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Troubled Pasts in Journalistic and Citizen-led Media

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**D3.1 Report on the state of the art in the field of memory, conflict and media
- WP3 Troubled Pasts in Journalistic and Citizen-Led Media –**

Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....4

Introduction.....8

Terminology, theories, and methodology9

Memory in the age of digitalization12

Reconstructing troubled pasts: Subjects of study17

Gender and Mediated Memory of Troubled Pasts27

Summary and conclusion30

Bibliography.....32

Executive Summary

This report is concerned with providing a review of the ‘state of the art’ in the study of mediated memory and conflict. It has a dual focus: on the one hand it focuses on the inter-relationship between media, collective memory and discourse analysis, in terms of how mediated memories are constructed, circulated, and appropriated; on the other hand, it focuses on the substantive concerns of RePAST, which include a focus on troubled pasts, and especially as these troubled pasts intersect with European integration. The report aims to feed into the development of the conceptual and methodological foundation for WP3, which is concerned with the role of journalistic and citizen-led media in the dealing with troubled pasts and European integration. The main objective of this report is to trace and summarise the main theories, methods, and findings of previous research on the topic, with a view to identifying the openings and omissions in conceptualising and researching mediated memories of troubled past.

Section 1 traces the difficulties and tensions in defining and capturing collective memory and especially its relationship with media and journalism. The report identifies as especially helpful the modular definition of Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Baden (2016: 1), which posits that collective memory deals with shared recollections of the past; that this past is constructed and interpreted through the lenses of the present; that collective memory involves “the active construction and narration of the past”; and that collective memory “is manifested in people’s communication and practice”. The two main issues that research has identified in terms of the relationship between media and collective memory concern, first, the question of power and secondly the question of language. The media emerge both as powerful loci of construction of dominant narratives of collective memory and as sites of renegotiation and contestation. Additionally, the question of the specific type of language used in commemorating is crucial in shaping our understandings of past events – for example, is May 8, 1945 described as ‘capitulation’ day, ‘victory’ day, or ‘liberation’ day? Notwithstanding the great contribution of research in developing more refined theoretical approaches to mediated memories, there are few studies on this topic and even fewer systematic empirical investigations of collective memories of troubled pasts.

Section 2 deals with the shift to digital media and the associated changes in mediated collective memories. Overall, we identified here important shifts associated with the rise of the new ‘memory regime’. Although digital media are associated with a broadening and diversification of the voices associated with memorialising and representing memories of past conflict, there are important questions concerning the kinds of voices that tend to be heard more than others. Additionally, while new forms of memorialising give way to more expressive and creative means of understanding and relating to the past, they can also be associated to the preponderance of an individualising relationship to the past, which can be commodified and used for profit. Finally, digital environments as socio-technical systems (van Dijck, 2013) make use of automated

techniques for ranking and recommending contents, which then create a new kind of visibility depending on algorithms. This feeds back into users' actions, and therefore actively contributes to the structuring of digital memory. As with traditionally mediated memory, digital memory raises the issue of power and the politics of remembering. RePAST's remit includes an interrogation of the question of power and politics in the digital memory regime vis-à-vis our eight case studies.

Section 3 focuses on the case studies that are the subject of RePAST's research. A critical examination of the literature dealing with media and memory in the eight countries under investigation within the RePAST project—Poland, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Cyprus, Greece, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina—found a focus on conflict and 'extreme events' (Kitch, 2008). In **Germany**, most of the literature on mediated collective memory has focused on the Holocaust but also more recently on the Communist past of East Germany. Studies here appear comprehensive, looking at formal historiography, high-brow media, popular culture and digital media. We note that there is a lack of recent studies of news media reporting of commemorative events. In **Spain**, the key themes are the Spanish Civil War, the dictatorship of Franco, and the transition to democracy. Research has sought to trace the discourses surrounding the Civil War in a variety of media genres. Important questions in this research cover the shifts in collective memory and their political implications. In **Poland**, as with Germany, the key topic is the Holocaust. Other studies looked at memories of WWII and the communist past, especially as they informed public and media debate. An important concern is to rethink Poland's historical past following the communist era given its prominence in public debate in recent years. In **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, the key event is the Yugoslav wars that followed the fall of communism. Research here has identified the role of the media both in exacerbating inter-ethnic animosity during the war and in ameliorating it through narratives of reconciliation after the war. The conflict between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, and the ongoing efforts for peace and reconciliation are at the centre of relevant research in **Cyprus**. Findings here point to the existence of strong nationalist currents in the journalism of both the Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot news media, but also highlighted the constructive role of media initiatives such as the *Cyprus Community Media Centre*. **Greece** has dealt with a number of relatively recent traumatic events, including the 1922 'national disaster' that saw over one million Greeks from Asia Minor move to mainland Greece as refugees, WWII and the German occupation, the civil war that followed (1946-1949), and the military dictatorship of 1967-1974. Of these, the most well researched seems to be the civil war, which has been studied extensively in the news media of countries outside Greece, but which is under-researched in the Greek media. **Kosovo** is still dealing with the aftermath of the war of 1999, though we note, following Baliqi (2018), the lack of political will in dealing with Kosovo's troubled past. This leads to contested narratives of the war and its memories and commemorations. It is worth noting here the commemorative events concerning sexual violence and the links between Kosovar and other women survivors from other conflicts. In **Ireland**, the key event and trauma is that of the Troubles (1968-1998), which revolve around the conflict between Irish republicans or nationalists, who seek the unification of Ireland as a republic; and unionists or loyalists, who remain loyal to the British crown and the United Kingdom. Research examined the multiple perspectives of those who lived through the conflict. As

with other cases of conflict, the media have been seen as active participants in the conflict rather than neutral platforms. The review here notes three main openings: firstly, the relative lack of attention to audiences; secondly, the relative lack of attention to the conditions under which mediated narratives of conflict are produced; thirdly, the lack of a comprehensive theoretical account of the relationship between media and collective memory.

Section 4 deals with the issue of gender, and the gendered construction of mediated collective memories of past conflict. Gender constitutes an important dimension of research on conflict, which has focused on the overall male-centred, and masculinist constructions of history. Women are often erased from conflicts, or confined to the role of a victim, provided that they are always seen as conforming to their domestic roles as mothers. Gendered ideas of the nation and national identity further feed into such male-centred discourses of the past. Additionally, when it comes to the mediation of conflict, the structure and logics of the media that tend to prioritise elite actors further exclude women who tend not to occupy such positions. Gendered aspects of mediated collective memory constitute an important area for further research in the RePAST project.

Finally, the concluding section brings everything together, identifying the following key gaps in the existing literature and questions that remain open and require further research:

- While collecting memory has been studied extensively, and from a variety of perspectives using different methodologies, we lack a comprehensive synthesis of the various components and specifically an empirically informed but theoretically rich account of its relationship with the media.
- There is a lack of attention paid to the contexts of production of mediated collective memories, and specifically to the conditions under which journalists and editors produce accounts of troubled pasts, and the various parameters that may feed into this process of production.
- Although we have rich accounts of how collective memories of the past are represented in various media across all of RePAST's case studies, much less attention is paid to the publics themselves, and their reception, interpretation, appropriation and (re)production of these representations.
- The rise and increasing dominance of digital media has ushered in important changes in the mediation of collective memory. Research needs to address the specific issues created by the new media, and especially the rise of new actors in the construction and dissemination

of collective memories; the implications of processes such as individuation, personalisation and commodification of memory; and the role of the algorithmic structuring of the digital domain.

- The issue of gender is still not systematically examined vis-a-vis collected memories and their mediation; does gender play any role in the production of mediated discourses of troubled pasts; or in their reception?
- There is minimal research on how the mediation of troubled pasts and their collective memorialisation intersect with EU integration. Are specific constructions more or less conducive to integration? What determines or feeds into these mediated constructions and how are they received by the various publics?

Introduction

The field of memory studies has grown steadily since the 1980s (Klein, 2000) and has transcended disciplinary boundaries by involving various academic disciplines of the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences (Sturken, 2008; Olick & Robbins, 1998). This also holds true for the field of communication and media studies, which has witnessed considerable advances over recent decades by reflecting upon the theoretical and conceptual entanglement of media and memory studies (e.g. Olick 2014; Neiger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011), or more specifically upon the mediation and mediatization of memory (e.g. Garde-Hansen, 2011; Kitch, 2008; Hajek, Lohmeier, & Pentzold, 2016) or the role of journalists as agents in the construction of collective memory (e.g. Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014; Zelizer, 2008). Scholarly literature has identified the relevance of both traditional (mass) media and social media in the shaping, negotiating, recording, and “storing” of private and collective memories (e.g. Garde-Hansen, Hoskins, & Reading, 2009; Zelizer, 2008).

As the present report sets out, the concept of memory has been increasingly theorised and empirically studied by many scholars. In order to narrow the scope of the report, major emphasis will be placed on “collective memory” and, more specifically, on the role of collective memory in the field of communication and media studies. Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers, and Eyal Zandberg have coined the term “Media Memory”, which is defined as “the systematic exploration of collective pasts that are narrated by the media, through the use of the media, and about the media” (Neiger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011, p. 1) to describe the “symbiotic, though uneven, relationship” (Zelizer 2008, p. 79) between media and memory studies. While distinctions in the definitions, conceptualisations, and classifications of collective memory are still being refined (e.g. Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014), the theoretical embedding of “media memory” into broader theories of societal change remains much less pronounced in scholarly literature (Schmidt, 2008).

With a view to remembering conflict, which is at the core of the RePAST project, previous research at the intersection of media, collective memory, and discourse theory in particular, provides fertile ground for analysing the construction of memories involving troubled pasts in public communication. From a constructivist perspective, the past itself is not a neutral reality, but rather a contested space where meanings are constantly (re-)negotiated. In this sense, the past—a fortiori a troubled past—is a battleground of competing (de-)legitimation discourses (Jedlowski, 2001, p. 34; see also Calligaro, 2015). Viewed through this paradigm prism, the media does not start from a certain reality (Schmidt, 2008), but instead expands (contested) ideas, meanings and interpretations of troubled pasts into the realm of mediatised discourses that shape our perception of the world and way of thinking (see e.g. Zelizer, 2008). Within the RePAST project, a further dimension is added to this triangle of discourse, media, and memory—that is, the way in which these concepts are interwoven with European integration. Against this background, the present report seeks to lay the groundwork for the *conceptual and methodological foundation of RePAST’s Work Package 3*—the latter aiming to analyse the role of journalistic and citizen-led media in

dealing with troubled pasts in a comparative fashion across Europe and tracing the implications for EU integration.

As a first step, this report provides a comprehensive review of the current state of research in the field of memory-related communication and media studies on a national and international level. The primary objective of this report is to identify and categorise existing literature along the lines of the major research angles adopted as well as the theories and methods used. This serves a double purpose: Firstly, to summarise previous research so that it is used subsequently in the context of the RePAST project. Secondly, to identify limitations and shortcomings in existing research, which the RePAST project seeks to address. In this sense, the current report aims to “narrow down” the vast field of memory, conflict, and media. By making use of RePAST’s national experts, we seek to expand the linguistic and geographical scope of the literature review, which allows us to consider research published in the national languages of the RePAST consortium and go beyond scholarly work published on international level that (mostly) addresses the Anglophone public. This cross-country comparison will enable us to identify specific foci in analysing mediated memory discourses across the domestic literature.

After the introductory portion follows the literature review, which seeks to categorise existing literature along the following lines: Section 1 of this report will provide a general overview of the state of the art in the field of memory, conflict, and media. It will reflect on the relevance of both media for memory studies and memory for media studies. It also looks into the theoretical and methodological approaches for studying media memory. Section 2 sheds light on relevant literature in the field of memory and digital/social media. What has changed with the advent of these new technologies in shaping and negotiating collective memories? Section 3 summarises existing literature dealing with media representations of the troubled pasts of the eight countries under investigation within the RePAST project, while paying specific attention to the themes and topics discussed and investigated in these countries. Section 4 deals with scholarly literature on gender, media, and memory. Finally, the concluding section provides a summary and conclusion of the present report, and provides an overview of potential avenues, guiding questions, and research hypotheses for future theoretical and empirical directions within RePAST’s Work Package 3.

Terminology, theories, and methodology

Collective memory studies are linked to media studies in recent history (Neiger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011; Olick & Levy, 1997). The most prominent of these works initially focused on *collective memory* (Halbwachs, 1992) while the concept *sites of memory* (Nora & Gallimard, 1997) was coined in relation to commemorative concrete physical spaces that form part of national memory. Furthermore, *cultural memory* and *communicative memory* (Assmann, 2014a) focused on the relationship between memory and social and cultural identity creation. Media studies’ link to collective memory has been explored by Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014) and also by Zelizer (2008) as well as Huyssen who argues that it is not possible to separate public memory from influence of the media as media is the carrier of all sorts of memory (Huyssen, 2000). In relation to

the literature of troubled past and power of discourse, research has followed mostly *event-based understandings of politics and media discourses* and looked at the news media and changing practices of journalism (Aumente, Gross, Hiebert, Johnson, & Mills, 2000; Paletz & Jakubowicz, 2003). Examples of this practice include commemorations of significant political historical events, such as battles and wars. Furthermore, researchers have analyzed journalism and professional media institutions in the context of Eastern Europe, finding that some journalists and editors have remained loyal to politicians after the end of Communism (Gross, 2004). More recent literature associates social memory studies with three main strands of dynamics of memory. These are instrumental, cultural and inertial (Olick & Robbins, 1998).

Although the notion of collective memory is widely used (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, & Levy, 2011), the term is still hard to pin down, as there are nearly “as many definitions as investigators writing about it” (Wertsch & Roediger, 2008, p. 318). The term is said to be used “in highly ambiguous and speciously vague ways” (Sturken, 2008, p. 76), and some critics even argue that it is not more than “a poor substitute for older terms like political tradition or myth” (Olick, 1999, p. 334). Specifically, Siegfried Schmidt has pointed out the “remarkable lack of a theoretical foundation”. Not only are almost “all the crucial concepts, such as ‘memory,’ ‘remembrance,’ ‘culture,’ and ‘media,’” rather elusive, but also “the theoretical approaches are incompatible and in many respects normative and incomplete” (Schmidt, 2008, p. 191).

Research shows that journalists are not reporting “just the facts” but are telling *stories* about conflicts (Hoxha & Hanitzsch, 2018). These stories in turn may influence collective memories of these conflicts. There is a symbiotic relationship between journalism and collective memory, as the work of journalism is of a great importance to memory work. Also, it is considered common knowledge that journalists use collective memory not only in their projection of the “first draft of history” but also of the second draft or re-writing history, based on an understanding of past events that influences them (Edy, 1999, p. 71).

First explicitly used by Hugo von Hofmannsthal at the beginning of the 20th century (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 106) and subsequently discussed in Maurice Halbwachs’ work on *The Social Frameworks of Memory* (1992/1925), the term “collective memory” has experienced a resurgence in usage —particularly since the 1980s— with a growing scholarly body of literature on the topic of collective memory across various disciplines (Klein, 2000). One of the main reasons for the “difficulties” in unravelling the very essence of collective memory is that it is not a subject “that fits neatly within the confines of a single academic discipline” (Wertsch & Roediger, 2008, p. 318). This interdisciplinarity in the field of memory studies finds its expression in different ontological and epistemological assumptions about collective memory in contemporary academic discourse, inevitably bringing about the more general questions regarding how to conceptualise it. Jeffrey Olick points to the important ontological distinction between collected memory on the one hand (i.e. the “aggregated individual memories of members of a group” involving psychological or even neurological factors), and collective memory on the other hand, which refers to a sociological perspective of “many different kinds of collective memory produced in different places in the society” (Olick, 1999, pp. 338-340). However, while both analytical categories are distinct, they can unfold their potential only in reciprocal action (Erll, 2012, pp. 259-260).

In the field of communication and media studies, the interest in memory only manifested itself at the end of the 20th century (Garde-Hansen, 2011), particularly through the works of Barbie Zelizer (1992) on the mediated memory constructions of John F. Kennedy's assassination, as well as through the works of Annette Kuhn (1995) and Marianne Hirsch (1997), who both dealt with memory and photography. According to Joanne Garde-Hansen, who provides a very detailed and comprehensive historical account of the origins of the notion of memory and its emergence in the field of communication and media, it was precisely "this commencement of a train of thinking" that has led to a couple of key texts at the turn of the millennium, thus placing "media and memory in a much clearer relationship" (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p. 26). Since then, the ever increasing relevance of memory in communication and media studies has brought about new theoretical explorations and shifts in the field, adding to the conceptual complexity of the term. Without entering into a discussion of the merits and pitfalls of the various definitions and concepts of collective memory used in the field of communication and media studies, two communication scholars—Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Christian Baden—identified four dimensions that are found in most definitions across the scholarly literature, and which they consider "constitutive" of collective memory: First, collective memory deals with shared recollections of the past. Second, this past is constructed and interpreted through the lenses of the present "to serve present needs and purposes, associated with group identities." Third, collective memory pertains to "the active construction and narration of the past", mainly through the (social) interaction between "producers of culture and knowledge". Fourth, collective memory "is manifested in people's communication and practice" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2016, p. 1).

By taking a constructivist and critical perspective in classifying scholarly conceptualisations of collective memory, the focus of the dimensions emerging from the literature shifts. Starting from the presumption that reality and knowledge are socially constructed, critical theory places a greater emphasis on *power structures* (see e.g. Foucault, 1978; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Who influences in the present what we (should) think of the past and how? Who dominates the present discourse about collective memory (see Molden, 2016; Zelizer, 2011)? According to Paolo Jedlowski, the "nexus between collective memory and power relationships is one of the issues that sociological research has dealt with most" (Jedlowski, 2001, p. 34). Here, Jedlowski refers to Alessandro Cavalli, who emphasised that "the power to create and stabilise memory" can be considered "a general sign of power at all levels of social organisation." For this reason, selection processes in the construction of collective memory "are never independent from the power structure that characterises the group or society at the time" (Cavalli, 1991, p. 34). For Katharine Radstone and Susannah Hodgkin, the question of ideational power even crosses into the realm of historiography. In their view, both history and memory are "produced by historically specific and contestable systems of knowledge and power and that what history and memory produce as knowledge is also contingent upon the (contestable) systems of knowledge and power that produce them" (Radstone & Hodgkin, 2005, p. 11). Media institutions represent both powerful producers of collective memory (e.g. Zelizer, 1992; Zelizer, 2011) and a powerful public space where collective memories are negotiated, challenged, discussed, or reversed (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p. 41, 55; see also Edy, 2006). Notably, power is not a negative, repressive, and destructive force per se (Foucault, 1991). For instance, by assembling in their anthology on a variety of studies dealing with mediated

retrospective and prospective memories in troubled times (e.g. issues of trauma, conflict and turmoil), Pentzold, Lohmeier, and Hayek (2016), demonstrated how the instrumentalisation of such mnemonic practices can provide opportunities for a new beginning, “a chance to redraft and rework personal opinions, actions and the overall conduct of life” (Pentzold, Lohmeier, & Hayek, 2016, p. 2).

Strongly intertwined with the concept of power is the constitutive role of *language* in establishing and constructing collective memories. Language is considered “the a priori resource that helps give expression to recall” (Jedlowski 2001, p. 32). Not only do “individuals remember in language, coding their experiences as language and recalling them in it”, as Jeffrey Olick pointed out, “language itself can be viewed as a memory system” (Olick, 1999, p. 343). From a constructivist perspective, making use of language is not simply the act of conveying an intersubjectively experienced reality, a pure description of facts. Any knowledge expressed can never be considered in isolation from power (Foucault, 1978). There is a difference in remembering the Holocaust and in remembering the Shoah, or in remembering May 8, 1945 as capitulation day, victory day, or liberation day. Maurice Halbwachs (1992/1925) has already noted that memories are embedded into broader social frameworks that get manifested, expressed, and reconstructed through language. In this sense, collective memory emerges from a contested space of competing ideas and views.

Just as the dearth of theoretical founding has been subject to criticism, so too has the lack of ‘empirically grounded’ studies in media memory research (Pickering & Keightley, 2016, p. 36). While some studies do not account for methodological and systematic rigor, others are rather exploratory in nature -these exploratory studies include, among others, Volkmer, 2006; Volkmer & Lee, 2012; Garde-Hansen, 2011. Generally speaking, it is worth noting that one can observe a great variety of qualitative and quantitative approaches in the analysis of media and memory, though the majority of studies are inclined towards qualitative research designs. Studies traverse content and (critical) discourse analysis of TV, film, printed press, and online (e.g. Džihana, 2011; Janičko, 2015; Marko, 2012; Turčilo, 2012; Ahbe, Gries, & Schmale, 2010; Böhme-Dürr, 1999; Hein, 2009; Kansteiner, 2016; Meyen, 2014; Röger, 2009; Veen, 2015), in-depth, and oral history interviews, focus groups and surveys (e.g. Lang, Lang, Kepplinger, & Ehmig, 1993; Meyen, & Pfaff-Rüdiger, 2017; Volkmer, 2006), visual analyses (e.g. Heinemann, 2011), and others.

Memory in the age of digitalization

The rise of digital media ushered in what we may refer to as a new memory regime that radically changed the ways we store, remember and reproduce memories both at the individual and at the collective level. This section will examine this proposition more closely, beginning with a discussion of the characteristics of digital media and how these re-articulate collective memory in different ways. The main changes associated with the new memory regime include: (i) a shift from the national to the global level and a general dislocation of memory; (ii) a separation of memory from time; (iii) a diversification of the voices that comprise collective memory that speak to ongoing

contestation and its overall dynamic nature; (iv) a shift towards new forms and modes of memorialization, often involving visually explicit memories (Hoskins, 2009); (v) the commodification of memory; and (vi) an increasing reliance of collective memory on algorithmic visibility that is cut off from the actual qualities and values of the memories themselves. Each of these shifts is associated with different struggles, that show that collective memory in the digital age is a field in constant tension and contestation. In a parallel move, this section identifies the gaps in our knowledge concerning the digital memorialisation of past events vis-à-vis our case studies.

One of the defining characteristics of the network society, according to Castells (2010; 2012) is *the shift from a geographical space of place to a space of flows*. Specifically, the rise of digital media allows for the synchronous communication between people without territorial contiguity thereby creating a new experience of space that gets defined by nodes in the communication process rather than by geographical proximity. According to Castells (2010), the space of flows connects activities and people in distinct geographical contexts, without the need of any physical proximity. For memory studies, this implies that memories are no longer bound to specific localities but acquire global dimensions. Using the example of the video with the death of Neda Soltan, an Iranian activist, Reading (2016) argues that while memory is locally produced, it can travel and become embedded in very different settings, as evidenced in the setting of online memorials for Neda Soltan and in the overall re-mediation of the witness video. Memories are increasingly mobile, stored in and transported through digital devices, and this can have an effect of dislocation, or the insertion of a spatial distance between the event and its memories, decentralising location, as one of the main carriers of memory. In Bernal's (2013) work on Eritrean diasporas, the establishment of memorial websites by members of the diaspora contributed to the decentring of the state as the sole embodiment of the nation, carrying and storing memories outside Eritrea but also making these memories visible to all. The various connections between people that such acts are making constitute an example of a space of flows. In the same vein, Kirk (2019) is discussing the different ways in which Irish diasporas and their media commemorated the centenary of the 1916 Easter Rising, that led to the formation of the Republic of Ireland, attesting to the dislocation of the nation-state as the centre and epitome of national memory. Similarly, commemorations of the Holocaust through digital media lift memories from their original locations, relocate them in other settings, creating new connections that in some instances may have a therapeutic outcome in helping overcome the trauma (Reading, 2001).

Secondly, Castells (2010) argued that digital media and constant connectivity have introduced a *shift from chronological time to timeless time*. By timeless time, Castells means a continuous time that has upended traditional ways of separating time, for example between work and leisure. Digital media operate both diachronically in archiving and offering continuous access to events as they are stored in various servers; and synchronically, in operating in real time. Users can access past events, recorded and stored, but their current interactions become themselves archived and stored. Moreover, digital media also offer a-synchronous communication in allowing users to interact in their own time. This temporal extension of memory has had significant implications. Hoskins (2013) refers to the end of decay time, or the time it takes for a memory to become old, decay and possibly be forgotten. With the constant memorialisation associated with digital media,

forgetting or *lethe* becomes impossible; the impossibility of *lethe*, and the constant availability of all memories at all times is, according to Hoskins (2013), associated with the rise of other risks and fears in connection with memory. In the era of digital media, the problem of memory is not forgetfulness but corruption, disconnection and deletion. Once more, it is the study of the Holocaust that illustrates this point well: Keitz and Weber (2013) pose the question of authenticity in the digital mediation of the memory of the Holocaust, immediately pointing to the difficulty of having an authoritative voice. A related issue here concerns the constant availability of online materials outside of their temporal context. For example, Kosovo is often discussed as the first internet war (Keenan, 2001), with emails, bulletin boards and online forums allowed people to communicate during the conflict. However, some 20 years or so since the end of the war, what happened to these online communications? Are they deleted? If not, who has access to these, and who might be using them for what purpose? As with traditional media, the question of power emerges as an important one.

The dislocation of memory and its continuous availability in what Hoskins (2013) describes as the post-scarcity era, are linked to the next shift introduced by digital media: the proliferation of voices that make up, sustain, and reproduce memories. Memorialization is no longer limited to historiographers, journalists or official sources. Given the drastically lowered threshold for publishing online, ordinary people have the means to record, publish, comment upon memories that are at once personal and collective. There is little doubt that the diversification of voices that participate in the construction, retention and recirculation of memories was long overdue, especially in contexts where there was a delay between the events and their memorialization. For example, in the context of Poland, the Warsaw uprising and the Holocaust re-emerged in the public sphere as the result of both top down efforts to reimagine Polish history after communism and through bottom up practices enabled through the new media (DeBruyn, 2010). Similarly, Wilkowski (2009) looked at how *YouTube* users discover and reimagine the Polish past and history while Szymeja (2010) examined the use of new media by a minority community, the Silesians, who developed their own, nostalgic approach to remembering their history. In Spain, Solanilla-Demestre (2012) reports that the process of memorializing the civil war acquired a new impetus through the internet, as both survivors and their descendants publish their memories and experiences of the war. In Greece, Eleftheriou (2012) examined online sites, blogs and forum posts dealing with the Holocaust of Greek Jews, identifying the various voices that contribute to this memorialization. Eleftheriou's work is instructive because it focuses on the conflictual aspects of this memorialization. Recounting experiences and traumas can have healing effects, but such experiences have to be heard and recognized. This, however, is not always the case, as Delic (2016) found in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina. Delic reports that while people use online media to discuss their experiences, there is very little emphasis on listening and on reconciliation. In the context of Germany, Hardinghaus (2012) found that new media have also given rise to anti-Semitic stereotypes, similar to those circulating in the Nazi era. In his study of Northern Ireland, Reilly (2011) looked at websites of Republican and Loyalist groups, with equivocal results: while these groups used the web to propagate their divisive views of the past and present, their virtual encounters were less violent than they could possibly be in a physical context. In communally produced pages, such as Wikipedia, the negotiation process has important implication on the final

outcome. Heinrich and Gilowsky (2018) argue for the importance of rendering this process transparent, so that readers can eventually trust the outcome. On the other hand, Lorenz (2009), examining the politics of Wikipedia editing, states that it is not the minority of experts who prevail, but the half-knowing majority. Overall, therefore, it seems that the diversification of memorial sites and voices is not an unambiguously positive development.

In addition to a diverse set of voices that can constitute collective memory, digital media have diversified the forms that memory and memorializing can take. Here, the innovative and creative elements of digital media can be clearly observed in new forms of transmedial memorializing, involving first-person narratives, humour and satire, audio-walks, videos and other image-based media such as memes, hashtags, and so on. However, as with the diversification of voices, this development has not been uncontroversial with researchers pointing to the equivocal potential of some of these forms. In Poland, De Bruyn (2010) analysed two Facebook pages, one which assumed the voice of two fictional members of the Warsaw uprising, and another which assumed the voice of a real boy who died in the Holocaust. While these forms, using first-person narratives, succeeded in engaging a wide range of users, De Bruyn found that there was little in-depth engagement with important issues as comments piled on previous comments. In Ireland, Long (2018), who identifies as a Loyalist, analysed the practices of Loyalists Against Democracy (LAD), an online group that satirises Loyalism, arguing that it produces misrecognition of the diverse views subsumed under Loyalism and its working class culture. But too much emphasis on the seriousness and trauma of historical events may be counterproductive. Gibson and Jones (2012) examined the YouTube video 'Dancing Auschwitz' where a Jewish family were filmed dancing at various Holocaust sites. They argue that such new and creative ways of remembering, that can help overcome the often stagnant traditional and formal approaches, allow for the remediation of identities, through role switching, redefinition, and disassociation. It is primarily the younger generation that is driving this transmedial approach to remembering. In the context of the Holocaust, Frieden (2014) looked at various new media forms, including performances, comedy and social media talk, concluding that these new forms allow for a new vernacular to develop around memory and remembering. Given the shift towards the visual internet (Cooke, 2005), the visual aspects of memorialisation cannot be overlooked. Ferrándiz and Baer (2008) looked at the emergence of the 'recovery movement' in Spain, where bottom-up organisations are involved in recovering the memories of the Civil War, through locating mass graves but also through recording videos of oral testimonies of victims and relatives. As the authors observe, the visual element is crucial in reversing "the politics of invisibilization of the victims" (n.p.) and reinstating them in both familial and historical memory.

While Huyssen (2000) has made clear that historical memory is also produced as a spectacle and commodity, digitalisation adds two more layers: one concerns the rise of new memory entrepreneurs, and the second the role played by individual 'producers' (Bruns, 2008) who are simultaneously producing and consuming digital memories. Concerning the former, Recuber (2012) links this to the pre-existing 'reputational entrepreneurs' (Fine, 1996), individuals who are emotionally and politically invested in reproducing memories. In the digital environment, however, such individuals can profit from this involvement, as they can generate income through their websites, *YouTube* channels, or *Facebook* pages. Recuber (2012) studied the creation of digital

memory banks, where users/witnesses of disasters such as Hurricane Katrina, or terrorist events, such as 9/11, upload their photos or videos, memories, witness statements, and so on. This is undertaken with a clear therapeutic goal, but as Recuber notes, the outcome is an individuation and fragmentation of collective memory. The commodification of digital memory as individualised memory has significant socio-political ramifications, as it may lead to memories that may be valuable for individuals but have no public or social function (cf. Rosenzweig and Thelen, 1998). Moreover, given the deep inequalities that exist within societies and between countries, there is the danger of preserving only the memories of those who are in a dominant position either in a given nation or in the global system. Although commodification, and the individuation it entails, emerges as a crucial parameter in the new memory regime, it has not been studied in connection with any of RePAST's case studies.

A final element of the shift towards digital memory, related to commodification, concerns the algorithmic structuring of the digital environment. As van Dijck (2013) and Bucher (2012; 2018) discuss, the way in which digital platforms structure and order their operations rely on algorithms, step-by-step procedures that determine and circumscribe user actions. Through these algorithms, which remain trade secrets, platforms recommend to users products, sites or accounts and pages to buy, visit, follow and like; they further use algorithms to structure timelines and news feeds, showing some posts and hiding others. In this manner they preempt but also delimit users' actions and the options available to them. This algorithmic order is a hierarchical one, meaning that some sites, accounts and pages will be more visible than others, although there are ways in which users can buy this visibility, through paying a fee to the platforms. Additionally, people may change their online behaviours in order to be 'algorithmically recognizable' (Gillespie, 2017). For Bucher (2018), this algorithmic structuring is also connected to a popularity contest, which has users competing with one another for visibility and attention. The ramifications of the algorithmic architecture of digital environments for digital memory are under-researched. The hierarchical structuring and the control of digital visibility by a set of private corporations imply that certain memories and conflicts will be ranked differently but we currently do not know how they may be ranked, or how people themselves are experiencing this ranking and relative (in)visibility. Additionally, the ability of users to 'game' the algorithms and to exploit these systems for political or monetary gain, raises a series of questions regarding authenticity, accuracy, and truth around digital memories of past conflict. This area clearly requires further research.

Overall, we identified here important shifts associated with the rise of the new memory regime. For the most part these have been ambiguous. Although digital media are associated with a broadening and a diversification of the voices associated with memorialising and representing memories of past conflict, there are important questions concerning the kinds of voices that tend to be heard more than others. Additionally, while new forms of memorialising give way to more expressive and creative means of understanding and relating to the past, they can also be associated to the preponderance of an individualising relationship to the past, which in turn can be linked to the emerging ways in which this can be commodified and used for profit. Finally, digital environments are socio-technical systems (van Dijck, 2013) and as such they make use of automated techniques for ranking and recommending contents, which are then creating a new kind of visibility depending

on algorithms. This feeds back into users' actions, and therefore actively contributes to the structuring of digital memory. All this has shown that digital memory is a dynamic process, constantly re-written and renegotiated by a multitude of actors, both human and technological, synchronically and diachronically, across different locations, and in different forms. But throughout, digital memory raises the issue of power and the politics of remembering. Research has significantly contributed to theorising and generating empirical insights into these, but important questions remain. RePAST's remit includes an interrogation of the question of power and politics in the digital memory regime vis-à-vis our eight case studies.

Reconstructing troubled pasts: Subjects of study

Most of the literature addressing media and memory focuses on "extreme events" (Kitch, 2008, p. 312): these events include wars, crimes, assassinations, disasters, traumas, conflicts, revolutions, genocides, atrocities, and terrorist acts. According to Carolyn Kitch, the serious and political nature of memory studies is partly due to "the field's close relationship to Holocaust studies" (2008, p. 312). Certainly, one of reasons is that theoretical discussions related to the Holocaust are the "most productive sites of memory work" (Klein, 2000, p. 138). Regarding the media, it could be argued that blood, sweat, and tears correspond more successfully with the media's logic. Discourses involving witnessing and testimony, which are "integral to trauma," are "powerful producers of media content," as Joanne Garde-Hansen writes (2011, p. 57, see also Huyssen, 2003). It is a natural progression from this perspective to the abundance of mediated "extreme events" reflected in the scientific literature. If we assume that history is always constructed through the prism of the present, guided and controlled by current interests (see section 1), then maybe it is not so surprising that conflicts in particular are at the heart of memory work due to their contested nature.

According to Carolyn Kitch, most studies on mediated memory have researched into elite-news-media coverage, while ignoring local news. The same is true for magazines (Kitch, 2008, 313) and, more generally, for entertainment. Against this background, Kitch has called for a reassessment of the "definitions of legitimate subjects of study" (2008, p. 311). In a similar vein, Joanne Garde-Hansen suggests "a methodological shift from high culture to popular culture" to better understand the media-memory interplay (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p. 39). In this context, Marita Sturken refers to the 'Spielberg style of history, in which simplistic narratives are deployed to evoke particular empathetic responses in viewers, and through which memory texts are fashioned" (Sturken, 2008, p. 75). A critical examination of the literature dealing with media and memory in the eight countries under investigation within the RePAST project—Poland, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Cyprus, Greece, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina—indeed reveals similar analysis foci in terms of extreme themes, but not necessarily in terms of media genres. Undoubtedly, popular culture has entered media memory studies, at least in the national academia of some of the studied countries.

In **Germany**, literature about media and memory related to the Second World War inevitably focuses predominantly on Holocaust related themes, whereas other aspects of WWII are

subordinated. Karin Böhme-Dürr's (1999) study about Holocaust memories in American and German news magazines is one of the few empirical studies in the German field of communication studies. Kirstin Frieden (2014) examined different non-elite media genres (such as performances, comedy, Facebook, and YouTube) to answer the questions of how people speak about the Holocaust today, and if there is any paradigmatic shift in German commemorative culture. Using websites on National Socialism and the Holocaust as examples, Dörte Hein's study explored how history is remembered on the World Wide Web (Hein, 2009). Wulf Kansteiner in his work "In Pursuit of German Memory: History, Television, and Politics after Auschwitz" examined three areas of German memory politics: professional historiography, national politics, and national public television. All three have played dominant roles in presenting reconstructions of Nazi history (Kansteiner, 2006). Furthermore, Wulf Kansteiner examined historical coverage of Nazism by the West German public television station ZDF between 1963 and 1993 (Kansteiner, 2016). In their anthology on media transformations of the Holocaust, Ursula von Keitz and Thomas Weber (2013) assembled various studies concerning different forms of mediating history on the example of the Holocaust, including cinema, films, television programmes, novels, comics and websites. Rudy Koshar (2000) developed a framework for examining the subject of German collective memory with views toward Nazism, World War II, and the Holocaust. He concluded that despite the massive ruptures in German history, significant continuities serving to counterbalance the traumas of its troubled past can be observed. In the anthology of Claudia Müller, Patrick Ostermann, and Karl-Siegbert Rehberg (2015) German and Italian academics discussed future avenues of mediating remembrance of the Shoah. Gerhard Paul and Bernhard Schoßig (2010) in their edited volume explored the change that has taken place over the past 30 years in science, education, politics, and media in dealing with Nazi history. In his article, Frank Bösch (2007) examined the role of fictional movies and series in shaping the understanding of National Socialism and the Holocaust in Germany. More specifically, he analysed which repertoires of images and interpretations were transmitted by these films in the last decades, and how formats, discourses, and narratives have changed. The anthology of Monika Heinemann, Hannah Maischein, Monika Flacke, Peter Haslinger, and Martin Schulze Wessel (2011), including interdisciplinary contributions from the scientific fields of history, literature, media, and communication studies, examines (on the basis of various case studies) the possibilities and limits of the media to construct, convey, and shape historical images of the Second World War. Of course, studies on Holocaust memories are not confined to national boundaries. For instance, Barbie Zelizer (1992), using the example of photographs taken during liberation of the concentration camps, demonstrated how these photographs have become a valuable resource for remembering the Holocaust, and how they have affected the presentation and perception of subsequent historical atrocities. The study of Maren Röger (2009) is one of the few publications concerning the legacy of Germany's Nazi past that does not place a thematic focus on the Holocaust. It focused on the reporting of the expulsion of Germans after WWII in German and Polish news magazines. Erik Langenbacher, by looking at survey results from Germany and Poland, compared elite discourses and public opinion regarding "the return of the memory of German suffering from the end and aftermath of World War II" (Langenbacher 2008, p. 50).

With the growing temporal distance, Germany's communist past and its legacy have been increasingly studied since the turn of the century. Timothy Barney (2009), Paul Cooke (2005), and

Juliane Ziegengeist (2011) departed from the concept of nostalgia in the context of East German culture. While Barney used the example of the blockbuster *Good Bye Lenin!* to answer the “complex questions about looking back on everyday life during communism’s fall” (Barney, 2009, p. 132), Ziegengeist’s article discussed the role of *Ostalgie* on the basis of five movies. Cooke (2005) more broadly investigated state memorialisation, literature, television, film, and the internet, to trace German national identity. Similarly, Gerhard Lüdeker (2012), using the example of films commemorating National Socialism and the GDR, demonstrated how collective memories determine national identity constructions. Christine Köppel (2012) researched digitalisation of communicative memory on the internet, using the GDR as an example. Again using the example of the GDR, Michael Meyen (2014) asked about the GDR discourse in leading German news media, as well as the impact of news reporting about the GDR on communicative memory (see also Meyen & Pfaff-Rüdiger, 2017). Similarly, Hans-Joachim Veen (2015) devoted his anthology to the question of which images, stereotypes, constructions, patterns, and interpretations of the GDR are used in literature, film, and online. The edited volume of Thomas Ahbe, Rainer Gries, and Wolfgang Schmale (2010) focused on the discursive construction of East Germans and East Germany in unified Germany, while providing an empirically founded overview of “Eastern discourses.”

To sum up, rather than an empirical bias towards elite-news-media coverage (as suggested by Carolyn Kitch), the literature review reveals a lack of recent studies on commemorative culture in German news media reporting (Röger, 2009, p. 189). This is particularly regarding World War II, National Socialism, and the Holocaust. The academic field of communication and media studies has seemingly come to terms with the troubled past of Germany (see Langenbacher, 2010), leaving this topic to other disciplines, such as history or cultural studies.

The Spanish Civil War, Franco’s dictatorship, and the transition to democracy after the end of the authoritarian regime, are the central themes in literature about **Spain’s** troubled past. María Antonia Paz and Julio Montero (2011) provided an account of the television programmes about the Civil War broadcast between 1956 and 1975, describing the basic historical context in which they were produced and broadcast. Documentaries produced since 1995 for both film and television are central to Isabel M. Estrada’s (2013) book, which informs the debate about the “recuperation of memory” of the Civil War and dictatorship. In her study “The televised Civil War”, Sira Hernández Corchete (2012) analysed diachronically and globally the evolution of the historical discourse on the conflict in Spanish fiction and documentaries. Similarly, Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones (2006) aimed at explaining the relevance of the Civil War in contemporary Spanish culture, based on the analysis of a series of novels and films of the 1990s. Further, the article of Juan Francisco Gutiérrez and Inmaculada Sánchez Alarcón (2005) discussed cinema and television used as tools to construct a common memory of the Civil War. Ana María Castillo Hinojosa, Núria Simelio Solà, and María Jesús Ruiz Muñoz (2012) compared Spain and Chile to analyse how television shapes troubled pasts. José Carlos Rueda Laffond (2009) questioned the role of historical fiction in national Spanish television, through the analysis of historical fictional series of 2008 and 2009. Ana Corbalán (2009) examined reflective nostalgia in the Spanish TV series *Cuéntame cómo pasó*, and Mario Santana’s (2015) essay explored the interest in historical memory of the Civil War by analysing two television series: *Temps de silenci* and *Cuéntame*. By also focusing on fiction series, in this case *Amar en*

tiempos revueltos, María del Mar Chicharro-Merayo and José Carlos Rueda-Laffond (2008) investigated the interpretation of historical television fiction and the cinematographic and televisual treatment of the Spanish Civil War. Moreover, they analysed the most relevant aspects of content in the series, as well as the originality of the subject inserted in the coordinates of the television soap opera. The absence of memory of the Civil War during Francoism is the topic of Jean-Stéphane Duran Froix's (2008) article. Although history programs have become more prevalent on television, the war received little attention, even after the Transition.

However, memory studies about the Spanish Civil War and Franco do not only involve television and film studies. Alicia Parras and Julia R. Cela (2014) reflected on photojournalism during the Civil War, and Laura Solanilla Demestre (2012) investigated the role of the internet as a tool for recovering the memory of the Civil War. Against the background of the military coup in Cadiz, María Virtudes Narváez Alba (2009) studied the image of women in the press. Paloma Aguilar and Carsten Humlebæk (2002) focused on the evolution of historical representations, both in the press and parliamentary debates, of the main anniversaries of all three historical eras: the Civil War, the Francoist regime, and the Transition. The article of María Luisa Humanes (2003) examined the characteristics of the reporting on the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Franco's death and Juan Carlos I's crowning. This was achieved using content analysis of the news stories published in the Spanish newspapers *El País*, *El Mundo*, *ABC*, *La Vanguardia*, and *El Correo Español* in November 2000. She concluded that the Spanish press contributed to an elaborate discourse, shaped for the present narration of history. Eloy E. Merino and H. Rosi Song's (2005) collection of essays traced the Falangist and Francoist ideology in the intellectual and discursive practices of contemporary Spain. Their volume explored memoirs, historical novels, testimonial literature, internet political proselytism, journalistic essays, and fictional discourse. By using discourse analysis of newspaper articles as a methodology, Magdalini Fytli's (2017; 2018) research considered comparative perspectives of the ways in which the political forces managed the collective memory of the Civil Wars in Greece and Spain. Carsten Humlebæk (2010) investigated historical transitional justice and politics of the post-Franco democratic regime in Spain, particularly the reappearance of questions related to the authoritarian past in the media.

Equally well studied is Spain's transition period from dictatorship to democracy. Ganga Ganga and Rosa María (2008) used examples of cinema and television to analyse the way that documentaries constructed the historical memory of the transition period, and its memory. In H. Rosi Song's (2016) book "Lost in Transition: Constructing Memory in Contemporary Spain," the author examined how a group of writers, filmmakers, and TV producers born in in the 1960s and 1970s remembered the transition period after Franco's death. By using content analysis focusing on political news in newspaper editorials, Ricardo Zugasti (2008) outlined the political role of the Spanish press during the principal stage of the transition to democracy. The doctoral thesis by Alfonso Pinilla García (2003) studied how the media perceived and transmitted a series of fundamental historical events that took place during the process of political transition. An episode of great symbolic value—the general amnesty of October 1977—was examined by Carlos Barrera and Sánchez Aranda (2000), who deconstructed the journalistic discourses in the political process of the Spanish transition to democracy. The amnesty law was also the subject of Margarita Antón Crespo's (2013) monograph,

in which she demonstrated how oral testimonies become increasingly important for two reasons. First, because they are a living document, and second, because of the irreplaceable nature of the direct narrative obtained by the protagonists themselves from the historical event. Francisco Erice's (1996) book explored the development of the communist movement and its contributions to the history of Asturias, from its difficult and complex origins to the post-Francoist democratic transition, while illuminating aspects that have been little known or often overlooked. Writing in the magazine *Interviú*, Paloma Aguilar and Francisco Ferrándiz (2016) analysed the portrayal of Civil War exhumations in the early years of Spanish democracy.

More generally, Francisca López' (2009) anthology considered the validity of historical representations on television in Spain over the last 30 years, by using methodological analysis and theoretical assumptions from the field of cultural studies. Ulrich Winter's (2006) edited volume gathered studies that dealt with literary and visual representations of recent Spanish history, including novels, films, theatre, comics, journalism, and television. By focusing on various artistic and media fields, these studies considered the thematic, aesthetic, media, and generational implications of the recovery of historical memory. Juan Carlos Ibáñez (2010) collated monographic media representations of events that were decisive for understanding the democratic structure of contemporary Italian and Spanish societies: the Spanish Civil War and the civil confrontations that took place in Italy during the Second World War. Virginia Bejines Baquero and Laura Gómez Ramírez (2013-2014) conducted a critical review of a relevant bibliography applied to two specific cases: Spain and Serbia. For both, the focus was on recent history, how it is remembered and what the political implications of such remembrance might be.

Regarding the history and legacy of the Second World War, literature about **Poland** at the crossroads of media and memory studies—just as in the case of Germany—deals primarily with the Holocaust. This is exemplified by the controversy triggered by Jan Tomasz Gross' (2001) book that considered the responsibility and involvement of Polish citizens in the massacre of Jews in Jedwabne in 1941. It sparked critical debates in Polish academia (for example Ciołkiewicz, 2003; Ciołkiewicz, 2004; Czyżewski, 2008; Jasińska-Kania, 2007; Forecki, 2010; Nowicka, 2014), as did another work by Gross (2006) that focused on the subject of anti-Semitism in Poland after WWII (Forecki, 2010; Opozda, 2011; Nowicka, 2014). A recent work by Paweł Greń (2017) aimed to present the role of the media in shaping memory, by considering analysis of the relations between media images of Auschwitz-Birkenau and the memory of its former prisoners. Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania (2007) investigated Polish collective memory of relations with Germans, Russians and Jews. Dieter De Bruyn in his Facebook article about the commemoration of the Second World War and Holocaust in Poland, demonstrated the “performative effectiveness” of two online projects, the Warsaw Uprising commemorative campaign and the educational project on the Holocaust victim Henio Żytomirski (De Bruyn, 2010). In addition, Marek Kaźmierczak (2012; 2015) explored how the Holocaust is received in popular culture, mainly on the internet.

Publications about World War Two, but not necessarily related to the Holocaust, include the book of Paweł Ciołkiewicz (2012), which is devoted to the analysis of mediated debates (in the years 2000 to 2007) about the expulsion of Germans after the war. This was in addition to the work of Anna Horolets (2010), who analysed discursive mechanisms for constructing the remembrance of

the end of the Second World War in Poland. Some studies (for example Lutomski, 2004; Langenbacher, 2008; also Szpociński, 2013) relate to the political tensions between Germany and Poland, following the plan to establish a centre in Berlin commemorating German victims of expulsions in Poland after WWII.

Work by Ewa Stańczyk investigated how the memory of the Second World War and communism “in particular fuelled media discourse in the period between Poland’s accession to the European Union in 2004 and the tragic crash of the presidential plane near Smoleńsk on 10 April 2010” (Stańczyk, 2013). This creates the link from the Second World War to Poland’s troubled communist past, which is a less studied subject.

In his edited volume, Bartosz Korzeniewski (2010) assembled texts re-evaluating memory and selected aspects of the functioning of public discourse, concerning recent Polish history, after 1989. Using a sample of more than 1,200 articles from Russian and Polish daily newspapers, Ekaterina Levintova (2010) examined contemporary narratives and their relationship to pre-communist discourses in both countries. Anna Duszak (2010) also analysed newspaper articles, with a focus on the transition period of the so-called Third to the Fourth Polish Republic. Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik (2014) enquired how the events of 1989 were commemorated twenty years later. More generally, the two authors evaluated Poland’s politics of commemoration. The *Solidarność* movement of the 1980s was the focus of Susan C. Pearce’s (2009) article, whereas Dieter De Bruyn examined the Smolensk tragedy of 2010, arguing that “the Smolensk case is highly exemplary of the omnipresence of historical memory in the Polish public sphere following decades of communist distortions of the national past” (De Bruyn, 2010, p. 228).

The end of communism in Eastern Europe, and the breakup of Yugoslavia that heralded the Yugoslav Wars in the early 1990s, are the focus of literature on **Bosnia and Herzegovina**. Amela Delić (2016) enquired about perpetrators and the victims of the war, the role of the media in conveying competing narratives of the conflict, and the struggle to gain interpretative sovereignty over the past. Equally, an article by Michal Janičko explored the discourse of the 1992-1995 war, in the Bosniak and Bosnian Serb media. His analysis revealed “mutually incompatible representations of the causes and nature of the war, the prevailing absence of dialogue, and the unwillingness of each side to consider the other side’s war victims” (Janičko, 2015, p. 28). Lejla Turčilo and Belma Buljubašić (2012) offered a comprehensive analysis of discourses on Europeanisation in the media of the Western Balkans, including a discourse analysis of the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The authors concluded that citizens consider the reduction of tensions, continued peace, and stability as the main priorities, and that the EU is seen as a means to improving their living standards. Mustafa Taha explored the role of the Bosnian mass media after the Dayton Accords of 1995, demonstrating that the media alone “cannot sustain peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina as long as Bosniaks, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs continue to harbour animosity for each other” (Taha, 2017). Zala Volčič and Amer Džihana (2011) collected research papers that focused on the question of media and national ideologies in the three countries of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia. The authors sought to unravel how media representations of war crime trials related to former Yugoslavia’s traumatic past. By focusing on contemporary issues, Davor Marko (2012) systematically studied existing research on media coverage regarding aspects of citizenship, to

define how the leading print media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia reported on this topic.

The inter-ethnic conflict was the main theme of the literature examining the relationship between the media and collective memory in divided **Cyprus**. In her PhD thesis, Maria Avraamidou (2015) explored Greek-Cypriot media representations of national identities and nationalism, against the background of the 2002/2004 Annan Plan negotiations (see also Avraamidou, 2017). Yiouli Taki (2009) also used the example of the Annan Plan to investigate how media reporting (both television and print media) was manipulated by those in the political establishment to influence the course of negotiations. Christophoros Christoforou, Sanem Sahin, and Synthia Pavlou (2010) addressed the question of how the media cover issues related to the Cyprus conflict on both sides of the dividing line. Metin Ersoy (2010) explored the news coverage in both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot papers, on related matters, from the perspective of the peace journalism paradigm. He concluded that journalists do not necessarily adhere to the principles that align with peace journalism. Susan Dente Ross and Sevda Alankus (2010), analysing the press reporting of the 2008 presidential elections in the Greek Republic of Cyprus, examined how media news coverage propagated the sanctity of national identity, while cementing the political status quo of division. Sanem Sahin (2011; 2014) analysed the press coverage of Turkish Cypriot newspapers, both through the prism of national identity and conflict news reporting, and Lyndon Way's (2011) paper presented analysis on the way the Turkish Cypriot media impeded solutions to the conflict in Cyprus, by promoting discourses of nationalism.

While scholarly literature places emphasis on the inter-ethnic conflictual relations between the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the Greek Republic of Cyprus, some publications also highlighted aspects pertaining to conflict resolution. Nico Carpentier and Vaia Doudaki (2014), on the case of the *Cyprus Community Media Centre (CCMC)*, examined the role of community radio in conflict resolution and peace-building. Melike Yagmur Savrum and Leon Miller also examined the interplay between media and the "Cyprus Issue", "by highlighting vital factors that are under researched", such as "the role that the media play in the liberal peace agenda and alternative media's revolutionary impact on cross border social movements" (Savrum & Miller, 2015, p. 1).

A general overview of the academic literature, dealing with the collective memory of troubled past in **Greece**, indicates that the period that has been studied the most is that of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949). Other periods that have also been studied are those of the National Schism (1916), the massive exodus of Greeks from Asia Minor and other parts of Turkey following the Greek-Turkish War (1919-1922), the Second World War (1941-1945), the 7-year period of the military dictatorship (1967-1974) and the invasion of Turkish troops in Cyprus (1974). In comparison to all these periods and troubling events, the Greek Civil War is the most researched in terms of its lasting effects in Greek political and social realities. It has been studied with respect to a wide range of topics at various levels including the micro-level of the memories and the traumas of local societies and particular groups of the population (i.e. communities, villages, small towns, children, refugees, veterans) and the macro-level of the general issue of national reconciliation, which proved to be a very long and complex process.

It is noteworthy that, in this rather voluminous bibliography, there is a very important lack of researches dealing with the memory and the representations of the Greek Civil War in the Greek media, either in the immediate aftermath of the war (i.e. the 1950s and 1960s) or in more recent periods. On the other hand, it is very interesting to note that there are numerous studies that deal with the representations of the Greek Civil War in international and mainly European media. Nasi Mpalta (1993) studied the representations of the war in the French newspapers of the same period with an emphasis on the news reports and the information provided with regard to particular events and topics. Zoi Mella (2005) wrote on the representations of the war in the Spanish press during the Francoist period (1939-1975) with an interest to detect the interpretations and the comparisons that the Spanish newspapers drew between the Greek and the Spanish Civil Wars. A more recent and very comprehensive volume edited by Nikos Marantzidis and Eleni Paschaloudi (2016) contains a similar analysis covering many countries of Europe and the corresponding newspapers of the same period (1946-1949) with a focus on the coverage of both communist (Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia and Romania) and Western countries (United States, United Kingdom and France). We still lack such an elaborate analysis focusing on the Greek newspapers of the corresponding period or the Greek media in more recent periods in general.

Outside the scope of the news media, there are academic studies that deal with other forms of mass communication such as cinema and literature. Marina Eleftheriadou (2015) studied the representations of the Greek Civil War in the Greek cinema. Her research focuses not only on movies that deal specifically with the 1946-1949 period but also with movies that contain elements of interpretation of this war in the context of other troubling events and periods (e.g. the 1969 movie *Z* about the assassination of a Greek MP of the Left, Grigoris Lambrakis, in 1963 in Thessaloniki). Kostis Kornetis (2014) explores a similar topic in more recent Greek films on the civil war. When it comes to literature, Vayos Liapis (2014) studied the painful memories of the civil war as they were expressed in the poetry of Giorgos Seferis, one of Greece's two Nobel laureates in poetry. Athanasios Anastasiadis (2011) studied the memory of the civil war and in particular the relationship between trauma, memory and narration in the Greek novels of the 1980s and 1990s. Lambros Flitouris (2008) focused on the different interpretations of the Greek Civil War among the victors and the defeated as such views were portrayed in various Greek movies. Similar topics have been studied- always in the context of Greek cinema- by Polymeris Voglis (2006), Grigoris Theodoridis (2006) and Kostas Terzis (2011).

At a more general level, there are academic studies that approach the issue of the collective memory of the Greek Civil War from various perspectives. Eleni Paschaloudi (2010) provides an elaborate analysis of various narratives regarding the Greek Civil War found in the political discourse of different political parties in Greece during the period between 1950 and 1967. Riki Van Boeschoten (2000, 2003, and 2005) has written extensively on the topic of trauma and memory in relation to local identities and societies and also in relation to painful issues such as rape or forced immigration. The issue of the difficult reconciliation has also been studied extensively (Close; 2004, Katsikas and Davies-Siani: 2009). The same is true for more epistemological issues such as the evolution and the shifts in the historiography with regard to the Greek Civil War (Liakos, 2004;

Marantzidis and Antoniou, 2004; 2008; Avgeridis, 2017). When one takes into consideration the diversification of interests and the multiplicity of sources on the issue of the collective memory in relation to the Greek Civil War, it becomes rather difficult to explain the absence of studies focusing explicitly on the Greek media and their role in the evolution of perceptions and interpretations with regard to this matter either in the immediate aftermath or in more recent times. It is undoubtedly a question to be verified more thoroughly through the existing bibliography.

In **Kosovo**, the collective memory and troubled past focuses mainly on the last war of 1999 (Clark, 2000; Ignatieff, 2001; Judah, 2002, 2008; Mertus, 1999; Ramet, 2005; Vickers & Fraser, 1998) and the troubles between the Albanians and Serbs that start way back in with the Battle of Kosovo (1389) (Bieber, 2002; Di Lellio & Elsie, 2009; Erjavec & Volčič, 2007) and the Ottoman invasion of the Balkans. The commemoration of the Battle of Kosovo (1989) marks the beginning of violent conflict in Kosovo (Bozic-Roberson, 2004; Morus, 2007) with Milosevic famously reviving the myth of Kosovo being Serbian (Kostovicova, 2005). In post-war Kosovo these narratives of troubled past reveal the suffering throughout 1990s such as the emergence of the 'parallel state' (Bellamy, 2000; Pula, 2004). Additionally, these narratives are fed by a much earlier troubled past for Kosovars. The Second World War and the atrocities of the German, Italian and other occupations only bring in surface fragmented society and competing narratives over suffering. The official history narratives of Albanians (in Kosovo) and Serbs (both in Kosovo and Serbia) have developed a line of discourses for decades accusing 'the other' for the troubles (Gashi, 2016; Ramet, Simkus, & Listhaug, 2015). In the new "national memory" (Young, 1993) the post-communist period in Kosovo is characterized by the re-writing of collective memory starting from state sponsored commemoration related to the last war (Gashi, 2016; Lellio & Schwanader-Sievers, 2006). It is also known that both in Kosovo and Serbia, official versions of history as in history books are not always lectured at schools (Di Lellio, Fridman, Hoxha, & Hercigonja, 2017). Post-war Kosovo narratives about troubled past from 1999 mainly focus on the suffering and violent past such as killings of the civilian population (Spagat, 2014) where events are organized annually under the patronage of the state to commemorate the fallen. Similarly, sexual violence related to conflict is very much a part of the commemorative actions such as building a monument of twenty thousand medallions in memory of the same number of women affected by sexual violence or the global campaign "*Mendoj per ty*" in support of women survivors of sexual violence. All this is part of the contested war remembrance narratives due to lack of political will to deal with Kosovo's troubled past (Baliqi, 2018).

In **Ireland**, the focus is on the Troubles, that began following the civil rights protests in 1968 and formally ended with the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Research has sought to contextualise the Troubles both in terms of a continuum of Irish history which includes the famine (mid 19th century), The Great War and the 1916 Easter Rising (e.g. McBride, 2001), and in terms of social stratifications of Ireland, for example class, religious and geographical divides (e.g. Kelleher, 2004). In general, studies have shown the continuous contestation of processes of memory, commemoration and remembering. For example, the chapters collected by Smyth (2017) represent a series of perspectives of remembering the Troubles, ranging from Loyalist to Republican (both Official and Provisional), and including the memories of non-combatants caught up in the violence. Memory however can also constitute the basis for the process of reconciliation to begin and take

hold, as documented by Hackett and Rolston (2009) and explained by the papers in McGrattan and Hopkins (2017).

Research has further looked at the ways in which processes of European integration has helped the process of peace and reconciliation. Studies here have been unequivocal: while this has been an open question in Anderson (1994), by the time Diez, Albert and Stetter published their edited volume in 2008 it was clear that the EU integration process can transform border conflicts, such as the one in Ireland. At the same time, questions of the potential conflict between nationalism and strong national identity in Ireland and Northern Ireland remain, as Hayward (2013; 2006) has discussed. For Hayward (2013), the Republic of Ireland has successfully combined a strong national identity with support for European integration, but his conceptualisation of the Northern Ireland conflict as a clash of national identities (2006) presages the potential resurface of the conflict in the post-Brexit context.

In terms of the relationship between the media and the past conflict, it is important to note that the media were seen as active participants in the conflict, and not merely a neutral platform. Miller (1994) studied the media coverage of the conflict in Northern Ireland, documenting the ways in which they were engaged in propaganda and (mis)information management, ending up distorting and impoverishing media reporting of the conflict. This is doubly significant, because, although the conflict and the Troubles are within the living memory of adults in Ireland and Northern Ireland, the media emerge as a key source of information for children and adolescents, as reported by Trew et al. (2009). This is taken further by Dawson (2010) who explored the processes by which a mediated post-memory arises, pointing to their social and collective character. It is therefore important to ensure an accurate and truthful reporting of both past and current events. A recent book edited by Henderson and Little (2018) compiled testimonies of almost 70 journalists who were reporting the Troubles. The book documents their struggles with witnessing violence, having to speak to relatives of the dead, and trying to maintain objectivity throughout. But an objective approach to the past and the present of the conflict is proving to be difficult even 20 years after the Good Friday Agreement. As reported by The Sunday Times (Shortall, 2018), the BBC withdrew from the production of a documentary dealing with the Troubles. Alex Gibney, an Oscar-winning director who directed *No Stone Unturned*, a documentary of the Loughinisland massacre in 1994, where six civilians were killed by members of a loyalist paramilitary group, told The Sunday Times that the reason for BBC's withdrawal was his refusal to cede editorial control. This was the second time this documentary made the headlines; the first was when two journalists involved in it were arrested in August 2018, and their offices raided, although no charges were brought. This points to the ongoing tensions and the important of the media not only for reporting conflict but also for remembering and demanding justice.

From a conceptual and analytical point of view, there is a gap in national and international literature in at least three areas of research. First, the role of audiences is inadequately researched, that is, the nexus between “mediated memories and ‘media biographies’ of audiences” or the impact of mass media on social memory (Neiger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011, p. 16). Ingrid Volkmer's (2006) comparative study on media-related memories of childhood and youth is one of the few exceptions in the field of audience and reception studies. Additionally, Victor Sampedro

and Alejandro Baer (2003) provided a comparative analysis of the lived memories and valuations with which the lower and middle classes recall the Franco dictatorship and the transition in Spain, based on data obtained through biographical research and discussion groups. Second, due to the salience of media content in empirical analysis, the role of the producers (or reproducers) in the construction of discourses on collective memory—journalists, media makers, or social media activists—is widely neglected in scholarly research. Barbie Zelizer and Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014) made an important contribution in the field with their anthology on journalism and memory, attempting to close this gap. Other exceptions include the study of Dilan Ciftci (2014) on peace journalism in the Cyprus conflict, who not only analysed the framing of the conflict in local news coverage, but also conducted interviews with journalists reporting the Cyprus conflict. Ricardo Zugasti (2007) explored the role played by King Juan Carlos I and the press during the transition years in Spain, managing to combine his own newspaper and bibliographic sources, by conducting interviews with newspaper editors and opinion leaders who lived through that time in a privileged vantage point. Kurt Lang, Gladys E. Lang, Hans-Mathias Kepplinger, and Simone Ehmig (1993), in a study from before German reunification, conducted a survey with approximately 500 journalists to determine which historical events dominated journalists' work. Lastly, despite the increasing focus of memory studies to address “forms of remembering across nations and cultures” (Erl, 2011, p. 2), “conceptual debates about memory in the context of new transnational public sphere structures” are nonetheless confined to “the periphery of journalism research” (Volkmer & Lee, 2014, p. 50). It is particularly in this regard that the RePAST project focuses on the role of media and memory across eight European countries, seeking to provide new conceptual, theoretical, and methodological perspectives on how journalistic and citizen-led media mediate processes of memory regarding troubled pasts at a transnational level.

Gender and Mediated Memory of Troubled Pasts

This section sets the focus on literature that includes a specific gender perspective in the analysis of media and memory regarding troubled pasts. The idea behind most texts is that memory is necessarily gendered and often produces specific ideas about men and women as well as their respective roles within society and/or the nation (Monk, 1992). In particular, commemorative landscapes that evoke memories of troubled pasts are among the most gendered. The primary reason for this is that troubled pasts including events such as war, genocide, and trauma largely document and reproduce the narratives and experiences of men (Muzaini & Yeoh, 2005). Therefore, interpretations of women are often excluded, blurred, disrupted, and obscured (Johnson, 1994; Morris, 1997; McDowell, 2008). For example, Del Zotto speaks about a “news blackout” (2002, p. 142), while Ringelheim (1997) uses the term “split memory” to describe how differently the trauma of a troubled past is recalled for men and women (Jacobs, 2016). Some authors argue that women are largely underrepresented in most sectors—such as the media—and remain on the peripheries of the political landscape, which often sets the landscape of

memorisation (Ward, 2004; McDowell, 2008). Therefore, the majority of literature considers memory and media a privilege of male interpretations (McDowell, 2008).

The conflict experiences during troubled pasts inevitably dictate the life thereafter. The same main agents of conflict then influence much of what society remembers in public spaces. The outcome is a dominant (male) narrative, which disrupts many conflicting interpretations of others (e.g. women) who were also caught up in the conflict (McDowell, 2008). The underrepresentation of women in politics also underlies the masculinist interpretations due to how media systems tend to operate. For example, the media often reduces the complexity of conflicts to a small set of comments and statements and focuses mainly on state actors. One consequence of this is the rarity of female voices in war/conflict reporting. Even if women appear in media coverage, they do so only in support of the male interpretation of the conflict (Del Zotto, 2002). For Lemert (1998), the reason behind this lies in ideological and instrumental factors on the part of mass media. However, the result is a gendered and distorted framing of war (Del Zotto, 2002). Notably, Del Zotto goes one step further and names three explanations for how media selects stories regarding troubled pasts, and how this influences or benefits the male frame. The first dimension concerns time and tradition: “a narrow, masculinized view of war [...] frequently dominates the operative code of global media because of the dialectical relationship that exists between traditional journalistic methods and modern time constraints” (Del Zotto, 2002, p. 143). Secondly, del Zotto highlights the role of media political economy. Media is a commercial industry that often produces linear narratives of events, thus relying on simple products with a handful of elite agents in order to avoid too complex, controversial, or boring stories (Eldridge, 1995; Del Zotto, 2002). The third and final aspect relates to patriotism, as even in (supposedly) free and democratic societies, it is the media that adheres to the official policies of their respective states with respect to a particular war. However, many aspects of war, especially the complex war experiences of women, can contradict the official position of a government. As a result, the media does not truly cover these positions (Eldridge, 1995; Del Zotto, 2002).

Besides dealing with a male dominated view, existing research also focuses on the dynamics of troubled pasts from the perspective of women and gender relations (Nash & Tavera, 2003). Women are often remembered as tragic figures of motherhood, while men are recalled through their remains, their deaths, and the cemeteries that commemorate their loss and sacrifices. “In this representation, the women have become symbols not only of tragedy and suffering but also of a particular kind of female survivor, one who personifies the norms of patriarchy in which women represent traditional maternal values of family and domesticity” (Jacobs, 2016, p. 424). Generally, there exists specific roles and stereotypes for the remembrance of female roles during troubled pasts. They are primarily viewed as fragile victims rather than agents (Tickner, 1996; Del Zotto, 2002; Castilla, 2014). Moreover, the media uses a gendered construction of the enemy—especially when reporting on sexual violence such as rape (Banjeglav, 2011). To summarise, “women [are remembered] as the stereotypical fragile victims of what was essentially a male conflict, suffering the painful war-induced dislocation of stable family lives while the men took up the cudgels of heroic resistance” (Jafa, 2002, p. 82). Another problem deals with the question of how media and their representational practices reproduce traditional gender roles through the overrepresentation

of women as victims and the invisibility of male victimised bodies, which thus denies the female role of agency and the vulnerability of men (Žarkov, 2007).

The strong victimisation of women brings about further questions regarding whether “bringing rape out into open” through commemoration puts victims at a higher risk for further stigmatisation. Thus, there is a danger of further marginalising victims themselves, as well as the children who were born of these acts of violence (Erjavec & Volčič, 2010). At the same time, the continuing suppression of memories of rape can result in renewed silence and post-traumatic suffering. Due to both cultural norms and political goals, women become revictimised and the children born out of war atrocities are further denigrated (Carpenter, 2007; Jacobs, 2016).

McDowell claims that some forgotten narratives have been discussed in public and academic spheres during peacetime years, and “their presentation within the cultural landscape has been both decidedly limited and overtly gendered” (2008, p. 335). However, academic research has dealt with several aspects of troubled pasts, media, and gender. For example, Porter (1998), Arextaga (1997) and Dowler (1997) have documented the often silenced experiences of mothers and wives following the imprisonment or deaths of their sons and husbands. Another study dealt with the rupturing of private spaces and traditional boundaries as well as violence against women (Edgerton, 1986; McWilliams, 1997; Pickering, 2000). Furthermore, Alison (2004) studied the involvement of women in paramilitary activity, while Lentin (1997), Hammond-Callaghan (2002), and Ashe (2006) explored the participation of women in public protests and peace-building. Other researchers have worked on the question of how national identity and gender are related, and what role the media plays in this (e.g. McDowell, 2008; Banjeglav, 2011)—especially in the context of memory and remembrance in the media landscape. For example, Banjeglav (2011) analysed how national identity is constructed as victim identity, and how gender can be used to achieve this.

Other disciplines offer interesting perspectives on gendered memorialisation. Emerging from psychology, psychiatry, geriatrics, religion, and oral history, this scholarship suggests that women in particular tend to produce a unified image and domesticating memory as an act of self-preservation throughout life, and an act of affirmation close to the death (e.g. Butler, 1974; Priefer & Gambert, 1984; DeConcini, 1990; Helterline & Nouri, 1994; Anderson & Jack, 1998; Kitch, 2008).

Overall, it can be summarised that the representation of gender, especially women, does play a role in research, at least in some of the countries under investigation within the RePAST project. Particular research angles include: portrayal of women as victims (Kosovo, Spain, Bosnia and Herzegovina), the negation of an active role for women in conflicts and the dominance of the male perspective (Ireland, Kosovo, Spain, Bosnia and Herzegovina), and the connection between national identity and gender (Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Summary and conclusion

In the summary and conclusion we highlight some key findings in this report on the state of the art in the field of memory, conflict and media. These include some identified shortcomings in the existing literature. In this section, we further propose some guiding questions for developing the theoretical foundations and research design for the empirical work to be carried out by RePAST's Work Package 3 (WP3).

The problems of definitions: This report aims to feed into the development of the conceptual and methodological foundation for WP3, which is concerned with the role of journalistic and citizen-led media in the dealing with troubled pasts and European integration. This exercise in mapping terminology, theories and methodology in the field unveils the difficulties of operational *definitions* in this field. The literature often has its foundation in specific countries and time periods of troubled pasts that has formed collective memories in various societies. At the same time, just as the dearth of theoretical foundations has been subject to criticism, so too has the lack of "empirically grounded" studies in media memory research (Pickering & Keightley, 2016, p. 36). This points to a challenge for WP3: to draw operational definitions of the terms associated with collective memory and to conceptualise their relationships with journalistic and citizen-led media based on our study of eight European countries.

The complex field of digitalization: The literature of memory in the age of digitalization shows a great amount of academic interest in a complex field. Overall, we have identified here important but ambiguous shifts associated with the rise of the new memory regime. The broadening and diversification of the voices of collective memory raise questions of power, and about the kinds of voices that tend to be heard more than others. Additionally, while new forms of memorialising give way to more expressive and creative means of understanding and relating to the past, they can also be associated to the preponderance of an individualising relationship to the past, in turn linked to commodification. Finally, the algorithmic structuring of digital environments creates new visibilities, conditioning and re-structuring collective memories in specific ways. The questions of the emerging new hierarchies in authoring collective memory, including the role of algorithms, and the impact of individuation and commodification, have not been studied extensively and certainly not in the case studies at the centre of RePAST.

The challenges of reconstruction: In the question of reconstructing the troubled past, the literature is rooted in the various country cases in RePAST's study. From a conceptual and analytical point of view, this report established three openings that require further research. Firstly, we identify openings in conceptualizing the role of *audiences*, which we understand here as, located in the nexus between "mediated memories and 'media biographies' of audiences" or the impact of mass media on social memory (Neiger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011, p. 16). Secondly, most research has focused on the contents and representations of mediated collective memories but in doing so overlooked the role of the producers (or reproducers) in the construction of discourses on collective memory. Examining journalists, media makers, or social media activists and the conditions under which they produce contents on collective memories, is widely neglected in

scholarly research, notwithstanding the important contribution of Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014). Thirdly, most studies lack a sound empirical grounding and a comparative focus which could contribute to a more robust and comprehensive theorizing of mediated collective memories of conflict. Building on this work, RePAST will examine the role of media and memory across eight European countries, seeking to provide new conceptual, theoretical, and methodological perspectives on how journalistic and citizen-led media mediate processes of memory regarding troubled pasts at a transnational level.

The need to study gender: This report found that the representation of gender, especially women, does play a role in research, at least in some of the countries under investigation within the RePAST project. Particular research angles include: portrayal of women as victims (Kosovo, Spain, Bosnia and Herzegovina), the negation of an active role for women in conflicts and the dominance of male perspectives (Ireland, Kosovo, Spain, Bosnia and Herzegovina), and the connection between national identity and gender (Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina). It is clearly necessary to explore the question of gender in more detail and depth across all case studies. RePAST will actively interrogate gender in the production, representation and reception of mediated collective memories.

Constructing meaning and identity: As RePAST will bring more empirically grounded research about how collective memories are created, we interrogated the literature for issues pertaining to identity and construction of meaning. We rely on the classic constructivist sociology of Bergman and Luckmann (1991) in positing that meaning is constructed at different levels with political, institutional, policy and media discourses meeting personal experiences, witnessing and family narratives (see also, Askin, 1999; Henry, 2009, 2012; Kalyvas, 2006; Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2004; Sharratt, 2016; Stover, 2011; Wald, 2002). For our specific case studies, the literature we examined suggests that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Ireland, and Kosovo, religious and ethno-national identities, and geographical location are the ones primarily feeding into how meaning is constructed around collective memories of past troubles and understood among different publics (see for example, Di Lellio & Schwandner-Sievers, 2006; Bergholz, 2013; Hutchence & Georgiades, 1999; Papadakis, 2018). This should not be taken to mean that these are not politicized or politically relevant, but that their primary determination is taken to be religious, ethno-nationalist, or geographical. While some of these parameters are present in the cases of Germany, Greece, Poland and Spain, it is mainly political divisions that underlie the construction of meaning, identities and relationships to the past (see for example, Berdahl, 1999; Esbenshade, 1995; Renshaw, 2010; Shevel, 2011; Kubow, 2013; Kwiatkowski, 2006). Common to all cases are experiences and narratives of violence, loss, injustice, suffering, guilt and victimization (see for example, Cassia, 1999, 2006; Kovras, 2013; Danforth & Van Boeschoten, 2012; Gerolymatos, 2004).

Bridge to the WP's research aims: Our analysis of the literature in the eight case studies and general literature on troubled pasts and collective memories, revealed a significant lack of materials on a key concern of RePAST, namely, the implications of troubled pasts for EU integration. Additionally, there is very little empirical research on bottom-up approaches to mediated forms of collective memory, how audiences or publics respond, interpret, appropriate or create their own mediated memories of the past. Therefore, this brings a natural bridge to the essence of the research aims of WP3, which is to *bring a clearer, empirically informed understanding of the roles of journalistic and*

citizen media in dealing with the past and to trace the implications for EU integration; and to examine the contexts of production of mediated discourses of troubled pasts, bridging the gap between case-oriented literature on collective memories, the role of the media, and the challenges of EU integration.

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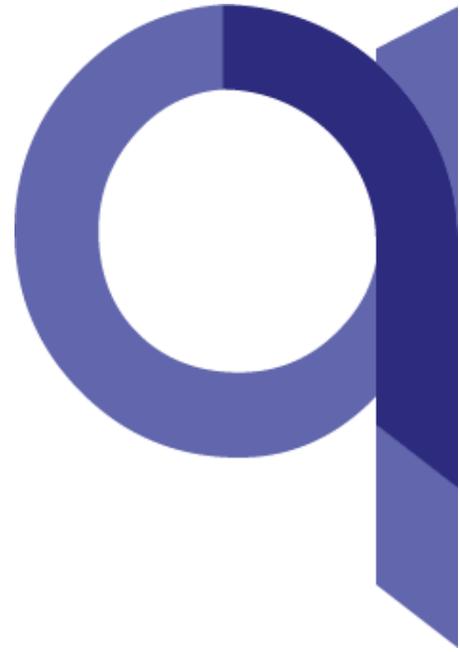
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