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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism

Master thesis

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From bricks to pixels and memory:

An Instagram-ic multimodal analysis of the meanings upheld in the journalistic commemoration of the fall of the Berlin Wall

Master Thesis

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Bibliographic note

Abstract

The fall of the Berlin Wall stands as a momentous and pivotal event in world history, evoking an enduring and evolving collective memory. In this context, journalism plays an essential role in how societies remember. As the years elapsed since the breach of the border, noteworthy transformations have taken place globally, including the communications domain, wherein the integration of social media has become an indispensable aspect. Within this panorama, this research explores the meanings shaping collective memory in journalistic posts on Instagram commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Fall on 9 November 2019. The study employs Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis to examine 11 publications from seven international media outlets. The findings show that geographic location and cultural detachment play a role in how the news organization approaches the theme and identifies five dominant meanings associated with the Berlin Wall, such as its symbolism of division and violence, the epitome of freedom, the portrayal of the former GDR as an oppressive State, and its fall as a synonym for German reunification. Less salient significances include its enduring division, commodification as a cultural icon, and the Russian participation and influence in the process. This sutdy important as a generation with no firsthand experience of the Fall comes to the fore of political life and relies on digital platforms for information.

Keywords

Abstrakt

Pád Berlínské zdi je jednou z klíčových událostí světových dějin. S odstupem času se kolektivní paměť na tuto událost neustále přetváří. To, jak si události společnost pamatuje, je značně ovlivněno žurnalistikou. Od pádu Berlínské zdi se změnil celý svět, a to včetně oblasti komunikace. Dnes si již svět bez sociálních médií nedokážeme téměř představit. Tato diplomová práce zkoumá významy v Instagramových příspěvcích připomínajících 30. výročí pádu 9. listopadu 2019, které mají vliv na utváření kolektivní paměti. Studie využívá kritickou diskursivní analýzu v rámci které zkoumán 11 publikací ze sedmi mezinárodních médií. Výsledky práce odhalili roli geografické polohy a kulturního odstupu na to, jak média k tématu přistupují. Výzkum také identifikoval pět dominantních významů spojených s Berlínskou zdí, jako je její symbolika rozdělení a násilí, ztělesnění svobody, zobrazení bývalé NDR jako utlačovatelského státu a její pád jako synonymum pro sjednocení Německa. Mezi méně prominentní významy patří její trvalé rozdělení, komodifikace jako kulturní ikona a kontroverzní ruská účast a vliv na tento proces. Tento výzkum zdůrazňuje význam žurnalistiky jako klíčové instituce při zaznamenávání a uchovávání kolektivní paměti, zejména v digitálním věku. To je důležité zejména proto, že se do popředí politického života dostává generace, která s touto událostí nemá přímou zkušenost a spoléhá se na informační platformy.

Klíčová slova

Instagram; Kolektivní paměť; Pád Berlínské zdi; Sociální média; Výroční žurnalistika; Vzpomínková žurnalistika.

Range of thesis: 96 pages and 172,936 characters

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1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.

2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.

3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

4. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

Prague, 27 July 2023   Eric Machado Raupp

Acknowledgments

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Research proposal for Erasmus Mundus Journalism Diploma Thesis

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Thesis title in English:

The 2015 #ParisAttacks beyond Instagram hashtags: the journalistic commemoration and the mediatization of memory on @bbcnews, @france24 and @aljazeeraenglish

Expected date of submission (semester, academic year – example: *SS 2021/2022*)
(Thesis must be submitted according to the Academic Calendar.)

SS 2022/2023 — Defense September 2023

Main research question (max. 250 characters):

To what extent do memories constructed about the 2015 Paris terrorist attacks differ on BBC, France24, and Al Jazeera English Instagram profiles?

Current state of research on the topic (max. 1800 characters):

Within the communication field, commemorative journalism serves the purpose of remembering and celebrating the anniversary of a significant occurrence. For Edy (1999: 71-72), a diffused knowledge of the past can only happen in the media, since the stories "are far more visceral than those presented in the classroom" and can reach more extensive parts of the society. There is a significant amount of research on media creating collective memory (van Dijck, 2007; Edy, 1999; Erll, 2005; Hoskins, 2009; Meyers, 2002; Zelizer, 1995, 1997, 2010). Yet, investigations of memory in social media can be regarded as a void in the field (Birkner & Donk, 2018) and should supplement mass media's role in collective memory (Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014).

Social media plays a "transformative role" in "the practices of professional journalism, the dissemination of news and related information" (Bruns, 2018: 1). Newman et al. (2022) investigate trends in the area and signal that publishers will put more effort into networks led by visual content, like Instagram. With more than 1.21 billion monthly users, it represents a powerful tool for journalism, since "combining pictures with words makes the message more memorable" (Graber, 1996: 87). Still, the connection between the platform is mostly researched focusing on user engagement (Larsson, 2018; Nee, 2019; Thomson & Greenwood 2017; Van Cauwenberge & Broersma, 2017). Fewer studies have offered content analysis of news (Borges-Rey, 2015; Greer & Ferguson, 2017; Holiday et al. 2019). This research, therefore, intends to intersect Instagram and commemorative journalism to analyze how media brands have been dealing with the issue of memory online.

Expected theoretical framework (max. 1800 characters):

The theoretical segment will lay on a social constructivist framework, aligned with an approach to concepts of collective memory and journalism work on memory. Berger and Luckmann (1985) theorize constructionism based on the fundamental statement that reality is socially constructed, that is, the construction of life in society is the result of a cultural process that is concretized by the relationships that establish symbols that express a certain vision. common world, manifesting itself in various forms of communication. Within this understanding, Tuchman (1999: 262) proffers that news is "a constructed reality possessing its own internal validity", while Kovach and Rosenstiel (2004: 16) round off that it will produce a "common knowledge based on reality". For Park (2008), as forms of knowledge, history and science focus on the past and things; journalism, when analyzed in the same condition, deals with events and focuses on the present.

Nevertheless, based on Halbwachs' (1980) concept of collective memory — that highlights that a person's social interactions determine how one remembers past experiences and that groups reconstruct them collectively —, Zelizer (1997) expounds that journalism provides interpretations of the past and can sway it. Thus, journalism can be understood as an important means to recollecting memories; as Birkner and Donk (2018: 4) indicate, "with the mechanisms of selection and narration, frames and salience, and including the proper logic of the media production process, visions of history can be co-constructed by the media". It is Edy (1999) who proposes on a theoretical basis three archetypal ways of journalistic treatments of the past that will guide my proposed research: Commemorations, Historical analogies and Historical contexts.

Expected methodology, and methods for data gathering and analysis (max. 1800 characters):

This qualitative exploratory study will employ Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MCDA), "an approach to discourse which focuses on how meaning is made through the use of multiple modes of communication as opposed to just language" (Jones, 2021, 3). Such understanding means that different forms — still images, moving images, and texts, for instance — should be investigated together, as a whole body that works in tandem for representation and making meaning. According to Kress (2011: 38), if they are analyzed separately, one would reveal only partial meanings: "all modes are framed as one field, as one domain. Jointly they are treated as one connected cultural resource for (representation as) meaning-making by members of a social group at a particular moment. All are seen as equal, potentially, in their capacity to contribute meaning to a complex semiotic entity". This means that MCDA links critical discourse analysis with social semiotics theory to investigate the social construction of a given content, since "authors will use combinations of visual and

linguistic elements, depending upon their affordances, to best accomplish what they wish to communicate" (Machin & Mayr, 201: 30). This research perceives an Instagram post as a message composed of images themselves (still or moving), texts (head, captions). Thus, the focus of the multimodal approach is to understand the interplay between the visual elements and the texts to analyze the meanings/memories created.

Expected research design (data to be analyzed, for example, the titles of analyzed newspapers and selected time period):

This research is a study about the remembrance on Instagram of the 2015 Paris attacks, the series of coordinated onslaughts, later claimed by the self-proclaimed Islamic State, which killed 130 people in the French capital on November 13. Social media played an important role in the repercussion of the event: videos and photos were widely shared, and people began to use hashtags like #PrayForParis, #JesuisParis, and #ParisAttacks to comment on the situation. The assaults had a solid social and political impact in the international and European spheres. On Instagram, in the 24 hours following the terrorist acts, more than 70 million people shared their support and prayers for the city. Nevertheless, studies about how this platform is used to commemorate the past and its role as cultural meaning-makers are yet to be expanded. In this research, MCDA will be adopted to analyze selected posts from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), France24, and Al Jazeera English Instagram profiles, @bbcnews, @france24, and @aljazeeraenglish.

The posts will be collected through purposive sampling, whose key idea "is to select instances that are information-rich with a view to answering the research question" (Schreier, 2018: 18). Within this strategy, a mix of criterion sampling, which involves reviewing and studying 'all cases that meet some predetermined criterion of importance' (Patton, 2001: 238) and purposive-intensity, which aims to produce a sample highly relevant to the question, appears to be the most adequate means of data gathering. The first step will be a review of the posts made that are related to the topic through Later (a social media management tool) and an internal search by keywords and hashtags in each profile. The collection time interval will be between 2016 and 2021, covering the attacks' first to fifth anniversary. As a second stage, MCDA analysis will happen in 15 pieces (three from each profile) extracted from the "date of remembrance", on the 13th of November, to identify the memories constructed. The results will then be compared to answer the research question.

Expected thesis structure (chapters and subchapters with brief description of their content):

1. Abstract (*Brief summary of the research with keywords*)

2. Introduction (*Overview presentation of the thesis, with theme, research problem, justification, methodology, and structure of chapters*)

3. Journalism and representation of reality (*Starting point presenting a constructivist conception of journalism*)
   3.1. Memory in journalism (*View on the role of journalism in memory collections, with explanation of the prototypical ways of journalistic treatments of the past*)
   3.2. Visual remembrance: the power of image (*Review on the power of image and its relation to collective memory*)
   3.3. Memory in Social Media (*Description of current literature on memory in Social Media*)

4. Journalism and Social Media *(Presentation of literature about journalistic production in social media and its particularities)*
    4.1. Instagram *(Brief contextualization of the platform and why it relevant to study it)*
    4.2. Journalism on Instagram *(Review on the journalistic use of Instagram)*

5. Methodology
    Multimedia Discourse Analysis *(Explanation of the method of analysis used, its limitations and capabilities)*
    Research design *(Explanation on how I analyze the corpus of analysis)*

6. Results *(Presentation of the findings from analysis)*

7. Discussion and Conclusion *(Critical assessments o of the findings of the analysis)*

8. References *(List of references used on the thesis)*

Basic literature list (at least 5 most important works related to the topic and the method(s) of analysis; all works should be briefly characterized on 2-5 lines):

Schwartz, B. (1991). Iconography and Collective Memory: Lincoln's Image in the American Mind. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 32(3), 301–319. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4120910
The author proposes a definition of collective memory with an approach centered on the active construction and interpretation of commemorative objects. He argues that agents remembering the past are autonomous but have limits on which memories they can propagate: they can't expect unfamiliar meanings to be understood or easily accepted.

Edy, J. A. (1999). Journalistic uses of collective memory. *Journal of Communication*, 49(2), 71–85. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02794.x
The article describes ways in which journalists use the public past and delivers some insights about the process of collective memory development in the media, since it can make the past meaningful and enhance our understanding of the present.

Birkner, T., & Donk, A. (2020). Collective memory and social media: Fostering a new historical consciousness in the digital age? Memory Studies, 13(4), 367–383. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698017750012
In this case study on the role of social media in a conflict about renaming a public square in a German town, the authors provide a literature review on collective memory. Also, they found out that social media, in this case Facebook, can play a key role in counter-public sphere against hegemonic mainstream media and politics to foster new historical consciousness.

Bartoletti, Roberta. (2011). Memory and Social Media: New Forms of Remembering and Forgetting. In *Learning from Memory: Body, Memory and Technology in a Globalizing World,* edited by B.M. Pirani, 82-111. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011.
https://www.cambridgescholars.com/resources/pdfs/978-1-4438-2884-0-sample.pdf

Bartoletti insightfully contributes to studies on the relation between individual and collective memory and social media, and the ways in which these media manage the distinction between forgetting and remembering.

Neiger, M., Meyers, O., & Zandberg, E. (2011). *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age.* Palgrave Macmillan UK. *https://books.google.cz/books?id=kCotKQEACAAJ*
This provoking collection of essays by leading scholars of communication research and collective memory offers a comprehensive discussion of how media memories are constructed, exploring television, radio, film and new media.

Machin, D. & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis:* A Multimodal Introduction, London: SAGE.
This book is a guide to understanding how language, power and ideology are negotiated in visual communication and media texts, introducing readers to both theory and practice of how to carry on Multimodal Discourse Analysis. The authors show how this method can be used to analyze a range of discourse types.

Kress, Gunther. "Multimodal discourse analysis". In *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* edited by James Paul Gee and Michael Handford, 35-50. Abingdon: Routledge Handbooks Online, 2011.
The author discusses the origins of Multimodal Discourse Analysis providing theoretical background about the possibilities that this method represents for social sciences.

Kress, G. & van Leeuwen, T. (1996). Reading images: The grammar of visual design. London: Routledge.
Taking as a starting point Western cultures, the authors ground in social semiotics to provide a descriptive framework that can serve as a tool in visual analysis. They identify compositional structures of making signs and analyze how these patterns are used to produce meanings.

Related theses and dissertations (list of B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. theses defended at Charles University or other academic institutions in the last five years):

Bolaños-Somoano, Inés (2017). *Framing Discourses on Islam and Terrorism The 2015 Brussels Attacks as Reported by Spanish National Newspapers.* [Euroculture Master of Arts Thesis, Georg-August Universität]. Theses – Vysokoškolské kvalifikační práce. https://theses.cz/id/s5821h/

Chernin, K. A. (2021). *After a rainy day in Hong Kong: Media, memory and social movements, a look at Hong Kong's 2014 umbrella movement* (Order No. AAI28213077). [Doctoral dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University]. ProQuest LLC (2478850714; 2020-86252-233).
https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/after-rainy-day-hong-kong-media-memory-social/docview/247885 0714/se-2

Gedikoglu, Z. A. (2018). *Exploring destination image themes on twitter, before, during and after 2015 terror attacks in paris: An application of agenda setting theory* (Order No. 10843870). [Doctoral dissertation, Clemson University]. ProQuest Central. (2117234632).
https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/exploring-destination-image-themes-on-twitter/docview/21172346 32/se-2

Martens, Jutta (2020). #ParisAttack – Making sense of a terrorist attack in Twitter. [Master's Thesis, University of Helsinki]. Helda digital repository. http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:hulib-202002111312

Palmer, G. (2021). *Visual and literary representations of memory and meaning of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima-Nagasaki* (Order No. AAI28258316). [Doctoral dissertation, Salve Regina University]. ProQuest LLC (2494384369; 2021-08065-034).
https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/visual-literary-representations-memory-meaning/docview/2494384369/se-2

Wurst, D. (2019) *Breaking the frames of the past: Photography and literature in contemporary Argentina, Chile, and Peru*. [Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University]. Columbia Academic Commons.
https://doi.org/10.7916/d8-1exn-8h10

Date / Signature of the student:

15/11/2022

THIS PART TO BE FILLED BY THE ACADEMIC SUPERVISOR:

I confirm that I have consulted this research proposal with the author and that the proposal is related to my field of expertise at the Faculty of Social Sciences.

I agree to be the Thesis supervisor.	
Surname and name of the supervisor	Date / Signature of the supervisor
Further recommendations related to the topic, structure and methods for analysis:	
Further recommendations of literature related to the topic:	

The research proposal has to be printed, signed and submitted to the FSV UK registry office (podatelna) in two copies, **by November 15, 2021,** addressed to the Program Coordinator. Accepted research proposals have to be picked up at the Program Coordinator's Office, Mgr. Sandra Štefaniková. The accepted research proposal needs to be included in the hard copy version of the submitted thesis.

RESEARCH PROPOSALS NEED TO BE APPROVED BY THE HEAD OF ERASMUS MUNDUS JOURNALISM PROGRAM.

Contents

1 Introduction

More than three decades have elapsed since the fall of the Berlin Wall. The occurrences of the night of 9 November 1989 became a global iconic event whose "story, branded into a simple phrase, a short narrative, and a recognizable visual scene, provides people from China to Turkey to the United States with a contemporary social myth" (Sonnevend, 2016. p.1). The concrete barrier that once split a city and materialized the Cold War is nowpainted with colorful images addressing themes including peace, freedom, love, and unity. The barrier has transcended its tangible existence to turn enshrined within memory. In this milieu, Halbwachs (1992) proposes that no individual memory is disconnected from the rest of the world and does not interact with others in social contexts. He argues that "there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory; it is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory that it is capable of the act of recollection" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 38).

Connerton's (1989) seminal work on how societies remember had a notable contribution by introducing that collective memory relies on acts of communication. He argues that "to study the social formation of memory is to study those acts of transfer that make remembering in common possible" (Connerton, 1989, p. 39). Due to its social authority, journalism is a privileged agent of memory and one of the primary ways people record and remember (Kitch, 2008). The nature of the relationship between memory and journalism has a reciprocal character. Zelizer (2008, p. 79) claims that "just as journalism needs memory work to position its recounting of public events in context, so too does memory need journalism to provide one of the most public drafts of the past." Therefore, by conveying rhetoric and forming public opinion, it is essential to instrumentalize memories, and its discourse acts as a framework that provides common data and notions for individuals to remember. Aiming to explain this relation, Birkner and Donk (2018) argue that media can co-construct visions of the past through narration, frames, salience, and its own logic of production.

Collective memory, according to Halbwachs (1992), is not a once-and-for-all phenomenon; instead, it changes, grows, and fades. Similarly, neither is journalism static. Advancements in technology, notes Pavlik (2000), influence its evolution. The affordances of today are not the same as they were in 1989. Since then, social media has reshaped the profession's landscape, impacting newsmaking, sharing, and consumption

(van Dijk, 2013). Moreover, some events are known to trace their origins to online platforms, primarily due to their low-risk environment for political activism (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). For instance, In 2009, the Green Movement in Iran protested election results, and in New York, #occupywallstreet demonstrated against economic inequality and political money influence (Honari, 2018; Tufekci, 2017).

On this note, one could conjecture about the effect social media would have had in the fall of the Wall. Nonetheless, all it can do is help shape a collective thereof. Moreover, this research does not belong to the realm of imagination. In light of this problematization, this thesis aims to answer the following research question:

What meanings sustaining collective memory about the Berlin Wall are referred to and upheld in the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Fall on Instagram?

Per definition, commemorative journalism serves the purpose of remembering and celebrating a significant event's anniversary within a social group (Edy, 1999). This holds significant consequences as a diffused knowledge of the past can only happen in the media since the stories "are far more visceral than those presented in the classroom" (Edy, 1999, pp. 71-72) and can reach more extensive parts of society. The networked world strengthens this capability. Within this realm, Instagram occupies a distinct position. From a tool for personal branding, self-promotion, and self-expression (Marcus, 2015), it has expanded into the public sphere as it began to attract a substantial number of users and evolved to include diverse possibilities beyond image-sharing. This led to an increasing exploration by journalism, According to Newman (2023), publishing efforts concentrate on platforms with strong youth appeal and visual content.

Instagram's image-centered nature resonates with the pictoriality of the Berlin Wall, which, for Dreschel (2010, p. 10), "was (and still is to this day) in many respects a genuine visual phenomenon." This notion is mainly sustained by its architectural grandiosity and the representations around it (Dreschel, 2010), but its opening reinforces the visual aspect: dozens of photographers and camera crews registered shots and footage that spread the world (Somerstein, 2015). According to Harriman and Lucaites (2009), there is no singular portrayal of the Fall, yet multiple shots depict the occasion, individually and collectively. They surfaced partially due to the desire for symbolic resonance and the media's expectation that a single image would encapsulate

a pivotal event. Interestingly, photographs possess a distinct advantage as a medium due to their indexicality and their mnemonic capabilities that aid memory recall. Zelizer (1998, p. 6) stresses that "images often become an event's primary markers."

The 30th anniversary selection is based on Keith's (2012) findings, which highlight significant differences in attention between quinquennial or decennial anniversaries and other dates. As Instagram was released in 2010, the commemoration on the 9 November 2019 is the only one available from a "major year". Within this framework, posts from this date were collected from the Instagram feed of profiles of seven outlets from seven different countries — the criteria for their choice and the data collection methods are explained in detail further. The included profiles were Deutsche Welle (@dwnews, Germany), RT (@rt, Russia), France 24 (@France24, France), BBC News (@bbcnews, the United Kingdom), Time Magazine (@time, the United States of America), Folha de São Paulo (@folhadespaulo, Brazil), and Al Jazeera English (@aljazeeraenglish, Qatar).

On this matter, 11 posts compose the corpus of this qualitative exploration of the meanings and narratives associated with the Berlin Wall that are invoked and maintained through journalistic posts about its fall on Instagram. As a multimodal platform, it uses diverse modes of communication, such as text, images, audio, and video, that operate together to form a discourse and create meaning. Thus, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) best suits this work. This intricate tool (Machin & Mayr, 2012) is based on the understanding that linguistic elements alone are only one message component in a context where they exist and communicate along with other modes, such as photos and videos. Moreover, Machin and Mayr (2012) contend that this message may appear ordinary at first glance; yet, it is driven by embedded beliefs influencing the portrayal of events. It is the role of the analyst to unravel them.

The significance of this study lies in the gap in the scholarship about journalistic practices on Instagram. Most research centers on Twitter (Araujo & van der Meer, 2020; Bruns et al., 2020; Valenzuela et al., 2018) and Facebook (Bailo et al., 2021; Carlson, 2018; Venturini & Rogers, 2019). When it comes to Instagram, the focus is on user engagement and motivations (Sheldon & Bryant, 2015; Thomson & Greenwood, 2017), its impact on self-image (Jiang & Ngien, 2020; Kim, 2020; Moore & Craciun, 2021), or political communication (Boulianne & Larsson, 2023; Lindholm et al., 2021; Peng, 2021; Pineda et al., 2022). Besides, while scholars have explored media's role in collective memory (van Dijck, 2007; Edy, 1999; Hoskins, 2009; Zelizer, 1995, 1997,

2010), investigations in social media are still a void (Birkner & Donk, 2018).

As a landmark in history, the Mauerfall nourished various inquiries about memory, but considering journalism's role in disseminating images thereof (Steinmetz, 2004; Somerstein, 2015), there is limited research conducted thus far regarding its place in shaping collective memory around the occasion (Mihelj, 2017). In this regard, 34 years have passed since the Fall, meaning individuals aged 34 and below were not born. Intriguingly, this age group comprises approximately 71 percent of the user base on Instagram (Statista, 2023). These numbers support the relevance of this work, as it highlights the need to understand the meanings shaping collective memory through a medium prominently used by a generation with no firsthand experience of the event.

This thesis is organized into five main sections. *Theory and Literature (1)* begins with the subchapter Theoretical Framework, grounded on the conceptual notions of collective memory. A second subchapter demarcates the Literature Review, addressing relevant studies on the role of journalism in forming collective memory, the power of photography to trigger recollections, and the grip of collective memory on the Fall. In addition, it discusses the evolving landscape of journalism in the age of social media, focusing on Instagram and how journalists use the platform. Next, *Methodology (2)* describes the qualitative approach, the sampling process, and the procedures for data collection. Moreover, it dives into the idiosyncrasies of MCDA to outline the analytical framework used. *Analysis (3)* shows the findings and formulates an answer to the research question. This segment is followed by a *Discussion (4)* of the implications of the findings, including potential limitations and recommendations for future studies. Ultimately, a *Conclusion (5)* sets final remarks.

1.1 Adaptations From the Research Proposal

This thesis originally aimed to examine the commemoration of the Paris attacks of 13 November 2015 on Instagram. Nevertheless, as the theoretical framework and the intricacies of collective memory developed, it became visible that the temporal proximity of the event meant that it could still be fresh in people's minds, making this situation not the most suitable occasion to be analyzed. In addition, data collection showed limited availability of materials for analysis in two of the three selected outlets, negatively impacting the proposed study; the gathering procedure was stopped, and options were considered. The chosen path was to change the object of analysis to an

older event, which is effectively part of memory — the reasons for choosing the Fall of the Berlin Wall are explained earlier in this chapter. This change led to adjustments

First, given the different location of the event, the news outlets had to be revised. Considering the Fall's impact on the world, more outlets were added to address this feature. From three organizations, the sample changed to seven, following the sampling criteria explained in the Methodology chapter. Second, the scope of the research changed. Instead of considering a temporal aspect and comparing the meanings evoked in the commemoration on different anniversaries, the focus is now on one, assuming Keith's (2012) contributions, as indicated earlier in this chapter. Thus, instead of simply rewriting the research question by changing the names of the event and the media outlets in the phrase, it was reformulated to suit better the new scope and more satisfactorily highlight the relation of collective memory and commemoration.

Thirdly, the materials were collected with another platform (Export Comments) and not the one mentioned in the Research Proposal (Later). In addition, no "internal search by keywords and hashtags in each profile" was performed, as mentioned in the document, because Instagram does not allow this functionality. Procedural points about the tool used are detailed later in this paper. Finally, the study units also changed, considering the modifications in the number of media included and anniversaries examined. Initially, 15 posts should have been studied, but the research comprised 11 publications. It is worth noting that the method of analysis remained the same.

2 Theory and Literature

This chapter is structured into two parts. The first comprises the Theoretical Framework, providing an overview of **Collective Memory** theory. It explores different authors as their perspectives are discussed to establish a solid conceptual basis for the research. The second part is the Literature Review, organized into two sections. The first, **The Nexus of Memory and Journalism**, explores how journalism preserves and influences collective memory. It comprises two key segments. *Photography as Vehicles of Memory* examines how imagery can convey memories and *Memory's Grip on the Fall of the Berlin Wall* contextualizes the event and delves into collective memory about it. The second section is **Journalism in the Age of Social Media** and addresses the evolving landscape of journalism within this realm. The unit comprises two segments. *The Space of Instagram in the Networked World* explores the history, characteristics, and dynamics that define the app. Following this, *Praxis and Research on Journalism on Instagram* analyzes research on how news organizations use the platform.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

This chapter elucidates the crucial theoretical perspective used in this thesis, the complex and polysemous collective memory, introduced by Halbwachs (1992). As a Durkheimian sociologist, he considers memory a social phenomenon and, by dint of it, in his theoretical work, departs from the idea that the sense of individuality and singularity of subjects is an illusion, for one's behavior is the result of the external social forces acting on it. On a strictly physiological level, human memory locates in the brain and "everyone has a capacity for memory [*memoire*] that is unlike that of anyone else" (Halbwachs, 1992, p.56); in the literal, physical sense, it is the individual who remembers. However, the different agents of socialization with whom these individuals connect determine what is memorable and how it will be remembered. According to Halbwachs (1992), "It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories" (p. 38). He then adds: "No memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 43). These include the language used, the experiences with others within a group, and the cultural values, customs, norms, and beliefs held.

On this note, collective memory refers to shared understanding and knowledge

about a specific event, object, or phenomenon that these groups have experienced. It is not a single, monolithic entity. Thus, Halbwachs (1976) notes that there are different collective memories, each associated with a particular group, which only remembers certain aspects of the past. In other words, the social groups that compose society are constantly capable of reconstructing their past through memory; thus, remembering is also an act of forgetting (Pollack, 1993). In this regard, Halbwachs (1976, p. 290) warns that, more often than not, they also distort it as they reconstruct it. Nonetheless, Halbwachs' death in a Nazi concentration camp may have imbued his work with an incomplete character, which, coupled with his essayistic style, has left gaps and ambiguities that hinder a clear and systematic reading of his work. Due to this, Olick (1999) contends that the term collective memory experiences a "semantic slippage" (p. 336) as it is employed in diverse contexts to refer to both "individually shaped memories" and "collective representations" (Olick, 1999, p. 336).

Based on this, Connerton (1989) puts that the concept is not simply a matter of individuals remembering things similarly. Instead, it is a social process shaped by a particular community's practices and rituals: "groups provide individuals with frameworks within which their memories are localized" (Connerton, 1989, p. 37). Likewise, Nora (1978, p. 398) simplifies that the term could be defined as "what is left from the past in the actual experience of groups (including nations) or that which these groups make of the past... Collective memories evolve with the groups and constitute an inalienable asset which can be manipulated". On this matter, Ricœur (1983) wisely put it: to grasp memory is not to grasp all or part of the past, but the presence — always uncertain — of the past and, more precisely still, the presence — always uncertain — not of the past as it happened, but of the impression left by the passing of things that have passed. Ricœur (1983, p. 37) succinctly encapsulates memory, in its contemporary social sense, as the "present of the past."

In this sense, if memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past and adapts the image of old facts to the beliefs and spiritual needs of the present, knowledge of what it originally was is secondary since the reality of the past is no longer there as an immutable model to which one must conform (Halbwachs, 1941, p. 9). The crux of this contention lies in the insignificance of historical authenticity, which also underlines a distinction between memory and history. Addressing the issue, Halbwachs (1999) further points out the first as the lived, while the latter would be restricted to the conceptual, marked by clear time divisions. Kansteiner (2002) also marks an important

division between the terms, noting that such a barrier is sometimes blurred because the memory "can take hold of historically and socially remote events but it often privileges the interests of the contemporary. It is as much a result of conscious manipulation as unconscious absorption, and it is always mediated" (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 180).

Connerton (1989) identifies three main ways collective memory is embodied: rituals, ceremonies, and monuments. These means are essential for the transmission of collective memory as they help to create a shared sense of the past and to bind individuals together into a community. Likewise, Nora (1987) talks about "places of memories," material sites that guarantee the crystallization of the memory and, consequently, its transmission. They are symbolic since it refers to an event experienced by a group and yet bring a representation to a majority that did not participate. As Nora (1987) puts, examples include museums, archives, cemeteries, collections, festivals, anniversaries, verbal processes, monuments, shrines, and associations. It is assumed here that journalism can also be included, as stories about past events can be passed down from generation to generation, helping to keep the memory of those events alive. In this sense, "there can be no 'collective memory' without public articulation; hence so many memory studies focus on various forms of public expression such as rituals, ceremonial commemorations, and mass media texts" (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 3).

Over time, Halbwachs' seminal work has undergone thorough examination, thereby receiving both corroboration and supplementation, yet not without its fair share of criticism. Pollack (1993) argues that Halbwachs could not see elements of domination or symbolic violence, such as reinforcing social cohesion through adherence to the reference group. Interests tegen shift towards the "processes and actors involved in the constitution and formalization of memories" (Pollack, 1993, p.4), revealing the existence of a "dominant" memory and other "dominated" memories, one of which may emerge spontaneously and the other contaminated by some form of power, both in conflict. In this regard, Huyssen (2014) analyzes that Halbwachs' concept hinders the understanding of the politics of memory in which different pasts are placed against each other. Drawing on the notion that memory is always a past commemorated and produced in the present (Huyssen, 2014, p.294), it invariably includes evasions. Memory, therefore, is never neutral and is subject to interests and functional uses.

2.2 Literature Review

This section examines and critically discusses pertinent literature on collective memory and journalism, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the impacts of social media on memorialization and journalism practices, specifically within the realm of Instagram. Drawing upon the most salient research, it contextualizes the present study within the broader academic landscape.

2.2.1 The Nexus of Memory and Journalism

Journalism is paramount in constructing a sense of the past (Zelizer, 1992, 2004, 2008; Olick, 2014). Its common adage as the "first draft of history" (Kitch, 2008, p. 312) implies that it creates narratives that construct the frameworks necessary for developing a collective memory. This is because current events and beliefs impact our reading of the past, while historical systems and frames of reference shape our understanding (Stainer & Zelizer, 1995). When discerning significant facts and sequentially imparting them meaning, journalists operate as "an interpretive community, a group that authenticates itself through its use of narratives and collective memory" (Zelizer, 1992, p. 9). Thus, memory is not only influenced "but includes memories of journalism: as a society, we remember important broadcasts, iconic broadcasters, and even the media themselves [...]; collective or cultural memory includes journalism and journalistic events, as well as being shaped by journalism (Olick, 2014, p. 18).

In this regard, the relationship between journalism and collective memory is considered two-fold Schudson (1992). Firstly, news media serve as a platform where political actors present their perspectives on events, aiming to influence how the public understands the past. Secondly, journalists act as political actors on the stage of collective memory. According to Kitch (2008), journalism works as a "memory text" insofar as recollections are conveyed in a journalistic form and received by readers as news. In a study introducing the notion of collective memory in the journalistic field, Lang and Lang (1989) discuss that journalists talk about the past for four main reasons: "to delimit an era, as a yardstick, for analogies, and for the shorthand explanations or lessons it can provide" (p. 127). They indicate that first-hand experience and the mediation by the media are factors supporting collective memory. As the immediate effects of the encounter trigger memories, the media's portrayal takes control when these individual memories fade with time. The more distant the incident, the greater the

mediated memories. However, the media's reconstruction of the past significantly influences more those who did not directly experience the event (Lang & Lang, 1989).

Edy (1999) brings fundamental contributions by investigating how news explores the public past. The first way she identifies is commemoration, sometimes called anniversary (Kitch, 2002) journalism. Its primary evidence usually comes in the form of event-oriented covering activities like wreath layings, reenactments, and speeches at enabled memorials that serve as news pegs. Social authorities typically empower these gatherings, which often commemorate noncontroversial individuals or events that aim to create social consensus (Edy, 1999). Despite specific references to contemporary times, the correlation between present-day issues and concerns is typically tenuous. Commemoration journalism also involves anniversary stories (Edy, 1999), a practice of making the past its main subject that may provide factual information, but mostly brings that past to life again, prompting the audience to recall feelings and emotions about it.

The criteria for selecting what is remembered are indefinite; social momentum is generated behind certain occasions, even though the relevance of events may vary among different communities (Edy, 1999). Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger (2020) note that anniversary journalism often focuses on traumatic experiences like terrorism, conflicts, and natural disasters, "when the news media purposefully focus on the past in order to mark and honor (or condemn) meaningful events and their protagonists" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2020, p. 424). Yet, it also embraces positive events like the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the end of apartheid in South Africa, or the fall of the Berlin Wall. This dynamic also influenced journalistic research. Kitch (2008) highlights that most research has predominantly concentrated on the coverage of elite news media regarding extraordinary occurrences such as wars, disasters, assassinations, and political revolutions.

Commemorative journalism allows pre-planning and serves as a form of retrospective, where the past is characterized in specific ways (Kitch, 2006); thus, it does not provide a complete or context-free view of the past. For instance, Coman et al. (2009) discuss that exploring specific nuances can lead to a more vital and vivid memory of those highlighted aspects, while the issues that receive less coverage may be more prone to being forgotten. In this sense, Kitch (2000) asserts that commemorative journalism reinforces identity rather than disseminates information. Moreover, even the level of commemoration tends to vary between primary anniversary years and off-years,

those ending in a number other than zero (Keith, 2012). There is vastly less interest in the latter, even though neglecting anniversaries can lead to anger among the audience.

Edy (1999) distinguishes historical analogies as a second approach. Here, an event is used to scrutinize and anticipate possible outcomes of an ongoing circumstance. In this logic, the current situation is depicted as similar to a previous one, which is deemed a "lesson of history" (Edy, 1999, p.77). Even though its foundation in a factual occurrence implies neutrality, such an analogy can become rugged, as the comparison may establish criteria for normative judgment by specifying the problem's nature, allocating responsibility, and suggesting solutions (Edy, 1999). Also, it offers little chance to reassess the past, with a tendency to oversimplify discussions regarding the significance of the interconnection between in and the present.Likewise, a significant risk lies in the propensity to exaggerate their resemblances (Neustadt & May, 1986).

Historical contexts are the last and rarer use of the past (Edy, 1999). They refer to understanding how past circumstances have contributed to the present, elucidating "how we got here" (Edy, 199, p. 80). Nonetheless, this analytical approach is not frequently employed in news analysis, primarily because journalistic objectivity norms challenge journalists to establish direct connections between specific events. Consequently, this responsibility is typically delegated to experts and specialists. Similarly, Schudson (2014, p.95) identifies distinct reasons why journalism addresses the past: "referencing the past to bid for editorial prominence, using the past as a context to help explain a news event, and showing how people act in their everyday lives, sometimes very dramatically, in ways that incorporate a sense of past or future".

Niemeyer (2011) argues that journalists play a significant role in shaping collective memories, mainly by creating memorable images. Drawing upon Nora's (1987) research, she characterizes news, especially in the context of television, as a place of memory-in-motion, sometimes even actively intervening in historical events and becoming a participant in the narrative. In her subsequent work, she further explores the impact of social media on this dynamic, suggesting that news would evolve into a "place of memory 2.0, in movement" (Niemeyer, 2018, p.71): not only can news now be shared, reiterated, and extended online, but it also allows for continually evolving interpretations. Digital platforms have revolutionized the ways of expressing, distributing, and proliferating narratives of the past, configuring a "new memory ecology" (Brown & Hoskins, 2010, p. 94). However, scholarly investigations on the significance of this relationship are lacking.

Notably, social media serve as a tool for real-time registration (Nuernberg, 2019), allowing users to instantly share their experiences, thoughts, and images, thereby creating an extensive archive. This is observable through the expansion of personal blogs, family websites, digital galleries, and commemorative platforms. Reading (2011) argues that social media has impacted collective memory making the ways of spreading it "less costly, globally connected, and reproducible across different media" (p. 242). Bolin (2016) highlights that social media provide valuable insights into the manifestations of romanticism, nostalgia, and tensions in constructing socially mediated national narratives. On the other hand, Singer and Conoway (2008) assert that a culture of forgetting characterizes contemporary society, defined by a surplus of information. The act of not recalling, a natural adaptive mechanism in various circumstances, assumes the role of an indispensable defense strategy.

2.2.1.1 Photography as Frames of the Past

The power of visual imagery has been widely studied in communications. Barthes (1982) notes that "perhaps we have an invincible resistance to believing in the past, in History, except in the form of myth. The Photograph, for the first time, puts an end to this resistance: henceforth the past is as certain as the presence" (pp. 87-88). Accordingly, he defines them as ''certificates of presence'' (Barthes, 1982, p. 87) which not merely convey the absence of what once was but unequivocally affirm the existence of what has occurred. Adding to the discussion, Sontag (1977) claims that seeing "the world in the form of images is, precisely, to re-experience the unreality and remoteness of the real" (p. 126). This happens due to their ability to point to or refer to specific contexts, situations, or individuals, which Hughes and Noble (2003) call indexicality. Such mnemonic features paved an avenue for research.

> As vehicles of memory, images work in patterned ways, concretizing and externalizing events in an accessible and visible fashion that allows us to recognize the tangible proof that they offer of the events being represented. Images actively depend on their material form when operating as vehicles of memory, with our ability to remember events of the past facilitated by an image's availability and interchangeability. In a sense, then, visual memory's texture becomes a facilitator for memory's endurance. (Zelizer, 2004, p. 162)

Photos possess a distinct memorability related to the notion of salience effect, which suggests that when individuals selectively focus their attention on a specific aspect, they are more likely to use that element when forming judgments (Joffe, 2008). Their power extends beyond their function as memory aids, influencing the way people understand the past. Nevertheless, this sense of presence is not a natural property; it is instead created through an interplay of cultural, social, and psychological factors, suggesting that the perceived reality is not based solely on their visual content but also on cultural expectations, beliefs, and experiences (Barthes, 1982). Therefore, the meaning of visuals is always open to interpretation and can vary. Suitably, Campbell (2007) defends that the imagery field is "both made possible by and productive of relations of power, and that these power relations bear at least some relationship to wider social and political structures which are themselves associated with transnational relations of exchange in which images are commodities" (p.361).

Kossoy (1999) highlights the possibility of the photographic discourse conveying both realities and fiction because an image is formed through a process of symbolic representation, followed by interpretation, reception, and decoding of what has been produced. In this context, he highlights the essence of a peculiar characteristic — through pre and post-documentary materialization, the photographic image produces realities, hence its always ambiguous condition of being both a document and a representation (Kossy, 1999). This fact influences the relationship between memory and journalism, as photographs can shape and perpetuate certain narratives (Zelizer, 2004). By providing visual representations, these materials evoke emotional responses and imbue a sense of authenticity to the depicted situation. In this regard, Sontag (1977. P. 14) argues that they cannot "create" but only "reinforce" a moral position.

Some photographs become signposts of situations. Hariman and Lucaites (2007) name them photojournalistic icons, "widely recognised and remembered, are understood to be representations of historically significant events, activate strong emotional identification or response, and are reproduced across a range of media, genres, or topics" (p. 27). In this case, they surpass the original conditions of the image's creation and those of its circulation, as they are associated with the representation of an entire event, different mediums, and, therefore, different objectives. Hariman and Lucaites (2007) contend that such images can turn the mundane into instances of persuasion employing a visual idiom shared by society. In other words, they rely on a vocabulary culturally ingrained and serves as a tool of communication through aesthetic appeal.

Conversely, images can also be problematic and skew the past since "their suggestion of transcendental significance can lead towards mystification rather than critical reasoning; their continual reproduction can become too formulaic, leading to stock emotions while displacing a much wider range of experiences" (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 132). This situation can lead to a distorted understanding, perpetuating stereotypes or oversimplification, for the widespread circulation can create a dominant narrative or discourse that marginalizes other perspectives, even though Barthes (1982) contends that "photography never lies: or rather, it can lie as to the meaning of the thing, being by nature tendentious, never as to its existence" (p. 87).

In addition, the prolonged reutilization of a news photograph may create a separation between the image and its initial contextual reference, thereby menacing the recollections of the original. Joffe (2008, p. 85) points out that visuals are directly absorbed without provoking viewers to engage in the same level of reflection and deconstruction as in texts. In the same critical path, Fentress and Wickham (1992) observe that photographs are "conventionalised, because the image has to be meaningful for an entire group; simplified, because in order to be generally meaningful and capable of transmission, the complexity of the image must be reduced as far as possible" (pp. 47-48). Moreover, whereas photographs lack the detail of personal memory, often omitting contextual information, Zelizer (2004) puts that its interpretation is not solely reliant on its visible content but is informed by broader historical knowledge.

2.2.1.2 Memory's Grip on the Fall of the Berlin Wall

After its defeat in World War II, Germany was partitioned — including the former capital, Berlin — establishing four occupation zones governed by the United States, the Soviet Union (USSR), the United Kingdom, and France. As ideological disparities between the East and the West intensified, the Berlin Wall was built in August 1961. Steinmetz (2004) underscores that German Democratic Republic (GDR, also referred to as East Germany) leaders rationalized the construction to safeguard the economy against illicit activities such as looting, smuggling, and speculation. Additionally, it aimed to exercise population control and curb the exodus of laborers to the sector aligned with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, popularly known as West Germany). Guarded by the GDR troops, the Wall was 155 kilometers long and 3.6 meters high, made of concrete, barbed wire, and other materials (Taylor, 2006).

In the late 1980s, with the rise of protest and reform movements in East Germany and the border opening between Hungary and Austria in 1989, international pressure grew to dismantle the Wall. The beginning of this breach happened on 9 November 1989, when Günter Schabowski, the spokesman for the East German Communist Party Politburo, held a press conference to inform the relaxing of travel restrictions to ease the tension. However, he mistakenly announced that citizens could immediately leave the GDR through any border crossing (Harrison, 2019). His words led to thousands assembling at checkpoints, demanding to cross; guards were uncertain about how to respond but ultimately opened the gates. The media widely reproduced the scenes (Steinmetz, 2004) of people breaking the barrier, catalyzing the gathering of more citizens. One of the most significant occurrences in world history (Gaddis, 2005; Halliday, 1990), this event became known as "the fall of the Berlin Wall," even though the dismantling took several months.

The Fall was a significant blow to the USSR and ultimately led to the reunification of Germany, formally achieved on 3 October 1990. In the country, Harrison (2019) points out that over time, the collective memory surrounding it has evolved. Initially, the memory was set aside, then it focused on the victims and celebrated the East Germans. However, the narrative changed again after the 2015 refugee crisis and the rise of right-wing extremism. "Now politicians use memory of the Wall as a warning, a plea for holding fast to democratic principles and behavior" (Harrison, 2019, p. 395). The event has also shifted the way people engage with the past, facilitating the emergence of a collective cosmopolitan memory, characterized by Levy and Sznaider (2006) by its ability to go beyond national borders and strengthen global unity; memories are now shared by groups with little or no personal connection to the remembered realities (Tzanelli, 2011; Mihelj, 2017). Critics of the concept argue that it overlooks the significance of local and national memories (Calhoun, 2007) and that it prioritizes events and interpretations from powerful nations (Margalit, 2002).

In this regard, Sonnevend (2016) notes that journalists, politicians, and other storytellers widely disseminate the Fall as a triumph over oppression, with ordinary people overcoming communism and uniting Germany. Such narrative emphasizes the case as a symbol of hope and freedom whose message has been universalized to other contexts and is often associated with images that make the case memorable (Sonnevend, 2016). Exploring this visual aspect, Somerstein (2017) analyzes how newspapers from either side of the Cold War division commemorated the 25th anniversary and identifies

five image genres: iconic photographs; memorials; metonymic and mythological portraits (of representative personages for the whole story); metonymic relics (of elements associated with the GDR), and images of resistance. Each category displayed distinct framing characteristics influenced by the country's political landscape. He points out that "papers treat anniversary photographs differently than other visual journalism and thus can be understood as material expressions of collective memory" (Somerstein, 2017, p. 714).

Czachur (2011) explains how the memory in German newspapers revolves around the term "peaceful revolution," which is discursively renegotiated and profiled. On the one hand, it represents the totality of political and social events. On the other, for the active role of the citizens in non-violent demonstrations, their need for freedom, courage to take risks, and their victory over authoritarianism (Czachur, 2011). He points out that the Fall became a myth that serves political goals and highlights the positive accounting of the case. In another study, Cline (2012) shows that the context defined and affected media collective memory in different periods. For instance, in the first years, Der Spiegel was Western in tone, underscoring a sense of triumph and the question of German identity. At the same time, Komsomolskaya Pravda had minimal coverage due to Gorbachev's reforms (Cline, 2012). As time passed, sarcasm in format and tone conveyed hostility in the Russian outlet. In 2009, overt criticism was driven by the economic downturn and nostalgia for stability associated with the Soviet era.

Similarly, Song and Lee (2019) found that the remembrance focused on the anti-Communist ideology even if the Fall had been stripped of its historical context. Anniversary coverage drew primarily on the memory of correspondents who had covered the cases, and the events in Germany were celebrated as a triumph for Western democracy and human rights. In conclusion, research has shown that the relationship between news media and memory is exceptional due to the ability to not only influence but also shape and control the content of memory on a large scale based on ideological and social-political contexts.

2.2.2 Journalism in the age of Social Media

It has become evident that technology has transformed the communications industry from its practices established in the 20th century (van Dijk, 2013). As Pavlik (2000) remarks, "journalism has always been shaped by technology" (p. 229), and the advent of social media has not had any different effect. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) define the term as technologies, apps, and platforms that facilitate communication, collaboration, and sharing of content through the Internet. Its incorporation by the news industry started in the transitional period from the Web 1.0 phase to Web 2.0 (Bossio, 2017) when professionals and organizations adapted to a 24-hour newsroom and acquired competencies to produce for multiple platforms and optimize their services. Moreover, users became "people who are not only consuming these discourses but who are also creating and shaping them" (Valentini & Kruckberg, 2016, p. 4061).

Social media can now be described as commonplace (Broersma & Elridge, 2019), yet Boczkowski (2004) outlines that scholars have characterized the culture of newsrooms as "reactive, defensive, and pragmatic tendencies" (p. 51) while confronted with this new influence. This behavior can be better understood by highlighting the logic of both parts. According to Schudson (1978), the scientific methodology of journalism historically emphasized factors such as distance, verification, neutrality, and objectivity as its backbones. Nonetheless, these norms clashed with social media's principles of proximity, immediacy, sharing orientation, engagement-driven (Bruns & Nuernberg, 2019), programmability, popularity, connectivity, and datafication (van Dijck & Poell, 2013). Despite the initial friction, they have become attached to the media practices, "sometimes enhancing it, sometimes undercutting or replacing parts of it" (van Dijck & Poell, 2013, p. 11). This relationship gained momentum in the mid-2000s with the platforms such as Myspace, Facebook, and Twitter.

On the positive side, these changes embody a possibility for news institutions to publish their content in a faster way and expand their reach. Contrariwise, social media users can curate and select information based on their preferences to be consumed on demand. They can bypass journalistic information and contact primary information providers (Bruns, 2003), becoming less dependent on what comes from the media. In addition, algorithms redirect and channel data online. There is, ergo, a shift in the roles performed by journalists, from gatekeeping to gatewatching (Bruns, 2003; Wallace, 2018) or gate-opening (Müller & Wiik, 2021). This change happens because "the news

gatekeeper is no longer just an individual, but an intricate set of relationships between journalists, algorithms, and platform companies" (Wallace, 2018, p. 12).

For instance, the Like button and the option to share content appear as new communication resources in the digital environment. Another example is hashtags, brief sentences, or keywords preceded by the # sign, which function as a tool to mark conversations around distinct events, issues, or topics (Bruns et al., 2016). As Bruns and Burgess (2015) noted, this mode became popular due to its ability to place a message in the context of a broader discussion and its potential to create visibility. However, their use of social media encompasses different rules across platforms (Highfield & Leaver, 2014). In the case of Instagram, it does not show the trending hashtags (Caldeira, 2023), despite allowing 30 per post. In this regard, Literat and Kligler-Vilenchik (2019) argue that the feature is not central to the app. In contrast, it is still a valuable methodological instrument for constructing datasets on specific themes.

In the information-rich environment with constant information provided by social media, Hermida (2010) suggests the emergence of "ambient journalism" (p. 297), a new form of journalism characterized by its continuous, pervasive, and always-on nature. It is perceived as an asynchronous awareness system, a computer-based communication structure whose goal is aiding individuals in constructing and sustaining awareness of one another's activities, context, or status, even when they are not in the exact physical location (Markopoulos et al., 2009). Hermida (2010, p.8) argues that "completeness of awareness is not the goal, as it would be if an individual were actively pursuing an interest in a specific news event in print, broadcast or online." Rather than inundating an individual with a ceaseless flow of information, it provides it without overwhelming them. Put simply, journalism gets embedded into the background of daily lives, distinguished by providing real-time information in a non-intrusive manner.

If, as noted by Bruns (2018), social media plays a transformative role in "the practices of professional journalism, the dissemination of news and related information" (p.1), the most significant shift lies in the expanded institutional perception of journalism as a crucial participant in news creation, rather than solely an independent authority (Bossio, 2017). Nevertheless, Neuberger and Nuernbergk (2010) point out that reporters maintain a potent influence on the news ecosystem due to their social legitimacy and exclusive access to high-level sources. In the end, despite the manifold transformations observed, journalism is more than digital technologies (Zelizer, 2019). Much about it, including its *raison d'être*, remains stable across adaptive technologies.

2.2.2.1 The Space of Instagram in the Networked World

Among social media platforms, Instagram settles in a distinguishable space, representing a substantial vogue of the current era: its image-centered design reflects the increasing importance of visual representation in digital culture (Rose, 2014). In this regard, the notion of being "Instagrammable" has evolved into a communications trend with countless pictures shared; according to Statista (2023), around 65 thousand are posted on the app every minute. Instagram arose from the void vacated by Flickr, whose inability to adapt to mobile devices left a niche open (van Dijck, 2014). Established in 2010 by Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger exclusively for iOS systems, it is "a free photo application that allows users to apply special filters and share their photos on a large number of SNS sites" (van Dijck, 2014, p. 101). Within a year of its launch, it assimilated a distinct aesthetic of Polaroid-like images with features including the Like button and hashtags to make its language congruent with the grammar of instantaneous, short-lived trends and mass followings typical of Facebook and Twitter.

As of January 2023, the platform had over one billion active profiles (Statista, 2023). The demographic composition of its audiences indicates that 8 percent of the accounts belong to people aged 13 to 15, while nearly 31 percent of users are between 18 and 24. Another 30.3 percent fell within the 25 to 34 age bracket, and the remaining 15.7 percent were in the 35 to 44-year age group. Investigating the reasons behind Instagram usage among young people, Huang & Su (2018) note maintaining relationships and forming new ones, as users can interact through comments, likes, and private messages. Sheldon and Bryant (2016) ponder that the primary motivations include "Coolness," "Creativity," "Documentation," and "Surveillance/Knowledge." For Marwick (2015), the platform is a tool for personal branding and self-expression, emphasizing personal identity and self-promotion. Such a scenario has made authors like Leung et al. (2013) consider the app proper for narcissistic tendencies.

In 2012, Facebook acquired Instagram for a hefty sum of one billion dollars, one of the most significant technology acquisitions of that time (van Dijck, 2014). Following the purchase, the company introduced a feature that allowed users to upload short clips of up to 15 seconds, expanding its use as a versatile tool for storytelling. In the subsequent year, Instagram allowed users to share multiple photos in a single post, referred to as a photo gallery. This gave users more flexibility and creative opportunities to share their experiences. In August 2016, it introduced Stories, a feature for sharing

ephemeral photos and videos that disappeared after 24 hours, similar to Snapchat, with the option to tag friends and add emojis, location, temperature, filters, and time.

The popularity of Stories enabled the company to expand its advertising and monetization options via diverse ad formats, such as sponsored posts, sponsored filters, and sponsored story ads. In addition, Instagram has instituted new features to facilitate businesses' direct commercial transactions with consumers. For instance, the company has integrated shopping tags, allowing users to purchase directly from the accounts they follow and helping sellers reach their customer base (Sánchez-Cobarro et al., 2020). Video introduction efforts gained force in the past five years. The insertion of live streaming and the creation of the IGTV standalone app in 2018 was praised as "Instagram's bravest update yet" (Phelan, 2018). It allowed creators to share extended videos, up to 50 minutes in length, and engage with their audience in real time, aiming to serve as a mobile equivalent to YouTube.

Exploring the moving image field, the platform announced Reels, "a new way to create and discover short, entertaining videos" (Instagram, 2020, para.1), on 5 August 2020. However, it was not that innovative, but an attempt to counterattack TikTok. With this feature, the company discontinued IGTV on 1 March 2022, merging all the videos into its app and focusing on Reels creation. Instagram (2022) justified it, citing "that younger audiences are spending more time with amateur content creators and less time with professionals" (para. 2). Notably, the platform has evolved into a highly influential medium. Its image-centric design and user-friendly interface have made it famous; however, its continued success and growth will likely depend on its ability to adapt to trends and provide businesses with new opportunities to reach consumers.

2.2.2.2 Praxis and Research on Journalism on Instagram

In recent years, Instagram has seen an increase in its use by journalistic companies to reach new audiences, tell visual stories, and engage with their followers (Bruns, 2018). News organizations have been active on the platform for several years, but it was in 2012 that most relevant reporters, bloggers, editors, and media outlets established accounts, as Reinsberg (2012, para. 3) writes. She notes that, from the beginning, there was a lucrative intersection between the app and traditional photojournalism. For instance, Getty Images and Associated Press (AP) sold shots of fashion and sports events, usually taken by cell phones or professional cameras applying

a "faux-Instagramming" (Reinsberg, 2012, para. 5) method, exclusively for sharing on the platform. In AP's coverage of the Republican and Democratic conventions in 2012, it prepared a feature "in a dynamic grid design, capturing candid moments at the conventions using Instagram" (Associated Press, 2012, para. 10).

More than a decade after the creation of Instagram, it is going through a period of deeper exploration by journalistic enterprises. Newman et al. (2023) signal that efforts will concentrate on visual content, with publishers indicating that "they'll be paying much less attention to Facebook (-30 net score) and Twitter (-28) this year and will instead put much more effort into TikTok (+63), Instagram (+50), and YouTube (+47), all networks that are popular with younger people" (Newman et al., 2023, p. 5). Still, scholarship on journalism, journalists, and news predominantly focuses on Twitter (Araujo & van der Meer, 2020; Bruns et al., 2020; Harrington et al., 2013; Hermida, 2010; Jukes, 2019; Lasorsa et al., 2012; Lindgren & Lundström, 2011; Poell & Borra, 2012; Valenzuela et al., 2018) and Facebook (Bailo et al., 2021; Carlson, 2018; Lamot et al., 2022; Lischka, 2021; Meese & Hurcombe, 2021; Venturini & Rogers, 2019).

Even though there has been growing research on Instagram, most centered on user engagement and motivations (Sheldon & Bryant, 2015; Ferwerda et al., 2016; Thomson & Greenwood, 2017), the impact on self-esteem and self-image (DiBisceglie & Arigo, 2021; Duguay, 2018; Jiang & Ngien, 2020; Kim, 2020; Moore & Craciun, 2021; Tiggemann & Anderberg, 2020), or political communication (Boulianne & Larsson, 2023; Lindholm et al., 2021; Peng, 2021; Pineda et al., 2022). Empirical studies examining news and commemoration still need to be included. In one of the first studies regarding the app and journalism, Alper (2014) focuses on the ethics of aestheticizing war photography and the boundaries between professional and amateur, reporting and editorializing. Discussing the usage of filters and enhancing tools, the author argues that it is part of the shifting nature of digital photography, adding that people using "are trying to make their images look more shareable and interesting, particularly considering the dullness and graininess in the iPhone's image-making functionality" (Alper, 2014, p. 1239).

Similarly, Borges-Rey (2017) investigates how the interconnection between technological advancements, professional photojournalism, citizen imagery, and individual viewpoints influence the creation of a hyperreality. Borges-Rey (2017) points out similar behaviors in professional and citizen photojournalists regarding traditional production techniques like composition rules. On the other hand, "the reiterated,

increased and synchronous use of contrast enhancement, color saturation or desaturation, pixellation, blurriness, sharpness and faded vignettes (...) by both collectives, creates a set of simulations that challenge conventions of realism and objective reporting typical of traditional photojournalism" (Borges-Rey, 2017, p. 584).

Seyidov and Özoran (2020) examine news values in Turkish newspapers to show that, generally, stories referring to power are the most shared, followed by those with negativity. Such factors also influence views and interactivity as they were the most commented posts and viewed videos. In addition, "videos are key components of Instagram news as the photos are more subsidiary. Another finding is that written language is employed to introduce the news" (Seyidov & Özoran, 2020, p. 199). Similarly, Greer and Ferguson (2017) reference news values in their content analysis of posts on profiles of local TV news stations in the United States to discover the most common types of shared content; news and promotion were the main categories published. The number of likes and comments was higher in front-stage posts (focused on the news and the community) than backstage (behind-the-scenes, outlet promotion, and imagery unconnected to news).

Boundary research has been conducted by Perreault and Hanusch (2022), who analyze how lifestyle journalists from Austria and the United States differentiate their labor from influencers, underscoring the perceived criteria of newsworthiness and normative values and conventions of journalism as pivotal points. The authors argue that journalists conduct boundary work "to protect their autonomy. They used language that highlighted their independence from their audiences as well as their advertisers while arguing that this independence did not exist among influencers" (Perreault & Hanusch, 2022, p. 13). Despite blurred lines, journalism is still discerned by its perceived neutrality, broader audience, critical outlook, and independence, while the social media figures are in the field's periphery.

3 Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology employed to examine the objects of study and ensure the finding's transparency and credibility. The focal point of this thesis revolves around the remembrance of the fall of the Berlin Wall on the Instagram app. This occasion, acknowledged as an influential event, assumes profound significance as a turning point through the end of the Cold War, reunifying a previously fractured nation (Rutland, 1999) and reconfiguring the global order (Sonnevend, 2016). As such, it is a prominent case of inquiry in the field of memory. However, in consonance with a lack of research on how media enterprises use social media in commemoration and their role as memory meaning-makers, studies on memorializing this event in the social media environment still need to be expanded. Considering such circumstances, this thesis aims to answer the following research question:

What meanings sustaining collective memory about the Berlin Wall are referred to and upheld in the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Fall on Instagram?

I focus on seven Instagram profiles: Deutsche Welle (@dwnews, Germany), RT (@rt, Russia), France 24 (@France24, France), BBC News (@bbcnews, the United Kingdom), Time Magazine (@time, the United States of America), Folha de São Paulo (@folhadespaulo, Brazil), and Al Jazeera English (@aljazeeraenglish, Qatar). These outlets are primarily connected by their notable international presence, acknowledgment as leading news organizations in their regions, and strong presence on the platform. The selection of the 30th-anniversary is based on Keith's (2012) explanation that commemoration differs between major and off years. In this regard, the 2019 anniversary is the only one accessible on Instagram, given its launch in 2010. In order to explore the research questions, the forthcoming sections explain the units of study, sampling strategy, and data collection. Moreover, they elucidate the techniques and methods used to analyze the material. Shedding light on these facets serves as an underpinning for the following chapters.

3.1 Rationale for the Units of Study

The departure point for this study is examining the collective memory in major news organizations from countries directly involved in the division of Berlin: Germany, Russia (the largest nation to emerge from the USSR dissolution), France, the UK, and the United States. First, DW is the leading German non-profit international broadcaster, established in 1953 in Bonn, the capital of the former FDR. It was created by the federal tax budget as a radio, serving as part of Western German diplomatic strategies (Bericht der Bundesregierung, 2004). In 1960, it became an independent public broadcaster under the Deutsche Welle Act, operating within a specific framework. As noted by Workneh (2022, p. 325), "DW describes its strand of journalism as one that is committed to human rights, freedom of expression, and democratic values," providing television and radio channels, and a website with on-demand audiovisual.

Various typologies have been proposed to assess the Russian media system's current state, from "neo-Soviet" (Oates, 2007, p. 1279) to "neo-authoritarian." Vartanova (2011) refers to it as a "statist commercialized model" (p. 119) due to the strong bond between the State and media. This connection is exemplified by the government's creation of RT (former Russia Today) in 2005, aimed at promoting a favorable perception of the country. Nevertheless, Elswah and Howard (2020) expose that it has actively fostered skepticism towards the West, its media, agendas, and values. Nowadays, RT "is the most richly funded, well-staffed, formal organization in the world producing, disseminating, and marketing news in the service of the Kremlin" (Elswah & Howard, 2020, p. 625). It is valid to note that after the invasion of Ukraine in 2022, the Council of the European Union suspended RT's broadcasting services in its area.

In the French media panorama, France 24, a state-owned media organization, constitutes a global voice for the Nation (Blet, 2008). Officially launched in 2006, the channel resulted from a private and public partnership between TF1 group and France Television. However, it was fully incorporated by the holding Audiovisuel Extérieur de la France, current France Médias Monde, two years later (Blet, 2008). Its creation was impacted by events such as the Gulf War and the attacks of September 11, which "caused the logic of the prominence of international information to begin to impose itself in France" (Ouchiha, 2016, p. 139). The foundation of the channel marked a turning point in the country's audiovisual strategy, moving from cultural to more politicized informational content (Ouchiha, 2016).

The BBC is globally recognized for its journalistic benchmark, emphasizing "balanced, objective, and diverse viewpoints" (Stiglitz, 2017, p. 13). This is attributed to its unique framework of public service broadcasting (Nelson, 2017), prioritizing unbiased information and journalistic excellence over commercial or partisan interests. Nielsen (2017) highlights the role of historical legacy, editorial guidelines, and regulatory oversight in maintaining the BBC's reputation. Likewise, Time's prominence in the media landscape justifies its selection. Angeletti and Oliva (2010) call it the world's most influential magazine, while Dumitrica and Jones (2020, p. 252) recognize it as a "landmark cultural producer" aligned with a neoliberal ideology (Grainge, 2002). Besides, Time is renowned for adapting to cultural and technological shifts, and for its authoritative and accurate coverage of current international affairs (Golan, 2006).

As the Fall had a global significance and scholars have yet to empirically compare how global media events are commemorated (Song & Lee, 2019), including organizations from other countries was the next step. The first is my hometown, Brazil. Although not directly involved in the Cold War, it offered support to countries in its region facing communist threats and received North-American economic and military aid. I chose Folha de São Paulo, founded in 1960 and praised as a quality newspaper defending pluralism, non-partisanship, analytical journalism, and independence (Kushnir, 2011). It pioneered computerizing newsrooms in Brazil and did the same with social media. According to Longhi and Pagoto (2021), the company's profile on Instagram provides fast, dynamic information with a design that captures attention.

Finally, Qatar was chosen due to its geographical and cultural detachment from the Berlin Wall and its emergence as "a global hub and a central pivot of globalization" (Kamrava, 2013, p. 1). The country is the homeland of Al Jazeera, the leading communication vehicle in the Arab world (Kessar et al., 2021). The Qatari Royal family established the broadcaster in 1996 and launched its Arabic news portal on January 1, 2001, followed by the English version in 2006. three models have emerged to classify the channel political agency: promoting Arabism and political Islam (Cherribi, 2006); catalyzing change, freedom, and democracy (Alalawi, 2015); and serving the interests of the State (Al-Sadi, 2012). Still, neither detractors nor supporters can contest that it has become a powerful competitor to major Western networks (Bedri, 2015). The English profile was chosen since I do not speak Arabic and translation was avoided. Considering the previous explanations, the next section focuses on collecting the posts.

3.2 Data Collection

Purposive sampling, whose fundamental idea is to identify cases containing substantial information to address the research inquiry (Schreier, 2018), has been used. It aims to produce a relevant sample and involves reviewing and studying all instances that satisfy a pre-established criterion of significance (Patton, 2001). The collection was made via the online service Export Comments, which creates spreadsheets that include details, such as "Likes count," "Comments count," "Date created," "Caption," and "URL" for each profile included. In recent years, a grown number of studies has used this resource, like Purwaningrum et al. (2021) and Schröter (2022),

After getting the spreadsheet for the accounts, I manually filtered them in the "Caption" column using the keywords "Fall of the Berlin Wall," "Mauerfall," "Berlin Wall," and "#BerlinWall." The posts with the wording were copied into a workbook. I then proceeded to a second screening on the spreadsheet to check possible missing entrances, now with the expressions "Fall," "Berlin," "Reunification," and "Germany"; new results were added to the workbook. For the Brazilian and French media, I used Portuguese and French wording. This procedure was completed in May. Although this work does not constitute a quantitative analysis, it is essential to highlight that the workbook contained 72 posts referring to the Berlin Wall. Table 1 shows the division.

Table 1.

Posts Referring to the Berlin Wall in the Selected Instagram Accounts

n Sample	Media Outlet	Date Joined Instagram
43	Deutsche Welle	August 2017
10	France 24	January 2012
5	BBC	September 2011
7	Time	June 2011
4	Folha de São Paulo	August 2011
3	Al Jazeera English	April 2012

Note: Created by the author.

Due to a limitation on the scraping of RT[1], I also applied a manual approach scrolling down the profile to include its posts in the sample. One single entrance was detected on 9 November 2019, and it was incorporated into the workbook. As coverage often revolves around episodes that happened 'on this very same day x years ago' (Zelizer, 2008), posts shared on the 30th anniversary were extracted from the workbook. Still, outlets can commemorate on different dates. In this regard, two media had their posts collected from other dates: Time on 1 November 2019 and Folha on 18 October 2019. In the end, 11 posts formed the analysis corpus, as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2.

Instagram Posts Used in the Analysis

Code for reference	Media	Link
DW1	Deutsche Welle	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4o9JiPo0C9/
DW2	Deutsche Welle	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4pSnfsHQlb
DW3	Deutsche Welle	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4p8epdIY3_/
DW4	Deutsche Welle	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4qDnNnoKMg/
RT	RT	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4qEerAh6n4/
FR1	France 24	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4ox7HRIyNl/
FR2	France 24	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4pcOPuobua/
BBC	The BBC	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4o8fMWHgsE/
TIM	Time	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4Uu2t8gTEw/
FSP	Folha de São Paulo	https://www.instagram.com/p/B3wBjpAA9II/
AJE	Al Jazeera English	https://www.instagram.com/p/B4otgUMlFLR/

Note: Created by the author.

This research classifies a post on Instagram as a message made of different modes — ways of communicating that have their own grammar and rules and can be used to create meaning in conjunction with others (Scollon & Levine, 2004). Thus, the textual aspect (caption and hashtags) and the visual (photograph or video) were considered in each post. On this note, seven of the 11 publications are photo galleries,

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1 RT's scraping resulted in an error; hence, it is not included in Table 1 and not possible to know how many posts it has about the Fall. The support team at Export Comments said that "Instagram occasionally imposes limitations on post availability, resulting in the retrieval of only a limited number of posts" (Personal communication, 2023).

two are single images, and two are videos. Regarding the carousels, only the first image was analyzed as it holds a unique position providing the initial impression and often setting the entire tone. Analyzing it enables understanding how it captures attention, engages viewers, and establishes the narrative. Also, this allows for a more concentrated examination of the signs, symbols, and meanings conveyed within that image.

3.3 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

This research utilizes Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) as the analysis method. Multimodality, as explored by Machin (2016), examines how different modes, like text, image, and sound, collaborate to create meaning. For him, authors use visual and linguistic elements in combinations that best convey their intended message. Assessing them separately would reveal partial meanings, but together, they form a connected cultural resource for meaning-making. In this regard, all modes "are seen as equal, potentially, in their capacity to contribute meaning to a complex semiotic entity" (Kress, 2011, p.38). Jones (2021, p.3) summarizes that MCDA "focuses on how meaning is made through the use of multiple modes of communication as opposed to just language." In its applicability, this method combines principles and practices from Critical Discourse Analysis with Social Semiotics to investigate text and images.

Regarding the first, Pêcheux (1982) puts that it is a process of deconstruction, construction, and understanding which considers marks prior to the materialized discourse — the text — considering the contact of the social with the linguistic. In other words, it comprises a movement from the written word to the external and previous context in which it is inserted. An important aspect is identifying discursive formations (Pêcheux, 1982) — a region of meanings circumscribed by an interpretative limit that excludes what would invalidate that meaning. It is, therefore, the projection of meanings in the statement. As Orlandi (1999) explains, DA does not work in the grammatical or linguistic field alone but in the practice of interdiscursivity because languages themselves are neither innocent nor inconsequential; in reflecting reality, they refract it. There is always, intended or not, a transfiguration, an obliqueness to what they refer to.

When analyzing visual imagery, it is crucial to recognize its inherent intentionality (Rose, 2001). The first step is a compositional interpretation, which "claims to look at images for 'what they are' rather than for, say, what they do or how they were or are used" (Rose, 2001, p. 34). This includes documenting fundamental

elements such as content, color, spatial organization, lighting, and expressive content. On the other hand, moving images can be characterized by their mise-en-scene, montage, sound, and narrative structure. However, such "good eye" (Rogoff, 1998, p.17) descriptive analysis has limitations since it disregards the significance of social practices; thus, it must be complemented by other approaches. In this thesis, notions from semiology are applied, as it "confronts the question of how images make meanings head on" (Rose, 2001, p. 69).

As a starting point, the concept of sign (Saussure, 1916) entails a two-fold relationship comprising the signifier (the form of the sign) and the signified (its meaning). As Eco (1977) articulates, "signs are correlated with what they stand for on the basis of a rule or a convention" (p. 3). Barthes (1967) states three layers of meaning in these elements: the denotative, the connotative, and the mythical. The denotative level represents the most fundamental, formed by the relationship between the signified and the signifier. The connotative one emerges from the connection between the first system of signification and a new meaning (Barthes, 1967). Lastly, the mythological layer delves into the underlying ideology or belief system promoted.

MCDA, being relatively new, faces limitations. Some traditional linguists may question its inclusion of nonlinguistic signs, preferring a focus solely on language (Feng, 2017). Besides, there are misunderstandings about the procedures, such as the urge to rigidly apply visual grammar as a universal norm, leading to incorrect analysis. Another misconception is that researchers disassociate the multimodal discourse from context and cognition and describe the details of the text rigidly, resulting in analysis for analysis's sake without knowing what the analysis is worth (Feng, 2017). Therefore, research should describe nonlinguistic symbols from the micro level and systematically explain social and cultural phenomena from the macro level (Jewitt, 2009). The lack of a standardized framework is another challenge, resulting in researcher variations in methodologies and interpretations (Machin et al., 2016). For this research, drawing on Machin et al. (2016) and Machin and Mayr's (2012) studies, a framework for analysis has been defined as follows in the next page.

1. **Identify the different modes:**
   a. Identify and document the different modes used in the Instagram posts. Modes can include written text, images, videos, hashtags, emojis, and other multimodal elements.

2. **Examine the lexical semiotic choices:**
   a. Identify discursive formation and lexical semiotic choices by considering connotations, metaphors, overlexicalisation, suppression, structural oppositions, and choice of words in the text. Pay attention to the selection of speakers, speech acts, grammatical features, and substitution techniques.
   b. Consider the sociocultural and historical implications of the language used. Explore how these choices contribute to the overall meaning.

3. **Provide compositional interpretation:**
   a. Perform a descriptive analysis following Rose's (2001) compositional interpretation by examining key components such as its content, color, spatial organization, light and expressive content. If moving images are included, their mise-en-scene, montage, sound and narrative structure.
   b. Pay attention to how these elements contribute to constructing meaning.

4. **Consider the semiotic choices in constructing social memory:**
   a. Examine the ideologies embedded in the posts by analyzing the visual semiotic choices made. Investigate what is explicitly and implicitly said about society, power relations, and the fall of the Berlin Wall.
   b. Consider the de/recontextualisation of memories and narratives surrounding the event. Assess any biases, representations, or possible exclusions.

5. **Analyze the affordances across modes:**
   a. Compare and contrast the communication of different modes, identifying differences and relationships between them.

This analysis schema provides a robust approach to exploring memory, representation, and meaning-making within the context of Instagram. By systematically applying this schema, it is possible to gain valuable insights into the meanings referred to and upheld in the memories and recordings shared within the 30th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall on Instagram. Based on the provided methodological procedures, the subsequent chapter showcases the findings of the study.

4. Analysis

In this chapter, I present the analysis of the 11 Instagram posts, delving into the meanings they referred to and upheld about the Berlin Wall on the 30th anniversary of its fall. The chapter is structured into subchapters dedicated to each media outlet, providing a comprehensive exploration of the material from that company. This organization gives a deeper understanding of how the event is remembered and represented by different media outlets. Ultimately, the research question is answered with a schematization of the meanings found in the publications.

Following the initial phase of the analytical framework proposed, I observe that all posts contained hashtags. For instance, #berlinwall #MurdeBerlin, #fallofthewall, #fallofthewall30, #30jahremauerfall, and #peacefullrevolution directly pertains to the event, facilitating their content discovery and aggregation in the digital discussion. Additionally, hashtags such as #oberbaumbruecke, #kreuzberg, #friedrichshain, #spree, #berlin, and #germany enable spatial localization. Bruns and Burgess (2015) emphasize that hashtags significantly generate visibility and filter audiences. This is seen when Folha employs #folha, #folhadespaulo, and #fsp, and when DW uses #dwnews to promote their content and engage with their respective views. Interestingly, Time uses #Barbie, in an attempt to promote the content since the brand is well known, and this hashtag might have high visibility. Finally, I mention the inclusion of tags of terms related to the macro-political panorama of the wall, such as #ColdWar, #EastWest, and #reunification. After this note, this chapter proceeds with the individual analysis.

4.1 Deutsche Welle

Given the extensive nature of DW's commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Fall, with four publications shared on the date only, the section has been divided into subsections, each focusing in-depth on one specific post.

4.1.1 DW1

The first post from the German broadcaster (Figure 1) is a photo gallery containing four pictures of the night the Wall was breached. The text employs words with specific connotations to evoke emotions and highlight the significance of the moment. For example, "misread announcement" suggests unpredictability, highlighting,

and accidental nature. At the same time, "thousands ran straight to the guarded border crossings" creates a sense of urgency and excitement. Remarkably, "shocked the world" elicits surprise and astonishment, underscoring Schabowski's declaration's unexpectedness and the global impact. These factors contribute to the transformative nature of the event. Furthermore, the post underlines the concept of freedom in this context when it provides words such as "free to travel," "poignantly marking the end of German division," and "once again unified." This point is particularly interesting to the construction of the opposition between an authoritative East and a free West.

Figure 1

First Instagram Post from Deutsche Welle
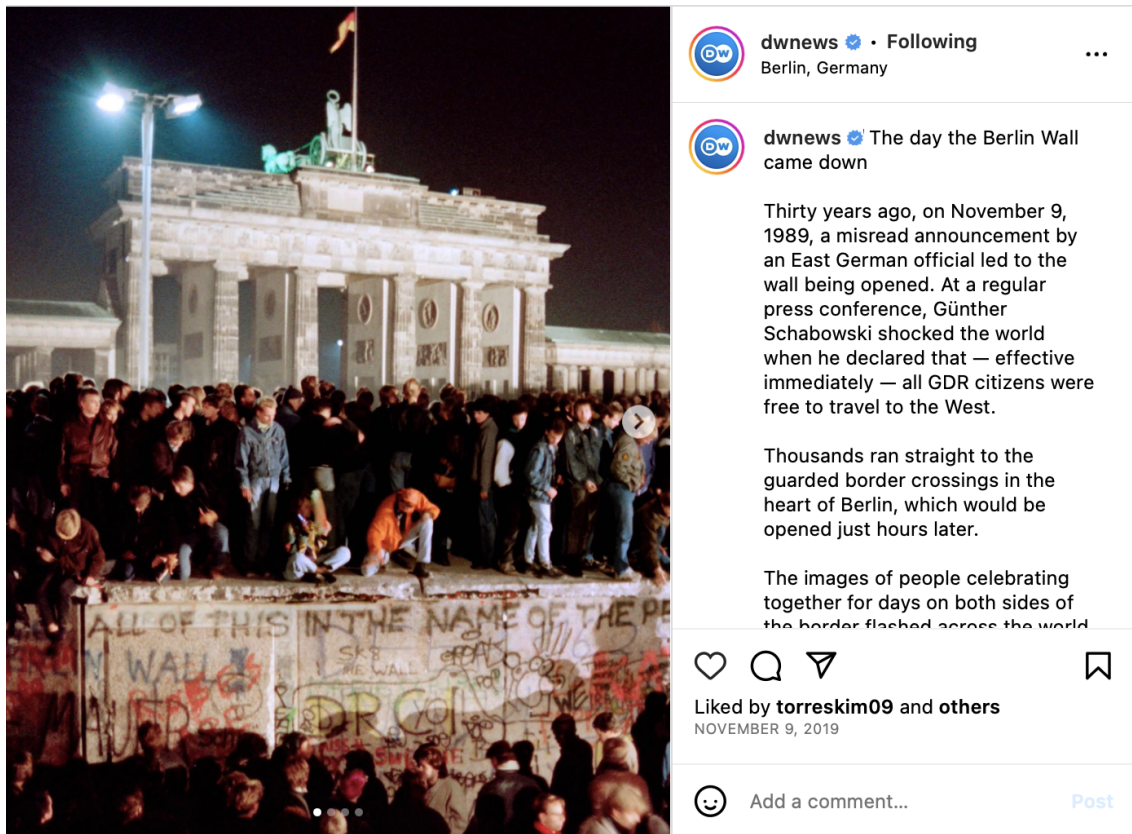
Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023.

The emphasis on "people running to the guarded border crossings" and the "images of celebration on both sides of the wall" highlight a sense of togetherness, shared experience, unity, and collective significance. This structure is applied to endorse a shared identity and a desire for reunification, foregrounding the power of human

connection in overcoming divisions. By bringing forth these connotations, the post shapes a positive recollection. Likewise, it uses approving adjectives, such as "poignant" and "positive," which help to create a praising memory. One notable instance is "flashed across the world," which suggests the swift and widespread dissemination of images. It draws upon the conceptual metaphor of light as knowledge, awareness, or even freedom among the darkness, here possibly the communist regime in the East, advocating for the liberal Western democracy. In this context, it can be seen as promoting values and ideals, such as freedom, democracy, and peace. Such wording narrates the global impact and significance of the event, bringing the German division to the forefront of international consciousness. Likewise, it connotes immediacy, as "flash" implies intensity and adds depth to the narrative of a pivotal moment.

DW1 does not delve into the broader factors that contributed to the erection of the Wall. However, the post promotes further exploration by inviting readers to access a special on the topic through the link in the "bio" section, expanding the content and possibly the meanings upheld. In addition, it references Günther Schabowski. By mentioning this speaker, an individual agency and the unintentional nature of the announcement are highlighted. DW1 situates the event within a timeframe and adds temporal clarity using simple past and past perfect tenses. The strategic use of active and passive voices serves different rhetorical purposes. The first accentuates the participation of individuals and groups, conveying a sense of dynamism and direct involvement, bringing attention to the people's critical roles during that time (i.e., "Günther Schabowski shocked the world"). On the other hand, the passive voice (i.e., "the Wall beyond opened") creates a more detached and objective tone, emphasizing the significance of the Fall itself rather than the individuals who made it possible.

Considering the visual affordance of DW1, it depicts a segment of the Wall in front of the Brandenburg Gate. As noted by Hariman and Lucaites (2009), while no single image can fully encapsulate the entirety of the Fall, a compilation of photographs assumes the role of iconic representations. The selected image by DW exemplifies this notion. In the foreground, the Wall with vividly colored graffiti in stark contrast to the raw grayness of its concrete. A crowd is perceptible atop and at the base: some people crouching, others standing, which indicates movement. The aerial perspective from which the image is captured allows for an appreciation of the proportions of its various elements. The equilibrium achieved within the composition generates a sense of stability while enhancing the perceived depth and perspective.

In this depiction, we can observe individuals involved in collective action; the acts are less significant than the social reality of occupying and transforming the space, effectively redefining the barrier. Their mere presence in a place once known for division is a testament to their fearlessness. Notably, the prominence of the Brandenburg Gate in the background ensures that the State retains a central role in defining German identity. However, it occupies a secondary position in Fall: the people take center stage of the picture, hence the historical moment. While the caption refers to "people celebrating together on both sides," the photo illustrates this description.

According to Hariman and Lucaites (2009), the use of color in images is impactful in capturing the transformative nature of the Fall, surpassing the effect of previous monochromatic depictions of the Wall. In this photograph, color highlights the graffiti, which previously served as an aesthetic and political counterpoint to authoritarianism but now symbolizes freedom. Additionally, the absence of imagery depicting the destruction of the border further reinforces the narrative of a peaceful transition (Czachur, 2011) into liberation. The post implies a power dynamic between the people and the regime that imposed the Wall, framing the Fall as a victory for the masses; hence a positive shift in society by emphasizing collective joy. While it strives to provide a factual account, it may exclude a nuanced understanding of the historical context and long-term implications of the Fall. Likewise, the photo presents a celebratory memory that accentuates unity, closure, and the people's agency.

4.1.2 DW2

DW2 (Figure 2) is a historical context (Edy, 1999) example, as the 3'48" video focuses on the impact of the Fall on the shrinking of the population in former East Germany. In the caption, "I'm afraid that we will be a ghost town in twenty years," seizes the anxiety many people feel and conjures images of an abandoned and lonely place that implicitly contrasts with a prosperous West. The unidentified quotation leaves readers questioning its author and the validity of the fears. In addition, the video's cover image shows a long shot of two elderly people walking in front of a building with orange tiles, which evokes the idea that the current population in the region is made of older individuals, implying youngsters do not want to stay there.

Figure 2

Second Instagram Post from Deutsche Welle
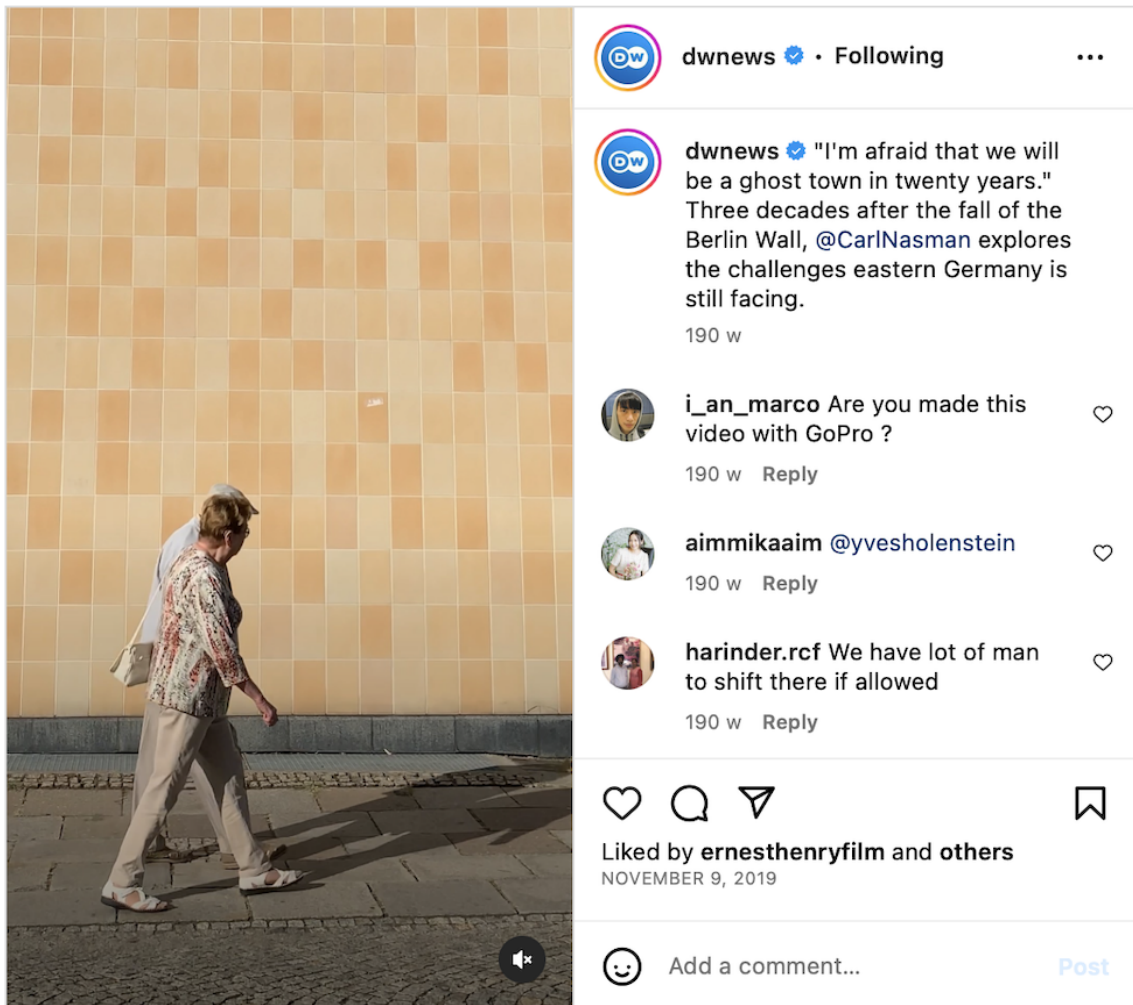
Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023.

The video has a wide variety of shots (Monaco, 2000) contributing to its flow, while the unmarked, faded, or dissolved cuts add a sense of proximity, intimacy, and raw documentation. The Reels opens with a close-up of the journalist's face. The transcript of his speech appears in white on the screen: "I'm here in former East Germany, and I'm looking… (dramatic pause) for people". As he talks, images of these places illustrate his speech, for instance, "I'm in the main station," "Downtown," and "Everything is graffitied." The host, Carl Nasman, is introduced only at 0'17". He says: "Third years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Eastern Germany's population is still shrinking." The video resumes with an infographic that shows GDR in red and FDR in blue, while arrows flow from the first to the latter. "In fact, the region has lost nearly two million people since 1989. Small towns across Eastern Germany are starting to fade

away. Including this one: Eisenhüttenstadt", the voiceover states.

Alexander Klotzovski is then presented and claims, "This is my hometown." As images of the two men around the city appear, the reporter says that Klotzovski "agreed to show me around his city, what's left of it. Around 25,000 people live here. That though is less than half of the population that used to be here before the Fall". At the same time, a map shows Eisenhüttenstadt's location. It follows with Klotzovski saying, "I'm afraid that we will be a ghost town in 20 years". "Ghost town" is highlighted in blue. The following phrase is meaningful: "It's not a ghost town yet, but you can still feel the ghosts here of the former GDR." The word "ghost" has several connotations. In "a ghost town," it refers to the emptiness of the place. When it comes to the GDR, it has a metaphorical intent that implies that remnants of the regime are still hunting the present, invoking a lingering presence that makes people leave for the West, as the first infographic indicates. In such a manner, the problems in the Eastern part country are seen as fruits of the division. Nonetheless, "still" suggests that the town is not entirely abandoned, a sign of hope.

In the sequence, Klotzovski adds, "It is sad, but that's the story of a city after 1990." This acknowledges a prevailing disappointment linked to the transformations that have occurred. The contrast between "it is sad" and the subsequent "that's the story of a city after 1990" implies a cause-and-effect relationship, suggesting that the sadness stems from the events unfolding that year. This phrase can be interpreted in two distinct ways. Firstly, it may reflect nostalgia for the pre-1990 era, alluding to the city before reunification. Alternatively, the speaker may be referring to the treatment received after 1990, hinting at neglect by the government and adverse impact on the economy. The second vision is later confirmed when he affirms:

> I am afraid of the future. I want to live here. I want to plan my future here. But if there is no future for the city, then I have to leave. We are the forgotten ones. The people here don't get the same pension. They don't get the same money for the same work. And the people see it in the newspaper, in statistics. (Klotzovski, 2019, as cited by DW, 2019, 2'11")

The reporter, with its established authoritative social position (Zelizer, 1992), and the citizen, bringing a sense of the impact into ordinary people's lives, are the main

characters structuring the narrative. However, Felix Rösel, a Political Scientist at IF Institute, is introduced in a recorded online interview. His presence as an expert gives credibility to the argument (Edy, 1999) and helps build the historical context :

> There's hardly any European country or region which is as depopulated as eastern Germany. Six out of 10 industrial jobs were lost after reunification. So, a lot of people left the East, but almost all migration goes to the West. Basically, nobody is going to eastern Germany. (Rösel, 2019, as cited by DW, 2019, 1'22")

"Depopulated" implies a sense of abandonment and contributes to the overall narrative of Eastern Germany being overlooked. The mention of migration predominantly flowing towards the West re inforces the notion of a persistent divide, with the West seen as more desirable. This language reinforces the narrative of the Eastern's struggles in the aftermath of reunification. The video proceeds with general images of deserted streets and a timeline that illustrates the population statistics for Germany's East and West regions. In 1905, the population in the East stood at 13.6 million and remained unchanged in 2019. Conversely, the West witnessed an increase from 32.6 million to 68.6 million over the same period. The narrator's voice covers this visual as it follows.

> Here's how bad it's gone. Overall, the population in the East has dipped to the same level as the year 1905. While in the West, it's more than doubled. Recently, migration between East and West has finally stabilized. But that doesn't change the fact that cities across the East are getting smaller and older. In fact, only five cities are predicted to maintain or increase their working age population. (DW, 2019, 1'44")

This passage suggests that Eastern Germany is regressing to a previous time as a sign of economic decline. It can also be seen as a metaphor for the region's loss of identity. Using the word "stabilized" suggests that the situation in Eastern Germany is no longer worsening. However, "finally" suggests the speaker believes it took too long. Within this scenario, Nasman then presents another issue in the region. "The far-right AfD party has seen some of its biggest success in cities like this one, where population has decreased the most," he says in a selfie-style video, turning the camera in to show a

poster of political candidates from the party. According to Edy (1999), constructing historical contexts implies understanding how we arrived at the present. Journalists may hesitate to establish connections between disparate events because such an approach is perceived as "interpretation," which would contradict objectivity. Thus, claims are often left for more legitimate sources (Edy, 1999). In DW2, Felix Rösel is responsible for explaining the causes behind the current situation.

> In these kinds of cities, there is no social cohesion, no glue which holds the society together. So the far-right scored there very well. And they used nostalgia, they used xenophobia. This is something that meets the depression or the disappointment very well. (Rösel, 2019, as cited by DW, 2019, 2'45")

"No social cohesion" advocates for fragmentation and a lack of shared values or bonds. The expression "glue which holds the society together" further emphasizes the idea of a cohesive force absent in these cities, suggesting a breakdown in the social fabric. The reporter's voice follows Rösel's explanation:"Since reunification, Germany has invested more than…" (coloured photo of people celebrating over the Wall), "...two trillion euros in the former East" (black and white photo of the Wall being dismantled while people celebrate). "But to save shrinking towns like Eisenhüttenstadt" (close-up footage in a hotel building), "it seems more needs to be done" (video of a train station). "Experts say that means more train service, faster internet and even something as simple as a restored ice cream parlor" (Nasman and Klotzovski walking around the city). An implicit critique indicates that despite financial investments, challenges and disparities remain. The mention of basic infrastructure and amenities emphasizes the importance of addressing fundamental needs often taken for granted in economically developed areas. This implies that more than large-scale financial investments are required to tackle underlying structural issues. Even seemingly minor elements of local culture and enjoyment play a significant role in community well-being and cohesion. The analysis suggests that capitalism, with its focus on profit and efficiency, may overlook or undervalue these aspects of local life; additional state intervention or support is necessary to address the inequalities and disparities resulting from this system.

The video ends with Klotzovski saying, "You need ideas for the city. You need a plan. What do we want in 20 years here? A ghost town? Or a city where people can imagine living here?" followed by a vignette and DW's logo "Made for minds."

Interestingly, the speaker uses "we," conveying collectivity and participation in the city's development, suggesting that the man is addressing himself and the broader community. The question on an open-ended note engages the viewers to ponder the potential outcomes and indirectly encourages the continuation of the conversation, fostering dialogue. The situational context, the identification of signs, and the discursive approach facilitated the analysis of the video.

Complementing modes encountered to devise meaning in DW3. The imagery constructs a pictorial representation of the topic as it illustrates the spoken text. It offers visual cues (empty streets symbolizing the shrinking population) or depicts specific events (when historical images are used), helping to reinforce meanings. The reporter's voice guides the narrative adding auditory information. His tone, pace, and intonation vary and convey different emotions, highlighting points and guiding the viewer's attention. For instance, the selfie style builds a sense of intimacy and immediacy, and the closing shot of Klotzovski's interview conveys nuisance as he looks directly into the camera and does not stop moving. Additionally, infographics incorporating typography, fonts, and text animations enhance the aesthetic while presenting information.

Overall, the DW2 upholds a meaning that challenges the view of the Fall as a moment of hope and optimism, a chance to be free to travel. Despite the unification, the video emphasizes an alternative framework to collective memory — one of the persistence of economic disparities, social divisions, and cultural differences. Rather than being a smooth transition towards a unified nation, the reunification process has been characterized by ongoing tensions and challenges in integrating the two regions.

4.1.3 DW3

Unlike the previous post, the third publication (Figure 3) delivers more contextual information and historical background about the Wall. It begins with a brief overview of its purpose, dimensions, and fortifications, setting the stage for understanding its significance. According to Edy (1999), the caption exemplifies media discourses that may simplify historical narratives and restrict debates about the past to the usefulness of specific comparisons. While it provides factual details, it does not delve into deeper historical analysis. Accordingly, Kitsch (2000) argues that the primary purpose of journalistic use of the past is to reaffirm existing narratives and shared experiences rather than provide new or objective knowledge.

Figure 3

Third Instagram Post from Deutsche Welle
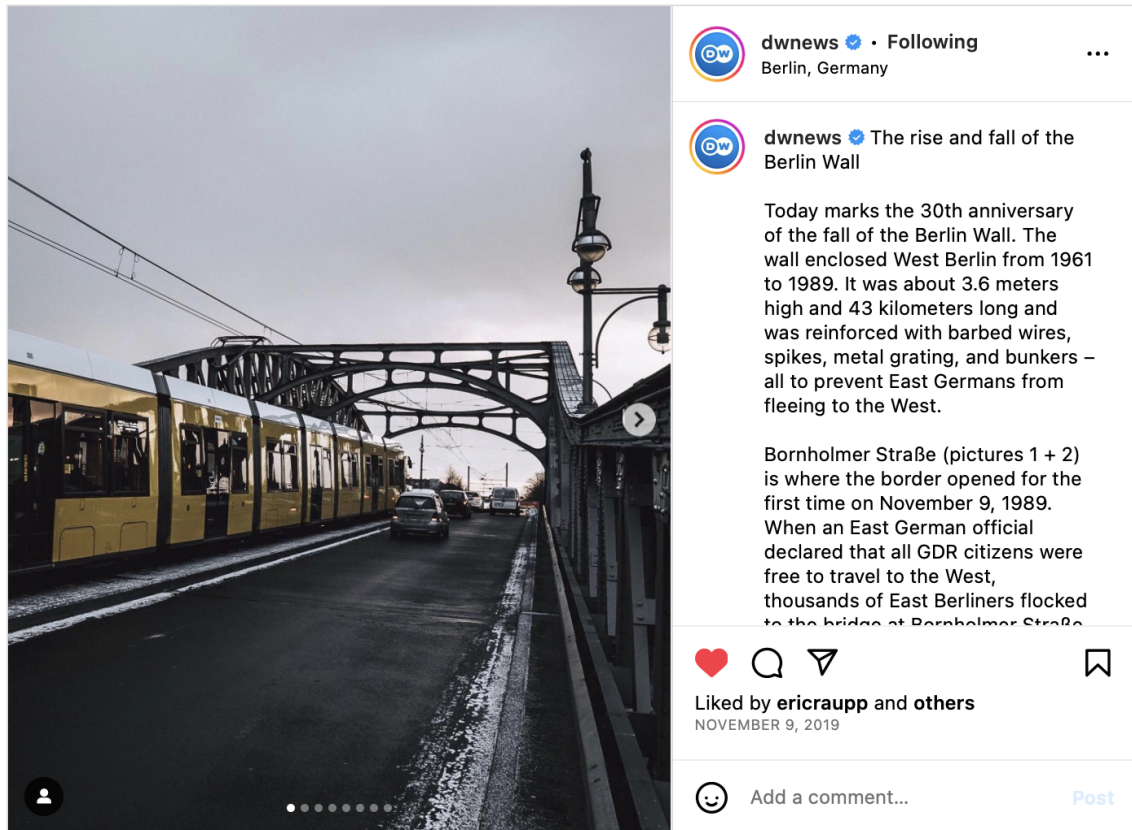
Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023.

The post is written from a clear Western perspective and reflects the view of the Wall as a repulsive force preventing people from freely moving. Terms such as "enclosed", "no man's land", and "heavily militarized" carry connotations of restriction, and evoke a sense of confinement, division, and tension. The focus on elements like "barbed wires," "spikes," and "bunkers" further highlights the oppressive nature. This overlexicalization of negative terms can be seen as a way of emphasizing the effects of the wall. In contrast, the Fall is described as a "revolution" and a "celebration"; metaphors highlight how the moment was meaningful, bringing sumptuous change and joy. By referencing specific places and providing context, DW2 evokes memories of events and activities that occurred there, triggering personal recollections for those who visited these locations. The verb "flocked" stresses the mass movement of East Berliners seeking access to the West, highlighting the transformative nature of the Fall.

The visuals in the post are a photo gallery of locations related to the Wall in the past and now. This technique can demonstrate the changes that have occurred, hence

contributing to the collective memory and historical narrative. Furthermore, as noted by Zelizer (2004), photos can evoke emotions; in this case, they invite viewers to reflect on the past and contemplate the Wall's significance in shaping the landscape of Berlin. The opening image shows Bornholmer Straße. It is a long shot with the camera at eye level, which transports the view to the location and gives a sense of immersion. Everything is in focus. The road creates a leading line directing the look towards the path, with four cars and a yellow tram in the middle ground and background. The gray from the sky mixes with the hue of the bridge and vehicles, creating a monochromatic tone.

The historical context associated with the Wall and the space ingrains the vehicles (signifiers) with a feeling of free movement (signified). Besides, the yellow tram can be seen as representing the importance of the collectivity of the people in overcoming the past — a metaphor for the reunification — and the joy brought by the Fall, as the color is associated with hope, optimism, and excitement. However, the hue can also be associated with caution signs. Considering DW's political stance, it would be a warning about the far-right movement in Germany that hinders the country's development. This post stimulates the recall of memories associated with the Wall through visual imagery, evocative and descriptive language, and references to specific locations. It highlights the oppressive nature of the barrier, and the photo gallery illustrates the passage of time, the physical transformation, and the progress made.

4.1.4 DW4

The final post from DW (Figure 4) uses an art installation in Berlin as a news peg to remember the Fall. As Connerton (1989) states, these social embodied practices are essential for transmitting collective memory as they can be seen as reaffirming a group or community's shared values and identity. The content is a neutral description of the installation, which contributes to reaffirming the narrative associated with the Fall emphasizing the transformation of the physical and symbolic landscape. Besides the stated explanation of the lights as a "symbol of the former border", they can be interpreted as a sign of the cautionary aspect of the installation, emphasizing the historical significance and the need to remember the past while moving forward.

Figure 4

The Fourth Instagram Post from Deutsche Welle
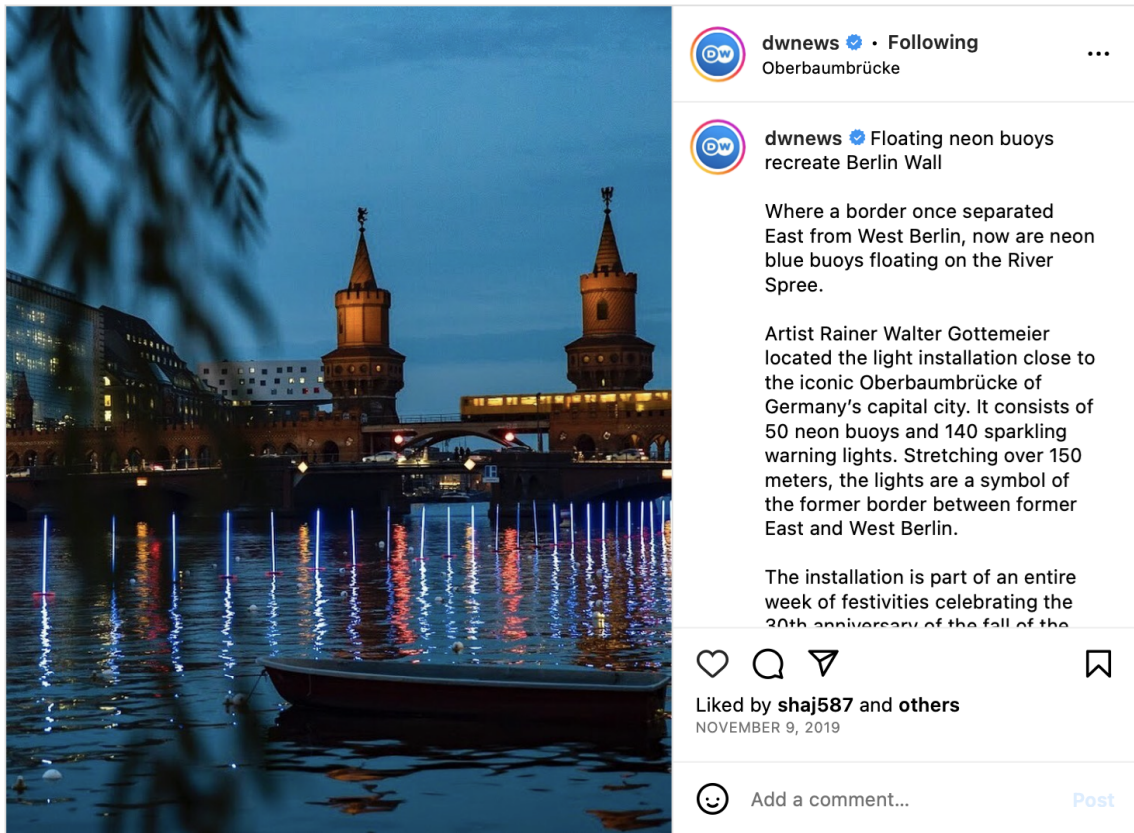
Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023.

The phrase "Where a border once separated East from West Berlin, now are neon blue buoys floating on the River Spree" does not explicitly state that the structure ran over the water, albeit it could be interpreted that way by someone unfamiliar with the history. In fact, In the region where Kreuzberg (West Berlin) and Friedrichshain (East Berlin) districts converged, the Spree delineated the border. Despite the eastern bank of the river being under the control of GDR, it was occupied by the Wall. The authorities employed measures such as patrol boats, ship barricades, and underwater chain-link fences to establish a maritime border, making it difficult to swim or boat across the border. Mentioning the length of the installation evokes the distance of the border over water and the difficulties associated with traversing it.

It showcases the art installation situated on the Spree. The blurred foreground of a tree adds depth to the image while drawing attention to the other elements within the frame, making them the focal point. A resting boat is positioned in the lower right part, serving as the first of these elements. The art installation commands attention by

occupying a significant portion of the frame with neon blue lights. This dominant hue extends from the sky to the water, enveloping the scene. The installation cuts diagonally across the photo from left to right, creating a perspective effect and guiding the viewer's gaze toward the distant Oberbaumbrücke, whose shape reflects on the water. This bridge was symbolic as one of the few crossings between East and West Berlin, representing division and separation. Now, it also symbolizes hope and freedom.

This picture assumes an aesthetic role following Instagram's visual grammar. The neon blue, which stands out among elements of a similar hue, creates a striking visual contrast that makes the main subject visually prominent. The interplay of different shades and tones contributes to a harmonious composition that adds to the visual balance. Furthermore, the picture selection can be interpreted as a choice to accentuate emotions: the presence of a blue sky holds symbolic significance, representing contrasting feelings. It can evoke peace, tranquility, and calmness while it carries undertones of sadness, loneliness, and melancholy. This dichotomy serves as a metaphorical representation of the Berlin Wall and the Fall's impact.

4.2 RT

On 9 November 2019, RT posted a video on its profile with the caption, "'Without Russia, the unification of Germany would've been impossible' — Wolfgang Kubicki, Deputy head of the Bundestag" (Figure 4). In the context of the commemoration of the Fall, the selection of this quotation to introduce the topic is provocative, as the word "impossible" suggests the indispensability of Russia in the process of German unification, meaning the West would not have been able to achieve this goal on its own. The broadcaster takes out the focus from the event. It places it on Russia, f downplaying the contributions of other nations and alluding to the persistence of the Cold War logic. Depending on the audience, this assertion could elicit solid reactions or disagreements. The phrase is credited to a German federal parliament member, conveying its social authority (Edy, 1999).

The video lasts 5'07", deviating from the typical brevity associated with social media platforms and contests the notion of passive absorption of information (Hermida, 2012). It is narrated by a well-articulated man, with paused speech and medium intonation. These attributes contribute to the serious tone conveyed. The choice of a male narrator could align with the dominant narratives and representations regarding

historical events, where traditional power dynamics and societal norms may have predominantly featured male perspectives. Also, there are still some gender stereotypes that persist in the media, such as the idea that men are more authoritative and knowledgeable than women, even though most of the working journalists in Russia are women (Pasti et al., 2012).

Figure 5

Instagram Post From RT
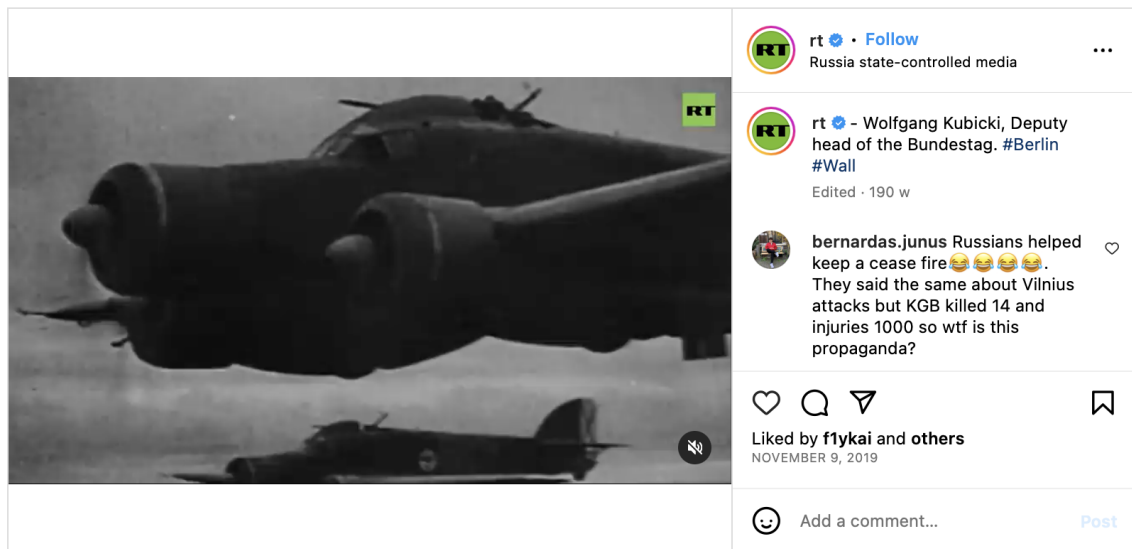
Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023.

The Reels begins recapitulating the events preceding the division of Berlin, with footage from WWII. In "After the defeat of Nazi Germany, Western Europe came to be controlled by Great Britain, France, and the United States. The eastern sector was subordinated to the USSR", the fragment "subordinated" emphasizes power dynamics, suggesting a hierarchical relationship in which the USSR exerts authority and control over the region. Notably, when the voiceover mentions "Great Britain, France, and the United States," images of soldiers with the Soviet flag are shown. Such a display sets the USSR as the primary actor in defeating Nazi Germany and nurtures a Soviet perspective on the war — this is under Elswah and Howard's (2020) view of RT as an institution promoting Russian values. The narration continues, as footage of the edifice of the barrier in different angles, such as aerial, middle-shot and long-shot, takes the screen to illustrate what is spoken:

On August 13, 1961, Berliners learned that they now live not only in two different cities, but two different countries. Overnight, the barbed wire fence had blocked off 193 streets, eight tram tracks and four metro lines. Before the border was virtually invisible, citizens could figure out for themselves what was superior, capitalism or socialism. The comparison was clearly not in the favor of the GDR. In July of 1961 alone, 30,000 people left Eastern Germany, and so the border was closed. While the ever-stretching barbed wire fence caused perplexity and confusion in some, others ran across it before the fence got higher. Brick was out to the wire, then concrete slabs. Despite the harsh security, there were plenty of people wishing to jump the fence. (RT, 2019, 0'10")

This passage exhibits an implicit comparison between two ideologies. The use of the verb "left" instead of "fled" or "escaped" transmits a sense of voluntary decision, mitigating negative connotations associated with the GDR. Also, using "Eastern Germany" rather than "East Germany" subtly accentuates a geographical difference over a political one, downplaying ideological ramifications. Moreover, the passive voice in "The border was closed" attenuates the responsible entity for the closure, concealing accountability. In this context, "perplexity" and "confusion" suggest a negative response to the fence's appearance. The phrase "ran across" indicates a quick and decisive action to overcome the barrier. Reinforcing the fence with materials like brick and concrete slabs reflects an escalation in security measures, presenting increasing challenges to those seeking to overcome it. Archival visual documentation accompanies this description, offering a glimpse of the past. Next, the video features Ronald Reagan's speech on June 12, 1987, with the memorable line, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall." This portrayal positions the Soviet leader as a figure possessing the authority and capability to dismantle the Wall. With a dramatic soundtrack, the clip transitions to images of protests until the sequence returns to Gorbachev and Reagan signing the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty on December 8, 1987.

Following the narrative, the montage transitions to a scene featuring the Deputy head of the Bundestag, Wolfgang Kubicki and a veteran politician from the German Left party Gregor Gysi. The men are seated next to each other, and despite their formal attire, the conversation takes on an informal tone. The background is an allusion to the

Wall, with painting and graffiti. The voiceover translates what Kubici says:

> Germany's reunification could not be possible without the USSR. The former citizens of the GDR also understand that without the Russians there would have been no unification of Germany, and the shootings were prevented not only by Gregor Gysi. Thanks to our friends from Russia, there were no shootings at all. (Kubici, 2019, as cited by RT, 2019; 1'20")

It is relevant to address the importance of Gysi, both mentioned in the phrase and an interviewee in the video. He was a reformist figure from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (the GDR's founding and ruling party), elected as the party chairman after the Fall of the Wall. Such background, however, is not presented in the narrator's speech. Gysi reaffirms Kubicki's words "Yes, of course, this would have been impossible without them". The video progresses with a clip of images of the dismantling of the Walk and people celebrating it, as the narrator enunciates:

> East Germany, which was part of the Soviet bloc, also known as the Warsaw Pact, was about to reunite with West Germany, which was a native member state. The Soviet Union agreed to the reunification, but on one key condition: the alliance should have by no means further expanded to the east, thus staying within the borders of 1986. (RT, 2019; 1'47")

The reference to the Warsaw Pact implies the broader geopolitical and power dynamics surrounding the reunification. The language contributes to shaping a narrative that underscores the URSS' role in controlling the terms, creating a negative image of the Intergovernmental organization and its expansion. For context, the video then displays an archive interview of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice Chancellor of Germany, who claims: "We agreed that there is no intent to expand the NATO security zone further to the east" This passage complements the narrator's speech and justifies his next point, where RT's belittling view of the West is clear: "The West agreed to it and thanked the Russians for their trust. Yet, it was just words. Since then, 12 countries joined the military bloc over 30 years." A world map is presented, showing the coalition's expansion highlighting the newly added members. At this point, the commemoration transforms into a specific interpretation of history as the

video employs fragmented depictions of the past (Bennett, 1988) to rationalize Russia's actions. Moreover, it incorporates components of historical analogies (Edy, 1999), although it does not explicitly operate as one per se. It serves as an instructive tool drawing on broken promises by the West to suggest a potential repetition. Putin's speech featured in the video illustrates this:

> Didn't they tell us after the Berlin Wall that there would be no eastward expansion of NATO? Well, they went ahead anyway and immediately. Two waves of expansion. Is that not a wall? Yes, they didn't dig it, but this is a virtual wall, and it began to be created. And what about the missile defense systems near our borders? Is that not a wall? (Putin, 2014, as cited by RT, 2019, 2'32")

Kubicki's reappearance on the screen strengthens the positive portrayal of Russia and its global role. His deliberate use of contrasting words and phrases, such as "sanctions policy" versus "we must talk to each other," accentuates the perception that the West is antagonistic towards Russia and lacks openness to dialogue.

> And the fact that the Soviet army left the GDR without any incidents is a huge achievement. The people, those who are proud of their victories in both world wars, simply let go. This is important to note. So, I can understand this attachment. (...) Assuming that the sanctions policy will allow us to resolve something, we are not doing a favor either to ourselves or to Russians. We must talk with each other, achieve mutual understanding, and then we can solve our problems. (Kubici, 2019, as cited by RT, 2019; 3'15")

Similarly, Gysi mentions the United States and implicitly criticizing the German government for aligning its policies towards Russia with America's lead, potentially acting as a subordinate. The emphasis on the importance of Russia for peace and security in Europe, juxtaposed with confrontation, suggests that the German government may need to prioritize the best interests of the country and Europe:

> In addition, Russians, and this is a fact, lost the most people in World War II, 27 million. We must not forget about it. It is a terrible tragedy. In addition, it is simply stupid not to understand that peace and security in Europe are impossible without Russia or in confrontation

with Russia. In relations with Russia, our interests differ from those of the United States. It is time to understand that. (Gysi, 2019, as cited by RT, 2019; 3'47")

During the men's discourses, footage of WWII and the Fall are displayed. They subsequently transition to people celebrating and waving the German flags, until it reaches former Chancellor Angela Merkel walking with former US President Barack Obama, as the video concludes with a scene of the German politician, accompanied by other world figures. The narrator says in a victimizing tone:

It is Americans that the Germans are celebrating the reunification anniversaries with. The US played a minor role in the fall of the Berlin Wall. The world, however, is repeatedly reminded of a famous remark former President Ronald Reagan made addressing the last Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down that wall", he said while visiting West Berlin on June 12, 1987. Today, the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, supports anti-Russian sanctions and her speeches. She prefers to leave out the Soviet Union's contribution to Germany's reunification. (RT, 2019; 4'30")

The post upholds meanings about the Wall and its context that endorse an abiding mentality of the Cold War. First, Russia was, and still is, an indispensable and rational actor in the global scene. In the past, it significantly contributed to WWII and shaped the Fall and German unification by leaving the GDR peacefully and being open for dialogue. In the present, it is portrayed as essential for keeping peace and security. Second, the West, as a constructed concept and materialized as NATO and the United States, is not trustworthy as it broke its promises. In addition, it is confrontational, for it imposes sanctions and does not recognize Russia's value in history. RT makes Russia the main object of the video, generating an anti-West propaganda narrative.

4.3 France 24

Similar to DW, France 24 prepared more than one post on the 30th anniversary: it shared two publications about the Fall. This section has hence been divided into two subsections, each concentrating on the analysis of one specific publication.

4.3.1 FR1

France 24 proposes to recall the key dates regarding the Berlin Wall in this post (Figure 6). The caption provides a concise overview of the Fall and its significance and highlights the ongoing significance of the anniversary by using "This November 9 marks", also setting up the connection with the present. When the broadcaster uses the noun "flight", it connotes a sense of escape, suggesting the desire of East Germans to leave their country and seek better opportunities in the West. Also, employing the term "occupied" instead of "controlled" emphasizes that Germany, after the war, had limited sovereignty in the areas, The mention of the exact period of division creates a sense of historical weight and addresses the prolonged impact of the division.

Figure 6

First Instagram Post from France 24

Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023. Translation of the caption reads as follows: "This November 9 marks the 30th anniversary of the fall of the #Berlin wall. A wall built to stop the flight of #Germans from the East (occupied by the Soviet bloc) to the West (occupied by the Western Allies) after the Second World War. For 28 years, 2 months and 27 days, he separated the Germans. Look back at this historic event. Follow the commemorations on www.france24.com." (Translated by the author)

Furthermore, the form "look back" acts as a call to action, prompting individuals to reflect on the ongoing process of remembering. On the other hand, the phrase "follow

the commemorations" specifically addresses users and implies that the content shared on the platform may be more concise or limited in scope. By inviting readers to consult its Website, FR1 suggests a more comprehensive exploration can be found there. Rather than using an archival image in the publication, the it uses a current one and repurposes it, preparing an illustration with texts and collages, creating a specific visual identity for the remembrance. Neiger et al. (20119) note that commemorations allow journalists to break away from routine and create unique features, as evident in this publication.

The featured image prominently displays a greenish Trabant — a small, two-door hatchback car that became an iconic stamp of the GDR — with an orange roof. The vehicle is seen from the side, and the viewpoint is level with the ground. In the background, the remnants of the Wall assert themselves within the frame. They are adorned with various drawings. On the right side, the artwork is not fully visible as it is faded and covered by graffitis. On the left, on a pale aquamarine background, there is a drawing of a Trabant facing forward as if it is breaking through — the plaque says "Nov-9-89". The actual automobile in front of it and France24's choice to use it does not come free of intentions. The Trabant, known for its durability despite its limitations, can symbolize the East Germans' perseverance.. The painting would then epitomize the resilience of those who longed to traverse the border: the vehicle can be comprehended as a representation of the unification, as it is now on the side. It materializes the action in the mural and embodies of East German culture, evoking respect for it.

In this photo, the phrase "La chute du mur" (The Fall of the Wall) is positioned slightly to the left at the top center, while "30 ans après" (30 years later) is placed at the equivalent position to the right. A line in the shape of the Wall separates them. A serifed font is used, conveying tradition and reliability, establishing the media as trustworthy and acknowledging the historical significance of the Fall. Additionally, "Les dates clés" (The key dates) is located at the bottom left, over a black box, and typed in a sans serif font, which provides a clean and modern appearance. Combining both fonts creates a visually engaging illustration effectively contrasting elements. Metaphorically, this could represent the integration of the Fall into the context of commemoration on social media, intersectioning the past and modern technology. FR1 evokes the historical resonance of the Wall, reinforcing that the Fall was a pivotal moment, and as such, it deserves commemoration and reflection. It also upholds the memory of the barrier as the materialization of the Cold War ideological division. Finally, it suggests liberation. Here, breaching the Wall represents free transit leading to freedom and reunification.

4.3.2 FR2

France 24's second post focuses on a ceremony 30 years later at the Berlin Wall Memorial (Figure 7), a typical commemorative journalism example covering festivities organized to preserve the memory of the occurrence (Edy, 1999). The post begins by describing the Fall as a "wave of freedom", connoting a powerful and transformative force that spreads rapidly, an idea consistent with the broadcaster's belief in freedom and democracy (Ouchiha, 2016). Listing the different nationalities and positions of the politicians attending the act gives a sense of authority and legitimacy, symbolizing unity and cooperation and emphasizing the international significance thereof. Even though the text mentions the presence of thousands who gather at the sacred site to render homage, its image does not convey such magnitude.

Figure 7

Second Instagram Post from France 24
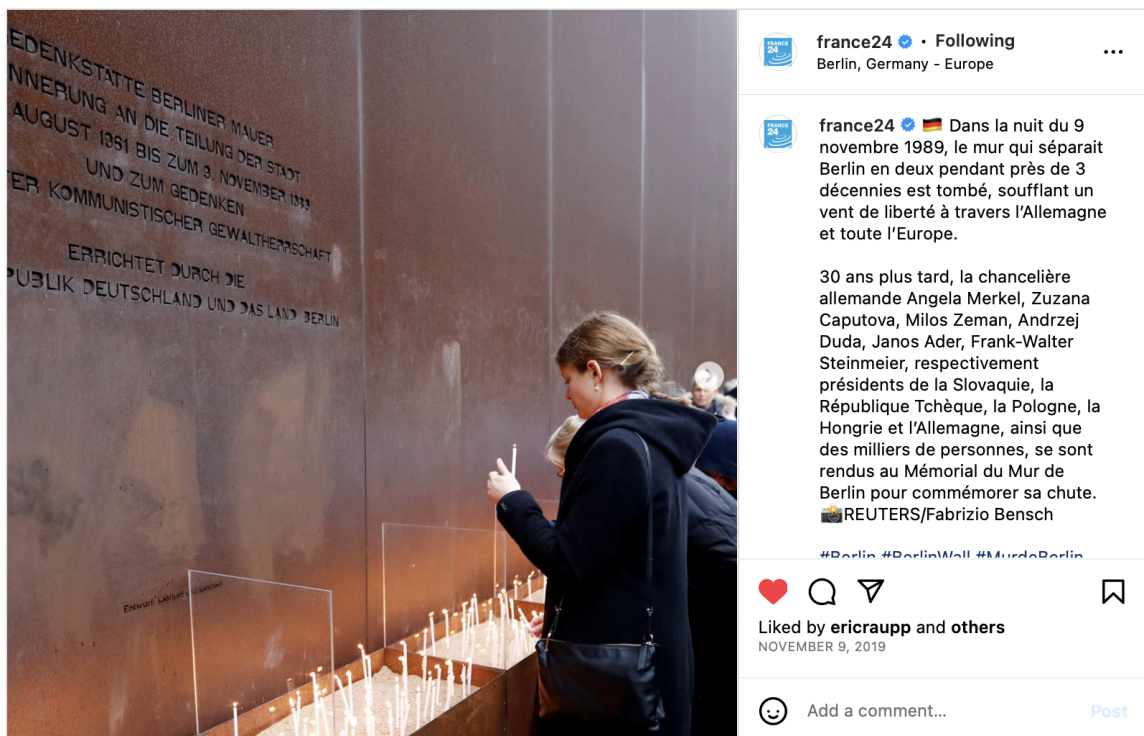
Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023. Translation of the caption reads as follows: "On the night of November 9, 1989, the wall that separated Berlin for nearly three decades fell, sending a wave of freedom throughout Germany and all of Europe. 30 years later, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Zuzana Caputova, Milos Zeman, Andrzej Duda, Janos Ader, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, respectively presidents of Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and Germany, along with thousands of people, gathered at the Berlin Wall Memorial to commemorate its fall." (Translated by the author)

On the contrary, it fixates upon a young girl, draped in ebony attire, who kindles a candle before the Memorial on Bernauer Straße; a few people are viewed in the background. The woman's downward gaze encapsulates a moment of contemplation amid the flickering glow of numerous white candles at the structure's base — a sense of respect is evoked. On the top left corner of the frame, the inscription on the monument reads, "In Erinnerung an die Teilung der Stadt vom 13. August 1961 bis zum 9. November 1989 und zum Gedenken an die Opfer kommunistischer Gewaltherrschaft "(In memory of the division of the city from 13 August 1961 to 9 November 1989, and in memory of the victims of communist tyranny).

The deliberate choice of opening the gallery of the post with an image portraying an ordinary person in front of the Berlin Wall Memorial rather than a prominent world leader may be understood as an attempt to add a touch of symbolism in a relatively simple shot. Here, the image would thus capture the essence of individual remembrance and personal reflection as the individual's small tribute is juxtaposed against the collective memory of those who gather; as Connerton (1989) recalls, individuals remember, but only as members of groups. The "we" of collective memory is not some vague abstraction but a concrete social collectivity with particular practices and traditions. This photo would further emphasize that the Fall was not just a historical event led by politicians and leaders but a shift that affected the lives of regular citizens.

4.4 The BBC

The BBC'S post (Figure 8) celebrates the anniversary focusing on the story of Joachim Rudolph, an engineering student who helped people escape from East to West Berlin. Besides commemorating the event on the platform, the post promotes the podcast "Tunnel 29," which delves deeper into this story. By providing a link to this audio production, the publication acknowledges the limitations of Instagram as a source of information due to its real-time and visual nature (Al-Rawi et al., 2021) and encourages the audience to explore the narrative in more detail. At the same time, referring to its own material corroborates Sánchez-Cobarro et al.'s (2020) description of the platform as a powerful medium of self-promotion, propaganda, and advertisement.

Figure 8

Instagram Post from the BBC

Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023.

Similar to a broad sense found in the previous posts analyzed, this publication describes the "physical divide" between West and East, whose crackdown paves the way to reunification. Hence, it implies a positive and transformative change, highlighting the event's historical significance. Within the first lines, the reader is forced to confront the tragic consequences and human cost of the situation since "At least 140 people died at the wall before it was torn down". Such an approach creates an acuity of gravity and underlines the importance of the circumstances that unfolded. In a broader sense, it is a way to raise awareness of the dangers of oppression and totalitarianism, making the text more impactful. The introduced scenario helps to set the tone for the upcoming information, focusing on the story of Joachim Rudolph and his escape tunnel, emphasizing the courage and determination of his actions.

These constructions underscore the altruism of individuals who took risks to defy the regime. By juxtaposing the loss of lives with Rudolph's efforts, the text creates a contrast that enhances the impact of these actions. The BBC imbues a feeling of humanity and personal connection by moving away from a purely abstract and political discourse around the Wall. The portrayal of Rudolph as an ordinary 22-year-old risking

personal safety to assist others creates a heroic narrative that exhales selflessness and courage; the adjective "daring" attests to his bravery and determination. This story reminds the audience of the power of ordinary people to make a difference, appealing to the universal symbolism of the event (Misztal, 2010), as Rudolph exemplifies the human desire for freedom and resilience in challenging circumstances.

The text employs diverse structural dichotomies to elicit recollections and construct interpretations, including the contrast between East and West, freedom and oppression, and life and death. By doing so, the text underscores the profound discrepancies between the two factions separated and addresses the risks individuals face seeking to break free from its confines. Notably, the frequent use of "escape" demonstrates overlexicalization, thereby accentuating the importance of this action for those confined within the East. In its verbal and nominal form, the term conveys the oppressive circumstances prevailing in the East that impelled individuals to jeopardize their lives in pursuit of crossing over. The balanced and objective tone suggests the BBC's endeavor to provide an impartial and accurate rendition, even though it implicitly indicates the belief in the value of individual rights and freedoms.

The photograph featured does not explicitly allude to the Fall. It is a long shot of a middle-aged woman standing before the Wall, wearing an overcoat jacket, gloves, and a hat. She is alone, which helps to scale the size of a being and the Wall. Her body stands still as she looks up toward the opposing side, her left hand raised and the indicator finger up as if communicating with someone. Above the concrete barrier is an extra security layer with an iron metal structure supporting barbed wires. On the other side, seeing light poles and a building is only possible. Technically, the shot incorporates dynamic diagonals that create a three-dimensional effect and leading lines that point to the human figure.

Upon examination of the Getty Images archives, it was determined that the photograph in question dates back to November 1962 and depicts a West Berliner conversing with an East Berliner near the base of the border. The woman (signifier) represents an intriguing juxtaposition of strength and vulnerability, freedom and oppression (signified) within the known geopolitical context. Despite standing alone, she is not afraid as she can get close to the border. The presentation in black and white potentially adds to its impact, as it can be considered timeless and a representation of a universal human experience. According to Sontag (1977), these photographs are often regarded as more delicate and decorous than their color counterparts, ultimately

conveying the essence of photographic symbols: the realm of concepts. In this case, this also carries a sense of historical authenticity.

The photograph captures a simple moment that aligns with the textual description of the Wall as a hazardous location. However, glancing at the image merely attests to its certificate of presence (Barthes, 1982) on the site, as viewers may struggle to comprehend the meaning or significance fully conveyed. Sontag (1997) argues that in their frozen state, photographs can be easily misinterpreted or misunderstood without appropriate contextualization, as they fail to capture the surrounding circumstances or the dynamic nature of the photographed situation. In this particular instance, the identity of the woman depicted remains unknown — she could be anyone — although her solitary presence juxtaposed against the Wall emphasizes the magnitude of the structure. In sum, the post notably accentuates the historical importance of the Wall's collapse encompassing themes of liberation, oppression, and resilience.

4.5 Time

Time's post (Figure 9) starts with a brief contextualization of the Fall. Albeit short, the language used has some implications. First, it indicates that the East Germans saw the West as a symbol of freedom and opportunity, as the phrase "pour across" conveys a sense of movement and abundance, emphasizing the sudden and overwhelming influx of people crossing the border. This verb choice advances a lack of control or containment, contrasting with the previous border security description. Second, the text suggests that the Western government was generous and empathetic by giving "free money." Likewise, the term "grant" carries connotations of financial aid or assistance, underscoring the beneficent nature of the payment as a form of aid rather than a right or entitlement. Conveying a sense of extreme enthusiasm and also reflecting people's overall positive tone when arriving on the other side of the border, the adjective "euphoric" reinforces this understanding.

Figure 9

Instagram Post from Time

Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023.

The text adopts a descriptive tone, positioning Time as an objective observer. Still, when the magazine casts light on the financial aspect, it raises some interesting questions about the role of money in societies, making its neoliberal orientation (Grainge, 2002) more visible. The phrase "Were that not all reason enough to feel euphoric, there was free money" reinforces values associated with consumerism, proposing that the prospect of receiving money was almost enough to make people forget about the hardships they had faced. In other words, it points out that financial gain and material possessions are central to joy. While the fragment may evidence the positive aspects of economic opportunities, it can be interpreted more critically as an example of how capitalism commodifies everything, even disruptive human experiences. It also overlooks that neoliberal policies and the rapid integration of East Germany into the capitalist system brought significant challenges, addressed in DW3.

The choice of using an eyewitness to share her experience is a powerful one as it fetches a sense of authenticity and immediacy as the spectator reads about it from someone who lived it firsthand; providing Susan Penquitt's perspective adds a personal and relatable element to the narrative, as she humanizes the matter. By contrasting that the money "was intended to help pay for food or travel" and the fact that Susan bought a Barbie, the post infers that toys like that are necessary for a complete childhood. As a Western cultural icon, Barbie embodies the consumerism and materialism associated

with capitalist societies, distinguishing the desirability of consumer goods during the period. Susan's "that was it" holds both metaphorical and literal implications, representing the materialistic urge as a newfound value that came with the Fall.

The image that opens the photo gallery shows Susan's daughter. Nora, a blonde girl, is wearing a black shirt with a silver star. She is lying on a white knitted quilt with colorful lines running from end to end, forming a square and helping to create a frame within a frame. The girl is positioned in the center. Above her is a Barbie doll, and on her left side, there are three more dolls and two Kens. Nora's gaze is directed upwards, away from the camera. The image conveys serenity, reinforced by the high-angle shot creating a sense of defenselessness. The composition symbolically addresses the power dynamics of the past period, particularly for younger individuals who may have felt small amidst the changes. The multiple dolls in the image signifies the enduring reign of Western ideals. This adds absurdity Susan only purchasing a Barbie doll upon crossing the border, which prompts reflection on childhood conditions during the division.

In addition, the use of bright and varied colors denotes the vibrancy of the West, indicating a departure from the more controlled aesthetic often associated with the socialist regime and reflects a shift towards a more dynamic landscape. This convergence of different modes in the post creates a reflexive tone. Susan's recollection adds an emotional element, and the inclusion of the Barbie she bought echoes the significance of the Fall, underlining the emotional connection to the memory of encountering a desired toy that is now with her daughter. The post upholds the memory of the Wall as an emblem of oppression and division, here more evidenced by economic disparities between the two Germanys. Finally, Time remembers the Fall as the beginning of a new era characterized by prosperity for people who could have freedom and material belongings in the West.

4.6 Folha de São Paulo

Folha de São Paulo remembers the Fall discussing the tourism issue surrounding the previous site of the Wall and its fragments commercialization (Figure 10). Employing a rhetorical question in the beginning primarily engages the audience. With such wording, the phrase immediately tries to capture the readers' attention, involving them in the discussion and prompting them to reflect on their own knowledge or personal connection to the event and its materiality. Using negative questioning implies

that encountering "bits of the wall" has been a common experience for many people, assuming a shared understanding or awareness of this phenomenon among the readership. Such an assumption advocates for the ubiquity of the barrier, even though the word "bits" implies fragmentation and incompleteness. It suggests that the physical remnants are scattered and incomplete representations of the whole, reinforcing that today's physical presence is a mere fraction of its original form. Moreover, when Folha mentions the "last three decades", it suggests that the remnants have remained visible and accessible for an extended period, thus highlighting its significance.

Figure 10

Instagram Post from Folha de São Paulo
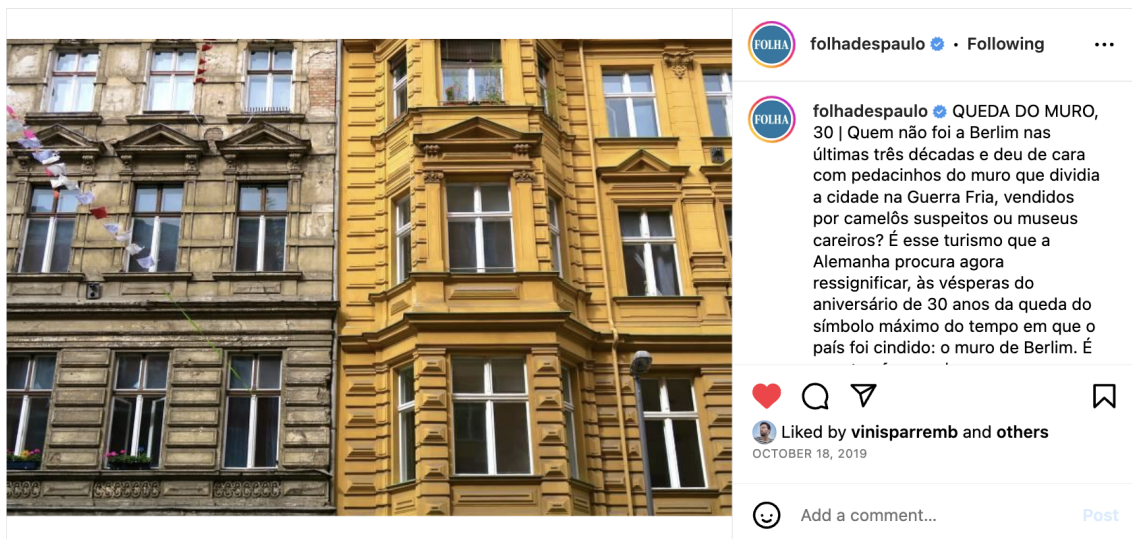
Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023. Translation of the caption reads as follows: "Who has not been to Berlin in the last decades and come across bits of the wall that divided the city during the Cold War, sold by suspicious street vendors or expensive museums? It is this tourism that Germany is now trying to redefine on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the fall of the ultimate symbol of the time when the country was divided: the Berlin Wall. It is a complex task, like almost everything anchored in the country's turbulent past. The marks of division are present everywhere" (Translated by the author).

FOL takes a critical stance on tourism around the remnants of the Wall. The phrase "trying to redefine" prompts readers to see the industry through this lens, indicating a deliberate effort to reshape the narrative and activities. Focusing on "suspicious street vendors" and "expensive museums" raises concerns about the commodification and accessibility of historical artifacts. The term "suspicious" implies doubts about authenticity, suggesting an informal marketplace where individuals trade without official credentials. It also hints at potential exploitation or opportunism when

selling these fragments, emphasizing ethical considerations. In contrast, "expensive museums" conveys a sense of superiority and credibility, but they may limit access to those who can afford admission fees. The opposition between these terms underscores the tensions between grassroots history reproduction and institutionalized narratives, encouraging critical reflection on knowledge production and dissemination.

At the same time, the post emphasizes the significance of the Wall by recognizing it as the "ultimate symbol of the time when the country was divided." This means it represents the entire era and embodies the tensions of that time. When Folha later refers to this period as the "turbulent past," it suggests that Berlin's history was marked by upheaval and instability, acknowledging the complexity of the city's past and the emotional weight of historical traumas. However, the passive voice in the phrase "bits of the wall that divided the city" obscures the agent responsible for constructing the barrier and deflects attention from the political forces in maintaining the structure. The use of verbs like "is" and "trying" suggests an ongoing process and reflects the dynamic nature of memory, adding to the ubiquity mentioned earlier. The conclusion, "The marks of division are present everywhere," advocates for the uniqueness and significance of these historical remnants. From a historical standpoint, this observation is a factual statement, referring to physical remnants. However, it also underscores the cultural, social, and political implications of the Wall, suggesting that the segregation endures as a reminder of the past.

The photograph captures a striking contrast between two buildings in Berlin. The one on the left remains unrestored, showing its aged appearance with faded paint and plant pots in two of its windows. Within the facade, two of the nine windows have plant pots, and a rope sustaining small flags comes from another. However, the building on the right has been restored, painted yellow, and stands out with its vivid color. This visual juxtaposition symbolizes the city's past division and present revitalization. There is no indication of where the picture was taken, but considering the context of the publication, it comes from Berlin. The geometrical aspect puts the viewer at a lower point of reference, creating a sense of awe towards the structures and highlighting their towering presence.

The image deviates from the expected representation of the Wall, offering a more nuanced and symbolic approach to visually convey the Fall's aftermath. It adds an element of abstraction and symbolism and encourages viewers to engage in a more interpretive and reflective understanding. The buildings are signs depicting the urban

landscape of Berlin; they, and their contrasting states, reflect the narrative of the split. The signified concept can be related to division and reunification. The unrestored building represents the past, a remnant of a bygone era marked by "marks of division present everywhere." It serves as a reminder of the physical and emotional scars left by the separation, evoking the hardships and struggles during the Wall's existence. Despite its faded appearance due to the passage of time and neglect, the presence of flowers and small flags may suggest a limited attempt to add some life and express identity or aspiration amidst the dilapidation. In contrast, the restored building symbolizes the present, a process of healing and renewal, hope and progress. Its vibrant hue signals revitalization and optimism, a testament to the resilience and determination of the city to rebuild. Juxtaposing the structures serves as a metaphor for the dichotomy between the past and the present.

The communication of meanings in the different modes involves distinct characteristics and strategies contributing to their unique expression. In the case of the caption and the photograph under examination, both convey the impacts of the Berlin Wall on the city, albeit employing different approaches. The text primarily emphasizes the physical remnants, such as concrete fragments, while also addressing the commercialization of these remnants through their sale by street vendors and display in museums. In contrast, the photograph focuses on metaphorical effects, with two depicted buildings symbolizing the past and present: the unrestored building representing the scars of history and the restored building standing for hope for the future. In terms of interpretation, the caption leans towards a more literal understanding, whereas the photograph invites viewers to engage in personal interpretation.

4.7 Al Jazeera English

Al Jazeera English's post (Figure 11) directly establishes a connection with the commemoration by initiating the caption mentioning the date of the Fall. It then sets a distance between itself and the situation, saying "Germany marks" emphasises the significance of the country's history, implicitly acknowledging the impact of the Wall and subsequent reunification on the people, their national identity, and their collective memory. Still, the simple fact that the Qatari outlet is remembering the event underlines its international relevance. As a general meaning found in the other publications, the caption conveys liberation, implying the idea of triumph over oppression.

Figure 11

Instagram Post From Al Jazeera English
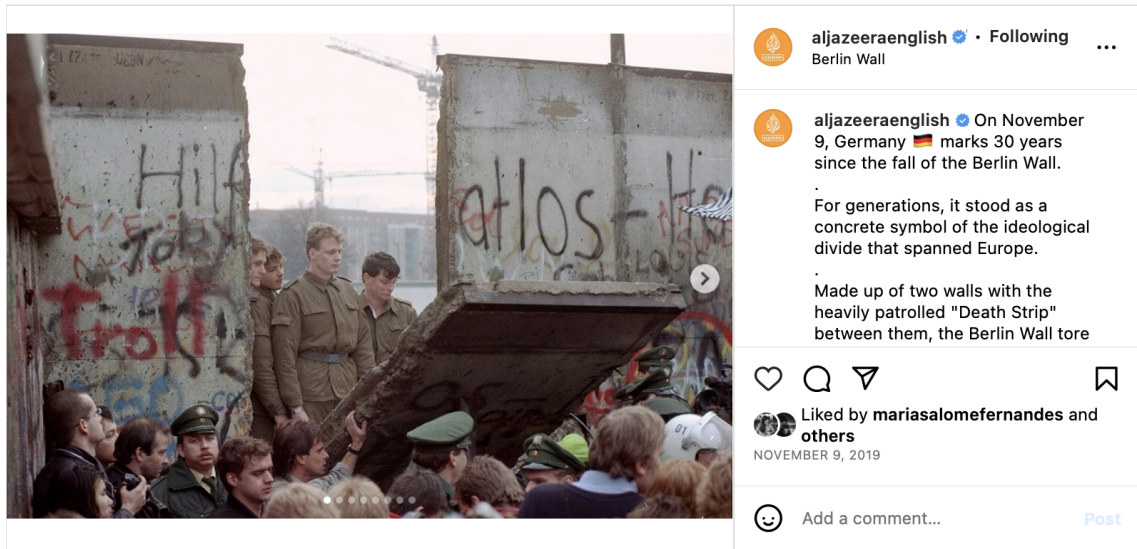
Note. Screenshot by author, captured on 3 June 2023.

The phrase "for generations" in the second sentence evokes the temporal aspect, stressing the barrier's enduring impact and its consequences over a considerable period. The Wall influenced the lives of two generations: for the first, it represented division and oppression, and for the second, it symbolized hope and freedom.Al Jazeera's mention of the "ideological divide" refers to the clash between communism and capitalism that characterized the period and stresses that this conflict primarily spanned Europe. Although some historical evidence suggests its impact on other parts of the world, the choice of words emphasizes the regional context and the significant effects felt within the European continent. Nevertheless, there is no single "correct" way to describe the ideological divide of the Cold War. The use of "heavily patrolled" and "Death Strip" in quotation marks and capital letters brings attention to the severity of the Wall. The phrase "tore friends and families apart" emphasizes the forceful and violent separation, evoking pain and anguish from ruptured connections. This highlights the emotional and human suffering.

AJE directly engages readers with questions, encouraging them to share their experiences and stories, reflecting the participatory nature of contemporary media. The word "remember" in the question emphasizes the importance of personal memories and lived experiences, connecting the past to the present and prompting readers to reflect on their recollections of the event. The photograph captures the clash between opening and

division. This iconic image (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007) serves as a signpost of the Fall, suited to "mass-mediated collective memory" (p.2). In the photo, four East German border guards wearing uniforms are seen through a gap in the Wall near Potsdamer Square. This aperture takes the central frame, detonating its main position in the shot. As the patrollers stand, a segment of the barrier falls into West Berlin, evident by the hat of a policeman among the people and graffiti on the concrete. This gesture symbolizes a connection and a bridging between the two sides. The guards gaze downwards towards the predominantly middle-aged and elderly men in the crowd, yet their expressions remain serene, suggesting acceptance of the situation without objection. Notably, there are no signs of violence, as one man places his hand in the concrete portion bending.

The photographer's positioning obstructs the view to the other side, with only the section occupied by the guards discernible, intentionally overexposing the background to make it brighter. The breach serves as a metaphor for a promising and cheerfuller future; when the concrete is removed, people will be able to see each other, reuniting families and friends who had been separated for years, restoring personal connections and allowing for shared experiences. The graffiti on the visible face of the Wall evokes the idea of oppression by the communist regime, while approaching it from the other side was allowed without restrictions. Once a manifestation of dissent against the GDR, the graffiti now symbolizes the triumph of freedom.

The image constructs a narrative centered on liberation, hope, and unity, highlighting the transformative impact of the event and its ramifications. Through visual symbolism and composition, it captures the moment of the Wall's collapse, portraying the connection and bridging between the divided sides and symbolizing a promising future free from oppression. On the other hand, the text emphasizes the ideological divide and the human suffering caused by it. It employs descriptive language to convey the physical and metaphorical meaning of the Wall, emphasizing its lasting impact on the people, national identity, and collective memory; thus, its weight is a significant historical and cultural marker.

4.8 A Schematic Answer to the Research Question

The Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis identified discursive sequences that unravel meanings and memories concerning the Wall and its fall. In response to the Research Question "**What meanings sustaining collective memory about the Berlin Wall are referred to and upheld in the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Fall on Instagram?**", the publications examined encompass meanings that can be classified as hegemonic and minor. Regarding the first category, they are non-excluded and often overlap, being evoked and upheld consistently throughout the 11 posts. They can be systematized as follows:

1. **The Berlin Wall as a treacherous symbol of the East-West division**

The most dominant and evident meaning is about the significance of the Wall as more than a physical barrier but an insignia embracing the ideological and political division between the Eastern and the Western blocs during the Cold War. Examples of this are the discursive formations "former border between former East and West Berlin" (DW2), "divide of West and East Berlin" (BBC), or the contrast "occupied by the Soviet bloc vs occupied by the Western Allies" (FR1), "divided the city during the Cold War" (FSP) and most directly at "concrete symbol of the ideological divide that spanned Europe" (AJE). At the same time, it was a perilous location because attempting to cross it was illegal and dangerous. Other examples also include "tore friends and families apart," "heavily militarized zone," and "death stripe" (DW1), "one of the most secure borders in the world" (Time), "death strip" (DW3 and AJE), "harsh security" (RT), and "about 140 people died while trying to cross the Berlin Wall" (DW3). The photos convey this idea through nuanced elements, encouraging viewers to contemplate and interpret. The Wall's imposing concrete structure, barbed wire, and watchtowers depict its oppressive nature and the restrictive environment it created. An example of this dynamic is the BBC photo.

2. **The German Democratic Republic as an oppressive State**

The GDR is characterized by a system that exerts excessive control and restricts freedoms, often through force and suppression of dissent under the "threat of imprisonment" (BBC). One discursive formation that supports this is the accountability for the Wall. For instance, when RT denounces and shows images that "30,000 people

left Eastern Germany, and so the border was closed", it establishes the barrier as a consequence of migration. In addition, DW3 said it was "all to prevent East Germans from fleeing to the West," contrasting with the photo of a bridge that served as a controlled crossing point and now sees vehicles circulating without restrictions. At the same time, the image in DW4 denotes this idea of movement with the flowing water where once there was a barrier. Another logic that endorses the understanding of the GDR as a terror agent is the need to "escape" (BBC), vehemently denounced by the British broadcaster on its publication, and by the selection of verbs that denotes a negative sense for the action of crossing: "pour across" (Time), "East Berliners flocked" (DW3). Also, it is valid to note RT's mention of "plenty of people wishing to jump the fence" despite the dangers. Besides, images can evoke strong emotions; by illustrating the joy of the people, it conveys their happiness and liberation, advocating for the oppressive regime ruling their lives

3. The Fall of the Wall as a joyful epitome of freedom

The Fall is seen as a powerful symbol of freedom because it represented the collapse of the repressive regime in East Germany and the opening of the borders. Such understanding is underscored by the common use of the word freedom itself, its variations, and representations: "all GDR citizens were free to travel to the West" (DW1 ad DW2), "blowing a wind of freedom through" (FR2). Notably, Time also evokes economic freedom, showcasing the possibility of buying a Barbie doll and mentioning in the captions that "there was money. When the East German government announced that its citizens were free to travel, it led to an outpouring of joy and celebration as people from East Berlin started crossing the border into West Berlin. "The images of people celebrating together for days on both sides" (D1) became iconic. The scenes of people climbing the Wall, feeling "euphoric" (Time), embracing each other, and celebrating, as shown in the footage used at RT, make the event associated with a sense of delight and hope for a new era of liberty. Overall, the images focus on people from East and West Berlin who flocked to the Wall, celebrating with joy and exuberance. The symbolic dimension here is the power of unity and determination to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

4.   **The Fall as a synonym of the German Reunification**

In the posts, history is simplified. While the Fall marked the end of the physical barrier, it set in motion a series of occurrences that eventually led to the Reunification of Germany, officially achieved on October 3, 1990. However, dismantling the border barrier is not remembered as a crucial catalyst for the subsequent political and social processes that resulted in a single country but as the materialization of it. To put it concisely, Fall and Reunification are used as interchangeable terms, meaning the same. This idea excludes political and historical nuances that followed the breaching of the Wall. As claimed by DW1, the Fall happened "poignantly marking the end of German division, albeit it acknowledges that "Less than a year later, the country (...) was once again unified". The same is observed at DW2 when the narrator contextualizes that "since reunification, Germany has invested more than two trillion euros in the former East," while colored photos of people celebrating over the Wall are shown. By this use, images give a new sense to their original representation.

5.   **People's collectivity and individuality as agents of change**

This meaning commemorates the active participation of individuals in the context of the Wall and its crackdown, albeit it does not address people's engagement activities such as protests, demonstrations, rallies, and acts of solidarity that preceded the Fall. This region of senses highlights the nonviolent actions and efforts of those who contributed to dismantling the barrier, as "people created a new passage between East and West by knocking out the first pieces" (DW1). DW1 adequately represents this meaning, as the people are shown escalating the Wall and standing over it. In its visual aspect, AJE accentuates both human activities in front of the Wall and the pacifist aspect, as the guards look passively at the concrete falling. Moreover, RT evokes the memory that "the Soviet army left the GDR without any incident" and that "there were no shootings at all" during the opening of the border. The BBC and Time better exemplify people's agency. The first brings Joachim Rudolph and his heroic attempt to transport other East Germans, while the latter focuses on Susan Penquitt. The written and visual modes underscore the human aspect, as they also serve as a narrative strategy to engage viewers and create empathy. Still, even if ordinary citizens are evidenced in the Fall's process rather than political actors, East German official Günther Schabowski is mentioned as the man who "declared that all GDR citizens were free to travel to the West" DW3 and that he "shocked the world" when he did it (DW1).

At the same time, it was possible to pinpoint three meanings that offer alternative interpretations to the dominant understandings or are simply upheld and referred to on a lower scale:

1. **The Wall as enduring division and disparity**

This interpretation challenges the idea that the Fall led to complete reunification and eradication of all divisions. It acknowledges that the reunification process was protracted and continues to have lasting effects. While FOL mentions that "the marks of division are present everywhere" and brings the urban landscape to the fore with the contrasting images of old and renewed buildings, DW2 better constructs and upholds this meaning. It highlights the enduring economic, social, and cultural disparities between the former East and West Germany, questioning the notion of complete unity. The focus is on the human development aspect, more specifically, the depopulation of the former GDR area and the growth of the far-right in this region. Such arguments are evidenced by images of empty streets and discursive formations such as "ghost town", assertions like "we are the forgotten ones, and by the causal relation established for the growth of AfD, sustained with the help of a specialist that no social cohesion, with "lack of social cohesion". This seconds an imbalanced impact of the unification.

2. **The Wall as a fetishised and commodified cultural icon**

This interpretation emerges from deep-level scrutiny and implies that Wall's collapse has been excessively and superficially glorified, turning it into a cultural symbol widely exploited by capitalism. It suggests that the event is sometimes treated as an object of obsession or fascination, where its value is fetishized rather than critically analyzed. FOL prompts this discussion when it assesses the selling of parts of the remains of the sculpture by "suspicious street vendors" and the tourism industry around it. Likewise, FR1 evidences the Trabant, which has become a symbol of the GDR and acquired a particular cultural significance. Its distinct design and limited availability have contributed to its commodification through the production of merchandise, including clothing, accessories, and miniature replicas. While evidencing the capitalization of the cars as a division symbol, FR1 also implicitly reflects on this situation by placing the vehicle in its historical context, repurposing its commodified meaning. Finally, the Barbie doll in Time assumes the representation of Western values; more than freedom, it represents the values of consumerism and materialism as a

product that is bought and sold; it can be quantified in money, by its price, or in the amount someone has. In the post, the product that meant so much to the mother seems just another toy for the girl among the others she has.

3. Unsung Russia as the major actor in the German reunification

Evoked and upheld by RT, this meaning outlet draws from "The Fall as a synonym of the German Reunification" to portray Russia as the main responsible for this moment, even though the West does not recognize it. This notion contradicts the idea of "People's collectivity and individuality as agents of change" as it downplays the role of other international plyers' work in both WWII and the Fall by alluding to Soviets' lost lives during the first and constructing an argument around the peaceful departure of the Soviet forces from the GDR. Using photos and footage of these periods featuring patriotic symbols, such as the hammer and sickle, the red star, and the flag, the outlet evokes pride and patriotism, as they can remind people of a time when the USSR was powerful and influential. In this sense, the Union is portrayed in nonviolent ways: combined with a melodramatic soundtrack, the army is not shown in combat but among the ruins of Berlin, raising the Soviet flag, while people are pictured in their daily lives. Moreover, the West is depicted as cynical, as Germany commemorates the Reunification with the United States, which played a minor role in the process, according to RT, and Nato broke its non-expansion promises.

5. Discussion

The findings of this research have noteworthy implications for remembrance dynamics and contribute to the broader research on the topic. The narratives in commemorative journalism align with Edy's (1999) conceptualization of the term, as they mainly focus on the Fall, forging a bond between the past and the present through storytelling. The language used, images selected, and information presented are influenced by the outlet's political and ideological inclinations, as per the constructivist approach to journalism. The results from the analysis further add to the notion that the depiction of the past happens under the outlet's underlying political and ideological inclinations. This is no surprise considering the constructivist approach to journalism; according to Moscovici (2003), social representations are dictated by the interests of the group that creates them. With the media, it is no different. The language used to describe Fall, the images selected, the perspectives and information included or excluded, since remembering also means forgetting (Assmann, 2011), shape the collective memory about it.

The present master's thesis findings are consistent with prior research conducted by Cline (2012), Czachur (2011), and Li and Lee (2013)- The Western outlets prompted a sense of conquest, particularly marked by the triumph of liberal democracy over authoritarianism and the inquiry into German identity and the dynamics between East and West while highlighting the active role of the citizens. They also corroborate the overall significance of Fall as a global iconic event (Sonnevend, 2016), symbolizing hope and freedom. In contrast, RT deviated from commemoration, overshadowing the event with a propagandist stance, endorsing Elswah and Howard's (2020) views. Here, WWII, known as the Great Patriotic War in Russia, holds immense significance, considering that it left an indelible mark on the country's consciousness and continues to shape its national identity, political discourse, and social fabric. Owing to Halbwachs' (1941) notion that memory is a reconstruction of the past adapted to fit the beliefs and aspects of the present, it is not a surprise that RT's treatment of the past anchors around WWII. Such a mechanism can lead to a skewed understanding of the historical context, key actors, motivations, and ultimately foster revisionism. History can take eerie paths and occasionally return to stages thought to belong to the past. Unresolved issues can resurface, often in new forms, as seen in the invasion of Ukraine. Despite the collective memory of the Fall as a joyous occasion, geographical and

cultural detachment plays a role in the dynamics of its commemoration, similar to how it impacts newsworthiness (Galtung & Ruge, 1965), affecting how the issue is systematized in each publication. Notably, but not surprisingly, the German broadcaster DW had the most posts about it, both since the creation of their accounts on Instagram and the anniversary date. It was followed by the media outlet from France, France24, a news organization whose creation is related to international events' effect on the country (Ouchiha, 2016). Attesting to the implications of transnationality of memory, whose roots were initially enabled by the opening of the border implications, this research also shows that recollections happen in groups with few connections to the event (Tzanelli, 2011). In this study, Qatari Al Jazeera English and Brazilian Folha de São Paulo commemorate the event, despite the comparatively reduced number of publications compared to the other selected enterprises.

The distance aspect slightly distinguished how each profile presented the content. For instance, in the European outlets, the primary emphasis was providing a straightforward narrative of 9 November 1989. Such an approach relies on information and descriptions instead of personal accounts. However, what was provided fell into the argument that commemorative journalism "reaffirms rather than informs" (Kitch, 2000, p. 171) since it mainly addressed the same aspects. This point is particularly relevant as time elapses and the Wall transitions from a tangible experience to a memory; delving into particular subtleties can thus enhance their memorability, whereas nuances with limited attention are more susceptible to fading. In this regard, the complexities of the Fall and reunification surface since they are overlooked. An exception is DW2, which brings a critical assessment and deviates from the traditional commemoration, as mentioned before. The content explains how we got to the current situation (Edy, 1999), a characteristic associated with historical contextualization. Regardless, this perspective is only viable due to the outlet's extensive coverage, facilitating broader debate and adding new meanings to the event.

If the European outlets' narratives evidenced cut-and-dried information, the non-European ones either endeavored to connect their readers to the events. In Time, this association comes more abstractly. It glimpses the economic factor through the evidence of the money given to Eastern Germans who crossed the border after the breach and the story around the sentimentalism of purchasing the Barbie doll, a symbol of Western culture, and, in the magazine's post, of freedom. This outcome was not unexpected because the publication's intended readership primarily consists of individuals focused

on business and its neoliberal values (Grainge, 2002). It is important to highlight that Folha's publication in October addressed the event as if fulfilling a moral duty (Kitch, 2008), given its timing on a separate date from the event itself. The focus aligns with Brazil's own tourism industry and might suggest that the interest in the Wall and the availability of its remnants have become topics of discussion and curiosity among Brazilians traveling. In doing so, it establishes a link between the two nations and the past and the present, fostering the historical continuity of the Fall.

Nevertheless, Al Jazeera English remains direct and factual. It effectively operationalizes a well-known photograph capturing the event as a collective memory conduit. By embodying and externalizing the situation in a comprehensible and perceptible manner rooted in established patterns (Zelizer, 1999, 2004), this attribute enables readers to validate the presented information. Such a characteristic allows the reader to recognize the tangible evidence the outlet presents, affirming what it portrays. Doing so allows the publication to directly address its readers and prompt them to recall personal connections or anecdotes: "Do you remember the fall of the Wall? Have you heard stories from your family or friends?". Such a deliberate strategy aims to foster relatability and active participation, encouraging readers to reflect upon their experiences and the stories shared within their social circles, thus forging a more intimate connection to the event.

Furthermore, the findings nudge discussion regarding the visual representation of the Fall. Photographs possess a unique power as a medium, as their ability to represent reality makes them a potent tool for aiding memory recall. As Hariman and Lucaites (2014) suitably highlight, it is impossible to photograph the past, so shots taken at that time will be the only visual documentation possible. In this sense, the variety of images used in the analyzed publications corroborates Hariman and Lucaites (2009) when they argue that no singular depiction of the Wall's collapse exists. Nevertheless, a miscellany of photographs serves as representative images, individually and collectively, encapsulating the historical significance of that moment. The findings substantiate Somerstein's (2017) study by evoking his image genre classification. The posts analyzed contained iconic photographs, memorials, and metonymic relics associated with the GDR. Notably, these pictures were "certificates of presence" (Barthes, 1982, p. 87) in the event, denoting authenticity. However, the absence of contextual information that grounds them in a specific time frame serves as metonyms for the overall narrative of the anniversary. Although the Wall's opening unfolded over

several weeks, these photographs, devoid of dates and locations, convey that they collectively pertain to and symbolize a singular one.

Other shots, such as the ones used in Folha and Time, do not have such indexicality; they operate under symbolism and the notion of signified (Saussure, 1916) as they transcend their literal content and convey deeper meanings and emotions. Notably, Sommerstein (2017) remarks that the photographs transcend their indexical function by adding or excluding specific caption details and assuming a greater symbolic significance. They can evoke powerful sentiments and represent broader concepts or ideals. In the analyzed posts, the outlets give contextual explanations in the captions that serve as cues, so the images can, as Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006, p.42) proposed, "represent objects and their relation in a world outside the representational system." In this way, the different signs in the photos are imbued with symbolism through the composition, lighting, and accompanying text, allowing them to become representations of the feelings or situations related to the Fall. For instance, collectively, the different modes in Folha convey that the narrative surrounding the German Reunification remains incomplete, marked by unresolved nature.

Given that Instagram represents the increasing importance of visual representation in digital culture (Rose, 2014), the combination of symbolic and factual aspects within the platform contributes to their significance as influential visual and aesthetic artifacts. They can shape public opinion, challenge prevailing narratives, and inspire social change. By blending the symbolic and the factual, imagery used in the posts analyzed engages viewers profoundly and multi-dimensionally, provoking contemplation, sparking dialogue, and inviting interpretations beyond the surface-level representation. While Seyidov & Özoran (2020, p. 199) demonstrate that "videos are key components of Instagram news as the photos are more subsidiary," this research indicates the opposite as only two posts examined were Reels. Moreover, hashtags were used as important resources for organizing the content rather than as cues to memories.

Edy (1999) argues that journalism is the most efficient way to spread knowledge owing to its ability to permeate diverse societal segments. Social media augments this possibility, which entails significant responsibility. Instagram as a journalistic tool can present challenges when constructing a generalized collective memory about historical events such as the Fall. Its emphasis on brevity and snippets of information may lead to oversimplification and undue focus on specific aspects, presenting partial or biased interpretations of the subject matter. Its image-driven nature may bring further

limitations, for images can only capture a moment of an experience, and conveying its full context can be complex. Such issues have been discussed by Hariman and Lucaites (2007). In addition, images can be subjective and interpreted differently, making it thorny to create a shared understanding of an event or experience based on pictures. Just as Connerton (1989) ponders that collective memory is not simply a matter of retrieving information, images do not serve as diaphanous portals to the past; instead, they are constructs molded by individual perspectives and cultural notions.

Most Instagram users were not born when the Wall tore down, and many may not even use the platform for journalistic purposes. Nevertheless, due to the ambiental presence of journalism on social media (Hermida, 2010), they can passively get information. Acknowledging these limitations is essential. The analyzed news outlet seems to understand it, as they invited the audience to "dive deeper into this chapter of German history, hit the link in our bio" (DW1), "Follow the commemorations on…." (FR1), "Tap the link in our bio to find out more" (BBC), "Read more at the link in bio" (Time), "Read more at Folha.com/instagram (link in bio)" (Folha), or "Follow the link in our profile for a report" (AJE). While Instagram is a valuable platform for sharing information, it may not offer the same depth and thoroughness as the news portal. At the same time, it operates as a means to promote its content, thus potentially increasing ad revenue or subscriptions on the website and encouraging cross-media engagement as readers may access additional features.

By way of a synopsis, this thesis bolsters the literature on journalism and collective memory, memory and social media, and studies on the commemoration of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Within this framework, a conceivable contention between social media's logic and collective memory, shaped by factors such as the political and cultural context, the availability of material resources, and the actions of individuals and groups (Connerton, 1989; Halbwachs, 1992), comes to the fore. In the end, some tantalizing questions remain: What paradoxes and possibilities await as we seek to preserve and construct collective memory in a realm characterized by ephemerality and selectivity? Moreover, what are future challenges and opportunities for using Instagram to create collective memory? Reflecting on these inquiries will illuminate the dynamics between social media and remembrance.

5.1 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

As a new approach, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis can restrain conclusions due to lacking a widely acceptable framework. I addressed this issue by drawing on relevant studies to create an analysis scheme. Since the study was conducted on a small scale, findings are not prone to generalization. Nevertheless, they can inspire future research in terms of methodological application and comparison of results. Still, the scrutiny of the modes on Instagram posts can be open to interpretations and require an understanding of historical context to enable delving into the layers of each mode to determine their specific contribution to the meaning. Regarding the notion that the interpretation of meanings can contrast according to the context in which they are produced and consumed, it is important to mention my position as a researcher.

First, my genealogy returns to Germany: the Raupp family migrated to Brazil from the small town of Laudenbach before the Deutsche Einigung. Second, the multilingual aspect deserves attention: I am a native Portuguese speaker conducting research in English which also includes content in French, which I can speak at a high-intermediate level; thus, not fully fluent in grasping + intricacies. Also, including the Arabic version of Al Jazeera could have provided different results and enhanced the study. Third, I was not born when the Wall fell: that means I may not have the same level of understanding of the event as someone who lived through it. These factors may have inadvertently hindered a comprehensive understanding of the topic.

Collective memory is characterized by dynamic and evolving perspectives over time. Thus, limiting the analysis to a single anniversary may fail to capture the social, cultural, and political backgrounds' impact. Future studies that account for the temporal dimension of collective memory are recommendable. Content or Multimodal Analysis of posts engaging in different time frames could be done, either including one medium or comparing two or more. Another issue concerns the focus on the posts themselves, leaving users out. As Halbawachs (1992) remarked, social interactions constantly reshape collective memory. Thus, further research should include user engagement in commemoration posts. Finally, one last recommendation comes from the incentive for readers to leave the app and read more on the website. An investigation could seek to understand how the commemorative content is repurposed and condensed to social media through interviews with reporters, editors, and selected newsroom managers.

6. Conclusion

More than three decades after its fall, the Berlin Wall remains a symbol of division and oppression but also of freedom and hope. As history advances, the Wall and its meanings are repurposed; new generations come to understand the past and reinterpret it through their own experiences and social relations. According to Halbwachs (1992), the individual who remembers is always embedded in a society where they belong to one or more reference groups that continually shape and influence their recollections. Halbwachs (1992) thus introduced the concept of collective memory, emphasizing the inseparable relationship between remembering and the social contexts underpinning memory reconstruction. Collective memory connects images of past events to beliefs and present needs. Within it, the past undergoes continual reconstruction, revitalization, and re-signification.

This thesis departed from this theoretical framework and aimed to answer the question, "What meanings and memories are referred to and upheld in the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall on Instagram?" Considering the impacts of this event not only on the global order, I studied 11 posts extracted from media outlets from seven different countries, namely Deutsche Welle, RT, France24, the BBC, Time, Folha de São Paulo, and Al Jazeera English to arrive an answer, while assessing discontinuities or similarities between meaning evoked by these publications on their social media account. The material was collected with the aid of an online scraping tool and analyzed using Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis.

This method can examine the concealed ideology present in different modes of speech, such as written language, images, and videos (Machin & Mayr, 2012), and enables the perception of these texts as products of social construction, both influencing and being influenced by societies. As Instagram is composed of multimodal elements, this approach suits the goal of this research. The analysis pointed to five dominant meanings: "The Berlin Wall as a treacherous symbol of the East-West division," "The German Democratic Republic as an oppressive State," "The Fall of the Wall as a joyful epitome of freedom," "The Fall as a synonym of the German Reunification," and "People's collectivity and individuality as agents of change." On the other hand, less salient significances were attributed to it: "The Wall as enduring division and disparity," "The Wall as a fetishised and commodified cultural icon," and "Russia as the major actor in the German reunification." These findings are a valuable contribution as they

add to previous studies on remembrance and the Fall (Cline, 2012; Czachur, 2011; Drechsel, 2010; Somerstein, 2017; Sonnevend, 2016; Song & Lee, 2019) and reflect on the nexus and role of social media in collective memory.

Zelizer (2008) contends that journalism is one of the "main institutions of recording and remembering" (p. 85). Despite the transformations incited by social media in its praxis and concerning the recollecting process, it is indisputable that journalism plays a crucial part in societal memory. As it integrates social networking services and explores new trends in digital communication, leading or instance to growing efforts on Instagram content (Newman, 2023), opportunities and challenges arise in disseminating knowledge and information about important events from the past to increasingly diverse audiences. Through selection mechanisms, it helps shape collective memory to make people, each day more detached from situations that profoundly impact our societies, closer to it. As time passes, history and stories can be forgotten, obscuring humanity to commit the same absurdities from the past; thus, remembering is essential.

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