

**NATIONAL TEMPORALITY AND JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE:
TEMPORALISING ANNIVERSARY EVENTS
IN ESTONIAN TELEVISION NEWS**

Halliki Harro-Loit and Ene Kõresaar

University of Tartu

Abstract. By bringing together the theoretical approach of cultural memory studies and analysis of news discourse, this study analyses the devices and strategies anniversary news text employs in the social construction of time within the framework of national temporality. On the example of three television news stories, the analysis makes visible the complexity of temporal constructions that convey a story of the Estonian nation. Among the strategies employed in anniversary news the compression of times, as well as accentuation of duration and temporal ‘turning points’ are used to link together the present, the past and the future. ‘Turning points’ refer to beginnings and closings which mark dynamics of continuity and discontinuity of national temporality. In various types of anniversary news narrativisation of time by leaning on meaningful chronotypes and other cultural resources takes place, the synchronisation of which contributes to the construction of national temporality.

Keywords: anniversary journalism, news discourse, television, cultural memory, nationalism, chronotype

DOI: 10.3176/tr.2010.4.03

1. Introduction

Time is one of the most central organizing concepts of news production (Schlesinger 1978/1999), news genre (Bell 1991, 1995, 1998) and news discourse. Although immediacy is the central concept of broadcasting, news production and the occupational ideology of news journalism (Schlesinger: 124, 125), news discourse represents more distant (larger than the immediate present) time frames by creating bridges between the present, the past and the future (Jaworski et al. 2003).

The growing body of scholarship about the role of journalism in the construction and articulation of collective memory reflects that the function of journalism as a ‘social time machine’ becomes more apparent (e.g. Kitch 2003a, 2003b, 2007,

Edy and Daradanova 2006, Le 2006, Carlson 2007, Ebbrecht 2007, Winfield et al. 2002, Winfield and Hume 2007, West 2008). Less attention has been paid to the various strategies, which news journalism employs in constructing cultural time as one component of collective memory. One set of devices is linked to the inter-textual nature of news genre: a news story relates the reported event or topic to other events diachronically – referring to the events which precede and follow it. The duration of the time covering these historic or future events could be highly variable: a news story could possibly refer to events that happened hundreds of years ago, few hours ago or will happen tomorrow. Another set of devices are linked to the way the news value overturns temporal sequences of linear narrative; moves backwards and forwards in time by picking out and bringing together different actions and agents according to socially relevant concepts of temporality. The third set of devices comes from the newsworthiness of certain pre-scheduled events, such as anniversaries. Anniversaries could be single events or calendar-based annual celebrations. The latter type of anniversary journalism plays an important role in mnemonic synchronization of particular communities. On the same day an entire mnemonic community manages to focus their attention on the same moment in history (Zerubavel 2003:4) and the daily news frames the manner of commemoration.

By bringing together the theoretical approach of cultural memory studies and analysis of news discourse, this study focuses on how commemorative news processes temporality, specifically in analysing the modes and strategies news text employs in the cultural construction of time within the framework of national temporality. The analysis will demonstrate how the afore-mentioned devices function in a single news story and the manner in which national temporality is narratively provided with causality and coherence. The study of media constructions of temporality provides important insights on how temporally situated and memory saturated national identity is re-created on day-to-day basis through regular news flow.

Traditionally a collectively used medium, television journalism with its periodicity plays a major role in the construction of social time structures. In addition, television's agenda-setting function for the community grants it a pivotal role in nation building and 'inhabitalisation' of the national memory (cf. Edensor 2006:535). As a form of 'global memory bank', the electronic archives of television hold apparently more complete and verifiable histories of the emerging new century, not to mention the previous one, than the traditional resources of historians: physical archives, personal testimony and official records (Hoskins 2001a:214). On the one hand, the complexity of television news temporality comes from the synthesis of visual and verbal text in parallel with the synthesis of past and present: e.g. old photographs or documentaries (extracts) illustrate the comments on current affairs and vice versa. On the other hand, as well as being place-less, television is in effect timeless, operating in a perpetual present: television news is always broadcast 'live', which creates the presentness effect of the news (Moore 1995, Hoskins 2001b:341, 342).

In the context of the current study, using television news stories for empirical analysis enables us to make visible complex temporal constructions by demonstrating how different cultural time-types are being constructed and strategically linked to convey a story of nationalism and thereby symbolically inhabit the public time space. To this end a tripartite methodology is proposed that takes into account a variety of news temporisation modes from the basic news time structure to the more complex implementation of chronotypes and mnemonic templates.

2. Anniversary journalism and national temporality

Anniversaries are important building blocks of national identity:

The anniversary – of a person, institution or event – is regularly ‘news’ in the media. Beginnings (debuts, openings) and closings (death of people or institutions) provide an opportunity to exercise some kind of self-conscious sense of history (Schudson 1986:102).

Anniversary journalism can be considered “as a temporal sphere in which national identity is continually reproduced, sedimented and challenged” (Edensor: 526). In this sense anniversary journalism brings the community together and provides national and cultural consistency by ‘bridging’ historical gaps (Zerubavel: 52) and habituating values and norms of behaviour by repetition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:2). Hence anniversary journalism serves as a framework within which

social groups can construct their own sense of public time, that dimension of collective life through which human communities come to have what is assumed to be a patterned and perceptually shared past, present and future (Kitch 2003a:48, partly referring to Molotch and Lester 1974).

This is what makes anniversary journalism one of the main agents in identity building and mediation of memory.

Anniversary journalism, as a form of ritual communication (Carey 1989, cited in Kitch 2003a) functions both in linear and cyclical time and in doing so intersects the ‘formal nationalism’ of the modern nation-state with the ‘informal nationalism’ taking place in civil society and everyday routines (Eriksen 1993, cited in Edensor: 528). Anniversary journalism is partly subordinated to the state management of national temporalities such as governing the organization of weekly, calendrical and ceremonial time (Edensor:531). Among the news samples used in this article, this is the case with the anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty, which is a law-regulated state anniversary in the Republic of Estonia. National holiday news draws on values like continuity and predictability rather than traditional news values and the central event, in news stories like these, is the reproduction of the social order (ben-Aaron 2005:693).

Anniversary journalism from another aspect reflects events at the level of the civil society or smaller groups that perhaps have no direct outlet in the official calendar of events but that have for some other reasons an extensive basis in society. Among our examples is an announcement about erecting a monument to

the ‘father’ of Estonian journalism Johann Voldemar Jannsen. In the example of those aforementioned events, the function of an anniversary news manifests as a double synchronization (Zerubavel). This means reproducing from one side the national ambition to make the national identity habitual, communicable and governing, and from the other side, it has a more informal communal participation aspect through reflection at which a certain national synchronization is aimed.

With close connections with the calendar year and other social and cultural practices, national anniversary journalism adopts the main national narratives, around which the national mnemonic community is formed, where the news organizations, journalists, journalistic critics and naturally the public are all participants. This, however, does not mean that differences disappear – an individual can really participate simultaneously in several mnemonic communities, the relationship of which towards the image of the past (or its function in the concrete news) (re)produced by journalism may be affirmative, critical or contesting (Kõresaar 2008). It is essential that the concerned journalists turn to the public as a group with whom they share common values and vision of the past and use different (available) textual means to express those values and viewpoints. As Fiske and Hartley (1978:85) have argued, the ‘map’ of meaning produced by a news producer or a journalist, either deliberately or routinely, always exceeds individual intent and contain ‘myths and mythologies’ that are actual in a cultural setting. In this aspect anniversary journalism may be understood as a mediator and a product of cultural memory (cf. Kitch 2008:312).

The empirical analysis is carried out on the qualitative text analysis of three television anniversary news stories broadcasted in 2008, 2009 and 2010. The sample represents the single anniversary news story and calendar-based anniversary news coverage (cyclic anniversary news) in ordinary years and a jubilee (major anniversary) year. The samples are selected on the basis of a survey concerning the construction of the past in newspaper news during selected months in 2009, 2010 (Rebane 2009).

The first news story selected for this analysis covers the commemoration of an event the meaning of which is established by its entry in the official national calendar – the anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty. The Tartu Peace Treaty was a bilateral treaty between Estonia and Russia which ended the Estonian War of Independence (1918–1920), established the border between Estonia and Russia and provided the newly founded Republic of Estonia with international recognition. The treaty was signed by Jaan Poska on the Estonian side and Adolf Joffe for Soviet Russia. In the national liberation movement at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, the Tartu Peace Treaty was re-topicalised to stress the juridical continuity of the Estonian independent statehood. The Treaty is regarded as the birth certificate of the Republic of Estonia because it was the very first *de jure* recognition of the state. In the official rhetoric of the day, the Tartu Peace Treaty is celebrated as “the grand achievement of Estonian diplomacy and one of the most important stones in the groundwork of Estonian statehood” (Arjakas 2008).

The second news story is about the opening of the monument of Johann Voldemar Jannsen (1819–1890) – the man who in summer 1857 launched the Estonian-language weekly *Perno Postimees* (*Postman of Perno*) that marked the birth of regular Estonian-language periodicals. In *Perno Postimees* Jannsen conveyed his ideas to his mostly peasant readership, he presented programmes with stress on cultural and national development of the country. Hence Jannsen and his paper played an outstanding role in arousing Estonian national self-consciousness (Lauk et al. 1993:72, 74).

3. Time construction in a single news story: a tripartite viewpoint

In this study the time dimensions of news discourse are analysed from a tripartite viewpoint by probematising a) the genre-specific time structure of news which enables us to understand how current newsworthy events or issues actualise different time horizons of the past, present and future; b) the sense given to the relevant time horizons through their social categorization, and c) the narrative identity of the community expressed in the (national) temporization of an anniversary event. The relationship between these levels of analysis reveal a broader sense of (national) temporality, which organises individual temporal units presented in the news.

In order to deconstruct time structures, it is important to focus on genre categories. The chronological order of a narrative in hard news format is disrupted, as the most important information is placed at the beginning as the news must have clear implication to current topical reality.¹ This disrupted news structure has been labelled an inverted pyramid. This format enables quick readability. Chronologically structured texts invite the reader to read the whole text, as the last piece of information in the text frequently has to be read to understand the point of the article (Kolstrup 2005:112, 113). Breaking up the linear time structure enables journalists to create ‘shortcuts’ between seemingly unrelated past and current events. Bell (1998) makes the time structure of news story visible as he takes the time of the lead event (the event that is actually newsworthy) as point zero. Times prior to this are labelled –1 for the event immediately preceding and –X the earliest occurrence in the reported background. The story may also report events subsequent to time labelled +1 etc. (Bell 1998:95). This analysis enables the visualization of the ‘time-reach’ of a single news story.

The discourse structure of news genre consists of attribution, abstract and the story proper (van Dijk 1988). There are three additional categories of material in a

¹ For instance the fairy-tale about the Little Red Riding Hood in news format would not begin “Once upon a time, there was a little girl living with her mother” or “One day her mother told Little Red Riding Hood that ...”, but rather as “Huntsman saves a girl and her grandmother from the stomach of a wolf today”, followed by a *historic context* about how Little Red Riding Hood took off to Granny’s place and the huntsman’s story based on an interview of how he launched the rescue activities on arriving at Granny’s house.

news story: background, commentary and the follow up. These represent the past, the (non-action) present and the future of the events described in the main action of the story. If the background goes back beyond the near past, it is classed as ‘history’ (Bell 1998:67). The background in a news discourse provides a way for journalists to comprehend the event and create a time perspective for their audiences. These structural elements disclose the temporality paradox of news: although journalists seek news as close to the present as possible (journalists are always keen to get the news fast and first), many news stories would not be stories at all if some degree of shared historic depth could not be assumed (Schudson:80, 84).

In general, historical references serve many useful functions in the news story, not just by augmenting the story with context, but also by adding new pieces of evidence, revising a once-agreed past, marking a commemoration, and giving the story a narrative context (Winfield et al.: 290).

In addition to the background and history, the audience can find historical background elements if the news story is analysed from the intertextuality approach. Fairclough (referring to Kristeva 1986) provides an approach that enables to reveal how the time structure of a single news story is linked to other discourses both horizontally and vertically:

On the one hand there are ‘horizontal’ intertextual relations of a ‘dialogical’ sort (though what are usually seen as monologues are [---] dialogical in this sense) between a text and those which precede and follow it in the chain of texts. [---] On the other hand, there are ‘vertical’ intertextual relations between a text and other texts which constitute its more or less immediate or distant contexts: text is historically linked with various time-scales and along various parameters including texts which are more or less contemporary with it (Fairclough 1992:103).

The intertextuality approach broadens the category of background covering “events prior to the central action of the story and may include either recent past events or more remote history” (Bell 1998:88). Absorbing different types of texts (usually fragments of texts) from various past periods into syncretic relations empowers news discourse to create more complex temporality than just a chain of events on a time scale: e.g. tangible historicity, historical interpretations of certain events, future predictions announced in the past etc.

According to how different time horizons are related to one another and how this relationship is conceptualized, time models and time patterns or chronotypes (Bender and Wellbery 1991) can be differentiated in news items, such as biographical time (someone’s life story), political time, the time horizon of a generation etc. (Schudson 1986). Thus, chronotypes (time-types) represent culturally, socially, historically and politically formed conceptions of being temporal: the patterns through which time is depicted (in a news story) simultaneously reflect how events, institutions and social actors are discursively integrated into the idea of the national. If the problem of combining the present, past and future in creating news forms our first level of analysis, the issue about the biographic, cultural and social conceptualization of temporality through chronotypes forms the second level of

analysis. The issue here is which chronotypes actualize in the news (re)producing national temporality, how those chronotypes interact, and what their interrelations are and their relationship towards the whole, i.e. the message of the news item.

Chronotypes, as far as they can be reproduced and changed, have a history (or histories); they are not created from either nowhere or from nothing, but are created from an existing cultural repertoire (Bender and Wellbery: 4). In addition, the form of anniversary journalism necessitates memory. At this point a link is initiated between the notion of chronotype and cultural memory theories to be born in mind when studying how national temporality is created. The idea that chronotypes are based upon an existing interpretation of time in a culture links well with the recently indicated concept in collective memory research that no commemoration act is created out of a void, but is based upon knowledge of preceding commemoration practices (Olick 2007). Another connection is created around the relationships of time and narrative. Chronotypes contribute to creating national identity through their narrativity and are thus based on memory, reproducing it. As James Wertsch (2002) has pointed out in his concept of a 'distributive version of collective memory', narratives are cognitive instruments, tools that offer both 'affordances' and 'constraints'. The aspects that narratives offer to remembering are the elements of temporal organization and emplotment, which includes both a 'grasp' of events, the actors and a moral scheme. Collective memory embodies an orientation to the past, as do news agenda to the future; and together both frame the reporting of news. According to an exemplary study by Lang and Lang (1989), journalists invoke the past with four purposes: to delimit an era, to provide yardsticks by which they can evaluate the significance of an event, to draw explicit analogies, or to give short-hand explanations; and, as over time personal memories of events tend to fade and become more remote, the more important is mediation for the event to be remembered. In evoking the past for present purposes, journalists act as memory agents by making use of the narrative resources of a particular textual community, as well as mediating the different voices and versions of the past. The third level of analysis deals with the issue about the modes and strategies of narrativization of national temporality in anniversary news, with the ways of evoking certain 'memories' of the past and the means of acting out journalistic authority.

4. Non-cyclic construction of national temporality

We have analysed, as an example of a non-cyclic anniversary news, a story on Estonian Public Television (September 1, 2007), in which the inauguration of a monument to Johann Voldemar Jannsen, an important figure of Estonian cultural history serves as the newsworthy impetus. Newsworthiness within the inauguration of the monument appears non-recurrently, linked to a significant event in Estonian history, the 150th anniversary of the first daily Estonian-language newspaper. The presence of the President of Estonia adds value to the newsworthiness.

In this context journalists not only actualize but evaluate history. However, most of the TV audience would probably not have recollected that 150 years have passed since the first daily newspaper was published in Estonian.

The visual text of the news story (presented in the left column of Table 1) stresses the importance of the event: the camera shows different well-known and powerful people in Estonia who have come together to celebrate the event. The news text is explicitly intertextual, as it incorporates fragments from speeches of newsworthy people (speech genre is explicitly present in the news story) at the event, as well as absorbing texts from the past. That aspect Fairclough labels as “manifest intertextuality (specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text)” (Fairclough:117). Visually the news story does not include any other time than ‘today’, the image creates a presentness although the verbal text is presented in the past simple tense. The temporal complexity of the news story is presented in the verbal text.

On the basis of Bell’s time-scale, the historic ‘reach’ of the story is 150 years (–4) from the present day. Today’s event has been presented in the past simple tense (i.e. *The President told; the monument was inaugurated*). The 150 years long period since the national awakening, which is represented by establishing the daily newspaper *Perno Postimees* in the news item, has been constructed as ‘continuous’ uninterrupted process (*From that moment on the continuous Estonian press...*). Explicitly the connection between today and the prior past is being presented (... *the then edition; predecessor*).

The ‘time-reach’ extends back to the first half of 18th century, the principle of separation of powers by Montesquieu, (–5) although that time is not explicitly mentioned. A history of ideas is being incorporated into the context of national history, while it thematises the issue of ‘free press’ as being eternal.

The vertical intertextual relationships are explicitly represented in the news text, as one of the speakers at the statue’s opening ceremony quotes from the first issue of the newspaper *Perno Postimees* part of the text that was published 150 years ago (*Jannsen addressed his readers by writing: “I greet you, my dear Estonian people!”*). By quoting this old text in a current context, the speaker re-emphasised the phrases. By using this reference, the news item about inaugurating Jannsen’s monument gains another one, in addition to the motive of the journalistically historic beginning – the motive of the national beginning.

Estonian ethnic cultural narrative based on linguistic identity is actualized which feeds the self-stereotype of Estonians as an educationally curious, literate people. Jannsen’s historic address *my dear Estonian people* is interpreted through a quote by politician and historian Mart Laar in terms of disruption and progress: progress represents national development leading to establishing a nation state, which launches from (a positive) interruption – a mental turn in Estonian national history by establishing the continuous publishing of a daily newspaper (*[it] actually changed Estonian history*). Creating a linear causation between different ‘phases’ of national development (country people – Estonian people – Estonian nation), the idea of a homogeneous time of difference (Estonianness) is being

(re)created, which enabled the consolidation of the modern nation state (cf. Spivak 1991, Bender and Wellbery:9).

Building, through Jannsen, links between establishing a regular daily newspaper and ethnic patriotism and creating a nation state (future in the past) and also current conflicts are being contested. The latter reference was in President Ilves' speech, which touched on the relationships between state powers, the public, and the media (*the fourth estate and the watchdog of democracy*).

During the entire news item, Jannsen's biography serves for the national idea. The biographical chronotype is implicit and contextual: the news text mentions the important acts carried out by Johan Voldemar Jannsen during his lifetime (*Establishing Perno Postimees was not the only cultural merit by Jannsen. He was also the man to originate the tradition of the song festivals and while singing the national anthem of Estonia we should remember that it was Jannsen who wrote the lyrics.*). Another reference of his creative importance to Estonian identity is incorporated into the news when the choir sings the Estonian national anthem. In that way the self-stereotype of Estonians (a singing nation) and the symbols of state are connected. In this news item no traditional biographical time (e.g. the news does not include biographical schemes, the important acts are not presented diachronically) is presented. However, as "biographical schemes endow the meaning of short-term action with long-term significance and link large stretches of individuals' life" (Luckmann 1991:161–162), and since we can propose that most of the viewers of the Estonian television news knew the main storyline of the biography of Jannsen, the news story indirectly links the biographical time of the man to the national time of the Estonian people.

Table 1. "Today the monument of Johann Voldemar Jannsen was opened", verbatim transcription of the news text.

Representation of visual text of newscast	Verbatim transcription of verbal text of news broadcast	Timeline schema (Bell 1998)
The anchor broadcaster	The bronze statue of Johann Voldemar Jannsen was inaugurated today in Pärnu.	0 the news-evaluated moment
The anchor broadcaster	150 years ago, under the editing of Jannsen the newspaper Perno Postimees appeared.	-4
The anchor broadcaster	From that moment on the continuous Estonian press publication started.	-3 continuous tense since the moment 150 years ago
The anchor broadcaster	Both Postimees and Pärnu Postimees consider the then edition to be their predecessor.	+1 Connection between today and then (the past)
Panoramic view moving from people in Rüütli Street via the choir on to President Ilves, Minister Jänes, news publisher Kadastik and others.	The statue of Jannsen was made by Mati Karmin and it cost over 600,000 kroons, of which half was provided by the state and the other half was contributed by Pärnu Postimees.	-2 event prior to the central action of the story date of creating the monument not indicated precisely

President Ilves unveils the monument,	The statue of Johann Voldemar Jannsen, the creator of Perno Postimees, which appeared on 5 June 1857, was erected on Riiütli Street, in front of the office of Pärnu Postimees.	-4.5 (biographical time of Jannsen) -4 (5 June 1857) and 0 (the statue)
*3 Local celebrity with a child, two elderly persons next to her, crowd behind them, *4 President Ilves giving a speech, *5 Minister of Culture Laine Jänes in folk costume with flowers, Mart Laar (politician) etc.	At the inauguration, President Toomas Hendrik Ilves spoke about the press, often defined as the Fourth Power	0
*6 Happy old people among the crowd, one lady holding a reprint of the original Perno Postimees.	As to the principle of the separation of powers by Montesquieu, he had in mind only the legislative, the executive and the court powers.	-5
*7 The reprint of the original Perno Postimees.	According to the President, calling the press the fourth power would be wrong.	Time factor is absent
*8 People listening to the President's speech.	He said that the press could be called a rank in society, as later philosophers have claimed.	Reference to longer time period
*9 President TOOMAS HENDRIK ILVES, delivering the speech *10 Jannsen's monument with people, from the entrance of Postimees building <i>Speech is narrated as in live broadcast, though the speech is actually recorded and edited</i>	"Being defined as a 'power' and a 'watchdog', the press tends to legitimize only ideas tackled by the Government, the Parliament and the Court. Or in other words: being the fourth power and not a rank in society allows the state to set the agenda for the press."	Historical ideas presented as continuously topical
Reporter's report	Jannsen approached his readers by writing: "I greet you, my dear Estonian people!"	Historical background -3
Mart Laar speaking *12 MART LAAR historian; at the back: Jannsen's monument, president Ilves, etc. *13 Kadastik, etc *14 Jannsen's monument, *15 Monument surrounded by elderly people, elderly people in the crowd.	"Those lines actually changed Estonian history. Maybe these lines are the most important ones ever written, meaning that – as through these lines the hitherto 'country people' turned into integral Estonian people. And only five years passed, after which the meaning of Estonian people and Estonian nation, about which nobody knew anything in 1857, had spread all over Estonia.	-4 -3.5
*18 Souvenirs presented to the sculptor	Establishing Perno Postimees was not the only cultural merit by Jannsen.	-4
*19 The monument – sliding from the feet up to the face, *20 Choir performing the national anthem	He also was the man to originate the tradition of song festivals and while singing the national anthem of Estonia, we should remember that it was Jannsen who wrote the lyrics.	-3 (the tradition of song festival was established in 1869) -3 and +1 connected in mentioning the national anthem

5. Annual anniversary news – cyclic construction of national temporality

The anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty represents the type of news that is more or less presented each year. In 2009, commercial Television Kanal 2 broadcast a short news story concerning the Tartu Peace Treaty. In 2010, Estonia celebrated the 90th anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty, therefore as the news story was more than 5 minutes long, we shall present only excerpts from it.

Table 2. “President Ilves laid a wreath on Jaan Poska’s grave”. (02.02.2009, 19.00, Kanal 2, newscast Reporter).

Representation of visual text of news broadcast	Verbatim transcription of verbal text of news broadcast	Timeline schema (Bell 1998)
The anchor broadcaster	President Ilves laid a wreath on Jaan Poska’s grave.	0 the news-evaluated moment
President Ilves lays a wreath on Jaan Poska’s grave.	The Estonian statesman Jaan Poska was born on 24 January 1866 and died on 7 March 1920. Poska was the Mayor of Tallinn, the Deputy Prime Minister of the interim government of Estonia, a Minister of Justice, and the first Foreign Minister of Estonia.	-3 -1 time between -3 and -1
Photos of Tartu Peace Treaty and the signing ceremony.	Author: Jaan Poska headed the Estonian delegation at the negotiations with Soviet Russia. Today 89 years ago, Poska signed the Estonian-Russian peace treaty, which put an end to the Estonian War of Independence and by which Soviet Russia recognized the independence of Estonia.	-1 (today 89 years ago)

In the 2009 news story, the combination of the visual and verbal texts creates a bridge between the past and present time. Verbally, only the headline of the news frames the currently newsworthy element: The President of Estonia lays a wreath on the grave of the Estonian statesman, Jaan Poska, who successfully headed the peace negotiations in Tartu. The verbal text presents the diachronic biography of this important statesman, which makes the biographic chronotype the central narrative in this news story. Visually the news also contain old photos that construct the authenticity of the time the treaty was signed. In this news story the vertical intertextuality is achieved by the use of old photos, i.e. the photos as a text. As news should have a meaning for the audience today, the year the treaty was signed is less important than the period that has since passed, 89 years.

On the metalevel the news item constructs the founding story of the Estonian nation (the beginning), while other time constructions more or less serve this story. Poska’s career has been ‘biographized’ (Luckmann:164) by being situated in the chronology of municipal and newly established national institutions. The other side of the story focuses on the event of signing the Peace Treaty and its relevance in the history of the Republic of Estonia. The photos of the document and signing procedure represent the function of authentication of the commemorated fact² and

² Jaan Poska’s biography used for personfying history can also be considered as a part of the authentication strategy.

thereby legitimizing the commemorating institution. The latter has been amplified by the laconic, conventional and monologic character of the reporter's report, which helps to achieve an illusion of completeness against the background of discussions and contradictions about the Tartu Peace Treaty (cf. Table 3). The past has acquired the authoritative form of history by adding carefully chosen facts, chronological representation and archival discourse. By all news creating methods (visual and auditory) the official version of the meaning of the Tartu Peace Treaty has been represented. Hereby, history acts as a collective memory (Burke 1989), which is guarded by the state and its institutions. This celebrates the infinity of the institution of the state, creates continuity towards the future.

Table 3: News story about the 90th anniversary of Tartu Peace Treaty, Kanal 2 'Reporter', 2.02 2010 (shortened transcript).

Representation of visual text of news broadcast	Verbatim transcription of verbal text of news broadcast	Timeline schema (Bell 1998)
Reporter standing, the car of the news channel with the Estonian flag in the background	Today, on the 90th anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty many prominent statesmen – starting with the President and the Chair of the Parliament and concluding with the Prime Minister and many other Ministers have gathered in the university town. The entire town has been decorated with flags.	0 – today, news evaluated moment
Pictures of children and other people with flags in the streets of contemporary Tartu	<i>Patriotic lyric song – “Estonia, you are my homeland”.</i>	0
Photos of the Peace Treaty document and historic views of Tartu;	Text of the Reporter in the background: If the treaty had not been concluded 90 years ago, we would probably not be living in the Republic of Estonia in its current meaning.	–6 (90 year ago) + continuous time
Photos of the Peace Treaty document and historic views of Tartu;	The international treaty between the Republic of Estonia and Soviet Russia put and end to the War of Independence, demarcated Estonia's eastern border and, importantly, Soviet Russia recognized Estonia's independence.	–6 –5.9 –5.8 –5.7
The Minister of Defence laying a wreath at the statue of Kalevi-poeg, commemorating the victory in the War of Independence	The celebration of the anniversary of the vital treaty already started in the morning, laying wreaths at the monument to the War of Independence.	–3 (celebration started in the morning)
Portrait of the minister	Minister: “If that day had not taken place, we wouldn't be standing here. It would be impossible to equate anything else to its importance. The continuity of our independence begins on the day we were internationally recognized, and hopefully it shall last eternally...” /---/	–6 until 0 (a period since the historical turning point up to the present moment)

Flag on the reporter's car; interior of the premises where the Treaty was signed; the Treaty document, prominent people looking at the Treaty document	Reporter behind the scene: And today there was a unique opportunity to see with your own eyes the document, which enabled the Republic of Estonia to emerge. The original of the Treaty – with a very complicated fate – was for one day brought to the building, from where it had been absent for 90 years /---/ The significant document was not be touched, but one could have a close look at it.	0 (today) ... -6
Priit Pirsko, the state archivist; documental footage of Soviet Navy cruisers on the Baltic Sea	“After the coup in June, the Government started discussions of how to preserve the most important national documents /.../ by evacuating them out of the country and already in March 1940 four sealed caskets [were taken to Sweden]...” /---/	-4 (after the coup in June -5 March 1940
Children's choir singing, Foreign Minister and the Mayor of Tartu ceremonially cutting the ribbon to open the exhibition of the Treaty document.	<i>Children's choir singing.</i>	0 manifest vertical and horizontal intertextuality
Footage of people in the streets	<i>Vox pop among the ypassers-by if they knew the reason for hoisted national flags. Some know, some do not</i>	
Children with flags in the street, interior of the building with historic paintings, Prime Minister, historic photos on the walls of the interior	Reporter at the back: /---/ But what to tell those people who cannot or refuse to respect the events of 90 years ago? Prime Minister: “I believe that there are no such people out there who wouldn't appreciate today's importance. This day is extremely significant for the Estonian state. The Tartu Peace Treaty has been called the birth certificate of Estonia - and that's the truth.	0-5
Footage of the picket with close-ups of the banners; demonstrators	Reporter at the back: During the day in Vanemuise Street, next to the building where the treaty was signed, there was a public demonstration where people demanded re-establishing the frontiers of Estonia designated by the Treaty.	0 (during the day) -2 was a public meeting
The President, the Prime Minister and the Mayor shaking hands with people; flags are held by student corporations; Prime Minister, Mayor and a former dissident inaugurating the memorial bas-relief	In the evening darkness, the monument was inaugurated to commemorate the Statesman and Head of the Estonian negotiating delegation, Jaan Poska. <i>Another patriotic song “Lord Save St Mary's Land”</i>	-1 (in the evening darkness...)

The 2010 news story about the Tartu Peace Treaty is more complex (it could be four different short news stories). The newsworthy events were the celebration of *the historic day* in Tartu via different events: a one-day exhibition of the Treaty document, a political demonstration concerning the Estonian–Russian border and the opening of the monument to commemorate the statesman and the head of the Estonian negotiating delegation Jaan Poska later in the evening. So the viewers can chronologically follow the selected moments of celebration throughout the entire day.

At the same time, the news story refers to the events 90 years ago and also to the events in 1940. As one of the main focuses of the news story was the exhibition of the historical document of the Treaty, the historical discourse related to this event is incorporated into the news. The audience can also see the Tartu Peace Treaty document as it was exhibited for one day. Hence, the past is exposed as authentically as possible. The news story involves not only the interviewees commemorating the present, today, as television also creates the impression of a past continuous tense. The distant context is incorporated into the news text more visually than verbally. The time leaps are very noticeable as the visual text includes excerpts of documentaries from the period of the Tartu Peace Treaty days and from the 1940s. This is a ‘manifest intertextuality’ where historical text is overtly drawn upon within the text (Fairclough: 117).

The future dimension is implicit in this news story. Visual text shows small children holding the national flags. We can assume that the words of the Estonian Prime Minister (*I believe that there are no such people out there who wouldn't appreciate today's importance. This day is extremely significant for the Estonian state...*) are contextually directed to the continuity in the future.

The news item of 2010 about the Tartu Peace Treaty has many common genre-strategic features with the news item of 2009. Just as one year earlier, the central figure being commemorated was Jaan Poska whose national role and the monument constitute one newsworthy act for the news item. Although the news item of 2010 does not include any explicitly biographical time, the commemoration of Poska performs a hidden dialogue with his nationally historicized career, which ‘addresses’ the viewer from ‘behind’ the news text. The same effect occurs while presenting the trajectory of the Treaty document’s ‘fate’: hereby the narratives important in the post-Soviet cultural memory start referring to ‘returning home’ (*the original of the treaty ... was for one day brought home ... from where it had been away for 90 years*) and the related ‘national disruption’ (*after the coup d'état; were taken to Sweden*) (cf. Kõresaar 2005).³

Also, as in the news item of 2009, the Tartu Peace Treaty was constructed as the ‘onset’ of the state (*the continuity of our independence begins ...; if that day had not taken place, we wouldn't be standing here*) and its longevity is being

³ The template of ‘returning home’ in Estonian national narrative represents the ‘restoration’ of national temporality after the time of the ‘rupture’ representing the Soviet occupations.

blessed (*it shall last eternally*). In addition, the main authentication strategy of the 'onset' is being repeated by bringing in the historic and archival discourses.

The major difference of the 2010 news item of the previous year is the festive nature of the anniversary, 2010 is the 90th anniversary of the signing of the Peace Treaty. Whenever a major anniversary of an important political event occurs, several political interest groups move to bring their messages into the arena of 'symbolic politics of public time' (Halas 2002). Both in 2005 and 2010, a political demonstration took place concerning the Estonian-Russian borderline issues, which directly affects people living either side of the border, such as the Setu ethnic group (Meeleavaldused 2005). In 2005, some public figures also expressed views that differed from the officially accepted version of the Tartu Peace Treaty (Hvostov 2005, Medijainen 2005), according to which *if that day had not taken place, we wouldn't be standing here*. The news item of 2010 contains no conflict but the state authoritative voice does not massively dominate either as it did in 2009. For instance the vox pop, which revealed that some respondents did not know the relevance of the day (*some know, some do not*) and the footage of the demonstrators.

Conclusions

This paper focused on anniversary journalism as a management mechanism of 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995), which sees its role in reminding a community of its place in the 'world of nations' by re-producing national temporality. The main focus of the study was about *time* being managed in anniversary television news and to achieve this aim, a tripartite methodology has been proposed to deconstruct the modes and strategies of the temporization of the national. By using the tripartite methodology, the complexity and structural power of news discourse as temporality constructor become visible. The deconstruction of the journalistic interpretation of a national anniversary (as it is presented in television news discourse) provides an opportunity to analyze how cultural templates, canonized historical narratives, myths and ideologies but also speeches, historical records and national rituals are mixed or embedded into news discourse. Hence, the methodology on the one hand enables to see the complexity of everyday news flow. On the other hand the methodology enables to open up the variety of time conceptions that could be found from a single news items. The complexity of the temporal matrix of news was revealed while we deconstructed the variety of devices, of which the news discourse consists of constructing social and cultural categories of time.

Among the variety of news types (e.g. science news, consumer news etc.) anniversary news play a substantial role in (re)-constructing collective/cultural memory. We can distinguish between calendar-linked anniversaries that are celebrated yearly and the infrequent 'single anniversaries'. The main difference between the cyclic and single anniversary news come from the repetitiveness.

As anniversaries usually include some kind of ritual celebration (event), it is important to note that television news could present these celebration events, which happened some time in the past, visually as 'now' for the viewers while the verbal text is in the past simple tense. Within a few minutes, news visually creates the simulation of participation in events that in reality have lasted for far longer than represented by the news.

One of the temporization strategies our analyzed news stories have in common is that they refer to the period since the event, e.g. 90 years and 150 years, rather than to the year (e.g. 1920). Thus building up a sense of duration seems to be one strategy of linking current newsworthy events to the past. Within these periods, the 'turning points' that affect our past and present are constructed: the beginning of the Estonian-language weekly newspaper, the moments in the careers of individuals or the significant travel aspects of an important document. Accentuation of the temporal turning points in the news stories refers to another important strategy in anniversary news: the beginnings and endings mark the dynamics of the continuity and interruptions of national temporality.

In both types of anniversary news, the narrativizations of time, dependence on meaningful chronotypes and other cultural resources occur. The analysis of our anniversary news shows a construction of two narrative templates topical in contemporary Estonia: state-nationality and cultural-nationality. In order to present collective history, biographical time is grounded in a group's shared history. Thus by synchronizing biographical, cultural and state time horizons we could follow the construction of national temporality in anniversary news.

The use of vertical intertextuality (e.g. old photos or documentaries that are verbally explained today) and the variety of 'voices' in news stories brings us to the issue about the journalistic authority's relationship to the perception of time. In other words, to discern how journalists perform as memory agents in shaping public time and collective memory. Anniversary news in comparison to other genres of anniversary media (features, interviews, whole-day reportage of a national celebration etc.) provides journalists with quite passive roles. Journalists naturally select the facts and episodes, and construct them into interpretative frames. But the level of journalistic commitment depends on the type of news stories. While the short 'Tartu Peace' news story did include very little journalistic interpretation, the other two anniversary news expose more complex interrelations between journalism and other institutions (e.g. The President, the municipality), organizations (e.g. museums and exhibitions) and individuals in society concerning their involvement in the commemoration. For example, the question by the reporter to the Prime Minister, "But what [do you] say to those people who cannot or refuse to respect the events of 90 years ago?" represents a confrontation with the belief that all people in Estonia share the one and the same narrative about the past. Thus, the role of journalists as collective memory agents in news depends on the news story and is dominantly implicit. Concurrently anniversary news empowers various strategies for the construction of public time.

Acknowledgements

This research was supported by the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Centre of Excellence of Cultural Theory); SF0180002s07 and the Estonian Science Foundation (Grant 8190).

Address:

Halliki Harro-Loit
 Institute of Journalism and Communication
 University of Tartu
 Ülikooli 18
 50090 Tartu, Estonia
 Tel.: + 372 737 5189
 E-mail: halliki.harro@ut.ee

References

- Arjakas, Küllö (2008) "Tartu rahu piiritulbad". [Frontier Posts of Tartu Peace Treaty.] *Diplomaatia* (Tallinn) 76. http://www.diplomaatia.ee/index.php?id=242&no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=490&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=426&cHash=199ebc1ae3 [last visited 20.01.2010]
- Bell, Allan (1991) *The language of news media*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Bell, Allan (1995) "News time". *Time & Society* 4, 3, 305–328.
- Bell, Allan (1998) "The discourse structure of news stories". In *Approaches to media discourse*, 64–104. Allan Bell and Peter Garrett, eds. Oxford and Malden: Blackwell Publishers.
- Bender, John and David E. Wellbery (1991) "Introduction". In *Chronotypes: the construction of time*, 1–15. John Bender and David E. Wellbery, eds. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- ben-Aaron, Diana (2005) "Given and news: evaluation in newspaper stories about national anniversaries". *Text* 25, 5, 691–718.
- Billig, Michael (1995) *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Burke, Peter (1989) "History as Social Memory". In *Memory: history, culture and the mind*, 97–113. Thomas Butler, ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ebbrecht, Tobias (2007) "History, public memory and media event: codes and conventions of historical event-television in Germany". *Media History* 13, 2–3, 221–234.
- Carey, James (1989) *Communication as culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Carlson, Matt (2007) "Making memories matter: journalistic authority and the memorializing discourse around Mary McGrory and David Brinkley". *Journalism* 8, 2, 165–183.
- Edensor, Tim (2006) "Reconsidering national temporalities". *European Journal of Social Theory* 9, 4, 525–545.
- Edy, J. A. and M. Daradanova (2006) "Reporting through the lens of the past". *Journalism* 7, 131–151.
- Eriksen, Thomas (1993) "Formal and informal nationalism". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19, 1–25.
- Fairclough, Norman (1992) *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fiske, John and John Hartley (1978) *Reading television*. London: Methuen.
- Halas, Elzbieta (2002) "Symbolic politics of public time and collective memory: the Polish case". *European Review* 10, 115–129.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds. (1983) *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hoskins, Andrew (2001a) "Mediating time: the temporal mix of television". *Time & Society* 10, 2/3, 213–233.
- Hoskins, Andrew (2001b) "New memory: mediating history". *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 21, 4, 333–346.
- Hvostov, Andrei (2005) "Tartu rahutus". [The dispeace of Tartu.] *Eesti Ekspress* (Tallinn) 03.02. <http://195.250.160.49/viewdoc/E976D7BC771EE165C2256F9C00362C8B> [last visited 20.01.2010].
- Jaworski, Adam, Richard Fitzgerald, and Deborah Morris (2003) "Certainty and speculation in news reporting of the future: the execution of Timothy McVeigh". *Discourse Studies* 5, 1, 33–50.
- Kitch, Carolyn (2003a) "Anniversary journalism, collective memory, and the cultural authority to tell the story of the American past". *The Journal of Popular Culture* 36, 1, 44–67.
- Kitch, Carolyn (2003b) "Generational identity and memory in american newsmagazines". *Journalism* 4, 2, 185–202.
- Kitch, Carolyn (2007). "Selling the 'authentic past': the New York Times and the branding of history". *Westminster Papers in Communication & Culture* 4, 4, 24–41.
- Kitch, Carolyn (2008) "Placing journalism inside memory – and memory studies". *Memory Studies* 1, 3, 311–320.
- Kristeva, Julia (1986) "Word, dialogue and novel". In *The Kristeva Reader*, 34–61. Toril Moi, ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Kolstrup, Soren (2005) "Telling the news: Danish newspapers 1873–1941/2000". In *Diffusion of the news paradigm 1850–2000*, 105–122. Svennik Hoyer and Horst Pöttker, eds. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Kõresaar, Ene (2005) *Elu ideoloogiad: kollektiivne mälu ja autobiograafilise minevikutõlgendus eestlaste elulugudes*. [Ideologies of life. collective memory and autobiographical meaning-making of the past in Estonian post-Soviet life stories.] Tartu: Estonian National Museum.
- Kõresaar, Ene (2008) "Nostalgia ja selle puudumine eestlaste mälu kultuuris: eluloouuri ja vaatepunkt". [Nostalgia and its absence in Estonian remembrance culture: the view of a biography researcher.] *Keel ja Kirjandus* (Tallinn) 10, 760–771.
- Lauk, Epp, Inta Brikše, Jonas Bulota, Ainārs Dimants, Sergejs Kruks, Bronius Ragoutis, Richards Treijs, and Rems Trofimovs (1993) In *Towards a civic society: the Baltic media's long road to freedom*. Svennik Hoyer, Epp Lauk, and Peeter Vihalemm, eds. Tartu: Baltic Association for Media Research and Nota Baltica Ltd.
- Le, Élisabeth (2006) "Collective memories and representations of national identity in editorials". *Journalism Studies* 7, 5, 708–728.
- Luckmann, Thomas (1991) "The constitution of human life in time". In *Chronotypes: the construction of time*, 151–166. John Bender and David E. Wellbery, eds. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Medijainen, Eero (2005) "Tartu rahu varjatud nurgad". [The hidden edges of Tartu Peace Treaty.] *Eesti Päevaleht* (Tallinn) 02.02. <http://www.epl.ee/artikkel/284235> [last visited 20.01.2010].
- Meeleavaldused 2005 = Meeleavaldused ja koosolekud Tartu rahu aastapäeval [Demonstrations and meetings on the anniversary of Tartu Peace Treaty, 02.02.2005, 16:43. <http://uudised.err.ee/index.php?0547461> [last visited 20.01.2010]
- Molotch, Harvey and Marilyn Lester (1974) "News as purposive behaviour: on the strategic use of routine events, accidents, and scandals". *American Sociological Review* 39, 101–112.
- Moore, Shaoun (1995) "TV discourse and 'time-space distancing': on mediated interaction in modern society". *Time & Society* 4, 3, 329–344.
- Olick, Jeffrey (2007) *The politics of regret: on collective memory and historical responsibility*. New York: Routledge.
- Schlesinger, Philips (1999) "Putting "reality" together: BBC news". In *News: a reader*, 121–133. Howard Tumber, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Originally published in 1978, London and New York: Methuen.)
- Schudson, Michael (1986) "When? Deadlines, datelines and history". In *Reading the news: a pantheon guide to popular culture*, 79–108. Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson, eds. New York: Pantheon Books.

- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1991) "Time and timing: law and history". In *Chronotypes: the construction of time*, 99–117. John Bender and David E. Wellbery, eds. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Zandberg, Eyal (2010) "The right to tell the (right) story: journalism, authority and memory". *Media, Culture & Society* 32, 1, 5–24.
- Zerubavel, Eviatar (2003) *Time maps: collective memory and the social shape of the past*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- van Dijk, Teun A. (1988) *News as discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- West, Brad (2008) "Collective memory and crisis: the 2002 Bali bombing, national heroic archetypes and the counter-narrative of cosmopolitan nationalism". *Journal of Sociology* 44, 337–353.
- Wertsch, James V. (2002) *Voices of collective remembering*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Winfield, Betty Houchin, Barbara Friedman, and Vivara Trisnadi (2002) "History as the metaphor through which the current world is viewed: British and American newspapers' uses of history following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks". *Journalism Studies* 3, 2, 289–300.
- Winfield, Betty Houchin and Janice Hume (2007) "The continuous past: historical referents in nineteenth-century American journalism". *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 9, 3, 119–174.