

Journalism, memory and testimony: an analysis of the present time

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Abstract

The purpose of the article is to relate journalism and memory, focused on the biggest bond between them: testimony. The analysis is helped, methodologically, by a survey with 103 journalists from Rio de Janeiro, conducted during the first semester of 2017, about their occupation's icons. The result is interpreted by the theoretical support of memory researchers, such as Barbie Zelizer, Andreas Huyssen, Maurice Halbwachs and Philippe Joutard. The testimony issue is studied in two dimensions: testimony as a historical production tool in journalism and the journalists' testimony about themselves, in an accelerated time that privileges present over past or future.

Keywords

Journalism; Memory; Testimony.

Introduction

Nowadays, journalism is intensively linked to the temporal dynamics of the internet, in which there is great information flow. In the logic of accelerated, ephemeral and disposable length, there are limited space and investment in long term for the interpretation of phenomena and groups over time. It happens even when it comes to the journalists' interpretation about themselves. Common memory recovery is difficult, because we live in the dissolution of real present in real time, as Candau (1998) called it.

The society covers up the time considering its particular characteristics (length, flow and transition), and everything is reduced to the instant. According to Candau (1998), real present is complex, temporal, cyclic, and continuous, it has density and is made by heritages and projects. In other words, it is located between past and future, in the length. On the other hand, real time is characterized by its simplicity and temporality. It does not have density, and it is acronychal. Then, it does not belong to a chronological order—before and after, for instance. It is present, its own horizon, and it closures in the instants succession. Its distinction engages the interrupted live time, the instant and the disposable ephemeral.

Real time focuses in the instant itself; the important things are over, without before or after. The tight instants interrupt the temporality. Memory is shaped for consumption, in products of easy absorption and also disposable ones, like series, movies, retro objects. "The real present dissolution in real time translates the journey from a concrete and intimate time experience to an abstract, anonymous and disembodied temporal category¹" (Candau, 1998, p. 94).

The reaction to every new communicational device is to believe in the prompt overcoming of language and previous tools. It is like length is in replication potential, which is also transitory. Journalism suffers due to the ephemerality in its production method. It is continuously in real time, both in its coverage and in its thinking about itself in real time, but not in real present, inserted in length. In simplistic and superficial coverages, journalists seem to act like controllers of other people's testimony, and they do not take over the position as a witness of History integrally, although they call themselves as such. Even when it is required the journalists think in themselves, in their own past and future, it is difficult to them to replace themselves from the present and tell the story of their group.

¹ Free translation: "A dissolução do presente real no tempo real traduz a passagem de uma experiência concreta e íntima do tempo a uma categoria temporal abstrata, anônima e desencarnada".

Considering these points as the analytical center and intending to use them in an empirical investigation (still at an early stage), we focus here on the comprehension if the journalists have long-lasting references in their memory as a group. A few results are showed mainly based on the theoretical memory and testimony relation about what we call the journalists' testimony about themselves.

Therefore, this text has three parts. The first one briefly exhibits the search results. In the sequence, we theoretically debate essential issues to think about journalism and memory relation, in order to, at last, set bonds and connections between the journalists' long-term memory based on their profession's icons, trying to understand the meaning of this selection.

Talking about themselves

Between March and April, 2017, 103 journalists from Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, were invited to answer a questionnaire². The questions were sent by e-mail, and they intended to map the interviewee's profile, asking about their name, age, class, university, company where they currently work (if they do), and if they have worked for communication means (which and how long). Afterwards, the interviewees were asked to point out a journalist considered by themselves an occupation icon, and why³. The only pre-condition to be able to answer the questionnaire was to have major in journalism.

Among the interviewees, 49.5% are women, and 50.5% men. The majority is between 30 and 40 years old (52.4%). The other ones are between 40 and 50 years old (22.3%), 20 and 30 years old (11.7%), or over 60 (2.9%). The questions about class agree with the previous question, about the professionals' age on the market today, massively dominated by young adults.

Of all, 86.4% are currently on the market, except 10.9% that are unemployed, or freelancers, and 2.9% did not answer the question. Almost all (99%) have worked for a journalistic company, the majority for less than five years (35%). The other ones have worked for a journalistic company from 10 to 20 years (28.2%), from five to 10 years (13.6%), from 20 to 30 years (9.7%), for more than 30 years (1%), and 12.3% did not mention the time. The ones that answered they are working, 48% are current employees of communication means (websites, printed newspapers, magazines, TV channels), and 35% work for press offices or

² The investigation is part of Cristine Gerk's doctoring project. The next step is to interview the referred journalists as occupation's icons, in order to understand their opinions about the occupation values that are still the same and the ones that change.

³ The answers about the choice reasons weren't analyzed yet. They will be examined based on qualitative interpretation charts.

institutional communication sector. It demonstrates that the sample reflects the opinion of professionals in the field.

On the matter of who could be considered an occupation's icon, 77 professionals were cited, live and deceased. Most of the survey (8.7%) said the interviewees do not have icons. Among the most commonly cited journalists, there are Caco Barcellos (7.7%), Ricardo Boechat (4.8%), Elio Gaspari (4.8%), Eliane Brum (4.8%), Glória Maria (3.8%), and Leslie Leitão (3.8%). All of them are on the market at this moment, in mainstream media. Barcellos is currently responsible for Profissão Repórter program, on TV Globo; Boechat is an anchor on the news and radio programs on Rede Bandeirantes; Gaspari contributes for newspapers as *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*; Brum writes articles for newspapers as *El País* and *The Guardian*; and Glória Maria is a host of TV Globo programs, where Leitão also works, as a producer.

The search for references we called in the questionnaire occupation's icons, but also denominated contemporary journalists' memorable character-icons, had the purpose to understand how far symbols and symbolizations can emerge for the professionals, materializing these representations in a personalist synthesis about what a journalist is. That way, these cited journalists could be near or far from time and occupation, a memory-character part or not of the routine of the professionals that answered the questionnaire.

Among 103 professionals, there are 77 names referred as icons. It means that, first of all, there is no consensus about characters-icons for the group of interviewees, at the moment of the investigation. This interpretation is based on the fact that almost 10% of the interviewees said they have neither a model nor an example for the occupation. Secondly, there is the fact the most commonly cited journalists were in evidence at the time of data collection, from present, on mainstream media. It indicates that the sample does not keep contact to the past, or to the historical tradition of the occupation. This is especially important when it comes to a historical period, in which it is complicated to project the future. Then, we imagine that it is difficult to interact with the past. We appeal to the past when we make plans or analyses about mistakes and successes, in order to trace tracks. Without the past, it is difficult to have the future. And vice versa.

Collective memory

In order to understand these data and their meaning, it is important to turn to essential contributions from one of the main expert on memory, Maurice Halbwachs (1990), who created the sociology of memory and the concept of

collective memory, which is always seen as shared (even if only merely because the language uses). Due to Halbwachs, the comprehension that the subjects are only capable of remembering because they connect themselves to groups was disseminated. The more they are affected by the others, the greater is their ability to remember. Many times, an interpellation is what activates somebody else's memory, in present. To answer a question or images, we replace ourselves in the other one's point of view, or the group's. In other words, memory tends to dissipate when we go away from the group to which it was related.

The more isolated the journalists feel among each other, not engaged in a group, the weaker and more disperse is the construction of a collective memory, or its sharing. The group identity sense is affected if the professional group's sense is not such clear, or if the idea that anyone with a camera in hands or in media on the internet can be called a journalist is disseminated. Moreover, since there has been a decrease in formal jobs, the portion of the population that perform this activity for a living has reduced, as well as meeting points, professional meetings, opportunities to share memories and projects. If there is no long-term present, it seems the group's common past is also vanished, in an absence of characters that synthesize the historical values of their own occupation.

To make our memory uses other ones' memory, it is not enough they exhibit their testimonies: it is also necessary the memory agrees with their memory, besides the existence of many points of contact between them, so that the remembrance is reconstructed on a common basis⁴ (Halbwachs, 1990, p. 39).

In accordance to the author, as a reconstruction, memory does not fix itself in an experience conservation, but in new constructions through a reference material. These groups of references of a certain collective memory mobilized by the subject to remember are called by Halbwachs (1990) social frameworks of memory, and they are sustained on language, time and space. Individual memory is exclusive according with the point of view related to the collective memory. The groups undergo the time differently, in various lengths.

Professional memory can be understood as a collective memory, which also incorporates experiences of groups that do not exist anymore. A lot of what could be seen as past is present nowadays in habits, in a review process. Also, it is important a more holistic perspective. There is no pure group: the groups' collective

⁴ Free translation: "Para que a nossa memória se aproveite da memória dos outros, não basta que estes nos apresentem seus testemunhos: também é preciso que ela não tenha deixado de concordar com as memórias deles e que existam muitos pontos de contato entre uma e outras para que a lembrança que nos fazemos recordar venha a ser reconstruída sobre uma base comum" (HALBWACHS, 1990, p. 39).

memories cross each other. Memory is always a dispute and it is more linked to the present than to the past, i.e., to how we see the past, in multiple temporalities.

Memory is alive, dynamics, and unique in each remembrance. In order to be activated, often it is necessary the memory is activated in groups that have “the desire of memory”, as said by Namer (1987). An example of a group that uses this intention is the family, which appreciate stories, pictures, objects. The choice of icons from present by the journalists examined points out the lack of interest in going deeper in the occupation memory, through practices that stimulate the rescue of a link to a common past, or the reinterpretation of this past. Memory is what constitutes somebody as a subject, and it is always a narrative. Silence interferes in this constitution.

Testimony

For studying journalism memory and how journalism configures and reconfigures itself, an analysis that embraces the dimension of testimony is essential⁵. Since the social networks and mobile internet, many predictions are made about the future of journalism occupation, but it is hard to make a projection without understanding the actual value of an identity group’s past, in the heat of the transformations, and without studying the testimony of the ones that keep track on History changes. The testimony issue needs to be studied in two dimensions: the testimony as a historical production tool in journalism, and the journalists’ testimony about themselves.

Nevertheless, the field of testimony or of the narratives has been neglected in investigations about journalism, as Resende (2006) points out. The author raises awareness of the importance the studies address the many ways of narrating the world, since the world compounds and recomposes sociabilities, in addition to be a collective representation. Moreover, Resende (2006) says journalism, mainly when it comes to its basics functions—to inform—, makes a small contribution to narratives construction, in the widest sense of the word. On the contrary, journalism produces stunted reports, since it becomes an objectiveness slave, without the striking presence of a narrator that makes its own mark and its own interpretation about the occurrences. To go deeper in this phenomenon comprehension, it is necessary to see narrative as a problem.

⁵ Concerning on testimony, see: Vaz; Santos; Andrade, 2014.

Expressing similar concern, journalists⁶ have warned of the risks involved in the practice, more often every day, of producing articles based just on reports sent by readers through social networks, such as WhatsApp. The texts followed by pictures and videos have better chances to become articles, especially by people that complain abuse of public power or violence as victims. A lot of articles are basically reproductions of the reader's message plus a competent authority's answer, without polyphony or analysis of the past and future of the situation. The truth of each experience, transmuted into seen, captured and shared images, produces a speech that is disconnected from any reference. Therefore, this speech has on itself exacerbated sense of truth.

Through videos and images sent by readers and disseminated on journalistic pages, there is the reinforcement of what we call witness effect, which covers the public's perception as a probable informant, since they are in what is reported. Then, the public identifies the power to capture the image and to transmit it as a reliable information. It is important to be aware this witnesses' production is covered up with sense of truth, considering they have images to prove it. Videos and pictures are unquestionable evidences, but there are subjective productions, angles and perspectives.

The distance between experience and representation is reduced, in order to create certain shared-time illusion. It is a communicational time that exploits especially the moment now, from the origin to death (extended present). In the shared now, via communicational devices, the idea of the other one and I sharing the same time and, because of that, living the same life is created. Ultrapresent communication time creates shared-time illusion.

The compulsion for speaking without a profound meaning, tight here and now, drains the ability of categorize and evolve creatively. Hardly, there are time and investment in the content production that specifies when the job is summarized in report management. The testimony only has a wider sense if it is understood with regard to the group it is part of, assuming an event that was collectively experienced and, then, dependent on the context of the individual and the group they are part of. The remembrance is not closed in itself. As Halbwachs (1990, p. 23) says, "nobody can truly remember, but in society⁷." Every individual memory is a point of view about a collective memory, and this point of view changes according with the held position.

⁶ In the dissertation *Jornalismo e público: reconfigurações no contexto digital. WhatsApp do Extra como ferramenta histórico-tecnológica* (GERK, 2016), ten journalists for *Extra* journal said the practice of producing articles based on only one text sent by victims through the social networks is common.

⁷ Freely translated: "Ninguém pode se lembrar realmente a não ser em sociedade."

The production method, in a superficial way, is also related to the contemporary time basis, adjusted to the journalist professional daily life. The high competition in digital environment, full of information source, requires active participation in virtual world, mainly out of the need of receiving and processing interruptedly a huge and increasing amount of data. It causes stress in the journalists, due to continuous attention. Reading, in general, is an intuitive scanning, with no time for concentration or text interpretation. In new format, an article is not a unit, but a flow of activities. Deadlines and configurations can be switched according with the feedback. Deadline itself, as a closure reference, changes, since the journalists are online all the time. Sodré (2002) explains that the permanent online presence generates a condensation of temporality in present, as well as confusion between work time, leisure time and studying time.

Besides, in-media testimony allocates to the one that sees the responsibility of remembering and preventing, transmitting a moral obligation and appealing to sense of community. Some practical examples of the testimony culture are the posts (publications) of artists coped with traumas and the known stories about overcoming, that are quickly media success. In November 2016, for example, the African daughter of the actors Bruno Gagliasso and Giovana Ewbank was the target of racist comments over the internet. A lot of known communicational means published articles focusing only on the actors' reports, both oral and written, in social networks or TV programs⁸. Sometimes, they also reproduced the aggressive text that started the situation. Later, it was found out the racist messages author was a 14-year-old black girl. The issue had potential to be wider exploited, on an analytical way, but it was restricted to the reproduction of reports from social networks.

Another current movement is the promotion of testimonies related to the journalists' experiences. Brêtas (2016) analyzed the proliferation of this kind of reports in Brazilian press between 2013 and 2015 and their appearance in mass-circulation means in Brazil.

In the post-modern scenario⁹, in which the future is an evitable-risk place, and not of progress or cure, as it was in modernity, the profusion of reports becomes operational. Considering a collection of hazardous possibilities and fear of contagion, the operator, before subject, can elaborate a safer and more stable strategy, to avoid danger that affects other ones. In this new context, past works as a warning model based on suffering experiences that establish individual and

⁸ An example is available at: <<http://ego.globo.com/famosos/noticia/2016/11/bruno-gagliasso-sobre-queixa-crime-por-racismo-policia-vai-cuidar-disso.html>>.

⁹ About post-modernity, see, for example, D'Amaral (2010).

collective identities. The own past is redefined when other people's report is listened, taking into account new frames available in the present.

More and more journalism is impregnated of victim speeches that frequently appear on social networks and are replicated on media with no further development. The victim who comes out in public can be everyone. Our veneration for the victims can be related to the fact we recognize in them our own passivity in front of a present we try to control and adjust all the time, via communicational devices, but that seems to guide us to an abyss without future.

Relation with time

After Enlightenment, when linear time pointed out to the progress and to the nature and future domain, in the XXI century we see the failure of a future project, crisis of utopias and metanarratives to post-modernity. Anyway, according to Huysen (2000), it is necessary History takes a look at the ruins and make them a construction field. Looking to the past can transform the present, even when the future is discouraging. The relation with the past is fundamental, although it works just like a disruption.

Contemporary world does not stop to register the testimony of common existences and banal events. Memory, in sense of collective tools of documentation and relevant information preservation, must be conserved, on the one hand, in a superabundant data environment and in an environment with lack of information, on the other hand. As already said, narratives are essential to configure remembrances, that are, by themselves, narrative construction. Nowadays, there is information in excess, made only to be consumed, with no connection, empty of profound comprehension. The feeling is the present is coming to an end. Everything is absolutely ephemeral, due to the perception of a fast capitalism, which makes the products obsolete almost instantaneously. This is also the explanation for the register compulsion. A lot of people go to the media hoping to reach longevity in a furtive and accelerated present.

Information does not help the spectators to create bonds, or remember, because they do not last. The superabundance can become oblivion too, since a lot is missed in virtual environment. Furthermore, we cannot disregard the hegemonic media and publicity are in charge of the selection of what to keep and what to forget, in a dispute that maintain power, and the decision, still in journalists' hands, in the end.

“It is truly confusing when memory is called the ability the computers have to keep information: to this last operation, there is lack of constitutive aspect of memory, i.e., the selection¹⁰” (Todorov, 1995, p. 16).

As Joutard (2015) says, testimony is always an issue, and the naturalization of any testimony is its death. In order to deal with it ethically and in a responsible way, it is necessary to consider it a problem. There is no comprehension with no criticism. The explosion of memories are anchored in the testimony, providing automatically legitimacy to speeches, mainly the victims' ones. However, nothing changes more than the past—it is rethought based on the present. The truth and fundamentals are no searched; versions are enough. There is no debate to achieve consensus, but a dispute of strengths. The journalists always have a position, but it is particularly dangerous if they fall in an absolute relativism, because they are still looking forward a place of legitimacy of the order of knowing, and not just the point of view.

Koselleck (2006) explains the experience is the current past. I.e., there is a fusion of rational elaboration and the unconscious behavior ways, that are not, necessarily, in knowledge. Moreover, the other one's experience is always in the experience. Likewise, expectations are individual and interpersonal. They can be reviewed, while the experiences in which we trust repeat and are confirmed in future, with even their possibilities and failures, in the past occurrences creation. Future is never a simple result of a historical past. The experiences superimpose, they impregnate each other. For the author, the tension is between experience and expectation that generate new solutions.

Nevertheless, we live a historical period in which there is a crisis in experiences space and also in expectations horizon, and both are intimately connected. This assessment in the center of interpretation on lack of memory appeals to the interviewed journalists: while future, which looks like a dangerous place, is hard to predict, past assumes a distant place. Equally, according with the daily professional practice, source reports for the text production are handled with neither past nor future, and no cohesion with groups.

Historically, historians have been seen like the ones that interpret the past. On the other hand, journalists have interpreted the present¹¹. In legitimacy crisis, appealing to the past seems like a solution. In the book *Jornal Nacional: modo de fazer*, the anchor and chief editor of the main broadcast TV Globo news William Bonner says that, among the noticeability standards to define the topics worthy of

¹⁰ Freely translated: “É profundamente desconcertante quando se ouve chamar de memória a capacidade que os computadores têm para conservar a informação: a esta última operação lhes falta um aspecto constitutivo da memória, que é a seleção.”

¹¹ About journalism and History, see: Lacouture, 1978.

coverage, it is chosen what the historian is going to look for into Jornal Nacional archives 50 years from now. Thus, Bonner tries to anticipate the logic of the historian from the future, in order to establish what it is important from the past.

In this regard, there is the argument journalism registers the History, not only by the instant, but thinking about what it is going to be relevant in future¹². Journalists assume a memorialist position, similar to the historians' position, but with the focus on the present that abruptly becomes History, in a dispute of knowing between both. In other words, journalism as a field is legitimized in this important historical place, even when its value and role are questioned in post-modernity. Journalists, in turn, as subjects inserted in a professional crew, do not feel linked to its own past and legacy, like we observed in the mentioned investigation.

In the master's dissertation previously cited, journalists for *Extra* affirm the use of instruments like WhatsApp has, again, the influence to legitimize the professional as a mediator between public authority and the audience. In front of the public, journalists appeal to both identity and historical values to confirm their relevance, as well as the capability of defining what it is true or bogus in a digital information network. As long as this adhesion to speeches, in practice the group does not see itself in terms of collective, has difficult to elect a character to synthetizes what a journalist is and manages testimonies in a superficial way trying to construct the majority of narratives. So, journalists do not reconcile or align, in the present practice, to the answers from past that defend as the argument to legitimize their activity. Even their position as an intermediary, supposedly appreciated, is weak when there is the movement to the witness whose social status is higher, since the same archive or speech can be interpreted in different ways. The report changes, as well as the person and the context. Refinement is necessary to understand this multiplicity through time.

What does it mean being (or not) remembered?

The identity construction is damaged when the notion of professional group is not so clear, or when anyone with a camera in hands, or any mean of publication, can be called a journalist. Moreover, considering the decline of formal jobs, the part of population that work as a journalist has been reduced, as well as meeting points, professional meetings, and opportunities to share memories and projects.

We miss important bonds: common life sharing, and features of a long-term memory updated by the group with similar memory. If present time is no more

¹² About it, see: Barbosa, 2016; and Ribeiro, 2003.

shared by the professionals, taking into account the distance reduction between experience and representation, there is also loss at common witnessing dimension.

Maybe that is the reason there is no general memory, in the ideal perspective, about the ones that would synthesize in collective memory what a journalist is. In addition, the individuals remembered by the group are exactly the ones with great visibility on current public scenario of journalism.

Electing more evident names mainly thanks to their present actions, instead of references from a far past and that were important for the construction of the history of journalism, represents an emergence of a time in which here and the moment are symbols of the journalists' own memory. The group's testimony spreads over individual voices, in which events are not experienced collectively, tearing apart as well the sense of sharing a collective memory. Individual memories proliferate in the remembrance of a past that the common senses produced based on testimonies.

Therefore, the proliferation of representative names of an occupational field can mean the contagion of the present time, which produces exponential transformations in job practice, and these transformations may reflect in the construction of a fanning-out common past.

Is there a way to distinguish good and bad uses of the past? According to Todorov (1995), yes. The first step is to interrogate the results of the memory based on humanist criteria, as well as universal values, like peace rather than war. Based on this reflection, memory must be studied through its reminiscences. Todorov (1995) has created an exemplar concept of memory to defend the use of memory as a pattern to comprehend new situations, and not denying the singularity of the occurrences. Taking into account the exemplar memory, it is possible to domesticate the memory, to establish comparison that permit checking out similarities and differences. Mere nostalgia¹³ is one of the symptoms of a future projection crisis, and past is seen just as entertainment, and not as an opportunity of a critical analysis. We feel nostalgia for a period of time in which it was possible to imagine the future, but we do not dive in it. The idea is to face new situations, understanding they are analogous, however, to other situations from the past, in order to elaborate future projects.

From this point of view, we may think about the impacts of neglecting the use of the exemplar memory in journalism, even from the perspective of the ones who, through reminders produced by the journalists, make themselves synthesis of professionals' expectations. One way to comprehend and create new tracks is to study what was right and wrong in the past. Journalists' historical values, like

¹³ About nostalgia, see: Jameson, 1991.

mediation, or being society's guard dog, and credibility to disseminate true arguments, could be rescued and remodeled, or work as the basis of a new direction. Nonetheless, we cannot ignore what is worthwhile or not to keep or to throw away, what could be present in the emergence of representative names that portray the occupation. When there is a multiplicity of characters, all inserted in reminders of the contemporary scene of the field, we see the group's testimony about itself is a lot more a narrative in a time that does not allow neither interruptions nor second thoughts.

The nostalgic speech about journalism is common, especially between the journalists themselves, who are apocalyptic when they say propositions like "good times," or "journalism is over." The idea of new productions is in crisis. Then, many times the premises are simply recycled with no reflection. Anyway, nostalgia by itself does not take us to real connections to the past, to the present and future—what we have seen in the questionnaire answers. A nostalgic speech is possible, about a period in which we saw better job valorization, but a more profound analysis about what can be used and what can be dropped from the permanent heritage is necessary.

Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014) argue memory studies have neglected the journalism, although both are widely related. The authors agree with the idea that, while journalism has still worked as one of the main institutions of contemporary society to register and remember, we need to go deeper in the understanding of how and why journalism remembers. We share this position, since we believe it is important to comprehend how journalists as a group access memory, taking into account their group's past and characters whose representation features better cohesion.

Journalists are interested in memory in many ways: celebrations, landmarks, special editions, and their own appreciation. Besides, collective memory is not only influenced by journalism. As a society, we remember important coverages, journalists and even media itself. In other words, collective memory includes journalism and journalistic events. Both are intimately linked. Although the journalists are not such interested in its group's memory, they cannot imagine their role and its future without memories.

Zelizer (1992) says a few experts in the field of collective memory have considered journalism an important component on their studies. It is time for a change, if we want to understand the directions of collective memory in the XXI century. Everything that affects the field of journalism, the social networks, for instance, also affects the field of memory, and vice versa. In the relation with the new media devices, memory is fluid, hybrid and transboundary, as well as

journalism. In the contemporaneity, it is necessary to analyze how memory transcends national ceiling. Studying the phenomenon also shows journalism's importance when it comes to see itself as global. Consumed-in-niches journalism, because of social media, internet and on-demand programs, creates memories in niches too, for communities with gradually more power to choose what they will consume and what they will remember.

According to Olick (2014), journalism and memory have suspicious similar qualities: both are susceptible to make mistakes, fallible and ephemeral. Simultaneously, by perspective of memory studies, journalism is also very similar to History: the two are public institutions, they appreciate sources and confirmation rules, and their residues are relatively permanent. Journalists' archives are used as historical sources too, including the testimonies we have mentioned here, applied with no contextualization or further development. In contrast, a lot of studies on memory are interested in validation or authenticity of the experience rather than the professional production, and more in the reception than the production. Journalists need to be examined, as well as the way they work, in order to understand group's memory.

Journalists depend on memory at work. They remember past events and moments of their career. Part of their professional knowledge is to know, or to remember, who they can call and where they can go to. Habits, routines are kinds of memory. What is it noticeable? The answer is based on what it was noticeable in the past and gives the direction to journalists and organizations' routine. Predictable events are easy to be prepared to and to cover up. It is important to know about them when there is the time to understand what it is going to be seen as relevant by the audience.

Journalists also depend on their sources and witnesses' memory. Journalists' memory may fail, as well as the source's one. The comprehension of how memory works is essential to the job practice, and it is essential for the ones that study this issue to comprehend how the institutionalized memories about History are mold. Autobiographical and historical memories of a person are deeply influenced by journalism. These memories influence how we live our days, weeks, years too. Besides, journalism is a constitutive factor of events: they shape these events in a passive and active way.

Journalism's history is an important and interesting part of public memory. Looking into the archives, we can understand not only about previous events, but how they were explored, and compare how the news have presented different approaches about the same theme, checking out the changes in time on the concerns and journalistic methods. Journalism is a central part of collective

memory. Even a bogus news, still a news, founds a daily memory. In modern period, there is no collective memory or culture that is not, even in part, journalistic. Studying journalism's memory is fundamental to understand how collective memory is formed nowadays and how it changes because of the journalism itself. Although there are a lot of data and memories in the virtual environment, probably memory kept by the dominant communicational means is going to be used as archives in future. Studying the memory at journalism is a future project.

As Zelizer (1992) says, journalism is one of the few institutions that encapsulate contemporary memory. The current more relevant processes and contents for memory belong to journalism: testimony, trauma, therapeutic speech, war. Even though, taking into account all the evidences, journalism is put aside as a memory agent, yet by the journalists themselves. How can we analyze a phenomenon if we do not compare it to other ones related to it? It is not an attempt to make the proper characteristics of each phase disappear, but establishing comparison that can highlight similarities and differences. Past representation is not only part of individual identity, but also of a collective one. The emblematic characters of a professional field represent the past, present and future of a group.

"When we constitute a common past, the rightful appreciation of the group can benefit ourselves. The resource from past is especially useful when belongings are required¹⁴" (TODOROV, 1995, p. 52).

When journalists daily work, with their sources and victimized interviewees, and based only on reports reproduction, they position themselves as victims and talk about their occupation history in a crisis in present, in which there are many third-party accused ones: the internet, the economic crisis, the audience. Nonetheless, the victimization needs to be contested, and we must understand how new memories are formed, in order they are present in the future, taking into account the group's past. Inevitably, time has vestiges from the past. Who can be considered the greatest icon for the journalists? Their memory can.

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¹⁴ Freely translated: "Ao constituir um passado comum podemos nos beneficiar do reconhecimento devido ao grupo. O recurso do passado é especialmente útil quando os pertencimentos são reivindicados".

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