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Chapter 7
Cultural Memory and Screen Culture

How Television and Cross-Media Productions Contribute to Cultural Memory

Berber Hagedoorn

Abstract In the modern, overabundant information landscape, information is accessible on and across multiple media platforms and screens, making television and audiovisual memory ever more available. How do the creative practices of media professionals contribute to cultural memory formation today? What is the role of using audiovisual archives to inform and educate viewers about the past? And how can researchers study these dynamic, contemporary representations of past events, and the contribution of audiovisual sources to cultural memory? In this chapter, I consider how new forms of television and cross-media productions, collected in and distributed by audiovisual archives, affect the medium television as a practice of cultural memory in the multi-platform landscape. I zoom in on the role of creative production practices (so-called screen practices) and their social aspects in the construction of memory, in relation to the increasingly dynamic and multi-platform medium that television has become today, and present a dynamic model for studying contemporary television and screen culture as cultural memory.

7.1 Introduction

Current changes in our modern media landscape, such as cross-media storytelling, online archives, digitization, and niche programming (targeting specific audiences or subgroups) have made television and audiovisual memory ever more available to us. This extensive "archive" of television and audiovisual (AV) history for public consumption has been recycled or repurposed by media makers and memory

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consumers in a number of creative ways.[1] In this chapter, I will zoom in on the role of creative production practices—so-called *screen practices*—and their social aspects in the construction of memory, in relation to the increasingly dynamic and multi-platform medium that television has become today. In this overabundant information landscape, information is accessible on and across multiple media platforms and screens—hence I refer to it as the "multi-platform era" or "multi-platform landscape." Today, in this multi-platform landscape, this variety of interactions is opened up far beyond the television screen, to other platforms, screens, and users. How do the creative practices of television professionals (including the use of audiovisual archives to inform and educate viewers about the past) contribute to cultural memory formation today? And how can researchers study the selection of these dynamic, contemporary representations of past events, and the contribution of these audiovisual sources to cultural memory? In this chapter, I consider how such new forms of television and cross-media productions representing history, collected in and distributed by audiovisual archives, affect the medium television as a practice of cultural memory in the multi-platform landscape.

7.1.1 Outline of the Chapter

To do so, I reconsider television as a practice of cultural memory, taking the medium's hybridity into account. First, I zoom in on the theoretical concept of cultural memory. Second, I consider television's transformation into a dynamic constellation of screen practices, which includes the circulation of produced content across different platforms and screens. Therefore, I offer a critical rethinking of theoretical concepts connected to the medium—specifically liveness as presence and immediacy, fixity, and flow—to address recent developments in television as a memory practice. Finally, by adopting and expanding Aleida Assmann's model of the dynamics of cultural memory between remembering and forgetting, I present a new model to study television, cross-media, and audiovisual archival sources as cultural memory, which takes the medium's hybridity in the multi-platform era into account.

7.2 Cultural Memory

Astrid Erll describes cultural memory not as the object of one single research field or academic discipline, but fundamentally as a "transdisciplinary phenomenon" and

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[1]This article is based on a part of chapter 7 from my dissertation: Hagedoorn [25]. The model of television as a hybrid repertoire of memory and connected reflections were previously introduced in: Hagedoorn [23].

"interdisciplinary project." Erll therefore concludes that a favored standpoint or approach for cultural memory research does not exist [16]. Memory studies is a diverse research field where the notion of "cultural memory" distinguishes itself from the concepts of collective memory, popular memory, social memory, and *lieux de mémoire*. Rather, cultural memory is a dynamic practice or constructive process, with a specific focus on the interplay of present and past in sociocultural contexts [17]. Instead of placing the emphasis on sites of memory as relatively stable references for personal and collective memory, cultural memory research today focuses more on how the active relation between present and past is reproduced and how stories are (re-)remembered. Media are assigned a central role in this process, as research by Erll and Ann Rigney among others makes evident [21].

Cultural memory can thus be seen as the complex ways in which a culture remembers.[2] Television programs and related cross-media content, reusing audiovisual and previously broadcast materials, underline how cultural memory is not oppositional to the discourse of official history, but "entangled" with history [50]. As Mieke Bal has stated, the notion of cultural memory has displaced and submerged the discourses of individual (psychological) memory and social memory. This specific term now signifies that memory can be understood as a cultural phenomenon, as well as an individual or social experience:

> The memorial presence of the past takes many forms and serves many purposes, ranging from conscious recall to unreflected re-emergence, from nostalgic longing for what is lost to polemical use of the past to reshape the present. The interaction between present and past that is the stuff of cultural memory is, however, the product of collective agency rather than the result of psychic or historical accident. [. . .] [C]ultural recall is not merely something of which you happen to be a bearer but something you can actually *perform*, even if, in many instances, such acts are not consciously and willfully contrived [5].

More specifically, cultural memory calls attention to the active, continuous, and unstable process of remembering—and therefore forgetting—in sociocultural contexts [50].

7.2.1 Practices of Memory

The crucial role that media play in the processes of both remembering and forgetting is currently reaching new levels of interest in the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary study of memory. I advocate a similarly dynamic approach to the study of television today [26]. In the current "multi-platform era," television has become a constellation of dynamic screen practices and can in this manner be studied as a *practice of memory*, following Marita Sturken's understanding of a "practice of memory" as "an activity that engages with, produces, reproduces and invests meaning in memories, whether personal, cultural or collective" [51].

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[2]See also: Plate [43].

According to Sturken, the concept of cultural memory is deeply connected to the notion of memory practices, because the active and constructed nature of memory is emphasized. The concept "practice of memory" allows for a focus on television as a *continuous*, *unstable* and *changing* memory practice in the multi-platform era, particularly because the production and reconstruction of memory through cultural practices has as its basis the idea that memories are always part of larger processes of cultural negotiation and transformation. As Sturken argues: "This defines memories as *narratives*, as *fluid* and *mediated cultural and personal traces of the past*" [51]. (my emphasis)

7.3   Rethinking Television Studies

Television's transformation into a constellation of screen practices challenges the dominant conception that television, characterized by liveness, immediacy, and its ephemeral nature, is a disposable practice incapable of memory.[3] Like other media, television has often been theorized as a stable, fixed, and autonomous technology. The medium has also been slated for rendering memory static and enduring. Television's contribution to the loss of historical consciousness has often been attributed to the medium's flow quality. In the present media climate, a critical rethinking of television and theoretical concepts connected to the medium—specifically liveness as presence and immediacy; fixity; and flow—is essential to address the recent developments in television.

7.3.1   *Liveness, Presence, and Immediacy*

Television has often been regarded as a "bad" memory medium. Television has principally been conceptualized in terms of time, owing to its basic characteristics of liveness and immediacy, but it has been locked in the present tense. According to Mary Ann Doane, the temporal dimension of television is "an insistent 'present-ness'—a '*This-is-going-on*' rather than a '*That-has-been*', a celebration of the instantaneous," its own discourse therefore characterized by Doane as "nowness".[4] Being coded as present, immediate, and live, the medium of television has in particular been categorized as amnesic. As Mimi White has argued in her influential essay "The Attractions of Television: Reconsidering Liveness," liveness has principally been used as a key concept for television studies to characterize fundamental

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[3]See amongst others: [6, 9, 36].

[4]Doane [10] (For a foundational reading of television's essential liveness, see: Feuer [22]).

ontological and ideological differences between film and television as distinctive media. This has resulted in the outcome that:

> 'Liveness'—as presence, immediacy, actuality—becomes a conceptual filter to such an extent that other discursive registers are ignored. As a result, television's pervasive discourses of history, memory and preservation are too readily dismissed, relegated to secondary status [. . .] [58].

Through a reevaluation of liveness as television's most definitive ontology and underlying ideology, White has argued that ideas of history and memory are as central to any theoretical understanding of television's discursive operations as ideas of presence, immediacy, and liveness [57]. Critical work that recognizes television's important contributions to memory and historiography is still in the minority, but White's essays have become a prime inspiration for television historians and memory scholars to argue against cultural criticism that characterizes television as amnesic.

For example, historian Steve Anderson has denominated White's work as an important challenge to foundational television theory. In his work, Anderson argues that television has modeled highly creative and stylized modes of interaction with the past, which play a significant role in cultural memory and the popular negotiation of the past [1]. Furthermore, Amy Holdsworth has used White's 2004 essay to argue against the denial of memory as a possibility for the medium.[5] Mari Pajala has also made use of this essay to emphasize how theorizations that position liveness as the privileged form of televisuality fail to explain the persistent interest in memory, history, and preservation on television.[6] These argumentations can be taken a step further by questioning the basic notion of liveness itself as presence and immediacy.

Television criticism has conventionally defined liveness as the medium's main characteristic and aesthetic; however, scholars like Kay Richardson and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, John Ellis and Paddy Scannell have questioned the "slippery" and "misunderstood" concept of liveness [14, 44, 48]. Television scholars must be careful not to conflate liveness as a technological effect of television—after all, since the 1960s television has predominantly consisted of prerecorded programs. In the words of Ellis:

> The very act of broadcast transmission itself creates a sense of instantaneous contact with the audience. The act of broadcast and the act of witness take place in the same instant, whether or not the events witnessed are taking place 'live' [15].

It is precisely the moment of instantaneous contact that gives television the power to create memory. Work by Anne Wales and Roberta Pearson shows how television

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[5]Holdsworth's criticism in this context is particularly directed towards Patricia Mellencamp's edited collection *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); specifically the essays by Mary Ann Doane 'Information, Crisis, Catastrophe', Patricia Mellencamp 'TV Time and Catastrophe, or Beyond the Pleasure Principle of Television', and in a lesser manner Stephen Heath 'Representing Television' and Margaret Morse 'An Ontology of Everyday Distraction: The Freeway, the Mall and Television'. See: Holdsworth [32].

[6]Pajala's criticism in this context is particularly directed towards: [30, 33]. See: Pajala [41].

can for instance function as a facilitator of cultural memory when broadcasting (annual) events of national mourning, commemoration, or celebration [42, 56]. Such broadcasts both actively memorialize, often by using or recycling archival materials for remembrance, *and* create new memories, shaping the viewers' memory of the event as well as television history. In the multi-platform era, the moment of *instantaneous contact* will lie even more in the hands of the television user.

Liveness, presence, or immediacy must therefore not be equated with transiency, and television culture is not necessarily disposable, as Lynn Spigel has also claimed.[7] Television can be considered more in terms of instantaneous contact with the audience rather than liveness, especially since the number of television programs that is experienced out of time by viewers has severely increased in the multi-platform era. This shift in viewing rituals is likely to intensify even more in the years to come. Through instantaneous contact with its audience, practices of doing history on television are an important force in the reconstruction of experiences of the past in the present. What is more, the privileging, marginalizing, and rejecting of certain memory narratives over others by television creators is an important characteristic of the medium as a practice of memory in the multi-platform era.

7.3.2   Fixity Versus Connectivity

In the second place, like other media, television has often been criticized for rendering memory static and enduring. Andrew Hoskins has for example drawn upon research by the neurobiologist Steven Rose to address the acclaimed fixing potential of media, including television and the archive:

> A videotape or audiotape, a written record, do more than just reinforce memory; they freeze it, and in imposing a fixed, linear sequence upon it, they simultaneously preserve it and prevent it from evolving and transforming itself with time [34, 47].

However, Hoskins moves on to argue how "the distinctions between the totalizing and the contextual, the permanent and the ephemeral, the archive and narrative are less effectual when memory is embedded in networks that *blur* these characteristics [and] technological advances that have transformed the *temporality*, *spatiality*, and indeed the *mobility* of memories" [35] (my emphasis). The medium that is of principal interest to Hoskins in this context is the Internet. I propose that televisual practices of re-screening—indicating the vast access to a (digital) repertoire of previously transmitted images in today's multi-mediated landscape [27]—from factual programming to online networked television archives, need to be considered here as well.

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[7]Given its ephemeral nature, television is still largely viewed as disposable culture [. . .] [49].

Television has often been theorized as a stable and fixed technology, isolated from other (screen) practices.[8] However, the possibilities of watching television "live" (watching television programs while being broadcast), "near-live" (there is a small time difference between the time of broadcasting and watching a program) and "time-shift viewing" (watching a program recorded at an earlier time)[9] already indicate the versatility of watching television, and exhibit how the dynamics of television as both a practice and experience are constantly shifting. What is more, television programs in the multi-platform era offer additional and connected experiences next to traditional broadcasting, for instance via the Internet, digital thematic channels, and DVD. Derek Kompare has argued that watching a particular text on DVD is a distinct experience from watching that same text on television— or in that respect, in the cinema or on videotape—stating that the DVD box set "functions as a multi-layered textual experience distinct from television and only obtainable via DVD" [38].

I argue that in contrast, such practices must be considered a necessary part of television as a *constellation of dynamic screen practices* in the multi-platform era: in terms of television users interacting with television programs beyond the moment of viewing in different discourses surrounding the television text, but also in terms of collecting and increased personalization, or "Do-It-Yourself " TV archiving. The experience of watching a television series on demand or via DVD in one's own time instead of a weekly broadcast at a set time is also offered via digital thematic channels, on-demand online and streaming services, and time-shifting technologies. This must be considered as one of the many different experiences television currently offers to media users. In this respect, Jane Roscoe has also argued that "choice is the buzzword for broadcasters and audiences" in her discussion of multi-platform event television [46]. Television is constantly connected to other cultural texts and can no longer be considered or theorized as a medium in isolation.

7.3.3 Media Convergence and Flows of Memory

Third and finally, television scholars have generally understood television to obtain its meaning in a manner different to for instance the experience of reading a book, as television presents itself to viewers as a flow of images that can or cannot be related to each other. In the words of Raymond Williams, television's *flow quality* consists of "the replacement of a program series of timed sequential units by a flow series of differently related units in which the timing, though real, is undeclared, and in which the real internal organization is something other than the declared organization" [59]. Work by Williams and Ellis recognized how television

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[8]Television is considered by many people to be a stable technology without opportunities for further innovation [40]. See also: The isolated TV set; the picture box cut off from culture [8].
[9]See also: Nikkel [39].

viewers compose their own television text from a variety of segments (in programs, channels, commercials . . .) and how television in this manner can contribute to assumptions, attitudes, and ideas prevalent in a society arising from the ideologies underpinning that society [7, 13, 59]. Television's acclaimed role in the loss of historical consciousness has often been attributed to the medium's flow quality. By implicating flow as an intrinsic quality of television together with liveness, television's contribution to the loss of history was emphasized as a key characteristic of the medium by Stephen Heath, who has argued that:

> The liveness of television—whether real or fictive (liveness is a primary imaginary of television)—also has its significance here, that of a constant immediacy, television today, now, this minute. Exhausting time into moments, its 'now-thisness', television produces forgetfulness, not memory, flow, not history. If there is history, it is congealed, already past and distant and forgotten other than as television archive material, images that can be repeated to be forgotten again [31].

According to William Uricchio, a subtle but important shift in the concept of flow has taken place in the age of convergence, replacing a programming-based notion of flow with a viewer-centered notion of flow and more recently, a new technologically ordered concept of flow [53]. In today's mediated era we can watch television programming via multilayered television sets, personal computers (desktop-, laptop-, tablet PCs) and mobile phones (by receiving either streamed television content via the Internet or terrestrial mobile broadcasting via Digital Video Broadcasting-Handheld (DVB-H)); transmitted via digital and analogue signals; as terrestrial, cable, satellite, handheld/mobile, or Internet television; in or outside the domestic viewing context of the home; in a variety of distribution formats, such as traditional broadcasting, on-demand services, digital thematic channels, DVD productions; and different storage formats, like DVR systems. Uricchio emphasizes that the gradual shift from traditional television broadcasting to alternate carriers and intensified convergence has subsequently granted the Internet access to domains that were once exclusively televisual [54]. This argument can be extended to include other dynamic screen practices as well, especially when considering television's practices of multi-platform storytelling.

Television's convergence with new and digital media technologies has become a distinctive feature of the medium, transforming television from an activity fixed around programming and broadcasting schedules to a practice concentrated around the selection of the television user. As a result, television content, in both Dutch and international contexts, flows across numerous media platforms and screens in a variety of ways. This has also *shaped* television and cross-media creators' *strategies* of repurposing archival materials in new contexts and making history programming accessible across media platforms and screens. This is a specific example of convergence, which Henry Jenkins has defined as "the flow of content across multimedia platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want" [37]. The medium television is in itself a unique example of convergence, given that the activity of watching television has become a multi-platform practice. Multi-platform story

production and storytelling demands considerable efforts of both creators and users to achieve a deeper engagement. It is a specific mode of engagement and production routine that challenges the use of the medium television. It is also a fruitful line of investigation to gain further insight into television as a constellation of screen practices and a more participatory medium—which involves a set of expectations from creators too. By making television content available on multiple platforms, televisual practices of "re-screening" the past in turn provide television users with an active and continuous link to versions of the past in documentaries and archive-based histories.

The privileging, marginalizing, and rejecting of certain memory narratives over others is an important part of this process. Open to a number of different distribution formats, televisual practices of re-screening consequently produce a *flow*—or indeed, flows—*of memory* through multi-platform storytelling. Instead of each television image replacing the next in a serial succession in television's traditional "flow" model, television images exist continuously side-by-side in a parallel extension on multiple platforms. These images are being navigated through an increasingly viewer-sided and technology-sided notion of flow. Images can be revisited as long as such memory materials keep making themselves available to audiences—which in today's technologically advanced era can both be an exceedingly lengthy period[10] as well as bound by different challenges and restrictions.

7.3.4 New Directions for Studying Screen Culture

Various media ranging from radio, print, online and digital media can work together to provide additional historical frameworks and backgrounds with information provided on broadcast television. It is essential to analyze these strategies as an integral part of television in the multi-platform landscape. By constructing narratives that are too large to be told through one medium, televisual practices of cross-media and transmedia storytelling provide necessary contextual frameworks with televised histories and other representations of the past.[11] Via television as a multi-platform or cross-media experience, viewers can connect with the past on personal, public, national and international levels, demonstrating the continuing importance of stories and memories produced through televisual practices—and challenging accepted versions of history. Television and cross-media professionals working at different levels in the industry have the responsibility to reflect on what kind of representations of the past they give a voice, and scholars should critically assess how this affects the formation of memory in multi-platform environments. For example, without a strategy to *integrally* preserve websites and other cross-media

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[10]For a discussion of the possible 'hazards' of the increased digitization of memory, see: Van House [55].

[11]See for example: Hagedoorn [24].

practices with history television programming, important sites of memory will be lost for future remembrance and reflection. Just "because" representations of the past have a social relevance does not necessarily mean that they will be preserved for posterity, or that the forms in which they are offered are suitable to do so [45].

7.4 Television as a Cultural Memory Practice in the Multi-platform Landscape

Television in the multi-platform era, on the one hand, is "adding" more and more cultural artifacts to our cultural history and memory. On the other hand, the reconstruction of memories through practices of doing history is a dynamic process of constant change—rewriting, rejecting, privileging, and marginalizing certain memory narratives over others. Television today functions as a contemporary practice of memory by contextualizing history through a network of dynamic and mediated screen practices—both on the meta-level of television as a multi-platform practice, and on the micro-level of television programs that employ multi-platform storytelling. In this context, I propose a new model (described later on, see Fig. 7.2) to study television and its cross-media content as cultural memory, representing the medium's hybridity in the multi-platform era.

7.4.1 Aleida Assmann's Model of Cultural Memory

Kirsten Drotner has argued that media and memory are "intimately connected" in modern times for the reason that media can not only retain events experiences across time and space, but also help retrieve them at a later date and in another place [11]. Erll in this context makes a heuristic distinction between the three functions media of memory can perform on a collective level: (1) *storage*, as media store contents of cultural memory and make them available across time; (2) *circulation*, since media enable cultural communication across time and space and disseminate contents of cultural memory; (3) as a *trigger* or "*media cue*" for acts of cultural remembrance, and that it is often the narratives surrounding such media or sites of memory that determine their meaning [19]. Aleida Assmann's model of cultural memory (Fig. 7.1) is a crucial instrument here to a deeper understanding of cultural memory as the interplay of present and past in sociocultural contexts and provides further insight into this tension. In this model, Assmann makes an important distinction between remembering and forgetting as both active and passive processes, arguing that "[t]he tension between the pastness of the past and its presence is an important key to understanding the dynamics of cultural memory" [3]. However, the model needs to be reconsidered in the light of contemporary practices of multi-platform television that make evident that cultural memory is increasingly more dynamic. I
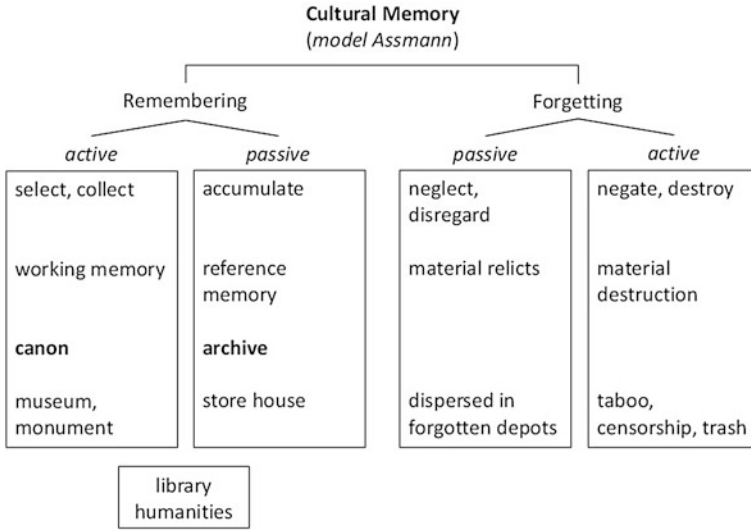
Fig. 7.1 Model Assmann: Cultural memory [2]

take Assmann's model as a starting point for reflection, but I will rework the model based on my own observations of television as a dynamic process and practice of cultural memory in the contemporary media environment.

Assmann has characterized memory as a highly selective practice. Practices of active memory preserve the past as present, whereas practices of passive memory preserve the past as past. Specifically, *actively circulated memory* that keeps the past present is identified as the "*canon*," made perceptible through practices of selection, value, and duration. *Passively stored memory* that preserves the past as past is identified as the "*archive*," denoting storehouses or stable repositories of information and power. The canon can be compared to curated exhibits on display in a museum, and the "archive" to objects hidden from the public's view in the storehouse. The former comprises texts with a sanctified status, destined to be repeated and reread. The latter includes disconnected cultural relics waiting for new interpretations. The cultural practice of forgetting also consists of a more active and a more passive form. A distinction is made between *active* intentional acts of forgetting, like material destruction, and *passive* non-intentional acts of forgetting, such as loss and negligence [18].

7.4.2 Television and Screen Culture Today as Cultural Memory

My model "Television as Cultural Memory" (Fig. 7.2) outlines television as a practice of active and passive remembering and forgetting. In this model, I adopt
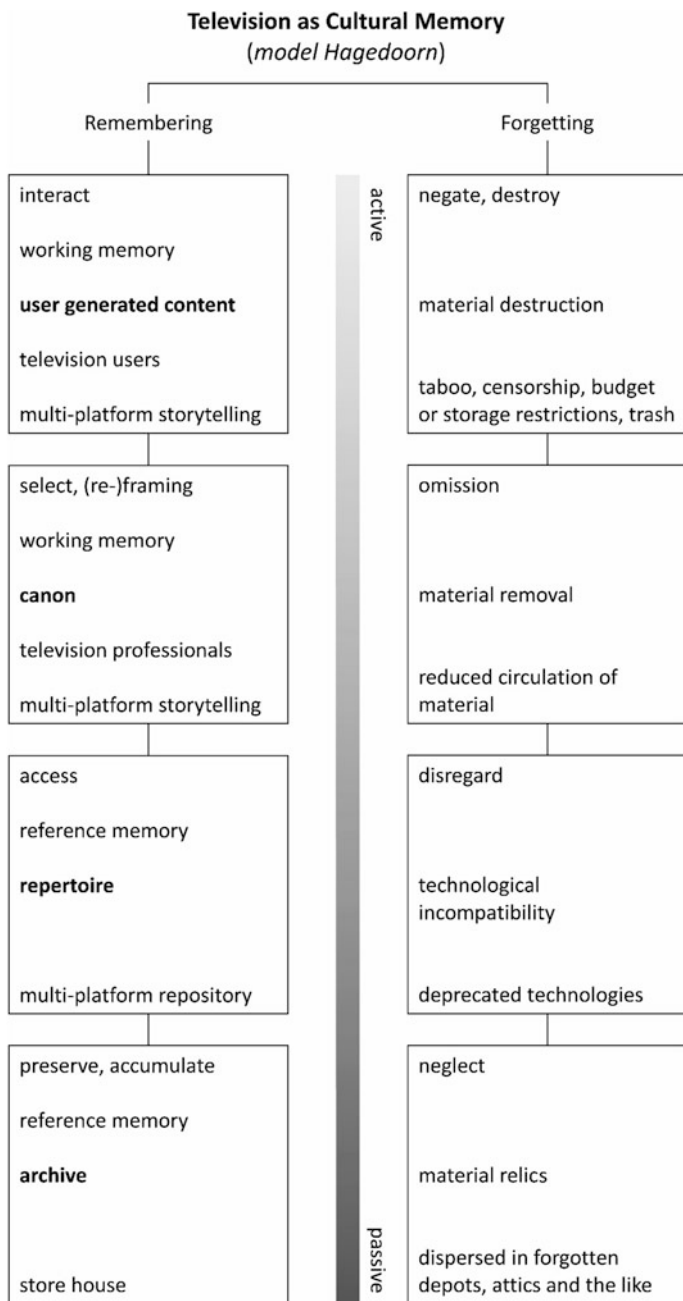
Television as Cultural Memory
(*model Hagedoorn*)

Remembering		Forgetting
interact working memory **user generated content** television users multi-platform storytelling	active	negate, destroy material destruction taboo, censorship, budget or storage restrictions, trash
select, (re-)framing working memory **canon** television professionals multi-platform storytelling		omission material removal reduced circulation of material
access reference memory **repertoire** multi-platform repository		disregard technological incompatibility deprecated technologies
preserve, accumulate reference memory **archive** store house	passive	neglect material relics dispersed in forgotten depots, attics and the like

Fig. 7.2 Model Hagedoorn: Television as a practice of cultural memory in the multi-platform era, adopting and expanding Assmann's theory of "canon and archive"

and expand Assmann's theory of "canon and archive" in the context of television. The model makes evident how television as cultural memory offers more dynamic, diverse forms of engagement with the past to different users and in particular, a wider range of opportunities to develop specific memory practices in the multi-platform era.

Assmann's original model needs to be reworked in a number of ways to map out contemporary dynamics. Rather than representing active and passive remembering (or forgetting) on opposite sides of a spectrum, Fig. 7.2 represents *a more dynamic spectrum*. The different levels of active and passive engagement with the past by different users are made visible in vertical relation to one another. I outline different *stages* of remembering and forgetting (from more and most active, to less and least active or passive cultural practices). It is implied in horizontal relations which stage of active/passive remembering is more susceptible to which stage of active/passive forgetting (which does not mean it is invulnerable to other modes of forgetting). In this manner, the model emphasizes the close connections between different forms of remembering and forgetting, and a more nuanced perspective on the degree of disconnection.

7.4.3 The "Working" Memory: Creators' Pre-structuring of Screen Practices

Different user roles in the active construction of a *working memory* are subsequently made explicit, meaning that the role of the television and cross-media professional is emphasized on the level of selection and reframing, resulting in the assembling of content for the canon. The role of media professionals as curators in the construction of narratives of the past in this manner includes the selection and collection of content and researched materials for the canon, but also the reframing and repurposing of broadcast materials on diverse platforms and screens. Television professionals and television users both engage in cultural practices of multi-platform storytelling, contributing to the active reconstruction of memory. I therefore make room for user interaction and the incorporation of user-generated content. Interactive, participatory practices and content produced by television users also need to be considered as a significant part of such a working memory. This is especially relevant considering that television users are more and more becoming like media producers in their own selection of and interaction with content. Such forms of user engagement are *pre-structured* by television platforms as spaces of participation and steered by creators in the way television content is made accessible [29]. Assmann's work has shown that elements of the canon can recede back into the archive, while elements of the archive can be recovered and reclaimed for the canon [4]. In a similar manner, user-generated content can recede into the canon—private memory narratives, audiovisual footage, and comments on television content via social or personal media, to name but a few forms of user interaction.

For example, digital thematic channels show the circulation of televisual content as a practice of cultural memory—for instance, national collective memory as understood by television professionals can inform the scheduling of history programming on the digital thematic channel [28]. This includes a dynamic spectrum of active and passive forms of remembering: from the selection and reframing of memory materials to providing access to a repertoire of connected texts. However, these practices are subordinate to active and passive forms of forgetting. The scheduling and pacing of content for the canon as working memory is mostly subject to more active forms of forgetting, which can include how long a certain program is made available on-demand, how many times a program is allowed to be rerun on a specific digital channel, budget restrictions, copyright issues, and other forms of omission or negation. Forms of user interaction can also recede into the canon, for instance, by television users offering suggestions for documentaries via Facebook. At times content remains accessible as reference memory, receding into the repertoire, for instance when technological incompatibility (as a more passive form of forgetting) impedes the access to a multi-platform repository.

7.4.4   The "Reference" Memory: Archive and Repertoire

In contrast to Assmann's original model, I distinguish between two different forms of *reference memory*. The "archive" functions as the storehouse for accumulation and preservation of audiovisual archival materials and knowledge thereof, including digitization practices and the storing of apparatuses to screen or play particular audiovisual content. However, in the multi-platform era, we can consider another distinct mode of reference memory for television. Diana Taylor has made a useful distinction between the fixed, relatively stable objects in the archive and "the so-called ephemeral repertoire of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, ritual)" [52]. As Erll has also pointed out, Assmann focuses on the uses of mnemonic material, while Taylor draws attention to the specific mediality of such materials [20]. Taylor's definition of the concept "repertoire" alludes more to embodied practices and performances (". . . all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge" [52]); however, I use the concept repertoire to make visible how television as cultural memory represents a more dynamic form of *access* to televisual content, which is dissimilar from the fixed mode of the archive. Television as a repertoire, then, is not a stable storehouse, but a multi-platform, cross-media repository that is more susceptible and vulnerable to changes over time. This repertoire comprises a wide, variable, and changing range of possibilities to access televisual content across different screens and platforms. The conditions and time constraints under which these materials are accessible to professionals and viewers can vary, and are subject to rights issues and other limits to material circulation. Via new digital technologies, users give active, personal interpretations to multi-platform repositories such as on-demand (online and streaming) services, video-sharing websites, and media platforms.

7.4.5 *Active Forgetting*

Finally, the model is further expanded by including technological incompatibility as an important form of *disregard*. This is particularly a possibility for the repertoire, which is less fixed and more likely to change or be prone to deprecated technologies in comparison to the archive-as-storehouse. Comparable to Assmann's model, material relics are the most passive form of forgetting as *neglect*, and material destruction is the most active form of forgetting as *negation* or *destruction*. However, material removal is another important form of active forgetting as *omission*. This includes more or less active decisions by television professionals in *not selecting* particular content for the small screen. It also includes the reduced circulation of televisual content on a digital thematic channel due to a limited number of authorized repeats, as well as content made available online for a limited period. Historical narratives and memories transmitted through archive-based and documentary television programs not only represent but also help to preserve the past—which involves dynamic practices of both active and passive remembering *and* forgetting.

Such programming works as a practice of memory and is the end-result of processes of *negotiation* between television professionals. The medium's contemporary dynamics as a textual composite can be further explored. Follow-up research could provide further insight into how television professionals are socialized into the discussed norms and values of doing history; the dynamics of power in the education, learning, and routinizing of necessary skills for doing history on television; how the cultural, textual, and institutional frameworks by means of which the reconstruction of narratives of the past are negotiated and experienced evolve over larger periods of time; further reflections on decision-making processes and organizational constraints for doing history; the power of specific sources; the extent to which professionals in the television industry are guided by similar objectives; and finally, how such practices and processes impact on television as a practice of cultural memory. For such research endeavors, a structural preservation of production research documentation and contextualization materials is necessary—which is as such often not consistently in place—to be able to provide a further understanding of the medium's contemporary dynamics in these contexts.

7.5 Conclusion

Studies of memory comprehend cultural memory as shared and reconstructed knowledge of the past outside of but nevertheless entangled with official historical discourse [43, 50]. New cultures of participation and digital technologies can provide a more direct link between audiences and sources of historical information, but to actively engage television users in spaces of participation, links need to be made meaningful. History television productions and other representations of

the past, reusing audiovisual sources, facilitate such negotiations by portraying those parts of the collective memory that are most relevant at the given time to program makers and their audiences.[12] Characterized by a constant process of cultural negotiation, these screen practices and practices of "doing history" reveal the increasingly networked nature of cultural memory. Such practices draw our attention to the mediatedness of memory texts as well as the politics of remembering and forgetting. The reconstruction of narratives of the past through the medium of television is negotiated and experienced within specific cultural, textual, and institutional frameworks, including history, memory, narrativity, medium specificity, house styles, media policy, and contexts of access over time and space. Interpretations are also shaped through viewer expectations and the personal engagement of television users with content, across platforms. Importantly, such experiences are in turn steered by the ways in which content is made accessible by television institutions and media professionals. New digital technologies are the driving force behind these increasingly connected experiences offered and used by the medium television in the multi-platform era.

Television today opens up access to a hybrid repertoire of connected cultural texts made available across multiple platforms and screens. The study of television as a practice of cultural memory therefore not only needs to include the study of memory materials, but also the manner in which this content is curated and made available to the public by television professionals through struggles over power. Reworking Assmann's model of cultural memory based on observations of television as a practice of cultural memory is a step in this direction. The new model emphasizes the interplay of present and past in contemporary televisual environments. Television is being increasingly stylized as a media interface, where the viewer's attention is dispersed across a range of entry points and information triggers. Television as a hybrid repertoire of memory illuminates how texts from the canon may faster recede into the repertoire but also bring about new opportunities to reclaim and contextualize texts for the canon. Fundamentally, television and its cross-media content is a facilitator for the more dynamic ways in which memory content is circulated and made sense of today. Television in the multi-platform era offers a wider range of forms of engagement with the past to different users. These dynamics ultimately make evident the continued relevance of these forms of screen culture and why they should not be forgotten.

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[12]See also: Edgerton [12].

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