

Doing History, Creating Memory:
Representing the Past in Documentary and
Archive-Based Television Programmes within a
Multi-Platform Landscape

Berber Hagedoorn

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Doing History, Creating Memory:
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Television Programmes within a Multi-Platform Landscape

Geschiedenis-televisie als geheugenpraktijk:
De verbeelding van het verleden in documentaires en televisieprogramma's over
geschiedenis via een multi-platform aanpak
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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1

Introduction

Television constantly refers to the past. It is a significant mediator of past and historical events in modern media systems through documentary programming, news items, entertainment shows and the re-use of archival footage. In contemporary 'post-scarcity culture'¹, television audiences are subsequently making conscious decisions to assimilate and discuss images of the past across diverse platforms. They have fast and easy access to a wide range of audio-visual materials via television broadcasting, cross-media platforms, on-demand services, digital thematic channels and online television archives. I describe such contemporary contexts of access to television content as dynamic screen practices – key components of television in the multi-platform landscape. A considerable part of this content includes archive-based and documentary programming that places history at its centre.

History programming on television has grown since the mid-to-late 1990s, especially because of the increased digitisation of archival collections and the production of history-based content for television. In this thesis, I zoom in on this development in the Netherlands, a country that has one of the highest numbers of broadband access and subscriptions in the world.² Dutch public broadcasters such as VPRO and NCRV have also led the way in developing new forms of multi-platform television. Eggo Müller has argued that the Netherlands therefore make an excellent test market for the development of multimedia participatory spaces.³ As Thomas Elsaesser has argued, nowhere else in Europe has the practice of using media of documentation for oral and visual testimony – referring to both film and television documentaries in particular – such a long and fertile tradition as in the Netherlands.⁴ There has been a growing proportion of history-type programming in the Netherlands and abroad, particularly programmes which re-use audio-visual archival materials. Digitisation of enormous amounts of audio-visual material over the past years offers opportunities for broadcasting and history programmes. This 'history

¹ Andrew Hoskins, 'The Right to Be Forgotten in Post-Scarcity Culture', in *The Ethics of Memory in a Digital Age: Interrogating the Right to Be Forgotten*, ed. Alessia Ghezzi, Ângela Pereira, and Lucia Vesnić-Alujević (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 50–64; Andrew Hoskins, '7/7 and Connective Memory: Interactional Trajectories of Remembering in Post-Scarcity Culture', *Memory Studies* 4, no. 3 (2011): 269–80, doi:10.1177/1750698011402570.

² 'OECD Broadband Statistics Update', *OECD Homepage*, 23 July 2015, <http://www.oecd.org/sti/broadband/broadband-statistics-update.htm>.

³ Eggo Müller, 'Manufacturing Participation: Over mediale participatieruimtes in de 21e eeuw' (Inaugural Lecture, Utrecht University, 7 February 2014).

⁴ Thomas Elsaesser, "'One Train May Be Hiding Another": Private History, Memory and National Identity', *The Low Countries: Arts and Society in Flanders and the Netherlands - A Yearbook, 1996–1997* 4 (1996): 121–29.

boom⁵ has epitomised a number of new forms on Dutch television from 2000 onwards. Here, television professionals seized the opportunity to experiment with storytelling practices made possible by the increased digitisation of archival materials and the presence of online and digital platforms.

The history boom has sparked an increasing academic interest in the role of media in representing the past⁶ and television's function as a mediator of history.⁷ Much of the debate has concentrated on whether history programming produced for television is actually able to 'do history' properly,⁸ and whether television could ever trump the written word as the preferred medium of history. More recent developments in the field, particularly work by Ann Gray and Erin Bell's *Televising History 1995–2010* project,⁹ strive to analyse how television does history and what kind of history television professionals are creating. Furthermore, the emergent body of work in the areas of production studies and the creative industries acknowledges the importance of production conditions and the practices of media and television professionals.¹⁰

⁵ Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003).

⁶ Amongst others: Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2009); Sian Nicholas, Tom O'Malley, and Kevin Williams, eds., *Reconstructing the Past: History in the Mass Media 1890–2005* (London: Routledge, 2008); Robert Rosenstone, *History on Film / Film on History* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2006); David Cannadine, *History and the Media* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Ann Rigney, *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁷ Amongst others: Ann Gray and Erin Bell, *History on Television* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Amy Holdsworth, *Television, Memory and Nostalgia* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Erin Bell and Ann Gray, eds., *Televising History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Michelle Arrow, 'Broadcasting the Past: Australian Television Histories', *History Australia* 8, no. 1 (2011): 223–46; Dafydd Sills-Jones, 'History Documentary on UK Terrestrial Television, 1982–2002' (PhD, University of Aberystwyth, 2009); Emma Hanna, *The Great War on the Small Screen: Representing the First World War in Contemporary Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Helen Wheatley, *Re-Viewing Television History: Critical Issues in Television Historiography* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007); Tobias Ebbrecht, 'History, Public Memory and Media Event: Codes and Conventions of Historical-Event Television in Germany', *Media History* 13, no. 2–3 (2007): 221–34, doi:10.1080/13688800701608627; Erin Bell and Ann Gray, 'History on Television: Charisma, Narrative, Knowledge', *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 10, no. 1 (2007): 113–33, doi:10.1177/1367549407072973; Myra Macdonald, 'Performing Memory on Television: Documentary and the 1960s', *Screen* 47, no. 3 (2006): 327–45, doi:10.1093/screen/hjl025; Andrew Hoskins, 'Television and the Collapse of Memory', *Time & Society* 13, no. 1 (2004): 109–27, doi:10.1177/0961463X04040749; Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins, eds., *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001); Graham Roberts and Philip M Taylor, *The Historian, Television and Television History: A Collection* (Luton: University of Luton Press, 2001).

⁸ See e.g.: Brian Winston, 'Combatting "A Message without a Code": Writing the "History" Documentary', in *Televising History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe*, ed. Erin Bell and Ann Gray (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 42–58; Hayden White, 'Historiography and Historiophoty', *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 5 (1988): 1193–99, doi:10.2307/1873534; Colin MacArthur, *Television and History* (London: British Film Institute, 1980).

⁹ Gray and Bell, *History on Television*; Bell and Gray, *Televising History*.

¹⁰ Vicki Mayer, Miranda J Banks, and John T Caldwell, *Production Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Amanda D Lotz, *Beyond Prime Time: Television Programming in the Post-Network Era* (New

Representations of history on television are lively artefacts of witnessing the past and constructing memory. These widely accessible images shape our perspectives of the past,¹¹ but their creators select and structure these representations and make them accessible within a specific context. Stuart Hall has reminded us that representation implies 'the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping: not merely the transmitting of an already-existing meaning, but the more active labour of *making things mean*'.¹² Television makers, then, are 'signifying agents' actively involved in such practices of meaning making. The opportunities to provide access to history on television in a particular context and to make contextualised material more meaningful have expanded considerably in the multi-platform era. This also brings new opportunities and challenges for television makers.

In this thesis, I explore practices of representing the past on television as a multi-platform phenomenon to study how television's contemporary representations of past events contributes to the construction of cultural memory. I do so to reflect on how television's convergence with new media technologies has affected its engagement with the past, and subsequently, the medium's role as a mediator of our understanding of the past. I pay particular attention to the strategies of programme creators using archival materials in new contexts and making history programming accessible across media platforms and screens. History and memory are complex processes of discursive struggle.¹³ I study television as a practice of memory in the context of how representations of history are produced and circulated. Therefore, this study primarily examines the poetics of doing history on television, specifically for archive-based history and documentary programming. I do so by analysing new forms of representing history on television in the Netherlands since 2000. The contribution of these television practices to the construction of cultural memory will be analysed by exploring how television professionals in the multi-platform landscape deployed television to inform and educate viewers about the past.

1.1. Contexts and debates

To answer the question in what ways television's contemporary representations of past events contributes to cultural memory, I consider specific contexts and debates about the medium's transformation and its construction of memory. When rethinking the relation between television, history and memory, I reflect on the following perspectives:

1. *The incorporation of other media has become a distinctive feature of television in the new millennium, characterised by highly accessible and participatory forms of user engagement across media.* Media history has changed the perspective on television as a mass

York: Routledge, 2009); Jennifer Holt and Alisa Perren, *Media Industries: History, Theory, and Method* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

¹¹ Vance Kopley and Rebecca Swender, 'Claiming the Found: Archive Footage and Documentary Practice', *The Velvet Light Trap* 64, no. 1 (2009): 3–10, doi:10.1353/vlt.0.0037.

¹² Stuart Hall, 'The Rediscovery of "Ideology": Return of the Repressed in Media Studies', in *Culture, Society, and the Media*, ed. Michael Gurevitch (London: Routledge, 1988), 64. See also: Stuart Hall, 'The Work of Representation', in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Open University, 1997), 13–64.

¹³ Steve Anderson, 'History TV and Popular Memory', in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 22.

medium from short-term history to long-term history.¹⁴ Short-term, top down history is traditionally written from the perspective of prominent or 'great' innovators, leaders and institutions. Long-term history sees media as products of a collective social engagement, which Christopher Anderson and Michael Curtin argue involves not only powerful institutions but also each of us who uses media technologies or encounters television programmes in his or her everyday life.¹⁵ Television has constantly interacted with other media in the course of its history.¹⁶ Accessible and participatory forms of user engagement characterise the current era of convergence. In the new millennium or multi-platform era, media users are witnessing a vast growth of new media and digital technologies, which have transformed the medium of television and national viewing cultures. 'Convergence culture', as Henry Jenkins has argued, therefore represents a cultural shift or a paradigm shift:

'...a move from medium-specific content toward content that flows across multiple media channels, toward the increased interdependence of communications systems, toward multiple ways of accessing media content, and toward ever more complex relations between top-down corporate media and bottom-up participatory culture'.¹⁷

Audiences can engage with and contribute to these news forms of television content. They discuss and share such content on diverse screens and platforms, by linking varied texts through invitations to interact with television programmes beyond and outside of broadcasting.¹⁸ Activities more traditionally associated with fans have become an increasingly common activity among regular viewers.¹⁹ In 2007, Ivan Askwith predicted that television's future would revolve around its emerging role as an engagement medium, meaning 'a medium that draws upon media platforms, content, products, activities and social spaces to provide audiences with a range of opportunities to engage with television content'.²⁰ José van Dijck has pointed in this context to the function of platforms as *mediators*, since platforms do not only facilitate but also shape the performance of such social activities.²¹ According to Suzanne Scott, the next logical step in the medium's trend towards narrative complexity and its reinvention as an engagement medium is

¹⁴ Jonathan Bignell and Andreas Fickers, *A European Television History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008).

¹⁵ Christopher Anderson and Michael Curtin, 'Writing Cultural History: The Challenge of Radio and Television', in *Media History: Theories, Methods, Analysis*, ed. Niels Brügger and Søren Kolstrup (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002), 17–18.

¹⁶ Television has constantly interacted with other media through its mobility of forms across numerous media industries and technologies, see: Michael Kackman et al., eds., *Flow TV: Television in the Age of Media Convergence* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 4.

¹⁷ See e.g.: Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

¹⁸ See e.g.: Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); James Bennett and Niki Strange, eds., *Television as Digital Media* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

¹⁹ Sharon Marie Ross, *Beyond the Box: Television and the Internet* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008).

²⁰ Ivan D Askwith, 'Television 2.0: Reconceptualizing Television as an Engagement Medium' (MSc, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007), 16, <http://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/41243>.

²¹ José van Dijck, *The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 29.

the increased deployment of transmedia storytelling techniques by the television industries.²² Even more ambitious than *cross-media* storytelling – literally storytelling *across* platforms – *transmedia* storytelling includes a distinct production routine, the exploitation of social and digital media embedded in daily life, and changing professions in the television industry, to achieve a deeper engagement with existing televisual practices. The notion of *multi-platform* storytelling refers in the context of my research to both these practices as well as television's transition into a practice of multi-platform storytelling in which content travels across multiple screens and media channels. As the result of the incorporation of internet, tablet and mobile phone technologies into the television experience, many television programmes and practices today function as 'spaces of participation'²³ that are reshaped and co-produced by users.

2. *Television as a multi-platform and dynamic screen practice includes long-established forms of public broadcasting as well as new media and digital practices that are shaped by distinct modes of interaction between television professionals.* The incorporation of other media has become a distinctive feature of the medium in the new millennium, converting television into a practice of multi-platform storytelling in which content travels across multiple screens and media channels. Television seems to function more as a connected experience where traditional broadcasting mixes with digital culture. No longer limited to a relatively stable technology and practice, television content is transmitted on numerous platforms and screens via a variety of distribution and storage formats, and as such, 'television no longer refers exclusively to a single technological medium'.²⁴ Television content has been, as William Uricchio calls it, 'loosened' from a specific distribution format.²⁵

Media theorists have mobilised a variety of concepts and descriptions to try and encompass the current transformation of the medium: from television in the 'digital age',²⁶ television as a 'post-network, post-public service media system',²⁷ to more recently, different forms of television programming in the 'post-network era'²⁸, 'TViii'²⁹, 'broadcast 2.0'³⁰, 'public

²² Suzanne Scott, 'Who's Steering the Mothership? The Role of the Fanboy Auteur in Transmedia Storytelling', in *The Participatory Cultures Handbook*, ed. Aaron Alan Delwiche and Jennifer Jacobs Henderson (New York: Routledge, 2013), 43–52.

²³ Eggo Müller, 'Formatted Spaces of Participation: Interactive Television and the Changing Relationships Between Production and Consumption', in *Digital Material: Tracing New Media in Everyday Life and Technology*, ed. Marianne van den Boomen et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 49–63.

²⁴ Askwith, 'Television 2.0', 16.

²⁵ William Uricchio, 'Television's Next Generation: Technology/Interface, Culture/Flow', in *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. Lynn Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 163–82.

²⁶ Jeanette Steemers, *Changing Channels: The Prospects for Television in a Digital World* (Luton: Luton University Press, 1998); Stylianos Papathanassopoulos, *European Television in the Digital Age: Issues, Dynamics and Realities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), 3.

²⁷ Lynn Spigel, 'Introduction', in *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. Lynn Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 1–35.

²⁸ Lotz, *Beyond Prime Time*, 7.

²⁹ Mark C Rogers, Michael Epstein, and Jimmie L Reeves, 'THE SOPRANOS as HBO Brand Equity: The Art of Commerce in the Age of Digital Reproduction', in *This Thing of Ours: Investigating THE SOPRANOS*, ed. David Lavery (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 42–57.

³⁰ Tim Anderson, 'How iPlayer Will Become Our Player for Your Friends', *The Guardian*, 10 December 2008, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2008/dec/11/interview-anthony-rose-iplayer>.

service broadcasting 3.0³¹, 'complex TV'³², television in the age of 'digital manipulability'³³, 'convergent television(s)'³⁴ and television studies in the 'post-broadcast' era.³⁵ Such descriptions, however, do have a tendency to obscure the recent transformation of television into a multi-platform and dynamic screen practice that includes long-established forms of public broadcasting as well as more contemporary practices, like digital thematic channels. As the essays in the edited volume *Television as Digital Media* make evident, the practices of digital television have long been established within television in the broadcast era.³⁶ Notions like 'post-television', 'post-broadcast', 'post-public service' and 'post-network' do not mean to signal the irrelevance of broadcasting, public service, networks, or indeed, television.

Anderson and Curtin have argued how the cultural turn in recent scholarship has brought about the benefit of studying television programmes not simply as 'the residue of industrial systems, or responses to policy initiatives or the reflection of social concerns'.³⁷ Instead, programmes – and in the multi-platform era their related content as well – are studied as 'texts'. On the one hand, such a research perspective zooms in on the crucial role of programming in television's processes of 'double mediation', which Anderson and Curtin (drawing upon works by John Corner and John Hartley) describe as the institutions of television incorporating and re-directing issues and concerns from society, and transmitting these back to society in a recognisable form.³⁸ On the other hand, television programmes and their related content are *more* than just authored texts, as John Thornton Caldwell has also pointed out.³⁹ Television's recent transformation into a multi-platform practice therefore requires not only a reflection on television texts, but also on the role of television creators as 'industrial actors'. In his work on convergence television, Caldwell argued that whilst televisual form has historically been described in terms of genre, narrative and modes of reception, the social performance of programme making also needs to be considered to fully understand television's new forms.⁴⁰ Television content is created and shaped by television professionals, and is, in the words of Caldwell, 'choreographed through tried-and-proven modes of institutional interaction'.⁴¹ The study of television as a multi-platform and dynamic screen practice therefore includes long-

³¹ Mira Burri, *Public Service Broadcasting 3.0: Legal Design for the Digital Present* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

³² Jason Mittell, *Complex TV: The Poetics of Contemporary Television Storytelling* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2015).

³³ José van Dijck, 'Televisie in het tijdperk van de digitale manipuleerbaarheid' (Inaugural Lecture, University of Amsterdam, 11 April 2002).

³⁴ See the special issue by Gabriele Balbi and Massimo Scaglioni, eds., 'Convergent Television(s)', *VIEW Journal of European Television History and Culture* 3, no. 6 (2014), <http://viewjournal.eu/index.php/view/issue/view/6>.

³⁵ Graeme Turner and Jinna Tay, eds., *Television Studies After TV: Understanding Television in the Post-Broadcast Era* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 5.

³⁶ Bennett and Strange, *Television as Digital Media*.

³⁷ Anderson and Curtin, 'Writing Cultural History'.

³⁸ *Ibid.* See also: John Corner, *Critical Ideas in Television Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); John Hartley, *Uses of Television* (London: Routledge, 1999).

³⁹ John T Caldwell, 'Convergence Television: Aggregating Form and Repurposing Content in the Culture of Conglomeration', in *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. Lynn Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 57.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

established forms of public broadcasting as well as new media and digital practices, which are shaped by distinct modes of interaction between television professionals on different levels in their work.

3. *In the current era of television in transition, the medium is facing profound changes and challenges on institutional, technological and cultural levels.* Shifts in viewing habits, the rise of new media and new technologies are challenging existing systems, forcing broadcasters to redefine their traditional procedures and routines. The manifestation and survival of public broadcasting in the Netherlands will ultimately be dependent on the current reorganisation of the Dutch public broadcasting system. Dutch citizens are presently watching an average of three hours and twenty minutes of television a day.⁴² The increasing convergence of television and the internet, however, has left a considerable mark on the current media landscape. The incorporation of internet use into television programming seems to be an important precondition for the survival of Dutch television networks and channels. The Dutch television industry is keeping up with developments on an international level, by including social and digital media to enhance programming and engage audiences. This development not only seems to be a prerequisite nowadays for getting television on the air or to reach people, but even a recent necessity for a fuller television experience in Western countries. Television programmes offer viewers more possibilities to participate in the television experience before and after broadcasting, and audiences use these possibilities more and more.

New digital technologies play a major role in the transformation of national viewing cultures. For instance, the Netherlands was the second country in Europe to switch off traditional analogue television. The analogue terrestrial signal was switched off on 11 December 2006, some three months after Luxembourg had taken this step, and the same frequencies are now primarily used for digital broadcasting.⁴³ Four out of five people in the Netherlands are estimated to watch programmes via digital, interactive television.⁴⁴ Distributors and networks have boosted this development by offering more channels for digital television, a wider on-demand supply, improvements in HDTV and second screen services, the programming of digital thematic channels and the live streaming of major television events. Streaming services and the continuing convergence of television and internet offer audiences even more opportunities to organise and arrange their own television viewing. New digital technologies have also provided television programmes with more options to expand their services and content.

Television's position is also changing on a cultural level. John Fiske stated in 1987 that television is essentially a domestic medium, and viewing habits are part of the domestic routines

⁴² 'Jaarpersbericht kijkcijfers 2014', *Stichting Kijkonderzoek*, 7 January 2015, https://kijkonderzoek.nl/images/Jaarpersberichten/Jaarpersbericht_2014.pdf; 'Aandeel lineair tv kijken zakt naar 39% van totale kijktijd', *Telecompaper*, 2 September 2015, <http://www.telecompaper.com/nieuws/aandeel-lineair-tv-kijken-zakt-naar-39-van-totale-kijktijd-2--1100114>; 'Nederlanders besteden helft tv-tijd aan lineaire tv', *Telecompaper*, 8 October 2015, <http://www.telecompaper.com/nieuws/nederlanders-besteden-helft-tv-tijd-aan-lineaire-tv--1106694>.

⁴³ Nico van Eijk and Bart van der Sloot, 'How Television Went Digital in the Netherlands', *Mapping Digital Media: Reference Series* 11 (2011): 3–19.

⁴⁴ 'Online diensten voorzien in media-behoeften', *Emerce*, 7 August 2014, <http://www.emerce.nl/nieuws/online-diensten-voorzien-mediabehoefte>.

that organise home life.⁴⁵ Eggo Müller has argued that marketing and development strategies of television in both Dutch and international contexts have transformed television into a 'media centre' that provides television users with access to different forms of media consumption.⁴⁶ Watching television on devices such as a tablet, mobile phone or laptop is becoming increasingly popular, with a quarter of the Dutch population also using a tablet to view programmes in 2014.⁴⁷ Lower prices for screen devices and faster internet connections, not to mention the growing importance of social networking sites, are facilitating a shift from watching television together to an increasingly personal and individual national viewing culture. In today's multimedia landscape, audiences have fast and easy access to audio-visual materials on a variety of screens. As a result, they are learning what Lynn Spigel has described as new 'viewing protocols'.⁴⁸ However, this also signifies that behaviours of viewing are becoming increasingly individual: instead of watching television together, television programmes can be viewed at any time, at any place, as viewing habits are expected to be based more and more on personal selection.

It is evident that internet convergence and multi-platform storytelling has become an important precondition for television programming in the Netherlands. Institutional, technological and cultural developments have profoundly transformed the practice of watching television in the new millennium – and will continue to do so in years to come. On the one hand, the rise of time-shifting technologies and increasingly personalised programme packages has led scholars like Wood and Taylor to argue that television, as a dynamic transgenerational medium, is particularly facing the marketled fragmentation of audiences, taking people away from family viewing.⁴⁹ Television is also increasingly interweaving with other media, for instance social media like Twitter.⁵⁰ On the other hand, recent studies have pointed out challenges to these developments. For example, the fragmented market in Europe forms a

⁴⁵ John Fiske, *Television Culture* (London: Methuen, 1987), 72.

⁴⁶ Eggo Müller, 'Access to the Living Room: Triple Play and Interactive Television Reshaping the Producer/Consumer Relation', in *Information Communication Technologies and Emerging Business Strategies*, ed. Shenja van der Graaf and Yushi Washida (Hershey: Idea Group, 2006), 179–90.

⁴⁷ 'TV kijken met mobiele devices groeit met 46%', *Spot*, 15 December 2014, <http://spot.nl/publicaties/persberichten/spot/2014/12/15/tv-kijken-via-mobiele-devices-groeit-met-46>; 'Trends in digitale media december 2014. SPOT publicatie GfKonderzoek in samenwerking met KVB –SMB, PMA, RAB, en SPOT', *Spot*, 15 December 2014, http://spot.nl/docs/default-source/2014_december/tidm-2014-tv-spot-samenvatting.pdf?sfvrsn=2.

⁴⁸ Spigel, 'Introduction', 6.

⁴⁹ Helen Wood and Lisa Taylor, 'Feeling Sentimental about Television and Audiences', *Cinema Journal* 47, no. 3 (2008): 144–51, doi:10.1353/cj.0.0015.

⁵⁰ For a further reflection on how on social media interact with rather than replace broadcast media, see: Karin van Es, 'The Paradox of Liveness: From the Broadcast Media Era to the Social Media Era' (PhD, Utrecht University, 2014); see also: 'Mediascope Europe: Pan-European Launch Presentation Summary' (Brussels: IAB Europe, May 2012), http://www.iabspain.net/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/07/Mediascope_europe_2012_pan-european_launch_presentation_summary.pdf; Peter van Ammelrooy, 'Twitter en tv verder vervlochten', *De Volkskrant*, 7 February 2013, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/archief/twitter-en-tv-verder-vervlochten~a3389721/>.

challenge to transnational providers of on-demand internet streaming media, such as Netflix,⁵¹ because licenses for television series and movies from third parties need to be purchased for each individual country and the production of their own content is expensive. Traditional ways of watching television are losing popularity amongst youngsters,⁵² but the viewing of and interaction with television content is still very much a part of the many hours young people engage with media daily. A recent study revealed that 15 to 34-year-olds in the Netherlands and Belgium are also still susceptible to traditional media for particular genres like news content.⁵³ The convergence of television as we know it and the internet are therefore important factors to help shape and define the way television will look in the future – although we have already seen striking examples illustrating the fact that the internet does not necessarily trump television.⁵⁴ It is clear that television today is a much more complex phenomenon compared to its beginning as a single television set fixed in the viewer's living room.

4. *Television's contemporary practices of doing history need to be analysed on their own terms.* Edward Hallett Carr has defined history as 'a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past'.⁵⁵ Brian Winston has argued that, actually, 'television is not very good at history'.⁵⁶ This critique, based on Winston's own experiences of making a history documentary series, is grounded in the following. First, the fact that the craft and conventions of programme making for television are shaping televising history, instead of the discipline of history. Second, the constraints of communicating effectively in a time-based medium. Third, the limitations imposed by the construction of images and re-use of archival images, especially regarding range and authenticity.⁵⁷ In this thesis, representing the past on television will be analysed on its own

⁵¹ See e.g.: Peter van Ammelrooy, "'Netflix wordt het toch niet': Vier redenen waarom Europees succes niet gegarandeerd is', *De Volkskrant*, 28 August 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/televisie/-netflix-wordt-het-toch-niet~a4130572/>.

⁵² Paul Onkenhout, 'Jongeren hebben tv niet meer nodig', *De Volkskrant*, 6 October 2009, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/media/jongeren-hebben-tv-niet-meer-nodig~a368047/>; Heleen van Lier, 'Invloed Netflix op tv veel groter dan gedacht', *De Volkskrant*, 23 July 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/-invloed-netflix-op-tv-veel-groter-dan-gedacht~a4106473/>.

⁵³ Anna van Cauwenberge, 'Aandacht voor nieuws bij jonge mensen: crisis?' (PhD, Radboud University Nijmegen and KU Leuven, 2015); Dirk Waterval, "'Mobiele nieuwsgebruikers volgen nieuws als soap': Een nieuw gezicht", *De Volkskrant*, 23 May 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/wetenschap/-mobiele-nieuwsgebruikers-volgen-nieuws-als-soap~a4038104/>.

⁵⁴ When the first hour of the final season of ABC's *LOST* had been leaked online in February 2010, users of a popular social network site voted to 'bury' the video. Fan comments included: "Why spoil it now? [...] I'd rather watch it in hi-def and surround sound than ruin the surprise and watch some (low-quality) video" and "Are people so impatient that they would rather watch a cell phone camera version of the *LOST* premiere than wait one day?" This reaction was not what industry insiders had expected, as 'preview content for heavily serialised dramas such as *LOST* is typically frantically consumed online". However, the final season of the hit show managed to build "such an epic level of anticipation that many fans are doing the unthinkable: refusing to watch the leaks". In: James Hibberd, 'Surprise Fan Reaction to Leaked *Lost* Hour: Many Viewers Refusing to Watch Online, Waiting for TV Airings', *The Hollywood Reporter.com*, 1 February 2010, http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/hr/content_display/television/news/e3i8dec5ca03594f5735074324094257cb.

⁵⁵ Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 30.

⁵⁶ Winston, 'Writing the "History" Documentary', 42.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 42–43.

terms, by studying the poetics of doing history on television. As stated earlier, though much of the debate has been about whether television is able to do history properly, studies that are more recent, strive to analyse *how* television does history. This necessarily includes practices of storytelling – Hayden White has, amongst others, pointed towards the value of narrativity in the representation of real events.⁵⁸ In this context, John Ellis has described history not only as one of the central features of culture, but as 'a branch of storytelling', in the sense that it is a practice of ordering and attribution of meaning, causality and structure. In the words of Ellis, '[h]istories explain past events by gathering and organising evidence of that past' by means of 'finding a way back into the perspective of the time'.⁵⁹ Representations of the past in documentary and archive-based television programming are emphasised in this manner in this thesis, including strategies of cross-media and transmedia storytelling, to study the poetics of televising history and new practices of doing history within the multi-platform landscape. Specifically, television programming and connected media practices that place history at their centre.

Television texts, like other and connected media forms, *help to construct versions of reality*, and these constructions are always open to discussion.⁶⁰ Stella Bruzzi explains this best in her definition of documentary texts as:

'...a negotiation between reality on the one hand and image, interpretation and bias on the other [...] predicated upon a dialectical relationship between aspiration and potential, that the text itself reveals the tensions between the documentary pursuit of the most authentic mode of factual representation and the impossibility of this aim'.⁶¹

In this context, Bill Nichols has notably argued that documentary texts represent the historical world by shaping a photographic record of some aspect of the world from a distinct perspective. They are a *representation* of the world, and this representation of reality stands for a particular view of the world.⁶² Documentary makers working in film and television use a variety of tools, from editing to the choice of presenters, to get their story across to their audience. John Grierson's much-referred-to definition of documentary as 'the creative treatment of actuality' entails that the documentary presents information about the social-historical world, but has to be *more* than a quasi-scientific reconstruction of reality. The documentary maker makes use of a wide range of creative abilities to turn fragments of reality into an artefact with a specific

⁵⁸ Hayden White, 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (1980): 27, doi:10.1086/448086.

⁵⁹ John Ellis, 'TV and Cinema: What Forms of History Do We Need?', in *Cinema, Television and History: New Approaches*, ed. Laura Mee and Johnny Walker (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 12–14.

⁶⁰ Myra Macdonald, *Exploring Media Discourse* (London: Arnold, 2003), 16.

⁶¹ Stella Bruzzi, *New Documentary* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 6–7.

⁶² Bill Nichols has defined documentary as representing reality, since the act of representing the reality of a subject covers a whole complex of relationships, including reporting, engaging in dialogue with, investigating, observing, interpreting and reflecting on that subject. For Nichols' full definition of the term 'documentary', see: Bill Nichols, *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 12–73; Bill Nichols, *Blurred Boundaries: Questions of Meaning in Contemporary Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

social impact.⁶³ These discursive tendencies of documentary, first, seize the viewers' attention because of its evidentiary actuality appeal: the reconstruction or representation of actual events. Second, the documentary maker uses every instrument in the creative toolbox to bring the textual and narrative structure of the documentary material to a level that draws the viewer further in, although the degree of social impact will vary per documentary text and audience.⁶⁴ For television makers working within the field of archive-based history and documentary programming, how to combine the 'representation of reality' with a creative treatment of this reality is crucial to their practice – because this is where the creative conventions of television and the conventions of history meet.

5. *Television as practice of cultural memory concerns the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts.* Recent studies have pointed out the centrality of media to the formation of memory. These studies highlight that memory narratives are not only produced in socio-cultural contexts, but are repurposed and preserved through media practices.⁶⁵ In these debates, media technologies are defined as 'tools that *mediate* between personal and collective cultural memory'.⁶⁶ (my emphasis) The notion of *mediation* refers here to media as the 'in-between', as 'entering into and shaping the mundane but ubiquitous relations among individuals and between individuals and society'.⁶⁷ This development cannot be seen as separate from *mediatisation*, the more long-term and complex meta processes of social transformation 'whereby media become increasingly influential and dynamically integrated in different spheres of society'.⁶⁸ Not only are the ways in which media users today individually remember and forget shaped in part by media texts and images. But this development also affects the work of historians as gatekeepers of official history and collective memory. Aleida Assmann has stated that historians have *lost* their monopoly over defining as well as representing the past: 'What is called the "memory boom" is the immediate effect of this loss of the historian's singular and unrivalled authority'.⁶⁹ Societies continuously negotiate a (shared) understanding of the past and television facilitates such negotiations.⁷⁰ Opening up access to history on television offers the possibility for audiences in post-scarcity culture to make conscious decisions to assimilate

⁶³ John Grierson, 'The Documentary Producer', *Cinema Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1932): 7–9.

⁶⁴ See also: Berber Hagedoorn, 'Shared Textual Authority in the Found Footage Documentary: A Theoretical and Historical Analysis of The Maelstrom, Grizzly Man and My Architect' (MA, Utrecht University, 2007).

⁶⁵ Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers, and Eyal Zandberg, eds., *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, eds., *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009); Huyssen, *Present Pasts*.

⁶⁶ José van Dijck, *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 19.

⁶⁷ Sonia Livingstone, 'On the Mediation of Everything: ICA Presidential Address 2008', *Journal of Communication* 59, no. 1 (2009): 6, doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.01401.x.

⁶⁸ Louise Fabian and Camilla Møhring Reestorff, 'Mediatization and the Transformations of Cultural Activism', *Conjunctions: Transdisciplinary Journal of Cultural Participation* 2, no. 1 (2015): 8.

⁶⁹ Aleida Assmann, 'Re-Framing Memory: Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past', in *Performing the Past: Memory, History and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 35–50.

⁷⁰ Holdsworth, *Television, Memory and Nostalgia*; Jérôme Bourdon, 'Some Sense of Time: Remembering Television', *History & Memory* 15, no. 2 (2003): 5–35, doi:10.1353/ham.2003.0008; Edgerton and Rollins, *Television Histories*.

and discuss televisual images of the past across diverse platforms. This might signify a growing popularity of television history amongst a wider audience, but can also point to a more complex and dynamic relationship between personal and collective cultural memories in the current media landscape.

Various scholars in the field of memory studies have called attention to the notion of cultural memory. Marita Sturken defines cultural memory as 'memory that is shared outside the avenues of formal historical discourse yet is entangled with cultural products and imbued with cultural meaning', which is why Sturken regards it as memory that is 'entangled' with history rather than always opposed to history.⁷¹ More than ever, cultural memory today is reliant on the exchange, circulation and technological capacities of media practices. As Aleida Assmann has argued, individuals and cultures *need* media and cultural practices to organise and express their memories, given the fact that they build their cultural memory interactively through communication in language, images, objects and rituals.⁷² Astrid Erll describes cultural memory not as the object of one single research field or academic discipline, but fundamentally as a 'transdisciplinary phenomenon' and 'interdisciplinary project'. Erll therefore concludes that a favoured standpoint or approach for cultural memory research does not exist.⁷³ Memory studies is a diverse research field where the relatively recent notion of 'cultural memory' distinguishes itself from the concepts of collective memory, popular memory, social memory and *lieux de mémoire* as a *constructive process* with a specific focus on the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts.⁷⁴ Instead of placing the emphasis on sites of memory as relatively stable references for personal and collective memory, cultural memory research today focuses more on how the active relation between present and past is reproduced and how stories are re-remembered. Media are assigned a central role in this process, as research by amongst others Erll and Ann Rigney makes evident.⁷⁵

The mediatisation of history through television is considerable, and even more so in the multi-platform era. Television as a mediator of history includes both commemorative memory practices – anniversaries, commemorations and other broadcasts with an explicit purpose to commemorate – and non-commemorative memory practices – broadcasts which refer to the past and offer opportunities for commemoration but do not have a primary intent to commemorate, such as for example news programming. Television's use of history at the onset of the history boom covered about one-fifth of programmes on broadcast television, as Pierre Sorlin has stated.⁷⁶ Television's references to the past are even greater than one-fifth of

⁷¹ Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 3.

⁷² Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: Beck, 1999); Liedeke Plate and Anneke Smelik, eds., *Technologies of Memory in the Arts* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 9.

⁷³ Astrid Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B Young (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 1–15.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁵ Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, 'Introduction', in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 1–13.

⁷⁶ Pierre Sorlin has argued that 'television makes an extensive use of history, not only with movies and serials but also in documentaries and newscasts, when a look at the background seems necessary to understand the present. How many times have television channels lacking something to show about

programme content on television according to Tony Barta,⁷⁷ and even more so I would argue, if we regard history not as a genre but as a practice being performed in different television forms. Not only does television constantly refer to the past, but the possibilities for televisual references to the past have grown even more rapidly in the cross-media landscape. New and digital technologies have provided television creators with more options for users to access programming and to expand services and content.

Traditional critical work has often regarded television as not having a sense of the past. When Gary Edgerton described television as the primary means through which most people learn about history, he simultaneously stated that the medium is seldom recognised as such.⁷⁸ Being coded as present, immediate and live, critics have conventionally argued that 'memory seems to play no role in television'⁷⁹; television is 'subtly erasing our sense of a past'⁸⁰; 'television operates much more as an absence of memory'.⁸¹ As Spigel has pointed out, '[g]iven its ephemeral nature, television is still largely viewed as disposable culture'.⁸² Television has been widely regarded as 'a key apparatus of popular culture which contributes to the fundamental loss of historical consciousness' because of such perspectives.⁸³ However, I argue that the description of television as a medium without memory has been questionable from the start. Even in the medium's early days when pioneering broadcasts were not preserved, memory narratives of television professionals preserved their production practices. Following increasing literature on memory within cultural studies, literary studies, film studies and photography studies (particularly with regards to trauma memories and witnessing), media studies research initially only showed interest in how television shapes memory, or what is remembered, for specific periods – mainly the early years of television – and specific programmes – primarily

former Yugoslavia used archive footage and retold the whole chronicle of the region? Statistics must not be taken at face value, but it is worth noticing that, according to specialists, history in its different versions makes up about one-fifth of television programs'. Pierre Sorlin, 'Television and Our Understanding of History: A Distant Conversation', in *Screening the Past: Film and the Representation of History*, ed. Tony Barta (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 206.

⁷⁷ Tony Barta has stated in response to Pierre Sorlin: 'I'd go further: if we bring in advertising and sport, the historical references would make up an even greater proportion. Research can be reasonably thorough in sports stories. In advertising, the research has another focus – the ideological triggers that will work with the audience'. Barta, Tony. Quoted in: *Ibid*.

⁷⁸ Gary R Edgerton, 'Introduction: Television as Historian: A Different Kind of History Altogether', in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 1–16.

⁷⁹ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Post-Contemporary Interventions (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 70–71.

⁸⁰ Stephen Bertman, *Cultural Amnesia: America's Future and the Crisis of Memory* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2000), 85.

⁸¹ Mary Ann Doane, 'Information, Crisis, Catastrophe', in *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, ed. Patricia Mellencamp, Theories of Contemporary Culture (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 227.

⁸² Lynn Spigel, 'Our TV Heritage: Television, the Archive, and the Reasons for Preservation', in *A Companion to Television*, ed. Janet Wasko (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005), 92, <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1002/9780470997130.ch5>.

⁸³ Mimi White, 'The Attractions of Television: Reconsidering Liveness', in *MediaSpace: Place, Scale, and Culture in a Media Age*, ed. Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 79.

news.⁸⁴ Recent studies and international conferences have started to further discuss the considerable role of television in the everyday process of remembering and forgetting.⁸⁵ I take the perspective that representations of the past via television play a considerable role in and are a significant part of people's everyday lives in modern societies, and therefore contribute to our cultural memory.

1.2. Case studies

Anton Kaes has argued that memory in the 'age of electronic reproducibility and dissemination' has increasingly become public and socialised by technology. History programming is the end-result of processes of negotiation between network executives, producers and editorial staff members. Consequently, the power over what is shared as 'popular' memory has passed into the hands of those who produce images that shape and legitimise our perception of the past.⁸⁶ Kaes' observation provides a basis for considering the crucial role played by television professionals in the construction of narratives of the past on television in the multi-platform era.

The history boom epitomised a number of new television forms in the Netherlands from 2000 onwards, which are the central focus of this study. Television professionals experimented with storytelling practices made possible by the increased digitisation of archival materials and the inclusion of online and digital platforms. Some of these programmes were partly produced throughout the 2000's with the help of government funding, before the government opted out of this type of funding of television programmes. I focus specifically on those forms of documentary and history programming which prominently re-use archival footage, because of my interest to understand the representation, repurposing and re-use of the past in new historical contexts.

In this context, I concentrate on relevant forms of traditional broadcast television on public service channels; narrowcasting and cross-platform scheduling, particularly in relation to digital thematic channels and documentary platforms, and connected cross-media, transmedia and participatory practices. Overall, I consider the practices of representing the past in archive-based history and documentary programmes. This includes the scheduling and

⁸⁴ Jérôme Bourdon, 'Some Sense of Time: Remembering Television', *History & Memory* 15, no. 2 (2003): 5, doi:10.1353/ham.2003.0008; Myra Macdonald, 'Performing Memory on Television: Documentary and the 1960s', *Screen* 47, no. 3 (2006): 327, doi:10.1093/screen/hjl025; Tim O'Sullivan, 'Television Memories and Cultures of Viewing 1950–1965', in *Popular Television in Britain: Studies in Cultural History*, ed. John Corner (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 158–81.

⁸⁵ See the special issue by Jérôme Bourdon and Berber Hagedoorn, eds., 'European Television Memories', *VIEW Journal of European Television History and Culture* 2, no. 3 (2013), <http://viewjournal.eu/index.php/view/issue/view/3>; Holdsworth, *Television, Memory and Nostalgia*; Mari Pajala, 'Television as an Archive of Memories? Cultural Memory and Its Limits on the Finnish Public Service Broadcaster's Online Archive', *Critical Studies in Television* 5, no. 2 (2010): 133–45, doi:10.7227/CST.5.2.16; Hoskins, 'Television and the Collapse of Memory'; Bourdon, 'Some Sense of Time' The 2012 conferences 'Time Networks: Screen Media and Memory' (NECS, European Network for Cinema and Media Studies, New University of Lisbon and University of Coimbra) and the International Conference on New Media, Memories and Histories (Nanyang Technological University, Singapore) paid notable attention to television as a practice of memory, see the special issue by ; Kai Khiun Liew, Natalie Pang, and Brenda Chan, eds., 'New Media, Memories and Histories', *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 29, no. 4 (2015), <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/ccon20/29/4>.

⁸⁶ Anton Kaes, 'History and Film: Public Memory in the Age of Electronic Dissemination', *History & Memory* 2, no. 1 (1990): 111–29.

contextualisation of history programmes on thematic channels and related platforms, and connected cross-media practices, such as programme websites that repurpose archival images within a new context and incorporate user-generated content into the story production. I draw upon theoretical work from the areas of television studies, memory studies, narratology, media theory and (television) historiography to zoom in on diverse aspects of representing and repurposing the past in each chapter.

This thesis is founded, first, on a textual analysis of the relevant audio-visual cases. Textual analysis can help to reveal the process of the construction of meaning, by providing us with 'a form and language through which the possible results of [...] manipulation can be analysed, discussed and debated'.⁸⁷ Here, I follow Lisa Gitelman's argumentation for the case study as primary mode, to be exact: 'Media [...] are very particular sites for very particular, importantly social as well as historically and culturally specific experiences of meaning. For this reason, the primary mode [...] is the case study'.⁸⁸ Media studies research into spaces of participation is also best served by a specific focus on concrete cases, due to the increased blurring of boundaries between mass media and online media, between creation and production, and the different types of participation in these changing contexts.⁸⁹ Second, I use a production studies approach through semi-structured interviews and the analysis of internal documents to gain insight into creators' strategies of broadcasting and multi-platform storytelling in relation to historical events. Such an approach can bring power relations and creators' motives – and subsequently, their contribution to memory – to the surface.⁹⁰ For instance, interviews can make a television creator's implicit conventions and strategies *explicit*. This approach is firmly based on the belief that, to reiterate Clifford Geertz, the analysis of culture is not an experimental science in search of general laws, but an interpretive one in search of meaning.⁹¹ This study therefore not only adds to media and culture studies research that strives to understand the broader role of media in culture and society, but also to the general responsibility of humanities research to make people familiar with shared cultural heritage.⁹²

Archive-based history and documentary programmes are both television history documentaries and television history programmes that repurpose audio-visual archival

⁸⁷ Glen Creeber, 'Case Study: Shot-by-Shot Analysis', in *Tele-Visions: An Introduction to Studying Television*, ed. Glen Creeber (London: British Film Institute, 2006), 43.

⁸⁸ Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 8.

⁸⁹ Müller, 'Manufacturing Participation'.

⁹⁰ In his description of the history of television institutions, Toby Miller has argued - referring also to work by Laura Grindstaff and Joseph Turow - that television research 'pays hardly any heed whatsoever to the fact that people work to make television, or that citizens work and learn when they watch it'. Toby Miller, 'Television Institutions', in *Television Studies: The Basics*, ed. Toby Miller (London: Routledge, 2010), 61; Laura Grindstaff and Joseph Turow, 'Video Cultures: Television Sociology in the "New TV" Age', *Annual Review of Sociology* 32, no. 1 (2006): 118, doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.32.061604.143122.

⁹¹ 'The concept of culture [...] is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

⁹² See also: Berteke Waaldijk, 'Talen naar cultuur: burgerschap en de letterenstudies' (Inaugural Lecture, Utrecht University, 14 October 2005).

materials to tell a narrative about the past – a practice that has grown considerably since the widespread unlocking of archives, especially audio-visual archives. Because this practice is more common for the permanent, long-running history series and usually not advertised as a single-authored work, creators usually do not stipulate such a practice as a 'documentary'. Both forms are factual television programmes that deal with the past following documentary modes of representation, including the re-use of archival images as a primary means of representation. Archive-based history and documentary programmes differentiate themselves from fictional programming in objective, purpose and type of audience expectations – even though, as I will discuss, in certain instances drama sequences or re-enactment is used by programme makers for specific purposes. These texts have a kinship with what Bill Nichols has called the 'discourses of sobriety' in our society:

'[...] the ways we have of speaking directly about social and historical reality such as science, economics, medicine, military strategy, foreign policy, and educational policy. [...] Like these other discourses, documentary claims to address the historical world and to possess the capacity to intervene by shaping how we regard it [...] this genre still upholds a tradition of sobriety in its determination to make a difference in how we regard the world and proceed within it. For this reason, the notion of the "history lesson" functions as a frequent characteristic of documentary. We expect more than a series of documents; we expect to learn or be moved, to discover or be persuaded of possibilities that pertain to the historical world'.⁹³

The analysed case studies place such a history lesson at their core. However, such programming, as we shall see, also strives to be much more than a typical – and usually rather dry – history lesson. I place the emphasis in this thesis on the nationally and historically specific representation of the past on television in the Netherlands. This choice is in line with Sonja de Leeuw's observation that most television programming predominantly serves a national audience, despite its partially international content.⁹⁴

I analyse in the succeeding chapters how Dutch broadcasters bring narratives of the past into vision in specific case studies. In each chapter, I will subsequently be able to zoom in on a different aspect of representing the past in documentary and archive-based television programmes within the multi-platform landscape. These are the following:

- Chapter 3: the case of the archive-based history programme *ANDERE TIJDEN* [CHANGING TIMES] (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2000–) with a treatment of history based on actuality. By means of this case study, I will be able to zoom in on the role of television as a mediator of past and historical events, with a focus on how television does history and what kind

⁹³ Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, 39.

⁹⁴ Sonja de Leeuw, 'Television Fiction and Cultural Diversity: Strategies for Cultural Change', in *European Film and Media Culture*, ed. Lennard Højbjerg and Henrik Søndergaard (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2006), 92. See also: Dennis McQuail, 'Transatlantic TV Flow: Another Look at Cultural Cost-Accounting', in *Trading Culture: GATT, European Cultural Policies and the Transatlantic Market*, ed. Annemoon van Hemel, Hans Mommaas, and Cas Smithuijsen (GATT, the arts and cultural exchange between the United States and Europe, Amsterdam: Boekman Foundation, 1996), 111–25.

of history are television professionals creating in the case of long-running, weekly history programming;

- Chapter 4: the case of narrowcasting and cross-platform scheduling of previously broadcast history and nostalgia programming on Dutch digital thematic channels, specifically *NPO Doc* and *NostalgieNet*. By means of these cases, I will be able to zoom in on hybridity – mixing broadcast television and digital culture – as well as the role of television professionals as curators in re-screening the past and repurposing past television in relation to collective memory;
- Chapter 5: the case of the World War II documentary project *DE OORLOG/13 IN DE OORLOG [THE WAR/13 AT WAR]* (NPS, 2009–2010) focusing specifically on Holocaust representation through broadcasting and multi-platform storytelling. By means of this case study, I will be able to zoom in on the role of visible evidence, testimony and re-enactment in bringing novel perspectives in relation to official history to the attention of current audiences;
- Chapter 6: the case of the cross-media documentary project *IN EUROPA [IN EUROPE]* (VPRO, 2007–2009). By means of this case study, I will be able to zoom in on the challenges and opportunities of multi-platform story production in the television industry, including cross-media contextualisation practices for sharing and shaping personal narratives of historical events, to work towards a more 'participatory' memory.

As a result, by means of an analysis of these case studies I will be able to shed light on different aspects of doing history on television and television as a practice of cultural memory in the multi-platform era.

These cases have been selected because they are prime examples of, first, a television historiography to engage audiences in what history *felt* like *at that time* through diverse means of representation, and second, a cross-media approach to representing the past via television. The projects were broadcast and provided an online cross-media experience between early 2000 and the first half of 2015, and continue to live on online.⁹⁵ This provides a considerable starting point for a reflection on the interplay between past and present via television. Each case discusses different dynamics in the degree of cross- and transmediality, as well as the choices made by the creators as 'memory makers' to represent a certain type of history. The studied materials entail:

- a) the selected archive-based history and documentary programmes;
- b) related cross-media practices including user-generated content such as online viewer/user reactions;
- c) in-depth interviews with key professionals involved in the projects' production, research and online strategies;
- d) internal documents collected during the interviewing process, such as project proposals and notes for directors; as well as media policy documents;
- e) ratings and visitor data of the series and websites;
- f) relevant supplementary media materials, such as international and national examples of television and radio programmes, books, films, website content and museum exhibitions.

⁹⁵ Available online, see Mediography.

The study of each case will pay attention to textual and narrative, institutional, and cultural-historical perspectives (discussed more extensively in Chapter 2: Poetics as a Research Model). First, because histories on television are constructed – or, to a certain extent 'staged'⁹⁶ – representations of the past have to be considered in terms of their narrative and textual structure. Through a textual analysis of the specific audio-visual cases, this study can give an insight into how and why doing history on television is inflected by televisual codes and conventions, what is remembered, and what materials are used to reconstruct public and private histories and memories. Second, I consider the crucial role played by television professionals as manufacturers of memory, from television producers and image researchers to executives. This study investigates how representations of the past are constructed by industrial actors – who or what decides, and what are the motives? It also pays attention to how recent developments in the media landscape have an impact on television as a memory practice on an institutional level. Third and finally, it questions what the consequences are of the reconstruction of the past on television in the multi-platform era on a cultural-historical level. This study analyses what kind of 'teacher of history'⁹⁷ television is, considering the medium's role in the exposure of Dutch television users to historical narratives and their remembrance of historical events. Rather than asking what *should* be remembered, this study asks what *is* or *can* be remembered.

1.3. Overview

In the following chapters, I first outline a methodology to analyse the poetics of doing history on television, setting up a research model to study different cases in the succeeding chapters. This model of analysis offered in Chapter 2 is made more concrete by studying, respectively:

- how sources and stories about historical events are collected, selected, reconstructed and visualised through particular criteria and strategies in the case of the permanent, long-running history series (Chapter 3);
- the role of television professionals as curators and the meaning of curated connections in the narrowcasting and cross-platform scheduling of previously broadcast history and nostalgia programming on different Dutch digital thematic channels (Chapter 4);
- how a specific selection of strategies represents the Holocaust in multi-platform television documentaries for different target groups (Chapter 5);
- how creators of history television documentary use multi-platform strategies to constitute engagement with twentieth century European history, and what its subsequent opportunities and implications are for the construction of memory and user participation (Chapter 6).

In Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6, I pay attention to specific facets of showing and telling the past in the multi-platform era, respectively, practices of storytelling; practices of story production and user participation; and the circulation of history across digital platforms. The analysis in Chapter 3 provides the framework for the subsequent analyses, and is therefore more extensive in length. Furthermore, in Chapter 3 I first reflect on the status and history of broadcast television in the

⁹⁶ Macdonald, 'Performing Memory on Television', 330–331.

⁹⁷ Kathleen Epp, 'Telling Stories around the "Electronic Campfire": The Use of Archives in Television Productions', *Archivaria* 49 (2000): 53–83.

Netherlands and recent changes within the cross-media landscape to contextualise the case studies in this research project. Finally, in the conclusion I offer a reflection on television as a practice of cultural memory in the multi-platform era (Chapter 7). This final chapter considers how television in the multi-platform landscape contributes to cultural memory in the new millennium through the diverse and new practices of doing history in archive-based history and documentary programming.

While experiences of the past are increasingly mediated through television, and television's history has become more widely available,⁹⁸ television has been largely neglected by historians as a primary archival source.⁹⁹ However, as Kathleen Epp has argued, through television, thousands of viewers receive historical information and so become indirect users of archives. By developing a greater ability to read the televised use of audio-visual archival materials critically, archivists will in turn be better able to provide knowledgeable assistance to television clientele and the general viewing public.¹⁰⁰ An empirical audience study is beyond the objectives and scope of this project, but the preconceptions of television professionals about the target audience of their programming (a history for whom?) and their criteria for doing history tells us much about how television in the multi-platform landscape functions as a 'teacher' of history.¹⁰¹ This study can aid students and researchers of media and modern history in analysing the contributions of multi-platform television towards an understanding of the past. An analysis of key programmes and the study of their practices of storytelling, story production and circulation, principally based on interviews with key professionals and the examination of internal work documents, can give further insight into how television makers develop criteria for doing history in the multi-platform era, and how representations of history on television in the multi-platform era establish connections with the past. Such work is necessarily related to existing practices of historiography, but the medium of television presents creators with a wider range of means of representation to transport and contextualise the past, putting it back into our everyday lives – and even more so in the multi-platform era.

The television forms I focus on in this thesis are contemporary representations of history which do not only reveal the continued importance of televisual representations in modern culture and society, but which I also personally consider to offer a vital contribution to cultural memory. However, the continued presence of these television forms is and will be greatly affected by the current restructuring of the televisual landscape. The studied representations of history are, compared to traditional television practices, more dynamic and therefore, unstable and in constant fluidity. Such developments on the one hand highlight fundamental characteristics of television in the multi-platform era, but these developments on the other hand also form a

⁹⁸ *Europeana* enables people to explore the digital resources of Europe's museums, libraries, archives and audio-visual collections. 'Europeana Homepage', accessed 26 June 2015, <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/>; *EUScreen* offers free online access to videos, stills, texts and audio from European broadcasters and audio-visual archives. 'EUScreen Homepage', accessed 26 June 2015, <http://www.euscreen.eu>.

⁹⁹ Philip M Taylor, 'Television: The First Flawed Rough Drafts of History', in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 244–58.

¹⁰⁰ Epp, 'Telling Stories around the "Electronic Campfire"', 54.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

challenge to the continued presence of such representations of history. However, such dynamics ultimately reaffirm the continued relevance of these television forms in the multi-platform era, and why they should not be forgotten.

2

Poetics as a Research Model

Documentary and archive-based television programmes involve strategies of how television does history in the multi-platform era. From conveying oral and visual testimonies of the past – including television's own past –, revisiting sites of memory, placing memory work within an interpretative and argumentative framework, to repurposing archival television footage for different functions. Such programmes differentiate themselves from fictional programming in objective, purpose and type of audience expectations. These texts have a 'serious'¹ status. Factual or documentary programme makers, as Richard Kilborn and John Izod have also argued, are keen on recreating and reinforcing a sense of the 'authentic'.² In general, a television documentary or archive-based history programme will deploy a mixture of means of representation to do so. How do creators of history programming on television combine academic conventions of history with the conventions of television and the television user? How is the past constructed by marginalising or privileging certain 'memory narratives'? Which rhetorical strategies and techniques are used? Do narratives confirm, undermine or challenge dominant histories? Such a research interest entails studying how television makers deal with the historical truth and claims to authenticity. It also entails studying which means of representation are available to and used by the authors of the text to provide an interpretative framework for the given oral and/or visual testimonies – from editing, the recording and/or adding of sound, the arrangement of shots, to the use of additional footage and the role of 'talking heads'. The critical standpoint and guiding model for qualitative textual analysis in this study is therefore that of poetics, an approach that has been predominantly used in film studies and literary studies. In this chapter, I outline a methodology to analyse the poetics of doing history on television in the multi-platform era. By doing so, I provide a research model for exploring television practitioners' aims, strategies and conventions of contemporary representations of past events, specifically in archive-based history and documentary programming.

The film scholar David Bordwell has adapted the model of poetics for film studies, specifically to comprehend how films are made to elicit certain effects. However, this is a quite different mode of inquiry than a direct media effects approach. Bordwell, together with Kristin Thompson and Janet Staiger, first practiced a historical poetics by outlining the practices and

¹ For a distinction between 'serious' and 'non-serious' texts, see: John R Searle, 'The Logical Status of Fictional Discourse', *New Literary History* 6, no. 2 (1975): 319–32.

² Richard W Kilborn and John Izod, *An Introduction to Television Documentary: Confronting Reality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 91.

strategies of storytelling within classical Hollywood cinema and the principles underlying this tradition.³ Bordwell has subsequently provided a fruitful definition of the concept of poetics:

*'Poetics derives from the Greek word poiesis, or active making. The poetics of any artistic medium studies the finished work as the result of a process of construction – a process that includes a craft component (such as rules of thumb), the more general principles according to which the work is composed, and its functions, effects, and uses. Any inquiry into the fundamental principles by which artifacts in any representational medium are constructed, and the effects that flow from those principles, can fall within the domain of poetics.'*⁴ (my emphasis)

Bordwell makes a claim for rational and empirical inquiry, asking 'middle level' questions out of which bigger issues may 'ripple'. These are questions along the lines of how particular traditions have created normalised options within particular genres, and how filmmakers have worked with these. Importantly, poetics as a model of analysis is not a distinct critical school, but Bordwell characterises poetics by the phenomena that are studied and the questions that are asked about these phenomena.⁵ Above all, poetics is a way of asking questions, and specifically the question: *how does this work?*

This thesis is underpinned by a textual analysis of relevant audio-visual cases and a production studies approach through semi-structured interviews and the analysis of internal documents. In this study, production studies as an approach primarily focusses on the poetics, decision-making processes, motivations and house styles of doing history – in contrast to for instance the contexts of John Thornton Caldwell's research into production studies.⁶ This focus on the forms and conventions of doing history on a micro level will ultimately help to gain insight into the contribution of television creators to cultural memory. The incorporation of other media has become a distinctive feature of television in the new millennium (see Chapter 1: Introduction) and therefore, a textual analysis entails the study of different media. For example, a cross-media documentary project or platform developed by public broadcasters will have television at its core, but also incorporates media like radio, websites, social media, apps, and so on. For this reason, methodological work on textual analysis and the representation of reality⁷ forms an important starting point, but is necessarily supplemented by more

³ David Bordwell argues that 'A film's distinctiveness could in large part be said to lie in its transformations of schemas available to both filmmakers and film viewers. And the researcher could bring those patterns out, and seek causes within the filmmaking community for this whole dynamic'. In: David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, 'The Classical Hollywood Cinema Twenty-Five Years Along', *David Bordwell Homepage*, September 2010, <http://www.davidbordwell.net/essays/classical.php>; David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, eds., *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1985).

⁴ David Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶ See e.g.: Vicki Mayer, Miranda J Banks, and John T Caldwell, *Production Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

⁷ Glen Creeber, 'The Joy of Text?: Television and Textual Analysis', *Critical Studies in Television: The International Journal of Television Studies* 1, no. 1 (2006): 81–88, doi:10.7227/CST.1.1.11; Glen Creeber, 'Analysing Television: Issues and Methods in Textual Analysis', in *Tele-Visions: An Introduction to Studying Television*, ed. Glen Creeber (London: British Film Institute, 2006), 26–38;

contemporary studies in the fields of production studies, media industry studies, historical analysis and the study of multi-platform strategies in broadcast television.⁸ Media texts cannot be studied in isolation. Distinct qualities of media texts, their medium specificity, will also be taken into account.

Bordwell's poetics has proven to be useful as an interdisciplinary framework applied to the study of different media. For instance, the authors in the 2015 edited volume *Storytelling in the Media Convergence Age: Exploring Screen Narratives* apply the approach of historical poetics to storytelling in the media convergence age 'through its linking of screen narratives to their national, institutional and technological contexts of production, circulation and consumption'.⁹ As Emre Çağlayan has observed, whilst the editors do not comment on Bordwell's definition, 'they [...] envision historical poetics not simply as a methodology characteristic of film and media studies but more as an interdisciplinary framework that can be applied to other media'.¹⁰ Çağlayan has commented on the usability of poetics as an interdisciplinary research framework in *Storytelling in the Media Convergence Age*: 'In many ways this testifies to the applicability and usefulness of historical poetics in understanding aesthetic strategies, audience responses, and industrial trends across a range of art forms and cultural practices'.¹¹ Jason Mittell's most recent study further emphasises how poetics is concerned with questions of interpretation, with an emphasis on understanding how a media text works, rather than its meaning or impact. Drawing upon the work of Bordwell and Robert Allen, Mittell has developed the approach of poetics to study television. In his recent work *Complex TV: The Poetics of Contemporary Television Storytelling*, Mittell uses poetics to comprehend how television functions as a practice of (fictional) storytelling, rather than focusing on the social and cultural impact, interpretation or meaning of the stories that

Glen Creeber, 'Case Study: Shot-by-Shot Analysis', in *Tele-Visions: An Introduction to Studying Television*, ed. Glen Creeber (London: British Film Institute, 2006), 38–44; Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

⁸ Craig Allen, 'Television Broadcast Records', in *Methods of Historical Analysis in Electronic Media*, ed. Donald G Godfrey (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006), 207–31; John T Caldwell, 'Cultures of Production: Studying Industry's Deep Texts, Reflexive Rituals, and Managed Self-Disclosures', in *Media Industries: History, Theory, and Method*, ed. Jennifer Holt and Alisa Perren (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 199–212; Keith Beattie, *Documentary Screens: Non-Fiction Film and Television* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Gunn Sara Enli, 'Redefining Public Service Broadcasting: Multi-Platform Participation', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 14, no. 1 (2008): 105–20, doi:10.1177/1354856507084422; Elizabeth Evans, *Transmedia Television: Audiences, New Media, and Daily Life* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013); Annette Hill, ed., *Restyling Factual TV: Audiences and News, Documentary and Reality Genres* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2007); Inge Ejbye Sørensen, 'Channels as Content Curators: Multiplatform Strategies for Documentary Film and Factual Content in British Public Service Broadcasting', *European Journal of Communication* 29, no. 1 (2014): 34–49, doi:10.1177/0267323113504856.

⁹ Roberta E Pearson and Anthony N Smith, eds., *Storytelling in the Media Convergence Age: Exploring Screen Narratives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

¹⁰ Emre Çağlayan, 'Review of *Storytelling in the Media Convergence Age: Exploring Screen Narratives*', *NECSUS: European Journal of Media Studies*, no. Spring 2015 (11 June 2015), www.necsus-ejms.org/storytelling-in-the-media-convergence-age-exploring-screen-narratives/.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

television tells.¹² Roger Silverstone has particularly addressed the necessity of poetics as an interdisciplinary framework when studying television texts in culture and society:

'There is [...] a yawning gap between the expression of the generalities of culture and the specific analysis of a group of television texts, but it is this gap which a poetics of television should aim to bridge'.¹³

By using poetics as an analytical model for studying doing history on television, I will strive to bridge the gap which Silverstone identified. Drawing upon the model by David Bordwell in particular, but also on work by Roger Silverstone and Jason Mittell, I identify a research framework using the model of poetics as a form of critical inquiry. I do so specifically to ask critical questions in relation to selected cases of representing the past, to understand how doing history on television in the multi-platform era works, and why representations of the past on television look the way they do under specific circumstances. Asking critical questions is central to academic research, which at its core is '...a search for answers to questions that not only society, but also the academic discipline, and perhaps we, too, set ourselves'.¹⁴

Poetics in general focuses on three main objects of study, which are form and narrative; style and aesthetics; and thematics. When one aims to understand how something works, it is necessary to gain insight into the aims and principles the studied practices are rooted in. A 'hierarchy of significance'¹⁵ can demarcate which questions are relevant.¹⁶ Bordwell argues that 'conventions are central subjects for poetics, and we can think of norms as the principles which govern conventions'.¹⁷ What is the system of norms, whether they are explicit guidelines or small-scale, unarticulated or implicit rules of thumb? Moreover, what is the hierarchy within this system? These aims and principles are rooted in the practices of the creators. Practices are a 'way of doing things', activities that are constituted and constrained by aesthetic, institutional, technological or practical forces and choices, such as for instance production routines. Finally, how does the creators' strategy, the creative choices shaped by patterns and practices, offer particular viewers/users an experience that can be processed or appropriated in different ways?

¹² Jason Mittell, *Complex TV: The Poetics of Contemporary Television Storytelling* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2015), 111.

¹³ Roger Silverstone, 'The Right to Speak: On a Poetic for Television Documentary', *Media, Culture & Society* 5, no. 2 (1983): 137, doi:10.1177/016344378300500203.

¹⁴ Frank Kessler, 'Het idee van vooruitgang in de mediageschiedschrijving' (Inaugural Lecture, Utrecht University, 11 November 2002). Quote in Dutch: 'Wetenschappelijk onderzoek kan worden gezien als een zoektocht naar antwoorden op vragen die de maatschappij, maar ook de wetenschappelijke discipline, en wellicht ook wij onszelf stellen'.

¹⁵ Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema*, 24.

¹⁶ Bordwell proposes a research framework which focuses on related and connected particulars, patterns, purposes, principles, practices and processing. Particulars (items, details) of a text, and the patterns of narrative and visual style, in turn have specific purposes (functions) assigned to them that govern the narrative. Insight into these purposes can highlight the problems and solutions in achieving the specific result that creators want, and what the benefits and costs are. After identifying repeated particulars, patterns and purposes, questions can then be asked about the principles (norms or guidelines) that underline these factors. Such aims and principles are rooted in the practices of the creators. Finally, the creators' strategy, the creative choices shaped by patterns and practices, offers users an experience that can be processed or appropriated in diverse ways. Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 25.

How do the creators strive to direct the viewers' attention and how is their perception of the flow of images enhanced? What is the relation between the creators' strategies or their creative choices, and the power, control and emotions of the audience?

In this context, Bordwell has argued that two main fields of inquiry need to be pursued to produce reliable knowledge: historical poetics and analytical poetics.¹⁸ Historical poetics questions how and why these principles have risen and changed in particular empirical circumstances. Analytical poetics questions what the principles are according to which a text is constructed and through which particular effects are achieved. Bordwell's contextualisation of poetics and distinction between historical and analytical poetics is effective, but this differentiation is less productive in the study of a poetics of doing history because this particular study has a different research goal. By exploring how television in the multi-platform landscape is deployed by television professionals to inform and educate viewers about the past, I ultimately will be able to analyse the contribution of these television practices to cultural memory through new practices, new forms of distribution, and new possibilities through digitalisation. A poetics of doing history is therefore in itself not a precondition for memory. The question I tackle concerns contemporary representations of the past on television in the multi-platform era since the year 2000. The boundaries between categories such as historical and analytical poetics have become more blurred for these television forms. Rather than making a distinction between historical and analytical perspectives, the study of each case (for an overview of the selected cases, see Chapter 1: Introduction) will pay attention to textual and narrative, institutional, and cultural-historical perspectives. This is a purely heuristic distinction; such practices are necessarily connected and related.

First, because narratives on television – whether factual or fictional – are always a reconstruction, representations of the past are considered in terms of their narrative and textual structure. Through a textual analysis of the specific audio-visual cases, this study can give an insight into how and why doing history on television is inflected by televisual codes and conventions, what is remembered, and what materials are used to reconstruct public and private histories and memories. Television documentaries and archive-based histories are a key source for the construction of history. As a narrative resource, this type of factual programming is capable of 'releasing the submerged voices of history'.¹⁹ Archival television images also have a story to tell. Because representations of the past on television are to a certain extent staged, the construction of history on television has to be considered in terms of its narrative and textual structure. Annette Kuhn and Myra Macdonald have previously analysed the production of cultural memory in British media and television documentaries. Kuhn's work provides a starting point to consider televised texts and testimonies as memory narratives in which the past is mediated, or produced, in the activity of remembering. Recorded acts of remembering are therefore neither representing nor providing access to the past 'as it was'.²⁰ This includes television users offering their own memories on the role of television in their everyday lives on a variety of platforms connected to the television programme, such as websites and forums.

¹⁸ Ibid., 23.

¹⁹ Desmond Bell, 'Shooting the Past? Found Footage Filmmaking and Popular Memory', *Kinema Spring* (2004), <http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=96&feature>.

²⁰ Annette Kuhn, *An Everyday Magic: Cinema and Cultural Memory* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002); Macdonald, 'Performing Memory on Television'.

While Kuhn's ethno-historical approach to cultural memory and media experience functions as a useful general starting point, different conditions than the ones outlined by Kuhn are responsible for shaping the performance of 'memory work' within television documentaries, as Macdonald explicates:

'Television documentary, unlike mainstream film, purports to bring us the testimony of those capable of remembering earlier eras, but sets this within a framework of commentary and archive footage. [...] From the process of selecting participants, to the establishment of location, choice of interview method, filming and editing conventions, memories on television are "staged" within particular parameters'.²¹

I pay particular attention to the different means of representation that are available to and selected by the authors of the text – varying, in short, from editing, the recording and/or adding of sound, the arrangement of shots, to the use of additional footage – and that provide an interpretative framework for the given oral/visual testimonies. These means of 'textual authority'²² constitute the voice of a documentary text. The concept of 'voice' is defined by historian Bill Nichols as the specific way in which an argument or perspective is expressed in a documentary to its audience.²³ This suggests that the argument or point of view of the text can be presented in a more or less explicit manner, and through multiple directorial figures.²⁴ Television series are often conceptualised by multiple directorial figures due to the nature of television work. Means of representation that are conventionally regarded as constituting the voice are, amongst others: editing, the recording and/or adding of sound, the arrangement of shots, and the use of archival footage. Moreover, I argue that conditions which further shape the textual form of the programme, 'from the process of selecting participants, to the establishment of location, choice of interview method, filming and editing conventions',²⁵ need to be included here as well. These means of representation all shape how narratives of the past are represented on television.

Subsequently, guiding questions on the textual and narrative level of doing history on television in the multi-platform landscape are the following:

- What are the materials (themes, subject matters, narrative forms, audio-visual styles) and forms (organising principles) of doing history on television in the multi-platform era?
- How are means of representation utilised to elicit certain effects? Which strategies for contextualisation of the narrative are used? Which strategies for plausibility are deployed to mask the construction of the text?

²¹ Myra Macdonald, 'Performing Memory on Television: Documentary and the 1960s', *Screen* 47, no. 3 (2006): 327–45, doi:10.1093/screen/hjl025, 327–331.

²² Berber Hagedoorn, "'Look What I Found!': (Re-)crossing Boundaries Between Public/Private History and Biography/Autobiography in Péter Forgács' The Maelstrom', *Studies in Documentary Film* 3, no. 2 (2009): 177–92, doi:10.1386/sdf.3.2.177/1; see also: Hagedoorn, 'Shared Textual Authority in the Found Footage Documentary'.

²³ Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, 43.

²⁴ Hagedoorn, "'Look What I Found!'"

²⁵ Macdonald, 'Performing Memory on Television', 331.

- What are the conventions of the storytelling formats? What are regularities or repetition of techniques?
- How does television, and how do television professionals, turn these materials into a specific experience for the television viewer/user?
- How is the television viewer/user engaged or their attention directed by the authors of the text?

Second, this study pays attention to how recent developments in the media landscape have an impact on television as a memory practice on an institutional level. I consider the crucial role played by television makers – as industrial actors – in the construction of representations of the past. Television programmes are the end-result of processes of negotiation between executives, producers and editors. According to Anton Kaes, the power over what is shared as popular memory has passed into the hands of those who produce images that shape and legitimise our perception of the past.²⁶ The power of archives, records and archivists has in the words of Schwartz and Cook often been 'naturalised' or 'denied', meaning that it is according to the authors a largely invisible and rarely questioned power. However, rather than taking this perspective, archives should be regarded as active sites of social power that control the past by privileging or marginalising certain narratives.²⁷ In the same manner that an archivist has a selective amount of material to choose from, an editor makes specific choices from the available audio-visual footage. Likewise, production decisions about whom or what material is allowed to 'speak' play a significant role in 'what gets remembered and what gets forgotten'.²⁸

Therefore, I use a production studies approach to gain insight into television creators' strategies of broadcasting and multi-platform storytelling in relation to historical events. I do so, principally, through semi-structured interviews with key professionals. Interviews with programme makers are a necessary part of constructing a poetics of doing history, to gain insight into the personal perspectives and vision of professionals regarding their work. Such an approach can bring creators' motives to the surface and help make power relations as well as often implicit conventions explicit. Second, I do so through the analysis of television broadcast records, such as concept statements.²⁹ These primary sources have been primarily collected in the interviewing process or are preserved through the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. Examining primary sources is an important strategy in academic television research. Primary written sources – for instance documentation of content research, director's pointers or notes – are valuable knowledge documents, as these have been produced in a specific (historical) context during the original production process. Television professionals are often cooperative and willing to be interviewed by researchers concerning their experiences with television production. However, they are not always sure which aspects of their work process

²⁶ Anton Kaes, 'History and Film: Public Memory in the Age of Electronic Dissemination', *History & Memory* 2, no. 1 (1990): 112.

²⁷ Joan M Schwartz and Terry Cook, 'Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory', *Archival Science* 2, no. 1 (2002): 1, doi:10.1007/BF02435628.

²⁸ Macdonald, 'Performing Memory on Television', 330.

²⁹ Craig Allen, 'Television Broadcast Records', in *Methods of Historical Analysis in Electronic Media*, ed. Donald G Godfrey (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006), 222.

or which written documents are relevant or interesting to preserve. Research into the poetics of doing history can play an important role here.³⁰

Subsequently, guiding questions on the institutional level of doing history on television in the multi-platform landscape are the following:

- Which conventions (formats, specific house styles, unconscious rules of thumb) are these decisions regarding the selection of narratives of the past based on?
- What are the norms and practices impinging on the principles informing these texts?
- How do television professionals as industrial actors work within zones of control and choice, within particular circumstances?

Third, I question what the consequences are of the reconstruction of the past on television in the multi-platform era on a cultural-historical level. This study analyses what kind of 'teacher' of history³¹ television is, considering the medium's considerable role in the exposure of Dutch television users to historical narratives and their remembrance of historical events. Rather than asking what *should* be remembered, this study asks what *is* or *can* be remembered. This thesis uses these cases to explore the new dynamic ways in which cultural memory is created within the cross-media landscape. According to Andrew Hoskins, the distinctions between what was once popular memory and official history have collapsed through television.³² The increased use of repurposed images on television plays a crucial role here in blurring the boundaries between history and memory, by representing the past. Gary Edgerton – who has identified seven key characteristics of television's relationship with history in his collection on television's factual and fictional treatment of history – has claimed in relation to broadcast television that television must be understood as the primary way children and adults form their understanding of the past.³³ In modern media systems, our experience of history is

³⁰ The Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision has been archiving context collections that were handed over by producers, but production documentation of Dutch public broadcasters are not preserved structurally. A more structural archiving and improved accessibility of (written) production documentation is therefore necessary to keep a record of production processes and the business history of public broadcasters in the Netherlands. Academic television research as well as producers and documentalists of (historical) television programmes would greatly benefit from this.

³¹ Kathleen Epp, 'Telling Stories around the 'Electronic Campfire': The Use of Archives in Television Productions', *Archivaria* 49 (2000): 54.

³² Andrew Hoskins, 'Television and the Collapse of Memory', *Time & Society* 13, no. 1 (2004): 109–27, doi:10.1177/0961463X04040749, 124.

³³ These assumptions are the following: 1) 'television is the principal means by which most people learn about history today'; 2) 'history on television is now [by 2001] big business'; 3) 'the technical and stylistic features of television as a medium strongly influence the kinds of historical representations that are produced'; 4) 'the improbable rise and immense popularity of history on television is also the result of its affinity and ability to embody current concerns and priorities within the stories it telecasts about the past'; 5) 'television producers and audiences are similarly preoccupied with creating a usable ['useable'] past,' a longstanding tenet of popular history, where stories involving historical figures and events are used to clarify the present and discover the future'; 6) 'collective memory is the site of mediation where professional history must ultimately share space with popular history'; 7) and finally, 'the flip side of presentism is pastism', a term coined by historian Joseph Ellis, which refers to the 'scholarly tendency to declare the past off limits to nonscholars'. Gary R Edgerton, 'Introduction: Television as Historian: A Different Kind of History Altogether', in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 1–6. See also: Joseph J Ellis, *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1997), 22.

increasingly mediated through television. Therefore, it is not only important to ask how history is reconstructed in the televisual landscape, but also what consequences this has for television as a teacher of history and television as an experience of history – regarding national and international history, and television's own history as a medium. What kinds of historical narratives are constructed and what kind of teacher of history is television via its 're-screening' of references to the past, considering its large impact on the historical knowledge and remembrance of television users? This line of investigation corresponds with memory studies' primary concern with *how* and *why* a remembered version is being constructed at a particular time, rather than whether a specific rendition of the past is historically correct.³⁴

Subsequently, guiding questions on the cultural-historical level of doing history on television in the multi-platform landscape are the following:

- How have the principles of doing history on television informed the television text and its connected multimedia texts in particular historical circumstances?
- How does this text fit into a tradition and how does this work repurpose or reject this?
- Which or what kind of narratives of the past are selected for television?

Different considerations by creators compete and work together at all stages of the production process, as David Ludvigsson's study on the use of history in Swedish historical documentary films has made evident. What is more, Ludvigsson shows how such considerations have a particular influence at different stages of pre-production, production and post-production – hence, 'they are more or less important depending on where in the process the producer puts [...] emphasis on them'.³⁵ In the chapters to follow, I subsequently zoom in on several case studies and I adjust the 'lens' of a poetics of doing history on a textual and narrative level, an institutional level and a cultural-historical level according to the diverse aims, strategies and conventions of the studied production process.

Finally, I draw upon collected ratings and visitor data³⁶ of the selected series and websites where relevant or necessary; for instance, to provide further insight into the nature of users' contributions and user commentary. In the case of *ANDERE TIJDEN* [CHANGING TIMES] (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2000–) (discussed in Chapter 3), one of the conversations in the semi-structured interviews required a measurable follow-up. I therefore chose to supplement the qualitative study of the series' cultural-historical aims, strategies and conventions with a thematic comparison of the number of general programme themes related to historical topics or central events in the Netherlands and the international sphere. However, I do so from the understanding that a quantitative study of general visitor or viewer statistics can only provide some measure of the degree of user interaction, and that a thematic comparison of the number of general programme themes can also only provide some measure of the degree of selection of historical topics, and therefore strive to contextualise such findings within a qualitative study presented in the chapters to follow.

Consequently, by using poetics as an analytical model for studying doing history on television, I am primarily interested in how different means of representation are used, through

³⁴ Edgerton, 'Introduction'. 6.

³⁵ David Ludvigsson, 'The Historian-Filmmaker's Dilemma: Historical Documentaries in Sweden in the Era of Häger and Villius' (PhD, Uppsala Universitet, 2003).

³⁶ Sources: NTR; Nederlandse Publieke Omroep, Publiksonderzoek; VPRO Analyse & Research.

which forms, devices and strategies the television text makes itself plausible and masks its nature as a construction – such as the role of a presenter, the re-use of archival footage, the use of eyewitness accounts or whether to use re-enactment. I ask critical questions of history programming as a secondary source; the role of historians and experts; authenticity; and the problem of oral history. Moreover, how decisions on a creative and institutional level determine which narratives of the past are told; the selection and reconstruction of historical events; how programmes adhere to specific house styles or unconscious rules of thumb; as well as television's need to appeal to a large mass audience and how the past is visualised for different target audiences. Such conventions in my opinion are even more visible in a television series because the large amount of episodes results in a greater cohesion of the poetics. Finally, in the multi-platform era we also should consider how these strategies are expanded through cross-media practices or other forms of contextualisation, to better comprehend the far-reaching consequences of such fundamental changes.

3

The Poetics of Doing History on Broadcast Television: *Andere Tijden*

Peter Burke has argued that 'both history and memory have come to appear increasingly problematic. Remembering the past and writing about it no longer seem the innocent activities they were once taken to be. Neither memories nor histories seem objective any longer. In both cases historians are learning to take account of conscious or unconscious selection, interpretation and distortion'.¹ In the multi-platform era, history television has become an increasingly complex set of practices. I study in this chapter how sources and stories about historical events are collected, selected, reconstructed and visualised in *ANDERE TIJDEN* [CHANGING TIMES] (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2000–).² I do so to gain insight into the role of television professionals in the construction of narratives of the past and what a poetics of doing history on broadcast television might look like.³

ANDERE TIJDEN is an archive-based history programme produced by NTR (formerly NPS)⁴ and VPRO⁵ for Dutch public television. The programme is best described as a topical historical programme.⁶ The programme zooms in on one historical subject per episode in an approx. 30-minute mini-documentary.⁷ The programme aims to shed new light on (almost) forgotten topical matters from the past. *ANDERE TIJDEN* is, as a history television programme, one of a kind in the Netherlands in its premise of taking current affairs as a starting point. This

¹ Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), 44.

² English title by Gerda Jansen Hendriks. The definitive title of the programme, *ANDERE TIJDEN*, was invented by programme maker Niels Cornelissen.

³ An earlier version of this work was presented in this paper: Berber Hagedoorn, 'Television as a Practice of Cultural Memory' (paper, PhD Training School 'Understanding agency in memory transmission across cultural borders', COST Action IS1203 'In search of transcultural memory in Europe' (ISTME), Kaunas, Lithuania, 14 April 2015).

⁴ On 1 January 1995 the Nederlandse Omroep Stichting (NOS) is split into the NOS and Nederlandse Programma Stichting (NPS). Since 1 July 2010, the NPS, together with public service broadcasters Teleac and RVU, has merged in the NTR (NPS/Teleac/RVU), the independent Dutch public service broadcaster specialising in information, education and culture. See: 'NTR Homepage', accessed 21 October 2011, <http://www.ntr.nl>.

⁵ The Dutch public broadcaster VPRO caters to the "creative classes". The broadcasting network describes its guiding principles as creativity, global citizenship, innovation and self-will, and strives to be a hub of skill and expertise, commitment and passion for its audience. See: 'Over de VPRO - Missie', *VPRO Homepage*, accessed 26 June 2015, <http://www.vpro.nl/over-de-vpro/missie.html>.

⁶ In Dutch: "actueel historisch magazine". 'NPS Jaarverslag 2000' (Hilversum: NPS, 2001), 20.

⁷ Although some early broadcasts discuss more than one subject per episode, for instance the first episode (12 March 2000), which focused on the 1909 'ribbon affair' concerning ARP-frontman Abraham Kuyper as well as the violent clearance of squats in Amsterdam on 3 March 1980.

programme format strives to enrich current events with new insights or put historical events into perspective. A notable link with the present motivates the choice for historical subjects: for example Dutch current events, contemporary interests, an important date in history at the time of the programmes transmission, newly discovered facts or never before seen footage. Historical events from the twentieth century are depicted through archival footage and interviews with people who were directly involved with the events at the time. The programme also fore-fronted cross-media spreadability. From 1999–2000 onwards, the television makers stipulated an accompanying website as a condition with the programme. Furthermore, from Spring 2008 onwards, a sports history version is produced by NOS and VPRO, titled *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT* [CHANGING TIMES SPORT] (NPS/NOS/VPRO, 2008–).

Before further introducing the case of *ANDERE TIJDEN*, I first briefly reflect on the status and history of broadcast television in the Netherlands and recent changes within the cross-media landscape, to contextualise the different case studies in this research project. Then, I use poetics as an approach for exploring television practitioners' aims, strategies and conventions of contemporary representations of past events (see Chapter 2 for methodology). I consider the aims, strategies and conventions on an institutional level first, using poetics as an analytical model for studying doing history on broadcast television. On an institutional level, I consider specifically:

- 1) contexts of production;
- 2) the genesis of a tradition for permanent, long-running history programme making;
- 3) the move towards a collaborative, cross-media practice of weekly history programming.

Second, on a textual and narrative level, specifically:

- 1) the different roles of the presenter;
- 2) the re-use of archival footage;
- 3) eyewitness accounts and on-screen remembrance.

Third, on a cultural-historical level, specifically:

- 1) history programming as a secondary source;
- 2) drama and re-enactment;
- 3) the role of historians and experts;
- 4) authenticity;
- 5) the problem of oral history;
- 6) targeting the audience: a history for whom?
- 7) finally, the selection and reconstruction of historical events.

This study is founded on an analysis of the project and its creators' strategies of representing the past in archive-based history programming. The studied materials entail the following:

- a) the television programmes *ANDERE TIJDEN* and *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT*;
- b) in-depth interviews with key professionals involved in the programme's production, research and online strategies;
- c) internal documents collected in the interviewing process, such as project proposals and notes for directors;
- d) related cross-media practices between 2000 and the first half of 2015, specifically the *ANDERE TIJDEN* programme website;

- e) a thematic comparison of the number of general programme themes related to historical topics or central events in the Netherlands and the international sphere;
- f) relevant supplementary media materials, such as international and national examples of television and radio programmes, books and website content.

3.1. Broadcast television in the Netherlands: a short history

The contemporary Dutch public broadcasting system has its roots in institutional, technological and cultural developments of the early decades of the twentieth century. Throughout its history and different stages of convergence, the medium has provided people in the Netherlands with a shared experience of cultural identity, '*an anchor point in the experience of cultural identity, in the search for and identification of standards and values of groups of varying composition and size*'.^{8,9} (my emphasis) In 1924, inspired by the development of public radio in the United States, the Hilversumsche Draadloze Omroep [Hilversum Wireless Broadcasting Company, HDO] started national radio broadcasts of popular music and comedy shows. Technology company Philips was one of HDO's early sponsors, hoping to sell its do-it-yourself radio set.¹⁰ The popularity of these shows, the possibility of receiving foreign radio broadcasts and the introduction of factory constructed radio sets lead to the initiation of several broadcasting organisations. These represented the most influential groups in Dutch society at that time, primarily organised around religious groups. From Christmas 1924 to the summer of 1926, four broadcasting organisations started their broadcasts. These organisations would become a permanent factor in the Dutch broadcasting system: the Nederlandsche Christelijke Radio Vereniging [Dutch Christian Radio Association, NCRV], the Katholieke Radio Omroep [Catholic Radio Broadcasting, KRO], the Vereniging van Arbeiders Radio Amateurs [Association of Worker Radio Amateurs, VARA] and the Vrijzinnig Protestantse Radio Omroep [Liberal Protestant Radio Broadcasting, VPRO].¹¹ A year later, HDO was renamed to Algemene Vereniging Radio Omroep [General Association for Radio Broadcasting, AVRO]. In 1930, the Dutch government granted the four largest broadcasters, NCRV, KRO, VARA and AVRO, the right to develop 95% of the programming on two national government controlled radio stations. The remaining 5% was designated to smaller broadcasters, including VPRO. This national broadcasting system was strictly non-commercial and broadcasters had to finance

⁸ Sonja de Leeuw, 'Hoe komen wij in beeld? Cultuurhistorische aspecten van de Nederlandse televisie' (Inaugural Lecture, Utrecht University, 6 November 2003), 6. Quote in Dutch: 'Als zodanig kan [televisie] mensen een ankerpunt bieden in de ervaring van culturele identiteit, in het zoeken naar en herkennen van normen en waarden die groepen, van uiteenlopende samenstelling en omvang, als gemeenschappelijk ervaren'.

⁹ All translations by the author.

¹⁰ Huub Wijffjes and Bert Hogenkamp, 'De dageraad van de eeuw van beeld en geluid: 1900–1930', in *Een eeuw van beeld en geluid: cultuurgeschiedenis van radio en televisie in Nederland*, eds. Bert Hogenkamp, Sonja de Leeuw, and Huub Wijffjes (Hilversum: Beeld en Geluid, 2012), 45.

¹¹ Sonja de Leeuw, *Televisiedrama: podium voor identiteit. Een onderzoek naar de relatie tussen omroepidentiteit en Nederlands televisiedrama, 1969–1988* (Amsterdam: Otto Cramwinckel, 1995); Wijffjes and Hogenkamp, 'De dageraad van de eeuw van beeld en geluid'; Sonja de Leeuw, 'Van toverspiegel tot droomfabriek: Nederlands televisiedrama', in *Omroep in Nederland: vijftien jaar medium en maatschappij, 1919–1994*, eds. Huub Wijffjes and Eric Smulders (Zwolle: Waanders, 1994), 207–39; Huub Wijffjes, *Hallo hier Hilversum: driekwart eeuw radio en televisie* (Weesp: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1985).

their activities from subscriptions and selling programme guides. Consequently, there were strong ties between the broadcasters and their subscribers, but a fierce competition between the broadcasting companies.¹²

World War II brought challenges to the broadcasting system.¹³ After the war, the broadcasting system was restored to as it was before the war, with the addition of facilities management organisation Nederlandsche Radio Unie [Dutch Radio Union, NRU], which was also responsible for the combined programming of the broadcasters.¹⁴ During the recovery of Dutch society after World War II, government officials saw television as an unnecessary luxury.¹⁵ Although there were reservations in the Dutch government, the broadcasting organisations were permitted to start experimenting with television broadcasts from 1951 onwards. To collaborate in the programme scheduling, the Nederlandse Televisie Stichting [Dutch Television Foundation, NTS] was established by the broadcasting organisations NCRV, KRO, VARA and AVRO. Each of the broadcasters produced their NTS broadcasts individually, resulting in a 'pillarised' (in Dutch: *verzuild*) television broadcasting system equivalent to the radio broadcasting system.¹⁶ From 1956 onwards, the four broadcasting organisations and NTS were the statutory television broadcasters in the Netherlands, with the NTS scheduling public service programming such as daily news and sports, and the individual broadcasters scheduling programmes aimed at their subscribers. Additionally, the broadcasters were given more financing from the government via a television tax for citizens owning a television set.

The pillarised system of power and competition between the different broadcasters has constantly been a defining characteristic of the Dutch public broadcasting system. The foundation of the broadcaster Televisie en Radio Omroep Stichting [Television and Radio Broadcasting Foundation, TROS] in 1964 was one of the initiatives to create a broadcasting association for the Dutch general public scheduling more informal programmes, as opposed to the formal programmes of NTS.¹⁷ In the late 1960s, the Dutch government responded to the need for a more modern broadcasting system, by introducing the 1967 Broadcast Legislation, de 'Omroepwet'. This legislation regulated the broadcasting of commercials on television and the possibility for new broadcasters to join the public broadcasting system. This legislation required the existing and prospective broadcasting organisations to represent an important part of Dutch society and its programming to be of general interest. Commercialism was explicitly prevented; broadcasting organisations were not allowed to make a profit. Revenues from broadcasting commercials were used to finance the broadcasting organisations. Furthermore,

¹² Huub Wijffjes, 'Veelkleurige radiogemeenschappen: 1930–1960', in *Een eeuw van beeld en geluid: cultuurgeschiedenis van radio en televisie in Nederland*, eds. Bert Hogenkamp, Sonja de Leeuw, and Huub Wijffjes (Hilversum: Beeld en Geluid, 2012), 58–99.

¹³ Onno Sinke, 'Onderling strijdend voor de goede zaak: Radio Oranje en De Brandaris', *Tijdschrift voor mediageschiedenis* 8, no. 1 (2005): 97–109; Wijffjes, 'Veelkleurige radiogemeenschappen', 68–69.

¹⁴ Wijffjes, 'Veelkleurige radiogemeenschappen', 73.

¹⁵ Andreas Fickers, 'Op zoek naar televisie: 1925–1960', in *Een eeuw van beeld en geluid: cultuurgeschiedenis van radio en televisie in Nederland*, eds. Bert Hogenkamp, Sonja de Leeuw, and Huub Wijffjes (Hilversum: Beeld en Geluid, 2012), 121.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 127–128.

¹⁷ Sonja de Leeuw, 'Televisie verbindt en verdeelt: 1960–1985', in *Een eeuw van beeld en geluid: cultuurgeschiedenis van radio en televisie in Nederland*, eds. Bert Hogenkamp, Sonja de Leeuw, and Huub Wijffjes (Hilversum: Beeld en Geluid, 2012), 153.

the NTS and NRU were merged into the Nederlandse Omroep Stichting [Dutch Broadcasting Foundation, NOS] to promote collaboration between the individual broadcasters and schedule public service programming.¹⁸ The pillarised organisation of the system was maintained by amendments to the legislation in 1980: broadcasting organisations needed to prove that they were representing a certain societal, cultural or religious movement in Dutch society.¹⁹

An intensifying discussion regarding commercial television in the 1980s culminated in multiple media legislatures. In 1988, foreign commercial broadcasters were allowed to broadcast in the Netherlands. The first Dutch commercial broadcaster used this legislature to circumvent the ban on Dutch commercial television broadcasting by starting broadcasting RTL Véronique from Luxembourg. Subsequently, in 1992, commercial broadcasting was legalised in the Netherlands. The then nine most important public broadcasters were encouraged by the Dutch government to compete with commercial broadcasters by collaborating more and to categorise their scheduling on the three public channels along three themes: ideology/human-oriented, popular entertainment, and social-oriented/progressive.²⁰ This resulted in less subscriber-oriented and more channel-oriented production of broadcasts by the public broadcasting organisations. Furthermore, from the end of the 1990s onwards, the public broadcasting system becomes more centralised. The broadcasting concession is no longer granted to individual broadcasters, but to the NOS, which was split into the administrative NOS, the broadcaster NOS (news and sports) and the Nederlandse Programma Stichting [Netherlands Programming Foundation, NPS] which scheduled cultural, informative, and youth programmes. The administrative NOS – later NPO [Dutch Public Broadcasting] – was responsible for protecting the interests of all public broadcasters and was assigned the responsibility for scheduling on the three public channels.²¹

Despite disagreements between the individual broadcasters and the NPO, centralisation of the Dutch public broadcasting system continued in the new millennium. Furthermore, in Dutch society and government, the public service tasks and purpose of the public broadcasters is heavily discussed. The 2009 Mediawet [Media Act] brings five-yearly audits that assess not the individual broadcasting organisations, but the NPO as a whole.²² Scheduling becomes even more focused on the three channels' themes and the branding of these channels is seen as more important than the traditional identity of the broadcasting organisations.²³ Furthermore, the public broadcasters are granted the right to develop websites, digital channels and mobile services in addition to radio and television without first getting permission from the government. The public broadcasters start to develop programme scheduling across different channels, not only the traditional broadcasting channels, but also on special thematic channels

¹⁸ Ibid., 166.

¹⁹ Ibid., 167.

²⁰ 'Beeld en Geluid Wiki', accessed 26 June 2015, <http://www.beeldengeluidwiki.nl/>.

²¹ Sonja de Leeuw, 'Televisie en actief publiek: 1985–2000', in *Een eeuw van beeld en geluid: cultuurgeschiedenis van radio en televisie in Nederland*, eds. Bert Hogenkamp, Sonja de Leeuw, and Huub Wijffjes (Hilversum: Beeld en Geluid, 2012), 245–246.

²² 'Beeld en Geluid Wiki'.

²³ Eggo Müller, 'Televisie in een convergerend medialandschap: 1995–2010', in *Een eeuw van beeld en geluid: cultuurgeschiedenis van radio en televisie in Nederland*, eds. Bert Hogenkamp, Sonja de Leeuw, and Huub Wijffjes (Hilversum: Beeld en Geluid, 2012), 310.

and on-demand via their websites. In 2010, NPS and two educative broadcasters [Teleac and RVU] merge into the NTR, with a focus on education, culture, youth and diversity scheduling.²⁴

An important challenge regarding the use of archival footage in television programming originates from increasing digitalisation: copyright and license fees to use this footage has to be obtained not only for one broadcast on linear television, but also for on-demand distribution via the internet.²⁵ Not only are these license fees higher, but also rightful authors are myriad and often difficult to locate.²⁶ However, since the early 2010s the public broadcasting system has seen increasing budget cuts, and was forced to organise more efficiently. Furthermore, advancing technology has brought a greater demand of non-linear television viewing. The NPO therefore was obliged to reduce the number of channels, including digital thematic channels and centralising its web content.²⁷ This means a reduced role for digital thematic channels, as the three public television channels will continue to be the main linear channels. Five of the eight digital thematic channels will remain – news, politics/sports, cultural documentaries, youth and 'best of' archival material.²⁸ This brings new challenges also for programmes such as *ANDERE TIJDEN*, considering the large amounts of archival footage re-used in the series and accompanying rights issues for circulation on on-demand channels.

3.2. The case of *ANDERE TIJDEN*

Historian Hans Goedkoop has presented *ANDERE TIJDEN* ever since its first episode on 12 March 2000. Since September 2006, Goedkoop presents the programme directly from the building of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision in Hilversum. In collaboration with NOS, VPRO also produces *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT*, which follows the same format with a focus on either memorable or (almost) forgotten events from the history of sport.²⁹ Sports journalist Tom Egbers from the Olympic Stadium in Amsterdam provides presentation and voice-over narration. Next to broadcasting, both programmes have their own programme website and are transmitted on the digital thematic channel *NPO Geschiedenis* [*NPO History*], previously

²⁴ 'Beeld en Geluid Wiki'.

²⁵ André Nuchelmans, 'Publieke omroepen en digitale platformen: Een blik op het verleden en op de toekomst', *Boekman*, no. 98 (2014): 33.

²⁶ D A Korteweg and P B Hugenholtz, 'Digitalisering van audiovisueel materiaal door erfgoedinstellingen: Modellen voor licenties en vergoedingen' (Amsterdam: Instituut voor Informatierecht Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2011).

²⁷ 'Meerjarenbegroting Nederlandse Publieke Omroep 2010–2014' (Hilversum: NPO, 2009).

²⁸ 'Het publiek voorop: Concessiebeleidsplan 2016–2020' (Hilversum: NPO, 2015).

²⁹ The first four episodes of *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT* (2008, 8 episodes) focus on previous performances of the Dutch football team in the European Championship tournament. This is in reference to the European Championship football tournament in Austria/Switzerland, one of the two major upcoming sport events in the summer of 2008. The latter four episodes focus on previous performances of Dutch sportsmen and women in the Olympic Games, in reference to the other major sport event that summer: the Olympic Games in Peking. The second season (2009, 8 episodes) focuses on relatively unknown stories of Dutch sportsmen from the worlds of football (three episodes), motor sport, boxing, tennis (all 1 episode) and cycling (2 episodes). The third season (January–February 2010, 4 episodes) about memorable sport skating men and women is produced in reference to the Olympic Winter Games in Vancouver, Canada. The fourth season (June–July 2010, 4 episodes) focuses on previous performances of the Dutch football team in the World Championship tournament in reference to the upcoming World Championship football tournament in South Africa. The fifth season (2011, 3 episodes) again focuses on Dutch skating champions.

Geschiedenis24 and */Geschiedenis TV*,³⁰ often featuring additional archival materials not incorporated in the original programme. Together with the historical radio programme OVT [SIMPLE PAST TENSE] (VPRO, 1992–), ANDERE TIJDEN provides the main foundation for the *NPO Geschiedenis* website (previously *Geschiedenis24* and */Geschiedenis*) and its multimedia library. ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT also provides an online website and programme archive. Editors-in-chief Ad van Liempt and Carla Boos have edited a series of books based on stories featured in ANDERE TIJDEN and on the ANDERE TIJDEN website.³¹ From February 2011 onwards, the historical magazine *Historisch Nieuwsblad* [*Historical Newspaper*] publishes a feature coinciding with the broadcast episodes. ANDERE TIJDEN has received several awards and prizes for the programme's visualisation of and research into historical narratives, including the prestigious Zilveren Nipkowschijf.³²

In its second year of broadcasting, ANDERE TIJDEN reaches its highest viewing figure of 640,000 viewers³³. In 2004, the seventy minute ANDERE TIJDEN SPECIAL [CHANGING TIMES SPECIAL] (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2004–), a yearly broadcast, usually not including interviews or expository commentary, but solely consisting of Dutch archival materials, is watched by over a million viewers (1,280,000 viewers) with an appreciation figure of 8.5/10. Between 2005 and 2010, the programme continues to receive steady ratings (with top watched episodes reaching between 673,000–867,000 viewers) and high appreciation figures from viewers (varying between 7.6/10 and 8.3/10)³⁴. The ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT series draws in even more viewers throughout the years, with ratings averaging between 800,000 and 1,000,000³⁵. To place this in perspective, in the Netherlands there are about 7.5 million television connections with on average 1.7 televisions per connection.³⁶ The episode about Hilbert van der Duim (HILBERT VAN DER DUIM, MEER DAN EEN CLOWN [HILBERT VAN DER DUIM, A COLOURFUL SKATER],

³⁰ The digital thematic channel *Geschiedenis24* merged with thematic channels broadcasting scientific and social programmes on *NPO Doc* (previously *Holland Doc*) in 2012, as a result of economy measures. See: 'Geschiedenis, wetenschap en samenleving op één themakanaal: Publieke Omroep vermindert aantal kanalen', *NPO Geschiedenis Homepage*, 31 August 2011, <http://www.npogeschiedenis.nl/nieuws/2011/augustus/Geschiedenis24-en-de-themakanalen.html>.

³¹ In addition, in September 2008 a 45-hour long DVD box with selected episodes is released, focusing on the following ten themes: World War II; Dutch politics; the Royal Family; Daily life in the Netherlands; Sport; Culture in the Netherlands; Traces of the War; The Cold War; The Netherlands and the World; The Colonies.

³² ANDERE TIJDEN has received several honours and prizes including the prestigious Zilveren Nipkowschijf (Dutch media critics award, season 2001–2002), the Comenius Euromedia medal from the European Organisation for Education and Information in 2002, Gouden Beeld 2004 (category 'Informative') for the ANDERE TIJDEN SPECIAL: WOII IN AMATEURFILM (NPS/VPRO, 4 May 2004) (1,280,000 viewers) and the 2008 NWO Eureka-prize (Media prize best television or radio programme in popularising science and knowledge). Ad van Liempt receives the Sound and Vision Oeuvre Award in 2009 and Honourary Nipkowschijf in 2010. The programme website receives a Pritchett award.

³³ 'NPS Jaarverslag 2001' (Hilversum: NPS, 2002).

³⁴ *Ibid.*; 'NPS Jaarverslag 2002' (Hilversum: NPS, 2003); 'NPS Jaarverslag 2003' (Hilversum: NPS, 2004); 'NPS Jaarverslag 2004' (Hilversum: NPS, 2005); 'NPS Jaarverslag 2005' (Hilversum: NPS, 2006); 'NPS Jaarverslag 2006' (Hilversum: NPS, 2007); 'NPS Jaarverslag 2007' (Hilversum: NPS, 2008); 'NPS Jaarverslag 2008' (Hilversum: NPS, 2009); 'NPS Jaarverslag 2009' (Hilversum: NPS, 2010); 'NPS Jaarverslag 2010' (Hilversum: NPS, 2011).

³⁵ Henk Stouwdam, 'Foekje Dillema wint wél op documentairefestival', *NRC Handelsblad*, 11 October 2012.

³⁶ 'TV in Nederland 2014' (Amsterdam: Stichting Kijkonderzoek, 2015).

NOS/VPRO, 9 January 2011), a famed Dutch speed skater, reached 1,327,000 viewers³⁷ and similar figures were reported for an episode featuring the World Cup Football final match between West-Germany and the Netherlands (WK '74: WAAROM DE DUITSERS WONNEN [WORLD CUP 1974: WHY THE GERMANS WON], NOS/VPRO, 11 July 2014; 1,346,000 viewers)³⁸, while the episode featuring amateur videos of the World Cup Football of 1978 (WK '78 DOOR ANDERE OGEN [WORLD CUP 1978: UNIQUE FOUND FOOTAGE], NOS/VPRO, 6 July 2014), in which the Netherlands lost the final against host Argentina – still a hotly contested match in Dutch football history – was seen by 1,400,000 viewers.³⁹ This number was even trumped by the episode featuring the 1997 Elfstedentocht in 2014, titled DE TERUGGEVONDEN ELFSTEDENTOCHT [FOUND FOOTAGE OF THE 11-CITY SKATING RACE] (NOS/VPRO, 12 January 2014) – a vast number of 1,532,000 viewers tuned in to this episode.⁴⁰

3.3. Institutional aims, strategies and conventions

3.3.1. Contexts of production: from a corner seat to an institution of history television

In 1992, programme maker and historian Gerda Jansen Hendriks addresses the lack of a tradition of permanent, long-running history programming on television in the Netherlands. Jansen Hendriks makes this statement in the initial format proposal for what would later develop into the historical programme *ANDERE TIJDEN*, as follows:

'There is *no tradition* of historical programmes on Dutch television. Now and then, there are documentaries, or a series. However, there is nothing that resembles programmes like *DAMALS* (ZDF, 1984–2000) or *TIMEWATCH* (BBC, 1982–). Foreign countries do not at all always trump the Netherlands, so why should the many treasures in film, television and radio archives, the beautiful stories that people can tell, and the demand to learn more about the recent past, not be put to use over here?'^{41,42} (my emphasis)

In fact, the Netherlands are criticised for not devoting enough broadcasting time to history in general. In 1998, art reporter Raymond van den Boogaard airs his dissatisfaction in the national newspaper *NRC Handelsblad*, arguing the need for a 'corner of the past' on Dutch public television:

'Dutch television does so little on history, making it seem like the Netherlands and the rest of the world were only invented yesterday. A regularly recurring history programme

³⁷ 'Kijkcijfers', *NRC Handelsblad*, 17 January 2011.

³⁸ 'Kijkcijfers', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 8 July 2014.

³⁹ 'Sport ook zonder wedstrijden goed bekeken', *ANP*, 7 July 2014.

⁴⁰ 'Kijkcijfers', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 14 January 2014.

⁴¹ Gerda Jansen Hendriks, 'Zuiderzeeballade: een programma over de Nederlandse geschiedenis (Internal document)', November 1992, 3. Quote in Dutch: "[E]r is op Nederlandse televisie geen traditie van historische programma's. Er zijn af en toe documentaires, er is af en toe een serie. Maar er is niets dat lijkt op rubrieken als *DAMALS* (ZDF) of *TIMEWATCH* (BBC). Het buitenland doet het lang niet altijd beter dan Nederland, maar waarom zou er hier geen gebruik worden gemaakt van de vele schatten in film-, televisie- en radio-archieven, van de mooie verhalen die mensen kunnen vertellen, van de behoefte om wat meer over het recente verleden te weten?'

⁴² All translations by the author.

is apparently to high an aim for the Dutch people. [...] Is there truly no corner for a historical programme, between all the medical programmes and broadcasts on ethical issues across three public service channels? [...] The past does not lay idle – outside of the Netherlands that is'.⁴³

The Netherlands do have a long-standing tradition of documentary film and television production. Throughout the 1990s, several broadcasters within the public broadcasting corporation produce history documentaries, or deal with the past in the context of a documentary programme or series. The weekly NRCV series DOKUMENT [DOCUMENT] (NRCV/2Doc, 1990–) and the NPS/VPRO documentary programme DOKWERK [DOCKWORK] (NPS/VPRO, 2000–2006) broadcast a number of documentaries which deal with the past, such as ON THE AIR (NRCV, 28 February 1992) about the history of the medium radio, and DUTCH APPROACH (NPS, 2000) about the Moluccan actions in 1970–1978. The documentary series WIE WAS JE OPA'S OPA, OPA? [WHO WAS YOUR GRANDFATHER'S GRANDFATHER, GRANDFATHER?] (VPRO, 1989–1990) looks back on the family history of several Dutch children through interviews and information from archives in twelve episodes. The three-part RVU documentary series WIJ SLAVEN VAN SURINAME [WE SLAVES OF SURINAM] (RVU, 1999) reflects on the history of Surinam people, including Anton de Kom and Louis Doedel. World War II is a favourite subject, given the fact that the year 1990 marked the 50-years-ago occupation of the Netherlands.⁴⁴ Prime examples are the remake of the 1960–1966 historical text DE BEZETTING [THE OCCUPATION] (NOS, 1989–1990) and the history documentary series NA DE OORLOG [AFTER THE WAR] (NPS, 1995). The VPRO current affairs programme DIOGENES (VPRO, 1985–1998) features historical reportages from abroad. Jansen Hendriks⁴⁵ hones her skills at DIOGENES, next to documentary makers like Paul Cohen. In 1986, the VPRO starts a permanent historical radio programme, HET SPOOR TERUG [THE TRAIL BACK] (VPRO, 1986–) and continues in 1992 to broadcast a regularly recurring historical programme on radio: OVT (VPRO, 1992–), which stands for ONVOLTOOID VERLEDEN TIJD [SIMPLE PAST TENSE]. Historians, experts or

⁴³ Raymond van den Boogaard, 'Een hoekje voor het verleden', *NRC Handelsblad*, 11 November 1998, 29. Quote in Dutch: 'De Nederlandse televisie doet zo weinig aan geschiedenis, dat het soms lijkt alsof Nederland en de rest van de wereld pas gisteren zijn uitgevonden. Een regelmatig terugkerend geschiedenisprogramma achten de Hilversumse bedenkers kennelijk te hoog gegrepen voor ons volk. [...] Zou er nu echt geen hoekje zijn voor een historisch programma, tussen al die medische programma's en uitzendingen over ethische vraagstukken over drie zenders publieke televisie? [...] Het verleden staat niet stil – buiten Nederland''.

⁴⁴ For a list of Dutch television documentaries about WWII up to 1995, see: Chris Vos, *Televisie en bezetting: een onderzoek naar de documentaire verbeelding van de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Nederland* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

⁴⁵ Gerda Jansen Hendriks graduated in 1984 from the Universiteit van Amsterdam [University of Amsterdam]. Before starting to work as a director at ANDERE TIJDEN, Jansen Hendriks was a reporter with the current affairs programmes PANORAMIEK [PANORAMA], DIOGENES, NOS LAAT and NOVA. She is co-creator of ANDERE TIJDEN and directed several episodes of the historical programmes NA DE OORLOG [AFTER THE WAR], DE AFFAIRE [THE AFFAIR], ANDERE TIJDEN, DE OORLOG [THE WAR] and DE GOUDEN EEUW [THE GOLDEN AGE]. Jansen Hendriks is specialised in the subject of colonial propaganda films at the time of the Indonesian War of Independence, and in 2014 defended her dissertation about this topic: Gerda Jansen Hendriks, 'Een voorbeeldige kolonie. Nederlands-Indië in 50 jaar overheidsfilms 1912–1962 [An Imagined Colony. The Dutch East Indies in 50 films commissioned by the Dutch authorities 1912–1962]' (PhD, University of Amsterdam, 2014).

eyewitnesses give an account of historical events in the context of present-day occurrences. However, a regularly recurring or weekly history programme on television is not institutionalised.

Editor-in-chief and co-creator Ad van Liempt⁴⁶ has described the historical programme ANDERE TIJDEN as a long cherished wish of himself and NPS-colleagues like Jansen Hendriks and Carla Boos. After his advising role on the large-scale documentary project NA DE OORLOG and the history documentary series DE AFFAIRE [THE AFFAIR] (NPS, 1999), Van Liempt decides that continuity would serve as the main foundation of the history documentary programme. He describes the problems caused by the lack of an institution of history programming on Dutch television:

'Every time a series ended, the crew would break up. Everyone went his or her own way, and when the next programme took off everything had to be re-invented. There was *no consistency, no style, no archive, and no personnel. Every single time we had to start all over again*'.⁴⁷ (my emphasis)

The problem of establishing a new editorial staff with each programme is that everyone has to learn how to put history onto the small screen over and over again. However, this is internationally a quite common practice in the case of history programming, where a small permanent staff usually hires a freelance teamwork company to create a specific product. By structurally creating television programmes with permanent staff members, and gradually expanding this cooperation, continuity would guarantee the building of expertise, as well as developing a shared conviction regarding how to go about their trade. On the one hand, there lies a danger in this practice, which is the creation of a 'tunnel vision', but on the other hand, the structural meeting of minds tends to keep everyone in the team on their toes, as Van Liempt argues.

By keeping the same people on board – and not just for one season or for a few episodes a year – Van Liempt would go on to create a specific 'house style' or 'school' within the Dutch television industry with a common conviction of how to portray history on television. The '*Andere Tijden*-school' – both directly and indirectly – developed a common set or core of characteristics that are generally shared amongst the ANDERE TIJDEN episodes, which are created

⁴⁶ Ad van Liempt was co-creator and editor-in-chief of ANDERE TIJDEN [CHANGING TIMES] from 2000–2007. Before 2000, he was head domestic news for NOS JOURNAAL [NOS NEWS] and carried out executive functions at STUDIO SPORT, NOS-LAAT [NOS-LATE] AND NOVA [NOVA]. Until 2009, he was head of the NPS History department. In 2009, he was titled 'historian of the year' because of his extensive TV-series DE OORLOG [THE WAR]. Since 2006, he has been a special lecturer in investigative journalism at the Communication and Journalism Department of Hogeschool Utrecht. Van Liempt has written several books and was knighted as Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau because of his contribution to Dutch journalism. In 2014 he was a guest-curator of the exhibition 'De Tweede Wereldoorlog in 100 voorwerpen' [*The Second World War in 100 Objects*] at the Kunsthall Rotterdam, but he also remains passionate about sport and had a consultative role in the 2015 documentary HOE DE TOUR DE FRANCE NAAR UTRECHT KWAM [HOW THE TOUR DE FRANCE CAME TO UTRECHT].

⁴⁷ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: '[E]lke keer als de serie was afgelopen dan ging de club weer uit elkaar. Iedereen ging zijns weegs en als er dan weer een volgend programma begon moest alles opnieuw worden uitgevonden. Er was geen lijn, geen stijl, geen archief, geen personeel. Alles moest elke keer opnieuw'.

by different directors. Their based-on-fact approach to history programming also set the standard for newly produced programmes following *ANDERE TIJDEN*, like *DE OORLOG* [THE WAR] (NPS, 2009), *13 IN DE OORLOG* [13 AT WAR] (NPS, 2009–2010); *DE SLAVERNIJ* [SLAVERY] (NTR, 2011), *DE GOUDEN EEUW* [THE GOLDEN AGE] (NTR/VPRO, 2012–2013), *NA DE BEVRIJDING* [AFTER THE LIBERATION] (NTR, 2014); *DE IJZEREN EEUW* [THE IRON AGE] (NTR/VPRO, 2015) and, in collaboration with other European broadcasters, *14–18: DAGBOEKEN UIT DE EERSTE WERELDOORLOG* [14–18: DIARIES OF THE GREAT WAR] (NTR/VPRO, 2014), including complementary cross-media materials. These history programmes do not all necessarily focus on twentieth century history, re-use archival footage or are triggered by current events. As a result, critics credit *ANDERE TIJDEN* with calling attention to history on Dutch television,⁴⁸ and this interest in history by audiences in the Netherlands would later in the decade take on the form of a proper 'trend'.

3.3.2. The genesis of the *Andere Tijden*-school

The first transmission date of the history television programme *ANDERE TIJDEN* was originally planned for January 1st, 2000. The premise of the programme fits right in with the spirit of the times, the end-of-the-century culture of 'looking back'. Early in 1999, a massive need for looking back and reflecting on the past came about due to the once-in-a-lifetime events of the turn of the millennium. By the end of 1999, several media and programmes had looked back on the year, on the decennium, on the century, and even on the millennium. Because journalistic work runs a large risk of becoming merely a routine, the writing of thrilling and engrossing stories of past events, with a large reservoir of stories to choose from, can be a welcome relief. Van Liempt argues that this reflective activity brings out the best in people, including reporters and programme makers: not only because 'splendid stories are produced, which are much more sensitive, and often more considerately and meticulously created', but also because this activity is 'a secret hobby of journalists'.⁴⁹ Similarly, in 2011, the anniversary of sixty years of television in the Netherlands has brought about a comparable fascination for television's past, resulting in numerous programmes celebrating the history of the medium in the Netherlands broadcast throughout the year.⁵⁰

ANDERE TIJDEN focuses on almost forgotten stories from the twentieth century. One of the earliest working titles of the programme, *DE VORIGE EEUW* [THE PRECEDING CENTURY], also

⁴⁸ Bert van der Veer, *60 jaar televisie in Nederland* (Baarn: Marmer, 2011), 216.

⁴⁹ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: '[O]p de een of andere manier werd dat terugkijken [in 1999] méér dan alleen maar terugkijken. [...] Je ziet het elke keer weer, ook nu weer, tweede helft april begint het, dan worden er uitzendingen op radio en televisie en pagina's in de kranten gemaakt over de oorlog en dan zie je altijd dat het beste in mensen bovenkomt, inclusief in verslaggevers en in makers. Dat ze hele mooie onderwerpen maken veel gevoeliger, veel afgewogener vaak, veel zorgvuldiger gemaakt. Het is eigenlijk moet je zeggen een geheime journalistenhobby'.

⁵⁰ Examples are: *LANG LEVE DE TV* (TROS, 2011), *VIERKANTE OGEN* (VPRO, 2011), *ACHTER HET SCHERM* (NTR, 2011), *LAST MAN WATCHING* (BNN, 2011), *HEB JE DAT GEZIEN?* (MAX, 2011). In September 2010, NPO [Dutch Public Broadcasting], the Media Fund and the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision launched a scheme for transcultural and innovative media in the context of the sixtieth anniversary of television in the Netherlands.

reflects the principle of looking back on the twentieth century. When discussing the period in which *ANDERE TIJDEN* started broadcasting, Van Liempt states:

'These days I have to constantly answer the following question: "So, has your interest in history grown, does *ANDERE TIJDEN* stem from the added interest in history, or has it to a degree caused it?" And there is not really an answer to this question. I think it is both. That they are mutually reinforcing effects. We started, because we sensed that there would be an interest in looking back on history and more interest would follow, and by doing so, more and more people began to find it interesting'.⁵¹

The fact that – unaware of each other – Guido Knopp's weekly programme *HISTORY* (ZDF, 2000–) started a few months later on television in Germany, is to Van Liempt an affirmation of the *Zeitgeist*: 'Proof that it was not a mere fabrication, but that it [*ANDERE TIJDEN*] really befitted the spirit of the age'.⁵² However, the development of such a programme had been in the making since the first half of the 1990s.

In November 1992, Jansen Hendriks submitted the initial idea for a weekly programme that looks back on historical events to the Dutch public broadcasting organisation. Back then, the programme title was *ZUIDERZEEBALLADE: EEN PROGRAMMA OVER DE NEDERLANDSE GESCHIEDENIS* [*ZUYDERZEE BALLAD: A PROGRAMME ABOUT DUTCH HISTORY*]. This initial document features several of the characteristics of what later would become the *ANDERE TIJDEN* format. Jansen Hendriks compares her own fascination to study history to the genesis of the historical magazine *ANDERE TIJDEN*:

'You would read about this and that in the newspaper, and I would sometimes think: "But what preceded?" "Where does this come from?" That is the reason why I began to study history. And this is exactly the same basic starting point on which *ANDERE TIJDEN* is conceived. I mean, lots of current events happen, and subsequently you wonder what it was like before. And history of course never repeats itself, but it can be a pretty good mirror'.⁵³

ANDERE TIJDEN is as a television programme the only one of its kind in its premise of taking current affairs as a starting point. This programme format strives to enrich current events with

⁵¹ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Tegenwoordig moet ik voortdurend de vraag beantwoorden: "Is je belangstelling voor geschiedenis nou gegroeid of is *ANDERE TIJDEN* voortgekomen uit die extra belangstelling voor geschiedenis of heeft het die mede veroorzaakt?" En dat is eigenlijk een onoplosbare vraag. Ik denk dat het allebei is. Dat het elkaar versterkende effecten zijn. We zijn begonnen, omdat we proefden dat er belangstelling voor terugkijken voor geschiedenis zou zijn en meer zou komen en door dat te gaan doen, gingen steeds meer mensen het interessant vinden'.

⁵² Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Maar dat vind ik achteraf wel... een bewijs dat het geen raar hersenspinsel was, maar dat het echt in de tijdgeest paste'.

⁵³ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: '[J]e leest van alles in de krant en ik dacht dan af en toe: "Maar hoe zat het dan daarvoor?" "Waar kwam dat dan vandaan?" Dat is de reden waarom ik geschiedenis ben gaan studeren. En dat is eigenlijk precies dezelfde basis als waarop *ANDERE TIJDEN* is bedacht. Ik bedoel, er gebeurt van alles in de actualiteit, en dan vraag je je af hoe het eerder zat. En geschiedenis herhaalt zich natuurlijk nooit, maar het is wel een aardige spiegel soms'.

new insights or put historical events into perspective. The programme's unique treatment of history based on actuality also requires a large amount of trust from financiers and the public broadcasting organisation, since the makers can only know a small amount of topics well in advance.

In 1999, the Nederlandse Programma Stichting (NPS) and VPRO agreed to put into action plans for a weekly programme about history on television.⁵⁴ Van Liempt especially credits Carel Kuyt, in 1999 newly appointed as programme director for the NPS, for giving permission to proceed. Given the large amount of trust needed to create the programme, Van Liempt's own stature within the Dutch television industry can be seen as an important factor towards this decision as well. The then-estimated budget (number of personnel, estimated airtime) allows for the twice-a-year broadcasting of 13 episodes. This would mean a 13-week gap of no history on television. However, the *ANDERE TIJDEN* editorial staff members takes the view that history is a continuous process and that history should *recurrently* be broadcast on television. Furthermore, the team has already devised the weekly formula in which actuality would play a central role as a starting point. The estimate budget could not cover this, and therefore the *ANDERE TIJDEN* team is required to inquire if one of the other broadcasting networks would like to cooperate. Hans Maarten van den Brink, then programme director of VPRO television, is approached. VPRO is already broadcasting the historical programme *OVT* on radio, so a cooperation on television level seems a logical follow-up. The idea to broadcast history on television ultimately is able to, as Van Liempt calls it, 'triumph' over the fundamental nature of the Dutch broadcasting system. Van Liempt recounts the deciding conversation with Van den Brink regarding cooperation between the NPS and VPRO:

'He [Van Den Brink] spoke the, in my opinion, historical words: "Actually, I am against cooperation on programme-level, but this is such a good idea that I wouldn't say no". He made the added comment, however, that he was in fact very annoyed that it had not stemmed from his own organisation. Of course, they should have thought of this themselves. By then, they had been producing *OVT* for about ten years, but no one had ever approached him to do this on television'.⁵⁵

In the first year of broadcasting, the NPS credits *ANDERE TIJDEN* with becoming a permanent fixture on Dutch public television, especially by acquiring a *reputation* in the re-use of archival footage. Almost every episode includes film shots that have never been seen before on

⁵⁴ See also: Ad van Liempt, 'Het geheim van het historisch beeld' (Public Lecture, University of Amsterdam, 13 January 2011).

⁵⁵ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Dus sprak hij wat mij betreft de historische woorden: "Ik ben eigenlijk tegen samenwerking op programmaniveau, maar dit is zo'n goed idee dat ik hier geen nee tegen kan zeggen". Maar hij zei er wel bij, dat hij eigenlijk ontzettend de pest in had, dat het niet uit zijn eigen organisatie was gekomen. Dat hadden ze natuurlijk gewoon zelf moeten bedenken. Ze deden toen al tien jaar *OVT* of zo, maar er was niemand bij hem gekomen van: 'zullen we dit eens op televisie gaan doen'.

television or have been forgotten.⁵⁶ In 2001, the prestigious Nipkowschijf is awarded.⁵⁷ The interest in history would grow and expand, as proven by the success of historical literature, like the work of Geert Mak, historical websites, the growth of the historical magazine *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, and the listening figures for OVT and the success of television programmes like *ANDERE TIJDEN* and *IN EUROPA* [IN EUROPE] (VPRO 2007–2009) (discussed in Chapter 6). The success of *ANDERE TIJDEN* largely stems from the programme's cooperative nature. However, within the Dutch public broadcasting system, working together across platforms and across broadcasting networks in this manner is faced with several difficulties.

3.3.3. Towards a collaborative, cross-media practice of weekly history programming

Cooperation between public service broadcasters is required due to the compartmentalised nature of the Dutch public broadcasting system, as outlined in the short history of broadcast television in the Netherlands. Whereas other countries have often divided their broadcasting systems based on theme (for instance one drama department, one actuality department, one history department, one scientific department, etcetera) the Dutch public broadcasting system has been based on 'denomination'. According to Van Liempt, this organisation based on denomination 'has gotten completely out of hand, because they all have become denominations of totally different dispositions'.⁵⁸ The Dutch public broadcasting system was previously embedded in a particular philosophy of life. The system has turned into what Van Liempt calls 'a totally degenerate system, causing the organisation by themes to drop further and further back', especially since the inclusion of viewers' age as a denominating factor and networks for the young and old.⁵⁹ The system can also be a burden to those who have to produce television programmes. In practice, such an organisation means internal competition with other networks – meaning colleagues which people can feel very much allied to – whilst the commercial broadcasters are the *real* competition.

Ever since working within the Dutch public broadcasting system, Van Liempt has been in search of ways for networks to cooperate or to produce joint broadcasts. 'Eventually, I have

⁵⁶ Two short examples: *ANDERE TIJDEN* broadcasts unknown footage of The Beatles' visit to the Netherlands in June 1964 and German footage from television's earliest days, produced under the Nazi-regime, in its first year of broadcasting; *ANDERE TIJDEN* in 2011 broadcasts never before seen footage of the Rolling Stones' concert in the Dutch Kurhaus theater, which ended in a massive riot.

⁵⁷ From the Zilveren Nipkowschijf Jury Rapport (in Dutch): 'Het actuele uitgangspunt van het programma wekt grote bewondering. Niet alleen slaagt de redactie er steevast in om in zeer korte tijd uitgebreid historisch materiaal op te diepen, altijd wordt uit de thema's die vandaag spelen een zeer relevante keuze gemaakt. Geregeld stuiten de researchers op uniek materiaal waardoor vele jaren na dato alsnog primeurs worden geleverd. Daardoor draagt elke uitzending bij aan verdieping van de actuele discussie'; 'De koppeling aan het huidige tijdsgewricht wordt onderstreept door de prachtige website die bij het programma is ontwikkeld. De internetpagina's benaderen het ideaalbeeld dat ooit voor de eenwording van televisie en computer voorzien was. Alle onderwerpen uit een uitzending worden nog eens uitgebreid behandeld, met veel audio- en videofragmenten, vaak met extra informatie die voor het programma niet gebruikt kon worden'. 'NPS Jaarverslag 2001', 9.

⁵⁸ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Ik ben geen aanhanger van het ledengebonden omroepsysteem. Vind ik echt rampzalig. [...] Wij hebben het op denominatie georganiseerd. Dat is volledig uit de hand gelopen, want het zijn allemaal denominaties van een totaal andere aard geworden'.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: '[...] een totaal ontaard systeem, maar dat bracht het organiseren op thema steeds verder achterop'.

also played a role in the merger of NOS-LAAT [NOS current affairs programme, NOS-LATE] with ACHTER HET NIEUWS [VARA current affairs programme, BEHIND THE NEWS] to create NOVA (VARA/NTR, 1992–2010) [...]. Working together is somewhat in my genes in terms of television. It is ridiculous to compete with your colleagues when there is no conflicting interest'.⁶⁰ The joint production of ANDERE TIJDEN, together with the VPRO, was to Van Liempt 'actually quite ordinary and not at all difficult'.⁶¹ Thereupon, the programme makers seek *intrinsic cooperation* with the radio programme OVT. This cooperation is attempted a number of times and is reached in a few broadcasts with colleagues from OVT. At the same time, this cooperation is not straightforward due to differences in working environments and a different rhythm of producing broadcasts. The collective website is an important factor in bringing the television programme and the radio programme together.

From the first broadcast onwards, ANDERE TIJDEN features additional background information with each weekly episode on its own online website: anderetijden.nl. In 1999–2000, the television makers themselves principally stipulate the ANDERE TIJDEN website as a condition with the programme. ANDERE TIJDEN uses archival sources and recent research as a guiding principle, and therefore, a primary reason to feature a website with the programme is to be able to provide source annotation. One can argue that this is on the one hand in contrast to current practices: the creation of a website with a television programme has at present become an industry standard. A website is customarily a consistent part of television as a dynamic constellation of screen practices: a way to engage television users in the programme's content, to provide a platform for participation and discussion. The first ANDERE TIJDEN website was at the forefront of this, but did not entirely reach its potential as a forum of historical discussion. The obligation to log in to take part in discussions is for example noted here as an obstacle.⁶² On the other hand, it must be argued that the current standardisation of online practices with television programmes does not mean that the programme makers' inclination to share extra information that 'would otherwise have disappeared in a desk drawer'⁶³ or the

⁶⁰ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Uiteindelijk heb ik ook een rol gespeeld in de fusie van NOS-LAAT en ACHTER HET NIEUWS tot NOVA. [...] Samenwerken zat wel een beetje in mijn genen qua televisie. Ik vind het zo belachelijk, dat je concurreert met je collega's waar je helemaal geen tegenstrijdig belang bij hebt'.

⁶¹ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: '[...] eigenlijk heel gewoon en helemaal niet lastig'.

⁶² Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Utrecht, 9 June 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Het is voor ANDERE TIJDEN nooit zo'n enorm succes geweest door alle beperkingen die er waren. Het is nou niet echt... Het is nooit gelukt om een uitvoerige historische discussie op gang te brengen. In het begin ging dat eigenlijk beter toen er geen enkele beperking was, later moest het voldoen aan allerlei... moesten mensen inloggen'.

⁶³ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Jansen Hendriks: 'Nowadays it's almost common practice, that if you make a television programme, you also have to make a sort of website. I really don't mind, but it isn't such thing as: the viewers require it or such a thing, or that it's common practice, no: it's also very good, because you can provide people with all kind of information, also those biographies, all that information which under different circumstances would disappear in your own desk drawer and it's quite nice that it can be made available to the general public'. Quote in Dutch: 'Tegenwoordig is dat bijna standaard, dat je, als je een televisieprogramma maakt, dan moet je er ook een soort website bij maken. Dat vind ik dan ook niet erg hoor, maar... [...] het is niet zo van: het moet van de buitenwereld of zo, of het is omdat het gebruikelijk is, nee: het is ook hartstikke goed, omdat je allerlei dingen kwijt kan, ook die biografietjes, allemaal informatie die anders, dat verdwijnt in je eigen bureaula en het is hartstikke leuk, dat je dat ook voor een groter publiek beschikbaar kan maken'.

significance to publicise additionally researched information with a large audience, has diminished. Economy measures may influence opportunities for websites by Dutch public broadcasters as well, although it seems that the relevance of websites that are clearly connected to television programmes is recognised and will continue to receive funding.⁶⁴ Currently, the ANDERE TIJDEN website continues to provide contextual and additional information – not included in the broadcast or providing a different perspective – with broadcast episodes. For example, by the re-use of research in online contexts and by linking programmes to each other and to additional content in digital and (social) media environments.

With the incorporation of other media like the internet and the addition of a book series ANDERE TIJDEN builds a strong multimedia profile. From 2000 onwards, the website articles form the basis for the several yearbooks edited by Ad van Liempt and Carla Boos (up to and including 2010).⁶⁵ The website itself, which currently features more than four hundred articles, is described by Van Liempt as 'the best loose-leaf history book about the twentieth century' in the Netherlands.⁶⁶ In this manner, the television programme is able to fulfil its aim to combine academic historical standards with the conventions of television. In 2002, the three platforms ANDERE TIJDEN, OVT and NOS ACTUEEL [NOS LIVE] (NOS, 1995–2005) (topical history news coverage) join forces under the denominator */Geschiedenis* [*/History*, omroep.nl/geschiedenis]. The OVT VPRO radio and ANDERE TIJDEN staff members work together to publish additional current history information on the site, leading to a 'spectacular rise in the number of website visitors'.⁶⁷ The collective website is a significant reason in bringing ANDERE TIJDEN and OVT together. The website in this manner served the *umbrella function* that Van Liempt wished to expand upon. However, due to the organisational nature of the Dutch broadcasting system, other forms of cooperation took a lot longer to achieve. Van Liempt: 'The organisational form is based on broadcasting organisations, which run counter to each other and against an organisation based on theme. Therefore saying "this will be the History Department of the public service broadcaster..." well, they all look at you as if... Then you really are the enemy. Then you are a heretic in the Church'.⁶⁸ This was not given a high-priority to explore further because of the amount of time and energy that the production of the programmes took.

⁶⁴ Ana van Es, 'Wie betaalt de rekening in Hilversum? Analyse scenario van omroepen zelf staat op losse schroeven', *De Volkskrant*, 18 June 2011.

⁶⁵ Ad van Liempt, ed., *Andere Tijden* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2000); Ad van Liempt, ed., *Andere Tijden: Nieuwe verhalen over vroeger* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2001); Ad van Liempt, ed., *Andere Tijden III: Nieuwe inzichten in oude kwesties* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2002); Ad van Liempt, ed., *Andere Tijden IV: Sterke verhalen, die nog waar zijn ook* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2003); Carla Boos, ed., *Andere Tijden V: Nieuw licht op oude kwesties* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2004); Carla Boos, ed., *Andere Tijden VI: Nieuw licht op oude kwesties* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2005); Carla Boos, ed., *Andere Tijden VII: Nieuw licht op oude kwesties* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2006); Carla Boos, ed., *Andere Tijden VIII: Nieuwe verhalen over oude kwesties* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2007); Carla Boos, ed., *Andere Tijden IX: Nieuwe verhalen over de actualiteit van gisteren* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2008); Carla Boos, ed., *Andere Tijden X: Nieuwe verhalen over de actualiteit van gisteren* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 2009).

⁶⁶ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Dus het sowieso al het beste losbladige geschiedenisboek over de twintigste eeuw dat we hebben nu'.

⁶⁷ 'NPS Jaarverslag 2002', 14.

⁶⁸ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'De organisatievorm is op omroepen, die tegen elkaar ingaan en [tegen] organiseren op thema. Dus zeggen "dit wordt de

However, largely thanks to the innovative direction taken by VPRO, the thematic channel */Geschiedenis TV* is realised in February 2005. Van Liempt starts to rethink his wish for an umbrella history organisation. Van Liempt: 'The thematic channel was launched, the thematic channel being VPRO, whilst the thematic channel would of course rely heavily on ANDERE TIJDEN, because they broadcast that much from ANDERE TIJDEN, so in itself quite strange'.⁶⁹ In a personal memo of 2 April 2006 to Gamila Ylstra, then director of television programmes for public broadcaster NPS, Van Liempt expresses his aspiration to develop ANDERE TIJDEN into a History Department. Public broadcasting systems in other countries often have such a specialised department (for instance BBC, ARD, and ZDF). However, in the Netherlands, a division based on subject or theme has so far not proven feasible, except for sports and news. Van Liempt: 'I consider this one of the major disadvantages of our establishment'.⁷⁰ At that time, there are four platforms working next to each other on the subject of history: ANDERE TIJDEN (NPS/VPRO) on television, OVT (VPRO) on radio, the website */Geschiedenis* (NPS/VPRO) and the thematic channel */Geschiedenis TV* (NPS/VPRO). In his memo, Van Liempt argues that there is no sufficient or very intensive cooperation between the four: there is not enough collaboration, each platform has a different title, and as a result, the platforms are not well known enough to users in the Netherlands. Especially the website and the thematic channel suffer under a title with little appeal. Merging into one organisation under one name is faced with several challenges, the most prominent being that the different programmes work at a different pace: whereas ANDERE TIJDEN requires approximately six weeks to produce an episode (although episodes are also produced in less time), OVT needs three weeks to prepare half of their segments and much longer to prepare the HET SPOOR TERUG segment. Therefore, the main implementing regulation Van Liempt argues for, to set the ball rolling and to improve, is *collective accommodation*.⁷¹ According to Van Liempt, meeting daily with people who have similar interests and parallel concerns will improve collaboration.

Van Liempt eventually approaches the then editor-in-chief of VPRO radio (of which OVT is part) Kees Schaepman. In February 2009, Schaepman and Van Liempt write the memo 'Geschiedenis van de toekomst: Notitie voor de Afdeling Geschiedenis (NPS/VPRO)'.⁷² The memorandum includes a description of the current situation and a look ahead at history programming for the future. The memorandum is sent to the NPO Raad van Bestuur [NPO Board of Management]. With this memorandum, Van Liempt and Schaepman strive for an organisation based on themes and not on medium or philosophy of thought. Van Liempt:

geschiedenisafdeling van de publieke omroep...", nou, dan kijken ze je allemaal aan, alsof je... Dan ben je echt de vijand. Dan ben je een ketter in de kerk'.

⁶⁹ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Het themakanaal ook werd gelanceerd, en een themakanaal was weer VPRO, terwijl eigenlijk het themakanaal natuurlijk ook heel erg op ANDERE TIJDEN zou gaan leunen, omdat ze zoveel uitzenden van ANDERE TIJDEN, op zichzelf dus heel vreemd. Toen heb ik met Kees Schaepman gezegd: "Moeten we dat niet eens doen". Uiteindelijk hebben we een stuk geschreven'.

⁷⁰ Ad van Liempt, 'Personal memo', 2 April 2006, 1. Quote in Dutch: 'Ik beschouw dat als een van de grote nadelen van ons bestel'.

⁷¹ Ibid., 1–2. NB: the department has moved a number of times since then.

⁷² Schaepman, Kees and Ad van Liempt. 'Geschiedenis van de toekomst: Notitie voor de Afdeling Geschiedenis (NPS/VPRO)'. February 2009.

'Because, well, it really is an "axe at the roots of the system", as we have said once. In that way we knock down the system [...]. The current system is incredibly complicated, but that is the background of it. That we actually think that being in competition with other history programmes is absurd. Just pull the expertise together. It is quite similar to the *structure of a row of furniture shops*. Altogether, you eventually draw more interest, than when you compete with each other from different spots'.⁷³ (my emphasis)

The memo confirms the go ahead for collective accommodation, which becomes a reality in April 2009. Because of the joint accommodation, collaboration intensifies. The digital thematic channel *NPO Geschiedenis* schedules directly after the weekly *ANDERE TIJDEN* broadcast, whilst the circulation of materials and plans for collaboration improve. *ANDERE TIJDEN* is now better able to function as a platform for historical discussion, as the rise in ratings and responses on the website and in the press has shown. In 2009, discussions start about a media-section coinciding with the broadcast episodes in the historical magazine *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, which is eventually realised in February 2011.⁷⁴ The joining of forces between history professionals means that history programming is made accessible for the Dutch public on a larger variety of platforms.

The programme *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT* is also an example of such cooperation within the Dutch public broadcasting system, between the NPS, VPRO and NOS (currently VPRO/NOS). Starting in 2008, *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT* follows the same format as *ANDERE TIJDEN*, with a focus on either memorable or (almost) forgotten events from the history of sport. By the time of production, the procedure 'Geld op Schema (GoS)' ['Funds on Schedule'] is adopted in the Dutch public broadcasting system, which poses new challenges for membership bound public broadcasters and the NPS. In short, the GoS system denotes that one television week per channel is divided into slots. These slots designate a certain genre, and second the amount of funding that is made available per programme. Broadcasters can sign up for these slots. Eventually a decision is made on which broadcaster is assigned the slot, and what amount of matching funding will be made available. There are several limiting conditions, however. Expenses per broadcasters are fixed per year, and it is mandatory that these broadcasters are assigned at least 70% of this amount. This means the broadcasters will need to come up with a specific amount of programmes to reach this percentage. The NPO net manager, with the network coordinator, can assign the remaining 30% to any broadcaster without the restrictions mentioned above, not counting programmes which boost network profiles. This system does not include the Nederlandse Omroep Stichting (NOS), due to the many specific tasks that are assigned to this non-membership bound institution.

⁷³ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Want ja, het is echt gewoon "de bijl aan de wortels van het systeem", hebben we wel eens gezegd. Wij slopen het systeem langs deze weg [...]. Het is allemaal heel ingewikkeld in het huidige stelsel, maar dat is de achtergrond ervan. Dat wij vinden dat elkaar beconcurreren met geschiedenisprogramma's belachelijk zou zijn. Gewoon de expertise bij elkaar zetten. Het is een beetje het *systeem van de meubelboulevard*. Een beetje bij elkaar gaan zitten en dan trek je uiteindelijk meer belangstelling, dan wanneer je allemaal op een andere plek elkaar gaat zitten beconcurreren'. (my emphasis)

⁷⁴ 'Samenwerking met Historisch Nieuwsblad', *NTR Homepage*, 2 March 2011, <http://www.ntr.nl/nieuws/789930/Samenwerking+met+Historisch+Nieuwsblad>.

However, Van Liempt does not want to produce *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT* without the NOS: 'In the first place they have *the* expertise, at *STUDIO SPORT* (NOS, 1969–), and in the second place they have the archive'.⁷⁵ Without a collaboration, the programme would become too costly to produce, due to necessary, but expensive archival materials. Hiring expertise from outside would cause similar difficulties: especially because the necessary expertise was in fact closely in reach and people were keen to collaborate.⁷⁶ Eventually the NPS and VPRO produce the programme, and hire the NOS for their services. The programme starts airing in 2008. More recently, the NPS has formally backed out from the production of the programme. The NPS was producing too many programmes, whilst the VPRO was producing too few. Currently, the VPRO is fully financing the production of *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT* episodes and signs in on the required slot, whilst hiring both NPS and NOS expertise. By 2015, the *Andere Tijden*-school's history community has produced *ANDERE TIJDEN*; *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT*; *ANDERE TIJDEN 'SPECIALS'* and theme evenings⁷⁷; *DE OORLOG*; *13 IN DE OORLOG*; *DE SLAVERNIJ*, with a junior-version for younger audiences titled *DE SLAVERNIJ JUNIOR* (NPS, 2011); *DE GOUDEN EEUW*, with a history comedy for younger viewers titled *WELKOM IN DE GOUDEN EEUW* [WELCOME IN THE GOLDEN AGE] (NPS, 2012–2013); *NA DE BEVRIJDING*; *14–18: DAGBOEKEN UIT DE EERSTE WERELDOORLOG*; *DE IJZEREN EEUW*, with a history comedy for younger viewers titled *WELKOM BIJ DE ROMEINEN* [WELCOME IN THE ROMAN AGE] (NTR, 2014); supplementary websites and books with the different programmes⁷⁸; *NPO Geschiedenis* website; *NPO Geschiedenis* thematic channel; *GROTE GESCHIEDENIS QUIZ* [THE BIG HISTORY QUIZ] (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2002–) in collaboration with the national newspaper *De Volkskrant* and the historical magazine *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, and since February 2011 a special section in *Historisch Nieuwsblad*. By 2011, there are also new forms of collaboration between broadcasters. The NTR/VPRO co-production *LABYRINT* [LABYRINTH] (Teleac/NTR/VPRO, 2010–2013) for example, a scientific radio and television programme whose format resembles *ANDERE TIJDEN*.

Aside from creative reasons for the conception of these diverse historical practices, which also fit in with the popular trend of history programming, this *expansion* of history also functions as an instrument of personnel policy. Structurally producing history programming on television in a long-running series means doing the same work for multiple years. However, by expanding history programming from *ANDERE TIJDEN* to these new endeavours also gives programme makers new impulses, lets them develop new skills and creates internal mobility: programme makers from the *Andere Tijden*-school regularly switch between programmes. As

⁷⁵ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Ten eerste zit daar dé expertise, bij *STUDIO SPORT*, en ten tweede zit daar het archief'.

⁷⁶ It must be noted here that Ad van Liempt has worked as head of sports at *STUDIO SPORT* for several years in the late 1980s.

⁷⁷ For example a theme night broadcast in context of the 'Elfstedentocht', an eleven-city skating race or skating marathon in Friesland, on 1 January 2009 to celebrate the 100-year anniversary and history of this 'tour of tours'.

⁷⁸ The creation of a website with *DE OORLOG* was a standard requirement by VWS, with the demand that the broadcasting institution, the NPS, would continue to keep the site in the air. The site was created separately from the *Geschiedenis24* website due to internal changes in policy and different priorities at VPRO. Although the website is not an integral part of *Geschiedenis24*, through hyperlinks the television user can relatively easy find their way to the site. See also: 'De oorlog Homepage', accessed 26 June 2015, <http://deoorlog.nps.nl>.

a result, the history department has been better able to keep their know-how 'in-house', which Van Liempt determines as the key to history programming:

'Keeping expertise *in-house*, that's really the secret, and therefore it was necessary to keep people from leaving after two years, or else you don't maintain any know-how. That is what we have now. At present, we have people working here from the beginning. As well as people who have worked here for five or seven years, so there is a wealth of experience. *Experience plays a very important role in the creation of history programmes*. If you know where to find something quickly, of course, you can work much more efficiently than when you need to discover everything from scratch'.⁷⁹ (my emphasis)

In my interviews with programme makers of Dutch history programming, the programme makers themselves regularly referred to the importance of their own expertise in being able to research, direct, and create history programmes. It seems that knowledge and know-how are especially of vital importance when creating history programmes for television. The school's professionalism also attracts expertise. Directors and sometimes researchers from outside incidentally take part in the creation of episodes, especially when the ANDERE TIJDEN group experiences a peak pressure of work. Dutch documentary maker John Appel has for instance directed the ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT episodes HENK VAN DER GRIFT: DE 'VADER' VAN ARD EN KEESSIE [HENK VAN DER GRIFT: THE 'FATHER' OF ARD AND KEESSIE] (NOS/VPRO, 16 January 2011), about famous speed skater Henk van der Grift, and WINNEN OP ALPE D'HUEZ [THE TRIUMPH OF PETER WINNEN ON THE ALPE D'HUEZ] (NOS/VPRO, 17 July 2011), which focused on cycling on the perilous Alpe d'Huez.

There are also more institutional reasons for the creation of other programmes by the *Andere Tijden*-school. In 2006, Minister Medy van der Laan's plan for a new public broadcasting system threatens the continued existence of the NPS. Early in the year, the Council of State gives positive advice on the bill. The plan is discontinued when the government resigns in June. Working together seemed to become more important than ever with the existent threat of the discontinuance of the NPS. Van Liempt argues that he never doubted the continuance of ANDERE TIJDEN, due to their respectable ratings – by that time the programme reached an average of 300,000 viewers per episode – however, expansion now became more important than ever. Cooperation with organisations would provide new revenues and opportunities for the continued existence of the programme. The *Andere Tijden*-school subsequently starts to create a distinct profile as the broadcasters of the grand-scale Dutch history documentary. The first new product is HET VERLEDEN VAN NEDERLAND [THE PAST OF THE NETHERLANDS] (NPS/VPRO, 2008). From the start of the research phase, several people from the *Andere Tijden*-school join the project. Van Liempt works on the project as an editor-in-chief, together

⁷⁹ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Expertise in huis houden, dat is eigenlijk het geheim en daarvoor was het ook nodig, dat die mensen niet allemaal na twee jaar weg gaan, want dan houd je ook geen expertise. Die is er nu. Nu zitten er mensen vanaf het begin. D'r zitten ook mensen vijf jaar en zeven jaar, dus er is een schat aan ervaring. Bij geschiedenis programma's maken speelt ervaring echt een belangrijke rol. Als je heel snel weet waar je iets kunt vinden, dat werkt natuurlijk veel effectiever, dan wanneer iedereen alles maar vanaf nul moet ontdekken'.

with Ireen van Ditschuyzen. External producer IDTV Docs, with the NPS as a broadcaster, produces this series. Although the series is well received with decent ratings, the series is in the end a big lesson for Van Liempt regarding the production of grand-scale history documentaries:

'It was a lesson for me, that one should really never do this anymore in this manner. To allow an external producer, a large external producer, to do such a big job. But there was nothing that could be done about it. It was their initiative. They were doing it, were looking for a broadcaster, and came to us and subsequently I wanted to do it a bit like the *Andere Tijden*-school. That is very limited. That actually has failed. Nevertheless, it was very important for us to link our name to it and to 'put ourselves on the map'. We broadcast the large-scale Dutch history documentary series. It was in the *canon*-period. [...] It [HET VERLEDEN VAN NEDERLAND] was actually received quite well. I myself found... I was not satisfied with it, but that had mainly to do with the fact, that I saw that at that time the production remained under par, the production process was not up to standard. Not efficient, a lot of money lost by careless producing, etcetera. What is quite remarkable, because the image that always comes into being is that external producers are the pinnacle of efficiency, whilst the public broadcasting organisation, all the broadcasters, are just throwing one's money about. Now I saw that it was precisely the other way round. The *efficient* and *disciplined* way of working at ANDERE TIJDEN, which people are flabbergasted by, how efficient and sharp in its examination that is, nothing compared to the completely unorganised chaos found at the external producer. Completely contrary, very interesting to witness'.⁸⁰ (my emphasis)

Van Liempt explains the importance for the *Andere Tijden*-school to stay on top of the production of their own programmes. When a programme maker has to what Van Liempt calls 'pass the hat around' at several institutions or funds, inevitably demands will be made regarding the content or the target audience of the programme, which can result in an 'inclined plane', the loss of quality or purity of the concept. The influence of participating funds is limited through an editorial board regulation, for instance in the case of DE OORLOG, which limits the position of the fund to an advising role. If there are considerable recommendations and the editorial staff

⁸⁰ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Het was voor mij een les, dat je dat eigenlijk nooit meer zo zou moeten doen. Een externe producent, een grote externe producent, zo'n grote klus laten doen. Maar het kon niet anders. Het was hun initiatief. Zij waren daar mee bezig en zochten een uitzendende instantie en kwamen bij ons terecht en toen wilde ik het een beetje op de *Andere Tijden*-school zien te krijgen. Dat is zeer beperkt. Dat is eigenlijk niet gelukt. Maar het was wel heel belangrijk dat wij ons daarmee verbonden en ons daarmee 'op de kaart zetten'. Wij zenden de grote Nederlandse geschiedenisdocumentaireserie uit. Het was een beetje rond die *canontijd*. [...] Het [HET VERLEDEN VAN NEDERLAND] is eigenlijk ook wel goed ontvangen. Ik vond zelf...Ik was er helemaal niet zo tevreden over, maar dat had vooral te maken met het feit, dat ik toen zag dat de productie ver onder de maat, het productieproces ver onder de maat bleef. Niet efficiënt, veel geld verloren gegaan door onzorgvuldig produceren, enzovoort. Wat heel opmerkelijk is, want het beeld dat altijd ontstaat, is, dat externe producenten het toppunt van efficiëntie zijn, en de publieke omroep, al die omroepen, maar een beetje geld over de balk zitten te gooien. En nu zag ik dat het precies andersom was. De efficiënte en gedisciplineerde manier van werken van ANDERE TIJDEN, waar iedereen echt van achterover slaat, zo gedisciplineerd als dat gaat, zo scherp dat wordt bekeken, niet te vergelijken is met de volkomen chaotische puinhopen die je bij zo'n externe producent aantrof. Volkomen contrair, heel interessant om te zien'.

members have considerable reasons not to meet these recommendations, these would be motivated in writing. In this manner, the power of decision was not with the institution that funds the project, but stayed with the NPS – in particular, with the editor-in-chief and the general editor-in-chief. This regulation has become a sort of model contract for this kind of projects, like for instance *DE OORLOG* and *13 IN DE OORLOG*. This way of producing has also in general become the course for the creators' history programming on Dutch public broadcast television. *Own authority first*, Van Liempt describes the production of programmes without such pressures as a 'heavenly' situation: 'I can't emphasise enough how fortunate we have been at the NTR, the past years at NPS and VPRO, to be able to create what we liked and what we wanted without any pressures or urges from outside'.⁸¹ The programme makers have not sought out certain situations to create more opportunities for funding. Van Liempt: 'We do not approach the AMRO-bank and say: how much for us to film at Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co'.⁸² However, it remains to be seen how long the programme makers can maintain this course of action.

Although history programming like *ANDERE TIJDEN* is commonly not broadcast on prime time, and therefore can more easily compete without resorting to dramatisations of history and the like, the television landscape is transforming rapidly. As previously discussed, the NPO financial contribution for factual programming on its own does not suffice to produce documentaries, especially large-scale documentary projects. The 2011 programme *DE SLAVERNIJ* created by the *Andere Tijden*-school was still partly produced with the help of government funding. However, since the government opted out of the funding of television programmes in such a direct manner, this option has been shut for new programmes.

3.4. Textual and narrative aims, strategies and conventions

3.4.1. The different roles of the presenter

The narrative strategy of *ANDERE TIJDEN* comprises a focus on twentieth century history, a topical connection with current events, archival footage, oral history interviews, with a *contextual framework* provided by the presenter.⁸³ As amongst others Erin Bell has argued, viewers are usually encouraged to see testimonies by presenters as well as eyewitnesses (the latter to be further discussed below) as authentic, authoritative and unique, but this is problematised by the fact that such testimonies must often bear witness for others.⁸⁴ However, Bell's work has also pointed to the fact that changes in the representation of the past on

⁸¹ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Ik kan niet genoeg benaderen hoe gelukkig we zijn geweest bij de NTR, de afgelopen jaren bij de NPS en VPRO, om zonder welke druk en drang van buiten ook te maken wat we fijn vonden wat we wilden maken. Wel een beetje een "hemelse" situatie'.

⁸² Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'We zijn niet naar de AMRO-bank gegaan en hebben gezegd: Wat schuift het als wij een opname maken bij Lippmann, Rosenthal & Co'.

⁸³ Ad van Liempt has also discussed the programme's ambition to include 'new' information in every episode, whether archival footage or oral history content, as a possible sixth basic principle of the programme. See: Van Liempt, 'Het geheim van het historisch beeld'.

⁸⁴ Erin Bell, 'Beyond the Witness: The Layering of Historical Testimonies on British Television', in *Televising History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe*, ed. Erin Bell and Ann Gray (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 77.

television have arguably broadened what a testimony about historical events might look like.⁸⁵ In this context, how does the presenter of a history documentary programme aid the documentary makers to turn fragments of reality into an artefact that will have an assumed impact on the audience? What creative abilities are used to narrate historical events and why?

In the case of *ANDERE TIJDEN*, the approach to history programming and the subsequent role of the presenter need to be related to Van Liempt's personal opinion regarding the television documentary. In terms of competing for the viewer's time and attention, the documentary format has its challenges. Van Liempt roughly differentiates between on the one hand the option for documentary formats to start the programme with a straightforward and thorough explanation about the topic (who, what, why, when...), which he denounces as 'boring for viewers'. On the other hand, documentary makers also have the option to start the episode with spectacular images and sounds, but this leaves the viewers at a loss for the first minutes of the programme regarding the content of the episodes:

I do not prefer either of these two options, so I formulated for myself when putting the first thoughts about *ANDERE TIJDEN* on paper: the presenter should take care of the context, and this has the benefit that the film, meaning the video part of *ANDERE TIJDEN*, is able to begin where it should begin. And can start in an entertaining way, or an interesting or suspenseful way [...] because by then you already know the topic and what you need to watch out for. [...] Usually this can be very boring, but if you have a good presenter, who immediately draws in the audience and ties them to him/herself, you immediately solve this dilemma. [...] We have gradually discovered that the presentation also needs to be more visual'.⁸⁶

In *ANDERE TIJDEN*, the presentation and voice-over narration by historian and biographer Hans Goedkoop provides the 'frame' through an introduction, midpoint, and conclusion. In each episode, Goedkoop presents himself as an *expert social commentator* rather than as an involved participant. There are no interviews with the featured eyewitnesses – there are also practical reasons for this, as will be discussed below. His position as an expert is reaffirmed by the fact that Goedkoop writes his own presentation texts – an exception rather than the rule in the Dutch televisual landscape.

From the outset, the creators have outlined the necessity of a presenter with carrying power. This has multiple benefits in terms of viewer identification. Information that provides the context of a given history is often quite factual and not very compelling to viewers. The creators therefore argue that such information should rather be told by someone that you like to

⁸⁵ Ibid., 88.

⁸⁶ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Utrecht, 9 June 2011. Quote in Dutch: '[I]k vind het allebei niet te verkiezen, dus ik heb toen in de eerste gedachtevorming over *ANDERE TIJDEN* op papier gezet en voor mezelf geformuleerd: Als je een presentator neemt, dan neemt die de context voor zijn rekening en dat heeft als voordeel, dat de film, dus het videogedeelte van *ANDERE TIJDEN*, kan beginnen waar het hoort te beginnen. En dus leuk kan beginnen, interessant kan beginnen, spannend kan beginnen, [...] want je weet dan al waar het over gaat en waar je op moet letten. [...] [N]ormaal kan dat heel saai zijn, maar als je dat door een goede presentator, die de kijker meteen naar zich toe trekt en bindt, dan los je dat probleem, dan heb je dat dilemma gewoon opgelost [...] [G]aandeweg hebben wij ontdekt dat die presentatie ook wat visueler moet zijn'.

listen to and that you regard as credible.⁸⁷ In an initial format plan for ANDERE TIJDEN, at that time titled OVTV, Jansen Hendriks indicates the role of the presenter as 'the passionate expert'.⁸⁸ In a subsequent 1999 plan for the programme, the role of the presenter is further outlined, describing someone who is able to 'condition' and 'enthuse' the viewer. This entails the conditioning or preparation of the viewer for the featured subject: the presentation has to provide just enough information for the viewer to be able to understand the subject; the presenter should supply signals, either in words, facial expression, or pitch, regarding the atmosphere towards the subject; and the presenter should motivate the viewer for what is still to come. The outline also includes opinions about the specific task of a presenter of a history programme: the presenter should provide the context of the time and circumstances of the featured story.⁸⁹ The role of the presenter should also provide an exception to factual programming on television by not leaving the viewer behind with questions at the end.⁹⁰ Instead, the presenter should answer remaining questions in the conclusion of the programme. The conclusions Goedkoop provides at the end of every ANDERE TIJDEN episode have sometimes been criticised as 'too moralising' by certain viewers.⁹¹

This necessitates that the presentation text is relatively longer compared to comparable practices and formats.⁹² Therefore, the creators take care to grab the viewer's attention from the outset. The fact that the presenter provides the *context* of a given history provides the programme makers with more freedom to tell the episode's story. This principle is also used in the case of ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT: because the presenter prepares the viewer, 'the reportage can start where the story starts, and therefore different storytelling-methods which intensify suspense can be applied'.⁹³ For instance the incorporation of an interesting clip or image at the start of the programme, and a comprehensible 1.5 to 2 minute contextual framing of the upcoming episode. The archival footage that Goedkoop discusses is frequently screened against the backdrop of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision at the start of the episode, resulting in a layered presentation of images on the television screen [Fig. 3.1-3.2].

⁸⁷ Van Liempt, 'Het geheim van het historisch beeld'.

⁸⁸ Gerda Jansen Hendriks, 'Een voortzetting van de discussie over OVTV', 13 January 1999. Quote in Dutch: 'de gepassioneerde deskundige'.

⁸⁹ Ad van Liempt, 'De Storia-notitie', 21 July 1999, 1, 3–4; Ad van Liempt, 'Andere Tijden', 1 November 1999, 1–4.

⁹⁰ Van Liempt, 'Andere Tijden', 1 November 1999, 3. Quote in Dutch: 'Bij vrijwel elk informatief programma op televisie, en eigenlijk ook bij vrijwel elk onderwerp in magazines of bulletins, blijf ik met één of meer vragen achter. Andere Tijden zou daar nu eens een uitzondering op moeten vormen'.

⁹¹ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Such viewer criticism is interesting in comparison with the following praise from the Zilveren Nipkowschijf Jury Rapport (in Dutch): 'Nooit heffen de programmamakers een vingertje of manen lessen te trekken uit het verleden. Er is geen sprake van moralisme maar "slechts" van pure feitenoverdracht. Historische journalistiek in de zuiverste soort en op een constant hoog niveau'. See: 'Andere Tijden', *Nipkowschijf Homepage*, 1 November 2011, <http://www.nipkowschijf.nl>.

⁹² See also: John Corner, "'Once Upon a Time...' Visual Design and Documentary Openings', in *Televising History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe*, ed. Erin Bell and Ann Gray (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 14–15.

⁹³ Maarten Nooter and Ad van Liempt, 'Andere Tijden Sport, derde versie', 7 February 2007, 1. Quote in Dutch: 'Daardoor kan de reportage daar beginnen waar het verhaal begint, zodat er allerlei spanningsverhogende vertelmethoden kunnen worden toegepast'.

ANDERE TIJDEN has made the deliberate choice to include the presenter in the image at specific moments of the broadcast. For example, Figure 3.1 reveals how the screen in VERBODEN VOOR DUITSERS. KATENDRECHT IN OORLOGSTIJD [NO GERMANS. KATENDRECHT DURING THE WAR] (NPS/VPRO, 29 April 2010) at a certain point consists of both archival footage as well as newly shot footage of Goedkoop presenting from the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision – including visitors just about visible in the top right corner.



Fig. 3.1: Presenter Hans Goedkoop in ANDERE TIJDEN, episode VERBODEN VOOR DUITSERS. KATENDRECHT IN OORLOGSTIJD. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. Website capture.



Fig. 3.2: Presenter Hans Goedkoop in ANDERE TIJDEN, episode 'DE BEZETTING' VAN LOE DE JONG. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. Website capture.

It is important to note that as a presenter, Goedkoop does not take on the role of a researcher on location in the traditional sense. He reports from the site that provides the ultimate access to history and memory in the Netherlands: the archives of the Netherlands Institute of

Sound and Vision.⁹⁴ For practical and financial reasons, Goedkoop does not present the programme on location.⁹⁵ An episode of *ANDERE TIJDEN* usually takes about six weeks to produce, and episodes often overlap during the production stages. This would mean in practice that Goedkoop needed to be available on location for an extraordinary long period, while at the same time having to write his presentation texts. Goedkoop himself after having watched the finished film of the episode now carries out the writing of the presentation text. Van Liempt has praised the writing skills, feel for language and the improvement of texts by Goedkoop. When Goedkoop started presenting the programme, he initially was quite wary of the medium television – which was not helped by presenting the programme on a treadmill (the on-screen background at that time being a digital environment)! In the first season, Goedkoop's texts were too long and exhaustive, with the added difficulty of presenting his texts learned by heart. He is eventually persuaded to present his texts from an autocue.⁹⁶ Goedkoop now presents his texts like he is telling a story, and it does not look as if he is reading aloud. The presentation texts are also quite compact, to suit the creators' expectations of the modern television viewer.

The presenter's narration is an important directive to transport viewers back into the past, next to the textual framing and the use of archival footage. For example, Goedkoop's voice-of-authority deploys the past tense as a grammatical imperative, as his introduction text from the episode 'DE BEZETTING' VAN LOE DE JONG ['THE OCCUPATION' BY AUTHOR LOE DE JONG] (NPS/VPRO, 22 October 2009) reveals:

Hans Goedkoop [at the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, archival images screened in the background]: 'The Second War according to a youngster in 1960. Good evening. A broadcast in the context of Remembrance Day that year. Fifteen years after the end of the war, and in those years not that much talked about. The post-war reconstruction came first, we looked ahead, not backwards, and we did not whine. [...] In the case of our view of the occupation, whose view should that be? That of the communists who were the first to openly show resistance; the NSB supporters who were camp followers; the Jews who had lost everything; or the people who, on the contrary, got off scot free? All these images existed side by side, and even rivalled each other. Quite painful actually. And an overall picture was missing. That was the situation in 1960. Almost impossible to imagine, but there was no national image of the war. That still had to be created'.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Since September 2006, Goedkoop presents the programme directly from the building of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. Between 12 March 2000 and September 2006, the set of *ANDERE TIJDEN* is filmed in a digital environment, depicting a virtual museum of history and screening images from world history in the background.

⁹⁵ *ANDERE TIJDEN* has experimented with presentation by Goedkoop on location, see the episode about the 1951 commemoration of resistance heroine Hannie Schaft, *PANTSERWAGENS TEGEN KRANSEN. HANNIE SCHAFT-HERDENKING ONDER VUUR* [ARMoured CARS VERSUS WREATHES. HANNIE SCHAFT-REMEMBRANCE UNDER FIRE] (NPS/VPRO, 16 April 2006).

⁹⁶ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Utrecht, 9 June 2011.

⁹⁷ Quote in Dutch: 'De Tweede Wereldoorlog voor een jongere in 1960. Goedenavond. Een uitzending bij de Dodenherdenking van dat jaar. De oorlog was vijftien jaar voorbij en in die jaren was er niet zoveel over gepraat. De wederopbouw ging voor, we keken vooruit, niet achteruit, en we deden niet kleinzerig. [...] Als het ging om ons beeld van de bezetting, wiens beeld moest dat zijn? Dat van de

The frequent lack of a present tense emphasises the programme makers' intentions to provide new insights into past stories and events. Although the programme uses current events as a trigger for memory, these events do not take precedence in the programme itself. This is again exemplified by Goedkoop's narration. The use of present tense as the grammatical imperative in documentary programming has been used to confirm Steve Anderson's thesis that media representations of the past are mostly deployed to clarify present situations, and are overdetermined by the needs of the present.⁹⁸ Goedkoop's deployment of the *past tense* tends to confirm the programme's opposite intentions, which provides an alternative to the more traditional perspective on television's usable past as 'a long-standing tenet of popular history, where stories involving historical figures and events are used to clarify the present and discover the future'.⁹⁹

In *ANDERE TIJDEN*, the presentation and voice-over narration places the screened archival footage and oral history interviews within an interpretive framework: the presenter eventually steers the viewer in the direction that the director of the episode wishes the audience to look. In the case of *ANDERE TIJDEN*, such framing leads to past events being presented in the programme from a topical perspective.

3.4.2. The re-use of archival footage

The historical events from the twentieth century are principally represented in *ANDERE TIJDEN* through archival footage, whether audio, video or photographic footage. The availability of audio-visual archival material is an important precondition, and makes episodes significantly easier to produce. At certain moments, other types of archival footage, like manuscripts or journals, take precedence. Television makers often need to make use of all the techniques the medium television offers them to bring a story across to viewers. This is especially necessary for the re-use of archival footage in television programmes that contextualises images of the past for present-day viewers. These clips or images may not have any sound, they may be very static, or there may not be a story. The director therefore brings in a storyline in the editing room by putting the images in a specific order, and creates new sound effects, adds music, and provides a context through for instance voice-over narration and oral history interviews. According to Jansen Hendriks: 'You open up the best possible box of tricks to make the episode

communisten die als eersten openlijk verzet hadden getoond, van de NSB'ers die juist mee hadden gelopen, van de joden die alles waren kwijtgeraakt, van de mensen die er juist zonder kleerscheuren waren doorgekomen? Al die beelden leefden naast elkaar, zelfs als concurrenten tegenover elkaar. Vrij pijnlijk eigenlijk. En het ontbrak aan een totaalbeeld. Dat was de situatie rond 1960. Haast niet voor te stellen, maar er was gewoon geen nationaal beeld van de oorlog. Dat moest nog gemaakt'. Cited in *Andere tijden* [*Changing Times*], episode "'De bezetting' van Loe de Jong" ["'The Occupation" by Author Loe de Jong'], dir. Femke Veltman. NPS/VPRO, 22 October 2009.

⁹⁸ Maruša Pušnik, 'Documentaries and Mediated Popular Histories: Shaping Memories and Images of Slovenia's Past', in *Technologies of Memory in the Arts*, ed. Liedeke Plate and Anneke Smelik (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 188–202; Anderson, 'History TV and Popular Memory', 20.

⁹⁹ Gary R Edgerton, 'Introduction: Television as Historian: A Different Kind of History Altogether', in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 4.

as realistic as possible for the viewer'.¹⁰⁰ What are the different functions of the re-use of archival footage in long-running, weekly history programming?

To start with, archival footage can serve as *visible evidence*. Archival footage in general serves a main function, as the major starting point for the narration of a particular historical event. National news broadcasts throughout the years have served more and more as the main information source for mass audiences. By taking this source as a starting point, the programme makers can easily refer to information that is generally known about the subject. *ANDERE TIJDEN* for instance uses national news broadcasts, like the *NOS JOURNAAL* [*NOS NEWS*]. In *DE OORLOG* episode *OORLOG IN INDIË* [*WAR IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES*] (NPS, 6 December 2009), Indonesian-Japanese cinema newsreels are used as onus of proof, and therefore take on a new historical significance. These newsreels initially arrived in the Netherlands as spoils of war, and in the context of the occupation were regarded as Japanese propaganda only.¹⁰¹ However, Jansen Hendriks is specialised in colonial propaganda films at the time of the Indonesian War of Independence, and with her own perspective and the perspective of a later generation argues:

'But they [cinema newsreels] show explicitly how well the Japanese managed to win the Indonesian elite over and to build a new sort a sovereign state of their own, carefully censored by Japan, etcetera, but it shows: they get their own parliament, and this and that... at that time it didn't appear to be very significant, but it shows explicitly why after World War II the two Dutch colonial worlds, the Dutch East Indies, and Indonesia had grown so much apart. The Dutch at home really did not have a clue. And then you have these cinema newsreels at hand, which show this brilliantly'.¹⁰²

As a result, archival footage can literally and physically function as evidence that a certain event has taken place – to the extent that what the cameraman has filmed through his or her lens can help to provide a representation of a historical event.

Archival material is an important *trigger* for remembering. Astrid Erll has pointed out how media can function as *cues* for acts of cultural remembrance and that it is often the narratives surrounding such media that determine their meaning.¹⁰³ I argue that archival footage can perform a similar function as media cue or trigger for remembering. An example is the *ANDERE TIJDEN* episode 'DE BEZETTING' VAN LOE DE JONG. The historical record literally evokes memory in this episode, through both voice of commentary and perspective. This episode focuses on the Dutch historical series *DE BEZETTING* by historian Loe de Jong, which played a central role in the construction of a national and unified perception of World War II in the

¹⁰⁰ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Je gebruikt de hele trukendoos, die er maar zoveel mogelijk is om mensen in een bepaalde tijd te trekken'.

¹⁰¹ For example by historian Loe de Jong.

¹⁰² Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: '[M]aar ze [de bioscoopjournaals] laten juist heel goed zien hoe zeer de Japanners het lukt om de Indonesische elite voor zich te winnen en een soort nieuwe eigen staat te bouwen, weliswaar allemaal gecensureerd door Japan, enzovoort enzovoort, maar je ziet wel: ze krijgen een eigen parlementje, en dit en dat... toen stelde dat allemaal nog niks voor, maar het is allemaal wel ter verklaring van waarom na de oorlog die 2 werelden van het Nederlands-koloniale, het Nederlands-Indië, en Indonesië zo totaal uit elkaar waren gegroeid. Daar hadden de Nederlanders echt geen idee van. En daar zijn dan die bioscoopjournaals, die laten dat heel mooi te zien'.

¹⁰³ Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 128.

1960s. In this episode, the first interview takes place with René Kok from the Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies (NIOD) [Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies] at the NIOD archives. Here, Loe de Jong's personal archive has been preserved after his death. Kok shows the television manuscripts of DE BEZETTING:

'Well this is, eh, Loe de Jong's personal archive. It was at his home until his death and now it's here. It contains his earliest manuscripts of DE BEZETTING. Eh, it is handwritten, he always did this, only his secretary could read his handwriting and she typed it out'.¹⁰⁴

Subsequently, the female ANDERE TIJDEN interviewer/researcher [outside frame] asks Kok to read out the first sentence of the first episode in the manuscript, which Kok does [Fig. 3.3]:

Kok [narration outside frame, shot of manuscript with text]: 'The first sentence is... The days of May 1940. Everybody who experienced them as a concerned human being will be full of memories'.¹⁰⁵

At this point, the shot of the manuscript fades to archival footage of the first episode of DE BEZETTING [Fig. 3.4], and Kok's voice fades into Loe de Jong's voice during the sentence '... will be full of memories':

Archival material [black-and-white] of the first episode of DE BEZETTING. Loe de Jong [sitting behind a desk] continues: '...will be full of memories. At the time, I lived in Amsterdam at the Suriname Square. And every time I visit this place and look into the sky, I know: that was me, that morning of the 10th of May, at four o'clock. My wife and I were shaken awake by bombs. And she was the first to realise: It is war'.¹⁰⁶ [Fig. 3.5]

Archival footage is a main instrument of carrying the audience back into the past. Archival footage also represents the *testimony* of those who are no longer with us.

Long-running, weekly history programming also performs *memory narratives about television*, or more accurately, televisions own past – a practice that is more conventionally performed by retro television and countdown television programmes. By juxtaposing recently filmed sequences – Goedkoop's presentation at the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, interviews with key witnesses at home – with a 1960s television programme like DE BEZETTING, viewers of ANDERE TIJDEN are simultaneously confronted with television's past and present. Figure 3.5 and 3.6 show how in DE BEZETTING, Loe de Jong, as a historian and narrator, takes

¹⁰⁴ Quote in Dutch: 'Nou dit is, eh, het persoonlijk archief van Loe de Jong. Heeft altijd bij hem thuis gestaan tot zijn overlijden en nu staat het hier. En daarin zitten de vroegste manuscripten van DE BEZETTING. Eh, hij heeft het met de hand geschreven, dat deed ie altijd, zijn secretaresse die was de enige die zijn handschrift kon lezen, die heeft het uitgetikt'. Cited in *Andere tijden*, episode "'De bezetting' van Loe de Jong'.

¹⁰⁵ Quote in Dutch: 'De eerste zin is... De meidagen van 1940. Iedereen die ze beleefd heeft als bewust mens, zit boordevol herinneringen'. Cited in *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁶ Quote in Dutch: '...zit boordevol herinneringen. Ik woonde toen in Amsterdam aan het Surinameplein. En iedere keer als ik daar nu nog voorbij kom, en ik kijk naar boven, dan weet ik: daar was ik, die ochtend van de 10e mei, om 4 uur. We werden gewekt, mijn vrouw en ik, door de bommen. En zij was de eerste die de conclusie trok: Het is oorlog'. Cited in *Ibid*.

on the role of the ultimate school teacher, sitting behind a desk and constructing his story with the use of maps and photos.

Loe de Jong [next to large map of the Netherlands]: 'Then I would like to point out to you how the Dutch defensive troops were situated. In the first place there were [emphasises] *border battalions*, border battalions who had to form a sort of line of defence along our borders. Three in the East [draws "3" on map]. And five in the province of Gelderland [draws "5" on map]'.¹⁰⁷ [Fig. 3.6]

The newly filmed sequences in the programme do not only visually differ from these images – black-and-white versus colour, low quality of images versus high quality – but it is clear that television's style and conventions for teaching history have changed over the years.

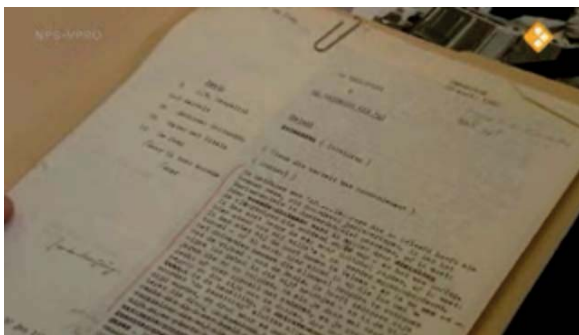


Fig. 3.3

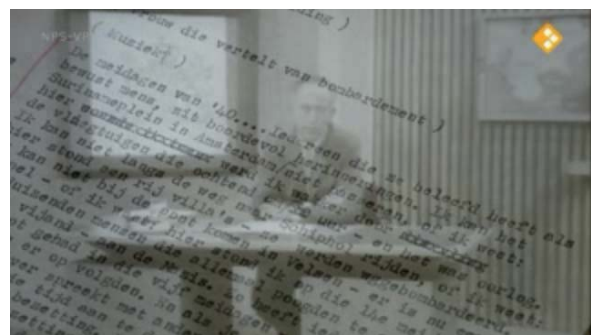


Fig. 3.4



Fig. 3.5



Fig. 3.6

Fig. 3.3-3.6: Stills from ANDERE TIJDEN, 'DE BEZETTING' VAN LOE DE JONG. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. Website captures.

Archival footage provides access to history by offering viewers a *visual representation* of the past. Images of the past help to construct versions of reality. Archive-based history programming on television does not only just offer images as visible evidence, but these images from previous times are meant to help to evoke *emotions and sentiments* of the event as a

¹⁰⁷ Quote in Dutch: 'Dan wil ik u even te laten zien hoe in dit gebied de Nederlandse troepen waren ingeplaatst die de verdediging moesten voeren. D'r waren in de eerste plaats *grensbataljons* [emphasises], grensbataljons die dus een soort veiligheidsordon vormden om onze grenzen heen. D'r stonden drie van die bataljons hier in het oosten [draws "3" on map]. Er waren vijf in Gelderland [draws "5" on map]'. Cited in Ibid.

historical *experience*. Archival images in this sense also help to recall the feelings at the time, which can be especially relevant when no eyewitness accounts are available or give an uninvolved reaction. According to Jansen Hendriks, even 'the most simple cinema newsreel' can recall this historical sensation.¹⁰⁸ The sound of archival footage is also included. For instance, original commentary from another period has a very different tone and colour, and serves as an excellent way to draw people into a different time and age. This is in keeping with Leo Murray's work on sound in documentary (drawing upon studies by amongst others Bill Nichols) that argues that sound – ranging from authentic synchronous recordings to voice-over, music and sound effects – can fulfil various narrative and dramaturgical roles, including legitimising the images, supplying and augmenting a sense of realism, adding dramatic weight and steering an emotional interpretation by the audience.¹⁰⁹ For instance, authentic commentary from another period, although in the Dutch language, has a very different tone and colour, and serves as an excellent way to transport people through time. However, in the words of Jansen Hendriks, 'the image always wins'.¹¹⁰ Therefore, when exciting or emotional events happen on the screen, these need to be carefully edited and featured with commentary. Otherwise, as the creators argue, their point will most likely not come across to the viewer.

Of course, *availability* of archival material is of overriding importance. However, this does not mean that historical narratives cannot be told despite the limited availability or unavailability of archival sources. A prime example is the ANDERE TIJDEN episode DE ONDERGANG VAN DE JUNYO MARU [THE SHIPWRECK OF THE JUNYO MARU] (NPS/VPRO, 25 February 2003). In September 1944, a Japanese cargo ship is torpedoed near the coast of West Sumatra. Unbeknownst to the English, who thought that the freighter was transporting concrete, the ship was in fact filled with a crew of forced labourers being transported to work on the Sumatra railway. Out of those 6,500 people, 5,600 died, including 1,000 Europeans and 4,500 Indonesians – who at that time were formally Dutch citizens. However, few are aware of this disaster. The only remaining image of the tragedy is an old photo of the torpedoed ship when it was being built.

How to represent such a historical event, which is not registered in collective history? Though not being given the highest priority, the story was researched for a long time by the ANDERE TIJDEN editorial staff members. Hans Goedkoop eventually puts the story out on television with the following opening statement: 'Every once in a while we bring you a story, not because there is an immediate cause, but just because it is a story that should be told. A story of which you cannot imagine no one does not already know about'.¹¹¹ The narration by Goedkoop in this manner gives the unknown topic what the creators call 'broadcasting value'.

¹⁰⁸ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011.

¹⁰⁹ Leo Murray, 'Clues in the Library: Fiction Techniques in the Non-Fiction Film Soundtrack Archive' (paper, NECS 2015 Conference 'Archive of/for the Future', panel 'Sounding Out the Archive: Sonic (Re)Presentations of the Past', Łódź, Poland, 18 June 2015).

¹¹⁰ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: '...waarbij ik overigens wel wil zeggen dat het beeld dan altijd wint, hè'.

¹¹¹ Quote in Dutch: 'Eens in de zoveel tijd brengen we u een verhaal, niet omdat er een directe oorzaak voor is, maar gewoon omdat het een verhaal is dat ooit verteld moet worden. Een verhaal waarvan je niet kunt voorstellen dat niet iedereen het al weet'. Cited in *Andere tijden* [*Changing Times*], episode 'De ondergang van de Junyo Maru' ['The Shipwreck of the Junyo Maru'], dir. Ad van Liempt. NPS/VPRO, 25 February 2003.

A principal motive for Van Liempt was to learn how it had fared with the captain when he learned that in fact he had not torpedoed a freight ship, but had killed thousands of people instead. Even though the captain, S.I.C. Maydon, had passed away, he had a son, R. Maydon, who had also served in the Navy and lived in Africa. At a certain moment, he visits England during the Christmas holidays, and is prepared to share the story about his father.¹¹² R. Saydon recounts how his father had received a tape by post from America on which survivors recounted their story, and how captain Maydon learned for the first time that he had caused the death of more than 5,500 people. Shortly after he had received the tape, his father came to terms with what had happened: 'It was something that happened in his life, and *it was history* [...]. Without sounding too cold about it, he just thought that the number [of people dying in torpedo attacks] had increased'.¹¹³ (my emphasis) This story is an example of a history that for the creators just 'had to be told' and is broadcast without a topical link or archival footage. The series DE SLAVERNIJ and DE GOUDEN EEUW do not deal with twentieth century issues and therefore need to be even more creative with visualising a historical narrative on the small screen. For example, programme makers have experimented with animation to revive past historical events.¹¹⁴

Just like the episode DE ONDERGANG VAN DE JUNYO MARU is an example of the narration of a story without almost any archival material, the ANDERE TIJDEN episode EEN INDISCHE FAMILIE [A FAMILY FROM THE DUTCH EAST INDIES] (NPS/VPRO, 5 November 2002) tells a story using archival footage only: 8mm amateur films of a family of the former Dutch East Indies. This practice would become a standard practice in the yearly ANDERE TIJDEN 'SPECIAL' (which has been featured every year since 2004) usually not including interviews or expository commentary, but solely existing of an almost hour-long screening of Dutch archival materials. The creators also classify this story as a story that is just too good not to tell. This historical narrative is based on amateur films that were created just before the war in the Dutch East Indies started. The young couple Hans and Noes Fischer had left for the Dutch East Indies in 1937, and made amateur films with a camera to show to their family at home in the Netherlands what life was like abroad. The family tragically did not survive the war, and these amateur films are all that they left behind. Director Jansen Hendriks initially tried to find people who had known the family for an eyewitness account, but this led to nothing. Not being able to retrieve enough memories for the television programme brought about the idea of using mediocre archival footage in the episode: the families own archival materials in the context of that period.

Several factors further impede upon the selection of archival footage, besides access and availability, as became evident in my conversation with ANDERE TIJDEN image researcher Lizzy van Winsen.¹¹⁵ The creators usually decide upon the content of the episode before the selection of audio-visual materials; the budget is an important factor – less budget means that an even greater portion of the screened materials is selected from the archives of the Netherlands

¹¹² Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011.

¹¹³ Cited in *Andere tijden*, episode 'De ondergang van de Junyo Maru'.

¹¹⁴ Marcel Goedhart, 'Hoe je dode geschiedenis tot leven wekt', *De Slavernij Homepage*, 22 September 2011, <http://deslavernij.ntr.nl/2011/09/22/hoje-je-dode-geschiedenis-tot-leven-wekt/>.

¹¹⁵ Lizzy van Winsen. Personal interview. Utrecht, 20 May 2015. Van Winsen studied Film and Television Studies and Media Studies at Utrecht University. From 2009 she started her career as an image researcher at NPS/NTR/VPRO and since 2012 she has been working as a programme maker and researcher for ANDERE TIJDEN.

Institute for Sound and Vision; digitalisation of audio-visual collections; quality, and of course, time. *ANDERE TIJDEN* requires approximately six weeks in producing an episode, but episodes are also produced in less time due to the programme's connection to topical events.

3.4.3. Eyewitness accounts and on-screen remembrance

In documentary programming, historical events are often recounted or performed on-screen by people who have experienced the events themselves – after all, who better to narrate a historical event than someone who has witnessed this first-hand? This is a leading principle for the *Andere-Tijden*-school programmes *ANDERE TIJDEN* and *DE OORLOG*, but also for the VPRO documentary *IN EUROPA*. Eyewitness accounts are provided through interviews – talking heads – with people who were directly involved with the events at the time. Just like the accessibility of archival footage, the availability of eyewitnesses is an important precondition for the production of a story. Inherent to testimonies is that such acts are to a certain extent instructed. Above all, the wide-ranging activity of 'witnessing' is an 'intricately tangled practice' which raises major questions of communication.¹¹⁶

Before the director starts interviewing eyewitnesses, a shooting script is devised in collaboration with researchers. This assures that the interview process will be relatively *structured*. This is especially important when the goal of the interview is to recollect memories, because this may invite hour-long reminiscing, especially in the case of elder people. The interviewer structure and subsequent interview questions will be based on the availability of archival material, and the research done of the historical event. The director sets out the storyline for the telling of the narrative, although this storyline can always be adjusted in the editing room in collaboration with the editor.

The analysis of different textual examples reveals the creators' strategies in the construction of televised testimonies, or the performance of what Kuhn terms *memory work*. The *ANDERE TIJDEN* episode *OORLOG IN BLIK [TINNED WAR]* (NPS/VPRO, 16 September 2010) provides an example. This episode is produced in anticipation of the *Oorlog in blik* website, an online site that offers access to the audio-visual history of the Netherlands in 1930–1955 by amateur and professional filmmakers. The site houses almost all the filmed images of World War II in the Netherlands. In the episode *OORLOG IN BLIK*, an interview with Sonja de Marcas-Ossedrijver is featured about the amateur films ('Berleo productions') her father Bernard and Uncle Leo Ossedrijver made during World War II. In this episode, De Marcas-Ossedrijver reviews the amateur footage and provides voice-over and on-screen narration with the footage. When watching amateur films by her father and his brother (in the following case about the air-raid defence service) her third-person narration first evokes impersonal memory discourse:

'23 June 1940. Berleo film. An image of dad. The camera operator taking the shot is glad he arrives "besjolem" downstairs. Dad with a cigarette in his mouth. And the man behind him as well. [De Marcas-Ossedrijver now steps away from her narration of the

¹¹⁶ John Durham Peters, 'Witnessing', *Media, Culture & Society* 23, no. 6 (2001): 707, doi:10.1177/016344301023006002.

depicted events, and takes on the role of a social commentator:] Smoking until you drop dead'.¹¹⁷

De Marcas-Ossedrijver goes on to construct herself as a main protagonist ('what *I* also remember...'), in vivid detail in first-person narration, in her description of the specific event of Uncle Leo's return home after the war:

'What I also remember... But this was after the war, when Uncle Leo returned home. The Russians who captured that concentration camp somehow freed Uncle Leo. And he started to roam all over Russia, then there was a knock at the door and we heard somebody calling downstairs: "Bernard!" And Bernard heard my uncle's voice. My father often called Uncle Leo Illy. Do not ask me why. Illy. So he said: "Illy!" He ran, try to picture this, these steep stairs, he ran down these stairs. This was really a..., if I try to picture this [becomes visibly emotional] tears get into my eyes...'¹¹⁸

At the end of the narrative, De Marcas-Ossedrijver narration recedes back into repetitive memory discourse, the most frequent type of memory narrative:

'He [Uncle Leo] had a little projection screen. It was put up in the living room and then we saw all the relatives who were no longer in our midst'.¹¹⁹

De Marcas-Ossedrijver's narration evokes diverse memory discourses, and shows the power of film and television in evoking the past in the present. This is not only exemplified by the different discursive registers of what I term De Marcas-Ossedrijver's 'televisual autobiography', but also by the films as described in the memory narrative itself: '...and then we saw all the relatives who were no longer in our midst'.

Sometimes this strategy is combined with the visiting of *historical locations*, and sometimes specific *sounds* present at these locations. For example, in the ANDERE TIJDEN episode DE ONTVOERING VAN HERREMA [THE ABDUCTION OF HERREMA] (NPS/VPRO, 21 October 2010), the Dutch businessman Tiede Herrema visits for a second time the site of his 1975 abduction by two ex-members of the IRA. The episode depicts a different kind of

¹¹⁷ Quote in Dutch: '23 juni 1940. Berleo film. Een tekeningetje van pap. De operateur die het opnam was blij dat hij "besjolem" beneden kwam. Papa met een sigaret in z'n mond. En de man erachter natuurlijk ook. [De Marcas-Ossedrijver now steps away from her narration of the depicted events, and takes on the role of a social commentator:] Roken tot je er bij neer valt'. Cited in *Andere tijden* [*Changing Times*], episode 'Oorlog in blik' ['Tinned War'], dir. Erik Willems. NPS/VPRO, 16 September 2010.

¹¹⁸ Quote in Dutch: 'Wat ik mij ook herinner... Maar dat was dan weer na de oorlog, toen oom Leo thuis kwam. Oom Leo is dus op de een of andere manier gered door de Russen, die dat kamp hebben ontzet. En is toen gaan zwerven door Rusland, toen werd aan de deur gebeld en toen hoorden we beneden roepen: "Bernard!" En Bernard, die hoorde de stem van mijn oom. Oom Leo werd vaak door mijn vader Illy genoemd. En vraag me niet waarom, Illy. Dus hij zei: "Illy!" Hij racete, moet je voorstellen, die hoge trappen, hij racete die trappen af. Dat was echt een, als ik daaraan denk... [becomes visibly emotional] moet ik heel even traan...' Cited in *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Quote in Dutch: 'Hij [Uncle Leo] had een schermpje. Dat werd in de huiskamer werd dat opgezet en dan keken we daarnaar. En dan zagen we weer al die familieleden die we niet meer hadden'. Cited in *Ibid.*

autobiographical memory discourse. Herrema revisits an important site of memory: the house, where two ex-members of the IRA held him captive for more than seven weeks. When standing in front of the house in which he was imprisoned, a passing train startles Herrema. He describes that the passing train is shocking to him, because the sound of the passing train used to give him a fright in 1975:

A train passes. Herrema is visibly startled, but then smiles: 'But this is [points to railway], this is very shocking to me. That train... [Sound of train fades]. It terrifies me'. Interviewer [outside frame]: 'Why?'
Herrema: 'Because then I was also terrified by it. [Grins] Sorry'.¹²⁰

Herrema's memory narrative is directly followed by archival footage of the same railway and the sound of a train passing from 1975 – providing the viewer with contextual information of Herrema's memory narrative.

A more performative or even poetic example of autobiographical memory is provided by the *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT* episode *EK 1976: DE AFGANG* [*EURO 1976: THE LET-DOWN*] (NPS/NOS/VPRO, 18 May 2008). This episode focuses on how the Dutch football team, designated favourite, lost the 1976 European Championship in Yugoslavia after a violent match with two red cards (for Dutch players Johan Neeskens and Willem van Hanegem). The events are depicted through archival footage and interviews with people who were directly involved with the events at the time, which includes former national coach George Knobel, football players Johan Crujff, Willem van Hanegem and Johan Neeskens, and referee Clive 'The Book' Thomas.

At the start of the episode, filmed sequences of Neeskens (who is being filmed in a football stadium) and Van Hanegem are accompanied by the original 1976 radio broadcast of the match:

Sports commentator: 'Yes, I really think this is an outrageous foul by Johan Neeskens. [Crowd noises grow stronger] And he is also shown a red card'. [Fig. 3.7]
'And another red card... [Pause] A red card. To Willem van Hanegem'.¹²¹ [Fig. 3.8]

This is combined with the use of close-ups of Neeskens and Van Hanegem – their faces offset by dim lighting – for an extra emotive effect. Through a range of textual strategies, the images filmed during the interview *seem* to portray Neeskens and Van Hanegem remembering the events of the match that they narrate in this episode. Such performances of memory on screen convey the *sensation* of what it is like to remember.

Kuhn's study provides a starting point to consider such televised testimonies as memory narratives in which the past is produced in the activity of remembering. Recorded acts of remembering are therefore neither representing nor providing access to the past 'as it was'.¹²²

¹²⁰ Cited in *Andere tijden* [*Changing Times*], episode 'De ontvoering van Herrema' ['The Abduction of Herrema'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NPS/VPRO, 21 October 2010.

¹²¹ Cited in *Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'EK 1976: De afgang' ['Euro 1976: The Let-down'], dir. Tom Egbers. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 18 May 2008.

¹²² Annette Kuhn, *An Everyday Magic: Cinema and Cultural Memory* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 8–9.

As Kuhn's research on memory discourses has made evident, it is very rare that anecdotal or autobiographical memory discourse is performed in interviews, due to the vivid nature of such expressions. The history documentary reveals the power of archival footage and sites of memory to evoke and construct autobiographical memory discourses through televisual practices – widening the scope of what a testimony about historical events might look like.



Fig. 3.7: ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT, episode EK 1976: DE AFGANG. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. Website capture.



Fig. 3.8: ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT, episode EK 1976: DE AFGANG. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. Website capture.

3.5. Cultural-historical aims, strategies and conventions

3.5.1. History programming as a secondary source

For the creators of the *Andere Tijden*-school, there are three constitutive elements to each broadcast: the *facts*, the *images*, and the *people* concerned.¹²³ These three elements have to be in conformity with each other and have to be able to bear the scrutiny of criticism. This demands the factual research to be wide and in-depth, including a literature review and the consultation of experts. Eventually, eyewitnesses are visited and asked to share their story. Researchers are

¹²³ For a more extensive description see also: Van Liempt, 'Het geheim van het historisch beeld'.

required to find the underlying cause of every topic, and every subject needs to be able to meet these conditions. Analysing sources of authority to the core means that statements made by interviewees need to correspond with the researched facts. When statements do not correspond with the facts, this means additional research, possibly extra interviews, the removal of statements, or people are not included in the programme because they are deemed suggestive or not trustworthy. Historical, but also journalistic considerations need to be taken into account. However, sometimes one person is the only one who was present at a specific event. For example, the episode GERBRANDY IN LONDON [GERBRANDY IN LONDON] (NPS/VPRO, 18 March 2003), which includes a single witness account by Prince Bernhard, who tells that he once pulled former premier Pieter Sjoerds Gerbrandy out of the water by his swimming costume when he went overboard during a swimming party. In this case, trivia rounds out the story, and although aspects of the story may be partly fabricated, this is not deleted because it cannot be further corroborated. Van Liempt: '[...] this boils down to a kind of addition sum which makes you think, well: Probably he made up half of it, but of course it's very funny. It makes everybody laugh. You do not really rewrite world history'.¹²⁴

Jansen Hendriks and Van Liempt strive for a critical attitude towards the use of sources on an academic level:

Van Liempt: 'In that sense we have to link up journalism and science, by introducing the scientifically approach to an in itself journalistic product and showing that good journalism and science are almost identical and do not show such a gap as everybody thinks they do. From what I frankly see in practice, we have historians and journalists at our editorial office and you can have them work together, you can interview them or whatever, but you will not notice the difference anymore. These two groups really have amalgamated'.¹²⁵

Jansen Hendriks: 'It does occur, this may happen to you, that people have contradictory recollections. You also have to be aware of this, when telling a story. It is not a scientific lecture, in which you can clearly show and explain how unreliable oral history really is. It also happens to be true! I also warn people, that we are not a source. I know that it is a kind of... I know we add to [...] the cultural heritage in which things will be remembered but... and that's okay, but to a certain extent we realise that you are very aware of what you're doing, I think..., everything should be well-considered, we pretend to be such a programme, we have that reputation, you have to live up to such a status or feeling. At the same time, being a historian myself..., which I really would like to point

¹²⁴ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: '[...] dat wordt dan een soort optelsom waarbij je denkt, nou: "Ik sluit niet uit dat hij het voor de helft verzonnen heeft, maar het is natuurlijk wel grappig". Iedereen schiet dan een beetje in de lach. Het is niet echt dat je hiermee de wereldgeschiedenis herschrijft'.

¹²⁵ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'We moeten in die zin een brug slaan tussen journalistiek en wetenschap, door de wetenschappelijke methode in te voegen in een van zichzelf journalistiek product en daarmee aan te tonen, dat goede journalistiek en goede wetenschap eigenlijk bijna 1 op 1 op elkaar vallen en niet zo'n enorme kloof vertonen als iedereen altijd denkt. Want ik zie eerlijk gezegd, we hebben dus historici en journalisten op de redactie en je kunt ze naast elkaar zetten, je kunt ze ondervragen of wat dan ook, je ziet het verschil niet meer. Dat is echt een soort osmose geworden tussen die twee groepen'.

out, yeah..., but the oralist is a very unreliable source who mainly adds atmosphere and facts, which should always be compared with all written sources'.¹²⁶

The aforementioned ANDERE TIJDEN website serves as an important platform of source criticism and annotation of sources, and is one of the first examples to do so on the internet in the Netherlands. The website is a key example of how to combine the conventions of history with the possibilities of the medium television. Even so, the programme makers argue that: 'Students of history are not allowed to use our programme as a historical source, it's a *secondary source*. So it doesn't count...' ¹²⁷ (my emphasis) The interviews with the creators reveal their vision on how factual television programmes that deal with the past following documentary modes of representation need to be regarded as a representation and reconstruction of history: a second, or even third or fourth version of history.

3.5.2. Drama and re-enactment

Documentaries often make use of a mixture of documentary modes, as Nichols' pioneering work and Richard Kilborn and John Izod's study of the hybrid television documentary has shown.¹²⁸ ANDERE TIJDEN can be characterised as an expository documentary. Nichols has defined the expository mode as a documentary mode that 'addresses the viewer directly, with titles or voices that propose a perspective, advance an argument, or recount history'.¹²⁹ Which strategies for plausibility are deployed, to mask the construction of the text? As a partly expository documentary, ANDERE TIJDEN largely follows traditional documentary practice through evidentiary editing and the assemblage of 'fragments of the historical world into a more rhetorical or argumentative frame than an aesthetic or poetic one'.¹³⁰ The programme sometimes uses a voice-of-God commentary when incorporating archival footage with a speaker who is heard but never seen. The programme also deploys voice-of-authority commentary by presenter Hans Goedkoop, who as a speaker is heard and seen. However, the re-enactment of scenes is strictly 'forbidden' to protect the believability and credibility of the programme, and of course the expensive research. The programme makers are very aware that people have the tendency to say that if one aspect of the programme is not 'true', the rest of the programme may not be

¹²⁶ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Het komt ook wel voor, dat doe je wel eens, dat mensen herinneringen hebben, die elkaar tegenspreken. Ook daar moet je, als een verhaal vertelt, voorzichtig mee zijn. Het is geen wetenschappelijk college, waarin je dat leuk naast elkaar kan zetten en kan uiteenzetten hoe onbetrouwbaar oral history is. Want dat is natuurlijk ook nog een keertje zo hè. Ik waarschuw ook altijd mensen, dat wij geen bron zijn. Ik weet wel dat het een soort van... Ik weet wel dat wij bijdragen aan [...] het culturele erfgoed in de manier waarop dingen worden onthouden, maar..., en dat vind ik ook best, maar we zijn ons er in zoverre van bewust dat je ook heel erg nadenkt over wat je doet, vind ik... alles moet verantwoord zijn, zo'n programma zijn wij wel, die naam hebben we ook, je moet aan een soort status of stemming voldoen. Tegelijkertijd blijf ik als historicus... wil ik echt heel erg zeggen, ja, maar de oralist is een heel onbetrouwbare bron die geeft vooral sfeer en dingen mee, en die moet je naast alle geschreven bronnen leggen'.

¹²⁷ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Studenten geschiedenis die mogen ons programma niet als historische bron gebruiken, dat is een secundaire bron. Dus dat telt niet...'

¹²⁸ Richard W Kilborn and John Izod, *An Introduction to Television Documentary: Confronting Reality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

¹²⁹ Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 105.

¹³⁰ Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*.

'true' as well. Although *the* truth will never be reached, the television makers do try to come as close as possible in their perfectionism: 'That's the central idea. That the moment you start to abandon the line of authenticity, you start throwing away your own reliability, because in my opinion people in general and especially the Dutch are extremely suspicious about this'.¹³¹ The interviews with the creators reveal that the *Andere Tijden*-school can be regarded as one of 'the last of the Mohicans' in their strict *intolerance* of acted-out sequences. Van Liempt argues that the national, Calvinistic character of the Dutch will always be after reliability and will deem a programme untrustworthy when certain elements are re-enacted.¹³² According to the creators, this does not include young viewers (for my discussion of re-enactment in the youth history series 13 IN DE OORLOG, see Chapter 5). A comparison can possibly be made with the dubbing of television programmes in a foreign language: up to a certain age, this is satisfactory for Dutch viewers, and from a more mature age onwards, this is not acceptable anymore.

bij gegoeae burgerij.
 - er zal in ieder geval een acteur zijn die Troelstra 'speelt'. Het gaat niet om naspelen van werkelijke gebeurtenissen. Ik wil dat deze acteur stukken tekst doet uit de rede van Troelstra in Tweede Kamer en andere toespraken en dat ie vooral 'charisma' uitbeeldt. Je moet door deze acteur kunne begrijpen/navoelen waarom oudjes van 90 nog altijd weten dat Troelstra hun ouderlijk huis een soort heilige was.
 - misschien dat er nog een andere acteurs nodig zijn, of wellicht eentje die diverse 'rollen' do

Fig. 3.9. Excerpt of *ANDERE TIJDEN* production documentation for *TROELSTRA'S TRAGEDIE* [*TROELSTRA'S TRAGEDY*]. Internal document. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision.

Perhaps there is one exception to this rule for *ANDERE TIJDEN*: the series also *experimented* with different narrative forms. For example, in the episode *TROELSTRA'S TRAGEDIE* [*TROELSTRA'S TRAGEDY*] (NPS/VPRO, 20 September 2005) about the socialist Pieter Jelles Troelstra's proclaimed 'revolution' in 1918, the memoirs of deceased politicians are being read out and performed in this manner by amongst others former Dutch Prime Minister Dries van Agt. Production documents [see an excerpt in Fig. 3.9] underscore the creators' intention to include actors to principally perform Troelstra's charisma and to help viewers to comprehend why older people still remembered Troelstra. A translation from a short extract of the production document reads as following in English:

'[...] one actor will be playing Troelstra. It will not be a case of replaying actual events. I want the actor to act out Troelstra's speech in the Lower House and other speeches and that he especially shows "charisma". Through the actor, one has to grasp why elderly people at the age of ninety still know why Troelstra was regarded in their parental home as some sort of saint. [P]erhaps more actors are needed, or perhaps someone who can play different "roles" [...]' [Fig. 3.9]

¹³¹ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Utrecht, 9 June 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Dat is de centrale gedachte. Dat op het moment dat je die lijn loslaat van de authenticiteit, dat je je eigen geloofwaardigheid te grabbel gooit, want daar is naar mijn idee de mensen in het algemeen, en de Nederlander in het bijzonder, bijzonder wantrouwig over'.

¹³² Caldwell, 'Convergence Television', 57.

In this manner, the programme makers have also been able to reconstruct events from before World War II via different narrative forms, whilst remaining committed to their convention of not re-enacting actual events.

3.5.3. The role of historians and experts

All interviewed programme makers recognise the importance and necessity of consulting people who are *experts* on the subject of the historical events that are featured in a specific episode. More often than not, these people are much more informed about the specific subjects featuring in the programme of that week. They can therefore provide important points of view, which subsequently can be taken on board by the programme maker in featured commentary, in the structure of the episode, and so on and so forth. Historians in this manner can provide programme makers with a specific line of approach. The programme maker is not only provided with food for thought and important knowledge about a certain subject, but also a line of attack regarding a subject that the programme maker may or may not be very much experienced with.

Historians, professionals and experts are consulted in the production process, and function as a *source* of information. However, professionals are preferably not featured as 'talking heads'. Although ANDERE TIJDEN since its first season has featured stories from both the first and second half of the twentieth century, this basic principle does impede on the production of stories from the first half of the twentieth century. After all, eyewitness accounts from the first half of the twentieth century are less easy to retrieve. There are several successful examples, though, such as the episode MISDAAD IN OSS [CRIME IN OSS] (NTR/VPRO, 17 September 2011) about the notorious Gang of Oss in the 1920s and 1930s. This episode combines oral history through eyewitness accounts with expert commentary by a historian.

3.5.4. Authenticity

Authenticity is a 'red herring' (misleading or distracting), because 'there is no transparent window through which we might render the past'.¹³³ Problems with eyewitness' remembrance of events, distortions, misrepresentations: all need to be taken into consideration by the creators. The programme makers therefore select storytellers who, above all, have a 'good' memory, but who can also be deemed to be on good authority regarding the subject discussed at that moment in the conversation. This type of witness account is mainly based on *very individual witness statements*. To achieve authenticity on a level beyond such individual experiences, such as the level of military leaders and people in charge, the programme makers often have to look to other practices. One strategy is the inclusion of *ego-documents* like diary fragments and letters, which can bring about a heightened feeling of authenticity.

All programme makers recognise the importance of representing events as *historically correct* as possible. ANDERE TIJDEN and DE SLAVERNIJ director Hein Hoffmann¹³⁴ remembers his job interview with Van Liempt:

¹³³ Aaron Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust: New Perspectives on Dramas, Documentaries, and Experimental Films* (New York: Continuum, 2011), 15.

¹³⁴ Hein Hoffmann started his television career as a political correspondent with 2 VANDAAG [2 TODAY], a current affairs programme by AVRO/TROS. Since 1999 he has been with NTR and has directed numerous episodes of ANDERE TIJDEN and DE SLAVERNIJ [SLAVERY]. He is the creator and editor-in-chief of the youth television series 13 IN DE OORLOG [13 AT WAR], which in 2010 received

"Do you think it's important, that plane?" Yes..., of course..., when Rotterdam is bombarded by type A, you should not show type D. That is my approach. And..., if you are dealing with an Opel, you should not show a Ford. If you talk about a car in general, it really does not matter, but if you talk about a specific car and type, you should really consider those. If you are dealing with trains from the forties, you should not show a train from the fifties. *There is always a big nose, who knows!*¹³⁵

Accordingly, the essence of the historical narrative needs to be represented in an as truthful as possible manner.

The *Andere-Tijden*-school's approach to representing history as accurately as possible can be divided here along the lines of the flexible and the precise. Hoffmann:

'Yes, it depends on the kind of subject you start dealing with. If it is an *oral history*, it does not matter to me that much what they say. How they have experienced it, that I find in many cases the most important. [...] Our crew includes flexible and precise persons. Well..., you may say I am the *flexible* one. For me it is essential, that you... the essence has to be true but whether they pulled the trigger with their left or right hand is of less importance to me. And..., they should not tell utter nonsense of course, it should... well yes... no..., that is not possible, it should be reasonably true. I have a feeling that certain things are never really true whereas you have the archival material to prove it, but... no...'¹³⁶ (my emphasis)

The *precise* Jansen Hendriks, a historian, argues: 'I am being paid as a television maker, not as a historian'.¹³⁷ Jansen Hendriks refers here to her academic work on the laws of history programming for television and the tricks of the trade of filming, in which she has previously

the Erasmus Media Award and the Comenius EduMedia Siegel. In 2011 the series received the Beeld en Geluid Award in the category youth television series. The book *13 in de oorlog* was published in November 2013, which sheds further light on WWII through photos, diary fragments, interviews and timelines.

¹³⁵ Hein Hoffmann. Personal interview. Hilversum, 5 October 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Toen ik ging solliciteren vroeg Ad: "Vind je het belangrijk, dat vliegtuig?" Ja..., als Rotterdam gebombardeerd wordt door type A moet je niet type D laten zien. Zo ben ik wel. Enne..., als je het hebt over een Opel, moet je geen Ford laten zien. Als je het hebt over een auto, maakt het niet uit, maar als je het hebt over een specifieke auto en type, moet je het wel zoveel mogelijk proberen te doen. Als je het hebt over treinen uit de jaren '40 dan moet je geen trein uit de jaren '50 laten zien. Er is altijd wel iemand, die het weet. *There is always a big nose, who knows!*'

¹³⁶ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Ja, het ligt eraan wat voor onderwerp je aanpakt. Als het een *oral history* is, dan maakt het me niet uit wat ze zeggen. Hoe zij het beleefd hebben, dat vind ik op zich in veel gevallen het belangrijkste. [...] Bij ons heb je de *rekkelijke* en de *precieze*. Nou..., ik ben de *rekkelijke*, kan ik je wel zeggen. Bij mij gaat het erom, dat je de essentie moet wel weer waar zijn, maar of ze nou met de linkerhand geschoten hebben of de rechterhand, dat maakt me niet zoveel uit. En..., ze moeten geen aperte onzin uitkramen, het moet... ja..., nee..., dat kan niet..., maar het moet redelijk kloppen. Ik heb het gevoel, dat sommige dingen nooit helemaal kloppen terwijl je het archiefmateriaal hebt om het te bewijzen, maar... nee...'

¹³⁷ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: '[...] Ik word betaald als televisiemaker, hoor, niet als historicus. Dat is heel flauw, maar het is wel zo, en dat heeft dus voorrang!'

talked about how to combine her responsibility as a historian with her responsibilities as a filmmaker.¹³⁸



Figure 3.10: Still from 13 IN DE OORLOG episode 11, INDIË [THE DUTCH EAST INDIES]. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. Website capture.



Figure 3.11: Still from DE OORLOG episode 7, OORLOG IN INDIË [WAR IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES]. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. Website capture.

A comparison between Hoffmann's 13 IN DE OORLOG and Jansen Hendrik's DE OORLOG episodes (for a more detailed analysis of both these productions by the *Andere Tijden*-school, see Chapter 5) can possibly shed some further light on these two different approaches to doing history by the *Andere Tijden*-school – the first flexible and the second more precise – and how both approaches strive to be as historically accurate as possible. For example, while Jansen Hendriks travelled far and wide across the country of Indonesia to locate the exact beach –

¹³⁸ Gerda Jansen Hendriks, 'How to Present Riots That Have Not Been Filmed', in *The Historian, Television and Television History: A Collection*, ed. Graham Roberts and Philip M Taylor (Luton: University of Luton Press, 2001), 55–61.

which was not a beach anymore – where the Japanese invaded the Dutch East Indies, Hein Hoffmann made the choice to let 13 IN DE OORLOG Lisa Wade discuss the invasion of the Dutch on a random beach and by means of a map [Fig. 3.10]. The fact that it was the final day of shooting may also have been a factor here! However, this also underscores the creators' intentions to leave information *in context*: Hoffmann does not claim that Wade is presenting from the exact location where the Dutch landed – which DE OORLOG presenter Rob Trip does, from the beach where the Japanese invaded the Dutch East Indies [Fig. 3.11].

3.5.5. The problem of oral history

However unreliable the memory may be, a large availability of eyewitness statements counts for a great deal according to the ANDERE TIJDEN programme makers.¹³⁹ It can be a deciding factor, not to continue with a certain historical narrative when there are not enough or no eyewitness accounts available. In case there are no eyewitnesses left, there have to be considerable additional reasons to make an exception: whether a very personal story or a story that represents history in general, it has to be a story that needs to be told. History is a process of *redacting*, and the people selected to share their story on screen need to be good *storytellers*. The art of making history television documentaries for the creators lies in the ability to narrow down what happened in the past by visual or oral means of representation, to make this event understandable for a broad range of people.

The dilemma whether or not include talking heads was especially massive in the case of the *Andere Tijden*-school production DE OORLOG, because of the dying out of eyewitnesses of World War II. In the end, the programme makers decide to sparingly include interviews with eyewitnesses in DE OORLOG, with a maximum of two to three talking heads per episode. This choice is principally made to elevate the level of *authenticity*. Initial plans about form also reveal how relevant the heightening of the level of authenticity is to the makers, for instance, through the inclusion of diary fragments. The programme makers are very aware of the untrustworthiness of oral history: if people state inaccuracies these are deliberately taken out in the montage, or pointed out to the viewer.

In some cases, lies, mistakes or radically different views of interviewees regarding history are also *deliberately included* in the programme to make a specific point. The ANDERE TIJDEN episode HET OPTIMISME VAN GENERAAL SPOOR [THE OPTIMISM OF GENERAL SPOOR] (NTR/VPRO, 14 May 2011) zooms in on the events surrounding the life and death of the young army commander-in-chief Simon Spoor in 1949. A topical motivation is derived from new facts published in the 2011 biography *Generaal Spoor, Triomf en tragiek van een legercommandant* by Jaap de Moor.¹⁴⁰ The interview with Spoor's widow discusses the excesses that Spoor as commander-in-chief in the Dutch East Indies had to deal with. Biographer De Moor confirms that Spoor read everything but for a number of reasons criminal proceedings were not instituted.

¹³⁹ Gerda Jansen Hendriks, 'Meer dan papier – het archief in Andere Tijden' (Lecture, KVAN studiemiddag 'Archieven en Journalistiek', Internationaal Perscentrum Nieuwspoor, Den Haag, 16 July 2003) Quote in Dutch: 'Voor ons telt een flinke hoeveelheid ooggetuigen ook zwaar, hoe onbetrouwbaar het geheugen ook is. En natuurlijk kan beeld ook bewijsmateriaal zijn. Kortom, niet alles hoeft zwart op wit te staan'.

¹⁴⁰ Jaap de Moor, *Generaal Spoor: triomf en tragiek van een legercommandant* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011).

However, in the interview, Spoor's widow Mans Spoor-Dijkema literally states: 'Every week there were huge piles of convictions, all of which he had to read'.¹⁴¹ Spoor undoubtedly read many rapports about several calamities, of which he eventually decided in collaboration with the procurer-general not to institute proceedings. Jansen Hendriks expects that in Spoor-Dijkema's memory, these reports have become convictions:

'So I think... in her memory, they have become sentences. [...] In this case I left it like that, because it obviously is her recollection and... well yes... versus the biographer who makes it clear how it really happened. And frankly I find this legitimate, because as a widow, well of course... you do not... that is... things like that I do not mind. In fact I even like it [...] these are subtleties in such a programme, because in general one moment they are shown and the next moment they are gone'.¹⁴²

However, this is not a reason for the creators to not include the narrative in the broadcast.

In the case of certain subjects, the distortion or misrepresentation of memory can be so strong that the programme makers decide *not* to include oral history interviews at all. For example, in the case of the *ANDERE TIJDEN SPECIAL: DOOR SOLDATENOGEN* [THROUGH SOLDIERS' EYES] (NPS/VPRO, 27 December 2009), the director carried out the resolute act to only include memories cited from diaries and letters. This choice was deliberately made based on the fact that, in the first place, the historical events of the war in the Dutch East Indies happened more than sixty years ago, but more importantly, in the second place, many men who returned were given the cold shoulder and labelled 'colonial' and being 'no good'. Many of those men are therefore not willing to revisit these events. As a result, director Jansen Hendriks chose to sidestep the possible problems of oral history, and to present a 'more authentic' image:

'I am by no means an expert on memory, but I have noticed with elder people, that they have a somewhat fixed story in their heads, and they tell this, but as soon as you wish to ask questions outside of this, they often generally don't know it anymore, because it has been locked up so far away in their memory'.¹⁴³

Television makers consequently consider the extent to which memory narratives have been affected by the passing of time and intermediate events. The use of ego documents can provide

¹⁴¹ Quote in Dutch: 'Elke week waren er zulke stapels van vonnissen van de rechtbank, die hij allemaal door moest lezen'. Cited in *Andere tijden* [*Changing Times*], episode 'Het optimisme van generaal Spoor' ['The Optimism of General Spoor'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NTR/VPRO, 14 May 2011.

¹⁴² Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Ik denk, dat dus... in haar geheugen zijn het vonnissen geworden. [...] Ik heb het in dit geval laten zitten, omdat het zo duidelijk haar herinnering is en... nou ja... versus de biograaf die duidelijk maakt hoe het dan zit. En ik vind het ook wel legitiem, want als weduwe, ja natuurlijk... je gaat... dat is... dat vind ik ook niet erg. Dat vind ik eigenlijk zelfs wel mooi [...] het zijn wel van subtiliteiten in zo'n programma die over het algemeen ook heel snel weg zijn, want het komt voorbij en het is weg'.

¹⁴³ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Ik ben echt geen geheugenexpert, maar ik merk gewoon met oude mensen, dat zij vaak een soort vast verhaal in hun hoofd hebben, en dat vertellen ze, en zodra je daarbuiten gaat vragen dan weten ze het niet meer of ze denken... weet je... oprecht weten ze het niet meer, want het is zover in hun geheugen weggestopt'.

a solution to authentically representing a historical period, which is often combined with the use of (amateur) archival footage.

3.5.6. A history for whom? Targeting the audience

Scholars such as Brian Winston and Derek Paget have argued that it is the documentary's point of reception – which has been accepted by viewers since the 1920s – that principally defines the genre. According to Winston, the claim on 'truth' necessary for the documentary exactly depends on spectators constructed by the genre to have that prior faith in it.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, what kind of audience do programme makers keep in mind when producing narratives about the past?

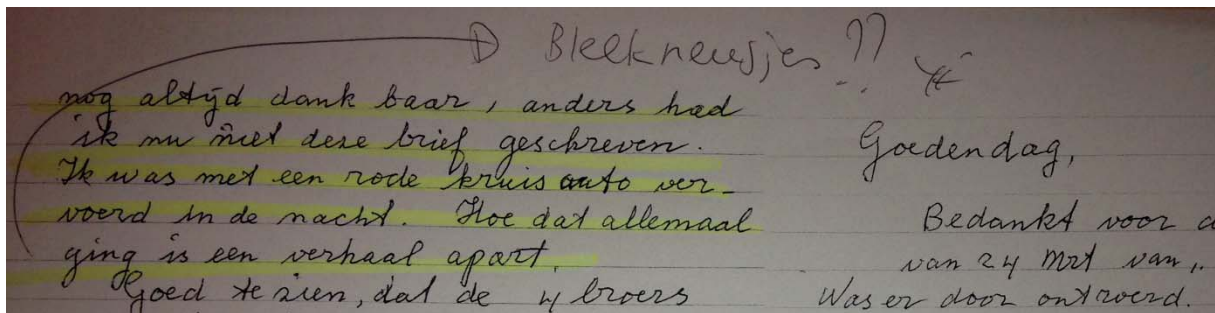


Fig. 3.12. Fragment of audience response, a letter with a personal memory narrative (name withheld) triggered by an ANDERE TIJDEN episode. The television creator's notes and highlighting on the left side of the letter indicate contemplating to include the letter writer in a new episode on *bleekneusjes* [war children]. Internal document. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision.¹⁴⁵

The ANDERE TIJDEN creators describe the target group for their history programmes as *very broad*. On the one hand, the creators refer to themselves as 'old-fashioned' programme makers who do *not* think in terms of target audiences. For example, Jansen Hendriks argues that: 'I am still such a delightfully old-fashioned television maker, who doesn't think at all in terms of target groups. And just thinks by him/herself: "If I like this, and I am not that exceptional a person, then there must be other people who find it interesting"'.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, all these programme makers strive to reach an as broad as possible audience. Van Liempt describes the target audience of ANDERE TIJDEN as follows:

'That is a very broad target group. I have always formulated this for myself as the group of people "who want to know what is happening in the world". It is, in fact, *the group*

¹⁴⁴ Brian Winston, *Claiming the Real: The Documentary Film Revisited* (London: British Film Institute, 1995); Derek Paget, *No Other Way to Tell It: Docudrama on Film and Television* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 145.

¹⁴⁵ A translation from a short extract of the production document reads as following in English: 'Good day, thank you [...] still grateful, otherwise, I would not have written this letter. I was transported by a Red Cross car during the night. How this all came about is quite a different story [...]'. The television creator's handwritten note reads 'War Children??' [*Bleekneusjes??*].

¹⁴⁶ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Ik ben nog zo'n heerlijke ouderwetse televisiemaker, die helemaal niet in doelgroepen denkt. En alleen maar zelf denkt van: "Als ik het leuk vind, en zo'n uitzonderlijk mens ben ik nou ook niet, dan zijn er vast andere mensen die het interessant vinden"'.

that uses television substantially as an informative medium. But I do not exclude anyone by definition; of course we do not get through to the couch potato who watches entertainment eight hours a day. We would love to, but we do not reach them. But if you define the target group in this manner, you end up with a group of as much as 4 million people in the Netherlands'.¹⁴⁷ (my emphasis)

According to Hoffmann, the main viewer of these programmes is the same as for DE OORLOG (discussed in Chapter 5) and IN EUROPA (discussed in Chapter 6): 'It is the interested fifty-year-old of course, who watches ANDERE TIJDEN on Sunday at a quarter past eight [...] you should not exclude, but in practice I expect it to be the fifty, fifty-five-year-olds'.¹⁴⁸ This is also revealed by examples of audience responses, in which audience members share their own personal memories triggered by broadcast episodes [Fig. 3.12].

At the same time, this group of people are the most occupied with 'other things'. This means that according to the creators this group does not comprise of people who generally watch the most television. The creators understand that these are active people and consequently, selective viewers: people who go to the theatre and read books, but do not always have time to watch television. Moreover, because this is a very large group, a significant part of this target audience has not been able to receive an education in for instance foreign languages, although they have a very large interest in these matters, especially elderly people (60+), as Van Liempt argues:

'And that is actually my most important argument, for the rest I don't think very much in target group terms [...], there are many people who absorb every bit of information they can find, who watch many informative programmes, but in fact only attended lower education or just one more year of further education and who would like to know everything to sort of *make up for educational arrears*'.¹⁴⁹ (my emphasis)

Van Liempt's starting point has therefore always been that programme makers should not alienate their audiences by assuming a certain basic level of knowledge or understanding, let alone transmitting foreign languages without a translation. The programme maker is severe in the translation of everything that is not spoken in the Dutch language, to not shut out or offend people: 'If you broadcast 1 minute in English without translation, you send a lot of people out

¹⁴⁷ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Dat is een hele ruime doelgroep. Ik heb 'm altijd geformuleerd voor mijzelf als de groep mensen, die 'wil weten wat er in de wereld aan de hand is'. Het is in feite *de groep die televisie voor een belangrijk deel als informatief medium gebruikt*. Maar daarmee sluit ik niemand per definitie uit; maar wij bereiken natuurlijk niet de couch potato, die acht uur per dag naar amusement kijkt. Zouden we wel willen, maar die bereiken we niet. Maar als je 'm zo definieert kom je in Nederland op een groep van wel vier miljoen mensen'.

¹⁴⁸ Hein Hoffmann. Personal interview. Hilversum, 5 October 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Het is natuurlijk de geïnteresseerde vijftiger, die ANDERE TIJDEN kijkt om kwart over acht op zondag [...] je moet niet uitsluiten, maar in de praktijk zijn het de vijftig-, vijf-en-vijftigers, volgens mij'.

¹⁴⁹ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'En dat is eigenlijk mijn belangrijkste argument, ik ben verder niet zo'n doelgroepdenker [...], er zitten heel veel mensen tussen die ontzettend graag alles opslokken wat ze maar aan informatie kunnen vinden, die heel veel informatieve programma's kijken, maar die eigenlijk niet meer dan lagere school hebben, of een enkel jaartje daarboven en dat eigenlijk uit een soort *inhaaloperatie* allemaal willen weten'.

of the room in the Netherlands, and I am absolutely convinced of that'.¹⁵⁰ This also entails that the language of the programme should not include too difficult words or phrases. A successful execution according to the creators depends on both professional skill and the art of clear writing – the latter being the most important basic principle for all programmes.

I make a brief comment here to reflect on the fact that the presence of television productions on multiple platforms can also bring about a *connected virtual network* in which viewers and producers take part in creating a cross-media narrative. This networked set of data opens up new possibilities for studying participation of viewers in television productions and relations between the participants in these virtual communities. This Big Data approach to studying television productions is relatively new and extraction of relevant data from sources is therefore not always straightforward. Challenges lie in creating structured metadata in the digitisation, archiving and curation of these sources.¹⁵¹ Social networks like Twitter allow users to form social groups¹⁵² by connecting with other users, sharing their thoughts, sending personal messages and forwarding (re-tweet) messages from other users. These users are not limited to individual users only, but also companies, institutions and cultural productions. Analogous to off-line social groups, these on-line social groups do not appear by chance, but take a conscious effort of the participants to form and maintain, and persist because users feel connected and empowered.¹⁵³ Therefore, these social groups are an important part of the users' identity.¹⁵⁴

In a pilot study, the formation of groups around the eight Twitter profiles for television productions on the *Geschiedenis24* platform (now *NPO Geschiedenis*) has been analysed.¹⁵⁵ A post-demographics-approach was used to organise groups via users' behaviour (for instance connections, tweets and re-tweets) and available data (for instance place of residence and interests) on social networks.¹⁵⁶ The NodeXL software¹⁵⁷ was used to crawl and map direct and indirect followers of the *Geschiedenis24* website and their interconnections on Twitter. The interactive visualisation platform Gephi¹⁵⁸ using the ForceAtlas2 algorithm was applied to visualise and analyse the network of connections. The study found that this approach could identify different groups of followers based on the connections between these followers. The groups that were found could indeed, albeit manual, be classified according to identity: groups

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Als je één minuut Engels onvertaald uitzendt, dan stuur je in Nederland echt heel veel mensen de kamer uit, en dat vind ik echt'.

¹⁵¹ Frédéric Kaplan, 'A Map for Big Data Research in Digital Humanities', *Frontiers in Digital Humanities* 2 (2015): 1, doi:10.3389/fdigh.2015.00001.

¹⁵² Manuel Castells, 'The Network Society: From Knowledge to Policy', in *The Network Society: From Knowledge to Policy*, ed. Manuel Castells and Gustavo Cardoso (Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2006), 3.

¹⁵³ Shanyang Zhao, Sherri Grasmuck, and Jason Martin, 'Identity Construction on Facebook: Digital Empowerment in Anchored Relationships', *Computers in Human Behavior* 24, no. 5 (2008): 1818, doi:10.1016/j.chb.2008.02.012.

¹⁵⁴ Imma Tubella, 'Television and the Internet in the Construction of Identity', in *The Network Society: From Knowledge to Policy*, ed. Manuel Castells and Gustavo Cardoso (Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2006), 257.

¹⁵⁵ Wout Roelofs, 'Geschiedenis24 en toebehorende programma's op Twitter' (BA, Utrecht University, 2014) Supervised by Berber Hagedoorn, MA.

¹⁵⁶ Richard Rogers, *Digital Methods* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2013), 155.

¹⁵⁷ NodeXL (Social Media Research Foundation, 2014), <http://nodexl.codeplex.com>.

¹⁵⁸ Gephi, version 0.8.2 (Paris: Gephi Consortium, 2013), <https://gephi.github.io/>.

could be defined by shared interests, shared profession or shared cultural sector. Although this pilot study was in a relatively small dataset (976 unique profiles), it shows the potential for such analyses of large datasets.

Finally, a differentiation needs to be made in the case of the target audience of *ANDERE TIJDEN SPORT*. Although one can argue that sports enthusiasts mainly watch this programme, the programme makers also strive to reach a group of people who are not principally interested in sports, but who have an interest in the human stories or the drama surrounding such events:

Van Liempt: 'Just to mention an example, taking "the cable" [*de kabel*, the so-called feud between black and white players which derailed Holland's Euro '96 campaign in England], that contradiction between black and white footballers in the nineties of the Dutch national team and Ajax, that was almost a universal Dutch phenomenon, in fact you don't need to know all the details of the midfield diamond formation to nevertheless be able to enjoy it. To a certain extent, the information is taken into account, but you do not actually make an intellectual programme or a programme for intellectuals'.

Interviewer [Berber Hagedoorn]: 'Is this connected to a specific age group?'

Van Liempt: 'Well, that is..., you cannot influence that'.¹⁵⁹

In general, Van Liempt describes himself as not thinking in terms of target audiences.

3.5.7. A certain kind of history: the selection and reconstruction of historical events

How do programme makers decide which historical narratives to tell to their audience? Which stories about the past are selected, reconstructed, and to what extent is the past rewritten? Television is a *collaborative process*, and in this creative process, decision-making is par for the course. From the director ('the boss'¹⁶⁰) and presenter to the editor, creators working at different stages of a programme need to deal with choices regarding the selection and narration of a particular history.

ANDERE TIJDEN deliberately focuses on almost forgotten stories from the century of the moving image, the twentieth century.¹⁶¹ In her initial 1992 plan, Jansen Hendriks proposes to focus on historical events after 1945 for two reasons. In the first place, both *eyewitnesses* and *archival footage* will be largely available. Second, the expectation is that *public interest* will be greater for events after 1945 'than for random subjects from the eighteenth century'. However, 'exceptions as ever prove the rule; the 1930s are not as per definition taboo'.¹⁶² The programme

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Kijk, als het over "de kabel" gaat, om maar eens een voorbeeld te noemen; die tegenstelling tussen de zwarte en de blanke voetballers in de jaren negentig rond het Nederlands elftal en Ajax, dat was bijna een universeel Nederlands verschijnsel, dan hoef je niet echt alles van de 'ruit door het middenveld te weten' om dan toch te kunnen genieten. Dus daar wordt wel een beetje naar gekeken, maar verder dus absoluut niet een intellectueel programma maken of een programma voor intellectuelen maken'. Interviewer [Berber Hagedoorn]: 'Is daar ook nog een leeftijds categorie aan gebonden?' Van Liempt: 'Nou, dat is..., daar heb je geen invloed op'.

¹⁶⁰ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011.

¹⁶¹ Ad van Liempt has described news images of the coronation of Queen Wilhelmina from 1898, as well as a more recent historiography concentrated on the death of politician Pim Fortuyn (which focused on the years 2001 and 2002) as important exceptions of *ANDERE TIJDEN* episodes to this rule. Van Liempt, 'Het geheim van het historisch beeld'.

¹⁶² Jansen Hendriks, 'Zuiderzeeballade', 1.

makers eventually decide not to broadcast historical narratives from before the twentieth century, because not only are such stories considerably more difficult to produce for television, but the creators believe that the availability of archival material with twentieth century stories makes the broadcasting of those historical narratives much more attractive.¹⁶³

The resolve to go a step further than 'nostalgic headshaking' is clear from the outset. The programme should look back in time to show how people responded to smaller and larger events and developments. Such a treatment of history is a very different idea from 'shaking our head at old Polygoon-newsreels, reflecting on how silly we used to act back then'.¹⁶⁴ A focus on a specific aspect of a given history can provide new insights, instead of broad overviews that more easily incite nostalgic tendencies. This is preferably done by focusing on one event that stands for a larger development, or by singling out one theme within such a development. For example, the episode DE 'ANDERE' FAMILIE FRANK [THE 'OTHER' FRANK FAMILY] (NPS/VPRO, 4 May 2008¹⁶⁵) represented the experience of WWII from the perspective of the unknown Jewish Frank family from Ochten in the Netherlands, through the family's own archival footage. In a similar manner, the episode EEN INDISCHE FAMILIE provides a personal account of one family in the context of the war in the Dutch East Indies, which consequently becomes a symbol for what people experienced right before, during and after the war.

In a 1998 reworking of the format proposal – the working title of the weekly historical programme is by then BEWOGEN VERLEDEN¹⁶⁶ – the journalistic principle of taking current events as a point of departure is explained as follows:

The programme reveals new facts and provides new insights into historical events, through one's own research and current academic studies;
Current events are a starting point for looking back at the historical developments that relate to or lay at the foundation of these events.¹⁶⁷

According to Jansen Hendriks, a link with current events stirs more interest in a certain subject, especially people's interest in historical narratives that do not fit in with the more 'romantic' grand narratives of history, narratives from the Middle Ages and the Romans to the Greeks.¹⁶⁸ ANDERE TIJDEN reveals a preoccupation with those other stories of the Netherlands in the

¹⁶³ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: '[...] dat was het idee om in januari 2000 te beginnen en dan over de twintigste eeuw. Want de twintigste eeuw was de eeuw van het bewegende beeld. Bij televisie is dat wel handig. Het was vanaf het begin het idee: we gaan geen oudere geschiedenis doen, allemaal ontzettend interessant, geweldige verhalen, alleen voor televisie oneindig veel ingewikkelder. En het gebruik van archiefmateriaal maakt dit type programma veel aantrekkelijker. We wisten inmiddels wel dat er heel veel was'.

¹⁶⁴ Jansen Hendriks, 'Zuiderzeeballade', 1–2.

¹⁶⁵ 4 May is Remembrance Day in the Netherlands.

¹⁶⁶ Titles ranging from DES TIJDS, GEDANE ZAKEN, MET HET OOG OP GISTEREN, OVTV and STORIA (Italian for story as well as history) have also passed in review.

¹⁶⁷ Gerda Jansen Hendriks, 'Bewogen verleden: een wekelijks geschiedenisprogramma', December 1998 Quote in Dutch: 'Het programma onthult nieuwe feiten en geeft nieuwe inzichten bij historische gebeurtenissen, een en ander op basis van eigen research en lopend wetenschappelijk onderzoek; actuele gebeurtenissen zijn aanleiding om terug te kijken naar de historische ontwikkelingen die aan die actualiteit ten grondslag liggen of daar verwant mee zijn'.

¹⁶⁸ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011.

twentieth century. Episodes like DE 'ANDERE' FAMILIE FRANK, DE 'VERGETEN' JAMES BOND [THE 'FORGOTTEN' JAMES BOND] (NPS/VPRO, 12 November 2002, episode about George Lazenby), DE 'ECHTE' SOLDATEN VAN ORANJE [THE 'REAL' SOLDIERS OF ORANGE] (NPS/VPRO, 4 November 2010, episode about the Dutch resistance fighter Peter Tazelaar, who has been overshadowed in history by another England sailor, Erik Hazelhoff-Roelfzema) and the ANDERE TIJDEN SPECIAL: DE 'ANDERE' JAREN VIJFTIG [THE 'OTHER' FIFTIES] (NPS/VPRO, 22 March 2005) show that history consists not only of stories of renowned historical figures and leaders. However, the series does not advocate an exclusive focus on histories from below either. The programme makers aim to shed new light on almost forgotten topical matters from the past, which is not necessarily the same as a history from below.

Rather, the programme makers endeavour the broadcast of an increasingly *broad variety of topics*. Ratings prove that World War II is a very popular subject, which is by definition watched by more people than other topics.¹⁶⁹ Jansen Hendriks admits that the creators do try to 'temper' this partiality, because, aside from the growing difficulties in finding eyewitnesses, there are so many interesting stories to tell about World War II that could fill a whole season.¹⁷⁰ Production time also plays a role in the ability to produce specific episodes. In general, ANDERE TIJDEN needs approximately six weeks to produce an episode. However, in the case of for instance the 9/11 attacks, the programme makers produced an episode within one week, about the first time people worldwide were glued to the television to follow a terrorist attack – the episode MÜNCHEN [MUNICH] (NPS/VPRO, 18 September 2001) concerning the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. The programme makers do try to vary between lighter and heavier topics, even though they are dependent on topical interests. In the initial proposal for ZUIDERZEEBALLADE, Jansen Hendriks also argues that the programme must not only take current events as a starting point, in view of the fact that: 'This would be too restricting and misleading. There are many "timeless" historical topics which are worth telling'.¹⁷¹ This has proven to be an exception since ANDERE TIJDEN's first broadcast in 2000, the programme makers have very exceptionally made room for stories that just need to be told. A prime example is the episode DE ONDERGANG VAN DE JUNYO MARU discussed above.

ANDERE TIJDEN has over the course of the programme's history not radically changed its original and effective programme format, although there has been a change in nuances. Whilst ANDERE TIJDEN started off with multiple historical topics per episode, the focus shifted before long to one solid historical narrative per episode. This certainly affects what kind of stories about the past can be told – and in what manner – within the time frame of one single episode. In my conversation with programme maker Karin van den Born,¹⁷² who succeeded Ad van Liempst as ANDERE TIJDEN's editor-in-chief in October 2007, she expressed how the original set-

¹⁶⁹ In the first five years of the programme's broadcast, the most frequently featured subjects are World War II, foreign politics, and culture. See: 'NPS Jaarverslag 2004'. 16. The seventy minute ANDERE TIJDEN SPECIAL: WOII IN AMATEURFILM (NPS/VPRO, 4 May 2004) featuring WWII amateur films is still the best watched episode with over a million viewers (1,280,000 viewers) and an appreciation figure of 8.5/10.

¹⁷⁰ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011.

¹⁷¹ Jansen Hendriks, 'Zuiderzeeballade', 1.

¹⁷² Karin van den Born studied History at the University of Groningen. She has worked as a programme maker at several broadcasters and is now, together with Yfke Nijland, editor-in-chief of ANDERE TIJDEN.

up has remained. However, there has been a shift in nuances in terms of the selection and reconstruction of historical narratives. First, Van den Born has a personal preference for more social topics, for example domestic care. The editor-in-chief, however, strives for a balance between political and cultural subjects. Whilst a few years ago an episode about World War II would be a standard 'hit' with viewers, as Van den Born explains, today it very much depends on the topic whether an episode is a success. Second, stories about history are complicated to tell, and Van den Born argues that the creators over the years have improved in their ability to build a story. She explains that by providing a fluid narrative structure through editing and direction, the creators have been better able to get to the crux of the historical narrative as well conveying the narrative's topicality – without oversimplification.¹⁷³ These examples point not only to how an overall poetics still allows for nuances and mutual differences between practitioners, but also to the creators having evolved together over the course of the programme's history in the selection and reconstruction of historical narratives.

In my conversation with ANDERE TIJDEN programme maker Van Winsen, she suggested outlining to what extent the programme's historical topics have over the years represented more and more national or domestic interests and topics. This is not, as Van Winsen emphasised, a 'top down' instruction, but a personal thought which she wondered if I could prove or clarify.¹⁷⁴ The starting point of this analysis of ANDERE TIJDEN episodes is the number of general programme themes related to a historical topic or central event in the Netherlands, compared with programme themes related to a topic or central event in the international sphere. Both national and international events are often connected to Dutch popular memory. Although each episode has one specific overall theme per episode, the variety of topics is wide. Therefore, in these graphs and tables [Fig. 3.13-3.15] I have chosen to classify these topics as general categories. Figure 3.13 visualises the proportion of episodes dealing with international subjects of foreign politics, economics and technology, arts and media, society and environment, health and sports, justice and terrorism, war and peace, and traffic and logistics.

Figure 3.14 visualises the proportion of episodes dealing with national (i.e. Dutch) subjects of Dutch politics (including the monarchy), economics and technology, arts and media, society and environment, health and sports, justice and terrorism, war and peace, and traffic and logistics. Episodes have been interpreted as either having a general historical theme with an international focus or a national focus. For example, episodes with an international focus are MÜNCHEN [MUNICH, about the Olympic Games in Munich 1972], WK SCHAATSEN [WORLD ALLROUND SPEED SKATING CHAMPIONSHIPS] (NPS/VPRO, 3 February 2004), KENNEDY: EEN JONGE PRESIDENT [KENNEDY: A YOUNG PRESIDENT] (NPS/VPRO, 15 January 2009), RACE NAAR DE MAAN [SPACE RACE] (NPS/VPRO, 25 January 2007), and KOERIER VOOR PORTUGAL [BANK MESSENGER FOR PORTUGAL] (NTR/VPRO, 12 May 2013). Episodes with a national (Dutch) focus are, for instance, TSJERNOBYL ALS NEDERLANDSE RAMP [CHERNOBYL AS DUTCH DISASTER] (NPS/VPRO, 26 April 2001), PRINSJESDAG 1974: GIJZELING FRANSE AMBASSADE [OPENING OF PARLIAMENT 1974: HOSTAGE CRISIS IN THE FRENCH EMBASSY] (NPS/VPRO, 16 September 2003), DE KOMST VAN DE MOSKEE [THE ADVENT OF THE MOSQUE] (NPS/VPRO, 1 February 2005) and ZO EN NIET ANDERS [SO AND NOT OTHERWISE] (NTR/VPRO, 26 February 2011) about Dutch

¹⁷³ Karin van den Born. Personal interview. Hilversum, 5 October 2015.

¹⁷⁴ Lizzy van Winsen. Personal interview. Utrecht, 20 May 2015.

politics. Location is not always an overriding factor. For instance, the elections in Suriname are the main motivation for the episode BOUTERSE, HET HAAGSE HOOFDPIJNDOSSIER [BOUTERSE, A DUTCH ANXIETY] (NTR/VPRO, 19 May 2015), but this episode is principally a reflection on Dutch politics and anxieties in The Hague regarding Dési Bouterse.

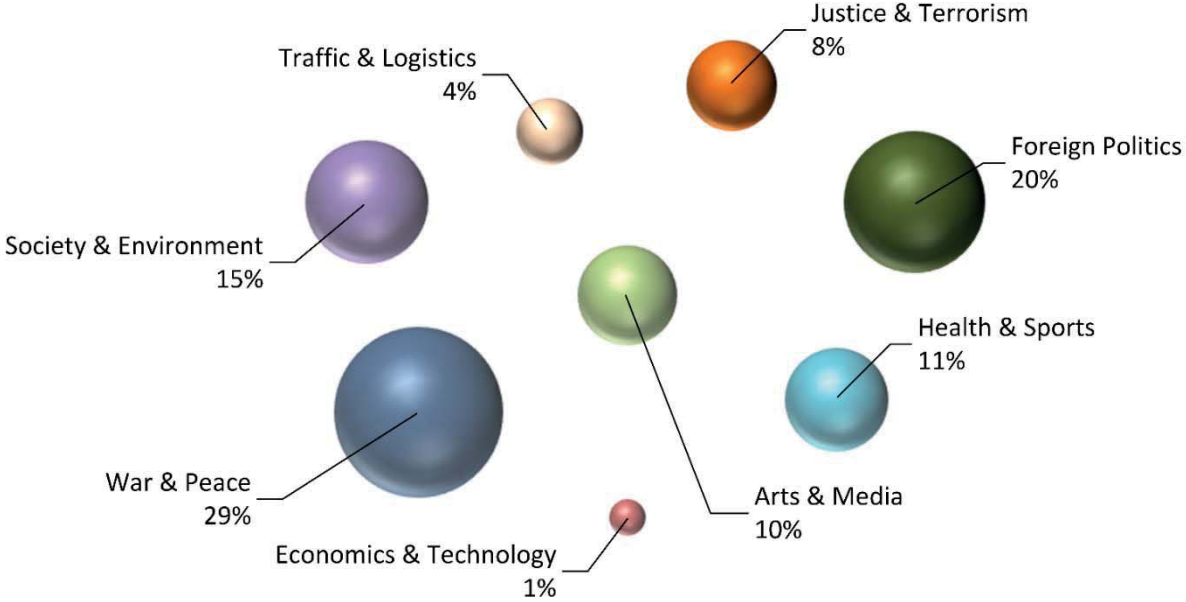


Fig. 3.13. General themes with an international focus in ANDERE TIJDEN episodes between March 2000 and May 2015 overall. The graph shows the proportion of episodes dealing with each general theme.

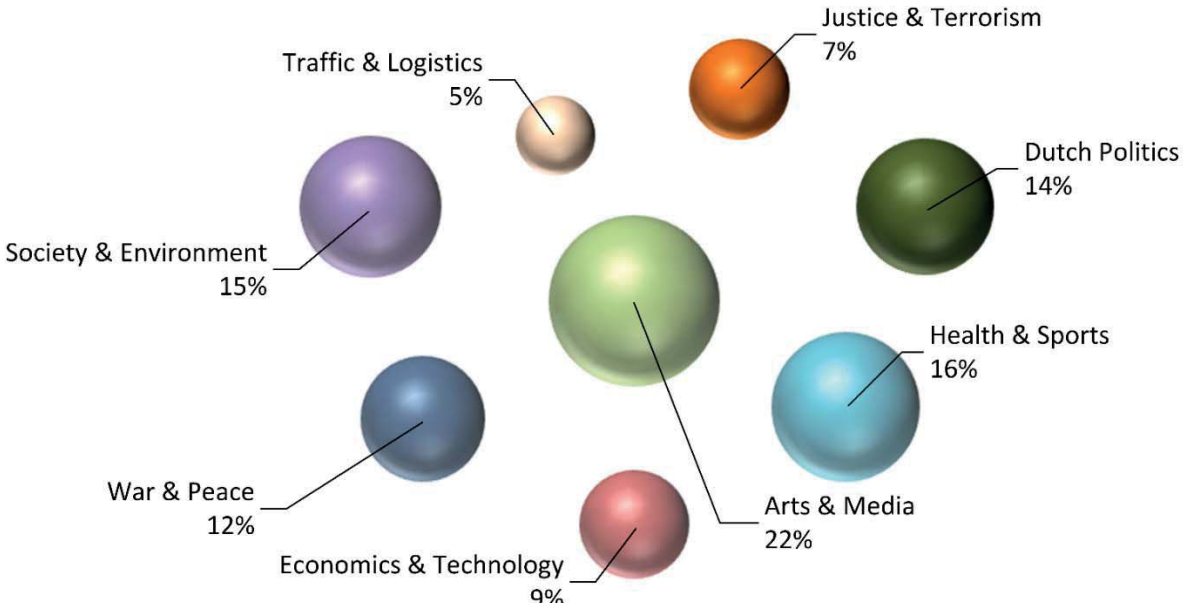


Fig. 3.14. General themes with a national (i.e. Dutch) focus in ANDERE TIJDEN episodes between March 2000 and May 2015 overall. The graph shows the proportion of episodes dealing with each general theme.

As Figure 3.15 (proportion of general themes with an international focus to general themes with a national focus) indicates, general historical themes with a national (Dutch) focus take more precedence in ANDERE TIJDEN episodes today than at the outset of the programme – 62% in 2000 and 74% by May 2015. The proportion of ANDERE TIJDEN episodes dealing with Dutch versus international subjects interestingly points to a *slowly declining* amount of international subjects covered over the years.¹⁷⁵ There is a large significant negative correlation between year and the proportion of episodes dealing with international subjects,¹⁷⁶ which means that we can indeed infer that in later years ANDERE TIJDEN episodes deal less with an international subject or theme. Note that this does not say anything about the causality or *why* ANDERE TIJDEN has dealt with less international subjects in its episodes in later years. Further analysis of production decisions, for instance through an analysis of production documentation or in-depth interviews with producers, can help understand this aspect.

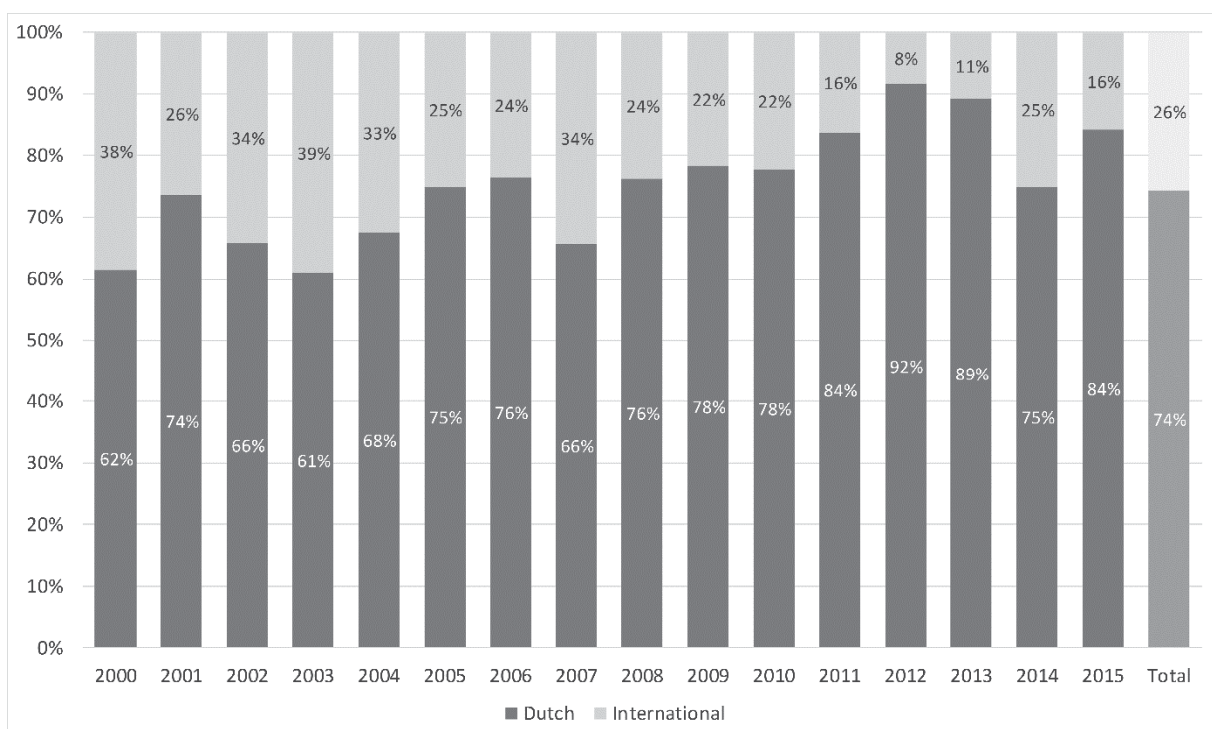


Fig. 3.15 Proportion of general themes with an international focus to general themes with a national (i.e. Dutch) focus in ANDERE TIJDEN episodes per year between March 2000 and May 2015.

What is evident from the in-depth interviews is that this is not due to a 'top down' instruction. This slight shift may also reflect the shifting interests of Dutch citizens towards more national topics and conversations. Programmes are also based on what kind of books are being published or what type of museum exhibitions open. The programme makers knowing

¹⁷⁵ A Pearson correlation (Pearson's r) can be used to determine whether there is a significant lower amount of international subjects in later years. Jacob Cohen et al., eds., *Applied Multiple Regression/Correlation Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁷⁶ Pearson correlation between the years 2000–2015 and episodes dealing with Dutch subjects and international subjects respectively: proportions of Dutch subjects versus international subjects for the years 2000–2015: $r = .783$, $N = 16$, significant at the 0.01 level.

the mind of the people in the Netherlands forms the incentive for a topic being discussed in *ANDERE TIJDEN*: the programme reflects on society and society reflects back. As Van den Born argues, Dutch topics also seem to 'score' better.¹⁷⁷ Finally, practicalities such as the available budget are an important factor and it could be argued a main cause for this development – after all, less budget means that an even greater portion of the screened materials is selected from the archives of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, and this also poses limitations for being able to film abroad.

Importantly, *recent events* function as a *starting point* for *ANDERE TIJDEN*, rather than making an explicit comparison to the present. In 2002, the fall of the Balkenende cabinet after 87 days inspired the episode *DS'70 [SOCIAL DEMOCRAT PARTY '70]* (NPS/VPRO, 29 October 2002) about another political party with comparable problems with first time and quarrelsome politicians. Such a topic would normally not be featured on television: 'If you normally propose such a topic, everyone would yawn and think: "what on earth is this about"'.¹⁷⁸ Likewise, in 2010, dissidents of the CDA (Christian Democratic Appeal) party hinder a right-wing coalition, which forms the inspiration for the episode *PARTIJ OF PRINCIPES: DE DISSIDENTEN BINNEN HET KABINET VAN AGT/WIEGEL [PARTY OR PRINCIPLES: THE DISSIDENTS WITHIN THE VAN AGT/WIEGEL CABINET]* (NPS/VPRO, 23 September 2010) about a similar issue regarding CDA-dissidents in the 1977 Van Agt/Wiegel cabinet. Although taking topical events as a starting point is in the words of the creators a somewhat 'elastic concept' and open to interpretation,¹⁷⁹ this makes the programme unique amongst its peers. Current events function as a *trigger* but do not feature as a subject in the programme: otherwise, it would not be a programme about *twentieth century history*.

According to Van Liempt, the choice of historical topics featured in *ANDERE TIJDEN* essentially causes two very different reactions amongst viewers. On the one hand, the general response will be along the lines of 'Nothing has changed over time, it is all exactly the same as now', or, 'How is it possible that happened at that time, I never knew that' – and all manner of responses in between the two.¹⁸⁰ This also plays a part in the choice of historical topics. The experience of the *ANDERE TIJDEN* makers teaches us that on the one hand, a very current topic urges more viewers to watch a historical programme, and on the other hand, this leads to the visualisation of historical narratives on the small screen which otherwise would not be told.

3.6. The poetics of doing history on broadcast television

In using poetics as an analytical model, I have considered the aims, strategies and conventions of representing the past in *ANDERE TIJDEN*, by means of which sources and stories about historical events are collected, selected, reconstructed and visualised. Such an approach can help to make the usually more *implicit* conventions and strategies of television creators *explicit*. By means of this case study, I have been able to zoom in on the role of television as a mediator

¹⁷⁷ Karin van den Born. Personal interview. Hilversum, 5 October 2015.

¹⁷⁸ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Dat is een onderwerp, als je dat normaal zou voorstellen denkt iedereen gapend: 'wat moeten we daar in godsnaam mee'.

¹⁷⁹ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Dat is ook een heel rekbaar begrip, maar wel een van de charmes van het programma'.

¹⁸⁰ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Utrecht, 9 June 2011.

of past and historical events, with a focus on how television does history and what kind of history is created by television professionals through long-running, weekly history programming. Media like television do not only enter into and shape relations between people and society, but the role of television professionals in this process of shaping and selecting needs to be considered further.

The analysis of this case study shows the possibilities for a greater cohesion of poetics for doing history on broadcast television across a weekly series, and provides an insight into discussions that take place when doing historiography in the context of television. The series' approach to historiography is reflected in their multimedia profile, which includes not only additional background information and research content, but source criticism and annotation of sources. Such long-running, weekly television programming in the multi-platform era provides opportunities for an even greater intertextuality and cohesion of historical programme content. For example, by the re-use of research in online contexts and by linking programmes to each other and to additional content in digital and (social) media environments. At the same time, an overall recognisable poetics still allows for mutual differences between practitioners, such as a production crew including both flexible and precise individuals.

Taking the view that history is a continuous process, the institutionalisation of a regularly recurring history programme on Dutch television was ensured by the consistency of a house style. This house style contains a shared conviction regarding doing history on television – also reflected in the umbrella function of the series' website – and by gradually building expertise and intrinsic cooperation, such expertise was also kept in-house, for instance by allowing for internal mobility. The study has also pointed to the history of the Dutch public broadcasting system – on the one hand to challenges in establishing such intrinsic cooperation, and on the other hand to the chances at NTR (and previously at NPS) and VPRO in being able to put their own authority first when doing history on television, in the words of Van Liempt 'to be able to create what we liked and what we wanted without any pressures or urges from outside'.¹⁸¹ Expertise is regarded as the key to history programming. As a result, *ANDERE TIJDEN* has become a fixture on Dutch television screens, especially by acquiring a reputation in the re-use of archival footage. The period in which the creators research and produce the series may be relatively longer compared to other weekly television programming. However, this needs to be seen in context of the demands of doing history and the creators' critical attitude towards the use of sources. The series is able to fulfil its aim to combine academic historical standards with the conventions of television, with the added pressure of the limited research time available. To deliver to this standard, programme production is clearly dependent on their in-house expertise. The series generally attempts to keep their know-how 'in-house' – not only by striving for power of decision and for collective accommodation, but by recognising the importance of the programme makers' own expertise in being able to research, direct and create history programming.

The analysis also reveals the specific ways in which broadcast television and television creators direct the viewers' attention through different means of representation. For the *ANDERE TIJDEN* creators, the constitutive elements to each broadcast – the facts, the images, and the people concerned – have to be in conformity with each other. The presenter, as expert social

¹⁸¹ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011.

commentator, provides the context of the given history. The re-use of archival footage serves different functions, from archival material as an important trigger for remembering to a visual representation of testimony and evoking emotions and sentiments of an event as a historical experience. Access and selection of archival material are of overriding importance. Televised testimonies reveal the power of archival footage and sites of memory to construct memory discourses through televisual practices. Such structured memory narratives in which the past is produced in the activity of remembering, widen the scope of what a testimony about historical events might look like. The history series also performs memory narratives about television itself, repurposing and contextualising television's own past. Means of representation such as the presenter's deployment of the past tense fit the programme's intentions to provide an alternative to more traditional perspectives on television's usable past. The series shows how people responded to smaller and larger events and developments. Finally, the history programme has a distinctive connection to topicality and actuality. The cross-media strategy of the creators is also serving both this actuality as well as their approach to history representation. The series' website is a further example of how *ANDERE TIJDEN* combines the conventions of history with the possibilities of the medium television. Even so, both the website and the series are not a historical source, but a representation and reconstruction of history.

The *ANDERE TIJDEN* creators strive to achieve authenticity, arguing for the essence of a historical narrative to be represented in an as truthful as possible manner. The believability, credibility and expensive research of the programme is safeguarded by the creators through an intolerance towards re-enactment and the consultation of experts as a source of information in the production process. Professionals are preferably not featured as talking heads. Instead, stories are mainly told through very individual witness statements or ego-documents. The poetics of *ANDERE TIJDEN* point out that not only is history always a process of redacting, but the art of making history television documentaries lies in the ability – hence, the expertise – to narrow down what happened in the past by visual or oral means of representation, and to make this event understandable for a broad range of people.

When does a topic have enough relevance to be broadcast in an archive-based history series, based on the strategies of *ANDERE TIJDEN*? In general, a historical narrative at first has to have a 'second layer'. This entails that the story – including lesser-known, almost forgotten or personal *histories* – has to stand for something more than itself: the story has to provide additional or new information about a certain time, or about a certain event. A purely incidental or individual case, therefore, will seldom be featured, unless it is representative in some form to many people. In the second place, television is able to hold up a 'mirror', reflecting the past back into itself. Subsequently, the archive-based history series functions as a 'tele-timemachine'. However, as the analysis has shown, this time machine offers contextualisation, reflection and commentary.

Whilst the *ANDERE TIJDEN* series has from the outset focused on both national and international historical themes and topics, the analysis has also pointed to a slowly declining amount of international historical subjects covered in the series over the years. It is evident from the in-depth interviews with key professionals that this is not due to top down instructions. The series is created for a broad target audience that uses television as an informative medium. This slight change may also reflect the shifting interests of people in the Netherlands towards more national topics. However, practicalities such as the available budget may be of an overriding

factor here – after all, less budget, as well as time constraints, mean that an even greater portion of the screened materials is selected from the archives of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. It seems that media policy and rights issues will be playing an even bigger role in conditioning what kind of historical narratives can be told on television, especially with a greater emphasis on on-demand and open platforms in the cards in the Dutch televisual landscape. Challenges for *ANDERE TIJDEN* will particularly be related to the large amounts of archival footage re-used in the series and accompanying rights issues for online circulation.

4

Circulating History on Digital Platforms: Digital Thematic Channels

The image below [Fig. 4.1] depicts the evacuation of residents during the 1953 North Sea Flood in the Dutch village of Raamsdonksveer. Decades later, Dutch media and communications services provider Ziggo repurposed the same image to emphasise the possibilities for its users to go back to earlier times via television. The provider emphasises the increasing popularity of newly developed history programming, as well as the growing appeal of archival footage, documentaries and flashbacks with audiences, by pasting statements such as 'History is hot!' and 'Channel surf back to the past' across the archival image in a two-page advertisement. Citing digital subscribers' interest in history programming, this advertisement serves as just one example to underscore that the end of this development is not in sight. After all, there is new history every day, to directly quote from the ad.¹



Fig. 4.1. Evacuation of residents during the 1953 North Sea Flood, Raamsdonksveer. Source: ANP/Co Zeylemaker. 1 February 1953. <http://www.anp-archief.nl/page/242503/nl/>.

¹ 'De tijdmaschine die televisie heet', *Zie van Ziggo*, 2010, 38–39.

In the multi-platform era, users have fast and easy access to a wide range of television content about history, through television broadcasting, cross-media practices, on-demand services, online television archives and digital thematic channels – some of which are solely dedicated to history documentaries. In this chapter, I take a closer look at television's abilities to circulate and contextualise the past in the current era of convergence through narrowcasting or niche programming on digital platforms. To do so, I zoom in on the role of television professionals as curators and the meaning of curated connections in the narrowcasting and cross-platform scheduling of previously broadcast history and nostalgia programming on different Dutch digital thematic channels.

I first reflect on television as a hybrid media interface and its possibilities for 're-screening' references to the past – including television's own past – in the contemporary media landscape. Second and third, the media platform *NPO Doc* (previously *Holland Doc*) and the nostalgia thematic channel *NostalgieNet* [*NostalgieNet*] are discussed as principal case studies – to consider creators' aims, strategies and conventions of circulating history on digital platforms on, respectively, a textual and narrative level and a cultural-historical level. These platforms exemplify the multifaceted way of looking at and gaining access to television programming through a variety of connected platforms and screens. Because the way in which television professionals (producers, schedulers, commissioners, researchers) act as moderators in this process needs to be further analysed, I place a particular emphasis on how television connections between platforms are also curated, principally through scheduling. Television plays a crucial role in experiences of time and space through scheduling. John Ellis has from this perspective argued that scheduling is the 'locus of power in television'.² More specifically, I analyse how national collective memory, as understood by television professionals, informs the scheduling of 'living history' on the digital thematic channel. Finally, in this context on an institutional level, I pose the question to what extent the present media policy is attuned to the current circulation of television history content.

This study is based on an analysis of the media platform, nostalgia channel and connected cross-media practices, and their creators' strategies in relation to history programming and cross-platform scheduling. I use poetics as a research model for exploring television practitioners' aims, strategies and conventions of contemporary representations of past events (see Chapter 2 for methodology) on 1) a textual and narrative level; 2) a cultural-historical level, to finally, 3) an institutional level. The studied materials entail the following:

- a) the media platform *NPO Doc* and the nostalgia thematic channel *NostalgieNet*;
- b) related cross-media practices;
- c) in-depth interviews with key professionals involved in the platform and channel's production, research and online strategies; as well as key professionals involved in media policy in the Netherlands;
- d) media policy documents
- e) ratings and visitor data;
- f) relevant supplementary media materials, such as international and national examples of television and radio programmes, films, website content and museum exhibitions.

² John Ellis, 'Scheduling: The Last Creative Act in Television?', *Media, Culture & Society* 22, no. 1 (2000): 25–26, doi:10.1177/016344300022001002.

4.1. Hybridity: mixing broadcast television and digital culture

Television is an increasingly dynamic and complex tool for engagement with the past. Essentially, the way in which television professionals and users give meaning to and contextualise television history programming through digital thematic channels is both enabled and impeded by the *hybrid form* in which television is currently present in everyday life. First, television's traditional societal roles as a mass medium capable of sharing events as a 'cultural hearth'³ and 'cultural forum'⁴ are still in place. However, since the medium is increasingly targeted towards distinct and fragmented audience members, it is operating more and more as a 'bookstore model'⁵ or 'electronic newsstand'⁶ tailored to specific interests of individual audience members and their personalised scheduling. Recent studies emphasise that *we cannot speak of a simple shift from broadcasting to narrowcasting* in the current convergence era:

'Digital television's screen does not simply replace the window; rather, it re-purposes, remediates, and constantly recalls and recirculates television's window-on-the-world positioning in the digital era. As often as we are promised the convenience of the television experience "anytime, anywhere", we are equally invited to participate in communities, share television moments, watch live now, come home to television, and structure our daily lives around TV'.⁷

As Roberta Pearson has also argued, the 'post-television era' on the one hand reflects the relatively stable industrial conditions from the last part of the twentieth century, in which television still maintains its central position as a domestic medium. On the other hand, television programmes echo the increasingly unstable industrial conditions from the early twenty-first century, characterised by the continual convergence of media platforms and the fragmentation of audiences which have transformed the medium into 'something rich and strange'.⁸ In the present era of convergence, television's hybridity is further expanded and renewed in connection to digital media technologies. Hybridity occurs 'when one cultural space absorbs and transforms elements from another'.⁹ In the current media landscape, where television viewers/users are actively searching for and making connections with content across a range of platforms, television's hybridity is more and more a part of dynamic production practices in connection with highly accessible and participatory forms of user engagement.

³ Amanda D Lotz, *The Television Will Be Revolutionized* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 5.

⁴ Horace M Newcomb and Paul M Hirsch, 'Television as a Cultural Forum: Implications for Research', *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 8, no. 3 (1983): 45–55, doi:10.1080/10509208309361170.

⁵ Horace Newcomb, ed., *Television: The Critical View* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 575–576.

⁶ Lotz, *The Television Will Be Revolutionized*, 5.

⁷ Bennett, 'Introduction: Television as Digital Media'; James Bennett, 'Your Window-on-the-World': The Emergence of Red-Button Interactive Television in the UK', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 14, no. 2 (2008): 161–82, doi:10.1177/1354856507087942.

⁸ Roberta E Pearson, 'Lost in Transition: From Post-Network to Post-Television', in *Quality TV: Contemporary American Television and Beyond*, ed. Janet McCabe and Kim Akass (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 239–240.

⁹ Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 112.

Second, television in the digital landscape can in this manner be compared to a *media interface*. Starting from the time-honoured metaphor of television as a 'window on the world', Karen Orr Vered argues that television content is increasingly stylised to suggest an interface where the viewer's attention is dispersed across a range of information cues.¹⁰ The concept of 'interface' points to the fact that television content is made available to users via diverse entry points, which also include information triggers (links, promos, pop-up textual or visual information) that can direct our attention and link content across platforms. On the one hand, the interface metaphor sheds light on the move from a programming based notion of flow¹¹ towards an increasingly viewer centred and technologically ordered concept of flow.¹² In this context, James Bennett states that online streaming and download services such as the *BBC iPlayer* dislocate programmes from the scheduled flow of television. The television audience is fragmented into a series of increasingly personalised experiences and choices by providing on-demand access to television programmes as a form of audio-visual content to be watched whenever on whatever device.¹³ On the other hand, television as a media interface – or indeed, media interfaces – is an everyday experience situated within 'complex industrial flows of a twenty-first-century media industry'.¹⁴ It reminds us that the medium now comprises a mixture of distinct platforms and screens that structure our experience of viewing and interaction with audio-visual content.

Third, new digital technologies also offer growing opportunities to pack numerous facilities into a device or service. One of the key developments in the televisual landscape is *hybrid TV* or *connected TV*, meaning the acquisition of services via the direct connection of television with new digital media forms – from live television broadcasts to on-demand viewing and gaming practices. 'The future is hybrid' proclaims the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) in its June 2012 *Viewpoint* publication.¹⁵ The hybrid revolution entails devices and services using both the digital broadcast network as well as broadband connections, linking the networks of television and internet together on one screen (with one remote control). As most television sets sold are able to connect to the internet since 2014 (although this absolutely does not mean that all sets bought are web-connected by their owners), the EBU argues that common solutions linking television and internet will encourage more competition between suppliers, lowers costs and offers more choice for consumers. For the moment, important factors such as the number

¹⁰ Karen Orr Vered, 'Televisual Aesthetics in Y2K: From Windows on the World to a Windows Interface', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 8, no. 3 (2002): 41–42, doi:10.1177/135485650200800305.

¹¹ Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 93.

¹² William Uricchio, 'Television's Next Generation: Technology/Interface, Culture/Flow', in *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. Lynn Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

¹³ Bennett, 'Introduction: Television as Digital Media', 1–2.

¹⁴ Daniel Chamberlain, 'Scripted Spaces: Television Interfaces and the Non-Places of Asynchronous Entertainment', in *Television as Digital Media*, ed. James Bennett and Niki Strange (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 233.

¹⁵ 'The Future Is Hybrid', EBU Viewpoint (Le Grand-Saconnex: European Broadcasting Union, 15 June 2012), <https://www3.ebu.ch/contents/publications/viewpoints/media-convergence.html>.

of viewers relying on the terrestrial television platform and the penetration of DTT services¹⁶ influence the situation in individual countries. The implementation of hybrid TV or connected TV depends greatly on the type of viewing culture, regulations and infrastructure in each country. Consequently, television is mixed in with digital culture across different infrastructures and timelines.

Finally, I argue that in the current media landscape, *re-screening* adds another multitude of possibilities for televisual references to the past. Formerly unavailable audio-visual materials are now easily accessible for the public on a variety of media platforms and screen practices, varying from traditional broadcast television to digital thematic channels, online television archives and mobile television. As a result, many television viewers worldwide are now reviewing and remembering past events that they previously might have had little or no recollection of through a large variety of televisual products and practices of re-screening – using the concept in its broadest sense, indicating the vast access to a (digital) repertoire of previously transmitted images in today's multimediated landscape. Televisual practices of re-screening repurpose previously broadcast images and archival footage (whether audio, video or photographic material), by positioning such images in a new historical and televisual context.

A typical week of television viewing may include many instances in which the past is represented on television screens and other platforms via practices of re-screening, such as:

- **factual television:** digital thematic channels and nostalgia networks; archive-based histories and documentary programmes which repurpose archival images within a new context; news programming;
- **online television archives:** the use of video-sharing websites or open media platforms by official archival institutions, first to provide the general public with access to their archival collections and second, to offer online access to archival footage to stimulate creative re-use such as the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision's use of the video-sharing website *YouTube* and the open media platform *Open Images*¹⁷; the growth of online television archives and cross domain portals such as *Europeana* and *EUScreen*, which also offer opportunities for the creative re-use of audio-visual archival materials, as well as for reflections on rights issues related to the re-use of audio-visual material in the digital era;
- **museum experiences:** re-screening as a museum experience or tourist attraction for the general public which employs contemporary strategies of museum exhibition appealing to nostalgia – such developments are part of (television) archives providing greater access and utilisation of audio-visual materials, not only in the archive itself, but also through multimedia public facilities;
- **on-demand (online and streaming) services; repeats:** on-demand (online and streaming) services, access to 'missed' television programmes via catch-up TV services and the scheduling of repeats, including acclaimed and popular television series from

¹⁶ 'EU Spectrum Policy', EBU Viewpoint (Brussels: European Broadcasting Union, 15 November 2010), <https://www3.ebu.ch/contents/publications/viewpoints/ebu-viewpoint-spectrum.html>.

¹⁷ 'Beeld en Geluid YouTube Channel', accessed 11 August 2015, <http://www.youtube.com/user/BeeldenGeluid/>; 'Open Images Homepage', accessed 12 August 2015, <http://www.openimages.eu/en/>.

an earlier era. For example, the aggressive multi-million bidding war for SEINFELD's streaming rights to its 180 episodes was ultimately won by Hulu;¹⁸

- **highlight reviewing:** the activity of reviewing 'must-see' televised moments and events in the form of short clips or compilations, whether from one programme or a variety of programmes, which serves different functions in different contexts. Think of informative programmes, talk shows and quiz shows; and also features of the contemporary television series, for example the 'previously on...' overview often used in fictional series which reminds viewers of important proceedings. This category also included video-sharing sites and web pages, for instance public broadcaster VARA provides a weekly overview of six clips 'that should not be missed' (including one classic clip from the archives), on its television guide website¹⁹, while NPO [Dutch Public Broadcasting] launched the 'Your Story' campaign, urging viewers to watch favourite moments from television's past online and to share their own memories;²⁰
- **televised celebrations, commemorations and anniversaries:** television events which assemble and recycle previously aired television images, in both a national and international context, for reminiscence or reflection;²¹
- **DIY TV archiving:** the rapid advance of 'Do-It-Yourself' television archiving or 'home modes' of collecting and increased personalisation²², such as the digital television recorder, the purchasing of television series on DVD, and also individual access to television archives curated by *Netflix* or *Amazon Prime* through monthly subscriptions); this also enhances the importance of including the use of video-sharing websites by private citizens to distribute and discuss television memories;
- **mobile telephony and gaming experiences:** mobile telephony and gaming experiences of re-screening that stimulate recollection and creative re-use of audio-visual archival material in televisual contexts. For example, the Dutch video labelling game *Waisda?*: in this innovative annotation game, players are asked to add tags to previously aired television footage, resulting in a better ability to search audio-visual archives;²³
- **retro television and countdown television:** programming which constructs a storyline around clips from television's past. Interviewees (often celebrities) give the impression to be recalling a specific moment in time in these programmes, but have often been informed to talk about a specific programme or have been sent a tape to watch in advance. Therefore, this type of programming is most inclined to represent a kind of 'fake' nostalgia compared to the aforementioned trends;

¹⁸ Brian Stelter, 'Giddy-up! SEINFELD Is Now Streaming on Hulu', *CNN Money*, 24 June 2015, <http://money.cnn.com/2015/06/24/media/hulu-seinfeld/>.

¹⁹ 'De oogst', *Varagids Homepage*, accessed 15 June 2010, <http://varagids.vara.nl/index.php?id=11256>.

²⁰ 'De publieke omroep vertelt jouw verhaal', *Nederlandse Publieke Omroep Homepage*, accessed 17 June 2010, <http://jouwverhaal.publiekeomroep.nl>.

²¹ For a discussion of the necrology as a form of televisual memory, see: Amy Holdsworth, 'Televisual Memory', *Screen* 51, no. 2 (2010): 135–137, doi:10.1093/screen/hjq007.

²² Lynn Spigel has described this trend as 'Do-It-Yourself TV history', but in my view 'archiving' is a more accurate description of such at-home forms of collecting. See: Spigel, 'Our TV Heritage'; Derek Kompare, 'Publishing Flow: DVD Box Sets and the Reconceptation of Television', *Television & New Media* 7, no. 4 (2006): 343, doi:10.1177/1527476404270609.

²³ 'Waisda? Video Labeling Game Homepage', accessed 4 July 2010, <http://www.waisda.nl>.

- **remakes of celebrated television programmes:** the increased reviving (also reboot) of celebrated television programmes as remakes: such texts reappear as television remakes, but also re-emerge in different media formats. Think of the revivals of YES, PRIME MINISTER (UKTV Gold, 2013); DOCTOR WHO (BBC, 1963–); UPSTAIRS DOWNSTAIRS (BBC, 2010–2012) and POLDARK (BBC, 2015), the upcoming reboot of HEROES (as HEROES REBORN) on NBC in 2015–16, and follow-ups to TWIN PEAKS (Showtime, to air in 2017), THE X-FILES (FOX, to air in 2016) and FULL HOUSE (as FULLER HOUSE, Netflix, to air in 2016), but also updating run-down formats like BIG BROTHER (in the Netherlands: Veronica/RTL5, 1999–2008) through recent reincarnations like I SURVIVED A ZOMBIE APOCALYPSE (BBC, 2015) and UTOPIA (SBS6, 2013–);
- **TV review platforms:** websites such as *The A.V. Club* and *TV.com* which feature amongst others detailed episode guides and television show descriptions, user commentary and discussions, videos, cast and crew listings; such practices also include (live) talk shows and podcasts dedicated to reviewing television shows, for instance TALKING DEAD (AMC, 2011–), a podcast dedicated to AMC's THE WALKING DEAD. These platforms often encourage user participation and UGC.

These principal examples or prototypes of televisual re-screening – and please note that this list is not exhaustive – on the one hand repurpose previously transmitted and archival images, and on the other hand memorialise the history of television. Several of these practices are not necessarily new – such as the collecting and recording of television programmes, or the use of archival materials in television documentaries – which makes it even more striking to witness how televisual forms of re-screening have gradually been further integrated in both existing and new media practices. Users in modern societies are becoming more and more used to fast and easy access to such a (digital) repertoire. However, intellectual property rights may also restrict this repertoire, including copyright and related rights; for instance, a platform like YouTube contains a considerable amount of infringement that is a challenge to curtail to say the least.²⁴

Television's continuing convergence is not only replacing several of these forms of televisual re-screening, but in some cases is also actively removing them in the current era of convergence. The 'previously on...' overview often used in fictional series which reminds viewers of important proceedings is actively removed by providers of on-demand Internet streaming media such as *Netflix* and *Amazon Prime* whose programming is designed for binge-watching. Televisual practices of re-screening therefore signify less the repurposing or borrowing of 'a 'property' from one medium and [the] re-use [of] it in another'.²⁵ Instead, televisual practices of re-screening contain the integration and adaptation of past television and audio-visual archive materials in a new context of television itself. It is apparent that the circulation of television materials is no longer limited to the television set itself, as television today is part of a much wider culture of circulation and more distinct cultures of television viewing.

²⁴ See also: Frank Melis, 'Het auteursrechtelijke zwaard. Een interpretatieve repertoire analyse naar de veronderstellingen over het Nederlandse auteursrecht in relatie tot de doelstellingen van digital humanities' (MA, Utrecht University, 2015), 27–30.

²⁵ Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); Mats Jönsson, 'Marcimainstream? History in Two Contemporary Swedish TV-Series', *Film International* 6, no. 5 (2008): 36–41, doi:10.1386/fiin.6.5.36.

4.2. Textual and narrative aims, strategies and conventions

4.2.1. *NPO Doc*: looking at the world with different eyes

An analysis of the documentary platform of Dutch public television, *NPO Doc*, can shed light on how television's hybridity flows from the cross-media circulation of televisual content, and how this affects televisual practices of doing history. *NPO Doc* exemplifies the multifaceted way of looking at and gaining access to television programming through a variety of connected texts in the contemporary media landscape. The *NPO Doc* platform encompasses four media texts, which are:

- the documentary feature programme *NPO Doc*, broadcast weekly on the second Dutch public television channel;
- the digital thematic channel *NPO Doc*;
- *Radio Doc*, the weekly broadcast of a short and long documentary on public service channel Radio 1;
- and finally, the website NPODoc.nl, which offers a live stream of the digital documentary channel, plus more than one thousand television and radio documentaries on-demand, as well as background information with documentaries, news, and interviews with documentary makers.

The viewer's attention is dispersed across a range of information points, which can also trigger audiences 'where to look' or to link historical and archival content from one platform to another. For example, the *NPO Doc* website offers visitors a variety of entry points to access its television and radio programming and online archive. The homepage (see Figure 4.2 for an overview of access to the *NPO Doc* repertoire) disperses the visitor's attention across a range of information triggers, prompting the audiences' interest by highlighting specific programming ('spotlight'), drawing attention to programming in theme weeks, recent broadcasts to catch up with, and a main emphasis on the *NPO Doc* live stream. Visitors on the portal can browse through a selection of key themes on the homepage, to access connected television and radio documentaries and actively engage with the media texts in the repertoire.

The hybridity of the platform is made visible through the *dispersed access* to a wide range of programmes. In April 2012, the documentary channel *NPO Doc* merges with the historical channel *NPO Geschiedenis* [*NPO History*] (previously titled *Geschiedenis24*), with *NPO Geschiedenis* retaining its function as an online web portal into the public broadcaster's historical content. The digital channel *NPO Doc* broadcasts historical, social and scientific documentaries. The channel's main goal is to open up access to (previously broadcast) documentary programming and to provide more in-depth understanding with documentary content for Dutch audiences. Audiences cannot only interact and engage with content via YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and newsletters, but also by commenting on content on the *NPO Doc* website. The audio/visual content that *NPO Doc* offers can be experienced by viewers in the Netherlands via a variety of entry points, whether it is a laptop, PC or tablet with internet access, digital television or radio. This will frame for how long, to how many and to what kind of representations of the past, as transmitted via the *NPO Doc* platform, audiences have access to.

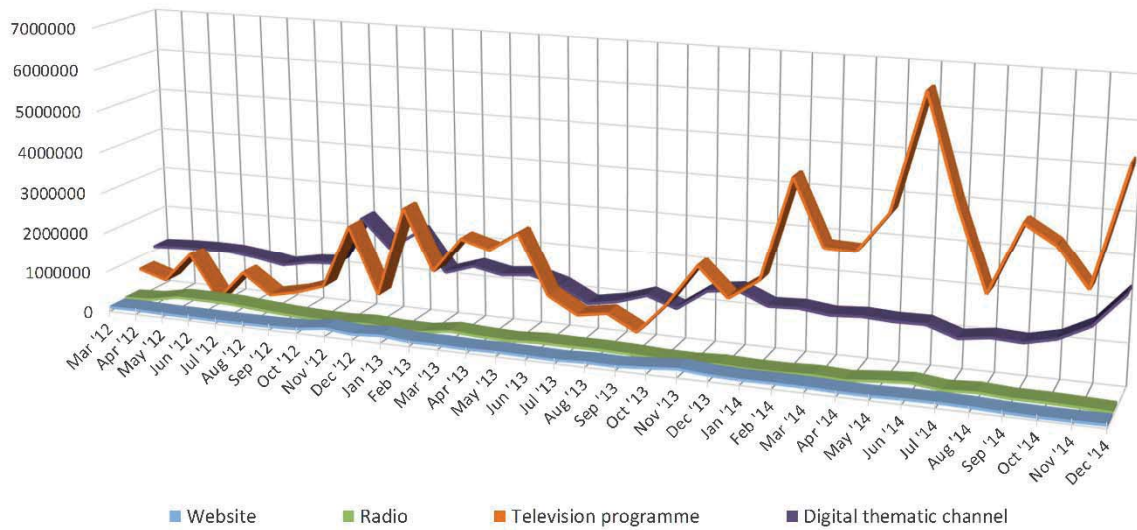


Fig. 4.2: Monthly users *NPO Doc* multimedia platform 2012–2014. Source: Nederlandse Publieke Omroep, Publiksonderzoek (March 2012–December 2014), VPRO Analyse & Research (website statistics March 2012–December 2014).

The graph above [Fig. 4.2] provides an overview of the cumulative number of visitors per month for the *NPO Doc* website, television programme, radio programme and digital thematic channel between March 2012 and December 2014. The graph points towards correlations between the television programme and the digital thematic channel, most apparent in the periods November 2012 – December 2013 and December 2014. The trends displayed in these periods are comparable for the television programme and the digital thematic channel. This could point towards a successful cross-platform scheduling strategy of *NPO Doc*, but these statistics cannot be used as conclusive evidence for this. Peaks in total viewers of the television programme can be seen in November 2012, January 2013 and especially February 2014 and June 2014. The first two peaks can be seen in both the television programme and the digital thematic channel, while the latter two do not coincide with peaks on other channels. In November 2012 the digital thematic channel was made available, without additional subscription costs, on the event channels of two of the largest cable operators in the Netherlands, due to the International Documentary Festival Amsterdam (14–25 November 2012). In this period, the website also saw a peak in visits, pointing towards the popularity of this theme month. In November 2012 and January 2013, the trends for the television programme and the digital thematic channel are similar, possibly indicating a cross-platform effect. In February 2014 and June 2014 three of the most popular broadcasts of 2014 have influenced the average number of viewers: POETIN'S OLYMPISCHE DROOM [PUTIN'S OLYMPIC DREAM] (VPRO, 10 February 2014), HET BESTE VOOR KEES [ONLY WHAT'S BEST FOR KEES] (NCRV, 29 December 2014) and HET GEHEIM VAN DE HEMA [THE STORY BEHIND THE HEMA] (VPRO, 7 January 2013).

Audience figures for the radio programme and website have remained relatively stable in these two years. For all platforms, a reduction in viewers can be seen in the summer months when people watch or listen less because of the summer weather and holidays. The second

Dutch public channel generally broadcasts four to five *NPO Doc* documentaries per month, with some exceptions during theme weeks (for instance the remembrance of World War II each May). Negative exceptions are August 2011 and June 2012 with respectively two and one documentary in these months. Whereas public service broadcasting often functions as a main motivator or incentive for website visits, these exceptions in the number of screenings on the public service channel do not seem to influence visiting figures for the other three platforms. Overall, the audience figures for the website, radio and digital thematic channel are relatively stable; nevertheless, the digital thematic channel has seen a sharp increase in ratings since October 2014. Ratings for the television programme are on the rise, with the exception of the period July 2013 – September 2013. This period saw the figures dropping to less than one million viewers per month, in comparison to around three million in the first half of 2013. Overall, the average total viewers per month have been rising from 780,000 in 2012 to 1,614,000 in 2013 and as much as 3,698,000 in 2014. The relatively stable audience for the radio programme and website, and in particular the ratings for the digital thematic channel and television programme show that these television documentaries are attracting considerable interest from the audience.

4.2.2. Programming for the critical viewer

Milly Buonanno has argued that the rise of a, albeit diffused, social demand for made-to-measure television adapted to the niche market, as 'the specific preferences and interests of a restricted number of viewers', has also made narrowcasting possible.²⁶ Buonanno describes narrowcasting as specialised or thematic television, as well as 'the proliferating system of minority channels and small cable and satellite networks available on subscription'.²⁷ What is more, her work has pointed out that 'generalist' broadcasting networks are clearly not in a position to satisfy such a social demand.²⁸ The programming of *NPO Doc* is generally targeted towards a relatively smaller niche audience defined as *de kritische verdiepingzoeker*, the *critical viewer* (approximately 35+) looking for in depth and background information. *NPO Doc's* slogan to target this audience is 'look at the world with different eyes'. As such, the platform provides access to a specific repository of media texts. Thematic channels often offer content which is, for a variety of reasons, less visible on main public channels. This is the case for *NPO Doc*: not only has documentary programming in the Netherlands been defined as a 'vulnerable artistic product'²⁹ but digital channel *NPO Doc* also offers room for experimentation and a podium for newcomers. Contrary to its name, *NPO Doc* transcends national borders and connotations. The platform's editorial staff are based at the Dutch public broadcaster VPRO, but documentaries are derived from diverse broadcasting licence holders, in and outside of the Netherlands. For the past few years, digital channel *NPO Doc* has also provided a 'Makers of Tomorrow' time slot, where students and young European documentary makers can broadcast their work. By scheduling television programmes 24/7, *NPO Doc* provides access to current

²⁶ Milly Buonanno, *The Age of Television: Experiences and Theories*, trans. Jennifer Radice (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2008), 22–25.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ 'Minder documentaires bij Publieke Omroep', *Holland Doc Homepage*, 3 March 2007, <http://www.hollanddoc.nl/nieuws/2007/maart/Minder-documentaires-bij-Publieke-Omroep.html>.

and time-honoured documentaries previously aired on the second public channel, in-house produced or acquired from abroad. In this manner, the range of programmes screened as well as the strategies used by their documentary makers to represent the past on the small screen is incredibly varied.

4.2.3. In-house productions as practices of contextualisation

The platform therefore places a main emphasis on the *contextualisation* of content. Selected programmes for the *NPO Doc* canon are reframed and contextualised to offer television users a more in-depth experience. Sonja de Leeuw has argued how contextualisation and the providing of a framework for interpretation is a requirement for usability and understanding in the era of connectivity: 'Users might be able to retrieve items, yet without context and a framework for interpretation, the cultural and material understanding of selected content remains limited'.³⁰ *NPO Doc* in particular contextualises its own scheduled programming through in-house productions. These short productions are also made available via YouTube, to spark interest for a particular broadcast. For example, in advance of the weekly documentary 'classic', a 5-minute short is scheduled in which the selected documentary is introduced and explained by presenter Daphne Bunskoek – modernising the traditional role of the television presenter – and visualised through note-worthy fragments. Such productions not only provide contextualisation with broadcast materials, but also make visible the process of selection and scheduling by television professionals for the canon. For instance, the same documentary, *BREAD DAY* (Russia, 1999), has also been discussed in *DOCUGASTEN [DOCU GUESTS]* (Holland/NPO Doc, 2008–), where guest-programmers are invited to participate in the selection of documentary content and to explain their choices on camera. Documentary maker Hedy Honigmann, whose work is extensively featured on the *NPO Doc* website, explains in the episode of 9 October 2010 why she chooses to schedule the Russian documentary *BREAD DAY*. The item reveals why Honigmann takes the view that documentaries such as *BREAD DAY* should be produced: Both these productions are available via the *NPO Doc* website, the platform's YouTube channel, and have been scheduled on the digital thematic channel. Such practices of contextualisation work towards a deeper engagement of television users with media texts and a better understanding of selected texts.

4.2.4. Cross-platform scheduling and steering

The scheduling on the *NPO Doc* platform points to how television professionals working in such thematic forms of television actively participate in practices of selection and reframing, that way creating a 'canon'. Scheduling in the context of a digital thematic channel can be compared to the work of a *curator* – a knowledgeable 'selector' of content – due to the emphasis on pre-selection. The channel provides access to history programming via a different strategy than traditional broadcast television: by functioning as a 'thematic periodical'³¹ based on a selection of topical as well as recurring themes. For instance, at least two history documentaries

³⁰ Sonja de Leeuw, 'European Television History Online: History and Challenges', *VIEW Journal of European Television History and Culture* 1, no. 1 (2012): 3–11.

³¹ Eggo Müller, 'Televisie in een convergerend medialandschap: 1995–2010', in *Een eeuw van beeld en geluid: cultuurgeschiedenis van radio en televisie in Nederland*, eds. Bert Hogenkamp, Sonja de Leeuw, and Huub Wijfjes (Hilversum: Beeld en Geluid, 2012), 290.

within a theme are featured per week or programming may be inspired by a specific historical event. Weekly themes can be based on an anniversary or commemoration (Liberation Day), a particular broadcast or historical media event (the broadcast of NEDERLAND VALT AAN [THE NETHERLANDS ATTACK] (NTR, 21 July 2012), a special media event offering a reconstruction of the first day of the Dutch war in the Dutch East Indies, forms the occasion for a theme week on the Dutch East Indies), a museum exhibition, a book launch, a documentary film festival, and so on. Links with actuality are therefore key, but lead to a contradiction in the audio-visual content that can be offered on different platforms. The online website has the means to be particularly topical and single out documentaries that tie in with current affairs on its homepage. Media events have the power to disrupt the scheduled flow of content, but the internet platform and Facebook page provide the opportunity to respond to actual events much quicker. However, a digital thematic channel cannot be that topical. A 24/7 broadcasting schedule, with many different types of content, demands that the editorial staff members should look far ahead – even as far as a year in advance. The acquisition of documentaries also takes time. Therefore, 'actuality' in the context of the digital thematic channel is more a ritualised form of actuality, where scheduling is devised to dovetail with important dates (anniversaries, commemorations) and events, so that programming can be scheduled well in advance.

The importance of *spacing* and *timing* of the schedule is made evident by the rebroadcast of Michael Apted's UP series (ITV/BBC, 1964–2012), in which members of the same group of British people are interviewed on a range of subjects every seven years. According to *NPO Doc* editor-in-chief, Hansje van Etten,³² the entire UP series is not only history of the last fifty years, but part of the collective memory of a specific group of Dutch viewers, particularly the VPRO-viewer: 'Taking myself as an example, I have kept up with the series throughout the years, and you tend to become very attached to these people [...] you sympathise with them, you are a part of that generation'.^{33,34} Although Michael Apted has had to readjust his principal argumentation concerning Britain as a class society, the documentary series provides insights into the changes that have occurred in Western society throughout the last fifty years. Apted's most recent endeavour, 56 UP (ITV, 2012), was broadcast on Dutch public television in three parts (*Holland Doc*, 2–4 January 2013). In the run-up to the broadcast, the preceding chapters in the series were rebroadcast week by week in late 2012, producing a build-up similar to the long-doc format itself, albeit in a condensed fashion.

Next to the weekly themes, programmes are scheduled at specific points in the week's broadcasting schedule to make *meaningful connections* with historical programmes broadcast on public television or radio. For instance, a public broadcast of the history programme ANDERE

³² Hansje van Etten studied Art History at Utrecht University. From 1995 till 2002 she worked for NOORDERLICHT [NORTHERN LIGHTS], a science programme by VPRO. For the episode GOUDEN RIJST-GENETISCH GOUD [GOLDEN RICE-GENETIC GOLD] she received the Wagenings Universiteits Fonds (WUF) Persprijs 2002 [Wageningen University Press Award 2002]. The jury report expressed appreciation for the fact that NOORDERLICHT popularised science via television, radio and new media. Since July 2007 till 1 July 2015 Van Etten was in charge of the digital documentary channel *NPO Doc* and the website npodoc.nl. In the future she would like to develop multimedia projects.

³³ Van Etten, Hansje. Personal interview. Hilversum, 27 November 2012. Quote in Dutch: 'Als ik mijzelf als voorbeeld neem, ik heb de serie door de jaren heen gevolgd, en je hebt de neiging om zeer gehecht te raken aan deze mensen [...], je sympathiseert met hen, je bent een deel van die generatie'.

³⁴ All translations by the author.

TIJDEN [CHANGING TIMES] (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2000–) (discussed in Chapter 3) on asbestos is directly followed by the documentary *ASBEST, THE SILENT KILLER* (KRO, 4 December 1996) on *NPO Doc*; or a public broadcast of the history documentary series *DE GOUDEN EEUW* [THE GOLDEN AGE] (NTR/VPRO, 2012–2013) will be followed by the broadcast of a documentary on Dutch painter Rembrandt van Rijn on *NPO Doc*. Promotion is essential here to connect users with content across platforms, and to keep users informed and up-to-date of the schedule (via television, television guide, Facebook, Twitter). The platform uses cross-promotion, weekly promos and monthly promos on its different screens, including YouTube as an important platform for promotion.

John Ellis has argued that scheduling is the 'locus of power in television'³⁵ – a cornerstone of television which has scarcely been studied academically. On the one hand, because the viewer is no longer bound to specific programming when watching television and audiences have become fragmented, the locus of power of the schedule, as it was in the broadcast era, seems to be lost. Television can no longer dictate what and when people watch as it did before. On the other hand, because of the experience of interconnected and related content, television does provide possibilities for a 'unity in fragmentation'³⁶ by mobilising audiences from one platform or programme to the next. In the case of deliberately timed cross-promotions and connected broadcasts, this can occur within a similar time frame, comparable to the shared experience of television in the broadcast-era. The digital thematic channel offers a 24/7 scheduled flow of programmes that enhance one another, whilst the *NPO Doc* platform as a whole can be regarded as an extension of television programming. As a result, previously broadcast material is repurposed by positioning television programmes in new historical and televisual contexts.

Subsequently, the documentary platform of Dutch public television, *NPO Doc*, makes evident how a repertoire of texts is actively circulated via television as a constellation of connected, curated practices. As a textual composite, the platform represents the medium's hybridity by mixing practices from traditional public broadcasting, including cultural practices like radio, with new digital media forms.

4.3. Cultural-historical aims, strategies and conventions

4.3.1. *NostalgieNet*: Living history and collective memory on the digital thematic channel

An analysis of the Dutch commercial digital thematic channel *NostalgieNet* [*NostalgieNet*] shows the crucial role played by programme makers in the construction and circulation of living history in the multi-platform era, and the role of national collective memory in the creative act of scheduling on the digital thematic channel. Drawing upon a variety of archives and archival materials from the period 1940–1990, *NostalgieNet* rebroadcasts popular Dutch television drama series and films and produces its own nostalgia programmes. This commercial channel

³⁵ John Ellis, 'Scheduling: The Last Creative Act in Television?', *Media, Culture & Society* 22, no. 1 (2000): 25–26, doi:10.1177/016344300022001002.

³⁶ Marc Andrejevic, 'The Twenty-First-Century Telescreen', in *Television Studies After TV: Understanding Television in the Post-Broadcast Era*, ed. Graeme Turner and Jinna Tay (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 39–40.

is part of the standard package of leading suppliers of digital television in the Netherlands. From the start in 2006, *NostalgieNet* has catered to its audiences as a cross-media platform and functions as a dynamic multi-platform archive through its video on-demand service.³⁷ The programming is targeted towards a more senior audience between forty-five to sixty-five years old – a group which also very much wants to be taken seriously on social media – and is also valued by younger viewers as cult programming.³⁸ Its narrowcasting thus targets diverse audience groups. This resurrection of archived television for public consumption exemplifies what Amy Holdsworth has described as the clear marking of the *currency* of television memory and nostalgia, and the exploitation of a broadcasters' 'sleeping assets'³⁹ – although there are some conditions here which I will discuss. From 13 September 2015 onwards, *NostalgieNet* will become *ONS [US]*. Like *NostalgieNet*, *ONS* opts for a target group of active senior citizens with a lot of spare time. The programming enhances travel, nature, culture, history, nostalgia, health and food, entertainment, drama and Dutch films. New are *BIJ ONS AAN TAFEL [DINE WITH US]* (*ONS*, 2015–) a weekly broadcast from a beach pavilion in Zandvoort and *DE GOUDEN JAREN [THE GOLDEN YEARS]* (*ONS*, 2015–) involving modern history. Whereas *NostalgieNet* had a four-hour programming schedule, *ONS* will have daily horizontal programming times with similar interests.⁴⁰

The platform emphasises nostalgia as 'living history' (not to be confused with the term used for historical re-enactment practices!). What is referred to here is that important events, years, and dates connected to national collective memory and from Dutch contemporary history are the incentive for its scheduling. For example, televised media events, such as Reinier Paping winning the Dutch Elfstedentocht [eleven-city skating race] in 1963 or The Beatles' arrival in The Netherlands in 1964, and people's memories of such events. The platform aims to 'bring the past alive' via emotion and sharing with others. This is done by offering nostalgic programming using archival footage in which people can recognise their own childhood, their own father, their own mother or sometimes themselves as a child. Not in a literal sense, although there have been instances where people actually did recognise themselves or a family member on television. This strategy is further intensified by the platform by offering cross-media possibilities to let viewers share their favourite fragments of the past. There are mild possibilities for co-authorship here, since viewers can share their own lists of preferences – for example in the case of music programming, which are then taken into account for scheduling.

³⁷ The *NostalgieNet* cross-media platform includes a web shop, magazine, website, newsletter and interactive services on Facebook and Twitter – including modest possibilities of 'co-authorship' regarding its own programming, meaning that viewers can use Facebook application to create their own list preference, for example regarding music programming, which will then be also be applied to the programming you see on television.

³⁸ The channel features a large variety of programming, from fictional films and television drama series (classic films as well as forgotten gems) to non-fiction nostalgia programming, national as well as regional topics and interests, colour and black-and-white footage, generally between 1940–1990, although archival materials used from the Polygoon archive (other archives are for instance RVD, and Eye Film Institute for films) can date back to 1929.

³⁹ Holdsworth, 'Televisual Memory', 5.

⁴⁰ 'Persbericht: ONS: De Zender Voor 49-Plussers', *NostalgieNet Homepage*, accessed 6 September 2015, <http://www.nostalgienet.nl/pers/ons/>; 'Welkom Bij ONS', *ONS Homepage*, accessed 6 September 2015, <http://kijkbijons.nl/brochure/index.html#page/1>.

This form of living history adheres to feelings occurring when watching a programme for the first time, and also to television as a shared experience. *NostalgieNet* wants to achieve both, through the selection and through contextualisation of archival content, and by making meaningful connections through a cross-media strategy. *NostalgieNet*'s creators regard nostalgia as *emotion*, as something different from historical facts, and this emotion makes sharing and shared experiences possible. As a niche channel, the platform aims to bring people together based on their own interests regarding their own past, to create a collective feeling of 'I remember that!' Whether these are shared interests in music or hobbies, this strategy advocates bringing people together using nostalgia as a common denominator.

The analysis of the scheduling on the *NostalgieNet* platform reveals how television professionals actively participate in practices of selection and reframing, that way creating a canon. Scheduling in the context of a digital thematic channel can be compared to the work of a curator. Similar to *NPO Doc*, the channel provides access to history programming by functioning as a 'thematic periodical', based on a selection of topical as well as recurring themes. For example, the series *NEDERLAND TOEN*, freely translated as 'that's how it was in the Netherlands', pays attention to how Holland has changed in the twentieth century. The series looks back at everyday life through topics that are recognizable for a large audience, from fashion to sports and household activities to industry. Monthly themes can be based on an anniversary (for instance Liberation Day) and commemoration (for instance Dutch East Indies), but also on typical events connected to a specific time of the year. Examples are programmes about the Royal Family in April, variety around Christmas, and the weather is an often-featured theme in January – 'Dutch people love talking about the weather'.⁴¹ Within a flow of 24/7 programming, previously broadcast images and audio-visual archive materials are repurposed and further enhanced by positioning these images in new historical and televisual contexts.

Discussions with creators Cees Labeur⁴² and Tim Beudel⁴³ point to programming on the platform following three basic rules or preconditions. These preconditions further restrict what Derek Kompare has called 'regimes of repetition'.⁴⁴ Amy Holdsworth has pointed out regimes of repetition as a useful starting point to investigate the construction of and engagement with

⁴¹ Cees Labeur. Personal interview. 27 November, 2012. Quote in Dutch: 'We hebben in januari [...] 'weer en wind', want als er in een land over het weer wordt geluld, is het in Nederland'.

⁴² Cees Labeur started his career in 1969 as a journalist for Elsevier Magazine. In 1977 he switched to *HIER EN NU* [HERE AND NOW], a current affairs programme at NCRV television. He was a television reporter in the Netherlands and abroad and was one of the regular interviewers at the weekly press conference with the Prime Minister. In 1995, he was one of the initiators and general editor of *NETWERK* [NETWORK], a combined current affairs programme of KRO, NCRV and AVRO. Until 2007 he was television manager of informative programmes at NCRV, including *RONDOM TIEN* [AROUND TEN], *DOKUMENT* [DOCUMENT], *MAN BIJT HOND* [MAN BITES DOG], *DE RIJDENDE RECHTER* [THE PEOPLE'S COURT] and *NETWERK*. From 2007 until January 2015 he was responsible for the programming of the digital television channel *NostalgieNet*.

⁴³ Tim Beudel studied Communication Studies at the Universiteit van Amsterdam [University of Amsterdam]. In 2005 he joined *NostalgieNet*, managing different platforms and revenues; TV, VOD, e-commerce, print and online. Since August 2013 he has been Head of Digital at Tuvalu Media; Tuvalu Media creates and produces cross-media concepts.

⁴⁴ Derek Kompare, 'I've Seen This One Before: The Construction of "Classic TV" on Cable Television', in *Small Screens, Big Ideas: Television in the 1950s*, ed. Janet Thumim (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 19.

television's own memory cultures; as such regimes entail the constant recirculation of a nation's individual and cultural pasts through the omnipresence of past television.⁴⁵ First and fundamentally, as the discussions with *NostalgieNet*'s creators make apparent, nostalgia here is contemporary history – what the creators term 'living history' – and in this manner appealing to the collective memory of a nation, which for *NostalgieNet* is the Dutch nation.⁴⁶ Second, *NostalgieNet*'s living history is a light or entertainment approach to history – although not necessarily superficial. A *light approach* includes that the platform deliberately does not want content to be too heavy-hearted, and places a focus more on personal and emotional impact instead of historical impact, often through oral history. For instance, a programme about the pirate radio station and ship Veronica would include interviews with people about their memories, how this experience felt, and what it meant at the time. However, such a programme would not try to answer questions like what this meant for Dutch television scheduling or for the Dutch broadcasting system as a whole, as other historical programmes perhaps would. Third and finally, the programming generally does not go further back than 1940–1950. On the one hand, this is quite logical, as there is not much television material before that time. On the other hand, this goes for topics as well because of the platform's *appeal to collective memory* and living history. Therefore, no programmes about the Middle Ages and the like. This strategy has more recently been expanded, so not only to include Dutch programming which follows the mentioned preconditions, but also programming which many Dutch people remember, such as THE ONEDIN LINE (BBC, 1971–1980) with its memorable TELEVISION theme tune, and ALL CREATURES GREAT AND SMALL (BBC, 1978–1990) (titled JAMES HERRIOT on the thematic channel, because of how the Dutch remember this programme). 'ALLO 'ALLO (BBC, 1982–1992) is another example: although this is not a Dutch programme, it does appeal very much to Dutch collective memory. Scheduling on the *NostalgieNet* platform therefore reflects a specific *assumption* regarding national (Dutch) collective memory.

As a precondition, next to the creators setting limitations for what kind of content their niche audience will have access to, there are also some difficulties in gaining *access* to Dutch public broadcasters' archives. This specifically concerns the issue of *kannibalisering* [cannibalisation]. For example, in the event that *NostalgieNet* as a commercial channel would be able to schedule a 1960s hit programme such as the drama series DE KLEINE WAARHEID [EVERYDAY LIFE] (NCRV, 1970–1973) produced by Dutch public broadcaster NCRV, and this series would then be scheduled against current NCRV programming, the public broadcaster would have to compete against itself. As a result, there is plenty of televisual content still on the shelf, which historical thematic channels would very much like to broadcast and share with their audiences.

Subsequently, the case of *NostalgieNet* helps to clarify how national collective memory – or more specifically, national collective memory as understood by *NostalgieNet*'s television professionals – affects the scheduling of living history on the digital thematic channel.

⁴⁵ Amy Holdsworth, "'Television Resurrections': Television and Memory", *Cinema Journal* 47, no. 3 (2007): 140, doi:10.1353/cj.0.0017.

⁴⁶ Cees Labeur and Tim Beudel. Personal interview. Hilversum, 27 November 2012.

4.4. Institutional aims, strategies and conventions

4.4.1. Media policy in the Netherlands

To what extent is the present media policy attuned to this contemporary circulation of television history content? On a regular basis, the Ministry is in contact with the managing directors of radio and television producers in Hilversum. Cees van Koppen⁴⁷ is Policy Advisor at the Ministry of Education, Culture & Science [OC&W], Department of Media and Creative Industries. He outlined the political influence on the media in the Netherlands, specifically television, when he said:

'Ultimately we, the Ministry, decide on the finances, but we are *not directly* involved in the programming. However, there are *several general definitions*. The programme has to be qualitative. It has to stand out. Which means no general entertainment. This means, if it states top class journalism, one should invest in that. If discussed subjects must be of general consent and diverse, one should shift the emphasis there. However, *we do not determine the schedule*. Admittedly, we receive many parliamentary questions about television scheduling. In short, we uphold the Media Act via the Dutch Media Authority [Commissariaat voor de Media (CvdM)].'⁴⁸ (my emphasis)

The Ministry of Education, Culture & Science has to comply with the Audiovisual Media Services (AMS) Directive set out by the European Parliament and the European Council. This Directive establishes legal, regulatory and administrative provisions related to the distribution of audio-visual media services. Amongst others, media service providers have to fulfil certain *obligations*:

- broadcasters must devote at least 10% of their transmission time, or 10% of their programming budget, to European works created by producers who are independent of broadcasters;

⁴⁷ Cees van Koppen studied Dutch Law, specialisation: Criminal Law, at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. In September 2010 he started a traineeship at the Ministry of Security and Justice working the fight against child abuse material. Since March 2012 he has been working as a Policy Advisor at the Ministry of Education, Culture & Science, Department of Media and Creative Industries, amongst others working on interactive TV-services ['Red Button-discussion'], digital rights management Dutch Public Broadcasting System, protection of minors, advertising regulation, and net neutrality and privacy.

⁴⁸ Cees van Koppen. Personal interview. The Hague, 9 November 2012. Quote in Dutch: 'Wij hebben op zich onze reguliere contacten met Hilversum. Ons reguliere overleg met de beleidsmensen van de raad van bestuur. [...] Uiteindelijk gaan wij over het geld en gaan we niet direct over welke programmering wel-niet gemaakt wordt (...) maar we kunnen wel iets zeggen, er staan wel algemene doelstellingen, van nou: het moet een kwalitatieve programmering zijn. Het moet onderscheidend zijn. Dat betekent, dat je niet op hetzelfde amusementsniveau moet gaan zitten als RTL, want dan ben je dus niet onderscheidend meer. Dat betekent dat je, als er staat: je moet hoogwaardige journalistiek bedrijven, dat je daar inderdaad in moet investeren. Als er met elkaar besproken wordt dat dingen opiniërend en onderscheidend moeten zijn, dat daar inderdaad accenten gelegd moeten worden. Maar het is niet zo dat wij de programmering bepalen. Het is wel zo dat wij heel veel Kamervragen krijgen over programmering. [...] Wij handhaven alleen maar via het Commissariaat de Mediawet'.

- with regard to on-demand audio-visual media services, Member States shall ensure that audio-visual media service providers promote the production of and access to European works.
- time allocated to sports; sponsoring; advertisements; teletext services; teleshopping;
- protection of minors;
- Member States may take measures aimed at ensuring that certain events, which it considers are of major importance for society, cannot be broadcast exclusively in such a way as to deprive a substantial proportion of the public in that Member State.⁴⁹

Each EU Member State has its own procedures. The question is what kind of broadcasting system is to be set out in the Netherlands. New regulations will be implemented in the new Media Act, for instance regarding the extent in which to broadcast commercials and entertainment on the public channels. According to Van Koppen, to not broadcast commercials is unlikely in the Netherlands, since the income from the STER (short for Stichting Ether Reclame, in English: 'Foundation for Ether Advertisement') entails that part of the costs of public broadcasting are paid for.⁵⁰

Television is becoming more and more significant on *European* and *international levels*. 'Television without boundaries' – in other words the Audiovisual Media Services (AMS) Directive – is about to be revised, as the latest version dates back to 2010. Copyright and royalties may become an issue, since legislation is *regulated per country*. The Ministry of Education, Culture & Science tries to influence the process as much as possible, but this will take time. In the contemporary televisual landscape, more foreign content is available on Dutch television. More and more radio and media service providers are also owned by companies from abroad. As Van Koppen explains, in the Netherlands this is not a problem, as the public broadcasting system is open, but in comparison, a country like France is far more protective. For example, a large proportion of content has to be in the French language. However, changes will be a long time coming, according to Van Koppen. There are broadcasters who immediately break into new techniques, but offer no new services as such. In the Netherlands, new applications must have the approval of the Ministry. They need to be agreed upon by twenty-one radio and television broadcasters and twenty-one managing directors or twenty-one boards. Decision making therefore takes time.⁵¹

As Van Koppen argues, the strength of the Dutch system is being *multiform*.⁵² The new Media Act offers opportunities for television producers from 'outside' the NPO to submit programmes. Furthermore, the NPO will become increasingly independent. However, the responsibility of the NPO remains unchanged. The core business of the Dutch public broadcasting system remains the focus on education, information, and culture, with programmes suitable for all sections of society. Performance agreements determine that a programme should reach about 85% of the Dutch viewers. If the NPO was to focus on one type of programming, this target would become out of reach and amongst others revenues from advertisers would drop. The Dutch Media Authority [Commissariaat voor de Media (CvdM)]

⁴⁹ 'Audiovisual Media Services (AMS) Directive', *EUR-Lex*, 14 June 2010, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-NL/ALL/?uri=URISERV:am0005>.

⁵⁰ Cees van Koppen. Personal interview. The Hague, 9 November 2012.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

upholds the rules which are formulated in the Dutch Media Act as well as in the regulations based on this act, for example the Media Decree. Despite some initial fears, viewers will not be deprived of entertainment.⁵³ The newly adopted Media Act brings considerable changes by bidding that public broadcasting must be open to outside producers, entertainment is not a core task anymore, and more power to the NPO, with influence on content.⁵⁴

From 2016 onwards, the new policy plan for the NPO will take effect.⁵⁵ The emphasis in the next five years will be on a greater focus in themes and broadcasting platforms. Driven by financial cutbacks, the number of thematic channels and websites will be *reduced*. In contrast to the previous five year policy period, 'history' will *not* be one of the main themes around which programmes are developed. An added complication concerning a greater focus on on-demand television is that rightful claimants of programme copyrights – especially in the case of archival materials – need to be tracked down and financially compensated. Consequently, only archival materials and websites of programmes that are *actively* broadcast will be available online on the NPO website. The broadcast material of past programmes will be moved to the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision archive, which will become online and made available. This will be the case for the World War II documentary project DE OORLOG/13 IN DE OORLOG [THE WAR/13 AT WAR] (NPS, 2009–2010) (discussed in Chapter 5) and IN EUROPA [IN EUROPE] (VPRO 2007–2009) (discussed in Chapter 6). Context materials like programme websites for past programmes will be discontinued. However, websites for strong brands that have considerable public value and reach a large audience – for instance the history series ANDERE TIJDEN [CHANGING TIMES] (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2000–) (discussed in Chapter 3) – will specifically be expanded and function as *portals* for dissemination of archival and contextual materials.

In May-June 2015, news filtered through that the NPO was to reduce the number of programming websites drastically and some broadcasters, like *NPO Doc*, would even be disbanded. Broadcasters and audiences reacted lividly, as evidenced by numerous reactions on websites.⁵⁶ In the new Media Act, broadcasters will maintain self-governing within the NPO

⁵³ Raoul du Pre, 'Dekker schudde de boel wakker, maar maakt onvoldoende waar', *De Volkskrant*, 9 October 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/televisie/-dekker-schudde-de-boel-wakker-maar-maakt-onvoldoende-waar~a4159376/>; Stan Putman, 'Gewraakte internetplannen NPO sterk afgezwakt', *De Volkskrant*, 15 June 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/televisie/gewraakte-internetplannen-npo-sterk-afgezwakt~a4077336/>; Hanneke Keultjes and Vincent Smits, 'Plat amusement moet verdwijnen bij de NPO', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 25 August 2015, <http://www.ad.nl/ad/nl/5601/TV-Radio/article/detail/4128871/2015/08/25/Plat-amusement-moet-verdwijnen-bij-de-NPO.dhtml>; Hay Kranen, 'Wat wil de NPO nou eigenlijk met het internet?', *De Volkskrant*, 13 April 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/wat-wil-de-npo-nou-eigenlijk-met-het-internet~a3951493/>; Thijs van Soest, 'NPO zet mes in "ongebreedeld" online aanbod', *De Volkskrant*, 8 April 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/tech/npo-zet-mes-in-ongebreedeld-online-aanbod~a3946832/>.

⁵⁴ 'Tweede Kamer achter omroepplannen Dekker', NOS Homepage, (13 October 2015), <http://nos.nl/artikel/2062883-tweede-kamer-achter-omroepplannen-dekker.html>; 'Nieuwe Mediawet met ruime meerderheid aangenomen', *De Volkskrant*, 13 October 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/media/nieuwe-mediawet-met-ruime-meerderheid-aangenomen~a4162391/>; 'BN'ers roepen Kamer op om tegen Mediawet te stemmen', *De Volkskrant*, 13 October 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/media/bn-ers-roepen-kamer-op-om-tegen-mediawet-te-stemmen~a4162176/>.

⁵⁵ 'Het publiek voorop: Concessiebeleidsplan 2016–2020' (Hilversum: NPO, 2015).

⁵⁶ Such as: 'NPO Doc in gesprek met Cultura over fusiekanaal', *NPO Doc Homepage*, 16 June 2015, <http://www.npodoc.nl/nieuws/2015/reageer>.

and keep their own identity. In the meantime, *NPO Doc* states on their website that they are in talks with *NPO Cultura* to merge into a new broadcasting channel, similar to practices by Arte and BBC Four.⁵⁷ The focus of NPO policy in the period 2016–2020 will also concern a more *integral* programming of broadcasts to connect and interact with audiences, meaning a multi-platform strategy to offer broadcasts that are in line with how audiences are estimated to watch television. Such a policy means that the *NPO Doc* thematic channel and the *NPO Geschiedenis* and *NPO Doc* web portals will cease broadcasting, due to a focus on on-demand catch-up television *instead of "verdieping"* [deepen one's knowledge] and linear television viewing, as well as not high enough audience figures – despite the fact that programming for critical viewers targets a niche audience of people who generally do not watch the most television. *NPO Doc* is currently screening limited programming since January 2016 and will go off the air on 1 June 2016. The online platform does retain a small editorial team, and will be replaced by a new website, 2Doc.nl. *NPO Cultura* will broadcast a wide range of documentaries up to 1 June 2016, whilst NPO has announced to be working on the new channel that includes both documentaries and cultural programmes.⁵⁸

This poses questions in relation to how the success of narrowcasting and contextualisation practices for smaller and fragmented niche audiences is measured, especially for those specialised audiences that value deepening one's knowledge and linear television viewing. This is even more complicated in the multi-platform era, where television resembles a media interface and content is dispersed across numerous platforms and screens – hence, more dynamic and complex to evaluate.

4.5. Circulating history on digital thematic channels

In this chapter, I have considered the role of television professionals as curators and the meaning of curated connections in the scheduled re-screening of previously broadcast history and nostalgia programming on digital thematic channels. The discussion of the public media platform *NPO Doc* has shed light on the pioneering role of public broadcast television in experimenting with new digital technologies, whilst the discussion of the commercial thematic channel *NostalgieNet* provides an insight into scheduling from (national) collective memory as well as more present-day issues such as the exploitation and cannibalisation of archival footage. A reflection on the extent in which media policy in the Netherlands is attuned to the current circulation of television history content has finally raised questions in relation to how the success of narrowcasting and contextualisation practices for fragmented niche audiences is measured in the multi-platform era.

As the result of the incorporation of the internet and mobile phone technology into the television experience – internet, television and telephone as so-called 'triple play' or 'multi-

⁵⁷ 'Concessiebeleidsplan 2016–2020'; Putman, 'Gewraakte internetplannen NPO sterk afgezwakt'; Jan Benjamin and Wilfred Takken, 'Omroepen boos om internetplannen NPO-"machtsgreep"', *NRC Handelsblad*, 14 April 2015, <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2015/04/14/omroepen-boos-om-internetplannen-npo-machtsgreep/>.

⁵⁸ 'NPO Doc dankbaar voor steunbetuigingen kijkers'. *NPO Doc Homepage*, 16 December 2015. <http://www.npodoc.nl/nieuws/2015/npo-doc-dankbaar.html>.

play'⁵⁹ – many forms of television programming today are evidencing a heightened awareness of the existence of audiences both online and offline. The trend of individuals watching a television programme when it is most convenient for them undermines the traditional system of channels and broadcasting companies. Public service broadcasting in the Netherlands traditionally revolves around carefully structured programming and broadcasting schedules devised by network managers persuading viewers to tune into programmes they would perhaps not spontaneously watch. Since the analogue switch-off, legislature regarding digital channels and the general digitalisation of society, the NPO has seen a sharp increase in the number of digital thematic channels and websites.

In their 2006 policy plan, the NPO foresaw an increase in the use of different channels by the public. Their plan was to expand the public broadcasting portfolio by offering thematic channels via subscription television, which would cover themes more in-depth. The three open public channels would serve more as 'shop windows' to guide viewers to the thematic channels and on-demand platforms.⁶⁰ The thematic channels and on-demand platforms via the internet would be the pivot in the NPO's cross-media strategy, which was primarily aimed at guiding viewers to content on the different media platforms.⁶¹ An important challenge in this development regarding the use of archival footage in television programming was to obtain copyright and license fees to use this footage not only for one broadcast on linear television, but also for recurrent broadcasts on thematic channels and on-demand distribution via the internet.⁶² Not only are these license fees higher, but also rights holders are myriad and often difficult to locate.⁶³

However, since the early 2010s the public broadcasting system has seen increasing budget cuts, and was forced to organise more efficiently. From 2010 onwards, digital thematic channels and websites would be reduced, and the remaining channels would have more focus and be more recognizable.⁶⁴ Additionally, websites needed to be linked to the broadcasters' scheduling on other channels.⁶⁵ Furthermore, advancing technology has brought a greater demand of non-linear television viewing and the internet has become the primary means of distributing the NPO's content.⁶⁶ The NPO therefore was obliged to reduce the number of digital thematic channels and centralising its web content.⁶⁷ Additionally, the Dutch Raad voor Cultuur [Counsel for Culture] has recommended that the NPO focuses on six typical genres: journalism, Dutch series/films, children's television, documentary, education/information, and culture

⁵⁹ Eggo Müller, 'Access to the Living Room: Triple Play and Interactive Television Reshaping the Producer/Consumer Relation', in *Information Communication Technologies and Emerging Business Strategies*, ed. Shenja van der Graaf and Yushi Washida (Hershey: Idea Group, 2006), 184.

⁶⁰ 'Tussentijds Concessiebeleidsplan 2006–2010' (Hilversum: NPO, 2005), 11.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶² André Nuchelmans, 'Publieke omroepen en digitale platformen: Een blik op het verleden en op de toekomst', *Boekman*, no. 98 (2014), 33.

⁶³ D A Korteweg and P B Hugenholtz, 'Digitalisering van audiovisueel materiaal door erfgoedinstellingen: Modellen voor licenties en vergoedingen' (Amsterdam: Instituut voor Informatierecht Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2011).

⁶⁴ 'Verbinden, verrijken, verrassen: Concessiebeleidsplan 2010–2016' (Hilversum: NPO, 2010).

⁶⁵ Cees van Koppen. Personal interview. Den Haag, 9 November 2012.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ 'Meerjarenbegroting Nederlandse Publieke Omroep 2010–2014'.

(music/art).⁶⁸ This is one of the main tasks for the NPO in the 2016 Media Act. Shula Rijxman, a member of the NPO executive board, spoke at the Holland Film Meeting in Utrecht on 1 October 2015 about the subsidy cut-off and its consequences for the NPO, arguing that drama and documentary are and will continue to be prime priorities in NPO programming.⁶⁹

The NPO is obliged to be active on all platforms, but from 2016 onwards, a greater focus on on-demand channels is advocated. This means, as the three public television channels will continue to be the main linear channels, resulting in a reduced role for digital thematic channels. Five of the eight digital thematic channels will remain (news, politics/sports, cultural documentaries, youth and 'best of' archival material).⁷⁰ The cross-media strategy of the NPO will focus on a more integral scheduling of content to connect to how the public uses media during the day: listening to radio during breakfast, using mobile platforms on the way to and from work, and watching television and using social media in the evening. Critics, however, focus on the possible managerial overhead this will create – next to channel-managers, genre-managers will be instated – and the refusal of the NPO to be transparent about production costs.⁷¹

This brings new challenges for the online circulation of historical audio-visual materials. Furthermore, whereas the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision preserves specific Dutch television programmes, contextual materials such as websites are not preserved structurally. The increasing budget cuts and recent media policies in the Dutch public broadcasting system therefore affect the production and online presentation of programmes on digital thematic channels, their related cross-media practices, and ultimately, the main function of online circulated historical material as material for contextualisation and in-depth knowledge gathering. However, the dynamic production and scheduling practices studied in this chapter offer specific opportunities for niche audiences to engage with the past. Television in this manner can play an important role as a 'history teacher' in present-day society. Not only does television achieve this through the production of historical programmes and by telling stories from the past, but also by making materials from archives accessible on diverse platforms and contextualising them for specific audiences. The digital thematic channel in particular offers a 24/7 scheduled flow of programmes that enhance one another. As a textual composite, these platforms represent television's contemporary function as a hybrid interface, mixing practices from traditional broadcast television with new digital media forms.

⁶⁸ 'De tijd staat open: Advies voor een toekomstbestendige Publieke Omroep' (Den Haag: Raad voor Cultuur, March 2014), <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/rapporten/2014/03/27/de-tijd-staat-open>.

⁶⁹ 'NPO investeert structureel in drama en documentaire', *NPO Homepage*, 1 October 2015, <http://www.npo.nl/overnpo/actueel-1/npo-investeert-structureel-in-drama-en-documentaire>.

⁷⁰ 'Concessiebeidsplan 2016–2020'; 'Meerjarenbegroting Nederlandse Publieke Omroep 2016–2020' (Hilversum: NPO, 2015).

⁷¹ 'Concessiebeidsplan 2016–2020', 22; See also: Haro Kraak, 'Toekomstplannen NPO zeer kritisch ontvangen', *De Volkskrant*, 18 September 2015, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/media/toekomstplannen-npo-zeer-kritisch-ontvangen~a4144984/>.

Representing the Holocaust in Multi-Platform Television Documentary/Drama: *De Oorlog and 13 in de Oorlog*

Convergence and multi-platform storytelling have become central features of television programming in the twenty-first-century media environment. Mediatization of histories, life narratives and archival footage are more and more becoming part of the public domain. The medium of television can therefore play a pivotal role in constructing and stimulating historical consciousness of the Holocaust. The impact of World War II on Dutch history is vast, and therefore it is often referred to as simply 'the war' or 'the occupation'. The collective remembrance of occupation, persecution and genocide has constantly been negotiated throughout time. How to convey inhumane and unfathomable events to audiences is an especially loaded task, and even more so in the case of youngsters who do not have any prior knowledge of the 'holocaustal event'¹ of the Nazis' so-called Final Solution.

Many television users are now viewing and remembering these events through televisual practices that repurpose archival footage in new historical contexts, on diverse platforms and screens. In this context, Andrew Hoskins has argued:

'If one accepts that today television is the popular and preferred medium of history, then one should examine more closely the nature of the medium in order to account for today's construction of the past. History, it appears, is always playing "catch-up" with the modes of its representation and dissemination'.²

In this chapter, I will consider how programme makers through a specific selection of strategies represent and construct the Holocaust in multi-platform television documentaries. After an initial reflection on the growing interest in the re-screening of the past, the focus of this analysis will be on how the Dutch television documentaries *13 IN DE OORLOG* [*13 AT WAR*] (NPS, 2009–2010) and *DE OORLOG* [*THE WAR*] (NPS, 2009) represent this difficult and complex subject matter for different target groups. This includes deliberating on the extent in which memory narratives have been affected by the passing of time and intermediate events, and how to convey such narratives to audiences. The historical programme *13 IN DE OORLOG* was a youth

¹ Hayden White, 'The Modernist Event', in *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event*, ed. Vivian Carol Sobchack (New York: Routledge, 1996), 20.

² Andrew Hoskins, 'Signs of the Holocaust: Exhibiting Memory in a Mediated Age', *Media, Culture & Society* 25, no. 1 (2003): 8, doi:10.1177/0163443703025001631.

documentary/drama series produced by public broadcaster NPS in cooperation with educational broadcaster Teleac/NOT (since merged into NTR).³ Its purpose was to introduce the major historical events of World War II in the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies (the Dutch colony that became Indonesia after World War II) to young viewers. The NPS produced this series together with the history documentary series DE OORLOG. In contrast to the youth series, DE OORLOG focused on new insights into the events before, during and after the occupation.

This study is founded on an analysis of the two projects and their creators' strategies of broadcasting and multi-platform storytelling in relation to Holocaust representation. I use poetics as a research model for exploring television practitioners' aims, strategies and conventions of contemporary representations of past events (see Chapter 2 for methodology) on 1) an institutional level; 2) a cultural-historical level, to finally, 3) a textual and narrative level. The studied materials entail the following:

- a) the documentary series DE OORLOG and 13 IN DE OORLOG;
- b) related cross-media practices between Autumn 2009 and Spring 2015;
- c) in-depth interviews with key professionals involved in the projects' production, research and online strategies;
- d) internal documents collected in the interviewing process, such as project proposals and notes for directors;
- e) ratings and visitor data of the series and websites;
- f) relevant supplementary media materials, such as international and national examples of television and radio programmes, books, films, website content and museum exhibitions. Both series are part of a larger cross-media format, which expands the themes and narratives of the documentary programmes.

5.1. Re-screening the past

A growing interest in the 're-screening' of the past exists in contemporary society. The recent innovation of the Anne Frank House's Secret Annex as a digital 3D experience is a prime example of this trend.⁴ The Secret Annex in Amsterdam is unfurnished, because homes of deported Jews were cleared out during the war and Otto Frank requested the Annex to remain empty after the war. However, visitors can go back in time in an online environment and explore how the rooms in the Annex, Otto Frank's office and the attic – the latter two are closed in the

³ Since 1 September 2010, public service broadcasters NPS, Teleac and RVU have merged in the NTR (NPS/Teleac/RVU), the Dutch public service broadcaster specialising in information, education and culture. In the Dutch public service broadcasting system, the NTR is one of the largest broadcasters with a statutory public service mission. Both series were sponsored by the project 'Erfgoed van de Oorlog' ['Heritage of the War'] of the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport, and the V-fund, the National Fund for Freedom and Veterans Care. See: 'About NTR', *NTR Website*, accessed 25 May 2012, <http://www.ntr.nl/site/tekst/about-ntr/16.>; 'Erfgoed van de oorlog', *Rijksoverheid Homepage*, accessed 25 May 2012, <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/tweede-wereldoorlog/erfgoed-van-de-oorlog/>; 'V-fonds, Nationaal Fonds voor Vrijheid en Veteranenzorg', *V-fonds Homepage*, accessed 25 May 2012, <http://www.v-fonds.nl>.

⁴ The museum in 2015 also offered a virtual reality experience to visitors, see: 'Anne Frank Huis nu ook virtueel te bezoeken', *Het Parool*, 2 September 2015, <http://www.parool.nl/parool/nl/12/CULTUUR/article/detail/4133997/2015/09/02/Anne-Frank-Huis-nu-ook-virtueel-te-bezoeken.dhtml>. 'The Secret Annex Online', accessed 26 June 2015, <http://www.annefrank.org/en/Subsites/Home/>

actual museum for safety reasons – were used during the war and what they looked like. The website makes use of a variety of screen practices, including photographs, archival footage and previously aired television broadcasts in which helpers like Jo Kleiman and Miep Gies share their memories about the people in hiding. In a contemporary fashion, formerly unavailable audio-visual materials are now easily accessible for the public on several media platforms, varying from traditional broadcast television to digital thematic channels, online television and other archives. Practices of re-screening repurpose images of the past, such as previously broadcast images and archival footage, by positioning these materials in new historical and media contexts. The medium of television has been transformed from a relatively stable and fixed technology into a more complex constellation of dynamic screen practices, through which audiences are making conscious decisions to view, collect, distribute and assimilate images of the past.

Since viewing habits are more and more based on personal selection, like many television programmes today, documentary programming is evidencing a heightened awareness of the existence of audiences both online and off line. Work by amongst others Eilean Hooper-Greenhill⁵ has shown that in the post-modern period, cultural organisations (such as museums) have in general become more conscious of their respective audiences and that in constructing a usable past⁶ for the present, new forms of *pedagogy* are demanded. Specialist knowledge remains important, and is combined with strategies trying to involve the imaginations and emotions of audiences. DE OORLOG and 13 IN DE OORLOG typify such approaches to historiography in the multi-platform era.

As Assmann argues, quality and extension of memory of the Holocaust are bound to differ significantly depending on its *framing*, and consequently the commemorating community will be smaller or larger, limited or open.⁷ In DE OORLOG and 13 IN DE OORLOG, different means of representation – different selections from the creators' toolbox – are used to produce specific memory discourses and to perform the past. If we understand cultural memory as a dynamic practice that is performed, the performance of memory is 'both a mnemonic device and a way in which individual memories are relived, revived, and refashioned'.⁸ As previously stated, for television makers working within the field of the history documentary, how to unite the representation of reality with a creative treatment of this reality is crucial to their practice, and therefore the performance of the past. The nine-part series DE OORLOG strived to bring the historical events of World War II in the Netherlands and the former Dutch East Indies to new generations, in a less exhaustive manner than its precursor, Loe de Jong's twenty-one-part series

⁵ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 124–150.

⁶ Gary R Edgerton, 'Introduction: Television as Historian: A Different Kind of History Altogether', in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 4.

⁷ Aleida Assmann, 'The Holocaust – a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community', in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, ed. Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 112.

⁸ Jay Winter, 'The Performance of the Past: Memory, History, Identity', in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 11, <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=649960>.

DE BEZETTING [THE OCCUPATION], which was broadcast in the Netherlands from 1960–1965 (NTS), rerun in a shortened format from 1966–1968 (NTS), and remade between 1989 and 1990 (NOS).⁹ Editor-in-chief Ad van Liempt created DE OORLOG for a wide audience. In the early stages of developing DE OORLOG, the idea for a parallel youth series emerged. A considerable cross-media effect was intended by the concurrent production of comprehensive websites,¹⁰ DVD box sets, companion books,¹¹ and derivative products for education and the publication of historical sources.¹² Figure 5.1 shows the multiple means of storytelling across a variety of platforms and screens in both DE OORLOG and 13 IN DE OORLOG.

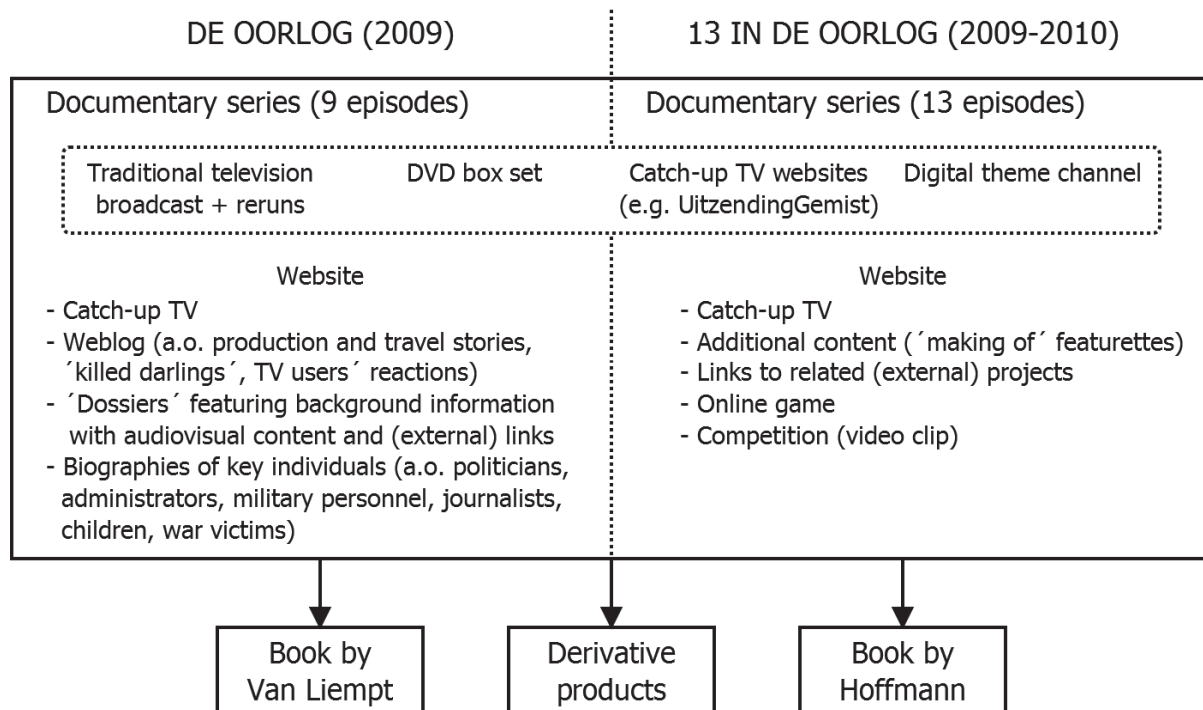


Fig. 5.1. Multi-platform storytelling in DE OORLOG and 13 IN DE OORLOG.

⁹ Historian Loe de Jong's 'The Occupation' provided Dutch audiences with the first national perspective on World War II. De Jong is the author of the standard work on World War II in the Netherlands, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog [The Kingdom of the Netherlands in World War II]* (The Hague: Sdu, 1969) in fourteen parts. For more on The Occupation as national historiography, see amongst others: Vos, *Televisie en bezetting*; Frank van Vree, 'Televisie en de geschiedschrijving van de Tweede Wereldoorlog', *Theoretische Geschiedenis*, no. 22 (1995): 1–26.

¹⁰ 'De oorlog Homepage'; '13 in de oorlog Homepage', accessed 26 June 2015, <http://www.13indeoorlog.nl>.

¹¹ Hein Hoffmann, *13 in de oorlog: hoe kinderen de Tweede Wereldoorlog beleefden* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2010); Ad van Liempt, *De oorlog* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009).

¹² Derivative products are for example newly recovered and published materials, such as the war diary of Klaartje de Zwarte-Walvisch which was discovered during the research process and published for its historical value. For students in the final grade of primary education the 'Vroeger & Zo' workbook to accompany the series 13 IN DE OORLOG was created for Teleac School TV. 'Vroeger & Zo' is freely translated as 'Old times and things like that'. See: Klaartje de Zwarte-Walvisch, *Alles ging aan flarden: het oorlogsdagboek van Klaartje de Zwarte-Walvisch* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009); Erik Appelman, Kristel Schets, and Willem van der Spek, *Vroeger & Zo Speciaal* (Hilversum: Teleac/NPS, 2010).

The used forms of multi-platform storytelling include both *cross-media* storytelling – literally *across* platforms – and *transmedia* storytelling. In the definition of Henry Jenkins, transmedia storytelling represents 'a process where integral elements of a fiction get dispersed systematically across multiple delivery channels for the purpose of creating a unified and coordinated entertainment experience. Ideally, each medium makes its own unique contribution to the unfolding of the story'.¹³ Therefore, engagement with all main storytelling platforms and the types of stories that are told on each platform is a requirement for the 'fullest' experience of the overall narrative. This includes a distinct production routine and the exploitation of social and digital media embedded in daily life, to achieve a deeper engagement with existing televisual practices. It also entails changing professions in the television industry. Transmedia storytelling is particularly achieved in 13 IN DE OORLOG and the 13 IN DE OORLOG educational game (see discussion further on in this chapter).

The series' websites have both been successful in engaging their respective audiences, each on their own terms. Since the start of 13 IN DE OORLOG (both series aired on 25 October 2009), the accompanying website has been visited almost 1.4 million times. About a third of these visits (439,509) included the 13 IN DE OORLOG online game. During the original broadcast of the series in 2009, the website had approximately 200,000 visitors, half of which (97,850) also accessed the game. The yearly amount of visits has seen a steady rise, from 448,371 in 2010, to 509,530 in 2011 and 225,827 until May 2012. The proportion of visits including the game has since declined – from almost 50% in 2009, to a third of visits in 2010 and 2011, and 20% of visits in 2012. This may be related to the fact that a new level of the online game became available after another episode had been aired, which triggered added interest in the game. Statistics for 2015 still show almost 4,000 visitors monthly for the 13 IN DE OORLOG website, but most interestingly, the game has seen on average 22,000 visitors per month in the first half of 2015 – comparable to the amount of visits during the broadcast of the series in 2009. The screening of 13 IN DE OORLOG episodes and use of the game in primary education may be a factor in the website's steadily rising ratings. In 2009, the website featured with the series THE WAR saw 183,465 visits, however, these numbers declined from 146,450 in 2010 to 125,166 in 2011. The first five months of 2012 nevertheless show an increased interest in the website, with 69,106 visits until May 2012.¹⁴ However, the website has not been updated since and due to a change in the statistics provider for NPS-websites, recent statistics are at present not available.¹⁵

5.2. Institutional aims, strategies and conventions

5.2.1. Funding and powers of decision making

In the context of the poetics of doing history on broadcast television outlined in Chapter 3, the case of de OORLOG/13 IN DE OORLOG also exemplifies that there are more institutional reasons for the creation of other programmes by the *Andere Tijden*-school. The *Andere Tijden*-school started to create a distinct profile as the broadcasters of the grand-scale Dutch history

¹³ Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

¹⁴ Source: NTR.

¹⁵ Sandra van Laar, VPRO Analyse & Research, e-mail message to author, 25 August 2015.

documentary, since cooperation with organisations would provide new revenues and opportunities for continued existence. A new plan for a series about World War II is discussed with the VWS project 'Erfgoed van de Oorlog' ['Heritage of the War'] by the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport (The Dutch 'Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport' (VWS) signifies the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport).¹⁶ The idea for this series originally comes from Ellen van der Waerden, then programme-manager of 'Heritage of the War' at the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport. Van Liempt devises an original synopsis for the series, based on eight episodes of fifty minutes. This series strives to bring the historical events of World War II to new generations, in a less exhaustive manner than its precursor, Loe de Jong's series DE BEZETTING (1960–1965, rerun in a shortened format in 1966–1968, remade in 1989 with De Jong as editor-in-chief and Van Liempt as film researcher and coordinator).

Based on his experiences with HET VERLEDEN VAN NEDERLAND [THE PAST OF THE NETHERLANDS] (NPS/VPRO, 2008) (see Chapter 3), Van Liempt is determined to keep a firmer grip on the total production of the grand scale series: next to being editor-in-chief, he writes the scenarios for the series by himself (with one exception). Also in the earlier stages of developing the programme, before production starts, Van Liempt approaches historian Hans Blom to become an adviser about the contents of the programme. However, even with the funding by VWS, the total production of the programme is still several tons of Euros short in funding. By then, the project has been expanded with the addition of a parallel youth version of the programme, 13 IN DE OORLOG. This youth documentary/drama series about World War II is based on the original concept by ANDERE TIJDEN director Hein Hoffmann. Eventually the V-fund, the National Fund for Freedom and Veterans Care¹⁷, is approached, making the production of both series possible. This *collaboration* would result in the addition of one more episode and added content about a specific part of Dutch national history: the occupation in Indonesia. The original synopsis of the DE OORLOG is based on eight episodes in total. However, after reviewing the planned content of the series, the V-fund issues a request – not a demand – for more content about Indonesia. Van Liempt subsequently brings the request to his team, but strives to do so free from value judgements. The additional funding would mean that the series could be expanded from eight to nine episodes, with one episode focusing on the war in Indonesia, plus an additional episode focusing on the aftermath of the war, including in Indonesia. Van Liempt:

'I said: "I acknowledge that we would not have done this, if there had not been a financier who was up for this. I acknowledge this, but I do assess that we can fulfil a wish here". Then everybody [DE OORLOG creators, including researchers and Hans Blom] said: "Yes, why would we be opposed to this". Sure, you could say: "We would not have done this if there had not been someone who brought in a bag of money. But, now we can do a few things, which we could not otherwise. So, we are now going to determine, that we are going to do this unburdened, unburdened by financial pressures or incentive or whatever. We do this by our own free will. We could also say no at this moment, and

¹⁶ 'Erfgoed van de oorlog'.

¹⁷ 'V-fonds, Nationaal Fonds voor Vrijheid en Veteranenzorg'.

that's the end of it". We have handled this so neatly, in my opinion, that that whole sense of "we do this because of a sponsor", no one felt like that. We never have'.¹⁸

This is another example of how important the *Andere Tijden*-school feels it is still in charge of the production of their own programmes or can produce programmes out of their own free will (see Chapter 3). In the case of DE OORLOG, the influence of the VWS fund is limited through an editorial board regulation, which limits the position of the fund to an advising role. Representatives of the V-fund are given the opportunity to become a member of the editorial board, which consisted of six members in total. These are: two representatives from VWS (Ellen van der Waerden, aforementioned, and Puck Huitsing, director Task Force Victims of War and Remembrance World War II, Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport); two representatives from television with a special interest in the war (Arend Jan Heerma van Voss and Cees Labeur) and two historical researchers (Chris van der Heijden and Jolande Withuis). The V-fund can give advice on several areas. If there are considerable recommendations and the editorial staff members have many reasons not to meet these recommendations, they would be put in writing. In this manner, the *power of decision* was not with the institution that funds the project, but stayed with the NPS – in particular, the editor-in-chief and the general editor-in-chief. This regulation has become a sort of model contract for this kind of history programming on Dutch public broadcast television.

5.3. Cultural-historical aims, strategies and conventions

5.3.1. Bringing novel perspectives to the attention of current audiences

In the Netherlands, the 'right/wrong' perspective adopted by De Jong has become the traditional perspective favoured by Dutch historiography of the occupation, as well as visual representations in popular culture, such as Dutch World War II feature films.¹⁹ More ambiguous images of resistance and collaboration are featured in films like DE AANSLAG [THE ASSAULT] (dir. Fons Rademakers, the Netherlands, 1986) and ZWARTBOEK [BLACKBOOK] (dir. Paul Verhoeven, the Netherlands, 2006). The traditional perspective is characterised by strong moralising in terms of *goed* or 'right', e.g. heroic resistance fighters, and *fout* or 'wrong', e.g. Dutch Nationalist Socialist Movement (NSB) members and other brutal collaborators. The 'right/wrong' perspective has increasingly been used in an encompassing way, especially

¹⁸ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 12 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Ik heb gezegd: "Ik erken, dat wij dit niet zouden hebben gedaan, als er niet een financier was, die dat leuk zou vinden. Ik erken, maar ik stel wel vast, dat wij hierbij een wens kunnen vervullen". Toen zei iedereen eigenlijk: "Ja, wat kunnen wij daar nu tegen hebben". Ja, je kunt zeggen: "Dat zouden we niet gedaan als hebben als er niet iemand met een zak geld kwam. Maar ja, we kunnen nu we een paar dingen doen, die we anders niet kunnen. Dus we stellen nu vast, dat we dit onbezwaard gaan doen, onbezwaard door financiële druk of prikkel of wat dan ook. We doen dit echt uit eigen wil. We kunnen nu ook nee zeggen, dan is het gewoon afgelopen". Dat hebben we zo netjes afgehandeld, vond ik zelf, dat dat hele gevoel van "er zit hier een sponsor een beetje waarom we dat doen", dat niemand dat had. Dat hebben we ook nooit gehad'.

¹⁹ See e.g.: Wendy Burke, 'A Dutch Occupation: The Representation of World War Two in Films from the Netherlands 1962 to 1986' (PhD, King's College, 2009).

through commemoration of the persecution and murder of the Jews.²⁰ However, it fails to cover the wide range of choices and motivations for people's reactions to the German occupation and persecution of Dutch Jews. Hans Blom, historian and advisor for DE OORLOG, advocated the necessity of new research questions in his 1983 inaugural lecture.²¹ Academic research is at present in an advanced stage, bringing new insights and nuances. However, the public still often thinks in moralising terms of right and wrong. Blom has argued that this exemplifies how the distance between professional historians and the Dutch public has amplified since De Jong's approach as the people's educator.²²

Television is a creative process in which decision-making is par for the course. From the editor-in-chief to the presenter, creators working at different stages of a programme need to deal with choices regarding the selection and narration of a particular history. According to Van Liempt, bringing novel perspectives to the attention of current audiences was the primary reason for the production of DE OORLOG. The editor-in-chief recognises that this is not an easy feat, 'because we grew up on moralism, and besides the right/wrong distinction was a matter of life and death during the war, often literally'.²³ Whereas DE BEZETTING did not feature witness statements by ex-NSB members,²⁴ DE OORLOG focused on the complex social history and choices of victims, perpetrators, accomplices and bystanders. Examples are the persecution of the Jews by the Dutch police, the role of civil servants in assisting the German oppressors, the continuation of normal life during wartime, or the dilemmas family members faced with respect to each other's political choices.²⁵ In this manner, the case of DE OORLOG exemplifies how a

²⁰ Ido de Haan, 'Failures and Mistakes: Images of Collaboration in Post-War Dutch Society', in *Collaboration with the Nazis: Public Discourse after the Holocaust*, ed. Roni Stauber (London: Routledge, 2010), 81.

²¹ Hans Blom, 'In de ban van goed en fout? Wetenschappelijke geschiedschrijving over de bezettingstijd in Nederland' (Inaugural Lecture, University of Amsterdam, 12 December 1983).

²² Hans Blom, 'Een kwart eeuw later: Nog altijd in de ban van goed en fout?' (Valedictory Lecture, University of Amsterdam, 19 April 2007).

²³ Ad van Liempt, 'Avontuur', *De oorlog Weblog*, 16 December 2008, <http://deoorlog.nps.nl/weblog/2008/12/16/avontuur/>; Recent research includes: Gerard Aalders, *Roof: de ontvreemding van joods bezit tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (The Hague: Sdu, 1999); Bart van der Boom, *'We leven nog': de stemming in bezet Nederland* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2003); Chris van der Heijden, *Grijs verleden: Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (Amsterdam: Contact, 2001); Bert-Jan Flim, *Omdat hun hart sprak: geschiedenis van de georganiseerde hulp aan joodse kinderen in Nederland, 1942–1945* (Kampen: Kok, 1996); Aad Jongbloed, *Standort Holland: Duitse soldaten over hun oorlogstijd in Nederland* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1995); Guus Meershoek, *Dienaren van het gezag: de Amsterdamse politie tijdens de bezetting* (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 1999); Bob Moore, *Slachtoffers en overlevenden: de nazi-vervolging van de joden in Nederland*. (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1998); Peter Romijn, *Burgemeesters in oorlogstijd: besturen tijdens de Duitse bezetting* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2006); Anna Timmerman, ed., *Machteloos? Ooggetuigen van de jodenvervolging* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2007).

²⁴ According to De Jong, it would be unfair to audiences to feature witness statements by ex-NSB members. At this point in time, not two decades had passed since the liberation and the abhorrence of collaborators. See also: Loe de Jong, *Herinneringen* (The Hague: Sdu, 1991).

²⁵ The series has received criticism from Elsbeth Etty for being too hesitant in the representation of resistance heroes. Ad van Liempt has argued that this is a consequence of the series' objective to bring lesser-known aspects of the occupation to light, as well as the strict selection process for DE OORLOG, which comprises nine episodes and is therefore less exhaustive than De Jong's DE BEZETTING. See: Elsbeth Etty, 'De normgevende herinnering', *NRC Handelsblad*, 15 December 2009; Ad van Liempt, 'Je moet het zo sec mogelijk presenteren', *Het Parool*, 2 May 2011.

wider variety of private forms of remembrance has become part of the public domain, and as a result provides users with a more nuanced perspective on the historical events of World War II.

The question of why the highest number of Jewish victims of the genocide in Western Europe came from the Netherlands remains a main focus of inquiry. However, current research distinguishes large differences in survival probabilities on a municipal level, by taking into account local influences and the intensity of resistance and radicalism – arguing that local resistance provoked more German activity and therefore more arrests.²⁶ The series' presenter and narrator, radio, television and news anchor Rob Trip, guides the audience through new insights based on recent research, witness testimonies and previously unpublished archival footage. Rob Trip's narration style is defined by the visiting of several historical locations and selected eyewitnesses. The series is principally based on the use of what the creators call 'ego-documents', such as diary fragments. Consequently, the documentary creates an opportunity for historical narratives known locally, but not nationally, to take centre stage. In this manner, the series has been able to engage the Dutch public with *new outlooks and contradictory perspectives*, using *history from below* to present an alternative version of a grand narrative.

5.4. Textual and narrative aims, strategies and conventions

5.4.1. Audio-visual testimony

Presenter Rob Trip is, in the words of the creators, a 'classic' television presenter, who adjusts the text to make sure he is able to narrate the text correctly in his own style, but in general provides a narration based on information supplied by the director or a member of the editorial staff.²⁷ This is also due to practical production reasons: in the case of DE OORLOG, the presentation texts are written almost a year in advance of the actual broadcast. Trip would also be filming on location in different cities, while several parts of the episode would not yet have been filmed. In some instances, therefore, Trip filmed different versions of his presentation text on location, to leave room for choice in the final editing stages. He would also provide extra sentences at the beginning and at the end of his presentation texts, to offer editors various options where to start and edit the commentary. Trip's narration style is therefore grounded in the visiting of various historical locations and eyewitnesses – these provide the main starting point for Trip's on-location narration.

In episode 5 of DE OORLOG, HOE DE JODEN UIT NEDERLAND VERDWENEN [HOW THE JEWS DISAPPEARED FROM THE NETHERLANDS], the tragedy of the more than one-hundred thousand deported and murdered Dutch Jews is analysed. Trip questions why this number was so high in the Netherlands, and why there was no action to stop the genocide of the Jewish community. The series does not come up with a definitive answer – which of course cannot be given – but does ask whether people needed to know about Auschwitz to discern that things would end

²⁶ 'Overlevingskansen per gemeente', *De oorlog Weblog*, 2009, <http://deoorlog.nps.nl/page/mappen/783962/Overlevingskansen+per+gemeente>; Marnix Thomas Croes and Pieter Johannes Rudolf Tammes, "'Gif laten wij niet voortbestaan': een onderzoek naar de overlevingskansen van joden in de Nederlandse gemeenten, 1940–1945" (PhD, Radboud University, 2004), <https://www.rug.nl/research/portal/publications/gif-laten-wij-niet-voortbestaan%280b491a3e-55de-4b54-8683-e9d0efbfd18e%29.html>.

²⁷ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011.

badly for the Jews. Principally, the diverse *witness testimonies* show the complexity and lack of straightforward answers on how people acted in response to the deportations to the East. For example, there is the personal story of Jules Schelvis, a survivor of seven concentration and extermination camps and today an independent scholar in the field of the persecution of the Jews.²⁸ In 1943, he was deported to Sobibor, where his wife and her family were murdered. Schelvis's testimony evokes an (in hindsight naïvely) optimistic attitude:

'We were young, we were strong. We just did not believe all those stories. We knew it was going to be tough for us, but we thought we were somehow going to survive. [...] I took my guitar with me to Westerbork, and later on also on the train to Sobibor. I thought somehow or other there would be an opportunity to sing some songs around the campfire?'²⁹

Schelvis' witness statement conveys to viewers 'what it was like' at that time: many people were still unaware of what the Nazis' Final Solution would ultimately mean.³⁰

Because of the dying out of eyewitnesses of World War II – and therefore the loss of this generation's 'storehouse of memories'³¹ – the dilemma whether or not to include talking heads in DE OORLOG was considerable. In the end, the programme makers decided to include interviews with eyewitnesses sparingly, a maximum of two to three talking heads per episode.³² This choice was principally made to elevate the level of authenticity. Here it must be reiterated that authenticity is a red herring, as Aaron Kerner argues, because 'there is no transparent window through which we might render the past'.³³ History in itself is a redactive process: historical narratives are always a reconstruction or representation of past events. The creators therefore selected storytellers who, like Schelvis, can be deemed reliable authorities regarding the subject discussed at that moment in the conversation.

Such recorded acts of remembering (and simultaneously forgetting) mainly comprise of very individual witness statements. To represent reality on a level beyond such individual experiences, and to include the level of military leaders since deceased, the programme makers looked to other practices. Convinced by the wealth of World War II diaries available in Dutch archives, and aided by historian Bart van der Boom,³⁴ the creators of DE OORLOG decided to

²⁸ See e.g.: Jules Schelvis, *Sobibor: A History of a Nazi Death Camp* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2007).

²⁹ Schelvis narrates his personal experiences in The War part 5, 'How the Jews Disappeared from the Netherlands', and his story is further expanded on the series' website. See: Jules Schelvis, 'Onvoorstelbaar', *De oorlog Weblog*, accessed 28 May 2012, <http://deoorlog.nps.nl/page/mappen/781347/Onvoorstelbaar?af1=5&d=781338>.

³⁰ By comparison, see my analysis of the Peereboom family films in Berber Hagedoorn, "'Look What I Found!': (Re-)crossing Boundaries Between Public/Private History and Biography/Autobiography in Péter Forgács' The Maelstrom', *Studies in Documentary Film* 3, no. 2 (2009): 177–92, doi:10.1386/sdf.3.2.177/1, 181–184.

³¹ Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, trans. Assenka Oksiloff (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 133.

³² Historians, professionals and experts are consulted in the production process, and function as an important source of information. However, professionals are preferably not featured as talking heads.

³³ Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust*, 15.

³⁴ On the basis of war diaries, historian Bart van der Boom (Leiden University) researches what the Dutch people thought of the fate of Jews during the occupation. See: Bart van der Boom, *'Wij weten niets van hun lot': gewone Nederlanders en de Holocaust* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012).

include *ego-documents* such as diary fragments and letters. Such documents further reveal that, although many people were unsure about specifics, they nevertheless suspected the horrific fate awaiting Holland's Jews. Crucially, these documents also transmit a sense of how this *felt* at the time. Such emotions are clearly conveyed through diaries. First, the diary of Moshe Flinker, a sixteen-year-old Jewish boy strikingly describes the feeling of many people suspecting but not knowing for sure that horrible events would ensue:

'It is like being in a large hall where people are cheerfully dancing and having fun, and a small group is quietly sitting in a corner. And every now and then people are collected from that little group, led to another room, and strangled. But the cheerfully dancing people are not affected by this at all. In fact, their enjoyment seems to be increased by this'.³⁵

Second, a thirty-two-year-old Jewish woman, Klaartje de Zwarte-Walvisch, described her own views based on the events in the Hollandsche Schouwburg [Dutch Theatre], the assembly point on the outskirts of the Amsterdam Jewish quarter, after she had been arrested to be sent to work in Poland:

'I could imagine that young people were able to do the forced labour. But the people I saw coming in [...]. Old, lame and blind people; one even frailer than the other. Were these people going to do hard labour?'³⁶

The diary of De Zwarte-Walvisch, written in Vught camp between March and July 1943, was recovered during the research process for DE OORLOG. The diary has subsequently been published by the creators of DE OORLOG and is now in the public domain. Through such 'ego-documents' that carry audiences back into the past, the public event of the Holocaust is intensified in the context of private perspectives, and vice versa. These practices are another form of using history from below to present an alternative version of a grand narrative.

The television makers considered the extent to which memory narratives have been affected by the passing of time and intermediate events, and how to convey these narratives to audiences. The creators initially experimented with the *narration* of these diary fragments by people who had actually experienced these events. An example was the case of a woman who wrote a diary (published in the 1950s) about her personal experiences as a thirteen-year-old Jewish girl, when she was not allowed to visit the beach and was expelled from school. However, during the editing process, this type of narration turned out not to work. The programme makers eventually decided to have the diary fragments read aloud by people who could have been their authors at that time. In the case above, a girl who is actually thirteen years old is heard. The narration was not only provided by schooled voice actors, but also by more random people to portray native dialects.³⁷ Van Liempt states how this practice, which is not actually authentic, brings about a heightened feeling of authenticity – a rather dangerous

³⁵ Cited in *De oorlog [The War]*, episode 5, 'Hoe de Joden uit Nederland verdwenen' ['How the Jews Were Evicted from the Netherlands'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS, 22 November 2009.

³⁶ Cited in *Ibid.*

³⁷ To portray for example an inhabitant from the province of Drenthe or Zeeland or a minister with a posh accent.

statement in his own words.³⁸ This activity is principally reinforced and expanded through the series' website, where the memory narratives of key individuals are featured and provided with additional content and background information.

5.4.2. Visible evidence

The mediation of past events often derives from or is combined with the re-use of archival footage. DE OORLOG provides access to history by offering viewers an *audio-visual representation* of the past – to the extent that what the camera operator has filmed through the lens can serve to document a historical event. The series incorporates often never-before-seen footage, such as recently discovered colour images of forced labour in a German factory, as well as unique photographs, for instance a singular existing photograph of Reinhard Heydrich's visit to the Netherlands a few months after the Wannsee Conference. One of the functions of the incorporation of archival footage is to convey the atmosphere of a certain period from the past, through which we learn how people felt about, or what they knew about, certain events at that time. The availability of material is of overriding importance (see also Chapter 3). Since the remake of DE BEZETTING between 1989 and 1990, a considerable amount of archival and amateur footage has been recovered. The incorporation of such images brings new perceptions of past events alive on Dutch screens. Such images encourage multiple readings by audiences and stimulate historical consciousness. For instance, amateur footage of a Jewish family leaving their home for the Dutch Theatre assembly point, unsuspectingly waving to the camera, urges viewers to consider the events of the past through the eyes of people who were present.

Television not only offers access to images as visible evidence, but these images also help to evoke emotions and sentiments from previous times as a historical experience. This can especially be relevant when no eyewitness accounts are available or when eyewitnesses give an uninvolved reaction. To reiterate Gerda Jansen Hendriks, one of the directors of DE OORLOG, this *historical sensation* can be provoked by even 'the simplest cinema newsreel'.³⁹ Original footage serves as an excellent way to draw people into a different time and age – also to represent the ruthlessness of a specific historical occurrence. In this respect, footage can evoke the feeling of the past 'not being in the past', for example via a photograph of Schelvis' first wife Rachel whom he still remembers daily.

The incorporated materials are also given a new dimension by their juxtaposition with audio-visual and written testimonies, voice-over narration, music and sound effects. According to Jansen Hendriks, such a *modern representation* will appeal more to audiences than viewing an archival clip out of context in a film museum or on a website.⁴⁰ Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer have argued that the display of images and icons of the Holocaust experience without specific information about the production context may gain viewers' sympathetic attention, but obstructs engagement with the more complex visual and historical landscape of the Holocaust.⁴¹

³⁸ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Utrecht, 9 June 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Maar goed, nu ga ik iets 'gevaarlijks' zeggen, het is natuurlijk juist niet authentiek en toch het bevordert wel het gevoel van authenticiteit, dat ligt daar weer naast, hè'.

³⁹ Gerda Jansen Hendriks. Personal interview. Hilversum, 16 May 2011.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, 'Incongruous Images: "Before, During, and After" the Holocaust', in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilmans, Frank

The website of DE OORLOG provides the option to catch-up and review these materials within an existing framework, in conjunction with background information, additional audio-visual content and (external) links, and serves as an important platform of source criticism due to the opportunity it offers for source annotation. Using such a combination of narrative and textual strategies prompts viewers to identify with histories and memories on a collective as well as an affective level.

5.4.3. Visualising the past for a young target audience

13 IN DE OORLOG was very much a programme made for a specific target audience: children aged approximately eight to thirteen years, while DE OORLOG was created for a wide, general audience. At the start of the production of DE OORLOG, the programme makers heavily argued about how to draw in a young target audience. The programme makers discuss for instance a youthful presenter and targeting subject choices heavily targeted towards young people, and excluding older people. The editorial staff members eventually make the decision not to do the impossible to reach a young target audience. Instead, the programme DE OORLOG is created for a general audience, which would mainly be of an older generation. However, in the early stages of developing DE OORLOG, the idea for a series specifically for young people emerged. This programme, working title DE KLAS VAN '39 [THE CLASS OF '39], is later devised as 13 IN DE OORLOG and made by a team that not only created the programme but also had to provide the funding for it – which was chiefly financed by the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport. With Van Liempt on board as a general editor-in-chief, creator Hein Hoffmann and Loes Wormmeester – the editor-in-chief of HET KLOKHUIS [APPLE CORE] (NPS/NTR, 1988–), a Dutch knowledge-based and satirical children's programme – lead a documentary and drama team. The idea for a parallel series for a younger audience on the one hand discharges DE OORLOG programme makers from the obligation to target their series particularly at a young audience, because the young ones now have their own show. On the other hand, this parallel youth series can be produced at a relatively lower budget, because of the synergy, having the same research, the same production, which provided an efficient support system to produce both series.

Unlike the other historical programmes analysed in this chapter 13 IN DE OORLOG was very much a programme made for a specific target audience: children aged approximately eight to thirteen years old. The programme is initially produced for children in the last two years of primary school (aged ten to twelve). 13 IN DE OORLOG and HET KLOKHUIS researcher Astrid Crebas⁴² describes the target audience as closer to nine to thirteen-year-olds, akin to the target audience of HET KLOKHUIS.⁴³ 13 IN DE OORLOG is very much a programme created for a specific target audience. Both Van Liempt and Crebas argue that, in the end, children determine by themselves and according to their own codes whether they watch a programme or not. The

van Vree, and Jay Winter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 172–173, <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=649960>.

⁴² Astrid Crebas, graduated in European Law at the Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam [VU University Amsterdam] in 1992. Having worked as a producer and editor for NOS LAAT [NOS LATE] and NOVA, she became an editor for OP REIS [ON A TRIP], MIDDAGEDITIE [CURRENT AFFAIRS PROGRAMME MIDDAY] and 13 IN DE OORLOG. Since 2000, she has been an editor and researcher at HET KLOKHUIS [APPLE CORE].

⁴³ Astrid Crebas. Personal interview. Hilversum, 5 October 2011.

transition from group 8 (the final grade) in primary school to the first year of secondary education for instance, is an important moment for children to decide certain television programmes are not 'trendy' to watch any more. 13 IN DE OORLOG has received enthusiastic responses and is watched by many adults as well, including parents and grandparents. The series has received enthusiastic responses from many older viewers as well, as the following example shows:

'Last Sunday I watched your first episode together with my mother, who herself was thirteen years old during World War II. My mother is traumatised by her lost childhood [...]. She has never been able to watch films or documentaries about the war. I have convinced her to watch this series to come to terms with the experiences of her youth, because she never has been able to view them from an adult's point of view. [...] And it worked. Your target audience is therefore not only eight to twelve-year-olds and older, but also very special seventy-seven to eighty-two-year-olds. Many, many thanks for creating this series!'⁴⁴

13 IN DE OORLOG creator and editor-in-chief Hein Hoffmann describes the programme's 'side effect' of having encouraged grandparents to share their war experiences with their grandchildren as 'unexpected', but 'really fantastic'.⁴⁵

13 IN DE OORLOG deploys a *layered narrative structure* to retain the attention of its youthful target audience. The series' objective was to acquaint a young audience with the major events that happened in World War II to many different people in the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies, but it did narrow events down to aspects of that history, so as not to overburden children with information. In its thirteen episodes, the following historical events and subjects took precedence: the Rotterdam bombardment; the occupation of the Netherlands by the Germans in May 1940; the Dutch National Socialist Movement (NSB); 'England sailors', men or women who made the dangerous crossing to England; betrayal and armed resistance; the prosecution of Jewish people living in the Netherlands and genocide; the Battle of Arnhem; the Dutch famine of 1944; the war in the Dutch East Indies, focusing on the Japanese occupation and the circumstances of Dutch families who were forced to live in camps; the liberation of the Netherlands in May 1945; and the aftermath of war in the Netherlands. The series is presented from historical locations by Lisa Wade, who is best known for presenting HET KLOKHUIS, and includes a voice-over commentary by director Marcel Goedhart. Their main goal is to *convey historical information in a comprehensible way* that makes the message 'stick', such as using clear dialogue, placing enlarged photographs of key figures in the frame, and through Wade's visual presentation. For instance, Wade explains how little room there was in a train wagon for people who were being deported to concentration camps by taking off her jacket, placing it in front of the train wagon in Auschwitz-Birkenau, and proceeding to stand on it, visualising the space for two people with no room to sit or lie down. The series also incorporates archival footage to offer an audio-visual representation of the historical events described, and deliberately excludes talking heads. Finally, each episode presents a certain aspect of the war in a fictionalised narrative. The Holocaust and its aftermath are principally represented in

⁴⁴ E-mail from viewer (name withheld), 27 October 2009.

⁴⁵ Hein Hoffmann. Personal interview. Hilversum, 5 October 2011.

storylines concerning twelve-year-old Kaat van Genneep, a Jewish girl living in Amsterdam whose parents and elder sister are arrested; thirteen-year-old Roos van Genneep, Kaat's sister, who is awaiting deportation from Westerbork along with her parents; and thirteen-year-old David, a Jewish boy who returns to The Hague after the war from the concentration camp Auschwitz. In the 13 IN DE OORLOG online game, storylines of particular characters are further developed. For instance, Kaat van Genneep's circumstances after her family's deportation remain unclear in the television series. However, in the game she is reunited with her aunt and goes into hiding. The stories of these fictional characters are extended beyond the level of the broadcast drama sequences, creating a transmedia story world in which historical events experienced from the perspective of a child via television drama and online game play characterise what it was like to grow up during the war. Transmedia storytelling helps to complete the overall story in this manner.

Similarly to DE OORLOG, 13 IN DE OORLOG uses war diaries – in this case children's – as important sources of historical information. Instead of providing a clear-cut 'cause' and subsequent 'effect', or a clear distinction between perpetrators and heroes, the series provides a more *nuanced view* of accepted versions of history or the 'consensus' about the past. The analysed documentary scenes and dramatised narratives show how during the war life goes on, as well as the friction of wartime. One could debate whether such a tone is suitable for the young target audience.⁴⁶ Although the series contains no shocking imagery, the archival images of prisoners behind barbed wire, as well as images of the many suitcases, heaps of hair, and piles of photos left after the mass extermination are very evocative. The dangerous atmosphere of wartime, and the fear of being caught or killed, is also present in the drama scenes. The scene in which a young Jewish girl and her mother are standing shivering in the Auschwitz 'shower cabins' is disconcerting and forces the audience to imagine themselves in their position. Both Van Liempt and Hoffmann praise the 'no nonsense' direction practised by co-editor-in-chief Loes Wormmeester, who argues that there are worse things in life than a child being kept awake at night by events that happened in the past – what is more, that may actually be a good thing.⁴⁷ This imperative is also represented in the overall matter-of-fact tone of the series:

'We also wanted to be realistic in our terminologies, right, we wanted to talk about Jews who were murdered. Not Jews who vanished... No... That sort of thing'.⁴⁸

The series represents in widely divergent instances the terror and fear that children and adults experienced during the occupation and genocide, and young viewers are allowed to be frightened. What is evident from the in-depth interviews with the creators is that when a narrative is brought to a young audience in such a visual manner, they will most likely retain

⁴⁶ The series also provides educational contexts at schools for the young target audience, for instance for students in the final grade of primary education the 'Vroeger & Zo' workbook which accompanies the series 13 IN DE OORLOG was created for Teleac School TV. See: Appelman, Schets, and van der Spek, *Vroeger & Zo Speciaal*.

⁴⁷ Ad van Liempt. Personal interview. Utrecht, 9 June 2011; Hein Hoffmann. Personal interview. Hilversum, 5 October 2011.

⁴⁸ Hein Hoffmann. Personal interview. Hilversum, 5 October 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'We wilden ook heel eerlijk zijn in onze terminologieën, hè, we wilden het over Joden hebben, die worden vermoord. Niet Joden die verdwijnen... Nee... Dat soort dingen'.

an interest in the events shown on screen, and are better able to grasp and remember what they are told.

5.4.4. Imagining the past: historical drama

The *fictionalised sequences* are vital here, because these scenes picture events that could have happened in private and domestic contexts, and that are usually not captured in archival footage. An example is the story of David, the thirteen-year-old Jewish boy, who returns from the concentration camp Auschwitz. His whole family has been murdered. However, it is apparent that no one is interested in him upon arrival in The Hague. His parents' house has been sold to a woman named Christina. The Dutchman who promised to look after the family's valuables returns only one silver platter to him, instead of the whole lot. This man mutters: 'Of all people 'my' Jews return'.⁴⁹ The episode also deploys flashbacks when David recalls his family's capture by the Germans. A girl living across the street from where they were hiding tells him that they were betrayed. David later encounters a police officer on the street who was present during their capture, who tells him: 'It was not my fault, I was just doing my job'.⁵⁰ When David returns to his old house, Christina, the woman who now owns his parents' house, and the Canadian soldier she is dating, walk by. The Canadian invites David for supper. David recollects that Christina was also present at his capture. He asks her why she betrayed them: did she want their house or did she not like his mother? Christina sends him away and instructs him never to return. David encounters the girl he met earlier on the street, and tells her: 'They forgot about me'.⁵¹ She shares one of her apples with him and they eat in silence [Fig. 5.2].



Fig. 5.2. Drama in 13 IN DE OORLOG episode 13, NA DE OORLOG [AFTER THE WAR]. Note that the pillar on the left is covered in missing person pamphlets. Courtesy of NTR. DVD capture.

⁴⁹ Cited in *13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 13, 'Na de oorlog' ['After the War'], dirs. Hein Hoffmann, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 17 January 2010.

⁵⁰ Cited in *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Cited in *Ibid.*

The goal of these dramatised narratives is to let the audience experience and imagine how events *felt* at the time. Therefore, the stories are made easily accessible by focusing on very personal situations of children who are of the same age as the target audience, and by shooting the drama scenes in an attractive cinematic style, characterised by narrative linearity. By experiencing these historical events through the eyes of a young person, young viewers are better able to connect to, understand and be aware of the events that happened at this time – and why it is important to remember these events today. For this purpose, the protagonists do not necessarily need to be 'real' people who actually lived. The performances in the programme combine history with memory and offer us what Winter has defined as 'truth statements rather than true statements'.⁵² By seeing and further discussing this programme, young people can scrutinise their own values and are made better aware of the significance of remembering these events.

5.4.5. Tinted history

Archival footage is incorporated to offer an audio-visual representation of the described historical events. How can such footage engage young audiences? In the case of 13 IN DE OORLOG, audio-visual materials are *tinted*. Only a small amount of images are tinted per episode due to the costs, but this practice is implemented because the young target audience is most likely to connect less with black-and-white imagery, or may not be able to grasp it. Hoffmann reflects upon his own children's reaction to archival footage:

[T]hey always ask: "*Did this really happen? Is it really true? Did they not have colour [film] back then?*" [...] They cannot really place it'.⁵³ (my emphasis)

Through this highlighting technique, objects or items that have an important historical significance contrast sharply with the rest of the footage. For example, black-and-white footage of a Jewish woman being forced to wear a Star of David is shown [Fig. 5.3]. The in 13 IN DE OORLOG yellow-tinted star makes her stand out, which highlights the feeling of this woman being singled out. (The stills discussed appear in the book print of this dissertation entirely in black-and-white.) However, the tinting technique is also used to emphasise elements within the archival images that are visually interesting. An example is the mitre of Saint Nicholas [Fig. 5.4] during a procession as part of the national feast day that is very popular with children. The in 13 IN DE OORLOG red- and yellow-tinted mitre playfully stands out, but also illustrates that such celebrations continued and life went on despite the war. This image is an indication of both the historical interests of the programme and its youthful target audience.

⁵² Winter, 'The Performance of the Past', 13.

⁵³ Hein Hoffmann. Personal interview. Hilversum, 5 October 2011. Quote in Dutch: '... dan vragen ze altijd van: "Is het wel echt gebeurd? Bestaat het wel? Hadden ze toen geen kleur?" [...] Ze kunnen het niet zo goed plaatsen'.



Fig. 5.3. Woman with yellow-tinted Star of David in 13 IN DE OORLOG episode 6, JODEN [JEWS]. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. DVD capture.



Fig. 5.4. The figure of Saint Nicholas, with red- and yellow-tinted mitre, in 13 IN DE OORLOG episode 2, DE BEZETTING [THE OCCUPATION]. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. DVD capture.

The eye-catching use of tinted highlights in the archival footage can also 'trigger' the target audience to pay attention. In a shot from the Westerbork film by Rudolf Breslauer,⁵⁴ Settela Steinbach's scarf [Fig. 5.5] has been tinted white-yellow. Although Steinbach's historical significance is not made explicit here – unlike in the accompanying book⁵⁵ – the tinting prompts the young audience to take extra notice of her, hinting at her historical importance. Therefore, when young audiences encounter Settela later in another film, book, or video project, they are more likely to remember her. The Settela-with-the-tinted-headscarf represents one of many, echoing her own position as the 'face' of Holocaust victims. The use of colour amongst a dark mise-en-scène can also be compared to the motif of 'the little girl in the red coat' in SCHINDLER'S

⁵⁴ *Kamp Westerbork, de film [Camp Westerbork, the Movie]*, dir. Rudolf Breslauer. Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork/NOS/Tijdsbeeld Media, the Netherlands, 2011.

⁵⁵ Hoffmann, *13 in de oorlog*, 159.

LIST (dir. Steven Spielberg, United States, 1993), evoking a strong emotional reaction. However, the use of tinting is not purely affective in 13 IN DE OORLOG, but also historically significant and playful. This practice caused surprised reactions amongst the more mature viewers. For example, many people were astonished to learn that the German aeroplanes often featured in iconic archival images were in fact coloured green with yellow.

As a history documentary, 13 IN DE OORLOG differentiates itself from fictional programming in objective, purpose and the type of audience expectations it cultivates through its deployment of archival material as discourse of sobriety.⁵⁶ The reports by Wade and Goedhart affirm the factual voice and nature of the programme. The presenter, voice-over narrator and archival material all commit themselves to the demands of historical accuracy. The dramatised narratives offer an interpretation of the central historical events, from the perspective of a child. Although the drama in 13 IN DE OORLOG is inspired by and based on actual events, there is no evidence provided for the actual existence of the diverse protagonists. The programme makers' premise is that it *could* have happened. As a result, the archival material generally *affirms* normative collective history from a Dutch national perspective, whilst the dramatised scenes offer room for *recognising* and *understanding* the historical events through the eyes of a young person. This narrative format serves as a powerful tool to convey historical content and to stimulate remembrance.



Fig. 5.5. Settela Steinbach, with tinted headscarf, in 13 IN DE OORLOG episode 8, VERNIETIGING [DESTRUCTION]. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. DVD capture.

5.4.6. Educational gaming: 'What would you do in times of war?'

To improve the young audience's ability to *imagine* or *immerse* themselves in the depicted historical situations, the 13 IN DE OORLOG online game and website [Fig. 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8], designed by IJsfontein Interactive Media, were promoted at the end of each broadcast by Wade as follows: 'What would you do in times of war? Go on the warpath on our website and experience this yourself!' The game is an interactive quest in keeping with the content, situations, locations and characters from the series. The look of the game resembles a diorama,

⁵⁶ Nichols, *Representing Reality*, 29.

in which the different locations and characters are composed from photographs. This is the first educational online game about World War II for Dutch children. The game is played as a narrative, in which the main objective is to find your father who has been missing since the Rotterdam bombardment. In the course of achieving this aim, the player must make choices, face challenges (such as finding a hiding place for Jewish refugees), examine objects and recover information, whilst playfully learning factual knowledge about historical events in addition to the broadcast episodes. A new level of the online game became available after the accompanying episode had been aired, which enhances the serial nature of the television series.

13 in de Oorlog

HOME | UITZENDINGEN | MAKING OF | PARTNERS EN LINKS | COLOFON

speel nu HET SPEL
zoek je vader en ga op oorlogsped

13 in de Oorlog
In 1939 is het oorlog in Europa. Er worden bommen op huizen gegooid, soldaten schieten op elkaar en miljoenen mensen raken hun huis en hun leven kwijt. En dat komt allemaal door Adolf Hitler, de baas van Duitsland. Hitler wil de baas worden van heel Europa en daarom vallen de Duitsers ook Nederland binnen. Voor de Nederlanders betekent dit dat hun hele leven in een klap helemaal verandert.

13 in de Oorlog neemt je in 13 afleveringen mee terug naar de Tweede Wereldoorlog en vertelt wat er allemaal gebeurde en hoe het is om tijdens de oorlog op te groeien. Kan ik het je voorstellen?

Wil je alle afleveringen op je gemak terugkijken?
De DVD-box van 13 in de Oorlog is nu alom verkrijgbaar!

Leraar en handleiding
Speciaal voor op scholen is er ook een leraarhandleiding ontwikkeld bij 13 in de Oorlog. Deze handleiding kunt u, met een leerlingenwerkboekje en een dvd met afleveringen 1-6, bestellen via www.schoollunlwebwinkel.nl.

Afl 1. Een stad in brand
Als in mei 1940 Duitse troepen ons land binnen vallen proberen Nederlandse militairen met man en macht de Duitsers tegen te houden. In de eerste aflevering laat presentator Lisa Wade de lange en smalle loopgraven zien van waaruit de Nederlandse soldaten een hopeloze strijd leveren tegen de Duitse troepen. Er zijn veel te weinig kogels. En met hun vaak oude en versleten geweren en veel te weinig kogels kunnen ze niet op tegen de Duitse overmacht.

[bekijk](#) | [making of](#)

Aflevering 1: Een stad in brand
Als in mei 1940 Duitse troepen ons land binnen vallen proberen Nederlandse militairen met man en macht de Duitsers tegen te houden.

[bekijk](#) | [making of](#)

Aflevering 2: Bezetting
Vanaf het begin van de Oorlog zijn de Duitsers de baas in Nederland. Lisa laat zien dat ook tijdens de oorlog het gewone leven doorgaat.

[bekijk](#) | [making of](#)

Aflevering 3: NSB
De vader van Corry is lid van de NSB, de Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging. Een partij die juist bij was met de komst van de Duitsers.

[bekijk](#) | [making of](#)

Aflevering 4: Engeland
Pieter is 16 jaar en hij wil niet langer in Nederland blijven. Hij wil naar het vrije Engeland vluchten, met gevaar voor eigen leven.

[bekijk](#) | [making of](#)

Fig. 5.6. 13 IN DE OORLOG website. Courtesy of IJsfontein Interactive Media and NTR. Website capture.



Fig. 5.7. 13 IN DE OORLOG game. Courtesy of IJsfontein Interactive Media and NTR. Website capture.



Fig. 5.8. 13 IN DE OORLOG game. Courtesy of IJsfontein Interactive Media and NTR. Website capture.

The game evokes the excitement, but even more so the dilemmas of wartime. Players are required to imagine how they would respond to certain situations in times of war, for

example would they take something from an abandoned house of murdered Jews, or how wearing a Star of David affects which areas of a city they can access. Information or help from other people requires a favour in return, but may affect the player later on in the game. The player faces several problems and choices, and struggles with what is right or wrong, or whom they can trust. For example, when joining the Dutch resistance the player is made to doubt the correctness of their actions in view of their consequences: the more you rebel against the Germans, the more innocent people are arrested in retaliation. The sight of an increasing number of innocent people held captive in the prison courtyard visualises this dilemma. The plot and goal of the game is easy to understand, and historical information is incorporated in a common-sense manner – for example, when arriving in England, you must prove your Dutch nationality through knowledge of events like the 1940 Rotterdam bombardment and the 1941 February Strike. Ultimately, the game results in a trial where the player needs to account for his or her actions, as several witnesses give evidence in court. When acquitted and reunited with your father you receive the ultimate reward: being able to go home.

The game emphasises the fundamental principle of the series that children need to experience and imagine themselves what growing up was like in times of war and genocide, as well as providing a more nuanced perspective on historical events. By creating a transmedia story universe with common characters, young television users are motivated to connect content from the television series to the game and vice versa.

5.5. Holocaust representation in multi-platform television documentary/drama

This case study has exemplified how profoundly the issue of whether the Holocaust can be represented, and even more so through the medium of television and linked platforms, is connected to questioning the approaches media producers may undertake. As I have discussed, in the case of bringing this complex history to Dutch audiences in *DE OORLOG* and *13 IN DE OORLOG*, different choices and selections are made for different target groups. These programmes are not a primary source, but represent and perform the past to large audiences in a comprehensible manner, stimulating historical consciousness and multiple readings.

Several of the images and histories that are shown and told in these historical programmes may already be familiar to us. The image of Settela Steinbach in *13 IN DE OORLOG* is a prime example. This image from Breslauer's *Westerbork* film, filmed on 19 May 1944, has become an iconic symbol of the Holocaust and victims of Nazi persecution. Hoskins has argued that in our contemporary environment, defining images of a moment or event are overexposed and (sometimes instantaneously) rendered iconic, as '[t]he repetition, replaying and republication of an image or series of images, and its accumulation of captions, contexts, and narratives, smothers it so that much of its original meaning is leached out'.⁵⁷ However, rather than rendering images less meaningful – and therefore less capable of memory – by textual strategies of re-use, I have shown that by placing previously transmitted and archival footage within new interpretative frameworks, past events as well as past television can gain new levels of meaning for television viewers.

⁵⁷ Andrew Hoskins, 'The Mediatisation of Memory', in *Save As... Digital Memories*, ed. Joanne Garde-Hansen, Andrew Hoskins, and Anna Reading (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 35–36.

Television users always 'assimilate' images 'as best they can to pre-existing images and narratives',⁵⁸ and therefore the reviewing and remembering of previously transmitted (archival) images opens up new important opportunities for reflection. This is especially the case in DE OORLOG, which invites new perspectives and incorporates often never before seen audio-visual materials and ego-documents, and 13 IN DE OORLOG, whose young target audience will most likely not be familiar with the images shown. In both projects, the consensus of history is deconstructed, re-written and expanded by the practice of multi-platform storytelling. As multi-platform documentary projects, DE OORLOG and 13 IN DE OORLOG provide interpretive frameworks for shaping memory and historical consciousness of 'holocaustal events' of occupation, persecution and mass murder. Past events are mediated through different means of representation, from audio-visual and written testimony to the televising of new historical perspectives, which blur the boundaries between public and private history and memory. Through documentary programming, online websites, books and educational gaming practices, audiences can access, experience, discuss and exchange memory materials on a variety of platforms and screens. Characterised by a constant process of cultural negotiation, multi-platform television documentary exhibits the increasingly networked nature of cultural memory of the Holocaust. It can be argued that this broader trend is visible beyond the Dutch context in cross-domain portals like *Europeana*⁵⁹ and *EUScreen*,⁶⁰ which transcend national connotations. Such projects offer opportunities for the creative re-use of archival materials and are an extension of televisual forms of re-screening. At the same time, the visual record and historical representation of the Holocaust is ever more becoming a topic of academic study.⁶¹ Increasing opportunities to share private memories through a variety of public platforms, mean that popular media forms and practices – in television, film, literature and digital media – function ever more as dynamic agents of history in the representation, remembrance and education of the systematic state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews and millions of other victims by the Nazi regime and its allies during World War II.

DE OORLOG and 13 IN DE OORLOG have provided people with the opportunity to discuss their memories with their family, and have even been a stimulus for people in opening up about traumatic events experienced during the occupation. Active remembering in this sense includes multi-platform storytelling: the selection and reframing of memory narratives by programme makers, as well as the interaction of television users – for instance, through user-generated content in online gaming or website discussions. Such practices not only perform and help to preserve the past, but also present us with possible new forms of neglect. For instance, we need to take into consideration how future technological incompatibilities and the reduced circulation or removal of online materials can result in new forms of forgetting in the multi-platform era.

⁵⁸ 'People do not simply "consume" images in the way in which, say, they buy a bar of chocolate. As in any reading, they assimilate them as best they can to pre-existing images and narratives'. Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994), 271.

⁵⁹ *Europeana* enables people to explore the digital resources of Europe's museums, libraries, archives and audio-visual collections. 'Europeana Homepage', accessed 26 June 2015, <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/>.

⁶⁰ *EUScreen* offers free online access to videos, stills, texts and audio from European broadcasters and audio-visual archives. 'EUScreen Homepage', accessed 26 June 2015, <http://www.euscreen.eu>.

⁶¹ Sarah Farmer, 'Going Visual: Holocaust Representation and Historical Method', *The American Historical Review* 115, no. 1 (2010): 115–22, doi:10.1086/ahr.115.1.115.

6

Strategies of Multi-Platform Storytelling in Televisual Cross-Media Projects: *In Europa*

The availability and use of televisual materials has increased in contemporary 'post-scarcity culture', especially through the digitisation of archival collections and production of history-based content for television. In this chapter, I explore strategies of multi-platform storytelling used by television programme makers in the cross-media age, principally concerning personal memories of historical events. The analysis focuses on a specific case of history television documentary, the Dutch cross-media project *IN EUROPA* [IN EUROPE] (VPRO, 2007–2009). These strategies hold opportunities and implications for a specific kind of shared engagement with the past, which can arguably be called a 'participatory memory'.

Recent studies have pointed out the centrality of media to the formation of memory. Memory narratives are not only produced in socio-cultural contexts, but are repurposed and preserved through media practices.⁶² Media technologies can therefore be defined as 'tools that *mediate* between personal and collective cultural memory'.⁶³ Societies continuously negotiate a (shared) understanding of the past and television facilitates such negotiations.⁶⁴ Audiences make conscious decisions to assimilate and discuss televisual images of the past across diverse platforms. This might signify a growing popularity of television history amongst a wider audience, but can also point to a more complex and dynamic relationship between personal and collective cultural memories in the current media landscape.

In this context, I explore a case concerning the efforts undertaken by the Dutch public broadcaster VPRO to engage the public in European history. The history documentary project *IN EUROPA* was intentionally designed with a cross-media approach. *IN EUROPA* is principally

⁶² Neiger, Meyers, and Zandberg, *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age*; Erll and Rigney, *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*; Huyssen, *Present Pasts*.

⁶³ Van Dijck, *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age*, 19.

⁶⁴ Amy Holdsworth, *Television, Memory and Nostalgia* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Jérôme Bourdon, 'Some Sense of Time: Remembering Television', *History & Memory* 15, no. 2 (2003): 5–35, doi:10.1353/ham.2003.0008; Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins, eds., *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001).

concerned with providing a 'space of participation'⁶⁵ for users to connect with. The project was broadcast and made accessible online for approximately eight years, which provides a considerable starting point for a reflection on the interplay between past and present via television. This chapter poses the following question: how do creators of history television documentary use multi-platform strategies to constitute engagement with the past, and what are the subsequent opportunities and implications for the construction of memory? Multi-platform storytelling involves a distinct dramaturgy in terms of shaping a story. I will therefore first outline some of the general challenges and opportunities within the Dutch television industry regarding putting a cross-media or transmedia narrative into practice. Second, I will describe how the IN EUROPA documentary makers engage viewers with history through a particular focus on personal narratives. Third, I discuss criticism the project received from historians. Finally, the IN EUROPA project includes several media platforms and layers of content that can enrich the strategy of the documentary series. I will consider how IN EUROPA as a space of participation pre-structures user activity and how the reproduction of personal memories within a space of participation can contribute to a specific kind of engagement with the past.

This study is founded on an analysis of the project and its creators' strategies of multi-platform storytelling in relation to personal memories of historical events. I use poetics as a research model for exploring television practitioners' aims, strategies and conventions of contemporary representations of past events (see Chapter 2 for methodology) on 1) an institutional level; 2) a cultural-historical level, to finally, 3) a textual and narrative level. The studied materials entail the following:

- a) the documentary series IN EUROPA;
- b) its related cross-media practices between late 2007 and early 2014 (including user-generated content such as over 700 online viewer/user reactions);
- c) in-depth interviews with key professionals involved in the project's production, research and online strategies;
- d) internal documents collected in the interviewing process, such as project proposals and notes for directors;
- e) ratings and visitor data of the series and website.

6.1. Institutional aims, strategies and conventions

6.1.1. Multi-platform story production: challenges and opportunities for the television industry

Multi-platform story production in its nature entails certain uncertainties. In its most basic form, the creators clearly outline the beginning and the ending of a cross-media or transmedia narrative, but how the story will be impacted by user participation throughout the run of the transmedia production is difficult to predict.⁶⁶ This is indicative of what Frank Rose has called

⁶⁵ Eggo Müller, 'Formatted Spaces of Participation: Interactive Television and the Changing Relationships Between Production and Consumption', in *Digital Material: Tracing New Media in Everyday Life and Technology*, ed. Marianne van den Boomen et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 49–63.

⁶⁶ A more extreme example is the controversy surrounding an *H.S.C Mercurius* party: an attendee claimed to be treated with contempt during a hazing, which subsequently caused a media-storm.

an 'authorship crisis' in the digital world: 'technology has finally created a mechanism for people to have a voice, but authors are still working out how to deal with it'.⁶⁷ *Authorial control* is a significant part of story production. A professional scriptwriter is for instance emphasised as a vital, necessary part of transmedia story production and of taking yourself seriously as a storyteller. Producers are keen on *steering* interactivity, especially when different platforms are used. Bart Robben⁶⁸ and Sander Oskamp⁶⁹ of Elastique – who developed transmedia experience with the drama series *IN THERAPIE* [IN THERAPY] (NCRV, 2010–2011) in cooperation with NCRV and NPO Innovatie en Nieuwe Media [NPO Innovation and New Media] – argue that user participation via transmedia storytelling techniques resembles playing a game, but with the tools that we are used to as human beings.⁷⁰ The creation of opportunities for interaction therefore plays a central role. Robben: 'You have to create opportunities [...] what you do with them depends on the goal you want to achieve'.⁷¹ Users are actively foraging for new content and responding to information through social media. Regarding the creation of opportunities for interaction, Robben argues:

'You cannot fully control what happens – it doesn't work when you are *too* directive, and when users are not all in one place, then you know in advance that you are not going to reach them'.^{72,73}

Steering interactivity for instance means switching of comment functions on platforms like YouTube and Vimeo and directing users who would like to comment to a main website or 'rabbit hole'.

The fact that transmedia producers are pulling the strings whilst creating spaces for participation and performance, on the one hand illuminates the extent in which storytelling is a

'Justitie onderzoekt "vernedering" op feest Feuten-acteurs', *De Volkskrant*, 12 April 2012, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/justitie-onderzoekt-vernedering-op-feest-feuten-acteurs~a3239539/>.

⁶⁷ Rose, Frank. Qtd in: Henry Jenkins, "'Deep Media," Transmedia, What's the Difference? An Interview with Frank Rose (Part Two)', *Confessions of an Aca-Fan: The Official Weblog of Henry Jenkins*, 28 January 2011, http://henryjenkins.org/2011/01/deep_media_transmedia_whats_th_1.html.

⁶⁸ Bart Robben received his Master of Arts in European Media [EMMA]-degree at the Hogeschool voor de Kunsten/HKU [University of the Arts Utrecht] in 2008. He is co-founder of Elastique, an award-winning digital production company that creates transmedia entertainment across web, mobile and social media. Founded in 2008, Elastique produces interactive entertainment for movies, television, brands and digital media companies. Together with NCRV television and NPO Innovation and New Media, they developed a transmedia experience around the television series *IN THERAPIE* [IN THERAPY].

⁶⁹ Sander Oskamp studied Interactive Narrative at the Master of Arts in European Media [EMMA]-department at the HKU. With Bart Robben he was co-founder of Elastique and worked as an Creative Director & Interactive Concept Designer till October 2013. He is now an Interactive Concept Designer & Sound Magician at Wetteloos.

⁷⁰ Sander Oskamp and Bart Robben. Personal interview. Utrecht, 1 May 2012.

⁷¹ Bart Robben. Personal interview. Utrecht, 1 May 2012. Quote in Dutch: 'Je moet mogelijkheden creëren (...) wat je er ermee doet ligt aan het doel dat je wilt bereiken'.

⁷² Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Je kan helemaal niet bepalen wat daar gebeurt – als je té directief bent, dan gaat het mis, en wanneer je mensen niet allemaal op dezelfde plek hebt, dan weet je sowieso al dat je ze niet gaat bereiken'.

⁷³ All translations by the author.

craft. Suzanne Scott, referring to Jenkins' 1992 work *Textual Poachers*, argues that transmedia stories' renewed emphasis on authorial intent could be cynically viewed as endorsing a return to viewing the audience as 'the more-or-less passive recipient of authorial meaning,' in which any interpretation that deviates from the text is 'viewed negatively, as a failure to successfully understand what the author was trying to say'.⁷⁴ Rather than taking a cynical perspective or denouncing audiences once again as passive, I would like to put forward the assessment that user-generated content can sometimes be overestimated, especially when compared to professionals who have years of experience. This is for instance exemplified by Paul Verhoeven's multi-platform project 'The Entertainment Experience' which led to the production of the first user-generated film STEEKSPEL [TRICKED] (dir. Paul Verhoeven, the Netherlands, 2013). Although the result may lead viewers to conclude that Dutch audiences are actually quite good at writing film scripts, the accompanying documentary reveals the level in which the creators had to intervene in the story writing process: only small pieces of dialogue and ideas of users could be incorporated in the final product. Storytelling, after all, requires *craftsmanship*.

On the other hand, the *self-regulation ability* of a community is a key element in the success of user participation. This is for instance exemplified by SPANGAS [SPANGAS] (NCRV, 2007–), one of the NCRV's most successful and longest-running fictional transmedia productions. SPANGAS focuses on a group of youngsters and the issues they encounter during secondary education. A storyline developed in cooperation with Veilig Verkeer Nederland [Safe Transport Netherlands] focused on the fact that, on average, most young people in secondary education have to deal with one fellow pupil suffering a fatal traffic accident. The storyline of one of the characters, Tessel, suffering a fatal road accident, was expanded online through an 'In Memoriam' page. Discussions arose if the storyline had been taken too far, especially after questions were posted online by young viewers such as 'Tessel, are you really dead?' However, youngsters were very willing to inform each other about the fact that Tessel was played by an actress who was certainly alive, and point each other towards her Hyves (social media) page to look up how she was doing. The self-regulation ability of a community is in turn *aided* by steering interactivity towards one main site and the location of the group being in one place. Authorial control in the case of transmedia story production is therefore more about lending users a hand. As an early adaptor to the internet sector of the television industry, Elsa Gorter⁷⁵, describes this as follows:

⁷⁴ Suzanne Scott, 'Who's Steering the Mothership? The Role of the Fanboy Auteur in Transmedia Storytelling', in *The Participatory Cultures Handbook*, ed. Aaron Alan Delwiche and Jennifer Jacobs Henderson (New York: Routledge, 2013), 44; Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers : Television Fans & Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 25.

⁷⁵ Elsa Gorter studied New Media and Digital Culture at Utrecht University. Since 1 August 2015, she is departmental manager Digital and Innovation with KRO-NCRV. Before working as a Senior Content Manager and Senior Editor New Media with NCRV, she was web-editor with VPRO and online marketer in London. In 2013 she was involved with the Z@PP MYSTERIE PROJECT [Z@PP MYSTERY PROJECT], a transmedia murder-mystery project consisting of a television show for youth broadcaster Z@pp and a corresponding responsive interactive website with online content. This project received the Zilveren SpinAward 2013 [Silver Spider Award 2013] for its creativity in digital communication.

'What we actually see is that the more we expect from people, the less people upload [...]. You have to lend users a hand with what they should do, what guidelines there are, whether their uploading is going to be successful or really worth putting so much effort into. I think it is quite a lot to ask of a user to put so much energy into that sort of thing'.⁷⁶

Transmedia storytelling can be very demanding of a user, having to put a lot of effort into such activities. This may explain why about an average of 13% of all online users of UCG sites are active creators, meaning users who actually produce and upload content such as videos, photos or weblogs.⁷⁷ Not all stories are transmedia stories, as such narratives demand considerable efforts on the part of both the user and the producer to be productive. A multi-platform production thus involves a production routine with a distinct dramaturgy in terms of shaping the story and representing main elements of the narrative.

The internet sector in the Dutch television industry has as Gorter describes it a 'Calimero-complex'⁷⁸, but is now in a position where online content can offer real added value to television programming. This is due to users' *daily engagement* with numerous mass media. In the words of Gorter: 'We do not live in a one medium society anymore [...]. I believe the time that we only produce a television programme is over'.⁷⁹ It remains a challenge, however, for multi-platform story productions that the production processes and budget sources of internet and television differ from one another. In practice, this can mean that the television department and the internet department may not be informed simultaneously about when funds are available to carry out a particular project. This can for instance bring about the situation where the new media department will become involved in the process at a later stage. *Production routines* for television is different from production for the internet: practitioners create two different products, have deadlines at different times, and have a disparate workflow. Television for instance requires the production of promos weeks in advance, interactive media producers however, are more used to 'invent today, create tomorrow, launch the day after tomorrow' as a way of operating. For multi-platform story production to be truly successful you have to participate with all the people involved, and stipulate strict deadlines, right from the start.

The Dutch public broadcasting corporation offers free rein for experimenting with transmedia storytelling techniques. The nature of television as a collaborative medium and a producer's medium has played an important role in why transmedia storytelling seems to work best in television. However, transmedia storytelling requires television professionals to expand their roles beyond the mass medium of television. Such *new roles* are that of the 'super

⁷⁶ Elsa Gorter. Personal interview. Hilversum, 13 July 2012. Quote in Dutch: 'Wij zien eigenlijk, hoe meer wij van mensen verwachten, hoe minder mensen uploaden [...]. Je moet mensen best wel aan het handje nemen met wat ze moeten doen en welke richtlijnen er zijn of het succesvol is dat zij iets willen uploaden of echt de energie... Ik vind het ook best wel veel gevraagd als gebruiker om zoveel energie te stoppen in dat soort dingen'.

⁷⁷ José van Dijck, 'Users Like You? Theorizing Agency in User-Generated Content', *Media, Culture & Society* 31, no. 1 (2009): 44, doi:10.1177/0163443708098245.

⁷⁸ In the Netherlands, the term 'Calimero-complex' (after the cartoon character Calimero) is used to denote someone feeling an underdog. Elsa Gorter. Personal interview. Hilversum, 13 July 2012.

⁷⁹ Ibid. Quote in Dutch: 'Het is gewoon, we leven niet meer in een 1 medium maatschappij [...]. [I]k denk dat de tijd dat je alleen een tv-programma maakt, die is gewoon voorbij'.

producer', 'content producer', 'transmedia czar' or 'universe steward', but transmedia story production requires all creators involved to acquire skills in other media, particularly in social and online media production. According to Christy Dena, transmedia professions will always include 'negotiating distinct discourses, production processes and politics' and therefore '[s]uch a practitioner needs to speak, if you like, many languages'.⁸⁰

Broadcasters currently are innovating more separately from each other than in collaboration with one another, due to the splintered nature of the Dutch television landscape. This is a considerable challenge for putting transmedia story production into practice across a wider range of programmes. This is further hindered by the fact that Dutch public broadcasters are instructed not to produce 'internet only' content. Consequently, television content is not produced to engage users' attention beyond the moment of broadcasting a specific series – which is problematic to say the least for the production of a transmedia narrative. This seems indicative of larger tendencies that the television industry is attempting to understand engagement in terms of *outdated concepts of media use* and a television culture where the internet has a secondary priority in the production routine.⁸¹

Cross-media and transmedia storytelling is a logical follow-up to current and long existing practices. In this manner, the rhythm of today's technology very much defines the rhythm of how stories can be told.⁸² Transmedia story production, where the boundary between fact and fiction is most blurred, in particular seems to have a better *feel* for several characteristic features of our present society:

'More grounded in experience [...]. It's not a "hype" or the next big thing, but a logical follow-up to what we have done for a long time plus a logical follow-up to developments in our society: it has to be faster, more manageable, more intense, more unnerving [...] this fits better with how we experiencing everything nowadays'.⁸³

For example, Gorter describes how through the strategy of multi-platform story production IN THERAPIE had become an experience fans could not do without: 'They [the users of the IN THERAPIE app] were very much involved and also told us that IN THERAPIE had become like an addiction'.⁸⁴ I emphasise that multi-platform storytelling, and transmedia storytelling in

⁸⁰ Christy Dena, 'Transmedia Practice: Theorising the Practice of Expressing a Fictional World across Distinct Media and Environments' (PhD, University of Sydney, 2009), 130, http://ciret-transdisciplinarity.org/biblio/biblio_pdf/Christy_DeanTransm.pdf.

⁸¹ See also: Anja Bechmann Petersen, 'Internet and Cross Media Productions: Case Studies in Two Major Danish Media Organizations', *Australian Journal of Emerging Technologies and Society* 4, no. 2 (2006): 104; Ivan D Askwith, 'Television 2.0: Reconceptualizing Television as an Engagement Medium' (MSc, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007), 154, <http://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/41243>.

⁸² Other examples are for instance the VERONICA MARS' Kickstarter campaign, and Netflix's production of *House of Cards* and the fourth season of *ARRESTED DEVELOPMENT*.

⁸³ Bart Robben. Personal interview. Utrecht, 1 May 2012. Quote in Dutch: 'Meer op ervaring [...]. Niet een "hype" of next best thing, maar een logisch vervolg op wat we al heel lang doen, plus een logisch gevolg op ontwikkelingen in de samenleving: sneller, behapbaarder, heftiger, schokkender (...) past beter bij hoe we nu alles beleven'.

⁸⁴ Elsa Gorter. Personal interview. Hilversum, 13 July 2012. Quote in Dutch: 'Het werd een ervaring waar... eigenlijk konden fans niet meer zo zonder. Die waren héél actief en die zeiden ook echt IN THERAPIE is nu een verslaving geworden'.

particular, functions as a (more or less successful) circular exercitation by professionals, which invites audiences not only to engage deeper with television productions but can also invest the liveness of appointment television with new meaning.

Challenges in the convergence era therefore include the negotiation of new practices of shared textual authority: the dynamics between authorial control and self-regulation, the fact that user-generated content lacks storytelling techniques, and a certain measure of uncertainty being inherent to the structure of a multi-platform story production. It also entails a broadening of production roles and approaches to storytelling. However, in the contemporary televisual landscape, the internet is still second to television in the production routine. Television is consequently not (yet) turning into a transmedia storytelling medium, but rather transmedia storytelling is a particular craft or a specific mode of engagement that can be applied to different genres. Academic studies on transmedia storytelling techniques for television are predominantly focused on entertainment productions. Although the application of transmedia storytelling in other genres can be trickier, there are successful examples of the application of transmedia storytelling techniques for educational purposes and with non-fiction elements, particularly in hybrid genres, which make the utmost use of blurring the lines between fact and fiction. An example is the documentary/drama series *13 IN DE OORLOG* [*13 AT WAR*] (NPS, 2009–2010) (discussed in Chapter 5). This offers considerable room for further analysis. Multi-platform story production – whether cross-media, transmedia or a combination of the two – challenges both producers and television viewers on how to comprehend a narrative told through television, and to further explore the use of the medium television in the convergence era.

6.2. Cultural-historical aims, strategies and conventions

6.2.1. Rewriting 'History' into personal histories

In 1999, Dutch author and journalist Geert Mak embarked on an inspection tour of 'Europe at the end of the millennium', which formed the groundwork for his book *In Europe: Travels through the Twentieth Century*, published in 2004. Roel van Broekhoven,⁸⁵ a Dutch documentary maker and director/editor in chief at VPRO television, recognised the possibilities of a screen adaptation of the book. This would result in a prestigious documentary series and cross-media project by VPRO, funded by a multi-million budget (including 400,000 Euros in subsidy from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Europe-fund). The first season of *IN EUROPA* was broadcast on national television between 11 November 2007 and 9 March 2008; the second season between 23 November 2008 and 15 March 2009. The series was created for a broad,

⁸⁵ Roel van Broekhoven studied at the School voor de Journalistiek in Utrecht. Since 1976 he has been a director and editor-in-chief at VPRO. During his lengthy career he has made numerous documentaries in the Netherlands as well as abroad. Best known are *IN EUROPA* [*IN EUROPE*], *DE BEAGLE* [*THE BEAGLE*] and *O'HANLONS HELDEN* [*O'HANLONS HEROES*], awarded with the Nipkow prize 2012/2013. Together with Thomas Erdbrink – the Tehran bureau chief for *The New York Times* – he made the four-episode television series *ONZE MAN IN TEHERAN* [*OUR MAN IN TEHRAN*], for which they were honoured with the Silver Nipkow Award for best television programme 2014/2015 by Dutch television critics. One of his current projects, together with David Kleijwegt, is *SPEECHES*, a twelve-episode series on famous speeches and how they changed the world and the life of the people who listened to them.

general audience, and has been hailed as one of the best-watched documentary series ever in the Netherlands.⁸⁶ Episodes can be viewed on the programme's website; the public broadcasters' catch-up TV website, and history portal; DVD; as well as digital thematic channels. The series has also been sold to Belgium, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Croatia. IN EUROPA was awarded the 2009 *Prix Europe* for best production in the category 'Emerging Media', because of the project's cross-media nature, the extensive mobilisation of podcasts and vodcasts, and innovative use of Google Maps.

I argue that IN EUROPA's main strategy is to provide a *new reading of history* via television. The series on the one hand is a historical-chronological travelogue, starting in 1900 and ending in 1992. On the other hand, the series represents a personal journey through the here and now and reflects on the status of Europe at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Each episode of IN EUROPA places a particular emphasis on a specific year and location in European history [Fig. 6.1], via a strategy through which eyewitnesses of key events, or their descendants, perform acts of memory on screen. These private histories, told in interviews, are continually placed within the public context of the historical event, particularly through the regular use of archival footage not seen before and by visiting *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory.⁸⁷

Season 1			Season 2		
Episode no.	Episode title		Episode no.	Episode title	
	Year	Situation		Year	Situation
1	1900	Dawn of the Century [the European continent]	19	1944	Warsaw and Prague
2	1906	Berlin and Vienna	20	1945	Germany and Russia
3	1914	Vienna and Sarajevo	21	1945	Yugoslavia
4	1915	Ypres, Belgium	22	1946	Israel and Europe
5	1916	The Somme	23	1948	Czech Republic
6	1917	France	24	1950	Europe
7	1917	Russia	25	1956	Hungary
8	1922	Berlin	26	1958	France and Algeria
9	1925	Predappio, Italy	27	1961	German Democratic Republic
10	1929	Berlin	28	1968	Amsterdam/Paris/Berlin
11	1933	Russia	29	1974	Portugal
12	1936	Spain	30	1977	Germany
13	1937	Munich	31	1984	England
14	1939	Germany	32	1986	Chernobyl
15	1940	France	33	1989	Romania
16	1942	Germany	34	1991	Soviet Union
17	1943	Stalingrad	35	1992	Bosnia and The Truth
18	1943	Poland			

Fig. 6.1. Overview of IN EUROPA episodes, including locations (sites of memory) and years focused upon in the history of Europe in the twentieth century.

⁸⁶ 'Documentairereeks VPRO trekt veel kijkers', *Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (ANP)*, 11 February 2008.

⁸⁷ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–25.

Taking its cue from Mak's book, the central question of the series is: 'What is the state of affairs on the European continent at the end of the twentieth century, and how did we get there?' In September 2005, the creators submitted an application for a development subsidy that included the following line of argumentation:

'[IN EUROPA] is about the present and what the past does to us. About what divides us and what connects us in the new Europe. This approach is more imaginative and realistic than informative. We will touch the scars that we would rather ignore. We will stir up our "culpable" European past. We will look for details that will give rise to a new way of regarding the present. The Srebrenicas that were (and those that may still occur?). With all those stories and witness reports from the twentieth century, chronicled full of compassion, it may become somewhat easier to find one's bearings in this twenty-first century. Not unconcerned, but warned beforehand'.⁸⁸

The documentary makers take Mak's work as a starting point, and focus on historical narratives and locations which Mak selected from twentieth century history, or that fit in with the narrative of the book: 'The starting point is and will always be Geert's book. Nothing better than keeping as close as possible to his manuscript. If we cannot manage that, we'll go in search of a translation that does his plea justice'.⁸⁹ The programme makers themselves for example developed the idea for episode 1942-DUITSLAND [1942-GERMANY] (VPRO, 24 February 2008) about oven building contractor Topf und Söhne, but this concept fits neatly together with Mak's ideas about bigger and smaller camp followers during World War II.

At the time when the proposal was being written, the programme makers deemed the documentary even more pressing than in 1999, when Mak travelled around Europe and spirits were relatively high. Like *ANDERE TIJDEN* [CHANGING TIMES] (NPS/NTR/VPRO 2000–) and *DE OORLOG/13 IN DE OORLOG* [THE WAR/13 AT WAR] (NPS, 2009–2010), this series strives to give a new perspective on the history of the twentieth century, challenging accepted versions of history or the 'consensus' about the past, like the aforementioned right/wrong perspective of World War II in the Netherlands:

'That ever too easy consensus about the past – our existing, accepted view of the past. Take for instance the innocent short-sighted view on the role of the Dutch during the war, which only leaves room for the hero and the collaborator. Whereas in reality the role of the civil service was not as "harmless" as it seemed. With the French it was even worse, over there the collaboration of the Pétain administration seems to be looked upon as a minor flaw, which cannot be linked to most French citizens. The film exhibits the

⁸⁸ Roel van Broekhoven, Stefanie de Brouwer, and Hans Dortmans, 'IN EUROPA: reizen door de twintigste eeuw. Voorstel voor een documentaire reisverhaal in 35 delen gebaseerd op het boek *In Europa* van Geert Mak. De eerste 18 films – de periode 1900–1945' (VPRO, October 2006), i.

⁸⁹ Roel van Broekhoven, 'Lijst met "uitgangspunten" voor IN EUROPA', n.d. Appendix with message to creators of IN EUROPA part 2. Quote in Dutch: 'Uitgangspunt is en blijft Geert zijn boek. Liefst blijven we daar zo dicht mogelijk bij. Als dat niet lukt dan zoeken we een vertaling die zijn betoog recht doet'.

many shades between guilt and innocence, between being pressed hard and making an easy judgement later on'.⁹⁰

The documentary series pushes normative history into greyer areas, and does so by shifting the focus of the narration to how people have witnessed and experienced that history. This fits Van Broekhoven's own preference for using '*small narratives*' as a model for explanation:

'Why smaller narratives? Because this allows you to identify with people and to not only listen with your ear, but also with your emotions. That you think: Yes..., the Hunger Winter really was an awful experience, so to speak. It is a different story than if you just tell it in numbers'.⁹¹

Unlike more traditional perspectives, *IN EUROPA* therefore focuses less on the 'big names' of the twentieth century, but represents the decisions of people who had to deal with this history on an everyday basis. Although historians formed a key component of the research process, the programme makers usually refrained from letting historians or experts take centre stage. As co-editor-in-chief, Stefanie de Brouwer⁹² argues:

'It's not about facts, it's about how people deal with that history and what they do with it in the here and now. [...] The interpretation of facts always provides fuel for a discussion, and history is an emotional business'.⁹³

This entailed a focus on oral history and the challenge of selecting the 'right' protagonists and stories to tell different sides of an event. With the exception of lengthier season finales, each episode is restricted to approximately 35 minutes and includes a maximum of three to four

⁹⁰ Van Broekhoven, de Brouwer, and Dortmans, '*IN EUROPA: reizen door de twintigste eeuw*', iv. Quote in Dutch: 'Die maar al te makkelijke consensus over het verleden – onze bestaande, geaccepteerde kijk op het verleden. Neem bijvoorbeeld de onschuldige zwart-wit visie op de rol van de Nederlandse bevolking in de oorlog, daarin is slechts plaats voor de held en de collaborateur. Terwijl in werkelijkheid het ambtenarenapparaat zich daar niet zo "onschuldig" tussenin bewoog. Bij de Fransen gaat dat nog verder, daar lijkt het collaboreren van de regering-Pétain teruggebracht tot een weeffoutje waar de meeste Fransen niets mee te maken hadden. De film schildert de vele grijstinten tussen schuld en onschuld, tussen het vuur aan de schenen en de makkelijke oordelen achteraf.'

⁹¹ Roel van Broekhoven. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 3 April 2012. Quote in Dutch: 'Waarom kleine verhalen? Omdat je dan gewoon je kunt identificeren met die mensen en niet alleen met je oor luistert, maar ook met je gevoel. Dat je denkt: Ja..., het is toch wel erg zo'n hongerwinter, zal ik maar zeggen. Het is toch een ander verhaal, dan wanneer je het alleen maar in cijfers vertelt.'

⁹² Stefanie de Brouwer has been working as a director and producer for the Dutch broadcaster VPRO since 1995. In 2005, she directed the documentary *Forasteros - People from Another World*. The following years she co-produced and directed 'on the road' television series that feature travels through the filmmaker's eye, including *IN EUROPE* and *THE BEAGLE*. She co-produced and directed, together with Doke Romeijn and journalist Bram Vermeulen the series *IN TURKIJE [IN TURKEY]*, *LANGS DE GRENZEN VAN TURKIJE [ALONG THE TURKISH BORDERS]* and *DWARS DOOR AFRIKA [CROSSING AFRICA]*.

⁹³ Stefanie de Brouwer. Personal interview. Bussum, 24 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'Het gaat niet over feiten, het gaat over hoe mensen omgaan met die geschiedenis en wat ze ermee doen in het heden. [...] maar de interpretatie van die feiten, dat is altijd voer voor discussie en geschiedenis is een emotionele zaak'.

on-screen storytellers. *Selection* is an essential and unavoidable part of television production, and (television) historiography:

'Television is a selection in which you always deprive people and events. You choose something, but it is not always a historically correct choice. In fact, it is quite often a television choice'.⁹⁴

Of course, historiography has always been a selective practice, as Mak also states in the prologue of the Dutch version of his book *In Europa*:

'History is not a polished story, although every historiography keeps up the appearance that everything runs smoothly from A, via B, to C. Such a discipline, which was created afterwards, has never existed in reality'.⁹⁵

Often the protagonists differed from the individuals featured in Mak's book, not in the least because they were since deceased. Compared to the book, the series zooms in even further on personal stories, the result of a strong emotive approach. In this manner, the series on the one hand uses history from below to present an alternative version of a grand narrative, and on the other hand presents the grand narrative of history as envisioned by Mak *and* the IN EUROPE creators to a general audience.

Besides interviews with 'talking heads', *onscreen remembrance* can also be televised through other means of representation. For example, through combining archival footage, interviews with key figures, visiting sites of memory, and providing access to memory materials through a range of connected cultural texts, IN EUROPA opens the way to a re-evaluation of the past compared to the present. How much has changed over time? And are things really that different today? In the episode 1968-AMSTERDAM/PARIJS/BERLIJN [1968-AMSTERDAM/PARIS/BERLIN] (VPRO, 1 February 2009), in which Mak by exception serves as one of the key protagonists, this narrative strategy leads to a confrontation between Mak and his 'younger self'. Mak looks back on his own past in the context of the student and worker rebellions of 1968. Archival images illustrate the different ambiances of the frivolous student 'happenings' in Amsterdam compared to protests in Paris and Germany, where the protests were rather grim and the police would put these down hard. The audio-visual qualities of the footage as well as the viewer's assumption of documentary footage as a representation of reality helps to transport us back into the past. The audio-visual archive materials are in turn contextualised through voice-over narration by Mak and the newly filmed footage. Through voice-over narration, Mak has to ask himself the same questions he has asked other people throughout the series:

⁹⁴ Roel van Broekhoven. Personal interview. Amsterdam, 3 April 2012. Quote in Dutch: 'Televisie is altijd een selectie waarmee je altijd mensen tekort doet. En gebeurtenissen tekort doet. Je kiest iets, maar het is niet altijd een historisch verantwoorde keuze. Sterker het is heel vaak een televisiekeuze'.

⁹⁵ Geert Mak, *In Europa: reizen door de twintigste eeuw* (Amsterdam: Atlas, 2004), 14. Quote in Dutch: 'De geschiedenis is geen glad verhaal, al wekt iedere geschiedschrijving de schijn dat alles keurig verloopt van A, via B, naar C. Zo'n orde, die achteraf geschapen is, heeft in werkelijkheid nooit bestaan. [...] Allemaal zijn we, ieder op zijn tijd, hoofdpersonen in onze eigen geschiedenis, met alle verwarring die daar bij hoort'.

'Who was I back then, and how would I respond if I would happen to run into the Geert Mak of 1968? I think we would have an argument'.⁹⁶

In this manner, Mak makes evident the opportunities *IN EUROPA* offers to viewers as an exercise in personal memory and identity, specifically remembering who you were, and reflecting on the person you have become, and why.

The presenter of *IN EUROPA*, author Geert Mak, also acts as a 'classic' television presenter in his presentation and voice-over narration. Mak did not go on location for every episode. The programme makers initially wanted to go on location with Mak to the different locations in Europe featured in the series. However, as the creators explain it turned out that Mak did not have the time, nor the patience to dedicate himself to this extent to the lengthy process of the filming of the television series. Instead, Mak filmed almost all his on-screen narration at Haarlem station to provide 'bookends' to every episode. However, the programme makers made sure that *it seemed* like Mak was on a journey along with television makers, to evoke the atmosphere of a travel journey to the audience. Through a crafty choice of editing and voice-over-narration texts, many people actually believed that Mak was on location for every episode.⁹⁷ Principally, it is the aim of the programme makers to feature Mak as the *voice over*, and not as an expert guide or interviewer on-screen. The narration is often derived from Mak's own book about his travels through Europe at the end of the twentieth century, and resemble the personal and lyrical style of his work.



Fig. 6.2. *IN EUROPA* places an emphasis on personal memories and sites of memory, such as Ernst von Salomon's son being interviewed in his father's study in 1922-BERLIJN. Courtesy of VPRO. DVD capture.

⁹⁶ 'Wie was ik toen, en hoe zou ik reageren als ik de Geert Mak van '68 nog eens zou tegenkomen? Ik denk dat we ruzie zouden krijgen [...]'. Cited in *In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 28, '1968-Amsterdam/Parijs/Berlijn' ['1968-Amsterdam/Paris/Berlin'], dir. David Kleijwegt. VPRO, 1 February 2009.

⁹⁷ Stefanie de Brouwer. Personal interview. Bussum, 24 May 2011.

Finally, *repurposing archival images* plays a central role in IN EUROPA. Archival footage can help to represent the testimony of those who are no longer with us. The episode 1922-BERLIJN [1922-BERLIN] (VPRO, 30 December 2007) for instance contains archival film footage from the 1960s in which Ernst von Salomon brazenly recounts his involvement in the murder of the Foreign Minister of Germany during the Weimar Republic, Walther Rathenau. Archival footage is also given a new dimension by its juxtaposition with private stories, in this case Von Salomon's son Cassian sharing personal memories of his father. Visiting historical locations functions as a trigger of memory in this context. When interviewed in his father's office [Fig. 6.2], which had been left untouched since the latter's death in 1972, it is clear that Cassian von Salomon still perceives his father as a great authority, which is stressed again by Mak's voice-over narration. The main question that the programme makers try to answer in 1922-BERLIJN is: If Rathenau had not been murdered, would Hitler ever have come that far?

Through its textual strategy, IN EUROPA also *memorialises the history of television*. Archival images cannot only show us indirectly how specific events took place in diverse ways in different time periods, but also show us (after the advent of the medium television) how they were broadcast on television. By rebroadcasting previously aired television footage, IN EUROPA offers viewers opportunities for the reviewing and remembering of transmitted images they may have seen before, or which they may have little to no recollection of. Again, a sensation of what it *felt* like at the time these events took place is evoked for different types of television users. However, in contrast to for instance retro television, IN EUROPA generally refrains from submerging the viewer into nostalgic feelings of the past.⁹⁸ An example is formed by the 1989-ROEMENIË [1989-ROMANIA] (VPRO, 8 March 2009) episode, which rebroadcasts the televised demonstration against the Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in December 1989, and the trial and execution of Ceausescu and his wife Elena the same month, which was broadcast on television world-wide. The images on the screen convey the horrifying events of the past, while a detailed narration by two soldiers from the firing squad and a revisit of the location where Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were shot, the blood on the walls still visible, drives the harsh reality of the events home. In this manner, the programme incites the atmosphere of past events, and the viewer is pushed to experience the events of the past through the eyes of people who were present.

Using such a combination of narrative and textual strategies to crawl back into the past helps viewers to connect with history on a more affective level. Through the variety of strategies outlined, IN EUROPA offers a personal perspective on the history of the twentieth century that challenges and contrasts accepted versions of history.

⁹⁸ The analysis of viewer commentaries on the IN EUROPA website reveals that the act of watching the programme can still lead to nostalgic feelings for the past, for instance in the case of the following viewer comment of 2 February 2009 regarding the episode 1968-AMSTERDAM/PARIS/BERLIN: 'I was also in Paris in the 1960s. After reviewing everything once again in this broadcast, I realise what a wonderful time it was'. [Quote in Dutch: 'Ik was ook in Parijs in de jaren zestig. Nu ik alles weer eens gezien heb in deze uitzending realiseer ik mij dat het toch een fantastische tijd was'.] 'In Europa Homepage'. Accessed 1 November 2013. <http://www.ineuropa.nl>.

6.2.2. The Melching-Mak debate

By offering the possibility of multiple interpretations and by placing an emphasis on what historical events felt like at the time, the IN EUROPA programme makers have made themselves vulnerable to *criticism* from historians. For example, the Dutch historian Willem Melching has criticised the IN EUROPA television documentary series specifically for not making a valid enough connection with contemporary debates in the field of history, and for including vital historical mistakes. Mak has in turn defended the mistakes mentioned and has stressed that television has a dynamics of its own.⁹⁹

In comparison to the book *In Europa*, the medium of television does not allow for a similar type of background and in-depth historical information. This has in the first place to do with broadcasting time: each episode is restricted to approximately thirty-five minutes¹⁰⁰ and there is only so much information that you can present to the modern television viewer within a limited amount of screen time. For example, programme makers included a maximum of three to four on-screen storytellers per episode. Furthermore, the programme makers strive to reach a broad target audience. De Brouwer describes the target audience of IN EUROPA as 'as broad as possible', with the added existence of the VPRO target audience as well as the large audiences for Geert Mak's book: 'The VPRO has a fairly fixed viewing audience and of course we knew, well... *In Europa* was a bestseller, we also knew that there was a lot of interest. Therefore, you can actually say that our target group is the same as the target group of the book'.¹⁰¹ An older target audience (50+) generally watches VPRO programmes, but IN EUROPA has also successfully reached younger generations, such as high school students.¹⁰² Speaking to a broad general audience is also a factor in the extent to which the programme is able to provide in-depth information. As De Brouwer argues: 'I want a viewer of eleven years old also to get the picture'.¹⁰³ Talking about the complicated process of 'capturing' a book on television, De Brouwer goes on to explain that for the television series, principally the 'feeling of travel' and the emphasis on oral history were taken from Mak's book. Therefore, next to medium specificity, an evaluation of the type of history that is provided in the IN EUROPA project needs to be taken into account.

The series has been publicised as a screen version of Mak's book, but it is important to emphasise that Mak provided the (voice-over) narration with the programme, but the production and responsibility for the documentary project lies with the programme makers. There are important similarities and differences between Mak's book and the television documentary series. The documentary makers deploy Mak's book as their main point of departure, and aim to focus on the stories and histories that Mak had selected in his tour of inspection of twentieth century Europe. Historians are a key component of the research process, but the programme makers usually refrain from letting historians or experts take centre stage. As a modern

⁹⁹ See, for example: Willem Melching, "'In Europa" barst van de fouten', *De Volkskrant*, 11 December 2007.

¹⁰⁰ With the exception of the final episode 1992-BOSNIA AND THE TRUTH, which runs for 60 minutes.

¹⁰¹ Stefanie de Brouwer. Personal interview. Bussum, 24 May 2011. Quote in Dutch: 'zo breed mogelijk'; 'De VPRO heeft een behoorlijk vast kijkerspubliek en we wisten natuurlijk door de, ja... *In Europa* is een bestseller geweest, we wisten ook dat er veel belangstelling was. Dus in feite kun je zeggen dat onze doelgroep hetzelfde is als de doelgroep van het boek'.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

television documentary, the programme makers feel it is essential to show good storytellers on the screen who can produce an eyewitness account of a historical event. Like the book, *IN EUROPA* does not represent 'the' history of twentieth century Europe, but embodies a journey through time and space (the continent of Europe) with a focus on personal and local stories. This is the type of history that has made *Mak* very popular amongst present-day audiences in the Netherlands: a history, which is almost tangible, which you can almost feel and taste, and which is something else than a dreary history lesson. It seems that the extent to which a more affective view on history, or the *experience* of history, is regarded as important, essentially determines on which side of the debate you would find yourself.

6.3. Textual and narrative aims, strategies and conventions

6.3.1. Providing a space of participation

IN EUROPA is specifically designed with a cross-media approach in which radio, print, tourism and internet media work together to provide additional historical frameworks and backgrounds with the information provided on television. Historians have generally refrained from including the project's cross-media strategies in their critique of the series. However, by creating an open space for participation and including audiences in the construction of historical narratives, television users were and are able to engage with *IN EUROPA* 24/7. I argue that it is essential to analyse these strategies as an integral part of television in the multi-platform era.

Incorporating other platforms has become a distinctive feature of the medium, converting television into a practice of multi-platform storytelling in which content travels across multiple screens and media channels.¹⁰⁴ Because of the incorporation of the internet and mobile devices into the television experience, many television programmes and practices today function as *spaces of participation* that are reshaped and co-produced by users. By providing opportunities for participation on for instance a television programme's website, the programme or website interface provides the framework for users' performance within such a space.¹⁰⁵ Participation has been problematised as a contested, flexible and conceptually broad notion.¹⁰⁶ Carpentier has therefore made a distinction between access, interaction and participation – understanding access and interaction as necessary preconditions of possible participation.¹⁰⁷ Fundamentally, participation is related to the dynamics and logics of decision-making and power, regardless of its arrangements: 'whether it is explicit or implicit, formal or informal, minimalist or maximalist and egalitarian or not'.¹⁰⁸ I adopt the perspective that participation involves a set of expectations from creators too. As Jenkins has suggested, the concept also

¹⁰⁴ See also Berber Hagedoorn, 'Television as a Hybrid Repertoire of Memory. New Dynamic Practices of Cultural Memory in the Multi-Platform Era', *VIEW Journal of European Television History and Culture* 2, no. 3 (2015): 52–64.

¹⁰⁵ Müller, 'Formatted Spaces of Participation', 51–52.

¹⁰⁶ See e.g.: Henry Jenkins, 'Rethinking 'Rethinking Convergence/Culture'', *Cultural Studies* 28, no. 2 (2014): 267–97, doi:10.1080/09502386.2013.801579; Nico Carpentier and Peter Dahlgren, 'Introduction: Interrogating Audiences - Theoretical Horizons of Participation', *Communication Management Quarterly* 6, no. 21 (2011): 7–12; Van Dijck, 'Users Like You?'

¹⁰⁷ Nico Carpentier, 'The Concept of Participation: If They Have Access and Interact, Do They Really Participate?', *Communication Management Quarterly* 6, no. 21 (2011): 13–36.

¹⁰⁸ Carpentier and Dahlgren, 'Interrogating Audiences', 8.

signifies the motivation of struggles in achieving participation¹⁰⁹ and therefore provides a touchstone to measure what kind of relationships have developed within a more participatory culture.

6.3.2. Resonance and continuity

IN EUROPA was the first case of an organisation-wide cross-media operation for one specific project at VPRO. Teams working in television, radio, print media, tourism, website editing and design worked together in terms of content and timing. VPRO Digital project manager Geert-Jan Strengholt¹¹⁰ calls this 'cross-media management', the endeavour to position the specific properties of media and the pacing of their consumption to create a certain *resonance*.¹¹¹ The creators have also strived for transmediality by directing users to other facets of a story on related platforms. IN EUROPA includes several media platforms, which expand and enhance the strategy of the documentary series [Fig. 6.3]. The project created *continuity* of stories and of audience engagement by adding different layers of content to historical narratives, which can otherwise only be told in a linear fashion. In this manner, the ample audience is addressed more directly.

The build-up of the multi-platform story arc would start on Saturday: in keeping with the first eighteen episodes, correspondents for national newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* wrote newspaper articles about traces of the past in Europe. On Sunday morning, VPRO's historical radio programme OVT [SIMPLE PAST TENSE] featured a format titled the *In Europa Salon*, in which Geert Mak and experts discussed historical events central to the weekly episode. This invested the television series, which would be broadcast that same evening, with new meaning. On Monday, the site would feature additional materials, based on the assessment that the broadcast and its reviewing caused a peak in website visits. Further contextual information was provided through tourism. Although the prospect of a coach trip did not attract a large turnout, VPRO organised group travel trips to places, monuments and museums (and even eyewitnesses) featured in Mak's book and the series. Such activities exemplify the project's extensive *cross-media management* and specifically *timed* commodities and practices, which provide a deeper engagement with the television series. The creators were very aware of the moment on which the users' attention would peak for each of these media, and strived to align these moments in the general narrative to fix the viewers' attention and direct them to other platforms.

In this sense, it can be argued that the creators have strived for transmedia storytelling to offer users a more integrated multi-platform narrative. The creators have integrated multiple

¹⁰⁹ Henry Jenkins and Nico Carpentier, 'Theorizing Participatory Intensities: A Conversation About Participation and Politics', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 19, no. 3 (2013): 266, doi:10.1177/1354856513482090.

¹¹⁰ Geert-Jan Strengholt has been a Senior Project Manager at VPRO Digital since 2005. He worked on major cross-media projects, ranging from award winning projects like IN EUROPA and WOORD.NL [WORD.NL] to a recent interactive documentary on the fall of Srebrenica. His work focusses on exploring new ways of storytelling and communication with dedicated audiences in areas like Visual Radio and more recently VR-filmmaking.

¹¹¹ Geert-Jan Strengholt. Personal interview. Hilversum, 7 March 2012.

texts to create 'a narrative so large it cannot be contained within a single medium'.¹¹² They have also utilised the unique characteristics of each medium to tell different parts of the overall story. Finally, the creators have used the temporal windows of amongst others the television schedule to create a certain resonance – which Elizabeth Evens terms 'correlation'¹¹³ – between when individual components are made available to users. However, in its ideal form transmedia storytelling is characterised by an even stronger sense of integration and narrative coherence amongst the individual components and a more unified 'author'¹¹⁴ – which does not necessarily mean one showrunner but can also be provided by a unified production team.

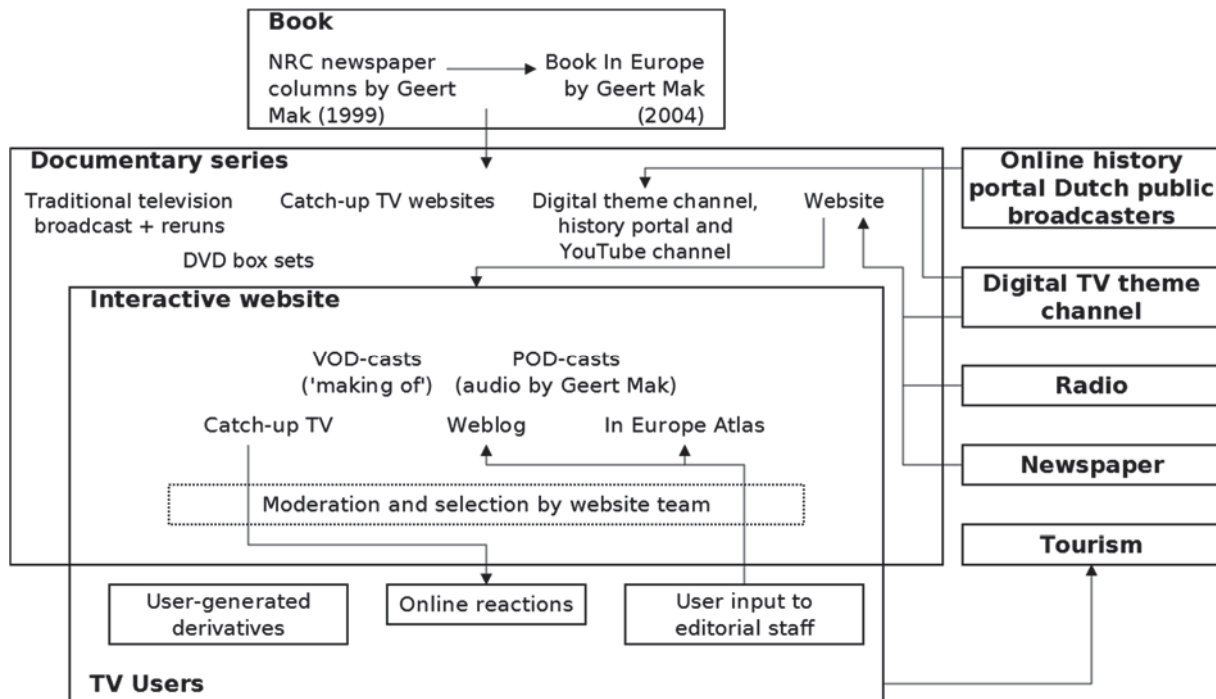


Fig. 6.3. Multi-platform storytelling in IN EUROPA: flow of information and overview of modalities.

Ratings and visitor data of the series and website can aid with further verifying how resonance is achieved. There has been a considerable viewer/user dynamic between the IN EUROPA series and website. The largest spikes in website visits overlap with broadcasts and repeats on national television [Fig. 6.4]. The average monthly ratio of website visits to ratings during the first season is 5.5%, meaning that on average 1 in 18 viewers visited the website. During the second season, this is 6.9% with an average of 1 in 14 viewers visiting the website [Fig 6.5]. Figure 6.4 and 6.5 show how the website has over the years been able to engage a steady stream of visitors, particularly when timing cross-media content together with television broadcasts. This shows the possibilities for *engaging users* with history and memory when a multi-platform story production is *paced* to create resonance. Televisual practices of multi-platform storytelling steer the level and extent of such user involvement.

¹¹² Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 95.

¹¹³ Elizabeth Evans, *Transmedia Television: Audiences, New Media, and Daily Life* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), 36–38.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28–35.

On the other hand, Figure 6.4 and 6.5 also point to how the possibilities for multi-platform experiences connected to television can still be further exploited and used. The degree to which possibilities are realised depends on a production's *workflow*. This includes the alignment of the diverse media strands in a production routine, as well as motivating and empowering users to engage in participation and decision making processes. According to Strengholt, the contact with the website audience could have been better maintained between the two seasons,¹¹⁵ which Figure 6.4 illuminates. After the completion of the production of the series, television users are still prompted by broadcasts and repeats to participate and share personal narratives, but at this point, there usually is no (full) production team left to engage in such responses and only limited means within a website team. In addition, the location of the website changed by early 2014. The content was partially imported in the history portal *NPO Geschiedenis* [NPO History, previously *History24*] as part of the Dutch public broadcasters' reduction of channels. Figure 6.4 suggests difficulties for audiences in finding IN EUROPA content at the site's new location. Continuity on the different production levels is therefore a requirement for multi-platform storytelling to maintain resonance over a longer time.

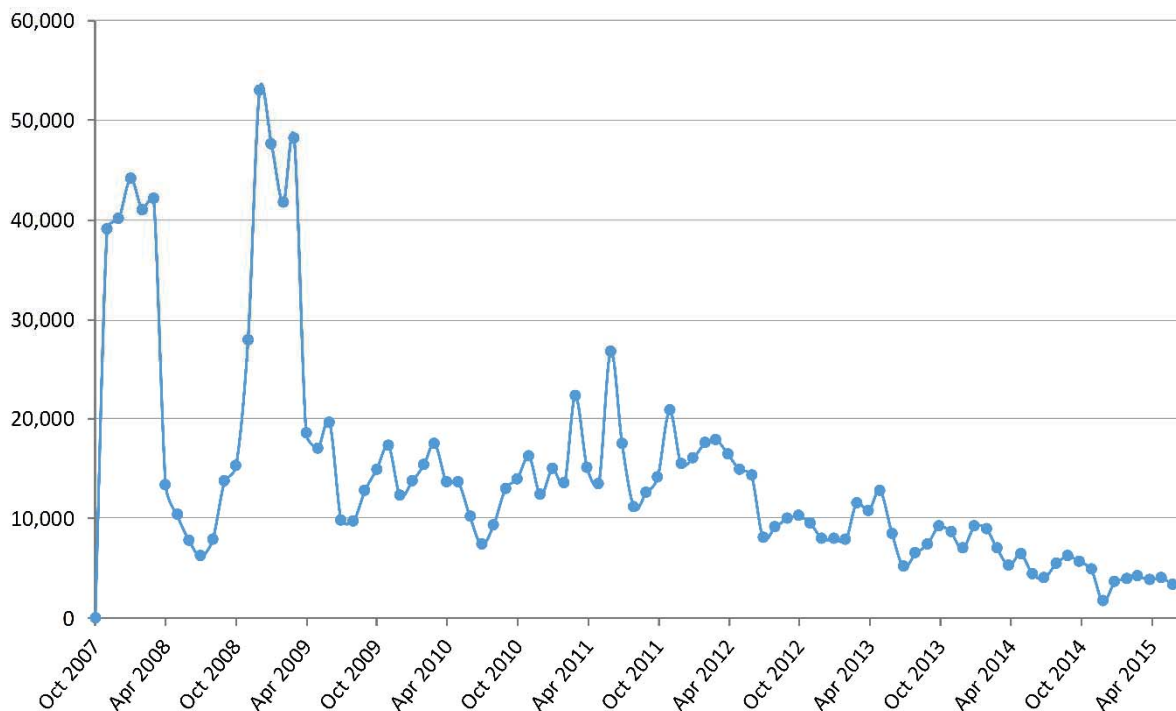


Fig. 6.4. IN EUROPA unique website visitors per month. Source: NTR (October 2007-February 2014), VPRO Analyse & Research (February 2014-June 2015).

A quantitative study of general visitor statistics can only provide some measure of the degree of user interaction. For example, in the period that the second season of IN EUROPA was broadcast, the website saw 219,931 unique visitors [Fig. 6.4]. Little over half of these visitors viewed at least one of the episodes subpages (114,004, or 51.8%), while a little less than half visited the weblog (98,447, or 44.8%). These pages provide all users with the option to comment. The *In Europa Atlas* (discussed below) received far less views (19,730, or 9.0%).

¹¹⁵ Geert-Jan Strengholt. Personal interview. Hilversum, 7 March 2012.

Registering the number of website visitors is common practice, but it does not say much about the actual behaviour of users on websites. No detailed statistics regarding behaviour and interaction of unique users on the website were collected by the Dutch broadcaster (privacy constraints also need to be taken into account here). This is a notable observation, given the fact that resonance as a production strategy would benefit from detailed knowledge of user behaviour.

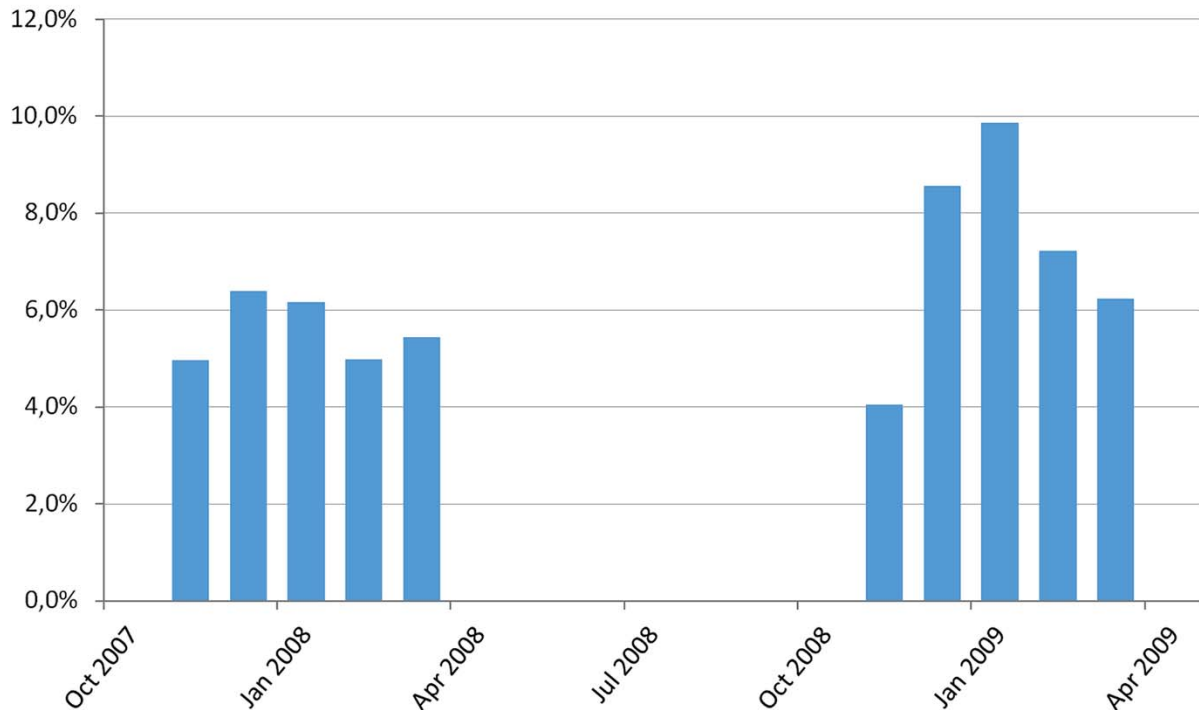


Fig. 6.5. Monthly ratio of website visits to IN EUROPA ratings during the broadcast of Season 1 and Season 2 on Dutch public television.¹¹⁶ Source: NTR.

6.3.3. Contextualisation: sharing and shaping personal narratives

The programme's website functions as the main hub for historical and contextual information. *Contextualisation* is necessary to make online information usable, since the understanding of selected content remains limited without a framework for interpretation.¹¹⁷ Figure 6 shows schematically how creators shared their research process with audiences and how the website team engages with users, which ultimately shapes how television users can participate in and provide content for the website. The weblog featured specific requests for user-generated content, varying from personal stories and audio-visual footage to knowledge about music from a specific area. Although television users were able to send in historical information, personal memories and materials (like photographs) by themselves, the requests for content were quite specific in their needs and therefore *structured* the type of information sent in by users. Conversely, sometimes a user's question or comment functioned as a springboard for a post in

¹¹⁶ Website visits of unique visitors in the respective months. Average ratings are based on ratings of first episode broadcasts in the respective months.

¹¹⁷ Sonja de Leeuw, 'European Television History Online: History and Challenges', *VIEW Journal of European Television History and Culture* 1, no. 1 (2012): 3–11.

which a programme maker reflected on issues dealt with in a particular episode. Finally, via specific requests on the website, creators have drawn upon the audience's knowledge to create 'lists' of historical subjects that should be part of the IN EUROPA series, which could also be used in the pre-selection process.

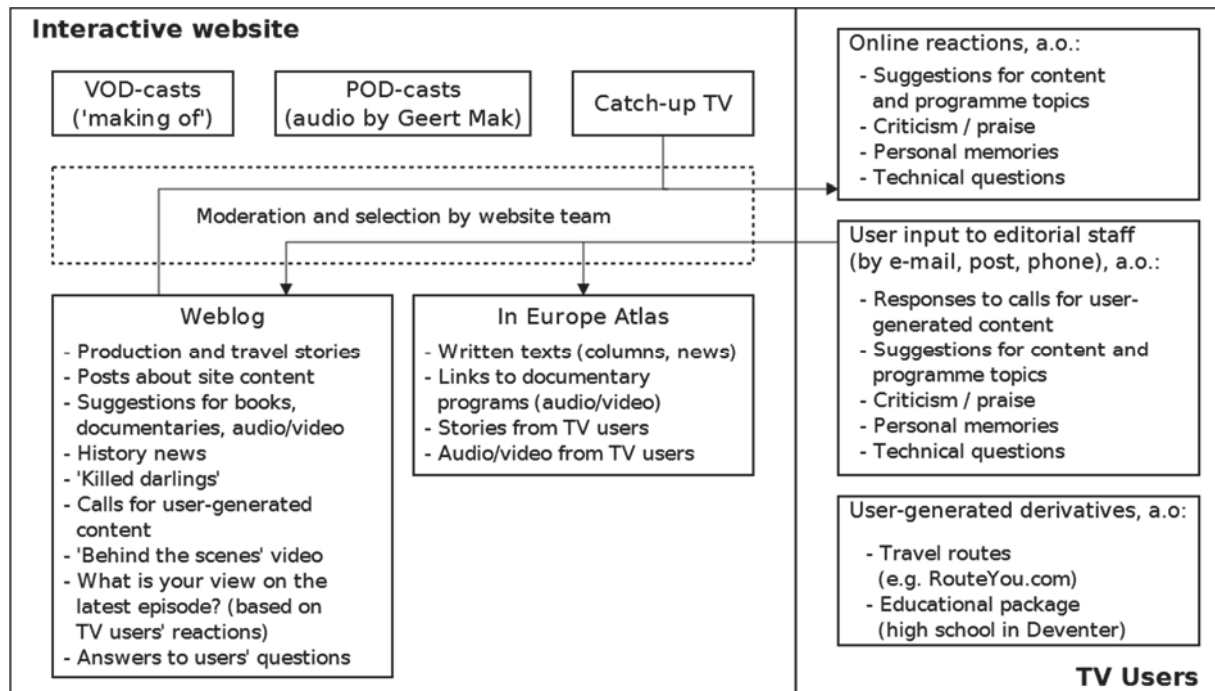


Fig. 6.6. IN EUROPA website: strategies and possibilities towards a participatory memory.¹¹⁸

The IN EUROPA website team therefore functions as a *filter* of user input (editorial supervision, as clarified in Figure 6.3 and 6.6). This is particularly the case for the *In Europa Atlas*. The *Atlas* provided users with the opportunity to share personal narratives related to a specific site of memory, using Google Maps to literally put historical locations 'on the map'. Content was only uploaded when a specific link with the general narrative could be made by event, year or location. Memory narratives were enriched by adding mediated content and by making entries searchable via geo-tags and story routes. In this manner, time and space were literally used as navigation tools. For example, the series featured a historical inspection of the year 1943 and locations in both Germany and Russia. User-generated content included for instance a user reflecting on 1943 as his own year of birth, as well as the year of his parents being set to work in the German village Swinemunde [Fig. 6.7]. The envisioned scenario was to make the historical story routes available via GPS. However, this plan was not carried out because of technological limitations to conveniently electronically map and display walking routes for users at the time (today there are more extensive augmented reality possibilities, like the smartphone app *Layar*). It can also be argued that the data was not dense enough to provide complete walking routes through cities in Europe.

¹¹⁸ Between 2007–2013, the IN EUROPA project ran a central website at <http://ineuropa.nl>; in early 2014 the website's content has been (partially) imported in the Dutch public broadcasters' history portal *Geschiedenis24* [*History24*] and the IN EUROPA website's link has subsequently been altered and linked to <http://www.geschiedenis24.nl/in-europa.html>.

The screenshot shows the 'In Europa Atlas' website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with 'In Europa', 'Weblog', 'Televisie', 'Atlas', 'Reizen', and 'Vraag & antwoord'. A search bar is on the right. Below the navigation, there is a timeline from 1900 to 1921. The main content area features a satellite map of Swinemunde, Germany, with a text box overlaying it. The text box contains a personal narrative about the user's parents in 1943. To the right of the map is a table listing related events.

Ouders in Swinemunde
Swinemunde (Swinemunde, Duitsland)

Ouders in Swinemunde
1943 is mijn geboortjaar. In het jaar voor mijn geboorte waren mijn ouders (1918) in Duitsland te werk gesteld. Er was ook sprake van een oom die van de straat was geplukt en in een industriestad in Duitsland was gedropt - die had niets te vertellen gehad en moest in de afgrijselijkste omstandigheden leven. Mijn vader was intelligent en goed opgeleid (electricien met aanvullende kennis van electronica) maar nog altijd een arbeider die niet zo veel van de toekomst verwachtte, en bovendien werkloos raakte. De overwegingen schijnen geweest te zijn dat je je, wanneer je inging op een oproep van de Duitsers, nog rechten had waarop je je kon beroepen.

Ze gingen naar Swinemunde of Peenemunde (of beide, ik herinner me fotoboekjes van grote gebouwen en van zee) en het eerste wat ze meemaakten was dat mama zou gaan werken op een bepaald adres, waar papa haar afleverde. De werkgever was hoogst verblijd: ze liet in haar achtertuin enkele afgrijselijke hokken zien zonder deur of wat dan ook, waarin de andere dienstboden woonden. Nu had ze niet alleen een Poolse en een ??? maar ook een echte Hollanderin: die kon...
Link - geplaatst: november 2007

JAAR	PLAATS	TITEL	GEPLAATST OP
1942	Dachau, Duitsland	Op de vuist in Dachau	01 jan 1970
1942	Amsterdam, Nederland	OVT In Europa Salon 1942	14 nov 2008
1942	Bethel, Duitsland	Bethel	15 dec 2008
1943	Swinemunde, Duitsland	Ouders in Swinemunde	04 apr 2008
1943	Volgograd, Rusland	Nederlandse krijgsmacht in Stalingrad	31 okt 2008
1943	Polen	Lebensraum	01 jan 1970
1943	Amsterdam, Nederland	OVT In Europa Salon 1943 - Polen	14 nov 2008
1943	Stalingrad, Rusland	Stedendingen	01 jan 1970
1943	Rusland	Skoroj domoj	01 jan 1970
1943	Rusland	Why we fight	01 jan 1970
1943	Rusland	Onze man in Moskou	01 jan 1970
1943	Rusland	Vind de Bismarck!	01 jan 1970
1943	Rusland	Nederlanders in Stalingrad	01 jan 1970

Fig. 6.7. Entry in the *In Europa Atlas* from a user with the year 1943 and location in Germany. Source: VPRO. Website capture.

The ambition to open up this space even more to television users – for users to add their own narratives autonomously – was not fully realised, as Strengholt explains, due to practical complexities and concerns about the quality of user narratives.¹¹⁹ I argue that such apprehensions are part and parcel of cross-media and transmedia story productions. Storytelling is a craft, and user-generated content can lack storytelling techniques or content may deviate too much from the general narrative. Multi-platform production routines involve a distinct dramaturgy in representing main elements of a narrative, and a specific mode of engagement that demands considerable efforts of both creators and users. In this case, the 'top-down' filtering of personal narratives is a necessity for storytelling purposes, but also limits the range of possible memory narratives to be included and preserved.

6.3.4. Reproducing personal memories via user commentary

User comments are shared through an open policy (i.e. not moderated beforehand) on either the online episode pages or weblog pages, providing television users with the opportunity to share their personal experiences, thoughts and know-how. However, the website team has the option to remove posts that do not make a sensible contribution to the online discussion (I reflect on implications on this below). What are the characteristics of users comments on the IN EUROPA website, and how can the online sharing and reproduction of personal memories within such a space of participation contribute to a specific kind of engagement with the past?

¹¹⁹ Geert-Jan Strengholt. Personal interview. Hilversum, 7 March 2012.

I distinguish three forms of user engagement. The majority of the analysed user comments were posted online on the IN EUROPA website between 2007 and 2011.¹²⁰ In the first place, responses comprise personal memories of a historical event as encountered from one's own experience, including mediated experiences. For example:

'I can still vividly remember the images of the Ceaușescu from the news [regarding the Romanian Revolution in 1989-ROEMENIË]';
'This programme [1989-ROEMENIË] evokes old memories and emotions (the best day of my life) of the revolution, experienced live on the street'.

This first form of user engagement, which I designate as *personalisation*, exemplifies how users further contextualise historical content by sharing their own memories. For instance, a viewer of the episode 1961-DDR [1961-GDR (GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC)] (VPRO, 25 January 2009) shares his personal recollections of the German Democratic Republic in the 1980s:

'In the mid-1980s I visited the GDR a few times. Empty motorways, no commercials, and aloof people who did not resemble their "Brüder" ["neighbours"] in the West. It was striking that the GDR left the national legacy of responsibility for WWII completely to the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany]. Another example, as seen more often in this series, of collective denial of the national past'.

Such comments provide eyewitness perspectives of historical events, and also accentuate the personal 're-experiencing' of mediated history.

In the second place, user narratives authenticate personal and mediated memories through engagement with a *lieux de mémoire*. Individual memories are shared about the personal experience of visiting a site of memory, like this example about a visit to the battlefields and the last post in Ypres, in relation to 1915-IEPER, BELGIË [1915-YPRES, BELGIUM] (VPRO, 2 December 2007) :

'The atrocities of the First World War and the totally pointless trench warfare chills you to the bone and has touched us deeply'.

Such comments re-iterate the central experience of what history *felt* like. Overall, users seem to ground their commentary in their personal position as 'experience experts' more than a position of historical knowledge (although the latter certainly occurs). For instance, this viewer of 1916-DE SOMME [1916-THE SOMME] (VPRO, 9 December 2007):

¹²⁰ The over 700 analysed user comments were posted on the IN EUROPA website between late 2007 and early 2014. This includes some duplicate or restored postings due to technical issues of the website. 'In Europa Homepage'. Accessed 1 November 2013. <http://www.ineuropa.nl>; 'In Europa – NPO Geschiedenis Homepage'. Accessed 15 June 2015. <http://www.npogeschiedenis.nl/in-europa.html>.

'I have regularly visited the Somme with its past, and I increasingly perceive the misery, the futility of this war [the First World War]. Incidentally, the region lets you "recall" much in a fitting way'.

Responses of this kind authenticate IN EUROPA's mediation of the past in relation to *lieux de mémoire*. This second form of user engagement, *authentication*, reveals how users verify individual (mediated) memories through their own engagement with a site of memory, and by sharing these memories online.

In the third place, responses of both praise and criticism of the series and the project's cross-media approach show a critical attitude towards mediated representations of history. Praise includes positive responses on the project's representation of the past, such as:

'Extremely pleased that such important knowledge is made accessible in a fascinating manner!';

'Geert Mak voices the atmosphere, feelings and issues [of the English miners' strike in 1984 in England [1984-England]] (VPRO, 22 February 2009) very well. It was a major social upheaval and IN EUROPA reminisces this perfectly'.

Criticism reflects expectations of Mak's work and how history 'should' be represented as well as commenting on historical content 'lacking' from the programme:

'I had not expected from Geert Mak that this programme [1989-ROEMENIË] would place such an emphasis on the work of the firing squad';

'Disappointed [...] the general vision on the twentieth century is presented as a moralistic sermon [in 1900-HET BEGIN [1900-DAWN OF THE CENTURY] (VPRO, 11 November 2007)]'.

The category of criticism shows the most interaction from viewers with previously posted comments. For example:

'[F]rom comments on the website and checking certain episodes, like this one [1945-JOEGOSLAVIË [1945-YUGOSLAVIA] (VPRO, 14 December 2008)], it can also be concluded that despite the useful historical perspective provided by IN EUROPA, in certain respects a broader perspective is yet more desirable: in this case, the (responsibility of the) Balkan part of Europe is focused upon in a somewhat one-sided manner, whereas it would be in favour of the objectivity to bring the political-strategic influence of the West on the Balkans to the attention'.

This third form of user engagement, *evaluation*, not only reflects on the documentary's representation of history, but also supplements the featured historical topics by discussing what kind of historical narratives or historians should have been featured. Comments also illuminate some viewers' preference for more official representations of history compared to the content of the documentary series.

Research by Lotte Belice Baltussen et al. has revealed that websites of public broadcast television programmes are especially difficult to archive due to their dynamic and audio-visual

content. The study also points out that funds for web archiving are often lacking and that, although there is a large variety of web archiving projects on an international scale, few of these projects focus on websites of broadcasters.¹²¹ Here, it is important to reiterate that *access* is a key precondition for any possible user involvement. In their 2010 coalition agreement, the Dutch government decided that public broadcasters needed to reduce the number of channels, including websites and digital thematic channels. Websites were required to be linked to a programme being broadcast on one of the main channels. The *Atlas* has not been updated since 2009, and therefore remained a document of limited participatory memory during 2007 and 2009, accessible online between 2007 and 2013. In early 2014 the website's content has (partially) been imported in the Dutch public broadcasters' history portal *NPO Geschiedenis* [*NPO History*], previously named *Geschiedenis24*. In the process, the *Atlas* has become unavailable, whereas the option for users to share comments remains. Previously posted user comments with the episodes and selected posts from the weblog have been preserved. Reducing the number of channels is intended to offer a coherent and recognizable programme output, but actively removing websites can also be more costly and time consuming than static preservation. Hence, IN EUROPA reveals challenges and pragmatic implications regarding the preservation of a 'long tail' effect for multi-platform television productions.

Via strategies of multi-platform storytelling, multiple and continual productions can create room for user involvement in (online) history representations, and subsequently a more participatory construction of memory. Through the three forms of engagement, users negotiate the creators' framing of personal memories and *lieux de mémoire*. Television users reflect on the past in comparison to the present and, in their own ways, provide the stories of IN EUROPA with new layers of meaning. This begs the question where and how to demarcate user involvement. For instance, in the heat of a historical debate regarding Mak's work and the documentary series, the website team made the decision to remove posts from the website that were too focused on a single person or resembled a 'rant'. Therefore, creators have the responsibility to reflect on what kind of representations of the past they give a voice, and scholars should critically assess how this affects the formation of historical memory in multi-platform environments.

6.4. Towards a participatory memory?

Studies of memory comprehend cultural memory as shared and reconstructed knowledge of the past outside of but nevertheless entangled with official historical discourse.¹²² New cultures of participation and digital technologies can provide a more direct link between audiences and sources of historical information, but to actively engage television users in spaces of participation, links need to be made meaningful. As Erll argues, a memory that is represented

¹²¹ For a further reflection on the challenges of web archiving, specifically regarding archiving websites of Dutch public broadcasters, see: Lotte Belice Baltussen et al., 'Hard Content, Fab Front-End: Archiving Websites of Dutch Public Broadcasters', *Alexandria: The Journal of National and International Library and Information Issues* 25, no. 1 (2014): 69–91, doi:10.7227/ALX.0021.

¹²² Liedeke Plate and Anneke Smelik, eds., *Technologies of Memory in the Arts* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

by media and institutions must be 'actualised' by individuals to have impact on society.¹²³ Actualisation in this context entails members of a community of remembrance sharing notions of the past. History television productions facilitate such negotiations by portraying those parts of the collective memory that are most relevant at the given time to programme makers and their audiences.¹²⁴ Although all countries have their own historiographies, IN EUROPA's multi-platform strategies prompted viewers to identify with the histories and memories of fellow Europeans on a more affective and personal level.

Television can make history as a process more visible, as Paddy Scannell has argued in relation to broadcast television:

'Television today makes the historical process visible. Through it we see the manifest truth of the claim that human beings do indeed make history; their own histories, the history of the country in which they live, the history of the world. But what is much harder to see is how to account for and understand these interlocking historical processes that are all embedded in each other'.¹²⁵

Cross-media formats broaden the scope of history that becomes visible through television and its connected platforms, and provide users with further insight into how historical information is selected and produced. The aggregation of contextual information can encourage engagement and provides a more comprehensive framework of interpretation to users. Cross-media formats therefore enhance television's ability to make the historical process visible, creating new possibilities for audiences to engage in history and including audiences in the construction of historical narratives. As a result, multi-platform story productions have the potential to help construct a specific kind of collective memory and shared engagement with the past, which can arguably be termed a 'participatory memory'.¹²⁶

Participatory kinds of memory with which an audience can identify are constructed by focusing on what history *felt* like at the time. Creators' production choices and narrative strategies, as exemplified by the case of IN EUROPA, pre-structure and 'trigger' such forms of engagement with the past. This process is not fully egalitarian as user contributions can be moderated, but rather signifies a first step by opening up a space for participation across different platforms. Through a focus on personal memories and emotional identification with historical events, television working towards a participatory memory causes accepted versions of history to be contrasted and challenged.

¹²³ Astrid Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B Young (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 5.

¹²⁴ Gary R Edgerton, 'Introduction: Television as Historian: A Different Kind of History Altogether', in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 8.

¹²⁵ Paddy Scannell, 'Television and History', in *A Companion to Television*, ed. Janet Wasko (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 51.

¹²⁶ For a different conceptualisation, see: Juan Francisco Gutiérrez Lozano, 'Television Memory after the End of Television History?', in *After the Break: Television Theory Today*, ed. Marijke de Valck and Jan Teurlings (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 139–142. Lozano addresses the concept of television memory and the use of television's past - such as repeats, remakes and the re-use of archival footage - as a new participative television memory.

The case of *IN EUROPA* reveals that 'sharing' history in itself is not enough in constructing a participatory memory: television in the multi-platform era requires the facilitation of spaces of participation, where users can engage in discursive struggles over what is accepted as history from their own position as experience experts. This process is 'opened up' as well as complicated by the practicalities of television production and multi-platform storytelling. Steering the level and extent of user involvement through resonance and contextualisation is a necessity for storytelling purposes, and sets the preconditions for the range of memory narratives that can possibly be brought together.

The analysis of the case of *IN EUROPA* shows the potential for constructing a participatory memory, which deserves further attention. It needs to be critically evaluated how pre-structuring and steering user participation through production practices impacts the formation of historical memory in relation to cross-media documentaries. A necessary element in this is to take into account the extent in which multi-platform projects can be safeguarded against digital amnesia and a long tail effect can be preserved by broadcasters, for instance by considering (open) digital standards and meta-documentation from the onset of the project. Multi-platform strategies can enhance constructing participatory memory through resonance, contextualisation and the online reproduction of personal memories. Such approaches facilitate the continual use and preservation of previously broadcast television series to live and live on in online environments.

Doing History on Television as a Practice of Cultural Memory

In the previous chapters, I have analysed practices of representing the past on television as a multi-platform phenomenon. I have explored how television professionals deploy the medium in the multi-platform landscape to inform and educate viewers about the past. Through an analysis of selected case studies, I have been able to zoom in on different aspects of representing the past in documentary and archive-based television programmes. The contribution of these contemporary representations of past events to cultural memory will be reflected upon in this final chapter. Here, I consider how these new forms of television and representing history by television professionals affects the medium television as a practice of cultural memory in the multi-platform landscape.

In this final chapter, I reconsider television as a hybrid repertoire of memory. First, I zoom in on the theoretical concept of cultural memory. Second, I consider television's transformation into a dynamic constellation of screen practices and offer a critical rethinking of theoretical concepts connected to the medium – specifically liveness as presence and immediacy; fixity; and flow – to address the recent developments in television. Third, I discuss how new dynamic production and scheduling practices of doing history in connection with highly accessible, participatory forms of user engagement have created opportunities for television users to engage with the past, and how such practices affect television as a practice of memory. Finally, by adopting and expanding Aleida Assmann's model of the dynamics of cultural memory between remembering and forgetting, a new model to study television as cultural memory is proposed which takes into account the medium's hybridity in the multi-platform era.

7.1. Cultural memory

Memory is studied across different disciplines within the humanities and social sciences, such as archaeology, history, literary studies, visual culture, art history, film and media studies, philosophy, sociology and psychology, as well as the rising discipline of memory studies. The meaning of 'memory' has been broadened due to the increased work on memory, and a wide range of concepts are at present used in its study and theorisation: from collective memory,¹

¹ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

popular memory² and social memory³ to *lieux de mémoire*.⁴ This chapter zooms in on the relatively recent notion of cultural memory, which distinguishes itself from the aforementioned concepts as a *constructive process* with a specific focus on the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts.⁵ Hence, the emphasis in this thesis is on *creating* or *constructing memory* through practices of doing history. The analysis of the selected case studies affirms that cultural memory is not oppositional to the discourse of official history, but 'entangled' with history. Here, I follow the perspective of Marita Sturken, who argues that cultural memory is 'memory that is shared outside the avenues of formal historical discourse yet is entangled with cultural products and imbued with cultural meaning'.⁶ In this context, Liedeke Plate and Anneke Smelik have also defined cultural memory as the cultural dimension of memory, taken as both the *what* and the *how* that a culture remembers. Both these scholars understand remembering as a 'tricky business':

'By remembering we form an idea of our self and shape a sense of our identity; thus, we end up embodying the memory that inhabits us. Yet, memory is a dynamic phenomenon for any individual, but also for a culture as a whole. Memory is affected by politics, ideology, technology, or art and popular culture. By changing over time, memory may unsettle received ideas of the past and consequently of the present and even the future'.⁷

Cultural memory can thus be seen as the complex ways in which a culture remembers. Subsequently, as Mieke Bal has stated, the notion of cultural memory has displaced and submerged the discourses of individual (psychological) memory and social memory. This specific term now signifies that memory can be understood as a cultural phenomenon, as well as an individual or social experience:

'The memorial presence of the past takes many forms and serves many purposes, ranging from conscious recall to unreflected re-emergence, from nostalgic longing for what is lost to polemical use of the past to reshape the present. The interaction between present and past that is the stuff of cultural memory is, however, the product of collective agency rather than the result of psychic or historical accident. [...] [C]ultural recall is not merely something of which you happen to be a bearer but something you can actually *perform*, even if, in many instances, such acts are not consciously and wilfully contrived'.⁸

² Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994).

³ James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

⁴ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (1989).

⁵ Astrid Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B Young (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 2.

⁶ Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 3.

⁷ Liedeke Plate and Anneke Smelik, eds., *Technologies of Memory in the Arts* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1.

⁸ Mieke Bal, 'Introduction', in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan V Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), vii.

More specifically, cultural memory calls attention to the active, continuous and unstable process of remembering – and therefore forgetting – in socio-cultural contexts.⁹

The crucial role that media plays in the process of both remembering and forgetting is currently reaching new levels of interest in the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary study of memory. Rather than analysing media and memory as separate entities, recent studies by José van Dijck, Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, and others have pointed out the centrality of media to the formation of cultural memory. These studies advocate a more *dynamic* approach to the study of cultural memory and the media, which invariably provide frameworks for remembering.¹⁰ Erll has in this context stated that media and mediation need to be understood as a 'switchboard' between individual and collective remembering: 'Personal memories can only gain social relevance through media representation and distribution'.¹¹ Van Dijck's study points to a similar function, describing media technologies as 'tools that mediate between personal and collective cultural memory'.¹² Drawing upon interdisciplinary memory research by Siegfried J. Schmidt, Erll and Rigney argue that media do not only mediate between a human being and the world as 'instruments for sense-making', but also mediate between individuals and groups as 'agents of networking' – and through both ways, create frameworks for shaping experience as well as memory.¹³ Based on the analysis of the selected case studies, I advocate a similarly dynamic approach to the study of television today.

In the current multi-platform era, television can in this manner be studied as a *practice* of memory. Sturken has defined a practice of memory as 'an activity that engages with, produces, reproduces and invests meaning in memories, whether personal, cultural or collective'.¹⁴ According to Sturken, the concept of cultural memory is profoundly connected to the notion of memory practices, because the active and constructed nature of memory is emphasised. The concept 'practice of memory' also allows for a focus on television as a *continuous, unstable* and *changing* memory practice in the multi-platform era, particularly because the production and reconstruction of memory through cultural practices has as its basis the idea that memories are always part of larger processes of cultural negotiation and transformation. As Sturken argues: 'This defines memories as *narratives*, as *fluid* and *mediated* cultural and personal traces of the past'.¹⁵ (my emphasis)

Such a perspective was initially not a given in the study of memory,¹⁶ and is further problematised by the fact that electronic media – and television in particular – have been said to have a paradoxical relationship with history and memory. The assumed paradoxical relationship between media, history and memory is exemplified by the so-called late twentieth century memory crisis. Susannah Radstone states in her work *Memory and Methodology* that

⁹ Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 3.

¹⁰ Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, 'Introduction', in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 1–2; José van Dijck, *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 16.

¹¹ Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 13.

¹² Van Dijck, *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age*, 19.

¹³ Erll and Rigney, 'Introduction', 1.

¹⁴ Marita Sturken, 'Memory, Consumerism and Media: Reflections on the Emergence of the Field', *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 74, doi:10.1177/1750698007083890.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ See also: Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*.

in the late twentieth century, experiences of immediacy, instantaneity and simultaneity have inflected a crisis of memory in contemporary society.¹⁷ The development of new electronic technologies is partly responsible for 'deepening' this crisis, since such new media 'collapse the distance that previously separated an event from its representation'.^{18,19} Thomas Elsaesser perhaps best explains this assumed paradoxical relationship between media, history and memory by arguing that the discourse of media memory – specifically for television – is 'constitutively traumatic':

'The media images of television, regarded from the point of view of their referentiality, would [...] contribute to our cultural memory above all by preserving the traumatic nature of media-made history as *post-history*. [A] past event, passed on in media images, is both un-dead and not alive. It is always exceeding, in whatever small and apparently insignificant way, the place and time, the status and hierarchy a historian might assign to it'.²⁰ (my emphasis)

According to Elsaesser, then, historical events passed on in television images are always ready to return and never to be forgotten, but at the same time 'interfered with, blurred, or overlaid by other images, other memories, other possible combinations and associations' and therefore also never quite remembered.²¹ In the current media climate we are witnessing a vast growth of new media and digital technologies, new memory discourses and memory practices. The contemporary media landscape in particular provides many opportunities for media-made history as post-history. Recent studies and international conferences have therefore started to discuss the considerable role of television today in the everyday process of remembering and forgetting (see Chapter 1: Introduction). This current media climate is also uniquely suited to television as a practice of memory and its present role in the construction of cultural memory.

7.2. Television as a dynamic constellation of screen practices

Television's transformation into a dynamic constellation of screen practices challenges the dominant conception that television, characterised by liveness, immediacy and its ephemeral nature, is a disposable practice incapable of memory. Like other media, television has often

¹⁷ Susannah Radstone, 'Working with Memory: An Introduction', in *Memory and Methodology*, ed. Susannah Radstone (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 7; Memory scholars Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney have in this respect claimed that the current crisis of memory, although perhaps the most dramatic, is not so much the first of its kind but must rather be seen as 'the newest phase in the ongoing evolution of memorial media'. Erll and Rigney, 'Introduction', 7.

¹⁸ Vivian Carol Sobchack, 'Introduction: History Happens', in *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event*, ed. Vivian Carol Sobchack (New York: Routledge, 1996), 5; In: Radstone, 'Working with Memory: An Introduction', 7.

¹⁹ This claim is in line with Andreas Huyssen's statement that critics have accused the modern-day memory culture of amnesia, numbing and the loss of historical consciousness. Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), 16–17.

²⁰ Thomas Elsaesser, 'History, Media, Memory - Three Discourses in Dispute', in *Witness: Memory, Representation and the Media in Question*, ed. Ulrik Ekman and Frederik Tygstrup (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2008), 409.

²¹ *Ibid.*

been theorised as a stable, fixed, and autonomous technology. The medium has also been slated for rendering memory static and enduring. Television's contribution to the loss of historical consciousness has often been attributed to the medium's flow quality. In the present media climate, a critical rethinking of television and theoretical concepts connected to the medium – specifically liveness as presence and immediacy; fixity; and flow – is essential to address the recent developments in television.

7.2.1. Liveness, presence and immediacy

Television has often been regarded as a 'bad' memory medium. Television has principally been conceptualised in terms of time owing to its basic characteristics of liveness and immediacy, but it has been locked in the present tense. According to Mary Ann Doane, the temporal dimension of television is 'an insistent "present-ness" – a "*This-is-going-on*" rather than a "*That-has-been*", a celebration of the instantaneous', its own discourse therefore characterised by Doane as 'nowness'.²² Being coded as present, immediate and live, the medium of television has in particular been categorised as amnesic. As Mimi White has argued in her influential essay 'The Attractions of Television: Reconsidering Liveness', liveness has principally been used as a key concept for television studies to characterise fundamental ontological and ideological differences between film and television as distinctive media. This has resulted in the outcome that:

"Liveness" – as presence, immediacy, actuality – becomes a conceptual filter to such an extent that other discursive registers are ignored. As a result, television's pervasive discourses of history, memory and preservation are too readily dismissed, relegated to secondary status [...].²³

Through a re-evaluation of liveness as television's most definitive ontology and underlying ideology, White has argued that ideas of history and memory are as central to any theoretical understanding of television's discursive operations as ideas of presence, immediacy and liveness.²⁴ Critical work that recognises television's important contributions to memory and historiography is still in the minority, but White's essays have become a prime inspiration for television historians and memory scholars to argue against cultural criticism that characterises television as amnesic.

For example, historian Steve Anderson has denominated White's work as an important challenge to foundational television theory. In his work, Anderson argues that television has modelled highly creative and stylised modes of interaction with the past, which play a

²² Mary Ann Doane, 'Information, Crisis, Catastrophe', in *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, ed. Patricia Mellencamp, Theories of Contemporary Culture (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 222, 227. For a foundational reading of television's essential liveness, see: Jane Feuer, 'The Concept of Live Television: Ontology as Ideology', in *Regarding Television: Critical Approaches - an Anthology*, ed. E. Ann Kaplan (Los Angeles: American Film Institute, 1983), 12–22.

²³ Mimi White, 'The Attractions of Television: Reconsidering Liveness', in *MediaSpace: Place, Scale, and Culture in a Media Age*, ed. Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 79–80.

²⁴ Mimi White, 'Television Liveness: History, Banality, Attractions', *Spectator* 20, no. 1 (1999): 40–41.

significant role in cultural memory and the popular negotiation of the past.²⁵ Furthermore, Amy Holdsworth has used White's 2004 essay to argue against the denial of memory as a possibility for the medium.²⁶ Mari Pajala has also made use of this essay to emphasise how theorisations that position liveness as the privileged form of televisuality fail to explain the persistent interest in memory, history, and preservation on television.²⁷ These argumentations can be taken a step further by questioning the basic notion of liveness itself as presence and immediacy.

Television criticism has conventionally defined liveness as the medium's main characteristic and aesthetic, however, scholars like Kay Richardson and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, John Ellis and Paddy Scannell have questioned the 'slippery' and 'misunderstood' concept of liveness.²⁸ Television scholars must be careful not to conflate liveness as a technological effect of television – after all, since the 1960s television has predominantly consisted of pre-recorded programmes. In the words of Ellis:

'The very act of broadcast transmission itself creates a sense of instantaneous contact with the audience. The act of broadcast and the act of witness take place in the same instant, whether or not the events witnessed are taking place "live".'²⁹

It is precisely the moment of instantaneous contact that gives television the power to create memory. Work by Anne Wales and Roberta Pearson shows how television can for instance function as a facilitator of cultural memory when broadcasting (annual) events of national mourning, commemoration or celebration.³⁰ Such broadcasts both actively memorialise, often by using or recycling archival materials for remembrance, *and* create new memories, shaping

²⁵ Steve Anderson, 'History TV and Popular Memory', in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 20–22.

²⁶ Holdsworth's criticism in this context is particularly directed towards Patricia Mellencamp's edited collection *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); specifically the essays by Mary Ann Doane 'Information, Crisis, Catastrophe', Patricia Mellencamp 'TV Time and Catastrophe, or Beyond the Pleasure Principle of Television', and in a lesser manner Stephen Heath 'Representing Television' and Margaret Morse 'An Ontology of Everyday Distraction: The Freeway, the Mall and Television'. See: Amy Holdsworth, 'British Television, Memory and Nostalgia' (PhD, University of Warwick, 2007), 31–32.

²⁷ Pajala's criticism in this context is particularly directed towards: Stephen Heath, 'Representing Television', in *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, ed. Patricia Mellencamp (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 267–302; Andrew Hoskins, 'New Memory: Mediating History', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 21, no. 4 (2001): 333–46, doi:10.1080/01439680120075473. See: Mari Pajala, 'Television as an Archive of Memories? Cultural Memory and Its Limits on the Finnish Public Service Broadcaster's Online Archive', *Critical Studies in Television* 5, no. 2 (2010): 133–45, doi:10.7227/CST.5.2.16, 1.

²⁸ Kay Richardson and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, *Worlds in Common? Television Discourse in a Changing Europe* (London: Routledge, 1999); Paddy Scannell, 'Television and History', in *A Companion to Television*, ed. Janet Wasko (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); John Ellis, *Seeing Things: Television in the Age of Uncertainty* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000).

²⁹ John Ellis, *Seeing Things*, 74.

³⁰ Anne Wales, 'Television as History: History as Television', in *Television and Criticism*, ed. Solange Davin and Rhona Jackson (Bristol: Intellect, 2008), 53; Roberta E Pearson, 'Memory', in *Critical Dictionary of Film and Television Theory*, ed. Roberta E Pearson and Philip Simpson (London: Routledge, 2001), 388.

the viewers' memory of the event as well as television history. In the multi-platform era, the moment of instantaneous contact will lie even more in the hands of the television user.

Liveness, presence or immediacy must therefore not be equated with transiency, and television culture is not necessarily disposable, as Lynn Spigel has also claimed.³¹ Television can be considered more in terms of instantaneous contact with the audience rather than liveness, especially since the number of television programmes that is experienced out of time by viewers has severely increased in the multi-platform era. This shift in viewing rituals is likely to intensify even more in the years to come. Through instantaneous contact with its audience, practices of doing history on television are an important force in the reconstruction of experiences of the past in the present. What is more, the privileging, marginalising and rejecting of certain memory narratives over others by television creators is an important characteristic of the medium as a practice of memory in the multi-platform era.

7.2.2. Fixity versus connectivity

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

'A videotape or audiotape, a written record, do more than just reinforce memory; they freeze it, and in imposing a fixed, linear sequence upon it, they simultaneously preserve it and prevent it from evolving and transforming itself with time'.³²

However, Hoskins moves on to argue how 'the distinctions between the totalising and the contextual, the permanent and the ephemeral, the archive and narrative are less effectual when memory is embedded in networks that *blur* these characteristics [and] technological advances that have transformed the *temporality*, *spatiality*, and indeed the *mobility* of memories'.³³ (my emphasis) The medium that is of principal interest to Hoskins in this context is the internet. I propose that televisual practices of re-screening, from factual programming to online networked television archives, need to be considered here as well.

Television has often been theorised as a stable and fixed technology, isolated from other (screen) practices.³⁴ However, the possibilities of watching television 'live' (watching television programmes while being broadcast), 'near-live' (there is a small time difference between the

³¹ 'Given its ephemeral nature, television is still largely viewed as disposable culture [...]'. In: Lynn Spigel, 'Our TV Heritage: Television, the Archive, and the Reasons for Preservation', in *A Companion to Television*, ed. Janet Wasko (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005), 92, <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1002/9780470997130.ch5>.

³² Steven Rose, *The Making of Memory: From Molecules to Mind* (London: Bantam, 1993), 61; In: Andrew Hoskins, 'Digital Network Memory', in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 92–93.

³³ Hoskins, 'Digital Network Memory', 93.

³⁴ Television is considered by many people to be a stable technology without opportunities for further innovation. In: A. Michael Noll, *Television Technology: Fundamentals and Future Prospects* (Norwood, MA: Artech House, 1988), 1. See also: 'The isolated TV set; the picture box cut off from culture' in: John T Caldwell, *Televisuality: Style, Crisis, and Authority in American Television* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 151.

time of broadcasting and watching a programme) and 'time-shift viewing' (watching a programme recorded at an earlier time)³⁵ already indicate the versatility of watching television, and exhibit how the dynamics of television as both a practice and experience are constantly shifting. What is more, television programmes in the multi-platform era offer additional and connected experiences next to traditional broadcasting, for instance via the internet, digital thematic channels and DVD. Derek Kompare has argued that watching a particular text on DVD is a distinct experience from watching that same text on television – or in that respect, in the cinema or on videotape – stating that the DVD box set 'functions as a multi-layered textual experience *distinct from television and only obtainable via DVD*'.³⁶ (my emphasis) By contrast, I have shown that such practices must be considered a necessary part of television as a dynamic constellation of screen practices in the multi-platform era: in terms of television users interacting with television programmes beyond the moment of viewing in different discourses surrounding the television text, but also in terms of collecting and increased personalisation, or 'Do-It-Yourself' TV archiving. The experience of watching a television series on demand or via DVD in one's own time instead of a weekly broadcast at a set time is also offered via digital thematic channels, on-demand online and streaming services and time-shifting technologies. This must be considered as one of the many different experiences television currently offers to television users. In this respect, Jane Roscoe has also argued that 'choice is the buzzword for broadcasters and audiences' in her discussion of multi-platform event television.³⁷ As the analysed cases have made evident, television is constantly connected to other cultural texts and can no longer be considered or theorised as a medium in isolation.

7.2.3. Flows of memory

Third and finally, television scholars have generally understood television to obtain its meaning in a manner different to for instance the experience of reading a book, as television presents itself to viewers as a flow of images that can or cannot be related to each other. In the words of Raymond Williams, television's flow quality consists of 'the replacement of a programme series of timed sequential units by a flow series of differently related units in which the timing, though real, is undeclared, and in which the real internal organisation is something other than the declared organisation'.³⁸ Work by Williams and Ellis recognised how television viewers compose their own television text from a variety of segments (in programmes, channels, commercials...) and how television in this manner can contribute to assumptions, attitudes and ideas prevalent in a society arising from the ideologies underpinning that society.³⁹ Television's acclaimed role in the loss of historical consciousness has often been attributed to the medium's flow quality. By implicating flow as an intrinsic quality of television together with liveness,

³⁵ See also: Jeroen Nikkel and Marlies van Bergen, 'GfK jaargids 2008: uitgesteld televisiekijken' (Amstelveen and Brussels: GfK Benelux, 2008), <http://publications.gfk.nl/?view=jaargids2008.xml>.

³⁶ Derek Kompare, 'Publishing Flow: DVD Box Sets and the Reconceptualization of Television', *Television & New Media* 7, no. 4 (2006): 335–60, doi:10.1177/1527476404270609, 346, 349.

³⁷ Jane Roscoe, 'Multi-Platform Event Television: Reconceptualizing Our Relationship with Television', *The Communication Review* 7, no. 4 (2004): 364, doi:10.1080/10714420490886961.

³⁸ Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 93.

³⁹ Williams, *Television*; John Ellis, *Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video* (London: Routledge, 1992); In: Jonathan Bignell, *An Introduction to Television Studies* (London: Routledge, 2004), 23.

television's contribution to the loss of history is even further emphasised by Stephen Heath, who has argued that:

'The liveness of television – whether real or fictive (liveness is a primary imaginary of television) – also has its significance here, that of a constant immediacy, television today, now, this minute. Exhausting time into moments, it's "now-thisness", *television produces forgetfulness, not memory, flow, not history*. If there is history, it is congealed, already past and distant and forgotten other than as television archive material, images that can be repeated to be forgotten again'.⁴⁰ (my emphasis)

According to William Uricchio, a subtle but important shift in the concept of flow has taken place in the age of convergence, replacing a programming-based notion of flow with a viewer-centred notion of flow and more recently, a new technologically ordered concept of flow.⁴¹ In today's mediated era we can watch television programming via multi-layered television sets, personal computers (desktop-, laptop-, tablet PCs) and mobile phones (by receiving either streamed television content via the internet or terrestrial mobile broadcasting via Digital Video Broadcasting-Handheld (DVB-H)); transmitted via digital and analogue signals; as terrestrial, cable, satellite, handheld/mobile or internet television; in or outside the domestic viewing context of the home; in a variety of distribution formats, such as traditional broadcasting, on-demand services, digital thematic channels, DVD productions; and different storage formats, like DVR systems. Uricchio emphasises that the gradual shift from traditional television broadcasting to alternate carriers and intensified convergence has subsequently granted the internet access to domains that were once exclusively televisual.⁴² This argument can be extended to include other dynamic screen practices as well, especially when considering television's practices of multi-platform storytelling.

Television's convergence with new and digital media technologies has become a distinctive feature of the medium, transforming television from an activity fixed around programming and broadcasting schedules to a practice concentrated around the selection of the television user. As a result, television content in both Dutch and international contexts is flowing across numerous media platforms and screens in a variety of ways. This has also shaped television creators' strategies of repurposing archival materials in new contexts and making history programming accessible across media platforms and screens. This is a specific example of convergence, which Henry Jenkins has defined as 'the flow of content across multimedia platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behaviour of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want'.⁴³ The medium television is in itself a unique example of convergence, given that the activity of watching television has become a multi-platform practice. In this

⁴⁰ Stephen Heath, 'Representing Television', in *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, ed. Patricia Mellencamp (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 278–279.

⁴¹ William Uricchio, 'Television's Next Generation: Technology/Interface, Culture/Flow', in *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. Lynn Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 171–172, 179.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 175.

⁴³ Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 2.

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

The privileging, marginalising and rejecting of certain memory narratives over others is an important part of this process. Loosened from a specific distribution format, televisual practices of re-screening consequently produce a flow – or indeed, *flows* – of memory through multi-platform storytelling. Instead of each television image replacing the next in a serial succession in television's traditional 'flow' model, television images exist continuously side by side in a parallel extension on multiple platforms. These images are being navigated through an increasingly viewer-sided and technology-sided notion of flow. Images can be revisited as long as such memory materials keep making themselves available to audiences – which in today's technologically advanced era can both be an exceedingly lengthy period⁴⁴ as well as bound by different challenges and restrictions, as the analysis in the previous chapters has pointed out.

7.3. Doing history as a practice of cultural memory

Why a poetics of doing history on television? To reiterate Peter Burke's observation in *Varieties of Cultural History*, '[n]either memories nor histories seem objective any longer. In both cases historians are learning to take account of conscious or unconscious selection, interpretation and distortion'.⁴⁵ In the previous chapters, I have highlighted several examples of such criteria and strategies in working towards a televisual poetics of doing history. I have focused on selection, representation, plausibility, contextualisation and conventions. The studied programmes themselves are television history, and have their own poetic relation to the time in which they were created and transmitted. Cross-media practices also need to be considered as an important continuation and extension of the programme's narrative and textual strategies. These widely accessible representations of history on television are lively artefacts of witnessing the past. They shape our perspectives of the past, but are selected and made accessible by their creators within a specific context. The medium of television presents creators in the multi-platform era with a wider range of means of representation to recontextualise the past, putting it back into our everyday lives – and this brings opportunities and challenges for television makers. A poetics of doing history can therefore be used to shed further light on, to paraphrase Burke, television makers' conscious and unconscious practices of selection and interpretation.

I have shown in the previous chapters how Dutch broadcasters bring narratives of the past into vision, based on an analysis of specific case studies. Here, I have focused on relevant forms of traditional broadcast television on public service channels; narrowcasting and cross-

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the possible 'hazards' of the increased digitisation of memory, see: Nancy Van House and Elizabeth F Churchill, 'Technologies of Memory: Key Issues and Critical Perspectives', *Memory Studies* 1, no. 3 (2008): 302–306, doi:10.1177/1750698008093795.

⁴⁵ Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), 44.

platform scheduling, particularly in relation to digital thematic channels and documentary platforms; and connected cross-media, transmedia and participatory practices. To reiterate, the study of the selected cases on textual and narrative, cultural-historical and institutional levels (discussed more extensively in Chapter 2: 'Poetics as a Research Model') is a purely heuristic distinction, as such practices are necessarily connected and related.

Each case study revealed more or less distinct textual, cultural-historical and institutional aims, strategies and conventions for doing history. The studied cases on the one hand pointed to the increasing blurring of boundaries between these practices and between programmes and platforms in the digital era. On the other hand, in each chapter I have been able to zoom in on different aspects of representing the past in documentary and archive-based television programmes within the multi-platform landscape, ranging from mediation, hybridity, curation, re-screening, relations to official history and collective memory, as well as challenges and opportunities for television working towards a participatory memory via multi-platform story production.

Bill Nichols has described documentary film as a tangible memory theatre of its own,⁴⁶ but such a description is suitable too, then, for Dutch televisual practices of doing history in the multi-platform era. *ANDERE TIJDEN* [CHANGING TIMES] (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2000–), *DE OORLOG/13 IN DE OORLOG* [THE WAR/13 AT WAR] (NPS, 2009–2010) and *IN EUROPA* [IN EUROPE] (VPRO, 2007–2009) have been successful in bringing history to the attention of the public, and digital thematic channels *NPO Doc* (previously *Holland Doc*) and *NostalgieNet* [*NostalgiaNet*] through niche programming for specific audience groups. This is quite an achievement in a country that has been criticised for 'not devoting enough broadcasting time to history on television'⁴⁷ and where 'the interest in history is not that substantial'.⁴⁸ Television documentaries and archive-based histories can in this manner function as a tool or switchboard that mediates between personal and collective cultural memory in today's media landscape era. This also challenges the dominant conception of television as an ephemeral practice incapable of memory or contributing to the loss of historical consciousness.⁴⁹ As a multi-platform phenomenon, history television instead helps to perform cultural memory through the integration and adaptation of television's past and audio-visual archive materials in new contexts of television. By making content available on multiple platforms, fluid and multi-layered memory narratives travel across multiple platforms and screens with non-hierarchical or structured access, that way producing a flow of memory. Multi-platform storytelling in television documentaries and

⁴⁶ Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 58.

⁴⁷ Quote in Dutch: 'De Nederlandse televisie besteedt te weinig zendtijd aan geschiedenis'. In: Bas Kromhout, 'Eén soap vervangen door geschiedenis zou al prachtig zijn', *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, no. 8 (2008), <http://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/25438/een-soap-vervangen-door-geschiedenis-zou-al-prachtig-zijn.html>.

⁴⁸ Quote in Dutch: '[Nederland is] een land waar de historische belangstelling niet al te groot is'. In: Willem Melching, 'In Europa' barst van de fouten', *De Volkskrant*, 11 December 2007.

⁴⁹ See e.g.: Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, *Post-Contemporary Interventions* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 70–71; Stephen Bertman, *Cultural Amnesia: America's Future and the Crisis of Memory* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2000), 85. For alternative perspectives on ephemeral media, see e.g.: Paul Grainge, ed., *Ephemeral Media: Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

archive-based histories then can be said to function as a means to collect, search, show and preserve individual and collective cultural memories.

The analysis of the different cases highlights diverse materials – themes, subject matters, narrative forms and audio-visual styles – and organising principles of doing history on television in the multi-platform era. The studied cases have revealed, on the one hand, similar and dissimilar textual and narrative strategies for engaging audiences in what history *felt* like *at the time*, through selected means of representation and contextualisation. On the other hand, the cases have also made evident out how different strategies for material selection can provide new perspectives on past and historical events. For instance, I have shown how the strategies in DE OORLOG help to provide new outlooks on official history through often never before seen audio-visual materials and ego-documents, whilst strategies in 13 IN DE OORLOG are by contrast grounded in the re-use of more 'iconic' audio-visual images that the young target audience will most likely not be familiar with. In the multi-platform era, strategies for the contextualisation of historical narratives are also no longer limited to the television screen. Television content is dispersed across a range of information points, which can also steer audiences 'where to look' or link historical and archival content from one platform to another. Television makers' strategies for plausibility can also be extended beyond the television screen, such as the ANDERE TIJDEN creators using a programme website as an annotation tool or as a tool for source criticism. The past cannot be represented 'as it was',⁵⁰ but past events can be mediated through these diverse means of representation.

I have also questioned how decisions regarding the selection of narratives of the past are based on conventions, such as formats, specific house styles or unconscious rules of thumb. The studied cases have shown how television professionals work as industrial actors within zones of control as well as choice. In the Netherlands, television professionals seized the opportunity to experiment with storytelling practices made possible by the digitisation of archival materials, the inclusion of online and digital platforms, and some of these programmes were partly produced throughout the 2000's with the help of government funding, before the government opted out of this type of funding of television programmes. The studied archive-based and documentary programmes are representations of the past that help to 'set the agenda'⁵¹ for what is important on a national level regarding knowledge about history. This is done specifically through practices of selection, interpretation, contextualisation and circulation, and those practices are in turn based on specific aims, strategies and conventions. From the perspective that history is a continuous process, the consistency of the *Andere Tijden*-school's house style has for instance ensured the institutionalisation of regularly recurring history programming on Dutch television.

The analysis of the selected cases has shown that the transformation of television in the multi-platform era can provide television users with novel experiences of the past and opportunities for memory construction. Television can evoke events of the past to television users in both a dynamic and networked manner, by communicating memory narratives (memories, counter-memories, and the loss of memories) on a variety of platforms. Televisual

⁵⁰ Annette Kuhn, *An Everyday Magic: Cinema and Cultural Memory* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 8–9.

⁵¹ Stuart Hall, 'The Structured Communication of Events', in *Society and the Social Sciences: An Introduction*, ed. David Potter (London: Routledge, 1989), 269.

testimonies show how the increasing intertwining of the public and private can provide new outlooks on past events. Rather than exhausting time into moments of constant immediacy, here, television functions as a tool in the creation and cultural understanding of a 'shared past' as well as triggering acts of remembrance, such as personal memories. Viewer memories (for instance on programme websites, but also hand-written letters in response to broadcast television) principally underscore Jérôme Bourdon's argumentation that:

'Remembering television [...] is remembering contacts with a certain world "out there", which comes to exist through the television screen, but generates a variety of interactions that cannot be reduced to simple viewing'.⁵²

As the studied cases have shown, practices of doing history help to create such interactions and contacts. For example, in the case of IN EUROPA, users negotiated the creators' framing of personal memories and *lieux de mémoire* through three forms of engagement: personalisation, authentication and evaluation. This also involved instances where the audience had not personally experienced this history for themselves – memories that are not a part of a person's lived experience.⁵³ Current changes in the media landscape such as online archives, digitalisation, and niche programming have made television memory ever more available to us: an extensive archive of television history for public consumption that has been recycled or repurposed by television makers and memory consumers in a number of creative ways. In the multi-platform era, this variety of interactions is opened up far beyond the television screen, to other platforms, screens, and users.

In this context, Holdsworth has argued that television is currently experiencing its own memory boom. Because of the current proliferation of representations of the past for public consumption, '[t]he medium is now lost *in memory*'.⁵⁴ In her study on television, memory and nostalgia, Holdsworth stated that the influence of memory studies and the notion of the memory boom prompts a concern with *how*, *why* and *to what effect* memory and nostalgia arise within the televisual landscape. Offering a reflection of the operation of television memory outside of broadcast flow and within the traditional space of the museum – in the context of the galleries and collections at the National Media Museum (NMM) – Holdsworth concluded that:

'*Television is not dead but recirculates* within contemporary culture through a variety of textual, generic, personal and institutional practices. [...] If we view television as a possible point of collective identification, rather than a "vanishing act", then both TV Heaven and the wider gallery act as a place to share and affirm experiences and memories of our television autobiographies'.⁵⁵ (my emphasis)

Holdsworth noted that her account did not offer a sustained analysis. However, her study offers sufficient leads of departure for the consideration of television in the multi-platform landscape

⁵² Jérôme Bourdon, 'Some Sense of Time: Remembering Television', *History & Memory* 15, no. 2 (2003): 12–13.

⁵³ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

⁵⁴ Holdsworth, *Television, Memory and Nostalgia*, 5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 6, 145.

as a site of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) in which television's history is repurposed. I have shown through the analysis of different cases how television as a dynamic constellation of screen practices helps to represent the past. For instance, the documentary platform *NPO Doc* draws upon television's hybridity by actively circulating a curated repertoire of history programming and connected contextualization practices via traditional public broadcasting and new digital media forms.

From this perspective, historians' criticism of television not being able to do history 'properly' also needs to be reconsidered. By constructing narratives that are too large to be told through one medium, practices of cross-media and transmedia storytelling provide necessary contextual frameworks with televised histories. Various media ranging from radio, print, online and digital media can work together to provide additional historical frameworks and backgrounds with information provided on broadcast television. It is essential to analyse these strategies as an integral part of television in the multi-platform landscape. Via television as a multi-platform experience, viewers can connect with the past on personal, public, national and European levels, demonstrating the continuing importance of stories and memories produced through televisual practices – and challenging accepted versions of history.

As Rigney has argued, the time when things could be reduced to a single grand narrative is over.⁵⁶ For each case study, I have shown the preconceptions of television professionals about the target audience of their programming and their criteria for doing history. The analysed cases have also revealed how television in the multi-platform landscape functions as a teacher of history in different ways. The cases have revealed diverse possibilities for television to make visible the 'web of interconnections' that bind public history and personal memory together.⁵⁷ Here, each case reflects a different take on representing or engaging the 'grand narratives' of history. These studied cases use diverse means of representation and multi-platform storytelling to construct alternatives to more traditional perspectives on history and television's usable past. Principally, by showing how people responded to smaller and larger events, by using history from below to present an alternative version of a grand narrative to provide new outlooks and contradictory perspectives, or by presenting a grand narrative of history as envisioned by television creators, by drawing upon historical events and national collective memory as an incentive for the scheduling, circulation and contextualisation of content for specific audience groups, and finally, by expanding and enhancing such strategies by directing users to other facets of a story on connected media platforms.

Doing history as a practice of memory in the multi-platform era ultimately reveals the mediality of memory, as well as the dynamics of making meaning. Content not only moves across different platforms and screens through an increasingly viewer- and technology-sided notion of flow, but such programming is also designed for specific cross-media purposes in the multi-platform era. The manufacturing process of such programmes can take months or years and even after completion, televisual practices of re-screening do not provide a fixed or stable point of reference. Through the cross-media nature of the studied programmes, both the

⁵⁶ Ann Rigney, 'Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory', *Journal of European Studies* 35, no. 1 (2005): 26, doi:10.1177/0047244105051158.

⁵⁷ Annette Kuhn, 'A Journey through Memory', in *Memory and Methodology*, ed. Susannah Radstone (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 186; Myra Macdonald, 'Performing Memory on Television: Documentary and the 1960s', *Screen* 47, no. 3 (2006): 327.

programmes' memorialisation of the past and the newly produced memories of the past can be mulled over, debated, rejected, changed or expanded (in short: 'worked over') on different platforms directly connected to the programme. This study has also pointed out the possibilities for engaging users with history and memory when a multi-platform story production is paced and timed to create resonance. Televisual practices of multi-platform storytelling steer the level and extent of such user involvement. However, continuity on the different production levels is a requirement for multi-platform storytelling to maintain resonance over a longer period and to achieve a long tail effect. Multi-platform story productions also have the potential to help construct a specific kind of collective memory and shared engagement with the past, which can arguably be termed a 'participatory memory', but this process is opened up as well as complicated by the practicalities of television production and multi-platform storytelling. Steering the level and extent of user involvement through resonance and contextualisation is a necessity for storytelling purposes, and sets preconditions for the range of memory narratives that can possibly be brought together.

The analysed archive-based and documentary television programmes are primarily broadcast via public broadcast television and digital thematic channels, and can be viewed on-demand on the Dutch public broadcasting service's catch-up TV website and the programmes' websites. However, the rights for the use of archival materials on for instance the IN EUROPE homepage have been purchased for a particular period, which will discontinue in a few years' time. How and whether the memory materials offered by the IN EUROPE website will at that time be integrated into other platforms will depend on the decisions of commissioners and producers related to budget restrictions and the discarding of 'internet-only' websites hosted by broadcasters. The website may possibly be relayed from a live to a 'mothball' status – no longer updated, but still accessible and valuable for historical and social content. Contextualisation and stimulus therefore remain important preconditions for the 'actualisation' of participatory memories and active forms of user engagement in the multi-platform era. This is even more the case within the Dutch television industry, because public broadcasters are forbidden to produce 'internet only' content – meaning content with no direct link with television programming. As a result, television content is not produced to engage users' attention beyond the moment of broadcasting a specific series – which is problematic to say the least for the production of a cross-media or trans-media narrative.

As a practice of cultural memory, then, doing history is primarily a *struggle over power*. Doing history is not a linear process. The opportunities for creators to provide access to history on television in a particular context and to make contextualised material more meaningful have expanded considerably in the multi-platform era. This also brings new opportunities and challenges for television makers. Representations of history on television shape our perspectives of the past (as a 'technological memory bank'⁵⁸), but such representations are selected, structured and made accessible by their creators within a specific context – the poetics of doing history outlined in the previous chapters. The cases studied in the previous chapters have highlighted the creators' aims, conventions and strategies for doing history at different

⁵⁸ Anton Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat: The Return of History as Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), ix.

stages of the production process. The analysis of these cases has made evident the role of television professionals in their manufacturing of memory, as:

- signifying agents actively involved in practices of selection and meaning making;
- industrial actors whose practices are shaped by distinct modes of institutional interaction on different levels in their work, including long-established forms of public broadcasting as well as new media and digital practices;
- dynamic agents of history in the representation, remembrance and education of narratives about the past.

The analysis has underscored, in the first place, the influential role of individuals – such as Ad van Liempt – who from their personal background have specific views on how to do history on television and as 'agents' are able to realise these. In the second place, the analysis has also pointed to the history of the Dutch public broadcasting system and to the chances at NTR (and previously at NPS) and VPRO in being able to put their own authority first and keep their know-how 'in-house' to deliver the demands of doing history. In the third place, the study has also raised questions in relation to the challenges in establishing necessary intrinsic cooperation within the Dutch public broadcasting system, the extent in which present media policies are attuned to the current circulation of television content and television history content, and where and how to demarcate user involvement. Television professionals working at different levels in the industry have the responsibility to reflect on what kind of representations of the past they give a voice, and scholars should critically assess how this affects the formation of memory in multi-platform environments.

As I have shown, creators of archive-based and documentary television programmes use multi-platform strategies to offer specific forms of engagement with the past, and such strategies are both a necessary part as an important expansion of this process. The Dutch public broadcasters strive for a greater connection between the current 'proliferation' of separate websites, and this also entails limiting and confining them. Without a strategy to *integrally* preserve websites and other cross-media practices with history television programming, important sites of memory will be lost for future remembrance and reflection. Just 'because' representations of the past have a social relevance, does not necessarily mean that they will be preserved for posterity, or that the forms in which they are offered are suitable to do so.⁵⁹

7.4. Television as cultural memory in the multi-platform era

Mak has stated that IN EUROPA has invented 'a new kind of historiography',⁶⁰ however, I would like to emphasise that the studied examples of history programming make evident the new dynamic ways in which memory is produced, circulated and made sense of. Televisual practices of re-screening the past remind us of the importance of memories for the construction of our own identities, demonstrating the profound role of media and television in the ways we experience cultural memory in today's multimediated society. On the one hand, television in the multi-platform era is 'adding' more and more cultural artefacts to our cultural history and memory. On the other hand, the reconstruction of memories through practices of doing history

⁵⁹ Rigney, 'Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory'.

⁶⁰ Geert Mak, 'Mak: Willem Melching zoekt spijkers op laag water', *De Volkskrant*, 12 December 2007.

is a dynamic process of constant change – rewriting, rejecting, privileging and marginalising certain memory narratives over others. The analysed cases have shown how television today functions as a contemporary practice of memory by contextualising history through a network of dynamic and mediated screen practices – both on the meta-level of television as a multi-platform practice, and on the micro-level of television programmes which employ multi-platform storytelling. In this context, I propose a new model to study television as cultural memory, which represents the medium's hybridity in the multi-platform era.

Kirsten Drotner has argued that media and memory are 'intimately connected' in modern times for the reason that media cannot only retain events experiences across time and space, but also help retrieve them at a later date and in another place.⁶¹ Erll in this context makes a heuristic distinction between the three functions media of memory can perform on a collective level: 1) *storage*, as media store contents of cultural memory and make them available across time; 2) *circulation*, since media enable cultural communication across time and space and disseminate contents of cultural memory; 3) as a *trigger* or 'media cue' for acts of cultural remembrance, and that it is often the narratives surrounding such media or sites of memory which determine their meaning.⁶² Aleida Assmann's model of cultural memory [Fig. 7.1] is a crucial instrument here to a deeper understanding of cultural memory as the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts and provides further insight into this tension. Assmann makes an important distinction between remembering and forgetting as both active and passive processes, arguing that '[t]he tension between the pastness of the past and its presence is an important key to understanding the dynamics of cultural memory'.⁶³ However, the model needs to be reconsidered in the light of contemporary practices of multi-platform television that make evident that cultural memory is increasingly more dynamic. I take Assmann's model as a starting point for reflection, but I will rework the model based on my own observations of television as a constructive process and practice of cultural memory in the contemporary media environment.

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

⁶¹ Kirsten Drotner, 'Mediated Memories: Radio, Film and the Formation of Young Women's Cultural Identities', in *Audiovisual Media in Transition*, ed. Stig Hjarvard and Thomas Tufte (Copenhagen: Dept. of Film & Media Studies, University of Copenhagen, 1998), 149.

⁶² Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 126–129.

⁶³ Aleida Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B Young (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 98.

distinction is made between *active* intentional acts of forgetting, like material destruction, and *passive* non-intentional acts of forgetting, such as loss and negligence.⁶⁴

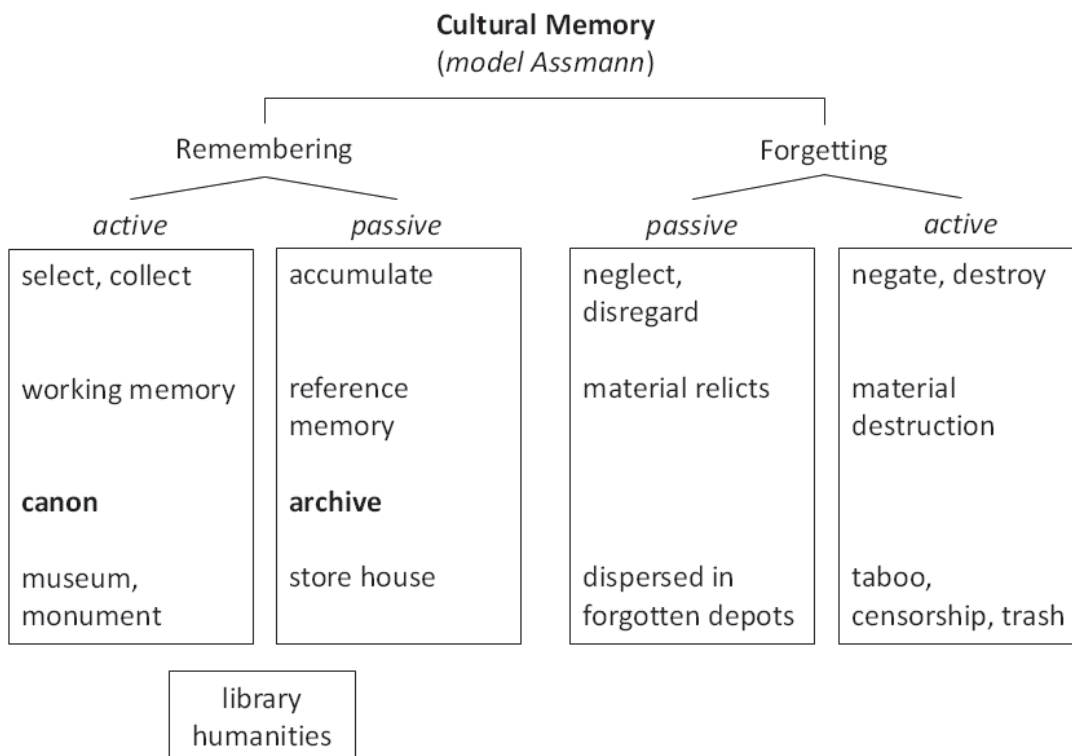


Fig. 7.1. Model Assmann: Cultural memory.⁶⁵

The model 'Television as Cultural Memory' [Fig. 7.2] outlines television as a practice of active and passive remembering and forgetting. In this model, I adopt and expand Assmann's theory of 'canon and archive' in the context of television. The model makes evident how television as cultural memory offers more dynamic, diverse forms of engagement with the past to different users and in particular, a wider range of opportunities to develop specific memory practices in the multi-platform era.

⁶⁴ Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', 97–107.

⁶⁵ Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', 99.

Television as Cultural Memory
(model Hagedoorn)

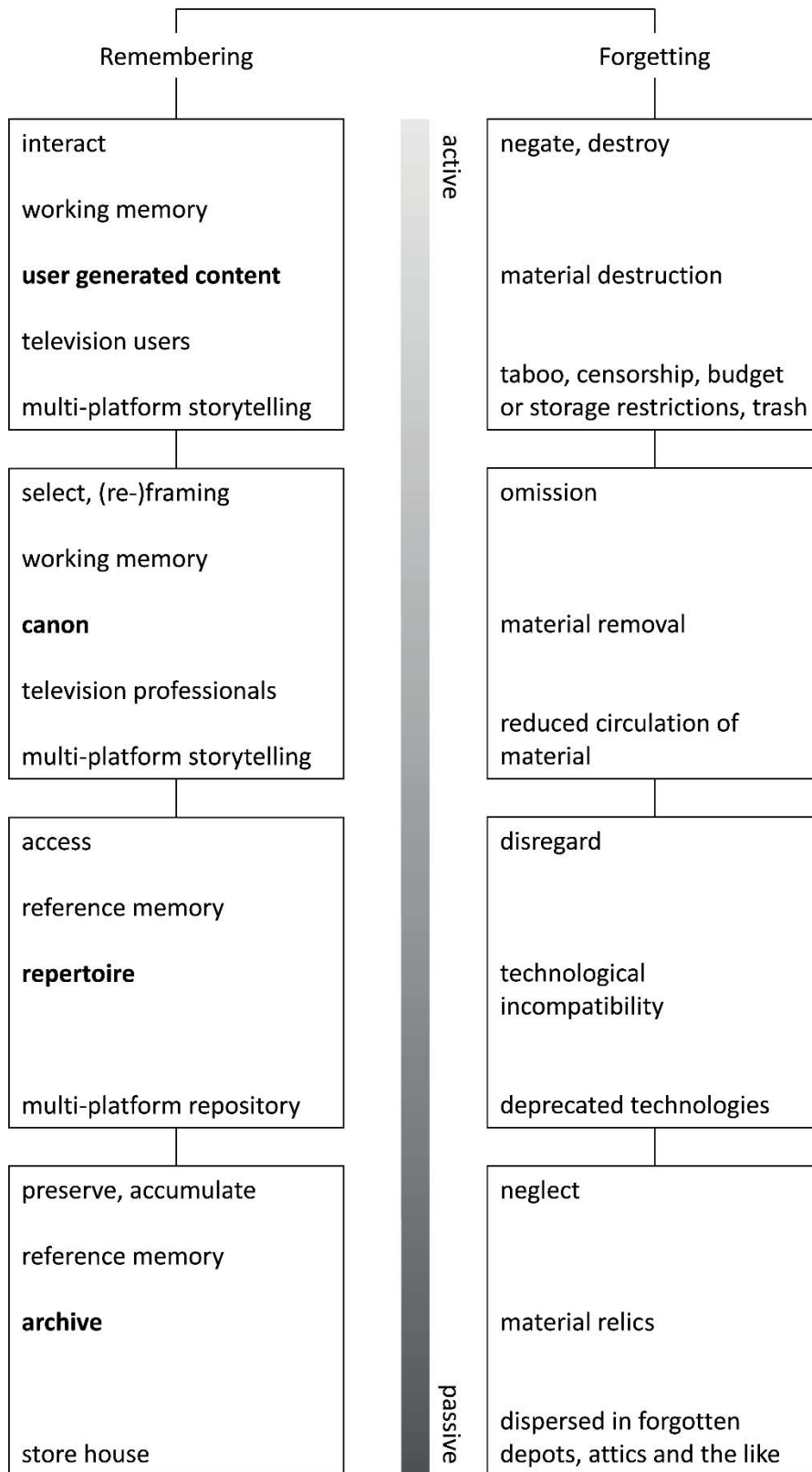


Fig. 7.2. Model Hagedoorn: Television as a practice of cultural memory in the multi-platform era, adopting and expanding Assmann's theory of 'canon and archive'.

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

Different user roles in the active construction of a *working memory* are subsequently made explicit. The role of the television professional is emphasised on the level of selection and reframing, resulting in the assembling of content for the canon. The role of television professionals as curators in this manner includes the selection and collection of content and researched materials for the canon, but also the reframing and repurposing of broadcast materials on diverse platforms and screens. The cases highlight the crucial role played by television professionals in the construction of narratives of the past on television in the multi-platform era. Television professionals and television users both engage in cultural practices of multi-platform storytelling, contributing to the active reconstruction of memory. I therefore make room for user interaction and the incorporation of user-generated content. Interactive, participatory practices and content produced by television users also need to be considered as a significant part of such a working memory. This is especially relevant considering that television users are more and more becoming like media producers in their own selection of and interaction with content. Such forms of user engagement are prestructured by television platforms as 'spaces of participation' and steered by creators in the way television content is made accessible. Assmann's work has shown that elements of the canon can recede back into the archive, whilst elements of the archive can be recovered and reclaimed for the canon.⁶⁶ In a similar manner, user-generated content can recede into the canon – private memory narratives, audio-visual footage, and comments on television content via social or personal media, to name but a few forms of user interaction.

For example, digital thematic channels, such as the *NPO Doc* platform and the *NostalgieNet* channel have shown the circulation of televisual content as a practice of cultural memory. This includes a dynamic spectrum of active and passive forms of remembering: from the selection and reframing of memory materials to providing access to a repertoire of connected texts. The case of *NostalgieNet* further exemplifies how national collective memory as understood by television professionals informs the scheduling of history programming on the digital thematic channel. However, these practices are subordinate to active and passive forms of forgetting. The scheduling and pacing of content for the canon as working memory is mostly subject to more active forms of forgetting, which can include how long a certain programme is made available on-demand, how many times a programme is allowed to be rerun on a specific digital channel, budget restrictions, copyright issues, and other forms of omission

⁶⁶ Ibid., 104.

or negation. Forms of user interaction can also recede into the canon, for instance by television users offering suggestions for documentaries via Facebook. When content remains accessible (as reference memory) by receding into the repertoire, technological incompatibility as a more passive form of forgetting can also impede upon the access to the multi-platform repository.

In contrast to Assmann's original model, I distinguish between two different forms of *reference memory*. The 'archive' functions as the storehouse for accumulation and preservation of audio-visual archival materials and knowledge thereof, including digitisation practices and the storing of apparatuses to screen or play particular audio-visual content. However, in the multi-platform era, we can consider another distinct mode of reference memory for television. Diana Taylor has made a useful distinction between the fixed, relatively stable objects in the archive and 'the so-called ephemeral repertoire of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, ritual)'.⁶⁷ As Erll has also pointed out, Assmann focuses on the uses of mnemonic material, whilst Taylor draws attention to the specific mediality of such materials.⁶⁸ Taylor's definition of the concept 'repertoire' alludes more to embodied practices and performances ('...all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge'⁶⁹), however, I use the concept repertoire to make visible how television as cultural memory represents a more dynamic form of *access* to televisual content, which is dissimilar from the fixed mode of the archive. Television as a repertoire, then, is not a stable storehouse, but a multi-platform, cross-media repository that is more susceptible and vulnerable to changes over time. This repertoire comprises a wide, variable and changing range of possibilities to access televisual content across different screens and platforms. The conditions and time constraints under which these materials are accessible to professionals and viewers can vary, and are subject to rights issues and other limits to material circulation. Via new digital technologies, users give active, personal interpretations to multi-platform repositories such as on-demand (online and streaming) services, video-sharing websites and media platforms.

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

The analysed cases have provided an insight into how history programming *works* as a practice of memory and is the end-result of processes of negotiation between television

⁶⁷ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 19–20.

⁶⁸ Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 51.

⁶⁹ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 19.

professionals. The analysis also shows that the medium's contemporary dynamics as a textual composite can be further explored. The contribution of the studied television practices to the construction of cultural memory has been analysed by exploring how television professionals in the multi-platform landscape deploy television to inform and educate viewers about the past. Follow-up research could provide further insight into how television professionals are socialised into the discussed norms and values of doing history; the dynamics of power in the education, learning and routinising of necessary skills for doing history on television; how the cultural, textual and institutional frameworks by means of which the reconstruction of narratives of the past are negotiated and experienced evolve over larger periods of time; further reflections on decision making processes and organisational constraints for doing history; the power of specific sources; the extent to which professionals in the television industry are guided by similar objectives; and finally, how such practices and processes impact on television as a practice of cultural memory. For such research endeavours, a structural preservation of production research documentation and contextualisation materials is necessary – which is as such not in place in the Netherlands – to be able to provide a further understanding of the medium's contemporary dynamics in these contexts.

Studies of memory comprehend cultural memory as shared and reconstructed knowledge of the past outside of but nevertheless entangled with official historical discourse.⁷⁰ New cultures of participation and digital technologies can provide a more direct link between audiences and sources of historical information, but to actively engage television users in spaces of participation, links need to be made meaningful. The studied cases have shown that history television productions facilitate such negotiations by portraying those parts of the collective memory that are most relevant at the given time to programme makers and their audiences.⁷¹ Characterised by a constant process of cultural negotiation, these practices of doing history reveal the increasingly networked nature of cultural memory. Such practices draw our attention to the mediatedness of memory texts as well as the politics of remembering and forgetting. The reconstruction of narratives of the past through the medium of television is negotiated and experienced within specific cultural, textual and institutional frameworks, including history, memory, narrativity, medium specificity, house styles, media policy and contexts of access over time and space. Interpretations are also shaped through viewer expectations and the personal engagement of television users with content. Importantly, such experiences are in turn steered by the ways in which content is made accessible by television institutions and television makers. New digital technologies are the driving force behind these increasingly connected experiences offered and used by the medium television.

Television today opens up access to a hybrid repertoire of connected cultural texts made available across multiple platforms and screens. The study of television as a practice of cultural memory therefore not only needs to include the study of memory materials, but also the manner in which this content is curated and made available to the public by television professionals

⁷⁰ Plate and Smelik 2009; Sturken 1997.

⁷¹ See also: Gary R Edgerton and Peter C Rollins, eds., *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 8.

through struggles over power. Reworking Assmann's model of cultural memory based on observations of television as a practice of cultural memory is a first step in this direction.

The new model emphasises the interplay of present and past in contemporary televisual environments. Television is being increasingly stylised as a media interface, where the viewer's attention is dispersed across a range of entry points and information triggers. Television as a hybrid repertoire of memory illuminates how texts from the canon may faster recede into the repertoire, but also bring about new opportunities to reclaim and contextualise texts for the canon. Fundamentally, television is a facilitator for the more dynamic ways in which memory content is circulated and made sense of today. Television in the multi-platform era offers a wider range of forms of engagement with the past to different users, as made explicit by the studied cases. These dynamics ultimately make evident the continued relevance of these television forms and why they should not be forgotten.

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Mediography

(List of Multimedia Materials)

Television, film and radio

- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], jeugd geschiedenisprogramma [youth history programme], episode 1, 'Een stad in brand' ['A Town on Fire'], dirs. Marcel Goedhart, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 25 October 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 2, 'De bezetting' ['The Occupation'], dirs. Marcel Goedhart, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 1 November 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 3, 'NSB' ['Dutch National Socialist Movement'], dirs. Hein Hoffmann, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 8 November 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 4, 'Engeland' ['England'], dirs. Marcel Goedhart, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 15 November 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 5, 'Verraad en verzet' ['Betrayal and Resistance'], dirs. Marcel Goedhart, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 22 November 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 6, 'Joden' ['Jews'], dirs. Hein Hoffmann, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 29 November 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 7, 'Gewapend verzet' ['Armed Resistance'], dirs. Marcel Goedhart, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 6 December 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 8, 'Vernietiging' ['Destruction'], dirs. Hein Hoffmann, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 13 December 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 9, 'Arnhem' ['Arnhem'], dirs. Marcel Goedhart, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 20 December 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 10, 'Hongerwinter' ['Winter of Starvation'], dirs. Hein Hoffmann, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 27 December 2009.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 11, 'Indië' ['The Dutch East Indies'], dirs. Hein Hoffmann, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 3 January 2010.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 12, 'Bevrijding' ['The Liberation'], dirs. Hein Hoffmann, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 10 January 2010.
- 13 in de oorlog* [*13 at War*], episode 13, 'Na de oorlog' ['After the War'], dirs. Hein Hoffmann, Vincent Schuurman. NPS, 17 January 2010.
- 14–18: dagboeken uit de Eerste Wereldoorlog* [*14–18: Diaries of the Great War*], documentaire serie [documentary series], dirs. Jan Peter, Hein Hoffmann. NTR/VPRO, 2014.
- Achter het scherm* [*Behind the Television Screen*], documentaire reportage [documentary reportage], dir. Louis Bogaers. NTR, 2011.
- 'Allo 'Allo*, sitcom, dirs. David Croft, Martin Dennis, John B. Hopps, Richard Boden, Susan Belbin, Robin Carr, Sue Longstaff, Mike Stephens. BBC, 1982–1992.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], episode 'Abraham Kuyper' ['Abraham Kuyper'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 12 March 2000.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De Vondelstraat' ['De Vondelstraat'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS/VPRO, 12 March 2000.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Oudste films van Nederland' ['Early Films about the Netherlands'], dir. Niels Cornelissen. NPS/VPRO, 26 March 2000.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Wim Kan' ['Wim Kan'], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS/VPRO, 21 May 2000.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De Beatles' ['The Beatles'], dir. Ad van Liempt. NPS/VPRO, 5 October 2000.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Molukse gijzeling in Assen' ['Moluccan Hijacking in Assen'], dir. René Roelofs. NPS/VPRO, 30 November 2000.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Woonwagenbewoners' ['Caravan Dwellers'], dir. Yaël Koren. NPS/VPRO, 21 December 2000.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De verloving van Beatrix en Claus' ['The Engagement of H.R.H. Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands and Claus von Amsberg'], dir. Ad van Liempt. NPS/VPRO, 15 February 2001.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Het boekenweekgeschenk van Reve' ['Book Week Gift by Gerard Reve'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NPS/VPRO, 8 March 2001.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Tsjernobyl als Nederlandse ramp' ['Chernobyl as Dutch Disaster'], dir. Yaël Koren. NPS/VPRO, 26 April 2001.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De spoorwegacties van zomer 1961' ['Work-to-Rule by Railway Personnel during the Summer of 1961'], dir. Ad van Liempt. NPS/VPRO, 10 May 2001.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De beginjaren van Pinkpop' ['The Early Years of the Pinkpop Festival'], dir. Har Tortike. NPS/VPRO, 31 May 2001.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'München' ['Munich'], dirs. Matthijs Cats, Jan Eikelboom, Hein Hoffmann, Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS/VPRO, 18 September 2001.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode '50 jaar televisie' ['50 Years of Television'], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS/VPRO, 2 October 2001.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Ik Jan Cremer' ['I, Jan Cremer'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NPS/VPRO, 6 November 2001.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Zo is het toevallig ook nog 's een keer' ['It Just Happens to Be So'], dir. Jahaga Bosscha. NPS/VPRO, 5 February 2002.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Verkiezingsdebatten op televisie' ['Election Debates on Television'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 23 April 2002.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Spetters, de wording van een cynisch sprookje' ['Spetters, the Making of a Cynical Fairy Tale'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NPS/VPRO, 24 September 2002.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'DS'70' ['Social Democratic Party '70'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 29 October 2002.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Een Indische familie' ['A Family from the Dutch East Indies'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS/VPRO, 5 November 2002.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode '100^{ste} uitzending' ['100th Jubilee Broadcast'], dirs. Yaël Koren, Matthijs Cats, Yfke Nijland, Gerard Nijssen. NPS/VPRO, 12 November 2002.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De "vergeten" James Bond' ['The "Forgotten" James Bond'], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS/VPRO, 19 November 2002.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De ondergang van de Junyo Maru' ['The Shipwreck of the Junyo Maru'], dir. Ad van Liempt. NPS/VPRO, 25 February 2003.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Gerbrandy in Londen' ['Gerbrandy in London'], dir. Erik Willems. NPS/VPRO, 18 March 2003.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Prinsjesdag 1974: gijzeling Franse ambassade' ['Opening of Parliament 1974: Hostage Crisis in the French Embassy'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NPS/VPRO, 16 September 2003.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Begin van de TV' ['The Start of Television'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS/VPRO, 23 September 2003.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Bleekneusjes van 1945' ['War Children of 1945'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NPS/VPRO, 14 October 2003.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Kennedy en de media' ['Kennedy and the Media'], dir. Yaël Koren. NPS/VPRO, 18 November 2003.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Floris' ['Floris'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS/VPRO, 27 January 2004.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'WK schaatsen' ['World Allround Speed Skating Championships'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NPS/VPRO, 3 February 2004.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De huwelijksreis van Juliana en Bernhard' ['The honeymoon of H.R.H. Princess Juliana and H.R.H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS/VPRO, 23 March 2004.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Oranje 1974' ['The Netherlands National Football Team in 1974'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 20 April 2004.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Japan en judo' ['Japan and Judo'], dirs. Gerda Jansen Hendriks, Coby van Dijck. NPS/VPRO, 1 June 2004.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Leni Riefenstahls "Olympia"' ['Leni Riefenstahl's "Olympia"'], dir. Coby van Dijck. NPS/VPRO, 12 August 2004.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'TV 10' ['TV 10'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NPS/VPRO, 28 September 2004.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Prins Bernhard' ['H.R.H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands'], dirs. Matthijs Cats, Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS/VPRO, 7 December 2004.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De komst van de moskee' ['The Advent of the Mosque'], NPS/VPRO, 1 February 2005.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De RAF in Nederland' ['The Red Army Faction in the Netherlands'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS/VPRO, 12 April 2005.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Duitse soldaten filmen in Nederland' ['German Soldiers Filming in the Netherlands'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS/VPRO, 10 May 2005.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Troelstra's tragedie' ['Troelstra's Tragedy'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS/VPRO, 20 September 2005.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Rembrandt in de oorlog' ['Rembrandt during the War'], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS/VPRO, 12 March 2006.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Pantserwagens tegen kransen. Hannie Schaft-herdenking onder vuur' [Armoured Cars Versus Wreathes. Hannie Schaft-Remembrance under Fire'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NPS/VPRO, 16 April 2006.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Het proces van Neurenberg' ['The Neurenberg Trial'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS/VPRO, 28 September 2006.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Rock & roll in de polder' ['Rock & Roll in Holland'], dir. Jan Kelder. NPS/VPRO, 5 October 2006.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Veertig jaar STER-reclame' ['Forty Years of TV Commercials'], dir. Yaël Koren. NPS/VPRO, 4 January 2007.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Race naar de maan' ['Space Race'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS/VPRO, 25 January 2007.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Martin Luther King' ['Martin Luther King'], dir. Yaël Koren. NPS/VPRO, 15 March 2007.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Abortuswet' ['Abortion Act'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 29 March 2007.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Hoek van Holland' ['Hook of Holland'], dir. Carla Boos. NPS/VPRO, 10 May 2007.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Spoedig naar huis. Nederlanders in de goelag' ['Going Home Soon. Dutch Forced Labourers in the Goelag'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS/VPRO, 29 November 2007.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Hollandscheveld' ['Hollandscheveld'], dir. Erik Willems. NPS/VPRO, 6 March 2008.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De andere familie Frank' ['The Other Frank Family'], dir. Erik Willems. NPS/VPRO, 4 May 2008.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Parijs '68' ['Paris 1968'], dirs. Paul Ruigrok, Reinier van den Hout. NPS/VPRO, 22 May 2008.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Victory Boogy Woogie' ['Victory Boogy Woogie'], dir. Thomas Blom. NPS/VPRO, 4 September 2008.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Redt een kind' ['Save a Child'], dir. Jan Eikelboom. NPS/VPRO, 18 December 2008.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Kennedy: een jonge president' ['Kennedy: A Young President'], dir. Jan Eikelboom. NPS/VPRO, 15 January 2009.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'No Future' ['No Future'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 29 January 2009.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Beach Boys in de polder' ['Beach Boys in Holland'], dir. Femke Veltman. NPS/VPRO, 19 February 2009.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De stem: Philip Bloemendal' ['The Voice: Philip Bloemendal'], dir. Erik Willems. NPS/VPRO, 12 March 2009.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Radio Oranje' ['Radio Orange'], dir. Tonko Dop. NPS/VPRO, 7 May 2009.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De grootste familie van Nederland: de TROS' ['Holland's Largest TV Family: The TROS'], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS/VPRO, 1 October 2009.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode "'De bezetting' van Loe de Jong' ['The Occupation' by Author Loe de Jong'], dir. Femke Veltman. NPS/VPRO, 22 October 2009.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De entree van Jan Peter Balkenende' ['The Entrance of Jan Peter Balkenende'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NPS/VPRO, 19 November 2009.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'The making of Nelson Mandela' ['The Making of Nelson Mandela'], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS/VPRO, 11 February 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De val van kabinet Lubbers II' ['The Fall of the Second Lubbers Cabinet'], dirs. Gerda Jansen Hendriks, Reinier van den Hout, Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 25 February 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Verboden voor Duitsers. Katendrecht in oorlogstijd' ['No Germans. Katendrecht during the War'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NPS/VPRO, 29 April 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Tuan Papa: liefde in tijden van oorlog' ['Tuan Papa: Love Life in Times of War'], dir. Annegriet Wietsma. NPS/VPRO, 1 July 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Oorlog in blik' ['Tinned War'], dir. Erik Willems. NPS/VPRO, 16 September 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Partij of principes' ['Party or Principles'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NPS/VPRO, 23 September 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De ontvoering van Herrema' ['The Abduction of Herrema'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NPS/VPRO, 21 October 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De ware soldaten van Oranje' ['The Real Soldiers of Orange'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS/VPRO, 4 November 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De explosieve idealen van RaRa. Deel 1: de Makrobranden' ['The Explosive Dreams of RaRa (Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action). Part 1: The Fires at Divisions of Makro'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 18 November 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De explosieve idealen van RaRa. Deel 2: de opsporing' ['The Explosive Dreams of RaRa (Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action). Part 2: The Hunt'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 25 November 2010.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Bureau Warmoesstraat. Deel 1' ['Warmoesstraat Police Station. Part 1'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NTR/VPRO, 22 January 2011.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Bureau Warmoesstraat. Deel 2' ['Warmoesstraat Police Station. Part 2'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NTR/VPRO, 29 January 2011.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Zo en niet anders' ['So and not Otherwise'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 26 February 2011.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De schrijftafelmoordenaar. Het showproces tegen Eichmann' ['Eichmann "The Banality of Evil". The Show Trial against Eichmann'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 2 April 2011.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De oorlog niet voorbij' ['The War Continues'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NTR/VPRO, 7 May 2011.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Het optimisme van generaal Spoor' ['The Optimism of General Spoor'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NTR/VPRO, 14 May 2011.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Misdaad in Oss' ['Crime in Oss'], dir. Godfried van Run. NTR/VPRO, 17 September 2011.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Rolling Stones in het Kurhaus. Jongens waren het' ['The Rolling Stones at the Kurhaus. Still Youths'], dir. Femke Veltman. NTR/VPRO, 24 September 2011.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Wubbo: een Hollander in de ruimte' ['Wubbo: A Dutchman in Space'], dir. Godfried van Run. NTR/VPRO, 18 December 2011.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Punk: van pret naar protest' ['Punk: From Fun to Protest'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NTR/VPRO, 8 April 2012.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Pim Fortuyn: A Dutch dandy' ['Pim Fortuyn: A Dutch Dandy'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 6 May 2012.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Vrouwen in het gewapend verzet' ['Women in the Armed Resistance'], dir. Yaël Koren. NTR/VPRO, 20 May 2012.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Kiezen in crisistijd' ['Elections during Depression'], dir. Godfried van Run. NTR/VPRO, 2 September 2012.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Kabinet in crisis' ['Government in Times of Crisis'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NTR/VPRO, 9 September 2012.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Asbest: sluipmoordenaar uit Goor' ['Asbestos: Assassin from Goor'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NTR/VPRO, 18 November 2012.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De komst van het schijfje' ['The Advent of the CD'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 17 February 2013.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Oranje en het oproer' ['Coronation Day and the Riots'], dir. Erik Willems. NTR/VPRO, 21 April 2013.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode '1948: leve de Koningin!' ['1948: Long Live the Queen!'], dir. Femke Veltman. NTR/VPRO, 28 April 2013.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Koerier voor Portugal' ['Bank Messenger for Portugal'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NTR/VPRO, 12 May 2013.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'House, pillen en extase' ['House, Pills and Ecstasy'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NTR/VPRO, 26 May 2013.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Floris; remake' ['Floris; Remake'], dirs. Matthijs Cats, Godfried van Run. NTR/VPRO, 6 October 2013.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Spektakel rond het Koninkrijk' ['Festive Activities around the Kingdom of the Netherlands'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendrik. NTR/VPRO, 20 October 2013.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Nieuws: Kennedy vermoord!' ['Breaking News: Kennedy Assassinated!'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 17 November 2013.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Het musical-avontuur op Broadway' ['Musical Adventure on Broadway'], dirs. Yaël Koren, Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 5 January 2014.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De grote leugen; de echtscheidingswet van 1971' ['The Big Lie; the Divorce Law of 1971'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NTR/VPRO, 12 January 2014.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Han van Meegeren: meestervervalser' ['Han van Meegeren: The Master Forger'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 30 January 2014.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Het lelijke eendje van de televisie' ['The Ugly Duckling of Television'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 13 March 2014.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Een ongewenste CIA-agent' ['An Undesirable CIA Agent'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NTR/VPRO, 27 March 2014.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Joop wil een soap' ['Joop Wants a Soap Opera'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NTR/VPRO, 25 September 2014.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Ebola: de jacht op een dodelijk virus' ['Ebola: On the Hunt for a Deadly Virus'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NTR/VPRO, 6 November 2014.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Witte Sjors en zwarte Sjimmie' ['White Sjors and Black Sjimmie'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 13 November 2014.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Levende memorie in Auschwitz' ['Living Memory in Auschwitz'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NTR/VPRO, 27 January 2015.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Jean Desmet, handelaar in dromen' ['Jean Desmet, Merchant in Daydreams'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NTR/VPRO, 24 February 2015.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Het avontuur van de radiopiraten' ['The Adventure of the Pirate Radio Stations'], dir. Yaël Koren. NTR/VPRO, 17 March 2015.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Geweld tegen conducteurs' ['Violence against Railway Guards'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 21 April 2015.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'De Bevrijding nabij' ['On the Verge of Liberation'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NTR/VPRO, 28 April 2015.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Drie keer bevrijd! De Bevrijding in iconische beelden' ['Three Times Liberated! The Liberation in Iconic Images'], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NTR/VPRO, 5 May 2015.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Bouterse, het Haagse hoofdpijndossier' ['Bouterse, a Dutch Anxiety'], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NTR/VPRO, 19 May 2015.

Andere tijden [*Changing Times*], episode 'Vrouwen aan de bal' ['Women's Football'], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 26 May 2015.

Andere tijden special: WOII in amateurfilm [*Changing Times Special: World War II Filmed by Amateurs*], geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], dir. Ad van Liempt. NPS/VPRO, 4 May 2004.

Andere tijden special: de andere jaren vijftig [*Changing Times Special: The Other Fifties*], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NPS/VPRO, 22 March 2005.

Andere tijden special: tussen hoop en vrees [*Changing Times Special: Between Hope and Fear*], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS/VPRO, 4 June 2006.

Andere tijden special: van D-day tot de Dam [*Changing Times Special: From D-Day to The Dam Square*], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS/VPRO, 3 May 2007.

Andere tijden special: gezien ons eigen leven [*Changing Times Special: In View of Our Own Life*], dir. Yaël Koren. NPS/VPRO, 7 September 2008.

Andere tijden special: 100 jaar Elfstedentocht [*Changing Times Special: 100 Years of 'Elfstedentocht', 11-city skating race*], dirs. Marnix Koolhaas, Dirk Jan Roeleven. NPS/VPRO, 1 January 2009.

Andere tijden special: oorlog op komst [*Changing Times Special: War is Coming*], dir. Paul Ruigrok. NPS/VPRO, 18 October 2009.

Andere tijden special: door soldatenogen [*Changing Times Special: Through Soldiers' Eyes*], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS/VPRO, 27 December 2009.

Andere tijden special: ode aan de rivier [*Changing Times Special: Tribute to the River*], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS/VPRO, 30 December 2010.

Andere tijden special: jaren van vooruitgang. Nederland tussen 1910 en 1920 [*Changing Times Special: Years of Progress. The Netherlands between 1910 and 1920*], dir. Matthijs Cats. NTR/VPRO, 15 May 2011.

Andere tijden special: alles wordt anders. Nederland in de jaren 60 [*Changing Times Special: Everything Changes. The Netherlands in the Sixties*], dir. Yaël Koren. NTR/VPRO, 22 May 2011.

Andere tijden special: van doarp en durp [*Changing Times Special: Life in a Village*], dir. Femke Veltman. NTR/VPRO, 25 December 2011.

Andere tijden special: de verwarrende jaren 70. [*Changing Times Special: The Confusing Seventies*], dir. Hein Hoffmann. NTR/VPRO, 30 December 2012.

Andere tijden special: de ballen van de jaren 80 [*Changing Times Special: Recovering from the Depression of the Eighties*], dir. Matthijs Cats. NTR/VPRO, 26 December 2013.

Andere tijden special: de dagen na Hitler [*Changing Times Special: The Post-Hitler Era*], dir. Reinier van den Hout. NTR/VPRO, 18 December 2014.

Andere tijden special: schitterende hoogmoed in de jaren 90 [*Changing Times Special: The Pride of the Nineties*], dir. Yaël Koren. NTR/VPRO, 30 December 2014.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], sport geschiedenisprogramma [sports history programme], episode 'EK 1988: de zegetocht' ['Euro 1988: The Victory Parade'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 11 May 2008.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'EK 1976: de afgang' ['Euro 1976: The Let-down'], dir. Tom Egbers. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 18 May 2008.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'EK 1996: het conflict' ['Euro 1996: The Conflict'], dir. Marcel Rözer. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 25 May 2008.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'EK 1988: de bom' ['Euro 1988: The Bomb'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 1 June 2008.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Ellen van Langen: 800 gouden meters' ['Ellen van Langen: 800 Golden Meters'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 6 July 2008.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Racen in de regen: wielergoud Tokio 1964' ['Cycle Racing in the Rain: Gold Medal Tokio 1964'], dir. Jan Kelder. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 13 July 2008.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Het mysterie Foekje Dillema' ['The Mystery of Foekje Dillema'], dir. Thomas Blom. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 20 July 2008.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De gouden droom van de Holland Acht' ['The Golden Dream of Holland's Coxed Eight'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 27 July 2008.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode '1928 Amsterdam: liever geen dames' ['1928 Amsterdam: Preferably No Women'], dir. Jan Kelder. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 3 August 2008.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Het gebroken hart van Ajacied Nico Rijnders' ['The Broken Heart of Ajax Footballer Nico Rijnders'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 7 June 2009.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De 24 uur van Le Mans' ['The 24 Hours of Le Mans'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 14 June 2009.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Mohammed Ali in Volendam' ['Mohammed Ali in Volendam'], dir. Tom Egbers. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 21 June 2009.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'In de schaduw van Wimbledon' ['In the Shadow of Wimbledon'], dir. Raymond Bouwman. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 28 June 2009.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De valse start van de Tour de France in Leiden' ['The False Start of the Tour de France in Leiden'], dir. Dirk Jan Roeleven. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 5 July 2009.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De megadeal van Ruud Gullit' ['Ruud Gullit's Mega Transfer Deal'], dir. Thomas Blom. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 12 July 2009.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De magie van de Mont Ventoux' ['The Magic of the Mont Ventoux'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 19 July 2009.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Feyenoord & Fortuyn' ['Feyenoord & Fortuyn'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 26 July 2009.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De drieklapper van Yvonne van Gennip' ['Golden Girl Yvonne van Gennip'], dir. Dirk Jan Roeleven. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 3 January 2010.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Heel Holland hield van Krienbühl' ['The Whole of Holland Loved Krienbühl'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 10 January 2010.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Stien, Carry en Ans: de gouden schaatsmeisjes' ['Stien, Carry en Ans: The Golden Speed Skaters'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 31 January 2010.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Gouden Gerard & het klappen van de schaats' ['Golden Gerard & the Clap Skate'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 12 February 2010.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'WK 1982: de botsing' ['World Cup 1982: The Collision'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 3 June 2010.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'WK 1974: Willi Lippens, de man die Oranje wereldkampioen zou maken' ['World Cup 1974: Willi Lippens, the Footballer Predesitined to Win the World Cup for Holland'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 6 June 2010.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'WK 1998: de verzoening' ['World Cup 1998: The Reconciliation'], dir. Dirk Jan Roeleven. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 10 June 2010.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'WK 1966: hoe de hond Pickles Engeland voor een WK-blamage behoedde' ['World Cup 1966: How Pickles the Dog Saved England's World Cup'], dir. Tom Egbers. NPS/NOS/VPRO, 4 July 2010.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Rintje's revolutie: hoe badschuim de schaatssport veranderde' ['Rintje's Revolution: How Bath Foam Changed Speed Skating'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 2 January 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Hilbert van der Duim, meer dan een clown' ['Hilbert van der Duim, a Colourful Skater'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NOS/VPRO, 9 January 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Henk van der Grift: de "vader" van Ard en Keessie' ['Henk van der Grift: The "Father" of Ard and Keessie'], dir. John Appel. NOS/VPRO, 16 January 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De waarheid volgens Karel Aalbers' ['The Truth According to Karel Aalbers'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 5 June 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Bettine Vriesekoop, bloed, zweet en tranen' ['Bettine Vriesekoop, Blood, Sweat and Tears'], dir. Dirk Jan Roeleven. NOS/VPRO, 12 June 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De nacht van Anton Geesink' ['The Night of Anton Geesink'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 19 June 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Verliefd op Willy Stähle' ['In Love with Willy Stähle'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NOS/VPRO, 26 June 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Ronaldo, de Eindhovense jaren' ['Ronaldo, His Years at PSV Eindhoven'], dir. Raymond Bouwman. NOS/VPRO, 3 July 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Ruzie in het peloton' ['Quarrel in the Peloton'], dir. Jeroen Stekelenburg. NOS/VPRO, 10 July 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Winnen op Alpe d'Huez' ['The Triumph of Peter Winnen on Alpe d'Huez'], dir. John Appel. NOS/VPRO, 17 July 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De dag dat Joop de Tour won' ['The Day Joop Zoetemelk Won the Tour de France'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 24 July 2011.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Thialf, 't dak eraf!' ['Thialf, Bring the Roof Down!'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NOS/VPRO, 1 January 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Heya Jan Bos!' ['Come on Jan Bos!'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 8 January 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De koude winter van Roelof Thijs' ['Roelof Thijs' Harsh Winter'], dir. Jeroen Stekelenburg. NOS/VPRO, 15 January 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Het Deense sprookje' ['The Danish Fairy Tale'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 3 June 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Gerald Vanenburg: beter dan Van Basten' ['Gerald Vanenburg: Better at Football than Van Basten'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NOS/VPRO, 5 June 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Het Perestrojka-team: hoe de Sovjets de EK-finale van '88 verloren' ['The Perestrojka-team: How the Soviets Lost the Euro '88 Final'], dir. Thomas Blom. NOS/VPRO, 07 June 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De tas van Fanny' ['The Sports Bag of Fanny Blankers-Koen'], dir. Monique Tesselaar. NOS/VPRO, 8 July 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Het laatste gevecht van Arnold Vanderlyde' ['Arnold Vanderlyde's Last Boxing Match'], dir. John Appel. NOS/VPRO, 15 July 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De 100 meter van Ben Johnson' ['Ben Johnson's 100 Metres Sprint'], dir. Walter Stokman. NOS/VPRO, 19 July 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Een schimmel van goud' ['De Sjiem: A Golden Grey'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NOS/VPRO, 22 July 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Het wonder van Sydney' ['The Miracle of Sydney 2000'], dir. Jeroen Stekelenburg. NOS/VPRO, 26 July 2012.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Barney: van postbode tot dartsmiljonair' ['Raymond van Barneveld "Barney": From Postman to Darts Millionaire'], dir. John Appel. NOS/VPRO, 06 January 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De bekerstunt van IJsselmeervogels' ['IJsselmeervogels' Surprise League Cup Win'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NOS/VPRO, 13 January 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Elfstedentocht: de wedstrijd van 1963' ['11-City Skating Race: The Skating Marathon of 1963'], dir. Dirk Jan Roeleven. NOS/VPRO, 16 January 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Bloedverraad in de Champions League-finale' ['Blood Doping in the Champions League Final?'], dir. Thomas Blom. NOS/VPRO, 26 May 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De gesloopte finale' ['Supporter Riots During and After UEFA Cup Final 1974'], dir. David Kleijwegt. NOS/VPRO, 2 June 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Romario: samba in Eindhoven' ['Romario: Samba in Eindhoven'], dir. Marcel Goedhardt. NOS/VPRO, 9 June 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Sabotage in het mulle zand' ['An Act of Sabotage in Shifting Sand'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 16 June 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Oranjegekte in tennisland' ['Tennis Madness in the Netherlands'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 23 June 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Waar Rooks is, is Theunisse' ['Where Rooks rides, rides Theunissen'], dir. Jeroen Stekelenburg. NOS/VPRO, 30 June 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Sauna Diana, hoe een bordeel de Tour binnenrijdt' ['Sauna Diana, Early Days of Tour "Coaching"'], dir. Bas Steman. NOS/VPRO, 7 July 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De dood van Tommy Simpson' ['The Death of Tommy Simpson'], dirs. Dirk van Nijverseel, Koen Warlop. Nederlandse bewerking: Monique Tesselaar. Belga Sport/ NOS/VPRO, 14 July 2013.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De Ard & Keessie expres' ['The Ard & Keessie Express'], dir. John Appel. NOS/VPRO, 5 January 2014.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De teruggevonden Elfstedentocht' ['Found Footage of the 11-City Skating Race'], dir. Erik Willems. NOS/VPRO, 12 January 2014.

- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Het vergeten goud van Annie Borckink' ['The Forgotten Gold of Annie Borckink'], dir. Marcel Goedhardt. NOS/VPRO, 19 January 2014.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Hein Vergeer: de tragiek van een groot kampioen' ['Hein Vergeer: Tragedy of a Great Champion'], dir. Bas Steman. NOS/VPRO, 26 January 2014.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Shorttrack: pionieren in de polder' ['Shorttrack: Pioneering in Holland'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 2 February 2014.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De bittere tranen van Louis van Gaal' ['The Bitter Tears of Louis van Gaal'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 29 May 2014.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Clemens Westerhof: met kuifje in Afrika' ['Clemens Westerhof: Tintin in Nigeria'], dir. John Appel. NOS/VPRO, 5 June 2014.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'WK 1990: hoe kon het zó fout gaan' ['World Cup 1990: The Reason for Holland's Failure'], dir. Jeroen Stekelenburg. NOS/VPRO, 27 June 2014.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'WK '78 door andere ogen' ['World Cup 1978: Unique Found Footage'], dirs. Wim van der Aar, David Kleijwegt. NOS/VPRO, 6 July 2014.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De wetten van Cees Priem' ['The Law of Cees Priem'], dirs. Thomas Blom, Mischa Wessel. NOS/VPRO, 10 July 2014.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'WK '74: waarom de Duitsers wonnen' ['World Cup 1974: Why the Germans Won'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 11 July 2014.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Een Friese Elfstedendynastie' ['A Frisian Skating Marathon Dynasty'], dir. Merel de Geus. NOS/VPRO, 4 January 2015.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Ellen Burka, overleven op kunstschaatsen' ['Ellen Burka, Skate to Survive'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 11 January 2015.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'De vier truien van Adrie van der Poel' ['The Four Jerseys Won by Adrie van der Poel'], dir. John Appel. NOS/VPRO, 18 January 2015.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Jantje Lammers: Formule 1-debuut in een benzinebom' ['Jan Lammers: Formula One Debut in a Petrol Bomb'], dir. Jeroen Stekelenburg. NOS/VPRO, 25 January 2015.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Kluivert en de tranen van de Champions League' ['Kluivert and the Tears of The Champions League'], dir. Marcel Goedhart. NOS/VPRO, 24 May 2015.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Crujff gaat vreemd' ['Crujff's Hostile Transfer'], dir. David Kleijwegt. NOS/VPRO, 31 May 2015.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Rik Smits: van zero tot hero' ['Rik Smits: From Zero to Hero'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 7 June 2015.
- Andere tijden sport* [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Koopmans vs Blanchard: rumble in Rotterdam' ['Koopmans vs Blanchard: Rumble in Rotterdam'], dir. Kees Jongkind. NOS/VPRO, 14 June 2015.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Jan Knippenberg: Forrest Gump op Texel' ['Jan Knippenberg: Forrest Gump on Texel'], dir. Dirk Jan Roeleven. NOS/VPRO, 21 June 2015.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Hoe de Tour van '54 naar Nederland kwam' ['How the Tour de France Came to Holland in 1954'], dir. Erik Willems. NOS/VPRO, 28 June 2015.

Andere tijden sport [*Changing Times Sport*], episode 'Han Urbanus: honkbalpionier' ['Han Urbanus: Baseball Pioneer'], dir. Erik van Dijk, 5 July 2015.

Asbest, the Silent Killer, documentaire [documentary], dir. Barbara den Uyl. KRO, 4 December 1996.

Big Brother, reality TV game show, Veronica/RTL5, 1999–2008.

Bij ONS aan tafel [*Dine with US*]. ONS, 2015– .

Bread Day [*Khlebnyy den*], dir. Sergei Dvortsevoi. Watchmaker Films, United States, 2009.

Damals [*In Those Days*], geschiedenisprogramma [history programme]. ZDF, 1984–2000.

De aanslag [*The Assault*], dir. Fons Rademakers. Cannon Group, the Netherlands, 1986.

De affaire [*The Affair*], documentaireserie [documentary series], dirs. Jatagan Bosscha, Roland Postma, Gerda Jansen Hendriks, Klaartje Quirijns, Puck de Leeuw. NPS, 1999.

De bezetting [*The Occupation*], geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], episodes 1–21, dir. Milo Anstadt. NTS, 1960–1965.

De bezetting [*The Occupation*], geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], remake, dir. Rob Swanenburg. NOS, 1989–1990.

De gouden eeuw [*The Golden Age*], geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], dirs. Matthijs Cats, Roel van Dalen, Gerda Jansen Hendriks, Suzanne Raes. NTR/VPRO, 2012–2013.

De gouden jaren [*The Golden Years*]. ONS, 2015– .

De ijzeren eeuw [*The Iron Age*], geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], dir. Godfried van Run. NTR/VPRO, 2015.

De kleine waarheid [*Everyday Life*], drama serie [drama series], dir. Willy van Hemert. NCRV, 1970–1973.

De oorlog [*The War*], documentaireserie [documentary series], episode 1, 'De wraak van Duitsland' ['Germany's Revenge'], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS, 25 October 2009.

De oorlog [*The War*], episode 2, 'Verder onder vreemd gezag' ['Life under Foreign Authority'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS, 1 November 2009.

De oorlog [*The War*], episode 3, 'Keuze's en dilemma's' ['Choices and Dilemmas'], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS, 8 November 2009.

De oorlog [*The War*], episode 4, 'Welvaart, beroving, honger' ['Prosperity, Bereavement, Starvation'], dir. Godfried van Run. NPS, 15 November 2009.

De oorlog [*The War*], episode 5, 'Hoe de Joden uit Nederland verdwenen' ['How the Jews Were Evicted from the Netherlands'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS, 22 November 2009.

De oorlog [*The War*], episode 6, 'Oorlog voor iedereen' ['Anybody's War'], dir. Matthijs Cats. NPS, 29 November 2009.

De oorlog [*The War*], episode 7, 'Oorlog in Indië' ['War in the Dutch East Indies'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS, 6 December 2009.

- De oorlog [The War]*, episode 8, 'Loodzware jaren' ['Troublesome Years'], dir. Gerda Jansen Hendriks. NPS, 13 December 2009.
- De oorlog [The War]*, episode 9, 'De oorlog na de oorlog' ['The War After the War'], dir. Dirk Jan Roeleven. NPS, 20 December 2009.
- De slavernij [Slavery]*, geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], dirs. Hein Hoffmann, Marcel Goedhart, Frank Zichem. NTR, 2011.
- De slavernij junior [Slavery Junior]*, jeugd geschiedenisprogramma [youth history programme], dir. Katinka de Maar. NTR, 2011.
- Doctor Who*, science-fiction television programme. BBC, 1963– .
- Dokwerk [Dockwork]*, 4-delige documentaire serie [4-part documentary series], 'Dutch Approach', dir. René Roelofs. NPS, 6, 13, 20 and 27 November 2000.
- Dokument [Document]*, documentaire serie [documentary series], 'On the Air', dir. Fritz de With. NCRV, 28 February 1992.
- Een bijzonder jaar '1963' [A Special Year, episode '1963']*, televisieserie [television series], dir. Janneke Martens. NostalgieNet, 2006– .
- Grote geschiedenis quiz [The Big History Quiz]*, spelprogramma [quiz], dirs. Matthias Bouman, Merel de Geus, dirs. items Caroline Baan, Maarten Blokzijl, Hasan Evrengrün, Paul Ruigrok. NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2002– .
- Heb je dat gezien? [Did You Watch This?]*, geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], dir. Niels de Groot. MAX, 2011.
- Heroes Reborn*, drama series, dirs. Larysa Kondracki, Greg Beeman, Matt Shakman. NBC, scheduled to premiere on 24 September 2015.
- Het beste voor Kees [Only What's Best for Kees]*, dir. Monique Nolte. NCRV, 29 December 2014.
- Het geheim van de HEMA [The Story Behind the HEMA]*, dir. Yan Ting Yuen. VPRO, 7 January 2013.
- Het klokhuis [Apple Core]*, educatief jeugdprogramma [educational youth programme], dirs. drama Niek Barendsen, Eric Blom, Barbara Bredero, Albert Jan van Rees, Vincent Schuurman, Ruud Schuurman, Marcel de Vré, Michiel ten Horn, Peter Sterk, Fedor van Rossem, Anne de Clercq, Bobby Boermans, dirs. reportage Roel Burggraaff, Jeanine van Gool, Maurice de Graaf, Charlotte Hoogakker, Leo Onderwater, Uif Puffers, Yvonne Smits, Wouter Peters. NPS/NTR, 1988– .
- Het spoor terug [The Trail Back]*, radiodocumentaire [radio documentary], producers Gerard Leenders, Mathijs Deen, Astrid Nauta, Hans Olink, Michal Citroen, Jos Palm. VPRO, 1986– .
- Het verleden van Nederland [The Past of the Netherlands]* documentaire serie [documentary series], dir. Noud Holtman, Allard Detiger, Carin Goeijers, Hans Pool. NPS/VPRO/IdTV Docs/TV Dits BV, 2008.
- History*, history programme, dirs. Johanna Kaack, Dirk Pohlmann, Kathrin Sanger, Sebastian Scherrer, Ingeborg Jacobs, Steffi Schobel, Michael Funken, Andrzej Klamt, Uli Weidenbach. ZDF, 2000– .
- In Europa [In Europe]*, documentaireserie [documentary series], episode 1, '1900-Het begin' ['1900-Dawn of the Century'], dirs. Roel van Broekhoven, Hans Fels, Britta Hosman, David Kleijwegt, Jorien van Nes, Walter Stokman. VPRO, 11 November 2007.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 2, '1906-Berlijn & Wenen' ['1906-Berlin & Vienna'], dir. Walter Stokman. VPRO, 18 November 2007.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 3, '1914-Wenen & Sarajevo' ['1914-Vienna & Sarajevo'], dir. Britta Hosman. VPRO, 25 November 2007.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 4, '1915-Ieper, België' ['1915-'Ypres, Belgium'], dir. Roel van Broekhoven. VPRO, 2 December 2007.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 5, '1916-De Somme' ['1916-The Somme'], dir. Jorien van Nes. VPRO, 9 December 2007.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 6, '1917-Frankrijk' ['1917-France'], dir. Hans Fels. VPRO, 16 December 2007.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 7, '1917-Rusland' ['1917-Russia'], dir. Walter Stokman. VPRO, 23 December 2007.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 8, '1922-Berlijn' ['1922-Berlin'], dir. Alexander Oey. VPRO, 30 December 2007.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 9, '1925-Predappio, Italië' [1925-'Predappio, Italy'], dir. Jorien van Nes. VPRO, 6 January 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 10, '1929-Berlijn' ['1929-Berlin'], dir. David Kleijwegt. VPRO, 13 January 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 11, '1933-Rusland' ['1933-Russia'], dir. Jorien van Nes. VPRO, 20 January 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 12, '1936-Spanje' ['1936-Spain'], dir. Stefanie de Brouwer. VPRO, 27 January 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 13, '1937-München' ['1937-Munich'], dir. Britta Hosman. VPRO, 3 February 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 14, '1939-Duitsland' ['1939-Germany'], dir. Britta Hosman. VPRO, 10 February 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 15, '1940-Frankrijk' ['1940-France'], dir. Hans Fels. VPRO, 17 February 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 16, '1942-Duitsland' ['1942-Germany'], dir. Britta Hosman. VPRO, 24 February 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 17, '1943-Stalingrad' [1943-Stalingrad'], dir. Alexander Oey. VPRO, 2 March 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 18, '1943-Polen' ['1943-Poland'], dir. Roel van Broekhoven. VPRO, 9 March 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 19, '1944-Warschau & Praag' ['1944-Warsaw & Prague'], dir. Lex Runderkamp. VPRO, 30 November 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 20, '1945-Duitsland & Rusland' [1945-Germany & Russia'], dir. Britta Hosman. VPRO, 7 December 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 21, '1945-Joegoslavië' [1945-Yugoslavia'], dir. Britta Hosman. VPRO, 14 December 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 22, '1946-Israël & Europa' ['1946-Israel & Europe'], dir. Roel van Broekhoven. VPRO, 21 December 2008.

In Europa [In Europe], episode 23, '1948-Tsjechië' ['1948-Czech Republic'], dir. Roel van Broekhoven. VPRO, 28 December 2008.

- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 24, '1950-Europa' ['1950-Europe'], dir. Alexander Oey. VPRO, 4 January 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 25, '1956-Hongarije' ['1956-Hungary'], dir. Erik de Bruyn. VPRO, 11 January 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 26, '1958-Frankrijk & Algerije' ['1958-France & Algeria'], dir. Alexander Oey. VPRO, 18 January 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 27, '1961-DDR' ['1961-German Democratic Republic'], dir. Dirk Kagenaar. VPRO, 25 January 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 28, '1968-Amsterdam/Parijs/Berlijn' ['1968-Amsterdam/Paris/Berlin'], dir. David Kleijwegt. VPRO, 1 February 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 29, '1974-Portugal' ['1974-Portugal'], dir. Stefanie de Brouwer. VPRO, 8 February 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 30, '1977-Duitsland' ['1977-Germany'], dir. Alexander Oey. VPRO, 15 February 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 31, '1984-Engeland' ['1984-England'], dir. Maaik Krijgsman. VPRO, 22 February 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 32, '1986-Tsjernobyl' ['1986-Chernobyl'], dir. Roel van Broekhoven. VPRO, 1 March 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 33, '1989-Roemenië' ['1989-Romania'], dir. Maaik Krijgsman. VPRO, 8 March 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 34, '1991-Sovjet-Unie' ['1991-Soviet Union'], dir. Roel van Broekhoven. VPRO, 15 March 2009.
- In Europa [In Europe]*, episode 35, '1992-Bosnië en de waarheid' ['1992-Bosnia and the Truth'], dirs. Stefanie de Brouwer, Djoeke Veeninga. VPRO, 22 March 2009.
- In therapie [In Therapy]*, drama serie [drama series], dir. Alain de Levita. NCRV, 2010–2011.
- I Survived a Zombie Apocalypse*, reality TV game show, dir. Simon Dinsell. BBC, 2015.
- Janine*, documentaire [documentary], dir. Paul Cohen. VPRO, 9 September 2010.
- James Herriot [All Creatures Great and Small]*, televisieserie [television series], dirs. Peter Moffatt, Christopher Barry, Michael Brayshaw, Robert Tronson, Terence Dudley, Tony Virgo, Roderick Graham, Christopher Baker, Richard Bramall, Michael Hayes, Jeremy Summers, Bob Blagden, Steve Goldie, Richard Martin, Kenneth Ives. BBC, 1978–1990.
- Kamp Westerbork, de film [Camp Westerbork, the Movie]*, dir. Rudolf Breslauer. Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork/NOS/Tijdsbeeld Media, the Netherlands, 2011.
- Labyrint [Labyrinth]*, wetenschappelijk radio- en televisieprogramma [scientific radio- and television programme], dir. Jeroen van den Berk, Thijs Brandsma, Mijke de Jong, Nicole van Kilsdonk, Saskia van Leeuwen, Olaf Oudheusden, Uif Putters, Esther Pardijs, Hansje Quartel, Karin Schagen, Wim Schepens, IJsbrand van Veelen, Ilja Willems. Teleac/NTR/VPRO, 2010–2013.
- Lang leve de TV! [Long Live the TV!]*, spelprogramma [game show], dir. Gerben van den Hoven. TROS, 2011.
- Last man watching [Last Man Watching]*, marathonuitzending t.g.v. het 60-jarig bestaan van de televisie in Nederland [marathon broadcast on the occasion of the anniversary of 60 years of television in the Netherlands], dir. Eric Blom. BNN, 2011.

Nederland toen [*'That's How It Was in the Netherlands'*], geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], dir. Janneke Martens. NostalgieNet, 2006– .

Nederland valt aan [*The Netherlands Attack*], documentaire/drama [documentary/drama], dir. Merel de Geus. NTR, 21 July 2012.

NOS actueel [*NOS Live*], nieuwsprogramma [news programme]. NOS, 1995–2005.

NOVA [*NOVA*], actualiteitenprogramma [current affairs programme]. VARA/NPS/NOS, 1992–2010.

Na de bevrijding [*After the Liberation*], documentaireserie [documentary series], dirs. Gerda Jansen Hendriks, Paul Ruigrok, Femke Veltman. NTR, 2014.

OVT [*Simple Past Tense*], radiodocumentaire [radio documentary], producers Gerard Leenders, Mathijs Deen, Astrid Nauta, Hans Olink, Michal Citroen, Jos Palm. VPRO, 1989– .

Poetin's olympische droom [*Putin's Olympic Dream*], dir. Hans Pool. VPRO, 10 February 2014.

Poldark, drama series, dirs. Edward Bazalgette, William McGregor. BBC, 2015– .

Schindler's List, dir. Steven Spielberg. Universal Pictures,— United States, 1993.

Spangas, jeugdserie [youth series], dirs. Tonnie Dinjens, Adriëne Worpel Harald van Eck, Kaj Driessen, Diede in 't Veld, Jop de Vries, Joris van den Berg, Hans Somers, Jan Pool. NCRV, 2007– .

Steekspel [*Tricked*], dir. Paul Verhoeven. FCCE, the Netherlands, 2013.

Talking Dead, live talk show, dirs. Russell Norman, Mike Corey, Carrie Havel. AMC, 2011– .

The Onedin Line, drama series, dirs. Gerald Blake, Peter Graham Scott, David Reynolds, David Sullivan Proudfoot, David Cunliffe, Roger Jenkins, Ben Rea, Lennie Mayne, Michael Hayes, Jonathan Alwyn, Gilchrist Calder, Paul Ciappessoni, Peter Cregeen, Viktors Ritelis, Martyn Friend, Douglas Camfield, Raymond Menmuir, Geraint Morris, Pennant Roberts, Moira Armstrong, Darrol Blake, Ken Hannam, William Slater, Cyril Coke, Gareth Davies, Christopher Barry, Michael E. Briant, Stephen Butcher, Peter Grimwade, Andrew Morgan. BBC, 1971–1980.

The Walking Dead, drama series. AMC, 2010– .

Timewatch, documentary series. BBC, 1982– .

Timewatch, documentary series, episode Dam Busters: The Race to Smash the German Dams, dir. Aaron Young. BBC, 8 November 2011.

Twin Peaks, drama series, dir. David Lynch. Showtime, to air in 2017.

Untitled The X-files Revival, drama series, dirs. Chris Carter, Darin Morgan, Glen Morgan, James Wong. FOX, to air in 2016.

Up series, documentary series, dir. Michael Apted. ITV/BBC, 1964– .

Upstairs Downstairs, drama series, dirs. Euros Lyn, Anthony Byrne, Marc Jobst, Brendan Maher, Saul Metzstein. BBC, 2010–2012.

Utopia, reality TV show. SBS6, 2013– .

Vierkante ogen [*Square Eyes*], geschiedenisprogramma [history programme], dir. Antoinette Grote Gansey. VPRO, 2011.

Welkom bij de Romeinen [*Welcome to the Roman Age*], jeugd geschiedenisprogramma [youth history programme], dir. Niek Barendsen. NTR, 2014.

Wie was je opa's opa, opa? [*Who Was Your Grandfather's Grandfather, Grandfather?*], documentaire serie [documentary series], dir. Niek Koppen. VPRO, 1989–1990.

Wij slaven van Suriname [*We Slaves of Surinam*], documentaire serie [documentary series], dirs. Frank Zichem, Luc Haekens. RVU, 1999.
Yes, Prime Minister, sitcom, dirs. Gareth Gwenlan, Jonathan Lynn. UKTV Gold, 2013.
Zwartboek [*Blackbook*], dir. Paul Verhoeven. A-Film, the Netherlands, 2006.

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Statement of Inclusion of Published Work

This thesis is my own work.

An earlier version of parts of chapter 4 and parts of the introduction and conclusion were published by the author as: Hagedoorn, Berber. 'Television as a Hybrid Repertoire of Memory. New Dynamic Practices of Cultural Memory in the Multi-Platform Era'. *VIEW Journal of European Television History and Culture* 2, no. 3 (2015): 52–64. Available online: <http://www.viewjournal.eu/index.php/view/article/view/jethc032/60>.

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Summary in English

*Doing History, Creating Memory:
Representing the Past in Documentary and Archive-Based Television Programmes within a
Multi-Platform Landscape*

Television is a significant mediator of past and historical events in modern media systems. This dissertation studies practices of representing the past on Dutch television as a multi-platform phenomenon. Dynamic screen practices such as broadcasting, cross-media platforms, digital thematic channels and online television archives provide access to a wide range of audio-visual materials. By exploring how television's convergence with new media technologies has affected its role as a mediator of the past, this study reflects on how contemporary representations of history contribute to the construction of cultural memory. Specifically, the poetics of doing history in archive-based and documentary programming are analysed from 2000 onwards, when television professionals in the Netherlands seized the opportunity to experiment with storytelling practices made possible by the increased digitisation of archival collections and the presence of online and digital platforms. This study is founded on a textual analysis of audio-visual cases to reveal processes of meaning making, and a production studies approach to gain insight into creators' strategies of broadcasting and multi-platform storytelling in relation to historical events. Such an approach reveals distinct textual, cultural-historical and institutional aims, strategies and conventions for doing history on television, bringing power relations to the surface.

By means of an analysis of distinct cases, different aspects of doing history on television and television as a practice of cultural memory in the multi-platform era are explicated. The studied programmes and practices were broadcast and provided an online cross-media experience between early 2000 and the first half of 2015, and continue to live on online. This provides a considerable starting point for a reflection on the interplay between past and present via television. Each case discusses different dynamics in the degree of cross- and transmediality, as well as the choices made by the creators as 'memory makers' to represent a certain type of history.

First, I reflect on how sources and stories about historical events are collected, selected, reconstructed and visualised through particular criteria and strategies in the case of the permanent, long-running history series. Based on an analysis of the archive-based history programme *ANDERE TIJDEN* [CHANGING TIMES] (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2000–), which incorporates a treatment of history based on actuality, I zoom in on the role of television as a mediator of past and historical events. I specifically focus on how television does history through different means of representation and what kind of history television professionals are creating in the case of long-running, weekly history programming.

Second, I reflect on the meaning of curated connections in the narrowcasting and cross-platform scheduling of previously broadcast history and nostalgia programming on different Dutch digital thematic channels, specifically *NPO Doc* and *NostalgieNet*. By means of these

cases, I zoom in on hybridity – mixing broadcast television and digital culture – as well as the role of television professionals as curators in re-screening the past and repurposing past television in relation to collective memory. This study also points to challenges for the online circulation of historical audio-visual materials, including media policy and rights issues, which complicate the function of online circulated historical material as material for contextualisation and in-depth knowledge gathering.

Third, I pose the question how a specific selection of strategies represents the Holocaust in multi-platform television documentaries for different target groups. Based on an analysis of the World War II documentary project DE OORLOG/13 IN DE OORLOG [THE WAR/13 AT WAR] (NPS, 2009–2010) focusing specifically on Holocaust representation through broadcasting and multi-platform storytelling (including practices of cross-media and transmedia storytelling), I zoom in on the role of visible evidence, testimony and re-enactment in bringing novel perspectives in relation to official history to the attention of current audiences.

Fourth, I reflect on how creators of history television documentary use multi-platform strategies to constitute engagement with twentieth century European history, and what its subsequent opportunities and implications are for the construction of memory and user participation. Based on an analysis of the cross-media documentary project IN EUROPA [IN EUROPE] (VPRO, 2007–2009), which focuses on sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*), I zoom in on the challenges and opportunities of multi-platform story production in the television industry. I particularly pay attention to the role of cross-media contextualisation practices for sharing and shaping personal narratives of historical events, to work towards a more 'participatory' memory.

Based on this exploration of how television professionals deploy the medium in the multi-platform landscape to inform and educate viewers about the past, I finally consider how these new forms of television and representing history by television professionals affect the medium television as a practice of cultural memory in the multi-platform landscape. Studies of memory comprehend cultural memory as shared and reconstructed knowledge of the past outside of but nevertheless entangled with official historical discourse. I propose a new model to study television as cultural memory which takes into account the medium's hybridity in the multi-platform era, reconsidering television as a hybrid repertoire of memory. Television plays an important role as a history teacher in present-day society. Not only does television achieve this through the production of historical programmes and by telling stories from the past, but also by making materials from archives accessible on diverse platforms and contextualising them for specific audiences. New cultures of participation and digital technologies can provide a more direct link between audiences and sources of historical information, but to actively engage television users in spaces of participation, links need to be made meaningful.

The studied cases show that history television productions facilitate such negotiations by portraying those parts of the collective memory that are most relevant at the given time to programme makers and their audiences. Characterised by a constant process of cultural negotiation, these practices of doing history reveal the increasingly networked nature of cultural memory. Such practices draw our attention to the mediatedness of memory texts as well as the politics of remembering and forgetting. The reconstruction of narratives of the past through the medium of television is negotiated and experienced within specific cultural, textual and institutional frameworks, including history, memory, narrativity, medium specificity, house

styles, media policy and contexts of access over time and space. Interpretations are also shaped through viewer expectations and the personal engagement of television users with content. Importantly, such experiences are in turn steered by the ways in which content is made accessible by television institutions and television makers. New digital technologies are the driving force behind these increasingly connected experiences offered and used by the medium television.

This dissertation consequently shows, first, how the selection and circulation of historical narratives and audio-visual archive materials in new contexts of television works in relation to processes of mediation, hybridity and curation, and second, how such practices help to search, preserve and perform individual and collective cultural memories. Televised histories connect users with the past and provide necessary contextual frameworks through cross-media and transmedia storytelling, demonstrating the continuing importance of stories and memories produced through televisual practices – challenging accepted versions of history.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Geschiedenis-televisie als geheugenpraktijk:

De verbeelding van het verleden in documentaires en televisieprogramma's over geschiedenis via een multi-platform aanpak

Televisie is in het moderne medialandschap een belangrijk middel om voorbije en historische gebeurtenissen te representeren. Dit proefschrift bestudeert manieren waarop het verleden wordt verbeeld op de Nederlandse televisie als een multi-platform fenomeen. Dynamisch aanbod, zoals televisie-uitzendingen, crossmedia-platforms, digitale themakanalen en online televisiearchieven, biedt toegang tot een breed scala aan audiovisuele materialen. Door te onderzoeken hoe het samengaan van televisie met nieuwe mediatechnologieën haar rol als link met het verleden heeft beïnvloed, laat dit onderzoek zien hoe hedendaagse representaties van geschiedenis bijdragen aan de vorming van het culturele geheugen. In het bijzonder wordt de poëtica van op archiefmateriaal gebaseerde programma's en documentaires over geschiedenis geanalyseerd, en wel vanaf het jaar 2000 tot heden. In deze periode grepen televisieprofessionals in Nederland de kans om te experimenteren met verhaalvormen mogelijk gemaakt door de toegenomen digitalisering van archiefmateriaal en de aanwezigheid van online en digitale platformen. Dit onderzoek is gebaseerd op een tweeledige aanpak: een tekstuele analyse van audiovisuele casussen en een productiestudies benadering om inzicht te krijgen in de strategieën van programmamakers en multi-platform producties met betrekking tot historische gebeurtenissen. Een dergelijke aanpak onthult verschillende tekstuele, cultureel-historische en institutionele doelstellingen, strategieën en conventies voor het verbeelden van geschiedenis op de televisie, en maakt onderlinge machtsverhoudingen zichtbaar.

Door middel van een analyse van diverse casussen kunnen verschillende aspecten van het vertellen van geschiedenis via televisie en televisie als een geheugenpraktijk in een multi-platform medialandschap worden toegelicht. De geselecteerde casussen zijn uitgezonden en online beschikbaar gesteld tussen begin 2000 en de eerste 6 maanden van 2015, en zijn nog online te volgen. Dit biedt een goed uitgangspunt voor een reflectie op de wisselwerking tussen verleden en heden via televisie. In elke casus worden verschillende dynamieken in de mate van cross- en transmedialiteit geëvalueerd, evenals de keuzes die de programmamakers hebben gemaakt om een bepaald soort geschiedenis weer te geven.

Ten eerste belicht ik de manier waarop bronnen en verhalen over historische gebeurtenissen worden verzameld, geselecteerd, gereconstrueerd en gevisualiseerd door middel van specifieke criteria en strategieën bij langlopende geschiedenisprogramma's. Op basis van een analyse van het op archiefmateriaal en actualiteit gebaseerde geschiedenisprogramma *ANDERE TIJDEN* (NPS/NTR/VPRO, 2000–) belicht ik de rol van televisie als middel om voorbije en historische gebeurtenissen te representeren, met een focus op hoe geschiedenis verbeeld wordt en wat voor soort geschiedenis televisiemakers creëren in het geval van wekelijkse geschiedenisprogrammering.

Ten tweede reflecteer ik op de betekenissen die geconstrueerd worden door middel van crossmediale programmering en *narrowcasting* (uitzendingen voor een select publiek) van eerder uitgezonden geschiedenis- en nostalgische programma's op verschillende Nederlandse digitale themakanalen, in het bijzonder *NPO Doc* (voorheen *Holland Doc*) en *NostalgieNet*. Door middel van deze casussen licht ik het belang van hybriditeit toe – het vermengen van televisie met digitale cultuur – evenals de rol van televisieprofessionals als conservatoren van het verleden en het belang van geschiedenisprogramma's met betrekking tot het collectieve geheugen. Dit onderzoek wijst ook op de uitdagingen voor de online verspreiding van historisch audiovisueel materiaal, bijvoorbeeld de uitdagingen van mediabeleid en auteursrechtelijke kwesties. Hierdoor wordt de functie van online verspreid materiaal als materiaal voor contextualisering en meer diepgaande kennisvorming op de proef gesteld.

Ten derde stel ik de vraag hoe de Holocaust gerepresenteerd wordt in multi-platform televisiedocumentaires met als doel verschillende doelgroepen te bereiken. Op basis van een analyse van verschillende productie-aanpakken in de documentaireseries *DE OORLOG* en *13 IN DE OORLOG* (NPS, 2009-2010) belicht ik de rol van archiefmateriaal als 'bewijs', de rol van het laten zien en horen van getuigenissen en ten slotte het creëren van nieuwe inzichten door het onder de aandacht brengen van geschiedenis bij het hedendaagse publiek door middel van broadcasting en *multi-platform storytelling* (met inbegrip van zowel crossmediale als transmediale vertelvormen).

Ten vierde licht ik toe hoe makers van televisiedocumentaires multi-platformstrategieën gebruiken om betrokkenheid bij de Europese geschiedenis van de twintigste eeuw tot stand te brengen, en wat vervolgens de mogelijkheden en gevolgen zijn voor de participatie van kijkers en het creëren van cultureel geheugen. Op basis van een analyse van het crossmediale documentaire-project *IN EUROPA* (VPRO, 2007-2009), waarin plaatsen van herinnering (*lieux de mémoire*) centraal staan, ga ik in op de uitdagingen en mogelijkheden van multi-platform producties in de televisie-industrie. Ik leg hier in het bijzonder de nadruk op de rol van crossmediapraktijken voor het delen en vormgeven van persoonlijke verhalen van historische gebeurtenissen, om zo te werken aan een meer 'participatief' geheugen.

Door te verkennen hoe professionals het medium televisie inzetten om kijkers te informeren en te onderwijzen over het verleden in een multi-platform medialandschap, beschouw ik tot slot hoe deze nieuwe vormen van televisie en het laten zien van geschiedenis van invloed zijn op het creëren van cultureel geheugen. Eerder uitgevoerd onderzoek omvat het culturele geheugen als gedeelde en gereconstrueerde kennis van het verleden buiten, maar niettemin verstrengeld met, officiële historische vertogen. Ik stel een nieuw model van het bestuderen van televisie als vorm van cultureel geheugen voor, waarbij rekening wordt gehouden met de hybriditeit van het medium televisie in een multi-platform medialandschap, oftewel een heroverweging van televisie als een hybride repertoire van geheugen. Televisie speelt een belangrijke rol als geschiedenisleraar in onze huidige maatschappij. Dit doet het medium televisie niet alleen middels de productie van historische programma's en het vertellen van verhalen uit het verleden, maar ook door het beschikbaar maken van audiovisueel materiaal uit archieven op diverse platforms en dit materiaal te contextualiseren voor specifieke doelgroepen. Nieuwe manieren van participatie en digitale technologieën bieden een meer directe link tussen publiek en bronnen van historische informatie, maar om televisiegebruikers actief te betrekken moeten connecties met en tussen programma's van voldoende betekenis zijn.

De bestudeerde casussen tonen aan dat televisieproducties over geschiedenis dergelijke overwegingen makkelijker maken door alleen die onderdelen van het collectieve geheugen naar voren te halen, die het meest relevant zijn op een bepaalde tijd voor beleidsmakers en kijkers. Deze vormen van het vertellen van geschiedenis onthullen de verbindende aard van het cultureel geheugen, gekenmerkt door een voortdurend proces van onderhandeling. Dergelijke praktijken laten ons zien hoe gemediatiseerd en hoe politiek herinneren en vergeten kan zijn. Het hervertellen van verhalen uit het verleden door middel van televisie wordt tot stand gebracht en ervaren binnen specifieke culturele, tekstuele en institutionele kaders, zoals geschiedenis, geheugen, narrativiteit, medium-specificiteit, huisstijlen, mediabeleid en toegankelijkheid. Interpretaties worden ook gevormd door middel van de verwachtingen van kijkers en de persoonlijke verbondenheid van televisiekijkers en gebruikers met de programma-inhoud. Dergelijke ervaringen worden op hun beurt gestuurd door de manier waarop inhoud toegankelijk wordt gemaakt door televisieproducenten en programmamakers. Nieuwe digitale technologieën zijn de drijvende kracht achter deze steeds meer gekoppelde ervaringen aangeboden via het medium televisie.

Deze dissertatie toont derhalve aan, ten eerste, hoe de selectie en verspreiding van historische verhalen en audiovisuele materialen in nieuwe contexten van televisie werken met betrekking tot processen van mediatisering (de groeiende invloed van media in cultuur en maatschappij), hybriditeit (het vermengen van televisie met digitale cultuur) en samenstelling (de rol van televisieprofessionals als conservatoren van het verleden), en ten tweede, hoe dergelijke praktijken helpen om individuele en collectieve culturele herinneringen te zoeken, te behouden en te verbeelden. Op de televisie uitgezonden geschiedenisprogramma's verbinden kijkers en gebruikers met het verleden en bieden de nodige contextuele kaders door middel van crossmediale en transmediale producties, waarbij onverminderd het belang van het vertellen van verhalen en herinneringen wordt aangetoond – aldus blijven gangbare interpretaties van geschiedenis uitgedaagd.

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Biography

Berber Hagedoorn is specialised in Media and Cultural Studies. After completing her dissertation *Doing History, Creating Memory: Representing the Past in Documentary and Archive-Based Television Programmes within a Multi-Platform Landscape* at Utrecht University, she now works as an Assistant Professor at the University of Groningen Research Centre for Media Studies and Journalism. She researches the representation of past events, multi-platform storytelling, cultural memory and the re-use of archival footage, particularly in relation to television, film and digital media. Her dissertation project was carried out in the context of *EUScreenXL*, which promotes the use of television content to explore Europe's rich and diverse cultural history (www.euscreen.eu). Previously, Hagedoorn worked as a researcher for the European projects *Video Active* and *EUScreen*, which presented a vast collection of television programmes and stills from audio-visual archives across Europe. She pursued her academic education in Language and Culture Studies (BA) and Media Studies (Research MA/MPhil) at Utrecht University and was a visiting graduate student in Film and Media Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She lectures on a variety of topics in Media and Cultural Studies in both the Netherlands and abroad. Hagedoorn is a member of the European Television History Network, Vereniging Geschiedenis, Beeld en Geluid (Association of History, Image and Sound) and Utrecht University's Centre for Television in Transition.