In the twenty-first-century landscape, where internet convergence and multi-platform storytelling have become central features of TV programming, the medium of television plays a pivotal role in constructing and stimulating historical consciousness of the Holocaust. Mediatized histories, life narratives and archival footage are more and more becoming part of the public domain. At the same time, the visual record and historical representation of the Holocaust is ever more becoming a topic of academic study. 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 and memory in the representation and remembrance of, and education about, the systematic state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews and millions of other victims by the Nazi regime and its allies during the Second World War.

The impact of the Second World War on Dutch history is such that 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’ of the Nazis’ Final Solution. Many television users are now (re-)viewing and remembering these events through current televisual practices that repurpose archival footage in new historical contexts, on various 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.

In this chapter, I will re-think the relationship between television, history and memory by investigating how ‘multi-platform’ TV documentary programming helps to perform cultural memory of the Holocaust. The focus of this analysis will
be on how the Dutch TV documentaries *13 in de Oorlog* (*13 at War, 2009–10*) and *De Oorlog* (*The War, 2009*) can function as a practice of memory in their representation of this difficult and complex subject matter. The historical programme *13 at War* was a youth drama-documentary series produced by public broadcaster NPS in cooperation with Teleac/NOT (since merged into NTR). Its purpose was to introduce the major historical events of the Second World War in the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies (the Dutch colony which became Indonesia after the Second World War) to young viewers. The NPS produced this series together with the historical documentary series *The War*. In contrast to the youth series, *The War* focused on new insights into the events before, during and after the occupation. Both series are part of a larger cross-media format, which expands the themes and narratives of the documentary programmes. This study uses these series to explore the new dynamic ways in which cultural memory is performed across the current media landscape.

**Multi-Platform TV as a Practice of Cultural Memory**

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’ — memory that is ‘entangled’ with history rather than always opposed to history. More than ever, cultural memory today is reliant on the exchange, circulation and technological capacities of media practices. Not only are the ways in which inhabitants of the current media landscape individually remember and forget impacted 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 argued 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.’ Critics have conventionally conceptualized television as annihilating memory — and consequently history as well — arguing that ‘memory seems to play no role in television’ and that television is ‘subtly erasing our sense of a past’. As a result, television has been widely regarded as ‘a key apparatus of popular culture which contributes to the fundamental loss of historical consciousness’. However, such conceptions of television need to be reconsidered in the present media climate.

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. The Secret Annex in Amsterdam is unfurnished, due to the fact that 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 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 TV broadcasts in which helpers like Jo Kleiman and Miep Gies share their memories about the people in hiding.
In a similar fashion, formerly unavailable data is now easily accessible for the general public on several media platforms and screen practices related to television, varying from ‘traditional’ broadcast TV to digital theme channels and online TV 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, by means of which audiences are making conscious decisions to view, collect, distribute and assimilate images of the past. As a result, memory is (re-)produced, circulated and made sense of through the cultural form of television in newfangled and more dynamic ways.

Since viewing habits are based more and more on personal selection, like many TV programmes today, documentary programming is evidencing a heightened awareness of the existence of audiences both online and offline. Work by amongst others Eilean Hooper-Greenhill has shown that in the post-modern period, cultural organizations (such as museums) have in general become much closer to and more conscious of their respective audiences. In constructing a ‘useable past’ for the present, new forms of pedagogy are demanded. Specialist knowledge remains important, and is combined with strategies to try to involve the imaginations and emotions of audiences. The War and 13 at War exemplify 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. In The War and 13 at War, various means of representation are utilized to produce specific memory discourses and to ‘perform’ the past. If we understand cultural memory as a dynamic practice which can actually be performed, the performance of memory is ‘both a mnemonic device and a way in which individual memories are relived, revived, and refashioned’. For television makers working within the field of historical documentary, how to unite the ‘representation of reality’ with a creative treatment of this reality is crucial to their practice, and thus the performance of the past. The nine-part series The War strived to bring the historical events of the Second World War in the Netherlands and the former Dutch East Indies to new generations, in a less exhaustive manner than its precursor, Loe de Jong’s 21-part series De Bezetting (The Occupation), which was broadcast in the Netherlands from 1960 to 1965, rerun in a shortened format from 1966 to 1968, and remade between 1989 and 1990. The War was created by editor-in-chief Ad van Liempt for a wide audience. In the early stages of developing The War, the idea for a parallel youth series emerged. By the concurrent production of comprehensive websites, DVD box-sets, companion books, and derivative products for education and the publication of historical sources, a considerable cross-media effect was established. Figure 8.1 demonstrates the multiple means of storytelling and user participation across a variety of platforms and screens in both The War and 13 at War.

The series’ websites have both been successful in engaging their respective audiences, each on their own terms. Since the start of 13 at War (both series aired
Performing Cultural Memory

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 at War 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. The screening of 13 at War episodes in primary education may be a factor in the website’s steadily rising viewing figures. 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 2012.20

Towards a New TV Historiography

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.21 Whilst more ambiguous images of resistance and collaboration are featured in films like De Aanslag (The Assault, Fons Rademakers, 1986) and Zwartboek (Black Book, Paul Verhoeven, 2006), the traditional perspective is characterized by strong moralizing in terms of goed (‘right’, e.g. heroic resistance fighters) and fout (‘wrong’, e.g. Dutch Nationalist Socialist Movement (NSB) members and other brutal collaborators). The ‘right/wrong’ perspective has increasingly been utilized in an encompassing way, especially through commemoration of the persecution and murder of the Jews.22 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 The War, advocated the necessity of new research questions in his 1983 inaugural lecture. Academic research is at present in an advanced stage, bringing new insights and nuances. However, the general public still often thinks in moralizing terms of right and wrong. Blom has argued that this exemplifies how the distance between professional historians and the Dutch general public has amplified since De Jong’s approach as ‘the people’s educator’.

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 various 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 The War. The editor-in-chief recognizes 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’. Whilst The Occupation did not feature witness statements by ex-NSB members, The War 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 war time, or the dilemmas family members faced with respect to each other's political choices. In this manner, The War demonstrates how a 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 the Second World War.

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 various local influences and the intensity of resistance and radicalism (arguing that local resistance provoked more German activity and therefore more arrests). The series’ presenter and narrator, radio-, TV- and news anchor Rob Trip, guides the audience through new insights based on recent research, witness testimonies and previously unpublished archival footage. The series is principally based on the use of what the creators call ‘ego-documents’, such as diary fragments. Trip’s narration style is grounded in the visiting of various historical locations and selected eyewitnesses. 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 general public with new outlooks and contradictory perspectives.

Audiovisual Memory and Testimony

In part 5 of The War, ‘How the Jews Disappeared from the Netherlands’, the tragedy of the more than 100,000 deported and murdered Dutch Jews is analyzed. Trip questions why this number was so high in the Netherlands, and why there
Performing Cultural Memory     153

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 badly for the Jews. Principally, the diverse witness testimonies demonstrate the complexity and unstraightforwardness of 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. 29 In 1943, he was deported to Sobibor, where his wife and her family were murdered. Schelvis’s testimony evokes an (in hindsight naively) optimistic attitude:

We were young, we were strong. We just didn’t 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.30

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.31

The art of making historical television documentaries 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 wide range of people — without telling falsities. Because of the dying out of eyewitnesses of the Second World War — and therefore the loss of this generation’s ‘storehouse of memories’32 — the dilemma whether or not to include talking heads in *The War* 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.33 This choice was principally made to elevate the level of authenticity. Here it must be noted that authenticity is a ‘red herring’, as Aaron Kerner argues, because ‘there is no transparent window through which we might render the past’.34 History in itself is a reductive process: historical narratives are always a re-construction or re-presentation of past events. Memory problems, distortions, misrepresentations: all need to be taken into consideration. The creators therefore selected storytellers who, like Schelvis, can be deemed to be reliable authorities regarding the subject discussed at that moment in the conversation.

Such recorded acts of remembering (and simultaneously forgetting) mainly consist 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 the Second World War diaries available in Dutch archives, and aided by historian Bart van der Boom,35 the creators of *The War* decided to 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. Firstly, the diary of Mosche Flinker, a sixteen-year-old Jewish boy:
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 and 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.36

Secondly, 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 set 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?37

The diary of De Zwarte-Walvisch, written in Vught camp between March and July 1943, was recovered during the research process for The War. The diary has subsequently been published by the creators of The War and is now in the public domain. By means of such ‘ego-documents’ that transfer audiences back into the past, the public event of the Holocaust is intensified in the context of private perspectives (and vice versa).

The television makers considered the extent to which memory narratives have been affected by the passing of time and intermediate events, and also 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 average people to portray native dialects. Van Liempt states how this practice, which is not actually authentic, brings about a heightened feeling of authenticity.38

Whilst the past cannot be represented ‘as it was’,39 past events can be mediated through the ‘performance’ of memory, as exemplified by the selection and presentation of ego-documents and talking heads. This activity is principally reinforced and expanded by means of the series’ website, where the memory texts of key individuals are featured and provided with additional content and background information. Accordingly, televisual testimonies can function as practices of cultural and personal memory, highlighting how the increasing intertwining of the public and private can provide new outlooks on past events.
Visible Evidence

The mediation of past events through memory texts is often grounded in or combined with the (re-)use of archival footage. *The War* provides access to history by offering viewers a 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. Of course, the availability of material is of overriding importance. Since the remake of *The Occupation* between 1989 and 1990, a considerable amount of archival and amateur footage has been recovered. The incorporation of such images in itself re-writes history, by bringing 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 be especially relevant when no eyewitness accounts are available or when eyewitnesses give an uninvolved reaction. According to Gerda Jansen Hendriks, one of the directors of *The War*, this historical sensation can be provoked by even ‘the simplest cinema newsreel’. 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. 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 audiovisual 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. The website of *The War* provides the option to ‘catch-up’ and review these materials within an existing framework, in conjunction with background information, (additional) audiovisual 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 textual strategies prompts viewers to identify with histories and memories on a collective as well as an affective level.
Visualizing the Past for a Young Target Audience

Whilst *The War* was created for a wide, general audience, *13 at War* was very much a programme made for a specific target audience: children aged approximately eight to thirteen years. The series has received enthusiastic responses from many older viewers as well, as the following example demonstrates:

Last Sunday I watched your first episode together with my mother, who herself was 13 years old during the Second World War. My mother is traumatized 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 in order 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 8- to 12-year-olds and older, but also very special 77- to 82-year-olds. Many, many thanks for creating this series!

*13 at War* 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’.

*13 at War* 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 the Second World War 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* (NTR, 1988-), a Dutch knowledge-based and satirical children’s programme, and includes a voice-over commentary by director Marcel Goedhart. Their main goal is to transfer 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 by means of 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, visualizing the space for two people with no room to sit or lie down. The series also incorporates archival footage to offer a visual representation of the historical events described, and deliberately excludes talking heads. Finally, each episode presents a certain aspect of the war in a fictionalized narrative. The Holocaust and its aftermath are principally represented in storylines concerning twelve-year-old Kaat van Gennep, a Jewish
girl living in Amsterdam whose parents and elder sister are arrested; thirteen-year-old Roos van Gennep, 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 at War online game, storylines of particular characters are further developed. For instance, Kaat van Gennep’s circumstances after her family’s deportation remain unclear in the TV 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 trans-media story world in which historical events experienced from the perspective of a child via TV drama and online game play characterize what it was like to grow up during the war.

Similarly to The War, 13 at War utilizes 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. Documentary scenes and dramatized narratives demonstrate how during the war ‘life goes on’ as well as the friction of war time. One could debate whether such a tone is suitable for the young target audience. Whilst 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. This imperative is also represented in the overall matter-of-fact tone of the series:

[W]e 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.

The series represents in various instances the terror and fear that children and adults experienced during the occupation and genocide, and young viewers are allowed to be frightened. When a narrative is brought to a young audience in such a visual manner, they will most likely retain an interest in the events showed on screen, and are better able to grasp and remember what they are told.

**Imagining the Past: Historical Drama**

The fictionalized 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’. 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’. 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’. She shares one of her apples with him and they eat in silence (Figure 8.2; note that the pillar on the left is covered in missing person pamphlets).

The goal of these dramatized 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, characterized 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’. As a result, the programme’s representation of canonized history can be put into action in schools. By seeing and further discussing this programme, young people can scrutinize their own values and are made better aware of the significance of remembering these events.

Tinted History

Archival footage is incorporated to offer a visual representation of the described historical events. How can such footage engage young audiences? In the case of 13 at War, audiovisual materials are tinted. Due to the costs of tinting, only a small amount of images are tinted per episode, 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.51 (my italics)

By means of 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 (Figure 8.3). The yellow-tinted star makes her stand out, which highlights the feeling of this woman being singled out (the stills discussed appear in this volume entirely in black-and-white). However, the tinting technique is also used to emphasize elements within the archival images that are visually interesting. An example is the red- and yellow-tinted mitre of Saint Nicholas (Figure 8.4) during

Fig. 8.3. Woman with yellow-tinted Star of David in 13 at War, dir. Marcel Goedhart, Hein Hoffmann, and Vincent Schuurman (2009–10): episode 6, ‘Jews’. Courtesy of Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. DVD capture.
a procession as part of the national feast day that is very popular with children. The 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.

The eye-catching use of tinted highlights in the archival footage also ‘triggers’ the target audience to pay attention. In a shot from the ‘Westerbork-film’ by Rudolf Breslauer,\textsuperscript{52} Settela Steinbach’s scarf has been tinted white-yellow (Figure 8.5). Although Steinbach’s historical significance is not made explicit here — unlike in the accompanying book\textsuperscript{53} — the tinting prompts the young audience to take extra notice of her, hinting at her historical importance. Therefore, when young audiences encounter Settela at a later time 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 \textit{Schindler’s List} (Steven Spielberg, 1993), evoking a strong emotional reaction. However, the use of tinting is not purely affective in \textit{13 at War}, 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 as a matter of fact coloured green with yellow.

As a historical documentary, \textit{13 at War} 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’\textsuperscript{54} 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 dramatized narratives offer an interpretation
Performing Cultural Memory

of the central historical events, from the perspective of a child. Although the drama in 13 at War is inspired by and based on actual events, there is no evidence provided for the actual existence of the various 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 dramatized scenes offer room for recognizing 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.

Educational Gaming: ‘What Would You Do in a Time of War?’

To improve the young audience’s ability to imagine or immerse themselves in the depicted historical situations, the 13 at War online game and website (Figures 8.6, 8.7 and 8.8), designed by IJsfontein Interactive Media, were promoted at the end of each broadcast by Wade as follows: ‘What would you do in a time 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, in which the various locations and characters are composed from photographs. This is the first educational online game about the Second World War 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 makes the most of the serial nature of the TV series.
Fig. 8.6. 13 at War website. Courtesy of IJsfontein Interactive Media and NTR. Website capture.

Fig. 8.7. 13 at War 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 a time of war, such as if they would 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 various 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 visualizes this dilemma. The plot and goal of the game is easy to understand, and historical information is incorporated in a logical manner — for example, when arriving in England, you must prove your Dutch nationality by means of 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 emphasizes 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 trans-media story universe with common characters, young TV users are motivated to connect content from the TV series to the game and vice versa, resulting in a richer and most likely more satisfying learning experience. These additional historical frameworks provided through a multi-platform approach need
to be regarded as an integral and necessary part of television in today’s multi-media landscape.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates 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 *The War* and *13 at War*, different choices and selections are made for different target groups. These programmes are not a primary source, but represent and perform history and memory to large audiences in a comprehensible manner, stimulating historical consciousness and multiple readings.

Several of the images and histories that are (re-)shown and (re-)told in these historical programmes may already be familiar to us. The image of Settela Steinbach in *13 at War* is a prime example. This image from Breslauer’s so-called ‘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’.\(^\text{55}\) However, rather than rendering images less meaningful — and therefore less capable of memory — by textual strategies of re-use, I argue 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.

Television users always ‘assimilate’ images ‘as best they can to pre-existing images and narratives’,\(^\text{56}\) and therefore the reviewing and remembering of previously transmitted and archival images opens up new important opportunities for reflection and recollection. This is especially the case in *The War*, which invites new perspectives and incorporates often never before seen audiovisual materials and ‘ego-documents’, and *13 at War*, whose young target audience will most likely not be familiar with the images shown. By means of the performance of memory in both projects, the consensus of history is deconstructed, re-written and expanded by a variety of memory texts. As multi-platform documentary projects, *The War* and *13 at War* provide interpretive frameworks for shaping memory and historical consciousness of ‘holocaustal events’ of occupation, persecution and mass murder. Past events are mediated through the performance of a range of memory texts, from audiovisual and written testimony to the televizing of new historical perspectives, which blur the boundaries between public and private history and memory. By means of 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. Characterized by a constant process of cultural negotiation, multi-platform TV documentary therefore demonstrates
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 and EUscreen, which transcend national connotations. Such projects offer opportunities for the creative re-use of archival materials and are an extension of televisional forms of re-screening.

*The War* and *13 at War* 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 re-framing of memory texts by programme makers, as well as the interaction of television users — for instance, by means of 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. Consequently, television today functions as a contemporary agent in the performance of cultural memory of the Holocaust, by transporting and re-contextualizing memory through a network of dynamic and mediated screen practices.

Films, television programmes and websites

13 in de Oorlog (*13 at War*), dir. Marcel Goedhart, Hein Hoffmann, and Vincent Schuurman (NPS, 2009–10)


De Aanslag (*The Assault*), dir. Fons Rademakers (Cannon, 1986)

De Bezetting (*The Occupation*), dir. Milo Anstadt (NTS, 1960–65)

De Bezetting (*The Occupation*) (remake), dir. Rob Swanenburg (NOS, 1989–1990)

Europeana Homepage <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/> [accessed 27 May 2012]

EUscreen Homepage <http://www.euscreen.eu> [accessed 27 May 2012]

De Oorlog (*The War*), dir. Matthijs Cats, Gerda Jansen Hendriks, Dirk Jan Roeleven and Godfried van Run (NPS, 2009)

De Oorlog Homepage <http://deoorlog.nps.nl> [accessed 28 May 2012]

Schindler’s List, dir. Steven Spielberg (Universal, 1993)


Notes to Chapter 8

I would like to thank Sonja de Leeuw, Eggo Müller and the editors of this volume for their valuable comments. I would also like to thank the *The War* and *13 at War* creators for their participation in interviews.


Since 1 September 2010, public service broadcasters NPS, Teleac and RVU have merged in the NTR (NPS/Teleac/RVU), the Dutch public service broadcaster specializing 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 Homepage [http://www.ntr.nl/page/about-ntr/] [accessed 25 May 2012]; ‘Erfgoed van de Oorlog’, Rijksoverheid Homepage [http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/tweede-wereldoorlog/erfgoed-van-de-oorlog/] [accessed 25 May 2012]; ‘V-fonds, Nationaal Fonds voor Vrijheid en Veteranenzorg’, V-fonds Homepage [http://www.v-fonds.nl] [accessed 25 May 2012].


‘Memory seems to play no role in television, commercial or otherwise (or, I am tempted to say, in postmodernism generally): nothing here haunts the mind or leaves its afterimages in the manner of the great moments of film.’ Fredric Jameson, Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 70–71.


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: documentaries represent the historical world by shaping a photographic record of some aspect of the world from a distinct perspective. See Bill Nichols, Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 12–31.


Hein Hoffmann, 13 in de Oorlog: hoe kinderen de Tweede Wereldoorlog beleefden (13 at War: How
Performing Cultural Memory

Children Experienced the Second World War (Amsterdam: Balans, 2010); Ad van Liempt, De Oorlog (The War) (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009).

19. 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 at War was created for Teleac School TV. ‘Vroeger & Zo’ is freely translated as ‘Old times and things like that’. See Klaartje de Zwarte, Alles ging aan flarden: het oorlogdagboek van Klaartje de Zwarte-Walvisch (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009); Erik Appelman, Kristel Schets, and Willem van der Spek, Vroeger & Zo Speciaal (Teleac/NPS, 2010).

20. Source statistics: NTR.


23. Hans Blom, In de ban van goed en fout? Wetenschappelijke geschiedschrijving over de bezettingstijd in Nederland, Inaugural lecture, University of Amsterdam, 12 December 1983.


26. 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, 1993).

27. 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 The War, which consists of nine episodes and is therefore less exhaustive than De Jong’s The Occupation. 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.


31. By comparison, see my analysis of the Peereboom family films in Péter Forgács’s The Maelstrom: Berber Hagedoorn, “‘Look What I Found!’: (Re)crossing Boundaries between Public/Private
168  Performing Cultural Memory

History and Biography/Autobiography in Péter Forgács’s “The Maelstrom”, *Studies in Documentary Film*, 3.2 (2009), 177–92 (pp. 181–84).


33. 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’.


35. 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).


37. Cited in ‘Hoe de Joden uit Nederland verdwenen’.

38. Cited in ‘Hoe de Joden uit Nederland verdwenen’.


40. Ad van Liempt, personal interview (Utrecht, 9 June 2011).

41. Ibid.

42. Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer have demonstrated 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. See Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, ‘Incongruous Images: “Before, During, and After” the Holocaust’, in *Performing the Past*, pp. 147–74 (p. 172–73).

43. E-mail from viewer (name withheld), 27 October 2009, trans. by Berber Hagedoorn.

44. Hein Hoffmann, personal interview (Hilversum, 5 October 2011).

45. Ad van Liempt, personal interview; Hein Hoffmann, personal interview.

46. Hein Hoffmann, personal interview.


49. Ibid.


51. Hein Hoffmann, personal interview.

52. See also Laura Rascaroli’s contribution to this volume on Harun Farocki’s *Respite*.

53. Hein Hoffmann, 13 in de Oorlog, p. 159.


