic discourse.

While most studies focus on media content, few studies analyze the correlation of globalized media production and the development of transnational memories (or, rather, transnational memory content). Building on the concept of cosmopolitan memories, Ashuri (2007) analyzed the process of producing the TV documentary 'The Fifty Year War: Israel and the Arabs,' that was co-produced by a TV channels from UK, US and the Middle East. Ashuri concludes that this transnational production process did not enhance a transnationalisation of the produced media content: "(…) executives were satisfied that an effective national narrative had indeed emerged from the material collected (…) Rather than challenging existing collective memories regarding the events depicted, the three co-players in this film project were 'flagging' those memories that their perceived audiences had already agreed to remember" (Ashuri 2007: 47-49). Thus, Ashuri's study indicates that the commercial conditions of media production as well as the role perceptions and personal beliefs of media practitioners may counteract possible cross-border mnemonic media products.

2.4 Shortcomings of research and future challenges

The above discussion has demonstrated that social memory is dynamic ("travelling") and intrinsically transnational or transcultural which makes the "container-culture" (Erll 2011b: 7) a misleading paradigm. Taken as a research perspective, the concept of "transcultural memory" serves as an umbrella term to study these dynamics in both its diachronic and synchronic dimensions. Theoretical conceptualizations such as "cosmopolitan memory" (Levy/Sznaider), "travelling memory" (Erll) or "multidirectional memory" (Rothberg) provide instructive models to focus on the cross-referential acts of remembering, both in its globalizing as well as in its localizing processes. However, the concepts emphasize the communitarian and identity-building role of transcultural memory in terms of inclusion, whereas the question of exclusion and power relations remains rather neglected.[13] Moreover, as we have pointed out, they do rarely refer to

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[13] For a more detailed critical review of the concepts of "cosmopolitan memory" and "multidirectional memory" see de Wolff 2017.

the role of media and, in particular, journalism. While many approaches in media memory studies highlight the importance of mediated public arenas, related conceptions of transcultural or transnational public spheres are undertheorized within memory studies.

The brief overview on present empirical studies investigating the relationship between transnational memory cultures and media and journalism demonstrates that the focus of studies remains (once more) on identity building and collective memory, inclusion, as well as transnational solidarity and less on exclusions and struggles for recognition of 'others'. Furthermore, the overall literature on transcultural or transnational memory has a "[...] tendency towards over-emphasizing the utopian potentialities of the mediated 'connectivity' of memory and under-emphasis on the empirical examination of the limits, contestations and inequalities characterizing the field of symbolic politics that it enables" (Bisht 2013: 14). Furthermore and in addition, studies on journalistic negotiations of conflicting pasts that transcend national and cultures borders, and, in particular, reach beyond globalized discourses of the Holocaust and Western media, remain marginal. Besides, we argue for an integrative perspective that might overcome the either-or-logic and focus both on transcultural/transnational entanglements and localizing practices in memory cultures and journalistic practices (Schoon 2016).

Another challenge regarding existing research relates to the issue of applied methods: we observe that since most studies focus on media content, there is a lack of knowledge regarding the structural conditions of producing journalistic content potentially relevant for transnational remembering. In this vein, future studies should investigate selection and production contexts and conduct interviews with journalists. Furthermore, as Susannah Radstone puts it, the question that occurs along with the transcultural turn is about the *locations* and *locatedness* of memory: "Though it might seem paradoxical, it is from the perspective of the 'transnational' and the 'transcultural' that we are reminded of the significance of memory's locatedness" (Radstone 2011: 117). While most studies do indeed focus on localizing aspects (specific contexts, case studies), the particular locatedness of memory agents remains

a blind spot in memory studies as well as in mainstream media and communication studies.

3. New Directions: Some project ideas trying to step in…

In this section, we will now turn to some of our own research projects that confront the above mentioned research gaps and challenges and seek to point out new directions in scholarship on transnational memory cultures and journalism – but in terms of theory, methodological approaches and empirical case studies.

3.1 Transnational (Europeanized) memory public spheres (Lohner 2014)

Focusing on Europeanization as "as a particular response to globalization" (Delanty/Rumford 2005: 8), a theoretical concept putting journalism into the core of investigation, has been offered by Lohner (2014). Integrating concepts and findings from memory studies (also on transcultural memory), as well as research on European public spheres and media communication, European identity and journalism research, Lohner argues that models on the Europeanization of (media) public spheres provide a suitable conceptual, analytical and methodological framework for empirical analyses of the Europeanization of mediated social memory. Here, Europeanized public spheres are defined as a network of multiple differentiated public spheres and media arenas between which we can detect communicative linkages (Weßler et al. 2008). Against this background, we can think of specific public spheres or media arenas dedicated to social memory work and we have to ask how these memory public spheres could Europeanize.

The study claims he Europeanization of public spheres dedicated to social memory work to be *a context- or event-dependent, plural, gradual and multi-dimensional process.* It distinguishes four analytical dimensions, describing communicative linkages with regard to topics, actors, argumentation and identity references.
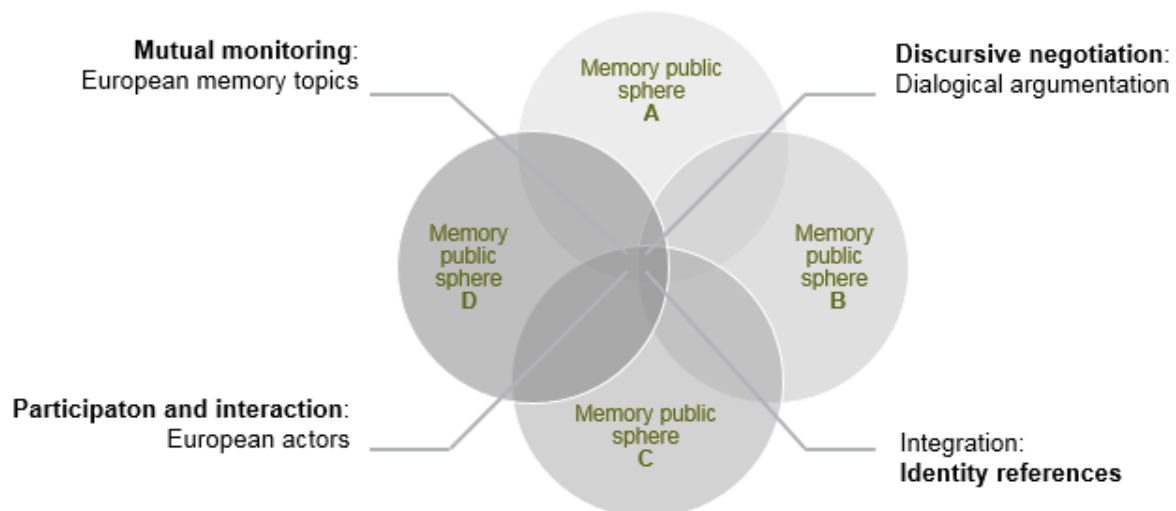
(1)   *Monitoring* is the basic condition of Europeanization and refers to the fact that various (national, local etc.) public spheres of memory work pay attention to the memory debates in the other public spheres and are mutually accessible.

(2)   Europeanization of *Interaction* describes an interaction and an exchange between the public spheres as perspectives of other European societies on memory-related questions and events are mutually communicated.

(3)   *Discursive negotiation* implies a broad Europeanized discourse, in which memories of the 'Other' are not only communicated but thoroughly reflected, explained, negotiated and acknowledged so that perspectives and realities interlock with regard to shared memories.

(4)   *Integration* evolves if these different perspectives are being integrated into the particular memories in a cognitive-reflexive as well as an emotional-affective sense. Memories extend to a pan-European level because a sense of collective belonging to a European (memory-) community is being communicated.

Pic. 1: Model of Europeanized Memory Public Spheres

In this sense, Europeanized memory public spheres include global-local European memories or "Eurolocal" memories. The Europeanization of memories is, however, *more than merely adding up* the different memories in Europe because a new level is being achieved. Moreover, it is not a question of whether mass-mediated social memory is Europeanized or not, we should rather think of memories being more or less Europeanized regarding the different dimensions and depending on different memory contexts and the specific media outlets.

In her work, Lohner developed 87 empirical indicators to measure the four dimensions through standardized content analysis of journalistic articles and press photos – hence, making the model usable for empirical studies in journalism research.

Concerning the dimension "Monitoring" media content analyses should pay attention to the ***triggers for memory work and the memory issues*** in media coverage. Which events are being remembered in the national media? Do only issues that originally belong to national history serve as triggers for memory work or are important historical events of other nations also taken into account?

As regards the dimension "Europeanization of Interaction", ***origin of the actors*** mentioned in the media coverage is relevant. Whose perspective is mediated in the articles? Do only national actors have the chance to give their impressions when questions of social memory are at stake? Or is this also possible for representatives of other European countries? Concerning the dimension "Discursive Negotiation," we have to study whether communicative links between the different social memories are being constructed in the coverage. Is there a real Europeanized discourse taking place reflecting different points of view that relate to each other across country (and single media) boundaries? Do articles refer to interdependencies between the memories and thereby enhance mutual understanding?

As to the dimension of ***"Integration"*** we have to ask whether media coverage communicates a feeling of collective belonging to a European memory community. Which (explicit and implicit) notions of belonging are covered, how significant are references to a European collective identity?

In her empirical case study Lohner investigated the 20th anniversary of the "***European Turn"*** (that is the movement for freedom and democratization in several European countries 1989-1991), analyzing textual and visual coverage of two German and two French broadsheet newspapers (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Le Figaro, Le Monde).

Summarizing the overall findings, the study detected that journalistic memory of the anniversary of the European turn focused on actors and spaces that had been directly affected by the events. Moreover, one could identify a 'mnemonic core' ("Erinnerungskern," Lohner 2014: 333) as memory was being condensed to certain core events, topics and perspectives.

Despite certain tendencies of Europeanization, memory was being ***domesticated*** at the same time, as national and local spaces, perspectives, collectives and frames remained core reference points. At the same time, Europeanization was also ***segmented***, as there were differences depending on the studied countries, newspapers and different events.

3.2 Cosmopolitanized memory of the Ovaherero- and Nama-genocide in the German press from a postcolonial perspective (de Wolff)

The ongoing dissertation project ***Postcolonial memory struggles in present media cultures*** (working title) deals with the issue of memory, public media (journalism) and postcolonialism. It focuses on the public discourse about the Ovaherero- and Nama-genocide (1904-1908) in the German press and explores the ways these tragic events are being remembered and negotiated today, i.e. how public memory related to the colonial past is actually being constructed and transformed in the present. A special interest lies on the processes of transnationalization or ***cosmopolitanization*** of postcolonialmemory cultures. The theoretical framework developed for this case study links memory studies, media and communication studies with approaches from of critical cosmopolitanism and postcolonial theory in order to understand the symbolic politics of recognition. In doing so, this study asks both about moments of transcultural empathy and solidarization, in the sense of "cosmopolitan memory" (Levy/Sznaider) and "multi-directional memory" (Rothberg) as well as exclusion, marginalization and processes of 'othering' in the respective media discourse.

The ***empirical analysis*** is based on a qualitative discourse analysis of articles in major German print media (such as ***Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, taz - die tageszeitung, Spiegel, ZEIT***) between 2001 and 2016. The sample consists of approx. 500 articles that were published on very different occasions. It is guided by the following research questions: In which ways is the memory of the Ovaherero and Nama, the descendents of the victims of the genocide, being recognized in the German press? What are the characteristics and limitations of public (transcultural) memory in the current postcolonial setting? Who gains a voice and what kind of narratives are rather being occluded? In other words, through the lens of

"transcultural memory", the main objective is to deconstruct the present media discourse related to the Ovaherero- and Nama-genocide as a powerful process of meaning (or: memory) production that arguably offers new 'other' narratives about the colonial past and thus stresses the "colonial amnesia" dominant in public memory culture in Germany; yet, it partly reproduces postcolonial hierarchies and injustices. The overall argument is that we can observe a process described in terms of transculturalization or cosmopolitanization of mediated public memory but we can speak, at most, of a **postcolonial cosmopolitanism (**de Wolff 2017; de Wolff/Brink 2018).

In a first step, in an inductive (and rather quantitative) approach, major discursive events in the material were identified in order to learn when, i.e. on what kind of occasions, the memory related to the Ovaherero- and Nama-genocide actually became an issue in the German press. The first findings demonstrate, that intensified media interest occurred e.g. when representatives of the Ovaherero filed a lawsuit against Germany in 2001; on the centenary of the Genocide over the course of the year 2004 with a peak on central dates in January as well as on the occasion of an apology delivered by minister Wieczorek-Zeul in Namibia; in context of the return of human remains from colonial collections in German archives (such as the Berliner Charité) to a Namibian delegation in 2011 or in the course of debates over an official recognition of the Turkish genocide on the Armenians, which eventually led to a recognition of the German genocide of the Ovaherero and Nama (2015).

In a second step, the media discourse was analyzed along five central discursive events with regards to the various framings; the comparison shows that the press framed the articles in very different ways, ranging from technical legal discussions via questions of foreign politics to reflections on postcolonial ethics of research and exhibition of human remains.

The focus of the discourse analysis was then on the various social actors (taken as 'memory agents') and speaking positions represented in journalistic texts, as well as on the delegitimization and legitimization of competing versions of the colonial past. The analysis shows that politicians, academics and representatives of the victim groups were made the major actors groups; remarkably, politicians were represented as both causing and solving the conflict about the recognition of the genocide and academics

featured as "experts" who (re)constructed to history of the colonial past and commented on current negotiation processes; whereas the victim groups were mostly limited to their role as affected communities and often downplayed and discriminated as 'indigenous' subjects, who were not authorized to speak for themselves.

Based on these preliminary results, it can be concluded that the case study on the press coverage related to the struggle for recognition of the Ovaherero- and Nama-genocide makes it clear that the *colonial amnesia* – which arguably had dominated the public memory culture in Germany– is now being stressed by critical counter-memory narratives stemming from the margins to the center of public debates. Accordingly, the current mediated memory conflict can be approached in terms of re-negotiating or re-writing the colonial past and its legacy (counter-memory), witnessing a growing visibility and acknowledgement of a different perspective of the affected communities (those of the postcolonial 'other'). Yet, those voices remain marginalized and are often put into the position of inferiority (often described in terms of "tribes" and "chiefs" ("Stamm," "Häuptling"), revealing a Western paternalism towards members of formerly colonized groups that now demand recognition and reparations for colonial injustices and thus postcolonial asymmetries in the realm of seemingly transnational, cosmopolitanized public memory cultures.

In this regard, the study demonstrates that in order to elicit postcolonial memory struggles and deconstruct them as such without reproducing colonial discourses and hierarchies, scholars in memory studies have to confront the asymmetries that determine the global human rights regime as much as they prevail in large parts of Western academia in general as well as in the journalistic field and re-invent decolonial research agendas and methodologies. Furthermore, to give an outlook for future research on transnational memory cultures and journalism, the research projects suggests that studies might, firstly, include the production context of public media discourses; secondly, base their studies on a sample that allows to reconstruct the transnational or transcultural routes that memory narratives take in order to understand the transformation processes and specific localizing tendencies. Future research projects might, for example, include the Namibian press and counter-public spheres such as blogs and Facebook groups or conduct interviews with activists.

4. Conclusion and outlook

The aim of this paper has been to discuss the transcultural turn in memory studies from a communication studies perspective as well as to evaluate the fruitfulness of elaborated theoretical concepts for research on transnational memory cultures and journalism.

As we have pointed out with regards to the state of the art, the field of journalism remains rather neglected and undertheorized so far. Furthermore, the overall literature on transcultural or transnational memory lacks critical empirical studies of the 'mediated connectivity' of transnational memory cultures. As a response to these research gaps the two projects presented in the previous section attempt to operationalize the study of transnational memory cultures from a communication studies perspective with a focus on journalism. Lohner's project developed a differentiated model of Europeanized memory public spheres to investigate journalistic coverage of the European turn. De Wolff's project presented a discourse analytical approach to study the cosmopolitanized memory related to the Ovaherero- and Nama-genocide in print media from a critical postcolonial perspective. This study which pays particular attention to the locations and locatedness of specific memory agents and their speaking positions in transnational public media discourses. These studies thus offer theoretical-conceptual as well as methodological approaches for empirical studies on transnational memory cultures and journalism.

To conclude on the question how research of transcultural memory studies might inspire research in communication studies and vice versa-we suggest that

- conceptualizations of transcultural memory, such as "cosmopolitan memory" (Levy/Sznaider), "travelling memory" (Erll) or "multi-directional memory" (Rothberg) provide instructive theoretical frameworks to focus on cross-cultural dynamics ("routes", "itineraries") in journalistic media texts, both on synchronic as well as diachronic (longue duree) level
- Communication studies offer a wide range of methodological tools for empirical research on media and journalism that might contribute to the field of (transcultural) memory studies. Next to content analysis, for example, qualitative discourse analysis has proved to be a productive methodological research

approach. Moreover, existing research on journalistic roles, norms and practices offer fruitful and important insights in order to explain patterns of transnational memory in journalistic texts.

As we have outlined, in our own research projects, we opt to, *firstly*, draw on approaches of a critical cosmopolitanism in order to understand the global-local dynamics of transnational memory cultures and develop a framework for empirical analysis of the mediated politics of recognition in transcultural public spheres.

Secondly, we suggest including postcolonial theory and critique in research on transnational memory cultures in order to provide a critical lens that is attentive to the legacies of colonial power imbalances in contemporary global relations and present media cultures, as well as to the limitations and locatedness of transcultural memory and related research. In view of new phenomena related to colonial injustices, memory studies need to be a lot more attentive to power relations and especially the (re)production of colonial inequalities und power asymmetries that persist in post- and neo-colonial regimes, today.

Third, as memory is a communicative practice, we opt to make use of theoretical concepts that have proved to be helpful when analyzing communicative linkages and practices in a transnational or transcultural context and with regard to (journalistic) media, such as concepts of transnational, transcultural (or more specifically Europeanized) public spheres.

Fourth, on a general level, we claim to bring in theoretical concepts, methodologies as well as empirical knowledge originating in ***communications studies and journalism research*** to further investigate processes, practices and conditions of transnational memory cultures in and through journalism.

Fifth, following Radstone's argument (2011) for a more self-reflexive scholarship in memory studies we claim to take into account that research dealing with transcultural or transnational memory is itself always located within specific national intellectual and political histories; In this context, approaches in critical cosmopolitan studies and postcolonial studies provide a critical lens to reflect on the particular positionality and limitations of basic assumptions and research agendas and point towards new perspectives and research designs.

Finally, we suggest linking research on transnational memory cultures and journalism to Transitional justice and genocide studies, as the public media represent one of the major fora for contemporary struggles of recognition and historical justice.

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