



EUROPE AND MEDIA: HISTORY ON TELEVISION AND THE WEB

SECOND UPDATE - MAY 2017



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UNO SGUARDO COMPLESSIVO AGGIORNAMENTO 2017

Luisa Cigognetti
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Durante il nostro incontro a Logroño, ad aprile 2017, ci siamo confrontati sul rapporto tra la Televisione e il Web. La maggior parte dei canali televisivi ha creato un sito web in cui gli spettatori possono esprimere le loro opinioni sui programmi passati e fare richiesta di altre nuove trasmissioni. Le reti televisive sono sempre più influenzate dalle reazioni del pubblico, e invece della precedente relazione verticale tra il canale televisivo e l'audience, c'è ora un continuo scambio tra i due: dall'audience al canale tv e viceversa. Abbiamo concluso che trattare separatamente la TV e il Web non permette di considerare questo doppio flusso e abbiamo perciò deciso di trattare congiuntamente le trasmissioni televisive e le reazioni ad esse sul Web.

A Logroño è stato inoltre deciso di scegliere i primi giorni di maggio 2017 per la seconda fase della nostra indagine comune sulla rappresentazione della storia in televisione e sui social network, dal momento che pochi periodi racchiudono in un breve arco di tempo così tanti anniversari o date importanti come:

- Il 1° maggio, Festa del Lavoro;
- il 1° maggio 2004, giorno dell'adesione di dieci paesi dell'est Europa all'Unione Europea che è così passata da quindici a venticinque membri;
- l'8 maggio 1945, giorno della resa della Germania;
- il 9 maggio, Festa dell'Europa;

per non parlare di anniversari locali nella maggior parte dei paesi dell'UE.

La prima fase della nostra ricerca è avvenuta nella primavera del 2016, la seconda è stata effettuata a maggio 2017. In questo breve intervallo di tempo ci sono stati molti cambiamenti; una stima delle variazioni e delle novità mostra che, nonostante il poco spazio programmato per le trasmissioni che si occupano del passato, i riferimenti ai periodi passati dicono molto, non solo su ciò che è accaduto, ma anche su questioni che preoccupano un'Unione Europea che si trova nel suo processo di realizzazione, esitante tra il rafforzamento o l'indebolimento dei legami che unisce i suoi membri.

Nel 2017 un punto appare chiaro: la storia è prima di tutto una questione politica. Se era già implicito nel 2016, l'indagine ha preceduto il voto a favore della Brexit - la separazione del Regno Unito dall'UE - è chiaro che la storia è stata usata in Gran Bretagna per rafforzare l'idea di originalità e unicità della cultura e società britannica, mentre in altri paesi è stata usata per mettere in discussione l'appartenenza all'Unione sulla base dell'individualità di ogni paese. Nel 2017 la maggior parte dei canali commerciali dell'Unione Europea ha eliminato i programmi di storia perché potrebbero provocare controversie e rendere ostile parte dell'audience mentre quei canali che ancora mandano in onda programmi che approfondiscono il passato, lo fanno per un preciso motivo, generalmente per prendere una parte. Vedremo come RTL Klub, canale ungherese private, ha sfidato le autorità di Budapest. Dall'altro lato, trasmettendo *The Durrells*, evocazione di una famiglia inglese la cui influenza intellettuale è stata importantissima a metà del 20° secolo, o trasmettendo adattamenti dei romanzi di una delle scrittrici più popolari nello stesso periodo, Agatha Christie, ITV, uniformandosi alla linea dominante nel Regno Unito, il programma ha avuto una parte attiva nel dimostrare cosa distingue la Gran Bretagna dalle altre società continentali. Negli altri casi che abbiamo analizzato, la storia in tv viene trasmessa esclusivamente da canali pubblici in modi abbastanza diversi, secondo orientamenti politici che meritano un esame minuzioso.

Lasciateci ricordare che la storia è stata a lungo, per lo meno duran-

te la parte principale del 20° secolo, uno dei cardini della coscienza nazionale. Ogni paese europeo ha avuto i suoi grandi uomini, le sue vittorie e le sue difficoltà, la sua età dell'oro; l'educazione scolastica, la letteratura, i discorsi ufficiali hanno perpetuato il senso di appartenenza ad un retaggio eccezionale e secolare che ha reso ogni terra diversa da qualsiasi altra. Il rapido sviluppo di poteri extra-europei, più grandi dei paesi europei piuttosto piccoli, lo straziante obbligo di scegliere tra un fiero isolamento, preludio al declino, e una perdita di identità in una federazione ha ridotto a poca cosa le glorie passate e ha fatto sì che la storia sembrasse fuori moda. Nel loro rapporto sui canali televisivi sloveni, Darko Štrajn, Sabina Autor, Tina Šešerko e Vanesa Brezinšek parlano di quello che considerano un "gesto dei media di de-politicizzazione all'interno della società contemporanea". Menzionano, a titolo d'esempio, la marcia di 32 chilometri attorno a Ljubljana che, inizialmente, testimoniava come dal 1941 al 1945 i tedeschi avevano circondato la città con il filo spinato, ma che è ora slegata dalla sua origine storica ed è considerata solo un mero evento sportivo. Un altro caso più notevole è quello del 1° maggio, celebrato ovunque come Festa del Lavoro, senza alcuna allusione né alle dure battaglie necessarie per ottenere la sua instaurazione, né alla sua proibizione in molti regimi dittatoriali. Alcuni preferiscono parlare di de-storicizzazione o di presentismo, ovvero la tendenza a preoccuparsi soltanto riguardo a ciò che è immediato, a portata di mano e a vista, perché il futuro è imprevedibile e il passato obsoleto.

Solo le istituzioni statali sono nella posizione di mantenere viva una fragile memoria dei tempi passati che diventerà presto sfuocata se non verrà presto ripristinata in maniera permanente. I membri dell'Unione Europea non sono sempre capaci o inclini a fare ciò. A questo proposito l'Ungheria e la Polonia hanno adottato modi radicalmente opposti per destreggiarsi con il loro passato, la prima eliminandolo dal piccolo schermo, la seconda esaltandolo. Non sorprende che il carattere politico di qualsiasi racconto storico si riveli nella scelta di entrambi i paesi. RTL Klub, la sussidiaria ungherese dell'azienda lussemburghese RTL,

libera da pressioni ufficiali, ha avuto il coraggio di alludere al 1° maggio 2004, giorno dell'adesione dell'Ungheria all'Unione Europea, un anniversario che il governo ha preferito glissare non menzionandolo affatto. Il canale TV ha inoltre reclamato l'apertura degli archivi della Repubblica Popolare, una minaccia per quanti, ora al potere, abbiano in passato collaborato con le autorità comuniste. Ci sono stati argomenti che i canali pubblici ungheresi hanno potuto difficilmente lasciare da parte come i grandi personaggi dei secoli passati o la rivolta del 1956 contro il regime comunista. Nonostante non fossero pericolosi per la linea autoritaria adottata dagli organi di potere, i programmi riguardanti questi temi sono stati messi in onda quasi furtivamente, di notte. Sono molteplici le ragioni di tale eclissi del passato; da un lato la storia è sempre stata usata per attacchi politici indiretti contro il potere e il Web rende tale pratica alla portata di tutti. Dall'altro lato, un governo che vuole rendere i cittadini ungheresi orgogliosi del loro paese avrebbe problemi a celebrare i secoli trascorsi sotto la sovranità di Vienna, la sconfitta in entrambe le due guerre mondiali, la perdita di cittadini e di territori, i quarantadue anni di dominazione sovietica.

La televisione polacca non si trova di fronte al dilemma sui ricordi del passato, come è stato affermato in un programma, "Było, nie minęło", Il passato è ancora vivo. La Polonia è stata invasa e annessa dai suoi vicini più potenti, cancellata dalle cartine geografiche, occupata e perseguitata dai nazisti durante la seconda guerra mondiale, ed è anche caduta sotto il controllo di Mosca, ma i polacchi, riuscendo a vantarsi per aver opposto resistenza e aver salvato la loro lingua, le loro tradizioni, la loro religione, sono contenti di rievocare la loro storia nazionale. Non meno di diciannove ore del piccolo schermo sono state dedicate a trasmissioni retrospettive sul 1° maggio, ventuno il 2 maggio e così via, da nessun'altra parte il passato è stato così fortemente rappresentato.

La seconda guerra mondiale viene ovviamente menzionata, in particolare grazie ad un'Enciclopedia a episodi i cui i podcast sono accessibili agli utenti, ma questo argomento è quantitativamente meno impor-

tante di altri periodi, in particolare la lotta per l'indipendenza nel 19° secolo con una lunga, orgogliosa analisi della costituzione del 1791, il primo documento europeo di questo tipo, istituito malgrado l'occupazione straniera, e le biografie dei combattenti per la libertà.

Tuttavia l'aspetto che più colpisce della storia della televisione polacca è la sua apertura culturale. Molte reti televisive mettono in discussione l'affidabilità della memoria e delle tradizioni trasmesse di generazione in generazione, riflettono sulla nozione di verità storica, e gli esperti discutono sui limiti della conoscenza e della difficoltà di vedere una situazione passata nel modo in cui fu vista dai suoi contemporanei.

Ci sono anche dei programmi che vanno contro la tendenza generale, ad esempio una trasmissione regolare che, parlando delle pratiche regionali e del folklore, tratta della regione di Lwów, in passato polacca, ceduta all'Ucraina dopo la seconda guerra mondiale; contro il persistente anti-semitismo di molti cittadini, la televisione polacca ha registrato, nel programma "Tora i miecz", Torah e spada, la rivolta del ghetto di Varsavia, ha menzionato coloro che aiutarono gli ebrei a nascondersi, e ha visitato il museo dedicato agli ebrei polacchi.

Concentrata su un passato glorioso, la storia raccontata dalla televisione polacca non è ampiamente aperta al mondo esterno. L'Europa è la grande assente, non c'è neppure un'allusione all'adesione del paese all'UE, soltanto la Germania è l'argomento di numerose trasmissioni che denunciano la dittatura nazista e i crimini di guerra perpetrati dalle Wehrmacht (forze armate tedesche di difesa). Le relazioni esterne si limitano agli Stati Uniti con cui, grazie agli emigrati e alle star cinematografiche, la Polonia ha stretto forti legami di amicizia.

La Polonia non è un'eccezione, nonostante l'allargamento dell'Unione nel 2004 e la Festa dell'Europa, si può dire che l'UE è completamente assente dal piccolo schermo dei suoi stati se si esclude "In Europe", In Europa, una serie tv olandese che esplora l'Europa del 20° secolo grazie a interviste e visite ai luoghi importanti per l'evoluzione delle nazioni europee. Questa è stata un'eccezione; la Festa dell'Europa non

è stata menzionata neppure nei tg olandesi. Tra le trenta trasmissioni più popolari trasmesse da BBC1 e BBC2, nessuna era dedicata all'Europa. C'è stata un'allusione alla Festa dell'Europa sulla TV Slovenia 1, senza però alcuna informazione sull'evoluzione o sull'attuale crisi dell'Unione. Il canale spagnolo Cuatro ha inserito nel suo programma "Cuarto Milenio", Quarto Millennio, una breve nota sui paesi stranieri, in particolare la liberazione di Mauthausen. Tutto ciò è avvenuto in una settimana piena di ricorrenze vicine.

Abbiamo iniziato la nostra indagine dieci anni fa. Nel decennio che è seguito poco è cambiato: i canali televisivi dell'Unione europea continuano a dare spazio prevalentemente alla storia nazionale. Questo è però motivato dal fatto che, come suggeriscono Erin Bell, Florian Gleisner and Julio Montero, i produttori si limitano ad adeguarsi alle presunte tendenze degli spettatori? O è perché i pubblici nazionali sono solo interessati alla storia della loro patria, e non a quella di altri paesi? Ad ogni modo, il tempo che viene concesso alle epoche passate in generale è limitato: ammonta a circa il 7% del totale delle trasmissioni nel Regno Unito e al 5% sui sei più importanti canali spagnoli. Come segnala Julio Montero, la percentuale non significa nulla: il pubblico predilige qualche canale nazionale e programmi dedicati ad attori famosi, crimini ed eventi particolari attraggono milioni di spettatori, mentre programmi di valore trasmessi da canali secondari non hanno successo.

I generi dei principali di programmi risultavano essere, nel giugno 2017, come nel 2007, documentari, fiction e retrospettive.

I documentari sono destinati a fornire dati affidabili ed esaustivi su un dato tema e per permettere al pubblico di formularsi un'opinione indipendente e fondata sul problema.

Strano a dirsi, lungi dal generare giudizi equilibrati, spesso provocano polemiche dure e violente sulla rete. La disfatta dell'esercito italiano a Caporetto nell'ottobre 1917, episodio della serie italiana RAI La Grande Guerra, cento anni dopo ha fatto scattare uno scambio di insulti. Una serie di programmi che trattano la colonizzazione olandese (Schiavitù,

« Goede Hoop», Buona fortuna, « Michiel de Ruyter», L'Ammiraglio e indirettamente « De Gouden Eeuw», L'epoca d'oro) hanno generato reazioni pressappoco identiche. Accese discussioni hanno seguito anche la trasmissione di « Preverjeno» (Verificato), trasmissione settimanale del canale sloveno POP TV, che il 1 maggio ha paragonato gli standard di vita negli anni della Jugoslavia a quelli contemporanei.

Caporetto è di solito brevemente accennata nella storiografia italiana, mentre viene messa enfasi sulla vittoria di Vittorio Veneto, preludio del crollo dell'Impero Austro-Ungarico. Nella serie citata sopra è uno degli eventi più approfonditi, e l'accento viene posto sui 400.000 civili che fuggendo dall'esercito austriaco furono soccorsi malamente da un'amministrazione inefficiente ed una popolazione riluttante. Un dibattito acceso e semplicistico ha visto contrapporsi quelli che potrebbero essere etichettati come "patrioti" a coloro che sarebbero "umanisti". Secondo i primi, dopo la sconfitta ogni sforzo era necessario per preparare una rivincita che sarebbe presto stata presa in modo spettacolare. I secondi rispondevano che aiutare i rifugiati era il dovere dei civili che non potevano fare niente per contrattaccare ma che, essendo troppo egoisti, avevano chiuso le loro porte ai loro concittadini.

L'epoca d'oro olandese del 17mo e 18mo secolo fu un periodo di prosperità economica grazie in particolare all'attività della Compagnia olandese delle Indie Orientali che era profondamente coinvolta nella tratta degli schiavi. I critici delle zone oscure della colonizzazione avevano iniziato in Gran Bretagna, poi erano emigrati in Francia e in Olanda.

Anche su questo, in rete si è scatenata la polemica. Per gli "umanisti" era ingiusto celebrare epoche fiorenti la cui prosperità era basata sullo sfruttamento degli esseri umani. Per i loro avversari questo significava una mancanza di comprensione della storia, gli spettatori avrebbero dovuto prendere in considerazione la mentalità dell'epoca, molto diversa dalla nostra.

La vita era migliore o peggiore sotto Tito rispetto ad una Slovenia indipendente? Il comunismo garantiva un lavoro sicuro e un futuro sereno, i cittadini avevano fiducia nello stato. Tuttavia non c'era libertà, la polizia teneva d'occhio tutto e controllava anche le attività private e familiari.

Questo genere di confronti, resi possibili dalla combinazione di televisione e internet, dicono molto sull'utilizzo sociale delle epoche passate. La storia è un racconto insegnato a scuola, ripetuto negli stessi episodi e tematiche nei libri, riviste, commedie e film popolari, una bella narrazione che si concentra su una nazione, valorosa, generosa nelle sue epoche di prosperità, resiliente di fronte all'avversità.

La maggior parte dei cittadini, abituati a questo tipo di narrazione, apprezzano sentirselo raccontare sul piccolo schermo ma si sentono a disagio quando viene modificata. Quando videro *La Battaglia di Stalingrado*, nella serie « Il tempo e la storia » gli spettatori italiani si sono sentiti soddisfatti, era esattamente quello che si aspettavano, mentre nella stessa serie, *1917 la crisi della Germania*, che trattava il 1917 solo dal punto di vista interno della Germania, li ha confusi. I programmi sulla tratta degli schiavi in Olanda o Caporetto si è spinto più in là, mettendo in dubbio l'idea dell'Olanda e dell'Italia di essere assolutamente nel giusto. Parte di entrambi i pubblici reagì aggressivamente perché le loro certezze erano state distrutte, la storia è un elemento troppo forte di coscienza nazionale perché la sua messa in discussione non causi frustrazione.

Definire la fiction storica non è facile, le date ("Questo successe nel 17..."), l'allusione a personaggi famosi o eventi celebri non basta, quello che serve è una accurata ricostruzione di uno scenario d'epoca e la rappresentazione di eventi che ebbero luogo o avrebbero potuto aver luogo in quel periodo. Gli aspetti negativi della fiction, dove la storia è coinvolta, sono incentrati su uno o due personaggi principali e l'enfasi si concentra su una psicologia superficiale e sulle relazioni sentimentali. Molte critiche sono state avanzate a « *Bolnica Franja* », Ospedale Franja trasmesso dalla TV Slovenia 1 il 1 di Maggio e a « *Zwartboek* »,

Libro Nero, trasmesso in Olanda il 4 maggio, Giorno della Memoria per i caduti in guerra. Entrambi fanno riferimento alla Seconda guerra mondiale: il primo riguarda un ospedale segreto per partigiani feriti che operavano durante l'occupazione tedesca ma si perde in aneddoti inutili, mentre il secondo, mostrando nello sfondo la persecuzione degli ebrei olandesi, si sofferma sulle avventure dell'eroina nell'uscire da situazioni difficili.

Ad ogni modo, provare a romanzare il passato può rivelarsi dilettevole e rivelatore, a patto che tenda a trasmettere verosimilmente lo stile di vita, i modi e le passioni di un'epoca. La spagnola TVE1 iniziò a trasmettere nel 2001 "Cuéntame cómo pasó", Raccontami come è successo, una retrospettiva settimanale di una famiglia della classe medio-bassa di Madrid di cui seguiva le vicissitudini giornaliere dal 1960. Al momento si sta soffermando sugli anni 80. Tra prevedibili vicende, conflitti domestici, preoccupazioni finanziarie, feste e celebrazioni, il serial fa pensare alla particolare atmosfera di una nazione non solo appena liberata dalla dittatura, ma anche alle prese con una nuova democrazia e che prepara la sua adesione all'UE. Se i problemi e i piaceri familiari sono immaginati, agli spettatori piace molto ricordare cosa hanno vissuto tre decenni prima, sicché il programma messo in onda in prima serata, raggiunge spesso il 20% dello share.

"Cuéntame..." viene seguito, in seconda serata, da "Ochéntame", il cui titolo enigmatico, un gioco di parole, può essere letto come: [Racconta] a me o [presenta] a me gli anni ottanta. È un documentario che, facendo uso di fotografie, estratti televisivi e di film, testimonianze, fornisce documentazione sulla settimana tipica degli anni 80 menzionata nel serial. A causa dell'orario il pubblico si riduce, ma circa un terzo di quelli che hanno guardato la fiction seguono poi anche il documentario. TVE1 si è intelligentemente adattata alla formula della retrospettiva adottata da tutti i canali TV. Si dice che una tale ricetta di solito si mette al passo con l'umore nostalgico del pubblico e questo è certamente vero. C'è anche, da parte del canale, un calcolo strategico: le generazioni più giovani voltano le spalle al piccolo schermo in fa-

vore di giochi elettronici o attività interattive online. Riportare trentenni o quarantenni alla loro infanzia può essere un modo di coinvolgerli. Nel suo significato generalmente accettato, la parola nostalgia è il desiderio di tornare a un periodo passato di una persona e ristabilire nella vita una presunta felicità perfetta, contrapposta a un presente sgradito. Una tale retrospettiva sentimentale è effettivamente orientata verso tempi perduti, ma non è necessariamente triste, recenti ricerche la contrappongono al dolore, o alla malinconia, ed enfatizzano il suo aspetto positivo: impegnarsi in riflessioni nostalgiche sul passato permette di pensare in termini di tempo e di percepire retrospettivamente la propria vita come piena di significato e di finalità. Qualunque sia la loro motivazione, gli spettatori apprezzano le trasmissioni retrospettive: il canale polacco TVP Historia la trasmissione “Był taki dzień”, C’è stato un giorno..., in cui le persone dicono come hanno percepito un momento importante, conta già più di centosessanta episodi; su TV Slovenia 1 una trasmissione si intitola Testimoni, “Pričevalci”, una persona racconta liberamente anche con fotografie i propri ricordi della guerra e del periodo comunista; parecchi programmi della RAI italiana invitano il pubblico a inviare film amatoriali commentandoli.

I racconti sono talvolta drammatici ma i narratori sembrano sempre felici nel ricordare e riportare un episodio della loro vita e, come si può verificare sui social network, il pubblico, reagendo positivamente, riporta esempi di eventi simili. La combinazione televisione/web è la migliore occasione per stabilizzare il pubblico del piccolo schermo e continuare a destinare alla storia una dose dei programmi, che nei decenni recenti hanno teso a lasciare da parte i grandi personaggi e gli eventi importanti per concentrarsi sulle storie di vita degli individui. Si cerca di capire il modo in cui le persone sono riuscite ad affrontare i loro problemi quotidiani e a dare un senso alle difficoltà che incontravano giornalmente. Gli spettatori che inviano foto o immagini amatoriali, vecchie lettere, diari dei loro nonni partecipano attivamente alla costituzione di un archivio collettivo che, grazie al piccolo schermo, è accessibile a un vasto pubblico e fa sembrare la storia più viva.

La riduzione nei palinsesti della programmazione che ha come tema la storia va di pari passo con l'attuale tendenza dei programmi sulle storie della vita privata trasmessi in tutto il mondo—o almeno a un largo pubblico. In un'epoca in cui il futuro dell'UE, al bivio tra rottura e rafforzamento, è incerto, questo ritirarsi nel privato non sorprende. La storia, essendo solo storia di ogni nazione, senza riferimenti agli altri membri dell'Unione, non può offrire ricette. Le istituzioni statali provano a mantenerla viva, in quanto è uno dei fondamenti di unità nazionale anche se fragile. I programmi di storia sono invece inutili per le organizzazioni private, come per i canali TV commerciali. La storia tornerà sul piccolo schermo quando il destino dell'UE sarà definitivamente chiaro.

A COMPREHENSIVE OVERVIEW: HISTORY, TELEVISION AND THE WEB

During our Logroño meeting in April 2017 we had a debate about the relationship between television and the Web. Most channels have created a Web site on which viewers can express their opinions regarding past programmes and ask for other, new transmissions. TV networks are more and more influenced by the reactions of their public, instead of the previous top\bottom, channel\audience relation there is now a permanent exchange bottom1top and vice-versa. We came to the conclusion that treating separately TV and Web doesn't allow to take into account this double flow. We have therefore decided to treat jointly TV broadcasts and reactions to these broadcasts on the Web.

It was also decided, in Logroño, to choose the first days of May 2017 for the second step of our common inquiry about the representation of history on television and in social networks because few periods concentrate that many anniversaries or important dates:

- 1st May, Labour Day,

- 1st May 2004, official adhesion of ten East European countries to the European Union that passed from fifteen to twenty-five members,
- 8 May 1945, capitulation of Germany,
- 9 May, Europe Day, not to mention local anniversaries in most countries of the EU.

The first step of our investigation had taken place in the Spring 2016, the second was carried out in May 2017. In this brief span of time many changes occurred, an assessment of modifications and novelties shows that, despite the modest room scheduled for transmissions devoted to the past, references to gone by periods tell a lot not only about what happened but also about issues that bother an European Union in the making, wavering between strengthening or loosening the bonds that unite its members.

One point appears clearly in 2017: history is above all a political matter. If it was already implicit in 2016, the investigation preceded the vote in favour of a Brexit, separation of the United Kingdom from the EU, so that history was used in Britain to enhance the originality and uniqueness of British culture and society, in other countries to question the adherence to the Union in the light of each country's national individuality. In 2017 most commercial channels of the European Union have banned history programmes because they are likely to provoke controversies and antagonize part of their audience, those which still air broadcasts connected with the past do it on precise, generally partisan grounds. We shall see how RTL Klub, private Hungarian channel, challenged Budapest authorities. On the other hand, by broadcasting *The Durrells*, evocation of an English family whose intellectual influence was paramount in the middle of the 20th century, or transmitting adaptations of one of the most popular writers in the same period, Agatha Christie, ITV, conforming to the dominant line in the United Kingdom, played an active part in evidencing what sets Britain apart from continental societies. In the other cases we have analysed, television history is exclusively transmitted through public channels in rather different ways, according to political orientations that deserve a close scrutiny.

Let us remember that history was long, at least during the main part of the 20th century, one basis of national consciousness. Every European country had its great men, its victories and hardships, its golden age; school education, literature, official discourses perpetuated the feeling of belonging to an exceptional, secular inheritance that made this land different from any other. The rapid development of extra-European powers, bigger than the rather small European countries, the harrowing obligation to choose between a proud isolation, prelude to decline, and an identity loss in a federation have reduced to very little past glories and made history look out-dated. In their report on the Slovenian TV channels Darko Štrajn, Sabina Autor, Tina Šešerko and Vanesa Brezinšek talk of what they nicely consider a “*media gesture of de-politicization* within contemporary society”. They mention, by way of example, the 32-kilometre march around Ljubljana, which initially recorded that from 1941 till 1945 the Germans had surrounded the city with barbed wires but is now disconnected from its historical origin and regarded as a mere sportive event. Another, more impressive case is the 1st of May, celebrated everywhere as Labour Day, without any allusion either to the hard fight necessary to obtain its instauration nor to its prohibition in many dictatorships. Some prefer the speak of *de-historicization* or of presentism - a tendency to care only about what is immediate, at hand or in sight, because the future is unpredictable and the past obsolete.

Only state institutions are in a position to keep alive a fragile memory of times gone by that will soon become blurred if it is not permanently revived. Members of the European Union are not always able or prone to do it. In this respect Hungary and Poland have adopted radically opposed ways of making do with their past by banishing it from the small screens in the first instance, exalting it in the second. Not surprisingly the political character of any history account reveals itself in the choice of both countries. RTL Klub, Hungarian subsidiary of the Luxembourg company RTL, free from official pressure, dared make allusion to Hungary's adhesion to the European Union, the 1st May 2004, an

anniversary that the government preferred to pass over in silence; the channel claimed also the opening of Popular Republic's archives, a threat for those in power who had collaborated with communist authorities. There were topics that Hungarian public channels could hardly leave aside such as the great figures of past centuries or the 1956 uprising against the communist rule. Although not dangerous for the authoritarian line adopted by the power, the programmes dealing with such themes were broadcast almost furtively, during the night. The reasons for such eclipse of former times are manifold; on the one hand history has always been used for indirect political attacks against the power and the Web puts such practice within everyone's reach. On the other hand, a government that wants to make Hungarian citizens proud of their country would take trouble over celebrating the centuries spent under Vienna's sovereignty, the defeat in both World Wars, the loss of nationals and territories, forty-two years of Soviet domination.

Polish television is not in a quandary about the reminder of times gone by, as is stated in one programme, "Było, nie minęło", *Past is still alive*. Poland was invaded and annexed by more powerful neighbours, crossed out of maps, occupied and persecuted by the Nazis during the second World War, it fell also under Moscow's control but the Poles, being able to boast that they resisted and saved their language, their traditions, their religion, take pleasure in evoking their national history. No less than nineteen hours of small screen were dedicated to retrospective transmissions the 1st of May, twenty-one the 2^d and so one, nowhere was the past so densely represented. WW2 is obviously mentioned, notably thanks to an Encyclopaedia in episodes that users can podcast, but this topic is quantitatively less important than other periods, especially the struggle for independence in the 19th century with a long, proud analysis of the 1791 constitution, the 1st European document of that sort, established notwithstanding the foreign occupation, and biographies of freedom fighters. Yet the most striking aspect of Polish television history is its open-mindedness. Lots of broadcasts question the reliability of memory and traditions transmitted from generation to generation, ponder over the

notion of historical truth, specialists debate about the limits of knowledge and the difficulty of viewing a past situation in the way contemporaries saw it. There are also programmes against the tide, a regular transmission dealing with regional practices and folklore treats of the Lwów region, formerly Polish, given up to Ukraine after WWII; against the persistent anti-Semitism of many citizens Polish television recorded, in “Tora i miecz”, *Torah and sword*, the revolt of the Warsaw ghetto, mentioned those who had helped the Jews to hide, visited the museum dedicated to Polish Jews.

Focused on a glorious past, Polish television history is not widely open on the outer world. Europe is the big absent, there is not even an allusion to the country's adhesion to the EU, only Germany is the subject of numerous broadcasts, which denounce the Nazi dictatorship and the war crimes perpetrated by the Wehrmacht. Exterior relationships limit to the USA with which, thanks to émigrés and movie stars, Poland firm bonds of friendship.

Poland is not an exception, despite the 2004 widening of the Union and the Europe Day it could be said that the EU is totally absent from its member's small screen, were it not for *In Europe*, a Dutch series that explores the 20th century Europe thanks to interviews and visits to places important for the evolution of the European nations. This was an exception; Europe Day was not even mentioned in Dutch tv news. Among the thirty most popular transmissions broadcast by BBC1 and BBC2 none was dedicated to Europe. There was an allusion to Europe Day on TV Slovenia 1, without any information about the evolution or the present crisis of the Union. The Spanish channel Cuatro inserted in its programme “Cuarto Milenio”, *Fourth Millennium*, short notations regarding foreign countries, notably the liberation of Mauthausen. That was all in a week where many dates fell in with at least a brief rappel.

We began our investigation ten years ago. In the following decade little has changed, television channels of the European Union still give greater place to national history. Is it, as suggested by Erin Bell, Florian Gleisner and Julio Montero, because the producers lazily

submit to the supposed inclination of spectators? Or because national audiences are only interested in the history of their homeland, not in that of other countries? At any rate, the time allowed to past periods is limited, it amounts to about 7% of the total broadcasting in the United Kingdom and 5% on the six most important Spanish channels. Percentage, Julio Montero notes, is meaningless: spectators privilege a few nation-wide channel and certain transmissions dedicated to famous actors, thrilling crimes and exceptional events attract millions of viewers while valuable broadcasts aired by secondary networks are unsuccessful. As for the main kinds of history programmes they were, in June 2017, what they had been in 2007, documentaries, fictions and backward-looking.

Documentaries are meant to provide reliable, all-encompassing data on a given topic and enable the audience to formulate an independent, well-founded opinion about the problem. Oddly enough, far from arousing balanced judgements, they often provoke harsh, violent polemics on the Net. The rout of the Italian army at Caporetto in October 1917, episode of the Italian RAI series *The Great War, a hundred years afterwards* triggered off an exchange of abuses. A succession of programs dealing with Dutch colonization: *Slavery*, “Goede Hoop”, *Good Hope*, “Michiel de Ruyter”, *The Admiral* and indirectly “De Gouden Eeuw”, *The Golden Age*, brought about identical reactions. Fierce debates followed the broadcast of “Preverjeno”, *Verified*, weekly transmission of the Slovenian channel POP TV, which the 1st of May compared the life standards in the Yugoslavian and contemporary periods.

Caporetto is usually briefly mentioned in Italian historiography, emphasis is rather put on the Vittorio Veneto victory, prelude to the breaking down of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the series quoted above it is one of the more developed events and accent is placed upon the 400,000 civilians who running away from the Austrian army were badly succoured by an inefficient administration and a reluctant population. A harsh and over-simplified debate opposed those who could be labelled “patriot” to those who would be “humanist”. According to the former after the defeat

every effort was necessary to prepare a revenge that would soon be spectacularly taken. The latter answered that helping the refugees was the duty of civilians who could not do anything for the counter-attack but who, being much too selfish, closed their door to their co-citizens.

The Dutch Golden Age of the 17th and 18th centuries was a period of economic prosperity thanks in particular to the activity of the Dutch East Indian Company which was deeply involved in the slave trade. Critics about the dark side of colonisation had begun in Britain, then migrated to France and the Netherlands.

Here again polemics flourished on the web. For the “humanist” it was unfair to celebrate flourishing epochs whose prosperity was based on an overexploitation of human beings. For their adversaries that meant a lack of understanding of history, intelligent viewers should take into account the mentality of past epochs, much different from ours.

Was life better or worse under Tito than in an independent Slovenia? Communism guaranteed a secure job and a quiet future, citizens had confidence in the state. However there was no liberty, the police kept an eye on everybody and controlled even private, family activities.

Such quarrels, made possible by the combination of television and the Net, tell a lot about the social use of bygone times. History is a tale taught a school, repeated with the same episodes and the same thematic in popular books, magazines, plays and films, a nice romance which focuses on a nation, gallant, generous in prosperous periods, resilient in front of adversity. Most citizens, accustomed to such narrative, like to have it told on the small screen but feel uneasy when it is modified. When they saw *The Battle of Stalingrad*, in the series “Il tempo e la storia”, *Time and History*, Italian viewers felt delighted, it was exactly what they expected, whereas in the same series, *1917, the Crisis of Germania*, which treated 1917 exclusively from the domestic point of view of Germany confused them. The programs on slave trade in Holland or Caporetto went much further, they cast doubt on the absolute fairness of the Netherlands and Italy, part of both audiences

reacted aggressively because their certainties shattered, history is too strong an element of national consciousness for its challenge not to cause distress.

Defining historical **fiction** is not easy, dates ("This occurred in 17.."), allusions to famous personalities or well-known events is not sufficient, what is necessary is an accurate recreation of an epoch-making scenery and the representation of events that took place or could have taken place in the period. The negative aspects of fiction, where history is concerned, are a centring upon one or two main characters as well as the emphasis laid on superficial psychology and sentimental relationships. Many criticisms were levelled at "Bolnica Franja", *Hospital Franja* aired by TV Slovenia 1 the 1st of May and at "Zwartboek", *Black Book*, broadcast the 4 May, Remembrance Day in the Netherlands. Both refer to WW2, the former deals with a hidden hospital for wounded partisans that operated during the German occupation but gets lost in useless anecdotes, the latter, while showing, in the background, the persecution of the Dutch Jews, lingers on the adventures of its heroine gets out of ant tight spot.

However try and fictionalise the past can be diverting and telling provided it tends to convey lively the lifestyle, modes and passions of an epoch. The Spanish TVE1 initiated in 2001 "Cuéntame cómo pasó", *Tell me how it was going on*, a weekly retrospective chronicle of a lower middle-class Madrid family followed in its daily goings-on since the 1960s. It lingers now on the 1980s. Beneath trite incidents, domestic conflicts, worries about money, celebrations and parties, the serial calls to mind the particular atmosphere of a country only just freed from dictatorship, initiating into democracy and preparing its admittance to the EU. If the family problems and pleasures are imagined the viewers delight in remembering what they experienced three decades before, the programme, put in air in prime time, attract often 20% of the share.

"Cuéntame..." is now followed, in late prime time, by "Ochéntame", whose enigmatic heading, a play on words, can be read as: *[Tell] me the Eighties* or *[Introduce] me [to] the Eighties*. It is a documentary

that, having recourse to photographs, film and television extracts, testimonies, supplies documentation on the week of the 1980s mentioned in the serial. Because of the schedule the audience is reduced but about one third of those who watched the fiction continue with the documentary. TVE1 has cleverly adapted to the formula of **backward-looking** adopted by all tv channels. Such recipe is usually said to come up to audiences' nostalgic mood and this is certainly true. There is also, on the part of the networks, a strategic calculation, the younger generations turn away from the small screen in favour of electronic games or interactive activities on line.

Bringing people in their thirties or forties back to their childhood can be a way of taking them over. In the generally recognized meaning of the word, nostalgia is a desire to go back to a previous period of one's past and to restore to life a supposed perfect happiness, opposed to an unpleasant present. Such sentimental retrospect is effectively orientated towards foregone times, but it is not necessarily mournful, such sentimental retrospect is effectively orientated towards foregone times, but it is not necessarily mournful, recent research⁽¹⁾ opposes it to sorrow, or melancholy and emphasizes its positive aspect: engaging in nostalgic reflection on the past allows to think in terms of time and to perceive retrospectively one's life as full of meaning and purpose. Whatever their motivations, viewers enjoy retrospective broadcastings: on the polish channel TVP Historia "Był taki dzień", *It was such a day...*, in which people tell how they perceived an important moment, has already more than one hundred and sixty episodes; on TV Slovenia 1 a regular transmission is titled *Witnesses*, "*Pričevalci*", one person recounts freely, with photographs, their memories of the war and the communist period; several programmes of the Italian RAI invite the public to send amateur films and comment them.

1) Routledge, C., Arndt, J., Wildschut, T., Sedikides, C., Hart, C.M., Juhl, J., Vingerhoets, A.J., & Schlotz, W., "The past makes the present meaningful: nostalgia as an existential resource", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, n. 101, 2011, pp. 638-652.

The accounts are sometimes dramatic but narrators seem always delighted to remember and report an episode of their life and, as can be checked up on social networks, the audience, reacting positively, gives examples of similar occurrences. The combination television/Web is the best chance of stabilizing the public of the small screen and keep up history a share of the transmissions History research, leaving aside great figures and important events has tended in recent decades, to focus on life stories of individuals. It endeavours at understanding how people managed to face their daily problems and make sense of the difficulties they met daily. Viewers who send photographs or amateur pictures, old letters, diaries of their grandfathers participate actively in the constitution of a collective archive that, thanks to the small screen is accessible to a vast audience and makes history look more alive.

The reduction in the schedule conceded to history goes together with the vogue of private life itineraries spread to the entire world - or at least to a large audience. In a time when the future of the EU, at the parting of the way between break-up and strengthening, is unclear it is not surprising to a withdrawal into the particular. History, since it is only history of every country, with no reference to the other members of the Union, cannot offer recipes. State institutions try to keep it alive, as one of the foundations of a fragile national unity but it is useless for private organisations, like commercial TV networks. History will come back to the small screens when the fate of the EU is sealed.

HISTORY OFFER ON TV AND ECHOES IN RELATED BLOGS IN SLOVENIA

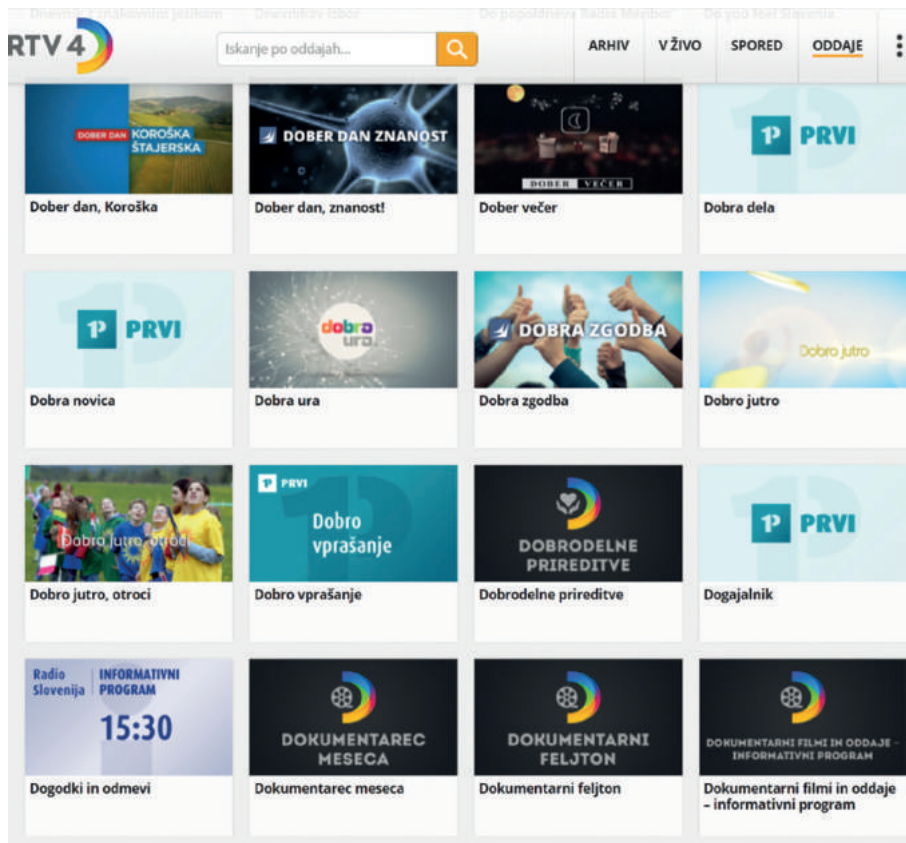
MAY 1ST TO 7TH 2017

INTRODUCTION

As we have indicated in our 2016 edition of *Observatory* for the year 2016, Slovenian public has an array of channels and programs, which are generally accessible through cable systems. International and global programmes are accessible both through cables and through satellite receivers. Cable operators demand special subscriptions for some particular programmes. In this overview of **one week on TV and blogs**, we are taking a closer look only on two most popular TV channels and their Internet sites. These two channels are also relatively comprehensive since they air news programmes, documentaries. Only in the case of national non-commercial channel, some contents in educational formats make part of the programme. We followed blogs on both television's internet sites in the same week.

As for the offer of any historical content, *National TV of Slovenia* with its three programmes - one of them is so called parliamentary channel - is the most important resource, especially considering production of content in such genres as documentaries, interviews and talk shows. Of course, its news programmes play important and special role in presenting historical issues. It should be stressed that in the framework of public TV, special programmes for the two constitutionally recognised ethnic minorities (Italian and Hungarian) exist as well.

It is important for teachers of history that most of the national TV's own production is easily accessible in the internet archive.



Screenshot of TV Slovenija's Internet archive

Television *POP* - TV, owned by PRO-PLUS international media organisation, takes the biggest market share in audio-visual area. The ownership is currently changing in view of the fact that the “media business” seems to remain one of the most lucrative economic domains. To conform to the Slovene legislation on media, POP-TV has a relatively strong content production team and they air above all news programmes and only very rarely some documentaries. However, the bulk of their programmes is more or less just entertainment in different genres like reality TV, “big brother” and sports programmes. Of course,

they screen a lot of mediocre and low quality feature films and TV series, since the high end quality productions (like TV series, feature films, documentaries, etc.) are owned by a number of global channels (like HBO, Cinemax, BBC, etc.).

Slovenia has not enough resources or critical mass of interest to have its own specialised history channel. Therefore, those viewers, who are interested in such content, can have access (through cable or satellite) to the global programmes like History Channel and Viasat History. Cable systems also provide Slovene subtitles for documentaries and other content, which is displayed by these channels. Due to the conditions of broadcasting, some very interesting contents of these channels are not easily available for educational uses.

ABOUT THE MONITORING

In the **week from May 1st to May 7th**, we monitored the first, second and third channel of the national Television of Slovenia. Monitored shows were “Good morning”, First news, Evening news, Slovenian Chronicle, Late News, Culture (the special block after the second evening news), Magazines Utrip (*Pulse*) and Zrcalo tedna (*Mirror of the Week*), Infodrom (News for Youth and Kids) and documentaries.

On POP TV, we monitored only programmes, which potentially contained some historical content - the daily news programme “24 hours” and one weekly magazine show Preverjeno (*Verified*).

We also looked at blogs at the both TV stations internet sites. In the report, we present the overview of blogs, which we read between the 1st and 7th of May, 2017. The blogs are often on the topics that are not related to television shows, but they are topics that were created more generally in view of current public issues. We monitored the blogs on RTV SLO and 24ur web sites.

Although it was the time of an actually holiday week because three historical events (April 27th - Day of Uprising against Occupation, May 1st - May Day, May 9th - Victory Day) were celebrated, we found surprisingly

little references to the historical context of all just mentioned holidays. In fact, none serious shows on both channels, dedicated to an important historical reference, for example, on struggles for workers' rights or the partisan resistance against the occupation during WW 2, were aired.

In the monitored week in the capital of Slovenia, Ljubljana, the event, which is dedicated to the memory of occupied city, took place. Ljubljana was surrounded by barbed wire almost throughout the time of the WW 2. This traditional celebration and a number of sports events called "March along the wire" are carried out on the 32 kilometres long march and running route around Ljubljana. Television reported about this event as "the biggest recreational sports event in Slovenia" with surprisingly little historical references. The only exception, actually, was the fiction/documentary *Hospital Franja*, for which we could say that it is everything but a serious historical portrait of the famous partisan doctor Franja Bojc Bidovec, who led partisan hospital during WW 2.

The monitoring of the chosen week gave us impression that with an absence of any relevant historical references in TV reports about public holidays and traditional event (march around the wire) the whole social and political dimension was almost completely erased. Actually, we can say that this week could be taken as an example of typical *media gesture of de-politicization* within contemporary society.

What follows, are our brief reports about each day of the monitored week.

MONDAY 1ST MAY

TV Slovenia 1

Fiction-documentary: Bolnica Franja (Hospital Franja) - first shown 19th September 2012

Director: Jasna Hribernik

Duration: 08:30 - 10:20

The narrative of the film is based on the archival letters of Doctor Franja Bojc Bidovec to her son. During the WW 2 Franja managed the "legendary" partisan hospital, hidden in a mountain crevasse.

The film makes connection between the present and the past through a female character of Anja, a medical student, who is inspired by the personality of the legendary doctor. The film shows some historical locations and emphasizes the humanitarian aspect. The film consists of some fictional sequences with the student Anja, and “reconstructs” doctor Franja’s appearances. The result is a collage of the documentary photographic material of the partisan hospital and of Doctor Franja B. Bidovec. By depicting the intimate feature of the story of Franja and the fictional reflections of the character of the student Anja, the film *does not follow any method of historiography* for dealing with the micro-history of the partisan resistance. In many over-sentimentalized representations, the film depoliticizes history and deprives it of any message, aimed at an emancipatory goal, which could be found in the biography of doctor Franja. Overall, the emphases of the film is more on psychology than on history. The authors also made an effort to make an aesthetically accomplished film.

TV Slovenia 2

Documentary: V Deželi herojev (*In the Land of Heroes*) - first shown in 2014.

Director: Igor Vrtačnik

Duration: 18:00 - 18:55

The documentary points to 62 schools in Slovenia, which are named with so-called “national heroes” names. In the film, the “category” of national hero is explained. Some fighters in the partisan resistance (WW 2), who excelled with their courage and leadership, were declared “national heroes”. A lot of them died during the war or later, but some are still living. The film consists of a series of interviews with still living heroes and some professional historians, among which some different opinions are voiced. Some speakers, for instance, advocated the idea that a passive resistance would have been better than the armed resistance. However, most of the interviewees staunchly point out that the resistance was a necessary choice, which influenced the

Slovenian nationhood. The authors tried to clear up the problem of reconciliation between the resistance fighters and the “collaborators”. The efforts for the reconciliation in Slovenia are more or less failing. The film emanates a message that a “transparent history” is needed.

TV Slovenia 1 Dnevnik (Evening news)

Duration: 19 -19:29

The evening news opened with the reporting about celebrations of the May Day in Slovenia and abroad. In the reporting the fact that the celebrations of May Day are marking the memory of struggles for workers’ rights, was mentioned only briefly and very superficially.

POP TV

24 Hours (24 ur) - News programme (main daily bulletin)

Duration: 18.58 - 19:30

It is interesting to see how reporting on the May Day celebration can be devoid of any historical content. In about four minutes, long report the traditional celebration on the eve of 1st May is shown in glimpses, which were accompanied with an unsubstantiated comment that workers’ rights are diminished. Some participants of the celebration only referred to “having a nice time”.

TV Slovenia 1

Monthly programme on film Umetni raj (Artificial Paradise): Kako ustaviti minljivost gibljivih slik in zvokov - digitalizacija filmske dediščine (How to stop the Transitoriness of Moving Images and Sound - the Digitisation of Film Heritage)

Duration: 22:35 - 23:15

This edition of the programme, which is also stored in the on-line archive of the National TV as a permanent resource, was a high quality contribution, which consisted of the in depth reporting from the symposium at the Slovene Cinemateque about archiving film in the age of digitisation. The problems of the decay of film tape, its restoration

and, again, not effective solutions with digitisation were explained and illustrated in interviews and the documentary takes on the procedures in some interesting cases as, for example, the restoration of the first Slovene film, shot by Dr. Grossman in 1903.



**Still from the film showing damage on the original film,
which was repaired by digitalisation**

The other part of the programme was extremely interesting for history teachers' usage when they have to tackle the WW 2. Some cuts from the film *A German Life*, accompanied by the conversation with authors of the film, were shown. The film contains the recorded confession of Brunhilde Pomsel (Goebbels' secretary) in her 103rd year of life. The problems of human memory and guilt for terrible events are emphasised in the conversation. A narrative about finding archival film material and the account of Ms Pomsel, were nicely interlaced.

BLOGS

On the RTV SLO web site, we came across two topics that were related to the Labour Day (or May Day). The author of the blog was nostalgic about the times, when our country was different, and about the fact that today nobody respects this holiday due to the government

“who has sold our country”. The author wrote that it was easier to get a job back in the past, but today we are only “slaves to the state”. Some comments and responses were related to the leader of the political opposition Janez Janša and “the fact” that the “government is stealing from the citizens”. The most common user comments on issues of that day were similar to the comment of the blogger *Nonparel*, who thought that first of May, is in a way a remorse day from neoliberalism, because all we can do is reminisce about the better days that are unfortunately gone.

TUESDAY 2ND MAY

TV Slovenia 1 Dnevnik (Evening news)

Duration: 19 -19:29

The only reference with any historical connotation was a reporting of the fact that Slovenia was one of the rare countries, which celebrates the May Day for two days.

POP TV

24 Hours (24 ur) - News programme (main daily bulletin)

Duration: 18.58 - 19:30

A part of the programme was an extended announcement of the documentary/montage *Resnica o SFRJ (Truth about Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)* in the programme, which followed at eight o'clock. The authors emphatically promised an answer to the question whether “Yugoslavia was a socialist paradise or communist prison?”

POP TV

Weekly magazine Preverjeno (Verified):

Resnica o SFRJ (Truth about SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia])

Duration: about 15 min. within the whole duration: 20:00 - 21:00

The edited documentary about former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia demonstrated a very “light” journalistic approach to histo-

ry as an object of nostalgia and as an object of controversies in the current public interpretations of history. The authors pointed out the “bright side” and the “dark side” of the past. Hence, the bright side of the socialist Yugoslavia were job security, health system, social equality and in later periods also standards of living. The dark side was represented by censorship and violations of human rights. Erasing of the historical memory, concerning the atrocities soon after the war, was especially emphasised. The contribution contained some brief statements by the living participants of the events, and some opinions of the representatives of the “ordinary people”, and some experts, among whom, curiously, only one historian (!) enunciated his understanding of the past. Such programme could be used for the curriculum of history as a case for critical viewing and analysis of what becomes actually erased from the historic memory.

TV Slovenia 1

Pričevalci (Witnesses) - series of interviews with older persons (as a rule, not very known public figures) who are reminiscing about their experiences of their lifetimes and especially about events during and after the WW 2.

Duration: 22:30 - 00:20

We watched a new contribution of the on and on-going series of already countless conversations with “witnesses”, who survived WW 2 and the different periods of the “communist totalitarianism” - mainly in opposition to the partisan resistance or in some not clearly defined situations. In this week’s segment, the author, Jože Možina, talked to Marija Hren (born 1931) from the village Bezuljak in the north-eastern part of Slovenia. The authors are making a little bit of progress in recent productions as much as the form of these interviews is concerned. Hence, in this case they started with some exterior shots in the Marija’s village. Since the interviewee has been the teacher of history and geography, she talked also about the ancient history of the place. Many villagers immigrated to USA in 19th Century. During the WW 2,

some forty people perished. The camera then moves from exterior to interior, where a rather confused narrative unfolds. Ms Marija spent an extended time to describe her larger family. What is interesting from the point of view of history is her quite vivid description of the fact that so called “Rupnik’s line” (system of defence constructions, named after the general, who subsequently became one of the main collaborators with occupying authorities) crossed the village. In the beginning of the war, the village was occupied by the Italian army, what caused indignation since the villagers would prefer German occupation. The rest of the narrative contains plenty of details about the hard times during and after the war with an emphasis on criticism of the “communist terror”.

TV Slovenia 2

Feature film Jules and Jim (1962) by François Truffaut

Duration: 22:20 - 00:15

One of the most remarkable films of the French *Nouvelle vague* was shown later in the evening. The film is not interesting only as one of the greatest artistic achievements of the cinema of 20th Century, but also because of its historical framework. The story, which is based on the love triangle pattern, sheds a singular light on the endless European French-German rivalry, regarding the WW 1. The film depicts a complicated relation between two nations in the powerful allegory of friendship between a German and a French character both in love with one woman, who is in love with both men.

BLOGS

On this day there were more postings; we found many responses to the TV show *Preverjeno* (*Verified*) that airs every Tuesday on the channel POP TV. The blogs were about describing the past “as better than the present”. The authors stressed patriotism, which was stronger in the past, but supposedly barely exists today for the government is “taking away all our trust”. The author of the blog *Praznik dela* (*The Labour Day*) focused on values, which were at the time imposed on citizens by the state, but

at the same time, the state guaranteed more certainty. User *Zzzz* wrote that today “udarništvo” (a form of *activism* under socialism) is gone. In the show *Verified* Yugoslavia was denoted as “the golden age of socialism and as a communist prison”. The video evoked a strong response from the users; some of them advocated Yugoslavia, others, such as the blogger *Izpolni polje*, who wrote that “thank god, the Yuga is behind us”, took an antagonistic view. Bloggers discussed whether Yugoslavia was better than Slovenia is today. We can point out a comment that someone under the nickname *Godzilla* made, saying “there were rascals in the past and there are rascals today”. The comments were mostly about the disadvantages of communism and most of the users pointed out that “Josip Broz Tito was also a communist - the same as other communists such as Stalin, Hitler (!), and Toyo Hideki (!) and others”.

BLOGS

The topics published on the RTV SLO's site were, yet again, related to Yugoslavia, work and income. We found an interesting comment in response to the blog *Mit o NOB (Myth of National Liberation Struggle)* by the user *Kouvran*, who asked whether the only purpose of the bloggers that respond to different topics in Slovenia is to “piss on their own nation”? He found that “the responses on history and the events from the past are pejorative”. Still, some of the bloggers praised life in the past, and scorned our life today. A strong response was also on a blog about the bodies from mass executions after the WW 2, which were found on the Slovenian territory in October last year. The debate was concerned with the question whether Partisans were responsible for their deaths or not. We can say that bloggers were mostly reiterating publicly known facts and not so much their own opinion.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD MAY

With the exception of the reprise of the *Artificial Paradise*, first screened on 1st May, we did not find anything related to history on all monitored TV channels.

THURSDAY, 4TH MAY

TV Slovenia 1 Dnevnik (Evening news)

Duration: 19 -19:29

The traditional event called “March along wire” was reported. The march route is some 32 kilometres long and it encircles Ljubljana. Television reported about this event as “the biggest recreational sport event in Slovenia” without any historical reference (!).

POP TV

24 Hours (24 ur) - News programme (main daily bulletin)

Duration: 18.58 - 19:30

In a sense, history meddled into a debate of the Parliamentary Committee for Defence, when the committee discussed about financing of the war veteran organisation. When a right wing MP claimed that “the resistance movement was the first to collaborate with the Nazis”, the president of the *Association of the Combatants for the Values of the National Liberation Struggle* angrily reacted in very strong words. The TV report from the spot showed the incident of practical throwing the president of the just mentioned association out of the conference room.

Another report was about the “Running Along the (barbed) Wire around the Occupied Ljubljana”. The report, however, did not mention the historical memory and context at all and it was stuck in only announcing that the annual event of sports and socialising will take place again.

BLOGS

4th May is the anniversary of Josip Broz Tito’s death. Most of the posts on the blogs on this day were about him. One of the authors pictured this day as a “sad day”, while users such as *Tupamaroos* mentioned Tito as the statesman, who “created Yugoslavia and we should all thank him”. Others agreed with the blogger *Cinik*, who wrote, “Look at Tito’s arrival in the palace of United Nations in 1963

At the arrival he was greeted with a standing applause - was this ap-

plause to the criminal??? Eternal glory!!!!” The author of the blog *Komsomolec* wrote, “Tito should be our eternal pride”. An interesting comment was made by *Ferde*, who said, “Tito was stealing, but he did it for us (citizens).

Today no one gets anything from the capitalists, except minimal wages or the unpaid work”. Hence, when the bloggers talk about historical topics, they refer to the prosperity of Yugoslavia and the present-day “poor life” in Slovenia. Stepping away from the topics of Yugoslavia, we could find a topic about the WW 2. The author wrote about the biggest crime back then (June, July 1942), when the *Ustashi* (the Croatian collaborationist military) with the help of Germans killed 55.000 people. It is interesting that there was not a lot of opinions on this topic. Generally, the responses about historical topics are connected to the facts, which bloggers copy from other web sites (or sometimes find them in the novels and professional literature).

FRIDAY, 5TH MAY

TV Slovenia 1 Poročila (Afternoon news)

Duration: 17 -17:10

In the brief afternoon news bulletin it was pointed out that 5th May has been the day of the celebration by the municipality of Ajdovščina, where at this day in 1945 the victorious partisan army formed the first Slovenian government.

TV Slovenia 1

Infodrom (News for Youth and Kids)

Duration: 18:00 p.m. - 18:13

“March along wire” was reported as also the school and kindergarten children and other categories of youth took part in it. They briefly presented (with animation) why a march along the wire is important. They made an attempt of contextualization of this historical event through a comparison with the Berlin Wall, and modern examples of fencing

(Gibraltar and Northern Africa, fence on Slovenian southern border and the strict Schengen regime on the southern border). This news programme for youth, yet again, proved to be much more outspoken than the one for “adults”.

TV Slovenia 1 Dnevnik (Evening news)

Duration: 19 -19:29

They reported on a meeting of a number of the Slovene Members of European Parliament and the representatives of youth on the “Europe Day”, marking 60 years from the first treaties that founded the EU. Again, surprisingly, no retrospective view of history came into play in a discussion on the EU crisis. Obviously, history and its lessons are evaporating from today’s politics and media.

TV Slovenia 1

Odmevi (Echoes) - Kultura (Culture)

Duration: 22:00 - 22:45

In a special brief report, the channel focused on the report about the incident in the Parliament, which was presented by POP TV 24 hours (look above under “Thursday 4th May”). However, the report totally ignored all references to history in the quarrel and it concentrated on the “culture of discourse in the Parliament”.

BLOGS

On this day in 1945 the Slovenian nation got the first government. Some of the topics on the blogs were dedicated to this, but there were not many bloggers, who responded to it. We can point out an interesting comment made by Mataj - finance, who wrote that Slovenia did not even exist until Yugoslavia signed the London Memorandum in 1954; he/she wrote that before the WW 2 there were just some provinces, which have not been even similar to Slovenia. As we already found out by examining the forums and web sites last year the blog users don’t discuss so much topics related to the opposition leader Janez Janša, his past and his present; bloggers say that this topic was already discussed about many times over.

SATURDAY 6TH MAY

POP TV

24 Hours (24 ur) - News programme (main daily bulletin)

Duration: 18:58 - 19:30

The epithet “historical” was used in describing the French presidential elections. However, the reporter did not bother to explain *why* the event was historical and even less he told anything about history of the French presidencies in the modern era.

A report on the day’s happening of the “running around occupied Ljubljana” again concentrated solely on the recreational, entertainment and sport aspects of the event. The report showed people of different ages, who went for a trekking or running, questioning some participants mainly about their feelings and their physical condition.

TV Slovenia 1

Poročila (News)

Duration: 22:50 - 23:10

The late evening news reported on the celebration at Topolščica, from where on 9th May 1945 the information about the end of WW 2 in Southeast Europe has been broadcasted. The President of the Republic asked a rhetorical question “why a reconciliation between two warring factions in the WW2 seems impossible in Slovenia, while “we” have forgiven to the Italians and Germans.

BLOGS

On RTV SLO web site quite a few articles referred to history and historical facts. The blog with the title *Emonci v Mislinjski dolini* looked like an interesting one, because the author wrote about *Ustashi* and revenge. He wrote that the *Ustashi* were “revolutionaries, and that there has been no excuse for revenge and so many horrible acts” after the end of WW 2, but he still pointed out that people “tend to look on history and certain events one-sidedly”.

There was a very strong response to the blog; many users did not agree, other did agree and wrote their own opinion and presented dif-

ferent facts. We should mention that this blog had most responses during these days. Other interesting blogs were written as a response to the talk with *Mrs. Darja* about patriotism and waving the flag. The bloggers focused on many different topics, among them the repudiation of patriotism, embitterment of youth, etc. The blogger *Andromaha* interestingly responded as she wrote that *Mrs. Darja* expressed thinking, which is “expected from a historian”. Here the blogger stresses a part, where *Mrs. Darja Grom* writes that each person has a right to revive memories, but no politician has a right to tell us what we should or shouldn’t remember. The responses suggested that we should not generalize history and historical facts, and that we should realize that history could be interpreted in a different ways - often wrongly.

SUNDAY 7TH MAY

TV Slovenia 1

Krieg der Lügen (*War of Lies*), 2014, documentary, directed by: Matthias Bittner

Duration: 22:50 - 23:55

News programmes were again silent about history. Only a bit of a rather recent history was presented on this day in a reprise of the documentary *War of Lies* - the story of an Iraqi expatriate, who talked about the weapons of mass destruction and passed this “information” to various intelligence services - most decisively to the CIA. His “information” was a pretext for the US government to legitimize the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The film exposes the fact that the war was based on a lie.

BLOGS

On this day, the most popular blog topic was *patriotism*. Bloggers had many different opinions on the topic. Some again pointed out that not everything is “just black or white”, but that there are also in between truths. There were many responses on the blog “NDH, država?” (*Independent State of Croatia - the State?*) It is interesting how many topics are concerned with Croatia and the *Ustashi*. *Fr Ro St* wrote: “Unbe-

lievable!? How many *non-Ustashi* are active on sites of national RTV blog's cesspit". An interesting commenting was also on the life of *Tončka Drobnič* and her life with partisans. Bloggers took sides (for or against Partisan resistance). *Tupamaroos* wrote an interesting response about Partisans as "the only real heroes amid Slovenians". By denying this, "we erase their bravery and heroism. If we continue to do so, we cease to be a state".

HISTORY ON ITALIAN SMALL SCREEN AND ON THE WEB

MAY 2017

History had an important place in Italian television programs during the 20th century. At the time the memory of World wars and of the Cold war was much alive, people were eager to get a comprehensive view of troubled years they had experienced without understanding clearly what was going on. RAI ⁽¹⁾, the Italian public television, which benefited by a monopoly of broadcasting till 1980, considering it a duty to strengthen unity between Italians by helping them to think over the past of their country, put on the air important, carefully prepared series about the world conflict, fascism and the decades of terrorism that had bathed the peninsula in blood.

Commercial channels, once they were allowed to freely transmit, challenged RAI on this ground, Rete 4 (Network 4), member of Mediaset - the group owned by Berlusconi - launched Appointment with history (Appuntamenti colla storia, 1996-2008) while LA7, independent channel, set in motion Another history (L'altra storia, 2002-2007). RAI replied with spectacular transmissions, The Great History, (La grande storia, 1997-2016) spectacular exploration of the 20th century and short, alive chronicles of the past, We are history (La storia siamo noi 1997-2010). The same network opened also the 2 February 2009 a channel entirely dedicated to former times, RAI History (RAI Storia). When the 21st century began, older days figured largely on Italian small screens.

1) R.A.I. = Radio Audizioni Italiane (Italian Radio Listening). The historical acronym has been conserved with the addition of: TV.

HISTORY AS IT MUST BE TOLD

In the 2010s the panorama has radically changed. Commercial networks have abandoned history, only LA7, in his encyclopedic series *Atlantide*, offers, inserted between broadcasts on geography, botanic or anthropology, a glance at a past epoch ⁽²⁾. RAI Storia recycles old transmissions, notably, everyday in the afternoon, *One thousand Remembrance Poppies* ⁽³⁾ (*Mille papaveri rossi*) a series about the conflicts, wars, crisis and tragedies of the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as *Civic Calendar* (*Diario Civile*), biographies of people that fought for justice and the respect of law. RAI 1 broadcasts, in the morning, *Italians*, biographies of Italians who played an outstanding part in the social, political or religious life of Italy, a program later replayed on RAI Storia. The most interesting and original transmissions are televised on RAI 3: every day at 1.15 p.m. *Time and History* (*Il tempo e la storia*) analyses, with cinematic illustrations and the comments of historians, a situation, a problem or an event of the past; every Saturday, at 9. 15 p.m., *Ulysses* (*Ulisse*), a two and half hour program, gives a wide-ranging panorama of a bygone period.

The noticeable diminution of history programs confronts us with a problem. It is, to a certain extent, the result of an evolution in the conception of history by professional historians. The 5 May RAI 3 aired, in its *Time and History* series, *1917, the Crisis of Germania*. Most viewers associate 1917 with the Russian revolution, the end of war on the eastern front and the military intervention of the USA. The broadcast showed the intricacies of a state of affairs that implied conflicting political forces, contrasting military options and the claims of civilians caught between patriotism and exhaustion. The year 1917, it was told, did not boil down to events that had occurred in foreign countries and battles. Spectators, not finding in this broadcast the happenings they expect-

2) We have not taken into account HD History and the National Geographic, which broadcast exclusively foreign, mostly American programs.

3) Reference to the poppies that, growing on a former battle-field, recall to the living those who were killed there.

ed, felt disconcerted; the subtlety of the analysis exceeded their competence and, contrary to the custom, few opinions (only five), reduced to a prudent “I like”, were expressed on the site of the broadcast.



Germany 1917, a starving population has lost its confidence in victory, its exhaustion weighs heavily on the running of war

We broach here the main reason of the changes mentioned above; television is no longer a top bottom medium that inflicts an unquestionable discourse on its public, the viewers make themselves heard on the Web, criticize, express their preferences and the channels adapt to the dominant requests. People prefer well-structured stories: a predicament, the attempts to overcome it, a solution and, if possible, a positive one. On May 2d, *Time and History* put on the air *The Battle of Stalingrad*. Initial situation: the Germans besiege the city, a perfectly clear map locates the opposed forces. Central episode: the Soviets summon up their best troops and prepare the counterattack. Climax: the Wehrmacht, assailed from all directions, surrenders. The film was a great success; messages were flowing onto the site of the broadcast, viewers debated passionately: was it the turning point of WWII?



A clear map that makes the battle of Stalingrad easily comprehensible

The battle that brought the German army to its knees? One of the best encircling movements in military history? An identic scheme is systematically applied in the innovative RAI series *The Great War, a hundred years afterwards* that, avoiding the unimaginative chronology, airs from 2015 (Italy entered the war in 1915) to 2018, thematic films (Writing in War, Hunger in War, The Military Justice, Women in War ...) that meet with an excellent reception.

Straightforwardness does not mean narrow-mindedness or chauvinism, provided that the narration be easily comprehensible, the audience admits unconventional opinions. In October 1917 Italy suffered its worse defeat, 40,000 men were killed, 250,000 taken prisoners. The Caporetto disaster ⁽⁴⁾, usually quickly called up in history books, is the topic more widely developed in *The Great War*. The account is classically organized: Why the Italian army, although superior in number, was vulnerable in the autumn of 1917. How the

4) The chaotic retreat of the Italian army is described in the penultimate chapter of Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (1929)

Austro-Hungarians, in ten days, conquered the main part of Venetia. What the consequences of the disaster were. However, instead of lingering on military actions, the four episodes dedicated to the event emphasize the errors of the command, the inadequacy of the means of communications, the fact that, giving greater place to offensive, the staff had no plan for a well-ordered retreat so that the initial withdrawal quickly turned to rout. In addition, much place is devoted to the forgotten of any war, the civilians, persecuted and exploited by the occupiers or, when they had run away, unwelcome in the southern provinces of Italy. Under the watchful gaze of their spectators television channels prove keen on going beyond the mere enumeration of facts and offering their public something to think about.



Civilians: the forgotten of any war. 400,000 Italians fled from Venetia to escape the Austrian occupation that was

The profit of a simultaneous study of television programmes and of their echo on social networks is that it shows how spectators reacted to the images and how their answer influenced the channels in the making of other transmissions. The filmmakers of *The Battle*

of Stalingrad wanted it to be seen in the general context of WW II in which it was a turning point, the broadcast did not linger on the enormous human price that both the Red Army and the Wehrmacht had to pay and the comments on the Web were extremely rational, some deplored human losses but in a lucid, almost cold way. On the other hand the programme on Caporetto, in which casualties, destitution, fear were emphasized provoked, among the viewers, strong emotional reactions.

The debate began with logical, sound queries: who had been responsible for the disaster, the commander-in-chief, Cadorna, who had not counted on an Austrian blitz or his seconds in command who reacted belatedly and weakly? Hundreds of Italian soldiers had been killed, why the culprits, and first of all Cadorna, were not put on trial and punished? The discussion, shifting from facts - why? - to moral questions, gave rise to a polemical reply: because, in Italy, there is a permanent complicity between those who hold the power, the same collusion operated in the 2008 crisis, when the State saved the banks at the expense of ordinary citizens. The moving of feelings manifest in the last statement triggered off immediate counter-attacks, which evidenced that the memory of Caporetto implied much more than the mere record of a battle, insults burst forth: "Illness has impaired your mental faculties", "You, stupid ass, you know nothing about history". Italy, whatever its rulers, has always been able to overcome hardship, "I am proud to be Italian, notwithstanding difficulties our country will never die". Such declaration of love for one's country is worth noticing, the television presentation of Caporetto had shaken the national pride of many spectators, the discussion opened onto a recurring problem: is there an Italian nation? Was unification, as it occurred in the 19th century the union of people who wanted to live together or a political operation, which subjected the South of the peninsula to the North? We have summarized the very harsh controversies induced by a history transmission that implied tens of Web surfers and demonstrated how some broadcasts were likely to occasion hot-headed controversies.

Television networks are aware of the risk; an arguable presentation arouses interest and curiosity but may endanger the credit of the channel. It is not by chance that, as we shall see soon, history programmes avoid disputable issues and prefer topics that please everybody.

History was long the written relation of past events. The addition of inanimate paintings or photographs made the narration more diverting but did not put right the paradox of historical accounts which transcribe in words, that are mere abstractions, human actions that are life. The audiovisual media, cinema, television, light video, digital recording have modified the state of affairs. Moving images introduce, in our relationship with the past duration and emotion, two dimensions of life that sentences have trouble expressing. On a screen, whatever its dimension, we observe the image of people acting or suffering throughout time, there is no possible comparison between a text relating the opening of the death camps in 1945 and the films shot by the Allies, our awareness of what horror the *Shoah* was is inseparable from the pictures taken then. Cinema and television were able to make their public feel enthusiasm, compassion, grief and to show how the passing of years affected people, landscapes, natural or constructed sites but, in front of these media, audiences receive messages passively. With digital implements everyone can record, edit, diffuse, so that amateur films circulate in hundreds on the Web and are often projected on television. Since the last third of the 20th century a huge archive has formed, where all kinds of businesses and happenings, trivial or important, individual or collective, are equally kept. We know little about the daily routines of countrymen, shopkeepers, linen maids and porters in the 16th or the 17th centuries but, thanks to the pictures accumulated in the Cloud by our contemporaries, we would be able to reconstruct hour by hour the life of any individual. Interfering in tv channels by its messages and its videos, the public influences the presentation of history.

THESE GOOD OLD DAYS THAT VANISHED TOO FAST

From an institutional point of view the difference between television

networks and social networks is evident but the distance is less clear, sometimes even scarcely discernible where private lives are concerned, opinions, judgments and requests emitted by Web surfers influence the television channels, whereas the tv networks, by trotting out news broadcasts five decades old, invite their viewers to go back to their youth: television is, to a large extent, a nostalgia machine. As we have noted, RAI Storia reuses abundantly old programs that spectators see again, twenty or thirty years later, with much pleasure. The same channel puts also in the air original compilations that conjure up past periods. The sketch below shows, in red lines, how much time is consecrated to nostalgia transmissions on RAI Storia during any weekday:

0 h. _____ 24 h.

No less than four transmissions, *It Happened Today* (*Accadde oggi*), *This Day and History* (*Il giorno e la storia*), *The Way we were* (*Come eravamo*), *Yesterday and Today* (*Ieri e oggi*), *We are History* (*La storia siamo noi*) lure the public of RAI Storia into olden days. RAI 1 airs, on Wednesday morning, *Your Year* (*Il tuo anno*) and, in the evening, *The Best Years*, two hours and a half of music composed between the 1960s and the 1990s while, the same evening, RAI 2 broadcasts *Histories. The Tales of the Week*, a mix of events, which happened in past years during the same week and of facts that have just occurred. These transmissions are not redundant; they come up to different expectations.

Your Year, *This Day and History*, *It Happened Today* count on the pleasure of bringing past circumstances back to life and judging them with detachment. The former, focusing on the 1960s, the adolescent years of people who are now about to retire, recalls happenings (The Berlin wall, Kennedy's murder, the 1960 student rebellion) that marked the decade ⁽⁵⁾. *This Day and History* presents

5) The series is also available in DVD. It has been so successful that another series of DVD, using newsreels, has been consecrated to the 1950s.

newsreels or tv news bulletins such as they had been screened in their epoch, without any additional commentary; take as an example the 4th of May: 1932, Al Capone put in jail, 1949, the death of the whole Turin football team in a plane crash, 1979, interview of Margaret Thatcher about the situation in Lebanon, 1980, death of Marshal Tito. Much more elaborated, *It Happened Today* alternates old occurrences and recent facts, well illustrated items and carefully commented affairs: always on the 4th of May the arrest of Gandhi by the British police (1930) is followed by the arrival of Margaret Thatcher to the ten of Downing street (1979), the first human flight in a Montgolfier (1783) by the electoral victory of Solidarność in Poland (1989); comments on Montgolfier and Gandhi are brief, but the pictures (coloured drawings for the former, diversified views of India in the latter) are excellent, precise; relevant texts summarise Thatcher's political career and the evolution of Poland in the 1980s, while the images are wearisome. *We were History* is an enlarged version (one hour instead of 20 minutes) of *Your Year*. On May 11, the broadcast skimmed over the year 1911, "Holy Year of the Homeland", in which Italy had celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its unity; the first half of the program listed the progress made in fifty years and recalled the festivities that had marked the jubilee, the second half was a succession of short sequences dealing with events that had occurred then.

The Way we were and *Yesterday and Today* are fairly different from the programs mentioned above, both put in the air amateur films shot in super 8 or in video. The former imposes a topic such as, on May 1st, *The Way we were young, 1958-1962*; whatever their technical quality, the films sent by spectators that seem more "representative" (a ill-defined notion that gives free hand to those in charge of the program) are broadcast without comments (no place, date, individual names) but with a music of the period.



*“Summer holiday picnic in the 1960s”. On Facebook a viewer comments:
“Those filmed here were all born before or during the war and had been subjected to the hardships of war. For them the material well-being of the 1960s was like paradise”*

In *Yesterday and Today* people choose freely their subject matter provided there be a comparison between a past epoch and the present. The diversity of solutions make the program extremely attractive; some, starting from an old document, film the same areas, which have changed along the years, others ask a young person to comment, from their point of view, a film shot forty years before, while others play on the contrasting ways of filming yesterday and today. The transmission is popular, to take but an example there were, on the Web, a hundred and eleven messages about *School yesterday/ School today*, with harsh debates: elementary teaching has it improved or declined in the past decades? These programs, relatively brief, deprived of narrative continuity, don't require careful attention, spectators can chatter while watching them, their talks, spontaneous, desultory, are then echoed in short dialogues and funny exclamations on Facebook.

Less superficial and requiring an effort of concentration two other broadcasts, *Italians*, and *Ulysses*, focus also on foregone periods. *Italians*, a fifty-minute, carefully prepared program, puts the emphasis on individuals that have enhanced the image of Italy in foreign countries. The personalities celebrated at the beginning of May were Pope Paul VI, the three Fontana sisters and Susanna Agnelli. The latter, minister of Foreign Affairs, championed vigorously the Italian position in the United Nations. The Fontana sisters, head of a leading fashion house patronised by cinema stars and American First Ladies, diffused abroad, especially in the USA, the Italian “Haute couture”. *Paul VI, a daring Pope* reveals the ambiguities of this series, the man was neither an outstanding priest nor, later, an exceptional bishop of Milan and the program, besides marks of clerical reverence, dwells mostly on his journeys throughout the world once he was on the papal throne; he was the first globe-trotter pope - but, when he covered the whole globe to meet the faithful, did he appear as an Italian citizen or as the leader of the Roman Catholic church ⁽⁶⁾?

Ulysses, an ambitious two and a half hour transmission, explores in deep a topic, sometimes geographical or scientific, but most of the time historical. We shall take into account two programs, *A trip in the Name of the Rose* (*Viaggio nel nome della rosa*) and *A trip in the world of Mona Lisa* (*Viaggio nel mondo della Gioconda*) ⁽⁷⁾. Both films raise a question and apply to answer it: What life was like in the epoch where Umberto Eco set his world-famous novel, *The Name of the Rose*? What is the place of *Mona Lisa* in Leonardo da Vinci’s work and in the Italian Renaissance art? Answers are given slowly, in a roundabout way, with pleasantly filmed digressions on landscapes, old houses, rare plants and monuments. The program on Eco’s book combines cleverly sequences of the film adapted from the novel, medieval im-

6) The program doesn’t even mention his most famous, and most debated encyclical letter on sexuality, *Humanæ vitæ* (1968).

7) Both broadcast at the end of April, the program put in the air during the first week of May dealt with the rehabilitation of monuments destroyed by earthquakes.

ages and pictures shot in the still active Subiaco monastery, where the fictional story takes place. Such resources were not available for Leonardo; the filmmakers clumsily replaced them with actors who had the part of Leonardo, of his friends and of great figures of the period.



Leonardo himself! The actor prudently avoids putting his pencil on the canvas

Viewers do not disapprove that kind of naïve reconstitution in transmissions that, like *Italians*, pay homage to Italian glorious periods; the Web commentaries dwell on that aspect, “Congratulations! I would now appreciate an entire series dedicated to the great masters of science, art, literature that Italy has given”. All programs, in *Ulysses*, portray a clean, fresh world. Free from dirt, illness, starvation, the screened past is inhabited by good-looking individuals, wearing laundered clothes and by well-fed animals. The public appreciates a reassuring universe, much brighter and safer than the ugly, alarming present. It could be objected that television history consecrates much space to wars, but, as we have noted, these days the doom of civilians, previously ignored, is widely taken into account.

The Web messages commenting nostalgia programs are unequivocal: “Thanks to RAI Storia we can admire an Italy which enjoyed style, el-

egance that, unfortunately, we no longer have”, “Wonderful times, few simple things that gratified us, we did not desire much and were happy, whereas today...”, “The 1960s, what an epoch!”, “Where is, today, the fellow-feeling of that times?”. The tweet of a lady encapsulates perfectly the sensitivity of those who watch history programs, as well as the significance of their longing for these good old days: “I understood that I was ageing when I realised that I couldn’t wait the Saturday evening because there was *Ulysses* on television”. An elderly confesses that, since *Ulysses* is broadcast, he knows what to do on Saturday evenings. Viewers are carried to another planet where grass is green, flowers in full bloom and difficulties easily solved. RAI Storia: for many, especially for old people, a daydream of fancied, embellished former times.

THE BURDEN OF THE PAST

The first week of May had been chosen for our common inquiry about the representation of history because at that date the Labour Day is celebrated all around the world and because, on the 1st May 2004, ten East European countries officially adhered to the European Union that passed from fifteen to twenty-five members. There is no trace of the last event, not even an allusion, in Italian television programs, the only European anniversary accurately celebrated had been, the 24 March, the signature of the Rome treaty in 1957. The 1st May, most television channels recalled, in a grave, preoccupied, not to say pessimistic tone, the symbolic purpose of a holiday dedicated to labour and to the labourers. However, the historical survey of previous celebrations of the Labour Day aired by RAI Storia did not allude to the international character of a feast that should yet emphasize what unites all proletarians, whatever their country. In the margin of a transmission, a blogger noted: “The 1st May is becoming the feast of the memory of labour”. Another mocked *Good First of May*, a famous painting, and icon of the Italian Labour movement. On the canvas ⁽⁸⁾ three workers, two men and a woman carrying a baby march proudly,

8) Painted by Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo in 1901.

followed, in the background, by a dense crowd of workers; the face-tious forger substituted the crowd with the shelves of a supermarket with the result that the three main characters seem to be looking for some can of food.

The 1st May 1947 the celebration of work was overshadowed, in Italy, by the recollection of a blood bath that, seventy years earlier, had dragged the South of the country in a spiral of political crimes. Before their landing in Sicily (July 1943) the Allies had negotiated with local gangs, which guided the soldiers and helped to drive the Germans from the island. The situation was then rather chaotic, armed bands, engaged in weapons, food and tobacco dealings, challenged the feeble government and supported those who championed the independence of Sicily. A few groups continued their illegal activities after the end of the war. In the island latifondi (large landed estates let lie fallow) occupied one third of the cultivable land.. After the proclamation of the republic, the countrymen, supported by the communist party, claimed a share-out of the leftover pieces of land. The 1st May 1947 two thousand people, farmers and their family, gathered at Portella della Ginestra, small village in the province of Palermo, to voice solemnly their demands. Soon a shooting broke out, eleven individuals among whom four children, were killed, twenty-nine seriously injured. Later the premises of the communist party were bombed in several towns. Only one gang lead by the young Salvatore Giuliano (he was only twenty five years old) had enough machine-guns and bombs to commit such attacks. Hypotheses mushroomed: had he been paid by landlords who did not want to part with their land? or by the Italian right (in contact with the Home Office?) to weaken the communist party? or by the Americans who had designs on Sicily? The police were looking for Giuliano, but he was murdered by one of his men who, in turn, was poisoned so that there was no proof that Giuliano had been manipulated.



The gun-fire is beginning, people try to escape. Screenshot taken from the film Salvatore Giuliano reused in the program broadcast on RAI 3

The Portella massacre ran right through the television broadcasts and the Web chats during the first week of May 2017. The 1st May it was amply mentioned during the official ceremony transmitted by RAI 1. In the afternoon RAI 3 broadcast in full the commemoration that was taking place on the very site of the slaughter. Two historical accounts were presented respectively on RAI Storia and, in a more innovative way, on RAI 3. Country people, in 1947, were not used to taking photographs, there are visual documents neither on the meeting nor on the shooting and the few eyewitnesses, in their childhood at the time, have a dim recollection of the drama. A feature film, *Salvatore Giuliano*, was shot in 1962, under the direction of Francesco Rosi, the staging of the attack is outstanding but brief because the fire did not last long and because echoing such a tragedy is always risky. and this work was soberly exploited on television. The program exploited the film soberly and focused on the ambivalent situation of the post-war Sicily, cut off from the continent from its liberation to the end of the conflict, toying with the idea of secession, upset by the rivalries between gangs and by social unrest.

The historical context analysed in the broadcast accounts, at least partially, for the recourse to an anonymous, blind violence but who did unleash such wildness? The transmission cautiously avoids a question that haunts public opinion⁽⁹⁾. During the remembrance service, at Portella, all speakers had insisted that it was urgent to open the military and police archives where the documents on the massacre have been classified as ultra secret. On the Web, the bloggers expressed forcefully the same wish: "Italy wants to know the truth about all attempts. A democracy cannot survive with secrets kept hidden by the authorities". Conjectures flourished, Giuliano had served as the instrument of the mafia - no, he had rather been "the military wing of the separatists" - or he had "put into practice Truman's doctrine". Regardless of their divergences the Web surfers agreed on the fact that, with "the first State murder" the Italian republic had entered seven decades of political injuries and damages.

The public television proved aware of such preoccupation. To show that the Portella slaughter had opened the way to a systematic recourse to criminal terrorism, RAI Storia aired throughout May, in its *Civic Calendar* series, a good many documentaries about bloodsheds that had shackled Sicily⁽¹⁰⁾. We shall be content with mentioning the murder of Pietro Scaglione, State Prosecutor in Palermo (5 May 1971), of Boris Giuliano, Chief Superintendent in Palermo (21 July 1979) and of Pio La Torre, Sicilian M.P. (30 April 1982) three programs broadcast the 2 and 3 May. Scaglione was called "the first victim". Previously criminal groups had killed rival traffickers or individuals who did not want to give them money but they had never aimed at a government official. The State Prosecutor had inquired about Portella della Ginestra and other illicit business but, in the absence of legislation against a delinquency based on nuclear families networks, he had got no

9) Note that Rosi's film doesn't tackle the question. It mixes up cleverly the different points of view of the local police, the continental journalists, the central authorities and the Court that judged the affair after Giuliano had been killed.

10) Most murders of politicians or magistrates were committed in May notably those of Pietro Scaglione and Pio La Torre mentioned here, those of the judge Falcone and the civic militant Pepino Impastato.

results. In June the magistrate should be transferred to the continent, the documentary makes it clear that his murder was nothing but a challenge addressed to the authorities: “We kill where and when we want”.

The police got the message. The film dedicated to Boris Giuliano portrays an officer aware of the changes that have taken place in organized crime: illegal activities have been divided between the different groups which no longer fight each other and infiltrate local administration to profit from public invitations to tender. Inquiring into kidnapping, drug traffic, tax evasion, Giuliano threatened many people who united to pay a killer. The construction business was an activity especially beneficial for speculators: on the pretext of clearing slums in big cities they evicted the inhabitants; with the complicity of the town hall they received subsidies and constructed rich-looking buildings sold to affluent people. As emerges from the documentary about his combat, Pio La Torre fought corrupt practices in Sicily where he denounced openly the crooks, and in Parliament where he prepared laws against criminal activities. His murderer has never been identified.



Pio La Torre lead careful inquiries in the poor Palermo districts to avert fraudulent evictions and demolitions. He didn't take precautions so that it was easy to kill him

The broadcasts on assassinations, misdeeds and bribery in Sicily gave rise to extended commentaries on the social networks. If there was nothing new or surprising in these programs their quick succession evidenced the strength and endurance of enterprises that defied the Italian State and its codes but found in the island a favourable ground.

While approving of decision taken by RAI Storia to lay stress on the question, the bloggers hinted at circumstances too speedily mentioned in the transmissions: Scaglione's role in the inquiries about the strange death of Enrico Mattei, head of the National Petrol Cy or La Torre's campaign against the installation of an American nuclear base in southern Sicily were not at the origin of their elimination? - but nobody asked for a program getting to the bottom of things and analysing the roots of an underground, or parallel society in Sicily.

It seems that, in the mind of the Web surfers, the Sicilian case, legacy of the past escaped as such any form of explanation.

WHAT FOR HISTORY?

History programs have a large audience in Italy, *Ulysses*, despite its length, attracts every Saturday night ten per cent of the public. The tweets on Facebook as well as on the sites of the transmissions confirm such active concern. The debates, sustained and sometimes very rough, are often loosely connected with the subject of the transmissions and reflect mostly the preoccupations of the bloggers. A broadcast of *Time and History* dealing with the poorest outskirts of Rome in the 1950s ⁽¹¹⁾ gave way to a surrealist discussion about children prostitution in which a forumer resorted to the testimony of Oscar Wilde and was called "stupid ass" by his adversary. Mysterious developments lead the dialogue on Portella della Ginestra to a

11) "Ragazzi di vita, il romanzo delle borgate" (*The Ragazzi*), 3 May 2017. This program, based on Pasolini's novel *Ragazzi di vita*, described the wretched life or neglected children in the outskirts of Rome.

furious polemic about Berlusconi and the political movement Cinque Stelle. The discrepancy between an interest in the programs and a permanent tendency to dispute about other issues requires some explanation.

History is not merely a chronicle of past days; it implies also an interpretation of the relationship between yesterday and today. According to the perspective he has chosen the historian offers models or lessons that could be applied in the present and signals solutions that should be avoided, or illuminates the origins of the contemporary problems, or advances examples, which will help to understand the mechanisms of human decisions and actions, or situates one's generation in the continuity of times. Italian television history offers another point of view, a dual vision of the country's yesterdays. On the one hand, it shows that a form of permanent transgression has emerged and flourishes in Sicily; such inheritance, that goes back many decades, weighs a lot but what could be done to get rid of it? On the other hand, in contrast to the not very heartening events now occurring, history programs help forget on going worries by returning to the days of yore.

The popularity of history transmissions does not allow us to come to believe that Italian spectators indulge in a resigned nostalgia, their passionate controversies on the social networks prove that they use past situations as arguments to contend about up-to-date issues. The Italian television history is resolutely a glance at vanished periods and cannot serve to interpret the present-day world. As we have seen it deals chiefly with the 20th century: which lesson could be drawn from world conflicts that opposed national armies in a time when "asymmetric wars" oppose regular armies to polymorph, stateless, irregular groups that merge into the population? History broadcasts are entertaining because they bring universes different from ours back to life.

HISTORY AS SEEN ON NATIONWIDE FREE-ACCESS GENERAL-INTEREST SPANISH TELEVISION CHANNELS

Analysis on the historical contents in the TV schedules of TVE1, La 2, Antena 3, Tele 5, Cuatro and La Sexta between the 1st and 7th May 2017

MATERIALS AND METHODS

1. To prepare for this report, information was gathered about the television programmes broadcast by general-interest Spanish channels with a national scope. This criteria purposely excludes nationwide theme channels (specifically, *Canal Historia* and *National Geographic*, among approximately thirty more), general-interest channels with a regional scope (around fifty more) and pay-channels from a wide variety of platforms (with an offer that extends to much more than 200 channels, including those with a regional, a national or particularly an international scope). This report focuses exclusively on programmes broadcast by the six channels that meet the previously mentioned criteria: TVE1, La 2, Antena 3, Cuatro, Tele 5 and La Sexta. The six of them belong to larger media groups. The first two, to the public body RTVE, the Spanish public television; Cuatro and Tele 5 to Mediaset while A3 Media owns Antena 3 and La Sexta. The total audience they attracted in the year 2016 was 55.4%. They constitute what is commonly considered as the official TV programming of the day, both in terms of topics and formats.

2. These basic details confirm the relevant importance that this group of channels has for the majority of Spanish TV viewers and, consequently, how convenient its analysis is to assess the relative importance for the audience of the topics, genre and formats that compose the programme list of these channels. Those topics and types of programmes that are not included in the general programme schedule are as good as nonexistent for the general audience. Theme channels -both open and pay-simply play a subsidiary role, with the acceptable exception of those specialised in children and pre-teens programmes (such as *Disney*, *Clan Television* and similar ones). *Canal Historia* or *National Geographic* would be included in this secondary section for obvious reasons. From a different perspective, though, every programme that is not included in this general programme list is not relevant, it barely has any impact on the popular mass culture in contemporary Spain.
3. As explained before, these television channels have the largest audience and are available for every family: it is not necessary to pay for them. To this date, they attract the largest majority of viewers (55.4% in 2016) and define the general programming principles: they broadcast all sorts of genre. They establish the most successful formats that may later be transferred to some of the theme channels designed for an specific audience with restricted interests. They usually are the ones to set the general tone of the TV products (for instance, the trend to oversimplify and spectacularize any type of content or format). Unlike theme channels, their programmes focus on what may be considered as general interest, instead of doing so on fragmented audiences with specific interests.
4. Regarding the matter analysed here (history or scattered historical contents on television), its presence or absence will allow to assess the extent to which history is interesting for a general audience (in the views of TV producers and programmers) and, more specifically,

which would be the most successful points of view, referential framework and circumstances. This is an essential factor, as history is not only made of topics, but also of the ways these topics are delivered: both aspects are equally important in television. A positive consideration of history is reflected, for instance, in the inclusion of historical roots in news bulletins, as news bulletins are well considered programmes. A mere scene - with no specific reference to any particular situation - in a low-budget soap opera reflects a total lack of interest in a coherent explanation of the past, even when it may be considered an evidence of the interest of a certain section of the audience for fictional plots developed in the past (despite the lack of an specific historical setting).

5. There is an added value in the choice of the 1st - 7th May week: its connection with the Labour Day as a usually protest-led festivity held all over the world. Supplement to this is the commemorative nature of the date: nothing easier than remarking the historic facts and circumstances of the event (and, for historians and history enthusiasts, it is something simply compulsory and necessary). There are few international celebrations with a clearer focus on its past, both in terms of its inclusion in the day's programming and the way chosen to include it, as well as the impact it had on the programming. In the Spanish case, there is another relevant historic date that, although nowadays is only a bank holiday in the region of Madrid, it was celebrated, in different and long periods of time in the past, as a national event: the 2nd May, that commemorates the popular uprising of the people of Madrid against Napoleonic troops. It is considered the starting point of the Contemporary Era in Spain, as well as the beginning of a new historical period in which the people is given a greater historical importance in Spain. Consequently, some references to the date and roots were also to be expected.
6. Before anything else, it is necessary to specify the precise definition of 'historical' broadcast or television programme for the sake of this

report. In general terms, audiovisual fiction productions may take place in the past or the present of the production process. Although the latter may with time constitute - as they do - a historical source -like any other culture product - they are obviously not considered as historical. The reason is that they do not set their narrative focus in the past, which is the first and fundamental requirement to relate them with the concept of history. Considering those audiovisual products whose plot takes places in the past, some of them may deliberately reflect certain historic scenery as a constituting part of the plot, or even have an explanatory nature or narrate the past in wider terms. Those are the products typically considered as 'historical' (or with a historical purpose) by historians and viewers with a mid-to-high cultural level. Other products simply take place in the past, but that past is not intended to be explained nor plays a relevant part in the plot, being a mere setting for an independent story.

7. Despite the E-Story team of historians forecasting a certain highlight on the historical facts related to the events commemorated those days (1st and 2nd May), evidences show that they scarcely had any relevance. As the television experts from the Spanish work team expected, the 'history' presented those days was no different that in the prior or later weeks. That is: television programming -the scheduling and planning according to the programming principles of each channel- had an essential impact on the type of 'past' offered: the same historical contents offered throughout the season, offered in the same way.
8. This allows an initial hypothesis: the history seen in the general-interest free television does not correspond with the interests of historians or history enthusiasts. It hardly has anything to do with an objective assessment of the importance of certain processes in its time or in connection with the present. Neither has it any connection with the interests of politicians, with the probable exception of news bulletins. They responded to the currently dominating programming professional criteria, focused

on appealing to the wider audience possible in each time-slot (roughly: mornings, evenings, prime time). In other words: those who decide which history (topics) and in which way (television format) that history will be offered are not historians. They typically lack any training in history, besides a general, basic education and, consequently, they tend to think in history in terms of factual reconstruction (history is made up of 'objective' facts) that have an influence in the present (as an interesting background information or as a determinant factor) but that should be given an individual personal approach (to ensure truthfulness and an emotional response: 'that is what happened to me').

9. Innovation is a need for the television medium in a moment of crisis and fierce competence embodied by the Internet and the new entertainment offers. This also constitutes a new chance to offer new ways of presenting history. Television schedules leave aside highly interesting experiences connected to transmedia narrative or, to a lesser extent, supplementary programmes to those rather successful products set in the past. In this group is it worth mentioning at least two highly interesting experiences. Firstly, the 'historical' series that has taken a step further in transmedia storytelling: *El ministerio del tiempo*.
10. Secondly, two programmes that were completed with additional historical information -even though they did not reach the same level as the previous example- were two very successful series: *Isabel* and *Carlos*. Within this trend of completing the information on the period that offers the chronological setting for the main series, it is important to also highlight *Cuéntame cómo pasó*, a drama series starting in 2001 which has had very high audience rates over the years and has survived to the change of ruling political parties in the government (and the consequent change in the management of TVE, the national public channel that broadcasts it): Partido Popular, Partido Socialista and Partido Popular again. The series tells the ups and downs of a mid-class

Spanish family from the last days of Francoism to the 80's (in the current series). Following this series another programme is broadcast: *Ochéntame* (the title plays with the words of the original title *Cuéntame* -that means, "tell me"- and "ochenta" -the eighties- so the resulting term may be translated into "tell me about the 80's"), a nearly 60-minute documentary series that alternates real footage from the 80's with witnesses and key figures of the time explaining their experiences. It somehow contextualizes fiction via a documentary. Although the majority of viewers switch off their TV sets when the fiction series finishes (partly due to the late hour in which *Ochéntame* is programmed), the fact that it remains in the schedules is an evidence both of a television approach focused on the general interest and an innovative one that tries to use the appeal of historical fiction to make classical historical formats, easier to link to academic purposes, more attractive.

11. In brief: some innovative experiences in television have been used to offer a larger number of more modern products based on historical facts (exclusively in public channels). This innovative experience, however, have not become the norm in the other channels. The higher production costs is one of the reasons, as it is the fact that audience rates have not reached the expected levels.

HISTORY IN THE GENERAL INTEREST FREE TELEVISION BROADCAST IN SPAIN (1ST TO 7TH MAY 2017). PROGRAMME OFFER DIVIDED INTO TIME SLOTS.

1. When studying Image 1 it is important to consider that history-related programmes (or, to a lesser extent, set in the past) were not overlapped during the analysed week. A viewer interested in watching every free historical programme broadcast by the general-interest Spanish channels on the first week of May could have easily done it with the only help of a remote control and a TV set.
2. A total number of 29 hours of history or past-related topics were

broadcast throughout the week, excluding two full-length fiction films that may fit in that category. A second consideration is that they constitute long hours of historical content for a programme schedule oriented to general interest and out of the late-night slot (that starts at 00:00 a.m. in Spain). This evidences that history or past-related topics do not lack as much popularity as it is frequently believed. They are also available for all sorts of audience. There are historical programmes or programmes set in the past in every time slot and it is possible to follow several of them because they are not overlapped.

3. There is a wide offer in terms of timing and, consequently, available to all types of audience and formats. In the morning, history is present in the leading format of the slot: news bulletins. But this information alone may be deceptive: history here is only used as an information source in connection with the events commemorated and only in two of the six analysed channels: the 1st and 2nd of May are mentioned in Tele 5 (1st - 2nd May) and the liberation of Mauthausen camp in La Sexta (6th May). A superficial comparison between Le Pen and king Louis XIV in relation with the French presidential campaign was made in a current-affairs morning programme in La Sexta (*Al rojo vivo*). Finally, in the same channel, three references more were made over two days (2nd and 5th May) in the context of an advertorial-like report (*Hoteles con encanto*) when explaining the past life of certain buildings and their historical context. La 2, as we will analyse later on, maintains a regular programming of documentaries and offered a historical one in that time slot (the 50-minute *Hitler's People*). This decision is nonetheless more based on the specific principles of the channel (it is a culture-oriented public channel) rather than on the general trend.
4. The evening slot (that extends from the lunch-time news bulletin -3:00p.m.- to the evening news bulleting -9:00 p.m.-) is the one that contains the greater percentage of past-related contents. Historical

references are made again in the news bulletins (Tele 5 and TVE1) with identical purpose to the ones in the morning. But the main characteristic of this slot is the link between past and entertainment in Antena 3's soap operas. *Amar es para siempre* and *El secreto de Puenteviejo* take the viewers respectively to the francoist years and to a diffuse period in the early 20th century. They fill a 2-hour slot from Monday to Friday (in this case, the 1st of May is excluded as holidays typically have a special programme schedule).

They share the use of a historical setting for twisted plots full of star-crossed lovers, intrigue, natural children, modern day worries taken to past times, acts of madness, jealousy, crime investigation, etc. To summarise, they chain one plot after the other around the same group of protagonists plus the necessary additions for each season, so to engage the target audience of that slot (home-staying men and women: housewives, retired and unemployed people, etc.) to the same characters time after time. *Amar es para siempre* is, in fact, a sequel of another soap opera (*Amar en tiempos revueltos*) with the same main characters that started in 2005 on TVE1 and that has continued under a new title on Antena 3 since 2013. In both cases, history is a mere setting.

This peculiarity is clearer in the case of *El secreto de Puenteviejo*, in which no reference is made to the political or cultural context that may allow an accurate chronological location. It is a 'costumbristish' type of past, one that evokes the classical Spanish operetta genre: zarzuela.

For the newcomer, it is enough to understand that the action takes place in the first third of the 20th century (or even before that). It is, in a nutshell, a zarzuela-like past deeply embedded in an entertainment-ridden format structure. History is omitted when considering the lack of historical explanation to that allegedly historical setting. The stories of the different protagonists are not solved in a logical way according to the supposedly historical context. For instance, the town mayor or the local priest should

have a greater influence on the village of Puenteviejo, but this theoretical prominence is frequently ignored to allow a specific ending for a story arc. They are not a priest or a mayor as they should be, in terms of historical coherence, for the narrative sake: the first is, above all, the stereotypical 'honest man', while the second is a 'henpecked' husband totally dominated by his wife. In brief: even though this soap opera is set in the past, history is omitted there as there is not the slightest explanatory intention.

5. A different case is that of *Amar es para siempre*. Firstly, because it is the sequel of another soap opera that did have a historical approach (Revuelta, 2016). This initial factor has faded in the sequel but has not entirely disappeared. For instance, the viewer knows exactly the year when the plot takes place and the main historical events are reflected in the fiction. The relevance of history has decreased and some of the plots include characters that are not so typical of that time, the 1960's, despite the fact that some of them are based on real events. The main intention, nonetheless, is developing typical plots from soap operas rather than spreading historical knowledge through fiction.
6. La 2 continues broadcasting historical documentary films and series in this time slot, in coherence with the channel's principles. That week they offered two documentaries per day and, in some cases, even three (1st May).
7. The early night slot (from the 9 p.m. bulletin to midnight) is the one that offers a wider variety in terms of programmes, and it is also considered prime time and, consequently, it is the time of the day when the fiercest competence for audiences takes place. Channels, therefore, choose carefully their contents and formats. When a historical approach is included here, it is because the decision was taken after a time of reflection and with the confidence (or, at least, the hope) of gaining the highest audience rates, if not a minimum of a good ranking position. For instance, when a highly-expected international football match with a foreseeable

audience success is to be broadcast, other channels may decide to approach the type of audience that may not be interested in sports, but in alternative topics. This is a common choice among channels that typically target minority audiences (La 2, Cuatro, La Sexta). It is worth noticing, consequently, which channels and when make use of historical contents in prime time.

8. Firstly, history takes part in news programmes (not new bulletins exclusively) in the same way it did in previously analysed time slots: as background documentation for some specific pieces of news. When that is the case, each channel makes a different use of it and, in general terms, history is typically linked to the best considered programmes of the slot (news programmes in this case). For instance, La Sexta included 'historical facts capsules' within *El Intermedio* (1st May) and *Salvados* (7th May). They are news programmes with a great relevance in the programme schedule of the channel: the first is a news programme with a humorous approach, and the latter a report programme with deeper contents delivered in longer pieces. The general principle, nonetheless, is maintained, and there is no room for deception: history barely had second-long appearance in the first case and minute-long in the latter. Its function is serving as a mere intellectual façade: a self-justified comical anecdote (comedy in history) or the starting point of a conflictive situation such as the one of a minority progressively disappearing due to a case of abuse (the marshlands in Doñana). In the remaining channels there is nothing historical but some mentions to the events commemorated those days: the previously mentioned 2nd of May in Tele 5 (2nd May), the day of the Cross in TVE1 (3rd May) and the end of the reconstruction of the tomb of Emperor Augustus (Cuatro).
9. Among the format options addressed to minorities with the largest number of potential viewers, there are two, from Cuatro, that are worth mentioning: *Cuarto Milenio* and *Planeta Calleja*. The first (starting in November 2005) deals with paranormal phenomena

and has been broadcast for long years (first on the radio and, then, on television). Its audience has been steadily growing -for example, to a peak of 9.2% on 4th September 2016-, even though it does not reach the most important share rates (17.6% in TVE1 and 15% Antena 3, the same day at the same time). The historical topics on 6th May were the tombs found in a 16th century British abbey, the sinking of the Titanic and the reconstruction of Palladius's face. This should not lead to deception: in total, only 6 minutes were used on these topics in a several hour-long programme. History is used to fill blank spaces. The majority of historians would not be, nonetheless, very bothered by the fact that this happens in that programme in particular. *Planeta Calleja*, on the other hand, is a travel and adventure programme (controlled adventure, should be added). It has a similar function to the previous example, on Sundays as well: its audience peak is a 10.4% (28th May 2017). On 7th May it got a 9% when it included information on the Basque culture and its connection with Georgia and the Orthodox convents in that country. The main interest of the programme was not that story, though. It was a celebrity (the singer Antonio Orozco) taking part in an adventure trip and the historical content did not exceed a total of 6 minutes.

10. The programme with a closer approach to academic history in that slot (excluding documentary films in La 2) was one in TVE1: the *Cuéntame cómo pasó* series and the following documentary spin off *Ochéntame otra vez*. Although they are very different products (the first, a prime-time fiction series; the second, a late-night documentary series), both approach the 1980's. The very successful fiction series has been broadcast for long years. It has nearly become the official nostalgia TV chronicle of the time between 1968 and the 80's. It is similar to other products like the Italian miniseries *La Meglio Gioventù* (Marco Tulio Giordana, 2003) but has a long-term audience success that has extended for even more years. *Cuéntame* has thus become a living memory of the

experiences, personal or not, lived through the Spanish transition to democracy and its aftermath, in spite of having all the typical clichés which historians despise in audiovisual fiction products. It can be reckoned that this series and the following documentary (*Ochéntame*) constituted the most intense and richest in audience variety in Spain, not only in that week but for many years.

11. Meanwhile, La 2 maintained a programme schedule that included historical documentaries: at 12.00 p.m. on 4th-5th May (about the Mayans' forgotten city and, later on, scribes in Ancient Egypt) and the programme called *La noche temática* about Osama Bin Laden (7th May).
12. To summarise: an analysis on time slot evidences some presence of past-related topics adapted to the target audience and the most appropriate format for the moment. The most relevant examples in terms of hours on screen are the Monday to Friday soap operas from Antena 3: they are broadcast two hours a day except for the weekend. The type of past and the way it was reflected is a different matter. The target audience is representative here: mid to low class midwives and unemployed people. The second most relevant time slot is the prime time slot. The key programme would be *Cuéntame*, with its spin-off, *Ochéntame*. The first is a weekly fiction series with a high-budget production. It is well established in the audience preferences and maintains high rates of share (15-20%). Classical historical TV documentaries are frequent in La 2 (16 hours only in the analyzed week). Ironically, though, only three of these hours were included in the prime-time slot. In other words: history is used to fill programming gaps in a minority-oriented channel. It is also worth mentioning that the most successful documentary series is the one on TVE1 after the highly successful *Cuéntame*: *Ochéntame* benefits from the remnants of the most relevant fiction series of the channel (about 3 million viewers) which is not only historical, but it also enables an easy access to a documentary on the same historical period (simply

taken from a different perspective to the one in the fictional series) that engages around 800,000 viewers. All this enables a clearer analysis on the presence of historical images in the Spanish free television programme schedule.

HISTORY IN THE GENERAL-INTEREST FREE TELEVISION BROADCAST IN SPAIN (1ST TO 7TH MAY 2017). PROGRAMME OFFER DIVIDED INTO CHANNELS AND MEDIA GROUPS

1. Considering time slots and the number of viewers, Antena 3 is the one that has the highest percentage with just two of its diary programmes, excluding weekend programming: 1.4 millions of viewers, 4 days a week, 3 hours a day. That does not include isolated sections in news programmes and films: in the week of 1st-7th May a fiction film set in an alternative Second World War was broadcast: *Inglorious Basterds* (Quentin Tarantino, 2009). This channel, that claims to be family-oriented, soft-entertainment driven, seems to consider history an asset but its real interest lies in the concept of the past. This is reflected in the way the past is used to provide *El secreto de Puenteviejo* with a certain cultural atmosphere. It is set in a time that is immediately prior to the time of youth of the grandparents of today: the time of the fourth generation before that of the viewers, who are mainly adults and elders. It is, as it has been mentioned before, an indeterminate time before the Second Republic of Spain (1931). The cultural level of the target audience is not very demanding in terms of historical accuracy. The feeling of past times created by the actors' outfit and the fake old-fashioned jargon they use (archaic and pedantic enough to sound odd in the present, but easy enough to be understandable) does the trick.
2. These factors are less obvious in *Amar es para siempre*. The chronological setting (Madrid in the 1960's) is more evocative for the viewers than a mere remote and exotic background. The target audience has lived that time so the setting requires

more accuracy, as it is reflected in the costumes. Nearly every scene is shot in studio, making production easier. The topics and circumstances are dealt with more visual accuracy than the previous case, although its format is still a popular one: soap opera. Nothing is more relevant than the twisted love and crime stories that constitute its plot. The setting is less important, even though it is adapted to adjust to the viewers' memory, as memories, anyway, tend to be influenced by audiovisual products.

3. Although it belongs to the same media group as Antena 3 (A3 Media), La Sexta has a totally different approach. Firstly, the general tone of its programme schedule is defined as bold, youth-driven and left-winged. These characteristics are reflected in the young-looking protagonists of its programmes. Regarding its political ideology, its news bulletins can be set between the left side of the PSOE and the new leftist groups derived from social movements (Podemos, Mareas, etc.). Its bold nature is reflected on the use of innovative television formats or a more direct approach than that of the more traditional channels. Were it the case, history should have been presented in a more original way, or with a new 're-telling' of history. But hardly any of this could be seen on the screen. About originality: 15 seconds of comparison between Le Pen and Louis XIV. Regarding that new retelling: two minutes on the importance of comedy in history (in a transgressive humorous news programme, *El Intermedio*) and some minutes within a 10-minute report on the risks of progress embodied in the real-estate and industrial harassment suffered by the traditional inhabitants of the marshlands in Doñana (an Andalusian natural reserve) in *Salvados* (a weekly report programme). Any other use of history in this modern channel is made for surreptitious advertising: the programme *Hoteles con encanto* focused during the analysed week on four hotels located in historical century-old buildings.
4. The other main private free Spanish Group is Mediaset. It has two general-interest channels: Tele 5 and Cuatro. The first defines itself

as the most popular entertainment channel. It targets a general audience, with no focus on minorities that may be considered relevant due to their economical or cultural status. Cuatro, on the other hand, follows the steps of the prior cultural television project of the media group PRISA: Canal+. It rendered an impossible unrealistic ambition when it was taken over by Mediaset. The virtually total lack of historical information in Tele 5 is a logical and coherent consequence that is definitely supported by evidence: some second-long clips to introduce piece of news or to justify the commemoration of an event: 1st of May, 2nd of May (a festivity in Madrid) or the commemoration of the liberation of Mathausen.

That is all: history as a supplementary documentation for the present, for a current day piece of news: the commemoration of the event instead of the event itself. Cuatro introduces history in its most successful programmes: those oriented to minorities. In one of them, history is present just as simple fragment of cultural or explanatory information to provide context for adventure trips. A professional adventurer helps some celebrity to overcome a natural challenge: mountaineering, rafting, canyoning, etc. In the thrill of the trip there is always some historical reference to add some cultural and educated touch to a nice and reasonably challenging trip with some relevant figure from the world of show-business, sport or even culture.

A nice entertainment in open fields with good views of the landscape that may persuade the viewers to visit them if they have the chance. History is a mere (secondary) ingredient for the resulting product. History capsules are also present in another programme with relevant audience rates for the channel: *Cuarto Milenio*. An eerie atmosphere is key to this magazine that offers a succession of ghosts, spirits, tombs, pyramids and all sorts of abandoned shrines and temples of any religion given. History here is a reflection of a dark past with the only advantage of applying to any century: to the unknown of any age. This programme thrills and

intrigues but does not solve any problem: not even the historical ones. History is here a necessary setting that evokes remoteness and insufficient information. All matters approached are usually left without an answer and that is exactly what the programme intends. Unintendedly, history becomes a necessary evil in *Cuarto Milenio*. The worst part is that historians do not take part to solve the really relevant issues (the ones the programme focuses on).

5. The national public media group consists of TVE1 and La 2. The first is in constant competition with Antena 3 and Tele 5 for the dominion over the share, despite the fact it has not achieved that purpose for more than a decade. It does not prevent it, though, from having some leading programmes in certain time slots and days. One of these privileged products is precisely a historical programme in terms of content: *Cuéntame cómo pasó*. It is a weekly fiction drama series that originally set its narrative approach on the point of view of whom was a child at the beginning of the programme, in 2001. That gave the narrator's view a tender tone that was progressively lost while he was growing up. It is the historical programme that attracts the highest number of viewers in Spain: an average of around 3.5 million viewers in the last season (2017). Its deep influence on the adult perception of the most recent past cannot be overseen: those adults have seen how their own memories could be, in most cases, identified with those images present (and, more importantly, selected) on the screen. It is not so obvious how its narrative logic works to explain the history of Spain from 1968 to the 1980's but it is undeniable that the majority of viewers will not stop to separate one from the other. It is, furthermore, a series that can be considered 'soft' in terms of adequacy for a family audience in prime time. It does not only collect and display the memories of the generations that take the main role in the events narrated but it is also a reconstruction of what happened, of a past time, for the younger generations, as confirmed by those who were their protagonists: their parents and grandparents.

6. This 'realistic' nature in *Cuéntame* is supported by the programme that begins immediately after in the same channel: *Ochéntame*. It is a documentary series with footage taken to a great extent from the registry of TVE. Even if *Cuéntame* is broadcast all over prime time and *Ochéntame* begins well into late night (starting at midnight, it is still considered late prime time in Spain), its audience is made up of an average number of 850,000 viewers: by far the most watched documentary in Spain (whether historical or not). TVE1 can be considered as the channel with the best quality historical contents because it offers the best formats, both in fiction and documentaries. The audience's response is very positive: this programme is usually the most watched in that day's prime time (Thursdays), even when it competes with other important entertainment offers: a high-budget reality show with celebrities (*Supervivientes*) in Tele 5, a good Hollywood film in Antena 3 and, to a lesser extent, an American crime series in Cuatro, a historical documentary in La 2 (*Historia del cine*) and a report in La Sexta. Being this the context, the conclusion may be that Spanish people are interested in history or, at least, 3.5 million of them are.
7. The next question should be to what extent history is interesting for them and which type of history. La 2 is the other national public channel. It can be considered as the closest equivalent to the PBS in Spain. It broadcasts plenty of documentaries, educational, cultural and music programmes, etc. Throughout the analyzed week, 15 documentary films with an approximate length of one hour were broadcast. The main reason to worry is the fact that the average audience to switch on this channel is a 2.5% of share. It broadcast long hours of historical content in a classical audiovisual format (documentary film) but with a shortage of audience.

CONCLUSION: HISTORY AS SEEN ON THE SPANISH FREE TELEVISION BETWEEN 1ST AND 7TH MAY 2017

1. First conclusion to be reached is that national free television

channels are the ones that most meet the demand for history. Besides, their productions meet high quality standards or, at least, that is the case in the weekly historical fiction series *Cuéntame*. This programme does not only usually reach the general audience peak for its time slot (and, what is more, happens to be prime time) but also draws more than one fifth of its viewers to the following programme (a historical documentary series that deals with the same historical period of the previous series). The stunning result is that the highest audience rate in the late prime time slot in Spain is achieved by a historical documentary.

2. The second conclusion is that fiction is a favourite mean to approach history or, at least, to the past. Good audience rates are also achieved in the early evening slot (4:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.) with soap operas set in the past. The target audience in this case is, in general terms and from a social and economical perspective, not an elite group in comparison with the prime time slot. Setting the action in the past, nonetheless, makes it more culturally attractive to those people, who would prefer it over the gossip programme that constitute the main competitor at that time. Those who are not interested in celebrities' lives and scandals, in their fights, their social lives, their marriages and divorces, their new couples, etc., find a less tasteless alternative in past-set series. At least they are safe there from all the yelling, faked offenses, reconciliations, parties, fashionable outfits, etc. In that context, as it has been previously explained, a historical setting is a remarkable cultural asset.
3. The most watched historical material is the one broadcast by means of the most popular television format, in which history fits best the narrative: a weekly or diary fiction series (soap opera). History is there an ingredient to produce entertainment. In other words: viewers are willing to watch historical content, as long as it does not spoil their fun in front of the TV set. Those really interested in learning about history are more likely to opt for a book rather than the television session their friends may prefer.

4. Documentary films and series have their share of time on screen. It is also still believed to be the ideal format to properly deliver historical content. Leaving aside for the moment this theoretical and practical matter, it is worth mentioning that the most watched documentary series is such because of its connection with a related fiction series. The other documentaries have barely any audience, even though the total number of viewers for each of them is typically above the 100.000 mark. They are, therefore, a positive mean to explain history but they do not reach the popularity of fiction and channels' competence to gain sponsors have drawn them out of the main programming slots. One channel has bet for an evening offer of fiction series set in the past (one in a remote past, the other in a recent past). This strategy prevents competition with other more expensive and competitive programmes and has enable the channel to attract an interest group who is not appealed by tasteless gossiping. In other words: there is a place for history in fiction television. The value and accuracy of the history represented in those programmes and formats is a different matter.
5. The fact that only the national public channels try to offer quality historical contents is a clear evidence of the difficulty history has to find room in a world of pictures where channels compete fiercely to gather viewers to watch ads. These limitations are essential because, if in the world portrayed on television history plays no relevant explanatory role, only two outcomes may result. First, a logic of normal (an everyday routine) that will be essentialist: out of time. The other, an understanding of life progression as a chain of emotions and feelings that will find a replica in the viewers' lives. People without a past, abandoned in a market in goods and services with a publicity convincing enough to be seen as an affordable paradise reached through consumerism.

UK TELEVISION HISTORY
PROGRAMMING AND WEBSITES/
INTERNET ACTIVITY

1-7 MAY 2017

INTRODUCTION

Given the vast number of Anglophone websites and large number of channels available to a British TV audience (identified via BARB.co.uk), it was decided that this report should use the BARB (Broadcasters Audience Research Board) statistics to:

1. Identify the range of channels available to UK viewers (some free and others pay-to-view);
2. Identify which of these channels broadcast history-related material;
3. Identify which programmes have been most popular by using BARB's 'top 30' and 'top 10'; features which list the 10 or 30 most-watched broadcasts on a channel in a given week;
4. Identify which programmes, periods and genres have reached the largest audiences by collating the audience figures for specific types of history programming;
5. Conclude, based on this material, which genres, periods and individual programmes representing the past are favoured by the British audience.

In addition, a list of British and international historical events was created in order to consider whether anniversaries played a significant role in determining what was broadcast and watched by a significant proportion of the UK audience, as this may suggest either that key events continue to be an important aspect in determining commissioning editors' choice of material, or that they are no longer as important as they once were. Certainly, Bell and Gray's work (e.g. 2013) suggested that in the period c.2004-14, historical anniversaries were important, but this was revisited in this study in order to consider if, in Britain, this is still the case.

COLLECTION OF DATA

As outlined above, the data collected was drawn from the BARB.co.uk website and supplemented with use of the listings magazine *Radio Times*, which lists the forthcoming broadcasts of the majority of television and radio channels in the UK. BARB lists all television channels although information was not available for all channels for the week analysed, which may be because the channels have ceased to broadcast or did not broadcast that week. It was decided that because of the massive amount of broadcast material available to a British viewer, amounting to 331 channels broadcasting that week, a focus on the top 10/top 30 programmes in viewing terms (top 30 programmes were available only for a few channels, mainly those which were formerly the UK's terrestrial channels) would give a reasonable sense of the range of broadcast material without the volume becoming completely unmanageable.

Statistically, the analysis is as follows:

331 channels available in the UK in the first week of May 2017

326 x 10 broadcasts (those with only the 'top 10' listed on BARB) and
5 x 30 ('top 30') broadcasts

= 3410 broadcasts were considered for the week.

Of these 3.410 broadcasts, 244 represented the past in some manner, whether as drama, documentary, film or (e.g.) antiques/material culture related programming, accounting for 7.2% of broadcast material.

Of the 331 channels, 61 included some history-related broadcasts

= 18.4%. Given that the 331 channels include e.g. Sports channels such as Sky Sports and ESPN, it seems unsurprising that some did not seem to broadcast any history-related material that week. In this context, 244 programmes/broadcasts representing the past in some manner are a larger proportion of the broadcast material: 56×10 and $5 \times 30 = 710$ broadcasts of which 244 forms 34.4%.

It seems, therefore, that channels which *do* offer history related programming to their audiences tend to be met with audience interest and engagement, as has been previously noted.

EXPECTED OUTCOMES

It had been expected that the key anniversaries of the week would feature to some degree in the broadcast material of the channels. The key events (of both UK and international, albeit Western, history) identified were as follows:

1 MAY

- Labour Day/Spring Festival (a national holiday in the UK)
- 310th anniversary of the Act of Union between England and Scotland
- 13th anniversary of the enlargement of the EU

2 MAY

- 6th anniversary of the death of Osama bin Laden

3 MAY

- Anniversary of the birth of Machiavelli
- Anniversary of the birth of Golda Meir

4 MAY

- Anniversary of Columbus' discovery of Jamaica

5 MAY

- Cinco de Mayo
- Anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx

6 MAY

- Anniversary of the destruction of the Hindenburg airship
- Anniversary of the birth of Sigmund Freud

7 MAY

- 102th anniversary of the torpedoing of the Lusitania
- Anniversary of the signing of the Armistice, 1945 (although VE Day 9 May)
- Anniversary of the birth of Brahms

However, analysis of the 3410 broadcasts revealed that only the Hindenburg was commemorated in the week, on the More4 Channel. The documentary, *What destroyed the Hindenburg?*, which included attempts to re-enact likely situations before and during the fire, received an audience of 308,000, and was the 4th most popular programme on the channel that week. This was rather surprising given television's usual interest in anniversaries, although it may also reflect the fact that most of the events did not have a direct impact in the UK and those that did, such as the Act of Union, occurred 310 rather than 300 or 250 years earlier - the impact of a full century in anniversary programming is more impactful for commissioning editors. Indeed, less well-known anniversaries which *were* marked in programming that week included a Channel 5 documentary marking the 15th anniversary of the murder of two young schoolgirls in Cambridgeshire, which reached an audience of 800,000 and ranked 17th most popular broadcast on the channel that week. This suggests that anniversaries which are not 'round numbers' are less likely to receive interest and certainly less likely to have new material commissioned (the Hindenburg documentary marked the 102th anniversary and was originally made by the Discovery Channel in 2013). Arguably it may also suggest dwindling interest on the part of commissioning editors in anniversaries.

ALTERNATIVES TO ANNIVERSARIES? PERIODS AND AREAS

To consider if this is the case, further analysis was undertaken of the 244 broadcasts which did include an element of the representation of the past. The channels on which they appeared varied from the Hindi-language Zing channel, which included a programme *Classic Hits*, therefore identifying popular music in the past, to (otherwise) English-

and occasionally Welsh-language material on a range of channels. For example, they included BBC4, known for broadcasting a good deal of 'serious', high culture material, as well as the Crime and Investigation Channel, which includes some crime documentaries representing unsolved murders from the past.

Analysis of the programming was undertaken by considering which periods of history and which geographical areas were covered. Interesting, after the UK the USA was the most significant geographical area, with 45/244 broadcasts, 18.4%. Representation of the rest of the work can be summarised as follows:

UK/British Empire	77	(31.6%)
USA	45⁽¹⁾	(18.4%)
Europe excluding UK	15	(6.1%)
Other	107⁽²⁾	(48.9%)

The high proportion of broadcast material representing the USA is likely due to the re-versioning of a great deal of PBS and Discovery Channel material (see above regarding the Hindenburg documentary, for example) by a number of broadcasters, and also the inclusion of films, which were often Westerns. The channel Movies 4 Men, for example, aired several Westerns during the week, 4 of which were in their top 10 most popular broadcasts.

Intriguingly, though, programming offered to a UK audience which depicted the UK was often fictionalised, suggesting at times a rather nostalgic view of the British past, albeit tinged with criminal activity. Such broadcasts were 8 of the top 10 broadcasts on the ITV Encore channel, which airs drama produced by the channel and in this week

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- 1) Including broadcasts which represent a number of nations, e.g. the Sky Cinema airing of *The Great Escape* to an audience of 20,000.
 - 2) This represents other geographical areas or a mix of areas, such as some programming relating to World War II, but also programmes where it was impossible to specifically identify an area, e.g. the Magic channel's various 'Hits of the 90s'-type listings of popular culture of a specific decade and generically in the West.

included the C18th prostitution drama *Harlots* and 7 episodes of *Poirot*, a detective series set in the 1910s-30s. Other channels such as Drama, ITV3, Yesterday, Alibi, ITV, BBC1 and BBC2 all had at least one historical drama, based in the UK, in the top 20 programmes.

Programmes depicting the rest of Europe were fairly sparse; nothing marked the anniversary of the 2004 growth of the EU, and aside from films depicting continental Europe during World War II, such as the Spike channel's airing of *The Bridge at Remagen* to 163,000 viewers, there were only a handful. These ranged from the BBC4 documentary *Chemistry: a volatile history* broadcast on Yesterday to an audience of 18,000, to a documentary *Caligula* on the Military History channel and PBS America's *Hitler's Holocaust* and *Deadliest crash: disaster at Le Mans*. Interestingly, Movies 4 Men also broadcast a number of documentaries on Germany in WWII, as did National Geographic. However, outside of Nazis and occasionally Roman, there was very little.

A surprisingly large segment of the broadcasts related to programming which cannot easily be categorised and rather as outlined in fn2, offered an overview of music in a particular decade. These have still be included, however, as they do seek, albeit to a limited degree, to offer a sense of the past to their audience.

The periods of history considered were similarly limited and have been summarised below:

Pre-human⁽³⁾	0
Early human civilisations⁽⁴⁾	8
Vikings	1
Medieval	1
Early Modern (16th-18th centuries)	4
Modern (1750-1900)	21
C20th	90

3) E.g. dinosaurs
4) e.g. Egyptians, Romans

They total 125 in part because, as noted above, so many programmes considered relatively recent years in music and would otherwise have been listed under 'C21st'. However, the range of periods is instructive. Other than a few representations of the Georgian and Victorian periods (the latter often due to the broadcast of Westerns), the vast majority of material is C20th, often relating to WWII (24/90) or detective dramas (discussed earlier).

GENRES

Following on from this, it is important to note that around 30% of broadcast material was drama, a higher proportion than the overall audience share held by drama that week of c.16%, according to BARB figures. This suggests a tendency to make the past nostalgic and to fictionalise aspects of it, which is clearly appealing to UK audiences as such programmes appear in the channels' top 10s. Unsurprisingly, then, in this context the assumed lack of interest for the anniversary of the broadening of the EU or the death of Bin Laden; perhaps this also reflects a post-referendum UK's mindset of nostalgia for a past in which Britain was triumphant over crime and foreign aggressors.

AUDIENCE FIGURES

However, it should also be noted that channels such as Yesterday receive far smaller audiences on average than, for example, BBC1 or ITV. This needs to be taken into account in the analysis as one programme representing the C18th on the BBC will likely reach a far larger proportion of the audience share than a whole day's worth of programming on Military History or Yesterday. Therefore, the genres, periods and geographic areas considered above will be revisited in this light. Based on 244 broadcasts which related to the past in some way (as documentaries, drama series or one-offs, or films, for example), the most commonly viewed geographic areas were as follows:

UK/ Empire	77 broadcasts with 84.78m viewers	(31.6% of broadcasts) av. 1.1m per broadcast
USA	45⁽⁵⁾ broadcasts with 27.5m	(18.4%) av. 610,000
Europe exc. UK	15 broadcasts with 8.145m	(6.1%) av. 540,000
Other	107⁽⁶⁾ broadcasts reached 12.528m	(48.9%) av. 117,000

Whilst the number of broadcasts depicting the history of a particular region broadly correlates to the audience figures in the case of the UK, continental Europe and the US, with all three areas receiving average audiences of more than 0.5 million, it is revealing that the ‘other’ category, representing almost half of programmes aired, did not receive a similarly large proportion of the audience. This may be the result of two factors. First, the channels airing many of the programmes which offer a ‘countdown’ approach to the past, with an overview of key music from an earlier decade, for example, tend to be minority or otherwise less well-liked channels seeking a more limited audience than the BBC or ITV. The Hindi channel Zing and the music channel Magic, alongside the more history-related channels Military History, Vintage TV and Yesterday fall into this category. Whilst the most popular broadcast representing the past among these smaller channels, which also nicely serves as an example of ‘other’ geographic areas, is the Drama channel’s airing of the Australian (ABC) historical crime series, set in the 1920s, *Miss Fisher’s murder mysteries* which reaches an audience of 420,000, the 5th most watched broadcast on the channel that week, much more representative was the audience reached by the various broadcasts of Military

5) Including broadcasts which represent a number of nations, e.g. the Sky Cinema airing of *The Great Escape* to an audience of 20,000.

6) This represents other geographical areas or a mix of areas, such as some programming relating to World War II, but also programmes where it was impossible to specifically identify an area, e.g. the Magic channel’s various ‘Hits of the 90s’-type listings of popular culture of a specific decade and generically in the West.

History, the highest of which that week was 35,000 for *Ancient Aliens* or Discovery History's *Salvaging the Kursk* which reached 17,000.

In addition to the reach of such channels, which are often, although not always, only available through additional payment on top of the British TV licence fee, the subject matter - non-British, US or even European - seems to be of significantly less interest to British viewers. This may of course, though, also reflect a lack of courage amongst commissioning editors, who believe the British audience wish to view their 'own' history and not those of other people. This may lie behind the fact that in the top 30 programmes for both BBC1 and BBC2, none represented areas other than Britain and Europe (the latter was a drama series and accompanying documentary about Versailles). ITV offered the drama series *The Durrells*, based on the autobiography of the British naturalist Gerald Durrell, who grew up in Corfu in the 1930s, which may therefore be seen as depicting both the European and British past; in the week considered, the episode reached 4.3m viewers and ranked 15th of 30 ITV broadcasts. Channel 4 did not broadcast any 'other' histories, and Channel Five offered *Ancient Mysteries*, a series made by A&E in the 1990s and usually considering non-British nations, to an audience of c.1 million.

It is also revealing to consider which periods of history garnered the highest audience figures and not merely the largest number of broadcasts. These could not always be determined reliably and so the sample size for the week was reduced to 125 programmes.

Pre-human⁽⁷⁾	0 broadcasts	0 %
	with an audience of 0	av. 0 per broadcast
Early human	8 broadcasts	6.4%
civilisations⁽⁸⁾	with an audience of 2.617m	av. 0.33m
Vikings	1 broadcast	0.8%
	with an audience of 141,000	av. 0.14m

7) E.g. dinosaurs

8) e.g. Egyptians, Romans

Medieval	1 broadcast	0.8%
	with an audience of 2.3m	av. 2.3m
Early Modern	4 broadcasts	3.2%
(16 th -18 th centuries)	with an audience of 3.775m	av. 0.9m
Modern	21 broadcasts	16.8%
(1750-1900)	with an audience of 8.496m	av. 0.4m
C20th	90 broadcasts	72%
	with an audience of c.50.3m	av. 0.55m

Intriguingly, this suggests that the most popular period of history was the medieval, although the sample of one broadcast (the BBC2 drama *Last Kingdom* depicting Anglo-Saxons) is certainly not statistically significant although it was the 4th most popular broadcast on the channel that week. More robust are the figures for broadcasts depicting the modern (here taken to represent c.1750-1900) and C20th history. However, the averages of 0.4m and 0.55m per broadcast disguise the wide range of audience figures for each period. Twentieth-century history in particular included WWII but also a range of other material such as the dramas already discussed, and a similarly broad range of audience responses depending on the channel. For example, on Discovery History *World War II in Colour* reached an audience of 12,000, whilst the 1970s comedy *Dad's Army*, which depicted the British Home Front during the same conflict, was aired on BBC to an audience of 1.3m.

AUDIENCES AND GENRE

The averages of c.0.5m for programmes depicting the broad period 1750-2000, then, are largely unrepresentative but closer analysis of the historical events depicted does reveal that whilst not all depictions of WWII reach large audiences, it remains a mainstay of British history broadcasting and dramatized representations are certainly likely to reach a larger audience, even if the drama itself is several decades old, returning us to the point already made relating to the British audience

and nostalgia. Other dramatized representations of the C20th aired in the week included *Babs* (BBC1), a biopic of the British comedy and soap actress Barbara Windsor (audience 5m) and *Grantchester* (ITV), a crime drama set in 1953 (audience 4.4m), alongside *The Durrells* (ITV; 4.3m). Indeed, other than the documentary *Britain's First Nuclear Bomb* (BBC4) (audience 0.58m), and the celebration of the late comedian Victoria Wood *Our friend Victoria* (BBC1; 4.2m), no other representation of c.1750-2000 garnered an audience of more than 0.5m as Discovery History's viewing figures, referred to already, suggest. Documentaries are still popular when aired on the mainstream channels, such as the long-running BBC series *Coast* which draws together history, natural history, geography and archaeology and reached 1.1m viewers in the week analysed, or *Inside Versailles* aired with the popular drama series (BBC2 1m) but rarely reach the audience figures of drama.

IMPACT OF TELEVISION ON THE E-STORY PROJECT

The potential significance of these findings for the E-Story project is as follows. There is a significant tendency amongst commissioning editors to seek programming depicting certain periods and genres of history, most notably the UK and modern and C20th history. In many ways this is understandable; they assume, although often with little to confirm their assumption that audiences wish predominantly to watch 'their' history onscreen, whilst C19th and C2th history can be viewed through AV resources such as films and photographs, meaning that documentaries can use this material. This may have a positive impact on the use of similar materials in the history classroom as they are already well-known to TV audiences. However, there are at least 2 potential problems relating to this. First of all, familiarity does not equate to a capacity to know how such material should be handled in the classroom, hence the need to guide those training to be teachers. In Britain this is already being undertaken though postgraduate teacher training courses and of course was also undertaken by those attending the Logrono event. Secondly, there is a problem relating to the audi-

ence itself. It is well-known amongst British media professionals that ‘unicorns’, the much sought-after under-25s audience, are extremely difficult to reach and it may well be that this group is disproportionately under-represented in the figures discussed in this report. This is a problem beyond the scope of the project to resolve; perhaps it is sufficient to conclude that history *teachers* are likely to be watching history documentaries and perhaps using them in the classroom, and in this sense televised representations of the past are having an impact on the secondary classroom.

UK WEBSITES/INTERNET ACTIVITY

1-7 MAY 2017

INTRODUCTION

Much like the previous report by the UK team on websites accessible to people in the UK, it is very difficult to garner material that can be positively identified as originating from Britain or British people. A great deal of the internet is Anglophone and bearing this in mind, this analysis takes a more broad-brush approach than that of UK television. The key areas to cover, it was therefore decided, would be the following:

1. The anniversaries identified as occurring in the first week of May, as identified for television;
2. The use of such anniversaries online, specifically in websites, where non-specialist input is encouraged as this may give a sense of wider views of key historical events, such as Digitalspy, Twitter, Facebook and newspaper websites which reach millions of readers;
3. Comparison of online with televised material, where possible.

SOURCES FOR ANALYSIS: DIGITALSPY (forums.digitalspy.com)

As for television, the key historical events of the week were searched for online, although again, there was surprisingly little apparent interest in them by British users. Even the More4 documentary on the Hindenburg was not commented upon on the DigitalSpy website, on which

viewers make comments about television and, more recently, other media. Digitalspy has previously proved a useful resource for garnering viewer responses to broadcast media so the lack of responses was surprising but may point to the relative lack of impact of anniversaries to programming in the week studied.

SOURCES FOR ANALYSIS: TWITTER (*twitter.com*)

Comments on Twitter proved slightly more fruitful although again, many of the anniversaries were not noted. The death of Osama bin Laden was certainly noted, with a range of responses ranging from celebration to resentment depending on their originator, but it proved very difficult, if not impossible, to determine which were British; it could only be concluded with certainty that English-language responses would be accessible to people in the UK.

The expansion of the EU in 2004 was marked by a number of the countries involved and also by independent groups such as the travel agent EU Travels which noted Poland's anniversary although there was otherwise relatively little Twitter activity on the EU anniversary. The Hindenburg anniversary had a number of tweets including the US Naval Safety Centre; again, these would be accessible to UK readers but specifically UK responses could not be discerned. Several British authors were apparent in tweets relating to the anniversary of the 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland, although the overall number was not significant and it seems likely that some writers came from other nations. Finally, the torpedoing of the Lusitania was by far the most commented-upon event, with a large number of US and other Anglophone authors including the far-right British National Party although it is unclear why they felt moved to contribute, other than to mark an event which occurred during a conflict in which there was British involvement. Samples of tweets are included in the appendix to this report and those specifically relating to the Lusitania are also collated on the Lusitania resource website here: see www.rmsslusitania.info under 'recent posts'.

SOURCES FOR ANALYSIS: FACEBOOK ([facebook.com](https://www.facebook.com))

Facebook groups were considered in the previous report and given the lack of responses to key anniversaries (other than by EU Travels) it is hardly surprising that there should be little FB activity among British readers. The Lusitania was marked, though, by groups representing descendants of victims and history groups, and an array of visual material such as photographs, advertisements and paintings was uploaded around the time of the anniversary of its sinking, although for members of the FB group this is an ongoing activity: see www.facebook.com/rmslusitania. Respondents seem to be based across the globe which is unsurprising given the diverse range of nationalities on-board.

SOURCES FOR ANALYSIS: NEWSPAPER CONTENT AND RESPONSES ONLINE

Tabloid sample: Daily Mail

As for FB and Twitter, there is very little way of knowing the nationality of those responding to newspaper articles online unless the author specifically states their origin or it is apparent through their username. In the case of the tabloid Daily Mail, it is possible to state that almost 1.5m copies are produced in print, with almost 15m unique browsers to the newspaper's website (see <http://www.newsworks.org.uk/Daily-Mail>), but only the former figure will definitely apply to, predominantly, British readers. Returning to online content, the Daily Mail website did, for example, mark the Hindenburg fire by republishing its original coverage of the disaster in 1937 (Associated Press 2017), although there were no reader comments on the article. Other anniversaries were not marked although during the week analysed, several pieces were published relating to WWII, including an article on the German occupation of the Channel Islands first published online on 7 May, which noted the abuses of prisoners-of-war from elsewhere in Europe, and concentration camp inmates taken there from the continent to work as slave labourers. (Kemp and Weigold 2017) The article received 10 responses, which are intriguing in their different ways. Most (8 of the

10) were from British authors. The first asserted that he 'didn't believe a word of it'; presumably that the atrocities have been relatively little recognised. In the aftermath of the referendum, the second response is almost predictable: 'The first picture [of German troops in the streets of Alderney] could be updated by replacing it with a picture of Merkel and her cronies standing outside of the European Parliament building in Brussels.' Another similarly joked that '...Initially, I did think that the group photograph was of the new German members of the EU.' Another noted how British far right parties often idolise such individuals: 'And yet, these are the people USKIP, BNP and Britain First idolise and indeed at most of their rallies, they do the fascist salute- strange world these holocaust denials.' The responses highlight the anti-EU tendencies of the Mail as a whole (albeit only through a sample of two) as well as a general repugnance for Nazi activities during WWII and should be considered as part of the interpretation of the past being attempted online in a way which is accessible to a wide range of users, including students at school.

Broadsheet sample: Guardian

The Guardian newspaper is in many ways the antithesis of the Mail. It is a left-leaning broadsheet although like the Mail, its articles and responses to them are easily accessible online making it a useful comparison, although in terms of statistics, only c.150,000 copies are produced in print, with c.1.2m users of the newspaper's website (www.newsworks.org.uk/The-Guardian)

In the week analysed, the Guardian's response to historical events included a lengthy article on Osama bin Laden's wives published on 6 May 2017 (Scott-Clark and Levy 2017) which received no comments, as did an article the following day marking the 80th anniversary of the Hindenburg disaster (Walters 2017). The lack of responses compared to the Mail is difficult to analyse but certainly, via newspaper as well as other websites interpretations of the relatively recent past were being offered to readers in the week considered.

COMPARISON OF ONLINE MATERIAL

Certainly, not all online material available to UK readers is equal. Much originates outside the UK; other material is difficult to identify as English is spoken commonly across the globe. Furthermore, there is clearly a difference between material available online for researchers through websites such as rmslusitania.info, and the musings of a respondent to an online newspaper article. Certainly, though, the internet makes good use of visual resources, as both the Guardian and Mail articles on the Hindenburg disaster evidence. It may well be that access to such material, alongside the fact that it was a 'significant' anniversary (the 80th), with one survivor still alive in the US to offer his thoughts on the tragedy, that rather more was made of the event than of, for example, the 310th anniversary of the Act of Union. This suggests a similar set of priorities to those of commissioning editors, and may work in the favour of history teachers as they may provide access to and help in identifying images and film of key events, useful in the classroom.

COMPARISON OF ONLINE AND TELEVISED MATERIAL

Online and televisual representations and discussions of the past shared several common traits in the first week of May 2017. Whilst it is rather easier to identify what was accessible to a British audience, and garner a sense of its popularity through audience figures, it has been possible to a degree to gain a sense of which events were perceived as important to a British web-user, and to consider what they share in common with the periods and places of history depicted on television.

Shared focus - period

Most notably, both television broadcasts and online material tended to focus on C19th and especially C20th history - not only, but including, WWII and events of the same era such as the Hindenburg disaster. This is unsurprising since a large proportion of his-

tory programming on UK (and other) television is similar weighted towards events for which eyewitness testimony, film or photographs are available. Websites too seek AV material and therefore a similar weighting may be found, for example in online press reports also on the Hindenburg.

Shared focus - geographic

It is also the case that British history, followed by US and then European history - the latter largely but not entirely in relation to WWII - was the most popular on television, whilst online material certainly favours national history and international history where the UK has been involved. Where this was not the case, such as for the Hindenburg, the significance of the event at the time, to an Anglophone British ally, alongside a major anniversary on which a survivor could comment, led 2 very different newspaper websites to run articles in the week studied.

Differences - freedom and bigotry

Online representations of the past differ most significantly from television, though, because responses of readers cannot be controlled and, as comments on the Mail's article about the occupation of Alderney reveal, may offer an opportunity for anti-EU (one might add, anti-mainland-Europe) individuals to shape events of the past to fit their view of the present. This, of course, poses a problem for other readers, which goes beyond the issues of accuracy or misuse of images posed by some history documentaries. Instead, the very freedom of the internet, which may be used to the benefit of students if, for example, a website listing useful and accessible resources is drawn together via the E-Story project and Euroclio, can also offer a podium for extremists whose views can reach and influence those learning and teaching history.

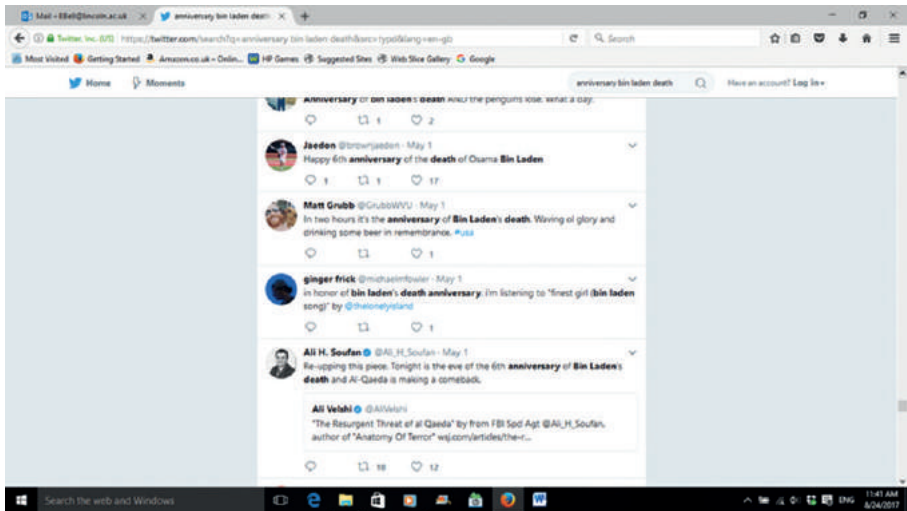
CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

As this report has outlined, a huge number of televised broadcasts referring to the past in some manner were offered to UK viewers in

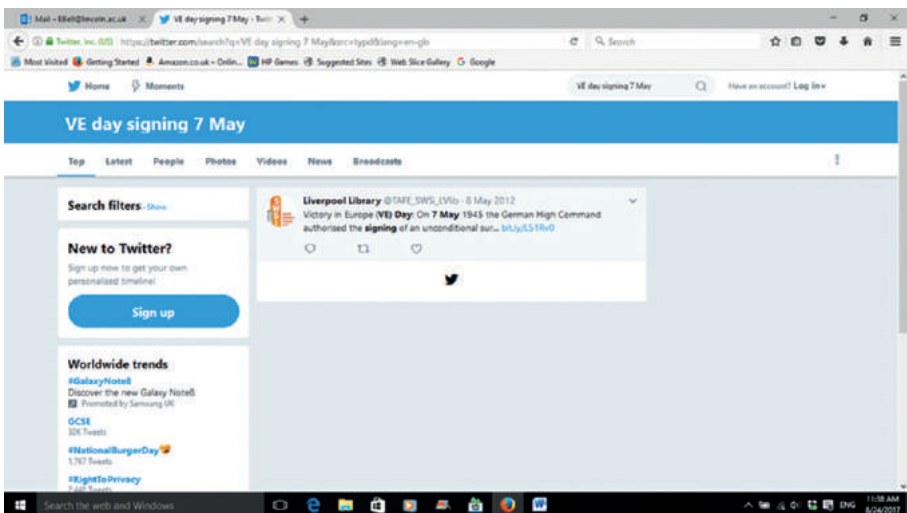
the first week of May 2017. Although the precise length of all of the programming is not available, an estimate suggests that at least 244 hours of history-related programming (an estimate that draws on the different length of broadcast, between 30 minutes for some children's history programming such as the CBBC (Children's BBC) series *Horrible Histories* to much longer broadcasts, for example the film *Zulu* on Sky Cinema Modern Greats, lasting 139 minutes) was broadcast that week. However, it also must be noted that although such programming is also often available online, the websites considered in the second part of this analysis are necessarily available 24/7 and in the main to anyone with an internet connection, demonstrating both the positive potential of the internet for dissemination of AV material and training for its use, but also the less helpful comments of readers who certainly have a right to share their ideas but may on occasion take advantage of the opportunity to express opinions unhelpful (at best) to those seeking information about the past. That the pasts depicted in the UK at least, to be national in tone is probably not unusual, and neither is the tendency towards more recent history, although as the late Raphael Samuel noted, the appearance of historical individuals in photographs and, we might add, films can give a misleading impression that they shared other aspects of our modern mindset. This is especially crucial in a period of national political and economic upheaval post-referendum and pre-Brexit, making it the task of teachers and students of history to recognise this, even when, for example, readers of newspaper articles offered online apparently do not fully appreciate it.

APPENDIX

Screenshots of Twitter pages relating to anniversaries, first week of May 2017, as discussed in report.



Bin Laden death



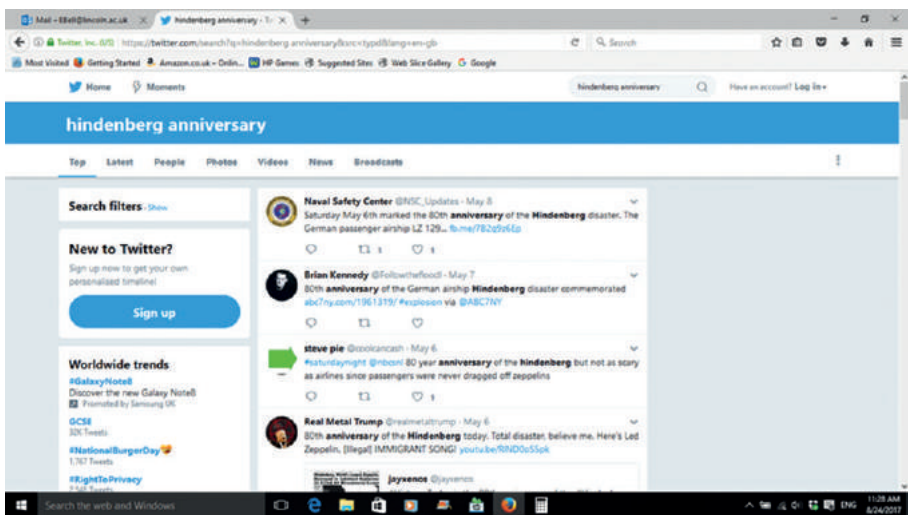
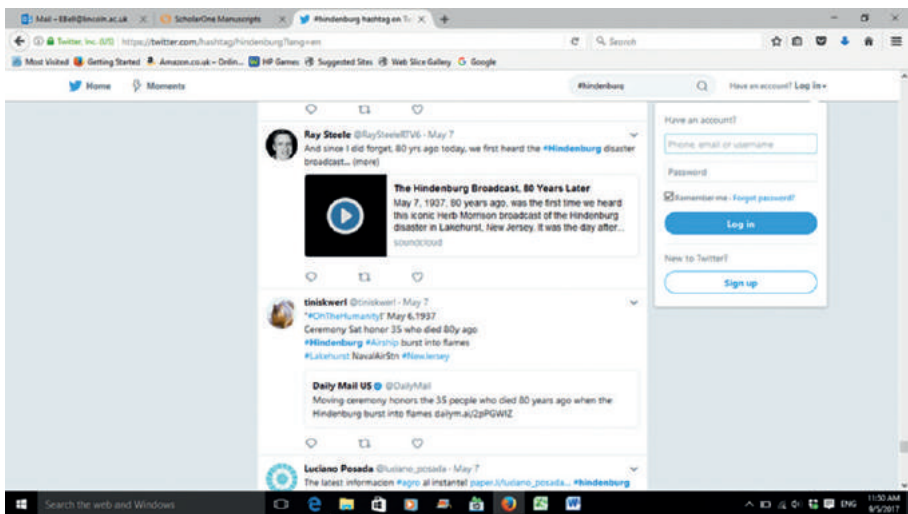
German surrender, May 1945 - note that this is the only comment from a UK source on Twitter, and nothing was added marking the date (7 May) in 2017



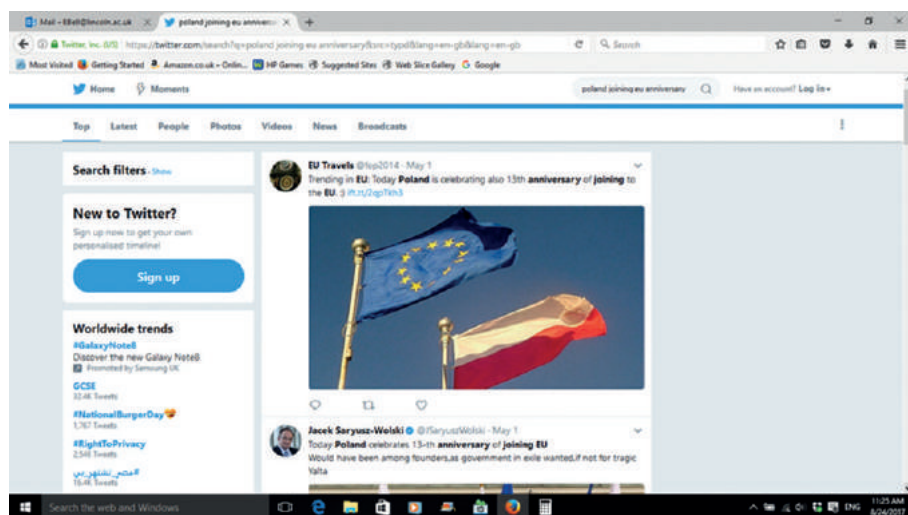
Torpedoing of Lusitania - 25 tweets in total; some from the UK



Act of Union 1707 - 50 tweets, some from the UK



Hindenburg disaster - US and other commentators.
Note also alternative spelling - Hinderberg - on Twitter



Anniversary of extension of EU including Poland

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HISTORY RELATED PROGRAMS IN
HUNGARIAN TV CHANNELS DURING
A SELECTED WEEK

1-7 May, 2017

THE PROGRAMME OF THE PUBLIC CHANNELS

Duna Channel

Short general description of the channel

It is the “national main channel” of the Hungarian public broadcasting system since 15th March 2015. The other public channels had been designated to special programming: news channel, kids channel, sport channel etc. Duna Channel airs historical documentary films (but usually educational documentaries) in the night hours.

More information on the history of Duna Channel (formerly Duna Television): https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duna_TV

History-related programmes of the week

There were no programmes scheduled for this week which would deal directly with either the first of May or the end of the Second World War. Duna Channel showed a German documentary on WWI (May 2, at dawn): *Die Macht der Bilder - Lüge und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg* (German documentary, 2014) (50 mins)

Additionally, the current episodes (usually repetitions) of the running (historical) documentary series included historical themes like *Az én 56-om* / ‘My 1956 Revolution’ (5-minute portraits / interviews with par-

ticipants of the 1956 Hungarian revolution; each day on night hours) and *Hagyaték* / 'Legacy' (documentary programme on Hungarian cultural history and cultural heritage; everyday); and *Magyar történelmi arcképcsarnok* / 'Hungarian Historical Portraits' (on every Saturday, this week the series discussed the life and history of the legendary Hungarian King, Mátyás / Matthias Corvinus from XVth century).

Basically these programmes were all aired during night.

The topics of *Hagyaték* / 'Legacy' documentary / educational programme were the history of Ludovica Academy (Hungary's military high school and academy; cadets training institute prior to 1945); the siege of Budapest in 1945 and the breakout attempt by the German and Hungarian troops from the Red Army's encirclement (an event, neo-Nazis usually commemorate as the 'Day of Honor'); the oeuvre and legacy of Sándor Weöres (Hungarian poet) and Károly Kós (Hungarian architect) and a compilation on Hungarian heroic-historical legends.

M3

Short general description of the channel

M3 is part of the Hungarian public broadcasting system. It was launched in December 2013 as M3 Anno and operates as "retro" channel focusing on archive programmes of the national public television (reruns of successful series, television plays, entertainment programmes and quiz shows but also documentaries and television dramas). The channel is only available on pay TV.

History-related programmes of the week

Időmetszetek / 'Time-segments' (montage-based short compilation documentary programme based on the archives of Hungarian Television and Hungarian News Agency - i.e. montage compilations of photographs with inserted notes / textual information). These films were aired usually during the night. This week the topics were as follows: everyday life in Budapest 1945-1955 and early 1970s; sport events from early 1980s; urban traffic, agricultural life, arts and cultural life in early and mid-1970s; tourism in Hungary in the 1980s.

M5

Short general description of the channel:

M5 is also part of the Hungarian public broadcasting system. It was launched in Autumn 2016. The channel focuses on cultural and educational programmes and documentaries. However, there are not too many programmes in M5 which is dedicated directly to the representation of history and/or the education of historical themes, periods, topic and problems. There are only two programmes which deal with historical and cultural education and one programme which deals with the secrets and events of the 20th century (Soviet) history. The current episodes of these running series were aired but without any connection to WWII or 1st of May.

History-related programmes of the week

Történelem és irodalom mindenkinek: Tőkéczki és Takaró / 'History and literature for everybody: Tőkéczi and Takaró' (Talks and discussions in a studio. It is organized around two well-known conservative, right-wing public intellectuals, László Tőkéczki and Mihály Takaró.) This week two episodes were screened (repeated): the first one discussed the life of István Tisza (Hungarian politician and prime minister at the early 1900s and during WWI), and the second portraying 'Hungarian historical colleges'.

A rejtélyes XX. század / 'Mysterious 20th Century' (educational documentary series by the professor of Soviet/Russian history, Miklós Kun) This week the series discussed the everyday and politics of the early Khrushchev regime, and a history of a coup against the Soviet party leader - See our detailed analysis of this series in our earlier Observatory Report (Sept 2016).

THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMERCIAL CHANNELS

RTL Klub

Short general description of the channel:

RTL Klub is Hungary's leading commercial television station, founded in 1997. The station is owned by the Luxemburg-based RTL Media Group. The channel's main target group is young urban population.

History-related programmes of the week

XXI. század / '21st Century' (a 25-minute long educational/entertainment programme broadcasted weekly. The topics of the programme almost always connected exclusively to the (cultural and political) history of the 20th/21st century. This week the topic was the cultural politics and censorship in Hungary during Socialism.) - See the detailed analysis of this series in our earlier Observatory Report (Sept 2016).

TV2

Short general description of the channel:

TV2 is the second largest commercial television station in Hungary, which has been operating since 1997. Originally it was owned by the German media conglomerate ProSiebenSat1. After a series of changes in the structure of ownership, TV2 was bought in 2015 by entrepreneurs closely aligned with Fidesz, the governing right-wing party in Hungary. Since the takeover, the station's news programs broadcast tabloid-style government propaganda.

There were no programmes which were connected to history this week.

THE REPRESENTATION OF HISTORY IN HUNGARIAN TV CHANNELS' NEWS PROGRAMMES DURING A SELECTED WEEK - 1/7 MAY, 2017

HISTORY AND NEWS ON TELEVISION - MAY 1/MAY 8, 2017

The news shows of the three national channels in Hungary, similar to the contemporary Hungarian political landscape show a radical polarization according to political affiliations. M1 is the official non-commercial station of the Hungarian Television, and this channel has in the last eight years been transformed into an uncritical outlet of the current government. TV2 is owned by businessmen loyal to the current government. Thus, these two stations function according to the perceived political benefits of Orbán's party, Fidesz. While M1 attempts to create the impression of a more or less informative news station, TV2 runs unabashed tabloid-style news only. On the other hand, RTL Klub in the last few years broadcasts anti-

government oriented news shows, mainly because the channel resisted take-over attempts by the businessmen close to the current government. The station has been hit by special taxes by the legislation.

This framework explains why each time history is mentioned in these stations, these news items serve contemporary political goals. As the below listing shows, history has become another battleground in Hungarian internal politics, and these topics related to history are fed to the public to connect political opponents with the pre-1989 state socialist system, thereby discrediting them.

MAY 1 - NEWS SHOWS OF THE NATIONAL CHANNELS

M1

- brief mentioning of the anniversary of Hungary joining to the EU via the demonstration of the opposition party, Momentum.
- RTL Klub
- brief reference to the fact that Hungary joined the EU on this date in 2004 via the demonstration of the opposition party Momentum. Momentum is a small liberal party not associated with any parliamentary parties of the post-1989 era, that has gained visibility through its insistence of and messages on transparency, and its anti-corruption position. It uses “European-ness” as the central framework to argue that the Hungarian political establishment (both Left and Right) needs to be replaced. The demonstration of the party on this date therefore plays symbolic role, pointing at the need to “Europeanize” Hungarian political life.
- the president of a charity organization has been accused of having worked as an informant of the state socialist secret services. This is discussed in the context of how state socialist services attempted to corrupt priest, who were generally regarded as ideological opponents of the official political orientation. Collaborating priest informed the state on the workings of various other priests. The report mentions that PM Orbán’s wife is an ambassador for the charity organization.

TV2

No historical topic

MAY 2 - NEWS SHOWS OF THE NATIONAL CHANNELS:

M1

- no historical topic

RTL Klub

- coverage on the Momentum demonstration from May 1, on the 13th anniversary of Hungary's ascent to the EU

TV2

- no historical topics

MAY 3 - NEWS SHOWS OF THE NATIONAL CHANNELS

M1

- no historical topic

RTL Klub

- governmental politicians do not see a problem in the fact that the president of the charity organisation "Ökumenikus Segélyszervezet (HIA Hungary)", László Lehel has been revealed as the collaborator with the pre-1989 state socialist secret services.
- according to the historian Krisztián Ungváry, Gyula Horn, the PM of Hungary between 1994-1998 worked as an agent for the state socialist government. The historian has published this information in order to underline that without the widespread and systematic opening up of the state archives on agents and collaborators, politicians remain vulnerable to blackmailing. The news is contextualizing through a detailed report of Horn's political career from the 1950s until his role as PM of the country in the 1990s.

TV2

- no historical topic

MAY 4 - NEWS SHOWS OF THE NATIONAL CHANNELS

M1

- no historical topic

RTL Klub

- no historical topic

TV2

- no historical topic

MAY 5 - NEWS SHOWS OF THE NATIONAL CHANNELS

M1

- no historical topic

RTL Klub

- László Lehel, president of a charity organization has admitted that he has collaborated with the pre-1989 state socialist secret services. The former informant stated that he was asked to consult with the services about matters beneficial to the evangelical church at the time. Lehel states that he was not asked to report on any individual specifically. An interviewed historian confirms this possibility. Lehel has publically apologized for his actions in the past.

TV2

- no historical topic

MAY 6 - NEWS SHOWS OF THE NATIONAL CHANNELS

M1

- no historical topic

RTL Klub

- no historical topic

TV2

- no historical topic

MAY 7 - NEWS SHOWS OF THE NATIONAL CHANNELS

M1

- no historical topic

RTL Klub

- no historical topic

TV2

- no historical topic

REACTIONS AND CONNECTIONS OF WEB CONTENT TO HISTORY RELATED MATERIALS ON HUNGARIAN TV CHANNELS ANALISYS OF A SELECTED WEEK

1-7 MAY, 2017

As you can see from our report on TV programmes, history related content has basically disappeared from Hungarian television in the course of the ten years since we first studied the topic. History related programmes are extremely rare, and most of them are repetitions of old educational programmes, or series that do not have any potential to provoke any reactions from the audience. Most of them are simply used as material to fill out broadcast time, usually during the late or very early hours in the programme.

Because of this, it is impossible to find any meaningful connection to this non-existent historical material on the internet. Years ago, there used to be some historical programmes that had websites, or even printed versions / follow-ups as printed journals. Nothing like that exists anymore. The very drastic and aggressive offensive by the governing party of Hungary against media outlets, the takeover of TV channels by government backed investors, made the Hungarian media (not

only TV channels, but the radio and daily newspaper market as well) a propaganda machine of the governing party. Meaningful and quality programming is not part of this concept.

Meanwhile, we tried to find any meaningful trace or reactions on the web to historical topics on TV, the only thing that is worth to mention was related to fictional programming. Although, it is not part of our current research, we believe it is worth to mention. This (very small) discussion took place during this last summer, it started with an interview with a Hungarian historian in one of the printed weekly political magazines.

Professor Pál Fodor, expert of Turkish history and director of the Humanities Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, gave an interview to *Válasz* magazine.⁽¹⁾

The whole interview was focusing on his proposal to the Hungarian government, television channels, and the film maker community, that suggested that popular, Hungarian history related series should be produced. He was referring to the enormous success of the Turkish produced historical TV series, *Suleiman*. This series is running on Hungarian TV-channels, and is very successful. The series has a huge following on social media, and the actors of the series have gained celebrity status among Hungarian audiences.

The irony of the situation is that the series tells (a very romanticised version) of a history that was actually, in real life, one of the most devastating times in Hungarian history. The Osman Empire had a not so romantic affair with the history of Hungary.

The reactions, the non-reflective following of the series on social media is a clear indication that the general audience is not aware of the irony of the situation, they have basically no knowledge about Turkish-Hungarian history, that would help them to view these series with more criticism. These series build a very romanticised picture about a benevolent, romance led Osman Empire.

1) <http://valasz.hu/itthon/szulejman-helyett-magyar-tortenelmi-filmeket-124115> (11 June 2017)

Hence, the historian was complaining that thanks to these very popular series the Hungarian audience will see their own history through the lens of a neo-Osman idealism. And his suggestion was to start to produce popular historical series about Hungarian history. For example, as he said, the 15th century itself, that is the beginning of the struggle against the Osman Empire, would be a very good topic, since it is full of adventurous stories, great historical figures, grandiose battles, and so on.

Actually, no reactions from the film making community and financing bodies, whether they intend to produce such programmes.

POLISH MEDIA MONITORING

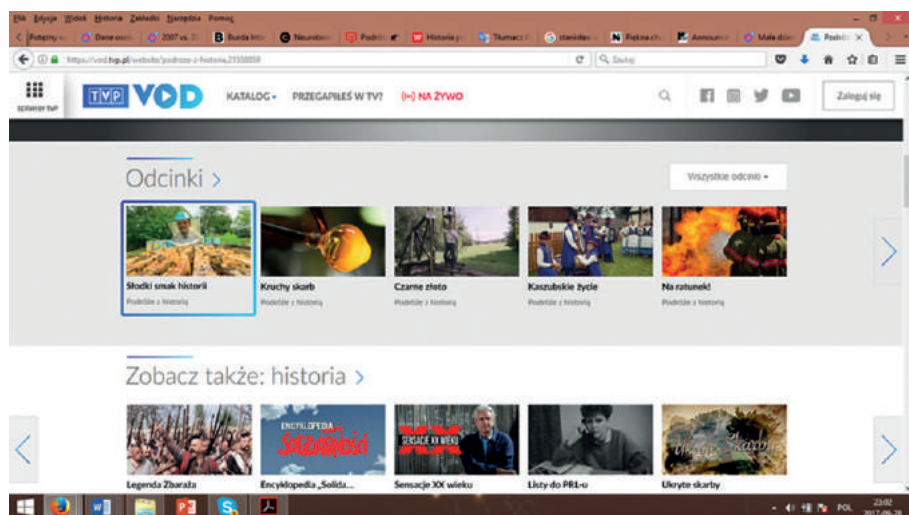
week of 1-7 May 2017**1. GENERAL REMARKS: HISTORY
AND METHODOLOGY**

Polish public television - TVP - now is a network consists of 13 national and local / regional stations (a net of TVP3), and also HD version of TVP, which offer is different from the TVP1 channel and availability of it is restricted. For analysis some channels were excluded, the local ones TVP HD, a channel for kids (TVP ABC), etc. "Public" means here mission, however, in works as hybrid of free access (but it is free for subscribers) television and commercial one (in every channel of the network there are commercial breaks). "Free" means that the signal is obtainable in the whole Polish territory, and it is available for everyone who installs the appropriate antenna at home. Anyone who receives the TVP programming is obliged to pay yearly or monthly subscription. A lot of viewers do not do that, explaining that they pay subscription for cable TV, or that they do not watch TVP at all (for political reasons, because of boring and out-of-date offer, because of the commercials which deny the public mission, etc.). The Polish government tries to find the solution to this problem, so far - unsuccessfully.

Polish public television production is available in the internet via VOD⁽¹⁾, or it is located on the YouTube or CDA portals. The procedure of research was simple, I traced the programming and some comments in

1) E.g. <https://vod.tvp.pl/website/podroze-z-historia,21558859>

the net. Some TV channels and special programming have their own sites on Facebook, some parts of programming are present on Twitter, etc. Moreover, I was also looking for special services connected with the special May' celebrations, or with history as such, which were published or commented during the mention week. The information about TV series and some feature films is provided in the following services: www.filmweb.pl, www.filmpolski.pl, some of them can be also recognized in the www.imdb.com.



Print screen of the site of VOD TVP

The first week of May in Poland is full of national holidays, commemoration days etc. May 1, the international workers day, widely celebrated during the Polish People's Republic era, still is free from work, despite the lack of organized, crowded marches (during some periods of PPR the participation in this march was obligatory even to everyone: from the primary school pupils to pensioners). Some historical information about this day are provided by media. May 2 is a Flag Day (introduced in 2004), it is not free from work day, but it is celebrated in media: the origin of Polish flag, the most important historical figures associated with patriotism and Polishness are presented in media. May 3 - is devoted to celebration the first democratic constitution, so, it is the

Constitution of May 3 Day. Let me remind that in Polish social life the beginning of May is called “majówka”: “picnic” or short vacation in May, because a lot of people decide to ask for free day on May 2.

May 4 is not so popular as the other celebrations, but in Poland the Fireman’s Day, and also the day of the steelworker. The next day is not connected with historical events, either, May 5 is the International Day of Protection of Persons’ with Disabilities Rights (not so popular in Poland as the Fireman’s Day). May 6 and May 7 are free from any celebration in Poland, however in television programming one can expect the Victory Day information and movies, and in the net one can find some articles about it to start the debate.

Public TV in Poland is still devoted to the educational tasks of the mission. Special sections of the programming are prepared especially for these purposes. Referring to history, some materials are of entertaining character, such as feature movies or reportages from historical locations or from reconstructions of the historical events.

Table 1
Time dedicated to historical programming
during the week of May 1-7, 2017

Day	Total time	Historical Fiction	Documentaries
May 1	40 h 10 m	27 h 22 m	12 h 48 m
May 2	38 h 40 m	22 h 50 m	15 h 50 m
May 3	47 h 52 m	22 h 11 m	25 h 41 m
May 4	22 h 20 m	8 h 04 m	14 h 16 m
May 5	23 h 39 m	10 h 30 m	13 h 09 m
May 6	9 h 29 m	3 h 02 m	6 h 27 m
May 7	12 h 31 m	2 h 10 m	10 h 21 m
Total	194 h 41m	96 h 09 m	98 h 32 m

Summarizing all the programming during the monitoring week, totally 194 hours and 41 minutes of shows focused on history were broadcast. It makes more than one week (even more than 8 days!), and it is not a mistake - some programs were repeated, and some channels broadcast for 24 hours daily. In this number of hours slightly more time was dedicated to the general category of "documentaries" (98 hours and 32 minutes), embracing all productions based on reality, including reportage and feature reconstruction of events for educational purposes. During 96 hours and 9 minutes, feature shows such as TV series and movies were broadcast. The data provided above show that the beginning of this week was really uploaded with history, what was connected with some holidays mentioned in the first paragraph. During the weekend it seems that history does not build the programming, it is not as entertaining as the other topics. What is significant - even TVP Historia, dedicated to popularizing history, during the weekend organized the "relax" from history (see the tables below), instead, travelogue, documentaries on nature, and some entertaining positions appeared in the programming. The most representative to presentation history during "regular" day in the week seem to be Thursday and Friday (May 5 and May 6). In comparison with the three holidays, the hours of historical programming have decreased twice. However, in comparison to the weekend days - the number of hours is almost doubled.

Considering the periods of history, the least popular were distant epochs such as the ancient times or Renaissance, the most popular - was 20th century (I took into account the contemporary history up to the end of cold war in 1989). From the 20th century WW2 was discussed and presented the most frequently during the monitoring period.

9 positions in the whole week were devoted to the ancient times (9 hours 36 minutes) 6 original, 3 positions were repeated. Only 10 positions were on the Medieval history (9 original, and 1 repetition) - 6 hours 29 minutes; mostly on the Polish history. To Renaissance 7

hours 18 minutes were devoted in the programming, including 7 original shows and 1 repetition. From all this shows only one was connected to Poland, only 28 minutes, the rest of programming, mostly entertaining, was on the foreign culture.

11 positions of programming were devoted to 17th century historical events or the narrative of the movies and TV series was located in this period. 1 hour 46 minutes of documentaries, including 1 repetition; and 8 hours and 8 minutes of feature movies or episodes of television series, 2 repetitions. The fiction here was based on Henryk Sienkiewicz novels on the Polish cavalry and nobles involved in the fights for security of boarderlands, some politics is also discussed, and real historical characters and events, such as Bogdan Chmielnicki and the Cossack Rebellion (the Khmelnytsky Uprising).

10 hours 18 minutes dedicated to the memories of 18th century, broadcast mainly during the Constitution Day (May 3), covered some life events, debates, and the other programming based on reality. 10 original programs and 2 repetitions were offered by the public television.

Referring to the 19th century, 15 positions were devoted to its problems. 9 positions were dedicated to WW1, 34 describes the interbellum period, 73 different programs talk about WW2. The postwar era was portrayed in 28 shows, and the rest of the statistics goes to the general historical interest, cross-sectional topics, etc.

In the public television - the majority of shows were of domestic production, but not so new. Some of the feature films, TV series, documentaries are present in the net, sometimes they were put on the internet sites and portals even 6 years ago.

2. HISTORY IN POLISH PUBLIC TELEVISION DURING THE WEEK OF MAY 1 - MAY 7, 2017

MAY 1, 2017

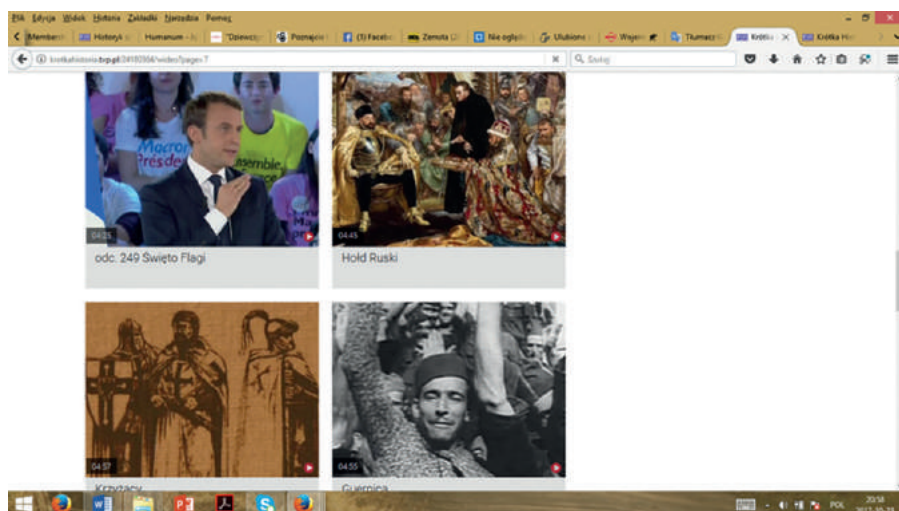
During the first day of May public TV programming was loaded with histor-

ical materials. Important element here was the series of reportages from Lwów²⁾ (*Picnic in Lwów*), broadcast by channel TVP1, focused on tradition, Polish roots and character of some places, and historical changes in this region. The series was rebroadcast later in the TVPolonia programming.

There were also some points in the day schedule dedicated to the historical movies, or TV series. The first was *W pustyni i w puszczy* (*In Desert and Wilderness*) and the other one *Ogniem i mieczem* / *With Fire and Sword*. Two miniseries based on the original movies. The first is TV series based on the Polish Nobel Prize winner Henryk Sienkiewicz' adventure novel *W pustyni i w puszczy* (*In Desert and Wilderness*). The action is located in Africa, in the 19th century, during the Mahdi uprising in Sudan (the Mahdist War 1881-1899). I'm not sure, if this position can be treated as historical, but definitely - it is located on the historical background. The other TV miniseries was also produced as an adaptation of Henryk Sienkiewicz novel, *Ogniem i mieczem*, which is a part of well-known trilogy of Polish noble culture, wars of 17th century on the Polish territories during this time, life style and tradition, etc. In the other channel, TVP Seriale, the last part of the trilogy was presented (Pan Wołodyjowski / *Sir Michael*, dir. Jerzy Hoffman), so one can say that the day was dedicated to Henryk Sienkiewicz as an author.

One comment here is needed, I include *Zaklęty dwór* TV series (mentioned in the table above) despite its entertaining character but due to its attempt to provide deeper understanding of historical epoch and events prior to the Spring of Nations in 1848. This series presents historical events, trends, phenomena, such as conspiracy against the Habsburg Austrian Empire on the Polish land (during the Partition era) from human perspective, not in the textbook style. Panorama of characters, personal conflicts, satirical vision of society, intrigue and betrayal, friendship and solidarity build the narration, political issues serve here to support the main story.

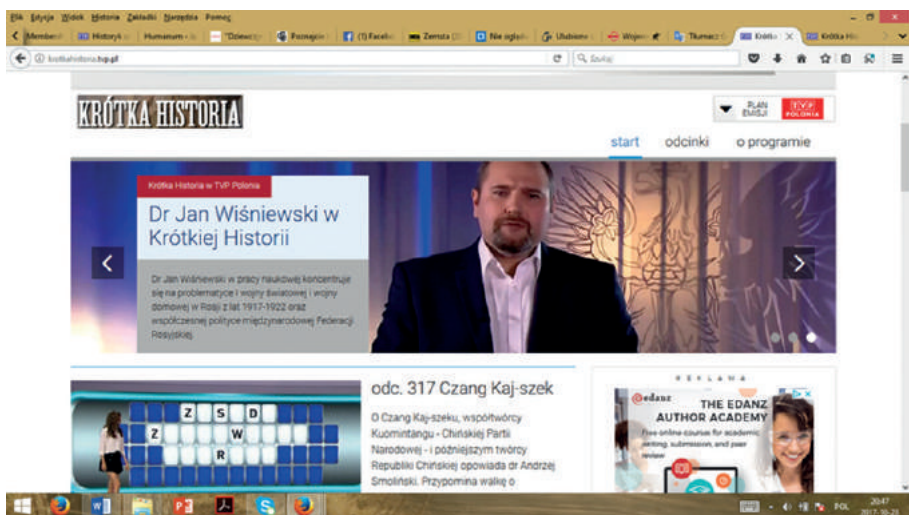
2) Since the end of WW2 Lwów belongs to Ukraine. In Polish history it was important cultural center, and a part of region called Kresy.



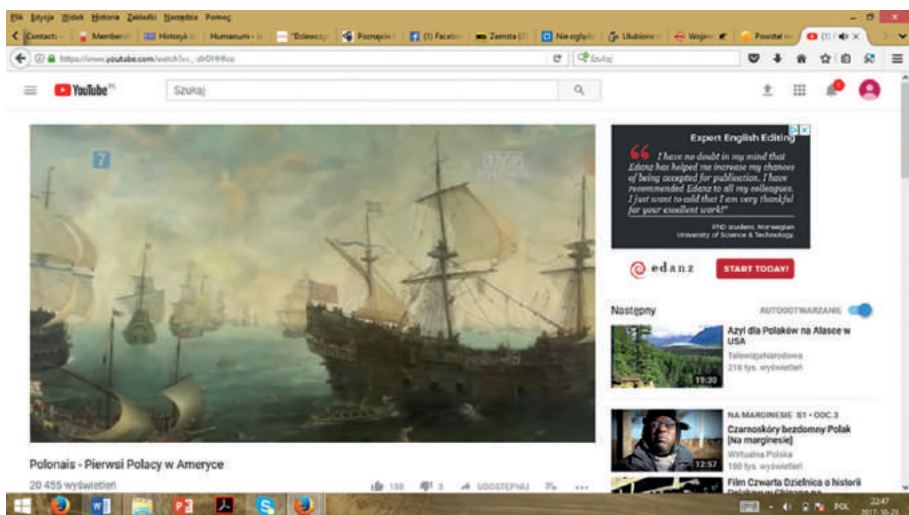
Print screen from the site of the Short story documentary series

The series “Krótka historia” (*Short history*) consists of more than 300 episodes, however not all of them are numbered, some of them, especially of the beginning of production are simply entitled, showing the topic of presentation. The most of them are available for free on the site: <http://krotkahistoria.tvp.pl/24180364/wideo>.

The stories are told by historians (university professors), and the visual layer is built from photographs, pictures, films on some objects, historical events, etc. During the monitoring week different episodes from the series appeared 16 times in the television offer (some of them in form of repetition, of course). The series is devoted to popularizing Polish national history.



The print screen from the homepage of the documentary series
“Krótka historia” (Short history)



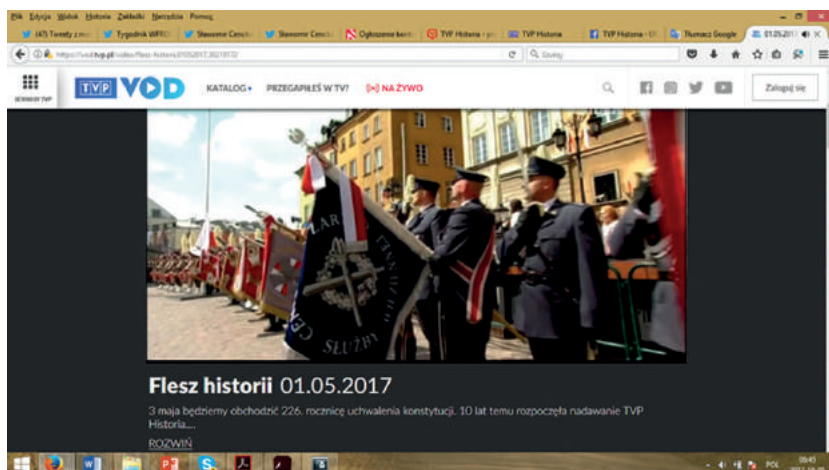
Print screen of the documentary *Poloniais*

Positions from public television programming are present also on YouTube. The documentary *Poloniais* on the Polish pioneers in America (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-zlrOHHfco>) was screened 20 455 times on YouTube since December 2014, the audience here is quite impressive (as for

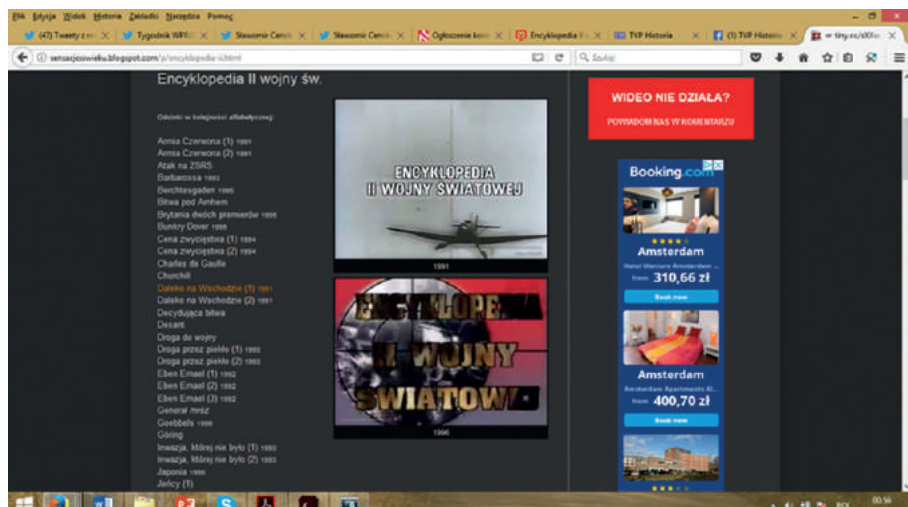
documentary), however not so active. All 22 comments were in Polish, supposedly then the viewers were only Poles, the main language of this international production is Polish, in the background one can hear English narrative. It is the presentation of almost unknown story of Zbigniew Stefański from Włocławek and his companions, who as the Polish immigrants came to America in 1608 on the ship “Mary and Margaret”.

The television biographical series *Marszałek Piłsudski* is available in YouTube, the first episode has the biggest audience (50 655 screenings from 2015); the next episodes are not so popular (15 931 screenings of the episode 2, and the audience between 14 000 to 18 000 had watched the other episodes of the series). It is also the rule for other Polish historical TV series. Historical fiction in the form of TV series is also much more popular

The program „Był taki dzień...” *It was such a day...* was advertised in the TV guide (“Telemagazyn”) as the show which is referring to October 20, what is unusual because the channel presents episodes on the appropriate day. During the whole week different episodes were presented, however in the TV guide the detail information was not provided. The series of very short commemoration of different events is also available in the net: <http://www.tvp.pl/portal-edukacyjny/historia/byl-taki-dzien/wideo>.



Print screen of the advertising the program “Flesz historii” (A history flash), which was devoted to the anniversary of the TVP Historia channel



Print screen of the homepage of the program *Encyklopedia II wojny światowej* with the list of episodes and original titles (in the TV programming the episodes could be named differently)

The program *Encyclopedia of World War II* is popular among the internet users, the episode on the screen has more than 60 000 screenings, however, not during our monitoring week, but during some period of time. The comments to particular parts of this television series, or to the other series such as *Sensacje XX wieku* (*Sensations of 20th century*) were also gathered through years. Therefore, it is impossible to analyze any influence of the programming (or particular episodes) on viewers. The numbers of screenings could be also confusing - it is not mentioned how many people were reached by the program. Some admirers of these or other series, movies, clips, etc., could watch more than one time, the program can be also used by teachers during classes, and no one can predict the possible and reliable number of viewers. The choice of "Stawka większa niż życie" (*More Than Life at Stake*) could be considered as controversial, because it is typical sensational story. Espionage during the WW2 was absolutely fictional here, however some episodes from this war were include into the story, and for researcher the metanarrative is interesting. The vision of enemy and

friend is rooted in the communist propaganda. Sensational, adventure character of the story served to propagate special historical vision, and was the main reason of popularity of this TV series.

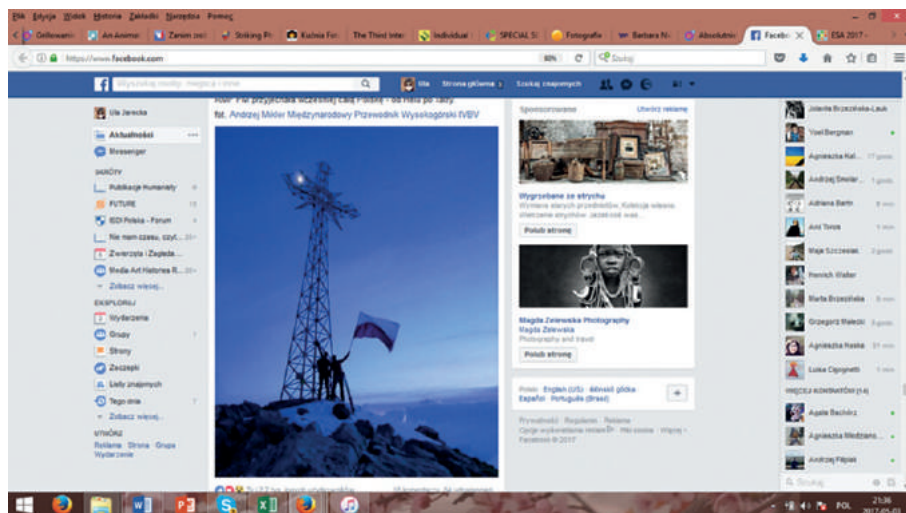
May 2, 2017

Data connected with Polish national flag, colors, and history of flag were provided in the news in all TV channels, of private and public networks. However, the celebration was not so important as the dramatic condition of the Royal Castle in Warsaw. The picture of two soldiers who paid honors and holded watch to the Polish national flag on the balcony of this castle, on the background of fallen plaster were presented constantly in the commercial media, and the discourse revolved around the lack of respect to the national heritage presented by our minister of culture. Subsequently, the internet discussions in the liberal or left wing media, quickly went astray, focusing on political fight and negative emotions than on national values. Internet users also participated in this culture of political hate. I mentioned this, because history in the Polish media could be used for political purposes by any political force. The discussions on the television programming or the particular positions broadcast in public or private media are not so vivid as those focused on political issues.



During this day a flag can be used for decoration of some significant object - such as the Unknown Soldier Monument in Warsaw. (photo by UJ)

Common users of social media celebrate by publishing their own pictures of flag in different places, however, the historical content of this type of posts is rather minimal. People who put their posts on this occasion manifest their patriotic feelings, not their historical knowledge or love of history.

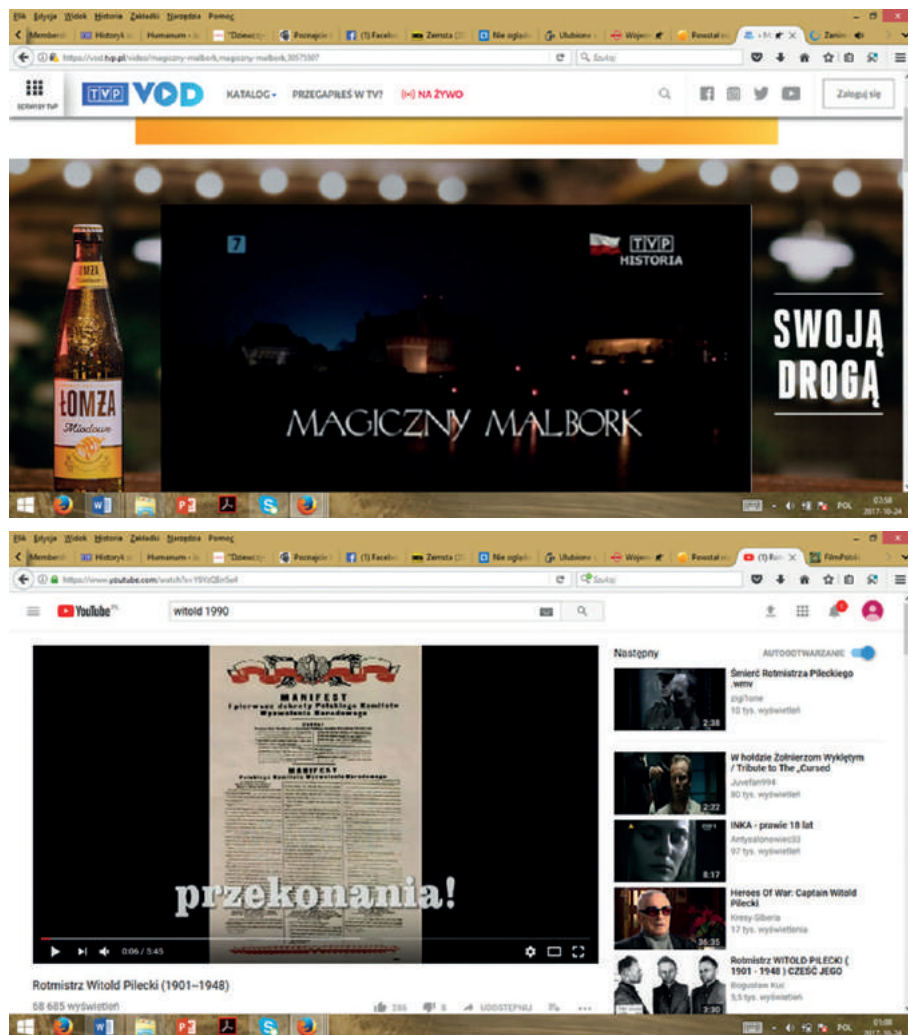


Print screen from Facebook post of Tatromaniak (the portal of mountains admirers), and the flag here is presented on the background of a cross on Giewont, very popular, iconic pick in the Tatra mountains

Some television programming are available for free on VoD, the public television internet site. “Free” means here a lot of commercials before beginning of the movie, and also inside. The following position, “Magiczny Malbork” *Magical city of Malbork* is framed with ads which are not desirable in education - such as the below advertising of Polish beer. However, the user can adjust the picture to full screen size to avoid the frame, but the quality is not so good as in the smaller picture format. The information about the availability period and the date of location the documentary on the site is not put here. Viewer can guess that it was after screening during the national holidays (the icon of Polish flag is added to the logo of TVP Historia).

The movie *Witold* is not available in the net, the information is presented in the different film services such as Film Polski: <http://www.filmopol->

ski.pl/fp/index.php?film=1231841. However, the hero is still very popular, on YouTube there are a lot of short documentaries, small clips, etc. dedicated life, bravery, and tragic fate of rotmistrz Witold Pilecki.



Historical epochs are mixed, topics as well. It can be considered as a programming without any special intent, however one can also find it interesting to the differentiated audience, to people who are interested in war, in heroism, or in cultural heritage.

May 3, 2017

At the beginning it's good to repeat a set of information about this holiday: it refers to the adoption by the Polish parliament (Sejm) resolution of the first modern constitution in 1791, which is called "Constitution of May 3". The importance of reforms introduced by the "Great Sejm", democratic solutions to some social issues were influential in Europe, even though it was adopted during the Partitions of Poland era. In the 20th century it had been celebrated since 1919, during the interwar period. However, after the end of the WW2, during the Polish People's Republic era the celebration was not continued, instead, the May 1st was celebrated as the workers day. This holiday was introduced in 1990 anew, one year after the beginning of system transformation.



Frozen frame from TVN morning program Dzień dobry TVN, In different television channels speakers wear cotillions to stress the solemn character of celebration

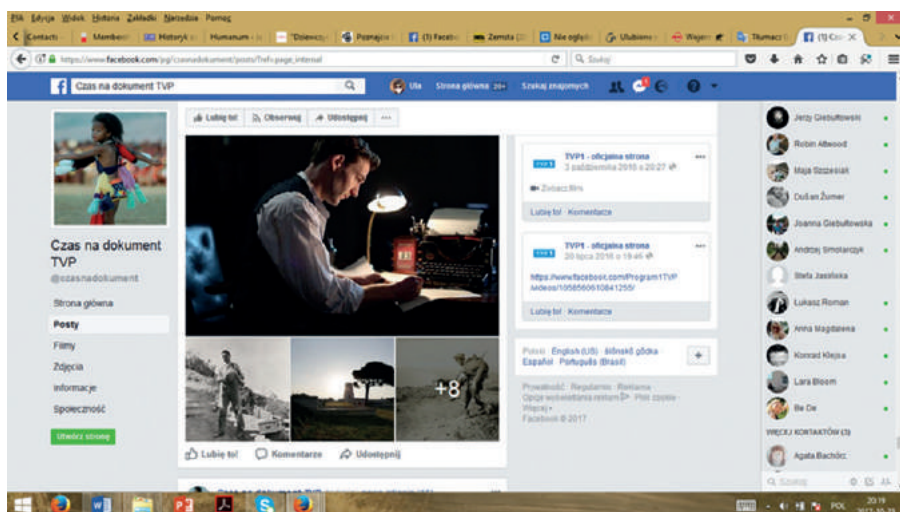
In some TV channels public (e.g. TVP Kultura) or commercial (e.g. Polsat), nothing connected to the anniversary was broadcast (no documentary or fiction stories, however in the news the Constitution Day was mentioned.

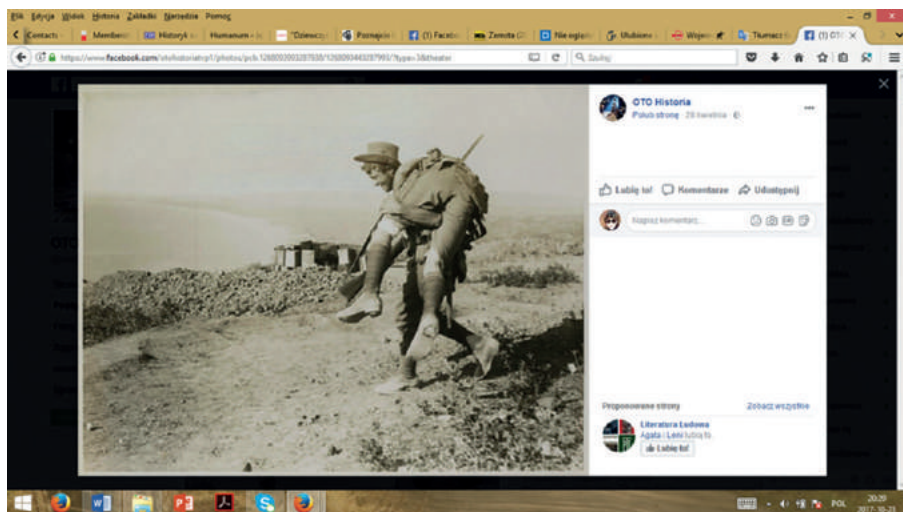
MIRRORING OF SOME TV SHOWS IN THE NET

What is interesting - almost all public television programs or series of programs have their promotion also in the net. However, it is hard to say, if it is effective.

The above print screen shows some information and photographs from the documentary devoted to Tadeusz Kościuszko (*Kościuszko: Człowiek, który wyprzedził swoje czasy/ Kosciuszko: A Man Before His Time* dir. Alex Storożyński, USA 2014) posted on Facebook May 2, the day before broadcast. Zero comments here and only 3 likes.

The documentary was broadcast in the series "Czas na dokument TVP" (*Time for the documentary TVP*), the previous in the series was the documentary *Gallipoli - when Murdoch went to War* (broadcast on May 1, and in topic and character it has nothing in common with the workers day). And the same problem appeared - nobody commented the documentary, but here nobody likes it either.



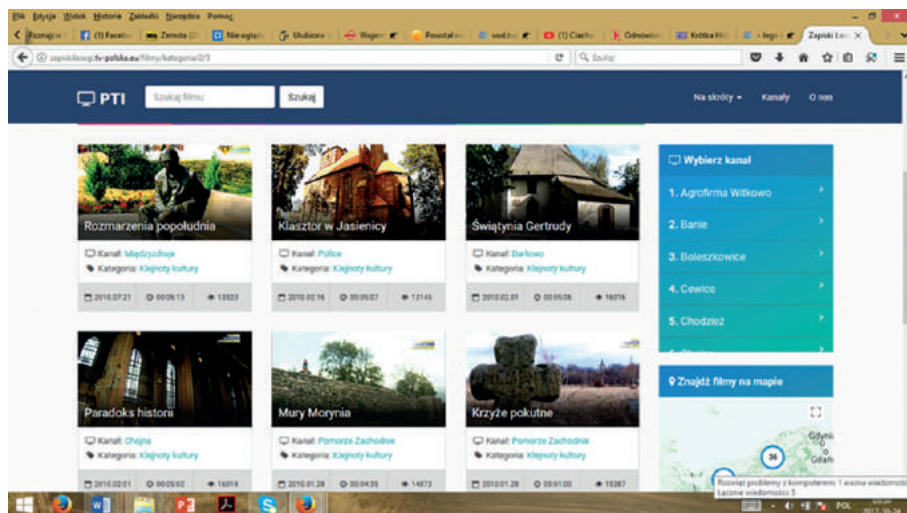


The movie on the beginning of Murdoch empire was advertised also in the different site “Oto historia” (*Here is History*) on Facebook with the same result, i.e. zero reaction from the internet users. This title is present in the net as a point in the archival TV guides.

From the whole offer of TVP Polonia I chose to describe positions referring to Tadeusz Kościuszko, and *Zapiski Łazęgi*⁽³⁾ *Notes of gada-bout*. The latter is a television series produced by AlfaTV (Wytwórnia Telewizyjno - Filmowa ALFA Sp. z o.o.) for Polska Telewizja Internetowa (Polish Internet Television). The channel *Zapiski Łazęgi* is also present on Facebook⁽⁴⁾, and some episodes of the series are broadcast also by local channels of public television (e.g. TVP Szczecin). Topics varied from popularization of the local, regional attractions of natural environment, to the treasures of cultural heritage of a given region. The short clips and the space of social reportages participate in creating memory.

3) <http://zapiskilazegi.tv-polska.eu/>

4) <https://www.facebook.com/PolskaTelewizjaInternet>



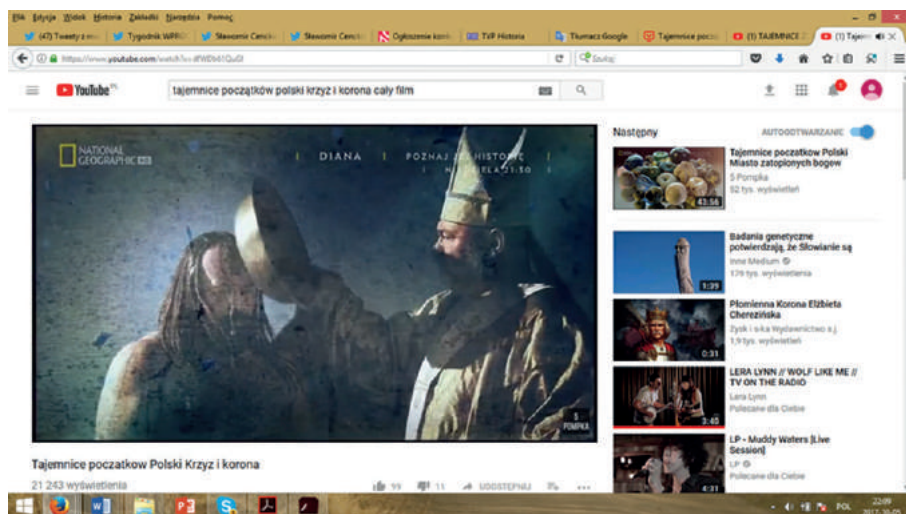
Tadeusz Kościuszko is an obvious hero connected to the first Constitution and fights for Polish nationality, Polish independence, democracy, etc. This year, 2017, was pronounced the Kościuszko' year, it is the 200 anniversary of his death in October (some exhibitions, celebrations and special events have been organized in Cracow, Warsaw, and the other cities), and in the television programming his life is popularizing as well. Kościuszko is also present in a lot of documentaries in the net, during the searching of the particular documentaries such as *Jego imię Polska. Tadeusz Kościuszko/ His name is Poland. Tadeusz Kościuszko*, it is easy to find a lot of audiovisual products of different quality and origin.

The most popular film on Kościuszko on YouTube was propagated by Wojtek Drewniak, the author of pop-historical books and creator of series "Historia Bez Cenzury" (*History without Censorship*). The show "Ciacho i bestia - Tadeusz Kościuszko"/ *Hotty and the Beast - Tadeusz Kościuszko*⁵⁾ was watched 741 370 times since 2014, gathered 12 000 likes, and 453 comments. The show has entertaining character, it is not educational in traditional sense of education, the style of presentation is definitely more cabaret-like than academic-like. One can learn some "facts" about Kościuszko

5) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KpuKIUVmUiY&t=231s>

love life of, his financial problems, etc. Every episode of this series precedes the special warning about the harmful effect (on some sensitive viewers) of the language used in the program and presented facts.

In TVP Historia offer during the Constitution Day a lot programs deserves comments, however there is no space for in-deep analysis here. The first chosen program to short description is Tajemnice początków Polski/ *Secrets of the origins of Poland*, because some of the episodes were presented during the monitoring week. This episode is available also on the VoD TVP⁽⁶⁾. The series was produced to commemorate the anniversary of the Baptism of Poland in 966. During the May 3 programming the first episode was broadcast, entitled “Wyspa władców” (*The Island of Rulers*). The form of this show is quite unusual and interesting, the animation, feature film techniques and documentary style were involved in creation of this series. It was popular among audience last year, during the commemoration of national holiday. The logic behind the choice of this series during that week is obvious - we celebrate not only the Constitution of 1791, but our national pride and history as well.



A print screen from the YouTube version of the movie, screened more than 21 000 times

6) <https://vod.tvp.pl/video/tajemnice-poczatkow-polski,wyspa-wladcow,8610807>



A frozen frame from the program „Draża - czetnik” *Legenda Kresów/ Draża. Legend of the Boarderlands* (May 3, 2017) with logo celebrating 10 years of TVP Historia

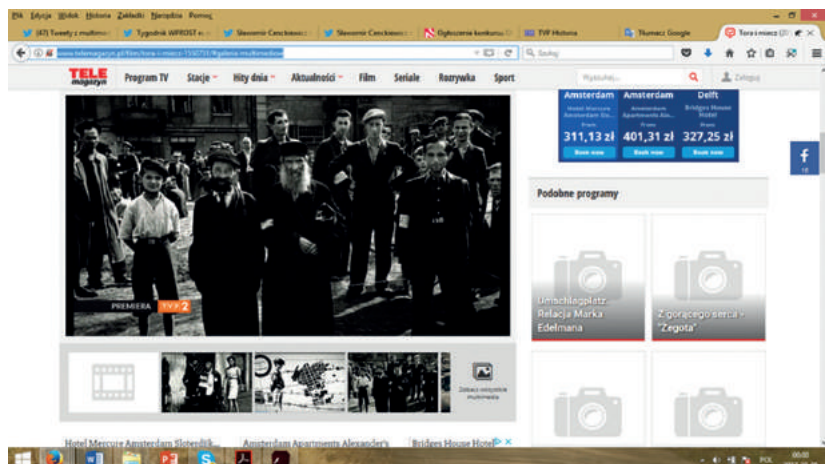
The movie mentioned above is interesting from different points of views. First is the presentation of the documentary during our national celebration. It could be the gesture toward multicultural tradition of prewar Poland, and traditions of Polish honor and sense of justice. Another one is connected with its form and production, in the one can find information about this documentary from the point of view of its creators, journalists, bloggers⁷⁾. It means special net-life of the movie, despite the lack of comments from the audience.

MAY 4, 2017

In the news in all stations - public and commercial ones - the echo of the Constitution of May 3 celebration appeared; however, history was not so important as current political “skirmishes”; and in some commercial stations the criticism of the Polish President Andrzej Duda (named PAD) and the ruling party Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice) dominated the news rhetoric. TVP1 during this day almost forgot about history. Only two positions

- 7) A trailer, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HCQUYdJ49W0>; one of the articles: http://www.stargard.cerkiew.pl/news_history.php?id_n=4&id=27; press information in English: <http://www.militaryfilmfestival.pl/dra379a-czetnik-legenda-kreso-acutew.html>; and some other sites on the production: https://www.facebook.com/pg/Sebastian.Cybulski/photos/?tab=album&album_id=10154130966233791; a trailer: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8K-0kl0BFcc>:

were in some way connected with history: one is the first episode of Turkish TV series *Zraniona miłość* (*Vatanım Sensin/ Wounded Love*) which action took place during Balkan War, close to the end of WW1; the second is a feature film "The Great Escape"/ *Wielka ucieczka*, dir. John Sturges, USA 1963; based on the story about a brave escape of British prisoners of war from a German POW lager (WW2, the place of real life events is located in Żagań, on the postwar territory of Poland).



Print screen from the television guide advertisement of the documentary *Tora i miecz*



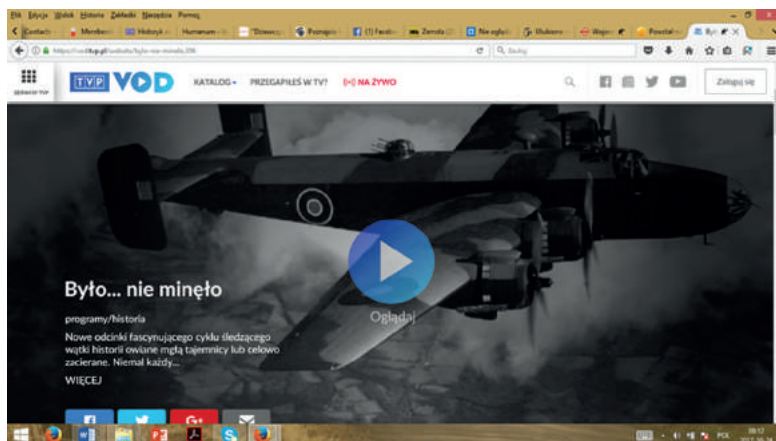
Print screen from the documentary movie *Zwycięstwo*

What is interesting, V-Day was introduced to the TVP Historia schedule a few days before, in May 4 one can watch the documentary *Zwycięstwo* (Victory), and also two parts of documentary *Tajemnica berlińskiego bunkra* (Secrets of the Berlin bunker) from the series *Sensacje XX wieku/ Sensations of the 20th century*. The latter discusses the last days of Adolf Hitler and his milieu on the background of the events on the frontlines. One of the pictures above mentioned another documentary, *Tora i miecz / Torah and sword*, which is important not only to the Polish Jews history but also marked the beginning of intensive fights for freedom on the occupied territory of Poland.

MAY 5, 2017

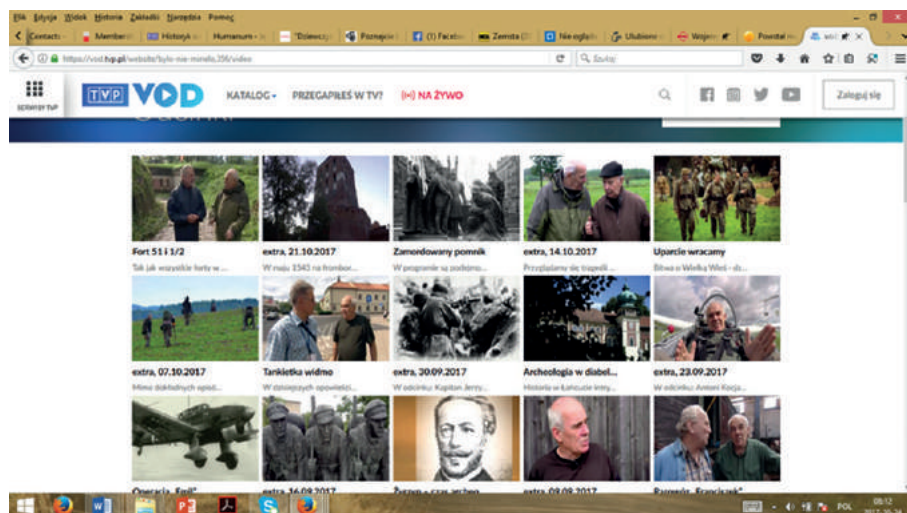
During the whole day in a lot of channels the programming was rather entertaining, some TV series and movies create the atmosphere of weekend (such as *Tutanchamon. Stawka większa niż życie/ More Than Life at Stake*, etc.). Still, the documentaries overwhelm the offer, due to the character of TVP Historia.

The program which appears regularly in the public television offer, during monitoring week as well, is the “Było, nie minęło... Kronika Zwiadowców Historii”/ *Past is still alive - Chronicles of Scouts of History*, produced in the style of reportage.



A print screen from the homepage of the series *Było, nie minęło... Kronika Zwiadowców Historii*

The show can be considered as phenomenon in the public television, the formula is rather unique - a reportage from a chosen place (city, village, a part of forest, a lake neighborhood, etc., which is historically significant), is supported by the documentary materials, and a special part - the trip to the place with a group of history enthusiasts. During the trip they are searching the place for historical remains, and collect the artifacts such as the old military knives, some bullets, etc. The host of the show, Adam Sikorski, tries to explain the origin and meaning of these findings. The historical exploration started in 2004, up to 2013 the program was broadcast by TVP Info. However, some problems occurred, and now the show is presented by TVP Historia, and occasionally by some regional channels (TVP3). The program has a group of keen viewers, some of them follow the program also on the Facebook site⁸⁾; the show has 15 688 followers, and 15 545 likes it on this fanpage. The program shows how can we understand the past by preserving the monuments, artifacts, books, collections etc.



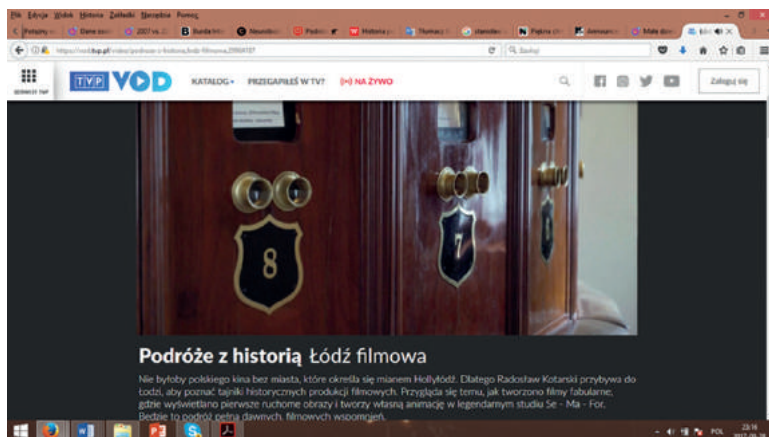
A print screen with the list of episodes from the homepage of *Było, nie minęło... Kronika Zwiadowców Historii*

8) <https://www.facebook.com/By%C5%82o-nie-min%C4%99%C5%82o-Kronika-Zwiadowc%C3%B3w-Historii-896603790409770/>

MAY 6, 2017

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this report, during the week-end days, historical programming was not so popular. And even the channel TVP Historia, dedicated to popularizing history, broadcast significantly less historical content.

Worth mentioning is the television series *Podróże z historią* (*Traveling with history*), which is available in free access TVP VOD⁽⁹⁾, and also the fan page on Facebook⁽¹⁰⁾, gathered 7 029 followers, and 7041 users like it). Comments here are rather nice, people sometimes share their photos. The series is usually broadcast on Saturdays, it is designed for family viewing. In this episode, similarly as in the other episodes, connections between history and today are stressed. The character of programming can be simplified as the popularization of history, which still is alive⁽¹¹⁾. History in this series is presented in vivid way, focus is on culture, everyday life in different epochs, etc. The host presents history through experience, and encourages viewers to do the same.



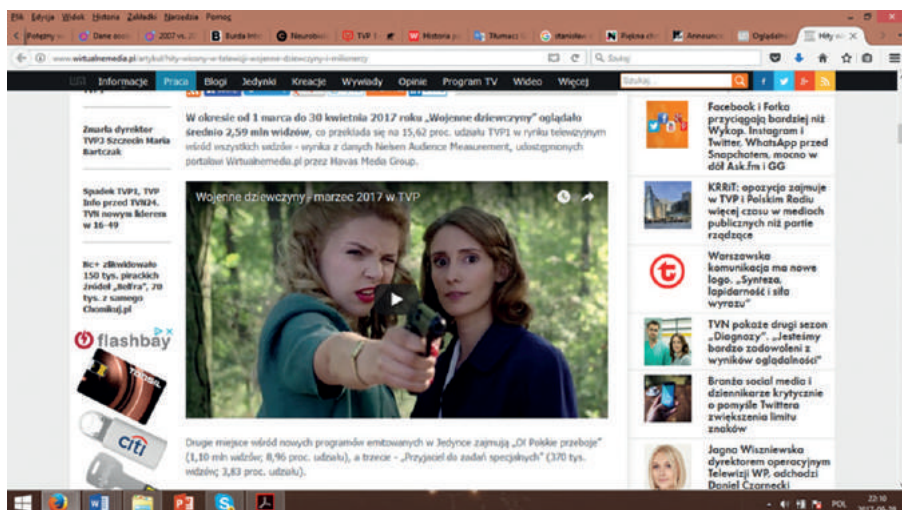
A print screen from the site with the episode *Łódź filmowa* (*Łódź, city of the movies*) of the series *Podróże z historią* (*Traveling with history*) broadcast during Saturday, May 6, 2017

9) <https://vod.tvp.pl/website/podroze-z-historia,21558859>

10) <https://www.facebook.com/podrozechistoriaTVP/>

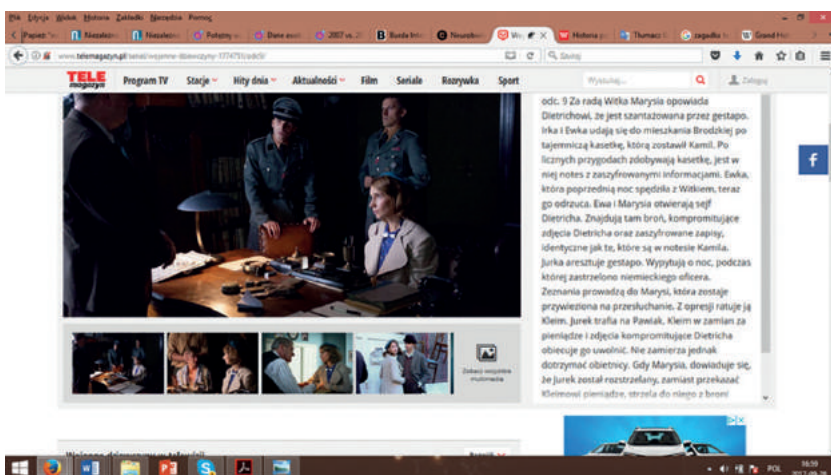
11) The host of series, Radek Konarski, engages groups of reconstructors (or shows them during the events); uses historical techniques, methods of production nowadays, shows also people working with history everyday.

During this Saturday one episode (9) of war drama series, *Wojenne dziewczyny* / *War girls*, was broadcast. It is a new production (2017), and can be considered as a hit, in the Spring of 2017 this TV series was very popular (in the period preceding the monitoring week - between March 1 and April 30 the series was watched by an average number of 2,59 million viewers (it means 15,62 % of TVP1 in the whole television market¹²⁾). It is a great success, considering the topic and genre, because the rest of popular shows were rather entertaining. The series was also commented in the net, viewers shared good opinions about it. The episodes are available for free in the VoD TVP: <https://vod.tvp.pl/website/wojenne-dziewczyny,28767487>.



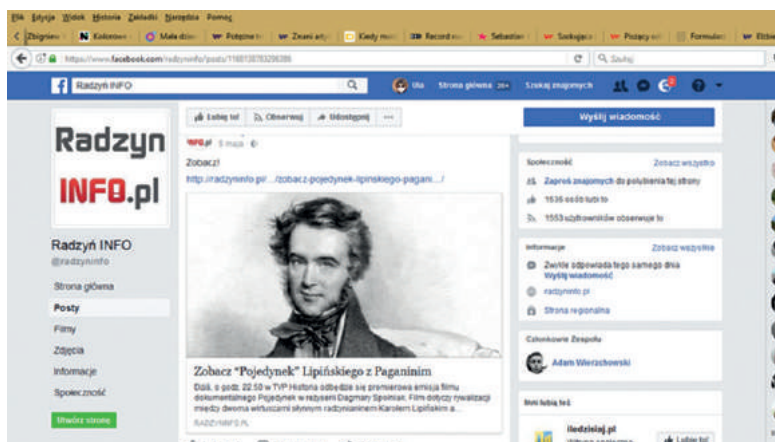
The print screen from *Wirtualnemedi.pl* presenting the discussed data and with the clip from TV series *War girls*

12) The data provided by Nielsen Audience Measurement, popularized by a portal Wirtualnemedi.pl (<http://www.wirtualnemedi.pl/artukul/hity-wiosny-w-telewizji-wojenne-dziewczyny-i-milionerzy>).



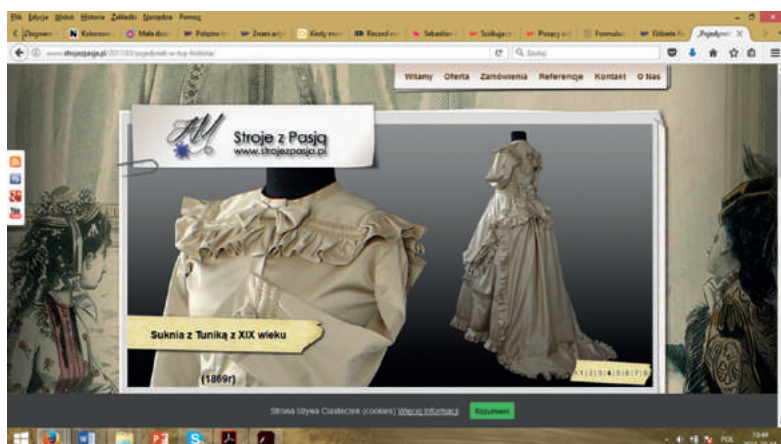
The print screen from description of an episode 9 of television series *War girls* (site of *Telemagazyn*, providing the archival programming).

A lot of interesting documentaries were offered by TVP Historia, such as *Florence: Hidden City*, *Meet the Romans with Mary Beard* or documentaries portraying WW2 (*Secrets of the Third Reich*, Albert Speer). However it is controversial, why difficult topics such as war reality or communist crimes “Spadł, umarł, utonął”/ *He fell, died, drowned* were considered by the program creators as appropriate for the evening.



A print screen of Facebook Radzyn info.pl with the information on the *Duel* and Karol Lipiński

I'd like to pay attention to another position, the documentary *Duel* on the special "fight", the artistic duel between two violin masters Nicola Paganini and Karol Lipiński. Paganini is widely popular and well known in Europe (maybe globally), but Karol Lipiński is unknown and forgotten even in Poland. However, some internet sites advertised this documentary, a lot of information about this film was popularized by the sites of small town Radzyń Podlaski, where violinist Karol Lipiński was born⁽¹³⁾. The documentary was also visible on Facebook, but without any comments. What is interesting, also the private business site connected with TVP Historia⁽¹⁴⁾, advertised the documentary and also costumes produced for reconstructing the story.



A print screen of *Stroje z pasją* site, the company which produced the historical costumes for the mentioned documentary

MAY 7, 2017

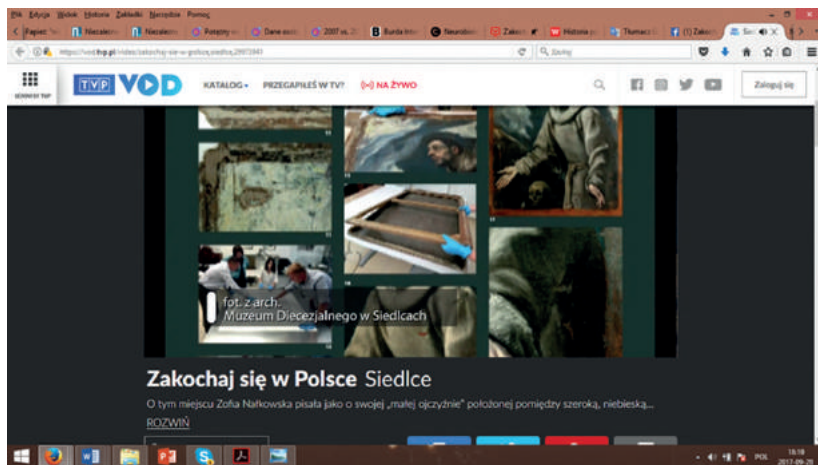
The last day of monitoring, Sunday, does not deliver any new issues to the analyses. Some programs were repeated during the week, and also some repetitions occurred in the May 7 programming. The Spring'2017 hit, *Wojenne dziewczyny* were presented in two episodes, some other regular positions of the scheduled were broadcast, such as *Zakochaj się w Polsce* *Fall in love with Poland*. Surprisingly, nothing

13) <https://iledzisiaj.pl/aktualnosci/9121-jutro-film-o-lipinskim.html>

14) <http://www.strojezpasja.pl/2017/03/pojedynek-w-tvp-historia/>

connected with the tomorrow V-Day was broadcast.

The character of programming *Zakochaj się w Polsce*¹⁵⁾ (*Fall in love with Poland*) is promotional; the goal of this documentary series is presentation of beauty of Poland, history of our country. The focus is on the given region, site, city, and its cultural history. Monuments, museums and their treasures, masterpieces of painting, statues, the literature personalities etc. are presented. This episode is available for free¹⁶⁾, however inside there are commercial breaks¹⁷⁾. This series is quite good for educational purposes - it could be wonderful starting point for discussion about heritage preservation, about the changes in culture, history of architecture, and some other issues. The production of the series is not finished yet, producers are active on Facebook, they presented some stages of the episode production etc. The programming is not commented here, or any topics, however fans of this series are active and try to popularize it.

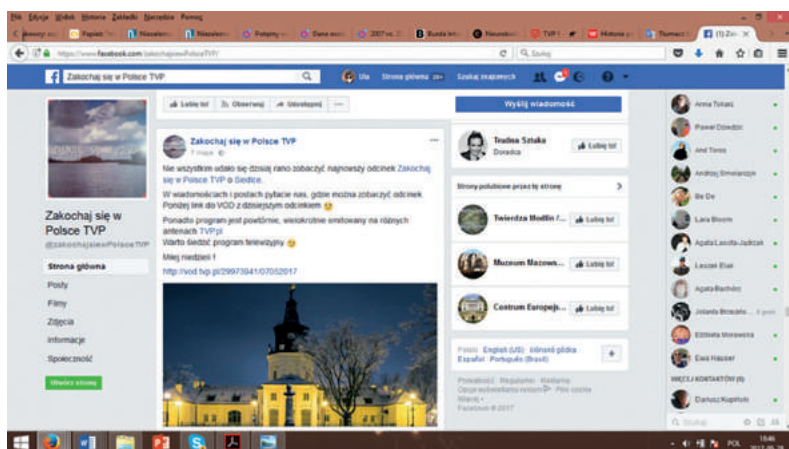


A print screen of the Siedlce episode of *Zakochaj się w Polsce* series broadcast by VOD

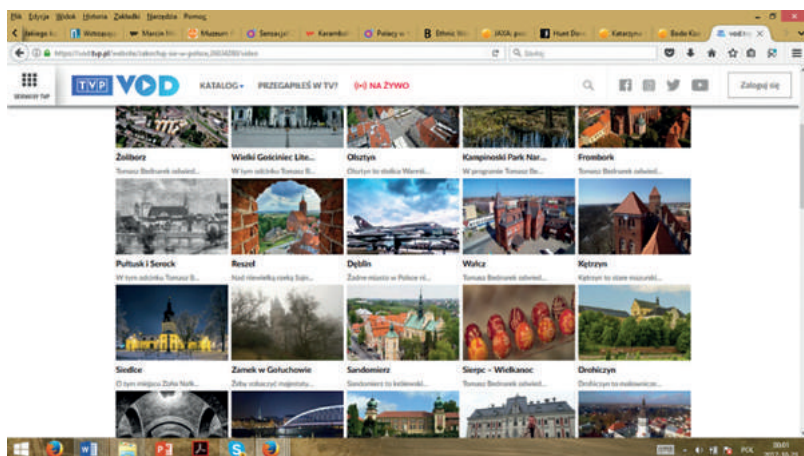
15) Komentarze pod programem telewizyjnym – rzadko, ale przy okazji tego właśnie – *Zakochaj się w Polsce*, zostały w programie.

16) <https://vod.tvp.pl/video/zakochaj-sie-w-polsce,siedlce,29973941>

17) Before commercial break there is a notion: “Due to commercials you can watch for free”. It is typical to all the documentaries, feature film, TV series provided by VOD.



A print screen of the Facebook post referring to the mentioned episode of *Zakochaj się w Polsce* series



Print screen from the homepage of television series *Zakochaj się w Polsce*

The series *Fall in love with Poland*, is quite popular among public television viewers. It has a group of followers on Facebook site⁽¹⁸⁾ (3823, and 3773 users like the show), and sometimes people ask about details of programming. However, using TV guide or using the internet site of the series could be confusing. In the guides numbers of epi-

18) <https://www.facebook.com/zakochajsiewPolsceTVP/>

always active in the behavioral aspect. A part of the public, the young generation tries to argue that they don't watch television at all ("television is passé", or "without future"), however they watch television programming on the net or use the internet television such as Netflix. For some part of potential audience, the main reason for not watching public television could be political, some keen TV viewers criticize the institutional changes after the new party won election. And the others are used to different channels perceiving public television as boring, etc. Instead of public, people watch commercial TV nets such as Polsat or TVN⁽²⁰⁾. The question arises here, maybe it's better to study also the most popular nets instead of not-watched public? Public television, which is only semi-free, and provides potentially available programming. In Poland cable television is still very popular, new networks appeared on local and national level with commercial offer. My analysis shows what was presented in the Polish public television, however, I'm not sure how big was the audience of live broadcasting. Considering the size of the audience, only two position should be mentioned: 1) "Wojenne dziewczyny" (*War girls*) on the public television, TVP1 (the audience: 2 631 673 viewers); and 2) "Kamienie na szaniec" (*Stones for the Rampart*), broadcast by Polsat on May 1, commercial television, which was not the object of monitoring (the audience: 989 936 viewers⁽²¹⁾). Both positions are on the WW2, and they build the picture of necessary fights, honor, devotion to ideals, patriotism.

even them admit watching VoD of Polsat, TVP and TVN: <https://marketingprzykawie.pl/espresso/ulubione-serwisy-vod-internautow-niemajacych-telewizora-badanie-mec/>. The problem was discussed in the net, e.g.: <https://www.spidersweb.pl/2015/04/nie-ogladasz-telewizji-akurat.html>

20) <http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/artykul/ogladalnosc-telewizji-maj-2017-tvp-ostro-w-dol>; interesting is also the case of ownership of "Polish media", a lot of foreign capital is involved in the commercial television, radio and internet portals (http://infografika.wp.pl/title,Media-w-Polsce-Do-kogo-nalezy-prasa-telewizja-portale-czy-radio,wid,18085692,wiadomosc.html?ticaid=11a1a8&_tictsn=3).

21) These numbers are taken from the media analysis provided by portal Wirtualmedia.pl: <http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/artykul/ogladalnosc-telewizji-maj-2017-tvp-ostro-w-dol>

2. What was observed in the analyzing material? Here are some new and interesting trends:
- First, a lot of programs produced or broadcast by the public television is focused on culture, lifestyle etc. It is the tendency to enrich the vision of history, which sometimes is narrowed to political issues and wars.
 - Second, the local history is popularized by some series of programming, what can bring the appropriate proportions to the stories. Life is not focused in Warsaw only, and important things could happen on the province. Polish national heritage has local aspect. Some types of programming - such as *Podróże z historią/ Traveling with history* or *Zakochaj się w Polsce/ Fall in love with Poland* embrace all the territory of Poland. The hosts of programs present any location as important for history of our country.
 - Third, when war is main topic of narrative, among heroes women are also portrayed as important players in war game, gender bias has been somewhat reduced. Especially good example here is the television series *Wojenne dziewczyny* (War girls). However, the majority of hosts of the documentaries, reportages etc., belongs to men.
3. Public television channels use social media as a method of advertising their offer. Almost all are present on Facebook, Twitter, etc. Twitter is a good source of materials for the official media, institutional journalism. A lot of articles revolved around the celebrities' twitts, and twitts by regular users, and sometimes the discussion is transferring to Twitter again. TVP Historia put on Twitter some photos and information about programming, some other channels put also videos as twitts. However, twitts from official, institutional sources such as television are not so popular as twitts posted by celebrities, politicians, or even some popular historians. The circulation of content between different portals, sites, social media could be good task for the next step of the research.



A print screen of TVP Historia on Twitter

Another task for the future research can be connected with the gathering useful material with using the snowball technique. However, it is not easy to find the appropriate key to classifying the materials found in the net. The YouTube could be good example here. While watching any video, the algorithm proposes next positions, and creates a special tree of materials. Starting from the top of suggested viewings - first 5 can lead the internet user to popular content, but not always really suited the goal of the user' searching. The illustration of the results is not so simple, because of repetitions and connections between different levels of ramifications.

At the end, two comments are needed. One is devoted to categorization of the research material. The problem with classifying some shows to appropriate genre or format seems to be connected with the complex formula of nowadays television production. A lot of documentaries are enriched by some parts of animation or feature film style, and represents more than one genre. Another problem was mentioned at the beginning of the report: how do we understand history as presented in media? Maybe the question should be re-phrased into what types of audiovisual production could be useful for history teaching? And visions of history, and genre of program are secondary to the teaching potential of a given film, show, reportage, television series.

AN ANALYSIS OF HISTORY ON TV, THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE NETHERLANDS: 2016 AND 2017



INTRODUCTION

This analysis is part of the project “Media and History. From cinema to the web. Studying, representing and teaching European history in the digital age”, coordinated by Istituto per la Storia e le Memorie del ‘900 Parri. This analysis has been created by Laura Steenbrink, with contributions of Rick Hoefsloot, Bjorn Pels, Joyce Schäftlein, Romana Sijakovic, Suzanne Tromp, Shanice de Witte, and Steven Stegers.

The analysis gives an impression of how history is represented on television and on the internet in The Netherlands over the course of two years. The analysis consists of an overview of the general offer of history on television in the Netherlands, a description of historically significant days for the Netherlands, a comparison between the history programs and of the posts on social media on these historically significant days, and a comparison between the news broadcasts on the National Remembrance Day and Europe Day.

Matching analysis for Hungary, Italy, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom are available at <http://www.e-story.eu/observatory/>. For the analysis of 2017, the team members from these countries agreed that they would all focus their analysis on the same week: 1 to 7 May 2017, so that the results allow for comparison. The analysis is made possible with the support of the Erasmus+ program of the European Union.

1. HISTORY OUTSIDE OF THE CLASSROOM

Learning about history is not only taking place in schools. Students are exposed to it in various ways. Movies, books, documentaries, games, magazines, news, family stories, and social media all influence how students look at history. Due to the increased digitisation of society, young Europeans are increasingly see historical information or historical representations in the form of digital media. In the “Media and History” project - of which this observatory is a part - specialists in history and media education from Hungary, Italy, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, The Netherlands and United Kingdom work together to encourage history educators to use multimedia resources to help students become more media literate.

The goal of this observatory is to map out the TV offer and social media posts concerning history in the Netherlands, in order to see what the content of the current offer is. It will cover the historical content on TV during a typical week, and take a more in-depth look at historically

significant days. The results of this analysis show how this subject is approached by the media, where their focus lies and how they convey their message. In terms of the project of “Media and History” the findings of this observatory are important, because it highlights what the current status of history on TV and social media is, and thereby how it can potentially influence the way students look at history.

2. THE TV OFFER - A GENERAL IMPRESSION OF THE OFFER OF HISTORY TELEVISION AND THE INTERNET IN 2016 AND 2017

In the Netherlands, everybody with access to television has access to the public channels, NPO1, NPO2, and NPO3.⁽¹⁾ Most people with access to TV also have access to a large variety of commercial TV channels, of which RTL is the biggest and most watched.⁽²⁾ The public channels are freely accessible for everyone via the internet.⁽³⁾ The programs of the public network are co-financed by the general taxes. The commercial channels are part of a package deal, and only available to paid customers of TV providers such as Ziggo, UPC and KPN.

The main history offer in the Netherlands consists of history documentaries that are produced in the Netherlands, co-funded by public money, and broadcasted on public channels. In addition, there are international productions, consisting of historical movies (mostly blockbusters from Hollywood), and some history documentaries.

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- 1) NPO is an acronym of *Nederlandse Publieke Omroep*, which translates to National Public Broadcaster. This broadcaster receives funding from the Dutch Government.
 - 2) RTL is part of the RT Group, a commercial company that owns radio and TV channels in many European countries, with Bertelsmann currently as its main owner. RTL Netherlands is the result of several mergers, including merger with *Vereniging Veronica*.
 - 3) There used to be a fee to cover the cost of producing programs for public channels paid by every household with a TV, but a law adopted in 1999 changed this into a system where the costs for production and broadcasting are paid by general tax money. The text of the law can be found here https://www.eerstekamer.nl/behandeling/19991228/publicatie_wet_4 (Accessed 30 December 2016).

The most important and well-known history program is *Andere Tijden* (different times), which has been broadcasted since 10 March 2000.⁽⁴⁾ This weekly show, which is every year broadcasted during several months, covers a large variety of Dutch historical events and developments, looking at social, cultural, economic history as well as political and military history. In a typical episode, the presenter, who is also a historian, introduces a topic and goes on a quest to find more information. This information is then provided through interviews with experts and eyewitnesses (both ordinary people and decision makers), and complemented with original footage and voice over (by the presenter). During large sport events, the show transform itself into *Andere Tijden Sport*, in which it then covers the stories behind historical sport moments in the Dutch collective memory.

In addition to *Andere Tijden*, several history documentaries focused on Dutch history have been produced. These documentaries focused on topics such as ‘The Golden century’⁽⁵⁾, ‘The Iron century’⁽⁶⁾, ‘Slavery’⁽⁷⁾, and ‘Liberation’⁽⁸⁾. These large productions have dealt with different aspects of Dutch national history, from the so-called golden age (17th Century), to the Dutch slave trade, to the industrial revolution, to the Second World War.

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- 4) Internet Movie Database, *Andere Tijden* TV Series, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1475261/> (Accessed 27 December 2016).
 - 5) Internet Movie Database, *De Gouden Eeuw* TV Series, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2955322/> (Accessed 27 December 2016). The episodes of ‘De Gouden Eeuw’ are available at http://www.npo.nl/de-gouden-eeuw/POMS_S_VPRO_113119 (Accessed 27 December 2016).
 - 6) Internet Movie Database, *De IJzeren Eeuw* TV Series, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt4574744/> (Accessed 27 December 2016). The Iron Century refers to process of industrialisation that happened in the 19th Century. The episodes of ‘De IJzeren Eeuw’ are available at http://www.npo.nl/de-ijzeren-eeuw/VPWON_1262790 (Accessed 27 December 2016).
 - 7) The episodes of ‘De Slavernij’ available at http://www.npo.nl/de-slavernij/POMS_S_NTR_125089 (Accessed 27 December 2016).
 - 8) The official webpage of the series about liberation “*Na de bevrijding*” <http://www.nadebevrijding.nl/> (Accessed 27 December 2016). The episodes of ‘Na de bevrijding’ are available at http://www.npo.nl/na-de-bevrijding/POMS_S_NTR_465238 (Accessed 27 December 2016).

To mark the 200-year anniversary of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, several programs were made about on history of the royal family. These were *Het koninkrijk* (the Kingdom)⁽⁹⁾, *Drie Vorstinnen* (Three Queens)⁽¹⁰⁾, and *Drie Koningen* (Three Kings)⁽¹¹⁾.

In 2017, a new historical documentary miniseries, also produced by the team that made *Andere Tijden*, aired on NPO 2. *Goede Hoop* (Good Hope)⁽¹²⁾, looked into what the Dutch influence on South African history has been, from the Dutch East India Company until the end of Apartheid. It is still a documentary very much focused on Dutch national history, but does in a sense diverge from the traditional format of a Dutch history documentary. Firstly it is centered on South African history, and not solely focused on Dutch national history, and secondly it extends much further than TV only. The series aired in seven instalments in March 2017, and was among others, complemented by a book, an exposition in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, a crossover with the Dutch children's program *Klokhuis*, and a Spotify playlist.

The history documentaries produced in the Netherlands tend to focus on national history, but there has been one notable exception: the documentary series *In Europa*, (in Europe).⁽¹³⁾ This program was based on the book by the same name written by the Dutch historian Geert Mak, who also presents the TV program. It covers the whole of the Europe-

9) Internet Movie Database, *Het Koninkrijk* TV Series, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt4224124/> (Accessed 27 December 2016). The episodes of 'Het Koninkrijk' are available at http://www.npo.nl/nos-het-koninkrijk/POMS_S_NOS_508604 (Accessed 27 December 2016).

10) The episodes of 'Drie Vorstinnen' are available at http://www.npo.nl/drie-vorstinnen-van-oranje/POW_03204578 (Accessed 27 December 2016).

11) The episodes of 'Drie Koningen' are available at http://www.npo.nl/drie-koningen-van-oranje/POMS_S_MAX_425272 (Accessed 27 December 2016).

12) Internet Movie Database, *Goede Hoop* TV Series, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt6710142/?ref_=nv_sr_1 (Accessed 25 September 2017). The episodes of 'Goede Hoop' are available at https://www.npo.nl/goede-hoop/VPWON_1259462 (Accessed 25 September 2017).

13) Internet Movie Database, *In Europa* TV Series, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1190697/> (Accessed 27 December 2016).

an history in the twentieth century, for which Mak travels throughout Europe and interviews eyewitnesses and relatives of historical events, and also visits places of memory. The *'In Europe'* TV series received wide critical acclaim and has been broadcasted in other countries as well.

There was a digital national history channel (that subscribers to cable television could access), which broadcasted the programs mentioned above and special feature programs. However, this digital channel has not been available since 2012. Most programs can now be seen online on either <http://www.npo.nl/> or <http://anderetijden.nl/>.

In the last decade, several commercial movie productions focused on history. This trend started with the movie *Zwartboek* (Black Book) that was produced in 2006 and is to date the most expensive movie produced in the Netherlands of all time, and which was a commercial success.⁽¹⁴⁾ *Zwartboek* tells the story of a Jewish woman during the Second World War, who attempts to evade deportation, to help the resistance, and who has a relationship with an SS officer. One historian, J.C.H. Blom, wrote in his review, that although he found *Zwartboek* to be a good movie, viewers should not take the phrase 'inspired by true events' too literal.⁽¹⁵⁾ In terms of popular culture, the focus of *Zwartboek* on the Second World War, and the Dutch resistance in particular, fits in a longer tradition. Especially in the field of literature, the Second World War has been by far the most common history topic.

A more recent example of a commercial movie produced in the Netherlands and focussed on history is *Michiel de Ruyter* (published in English under the title *'The Admiral'* in 2015)⁽¹⁶⁾. This movie is about Michiel de Ruyter, who is most known for the navel battles he fought against the

14) Internet Movie Database, Black Book, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0389557/> (Accessed 27 December 2016).

15) J.C.H. Blom, 'Gezien: Zwartboek', <https://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/6859/gezien-zwartboek.html>.

16) Internet Movie Database, Michiel de Ruyter, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2544766/> (Accessed 27 December 2016).

British in the 17th Century. The release *Michiel de Ruyter* triggered a protest by a group that called Michiel de Rover (Rover means robber, and is a play on words, see **Image 1 - Cover of the Michiel de Rover Facebook page**). The text in red says “Michiel the Robber is not my hero”. The text in yellow reads: **Don’t honour De Ruyter, honour the resistance against slavery instead! Away with the VOC mentality! Stop glorifying racism and colonialism!**). This group found it problematic that no attention was given in the movie to slavery. This triggered further debate amongst historians, some of whom argued that Michiel de Ruyter should be judged in the context of his time, and some of whom argued that he did conquer back forts that were enabled slavery to take place.⁽¹⁷⁾ The debate was also pick up by some media, including radio, typically asking viewers for their opinions.



Image 1 - Cover of the *Michiel de Rover* Facebook page. The text in red says “Michiel the Robber is not my hero”. The text in yellow reads: **Don’t honour De Ruyter, honour the resistance against slavery instead! Away with the VOC mentality!**⁽¹⁸⁾ **Stop glorifying racism and colonialism!**

17) See <http://www.historien.nl/michiel-de-ruyter-en-de-slavenhandel/> (Accessed 30 December 2016)

18) The remark about the VOC mentality refers to a statement by then Prime Minister

Other recent commercial movies on history produced in the Netherlands are 'Kenau' (2014) ⁽¹⁹⁾ telling the story of a Dutch heroine fighting in the 80 years' war against the Spanish, and 'Nova Zembla' (2011) ⁽²⁰⁾, focussed on the passage through the artic of Willem Barents. These movies, all focused on national history, have quite a relatively large viewing audience, *Zwartboek* was the first Dutch movie to have more than 1 million movie theatre visitors, and the others averaged between 250.000 and 700.000. ⁽²¹⁾

3. HISTORY ON TV DURING A "TYPICAL WEEK" IN 2016

To give an impression of the history offer on TV, the project team agreed to look, in 2016, in more detail at a typical week of TV. This means that there should be no holidays or national remembrance days during this week. For our analysis, we analysed the programs that were on offer from 17 June to 23 June 2016.

All TV programs that were broadcasted during this week that related to history were broadcasted on one of the national, financed by public money, non-commercial, public channels. During this week, there were 6 programs broadcasted related to history. Four of these programs were part of a documentary type series, called *De Strijd* ("The Battle") describing the emergence of the labour movement in the Netherlands. The other history related offer consisted of a movie, *The Young Vic-*

Jan Peter Balkenende in 2006, who said that the Netherlands needed a VOC mentality. The VOC is the acronym of the Dutch East Indian Company. Balkenende was widely criticised for this remark because the Dutch East Indian Company was largely responsible for Colonialism and slavery.

19) Internet Movie Database, Kenau, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2512170/> (Accessed 27 December 2016).

20) Internet Movie Database, Nova Zembla, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1911607/> (Accessed 27 December 2016).

21) For comparison: The total population of the Netherlands is approximately 17 million people. Central Bureau of Statistics, <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/visualisaties/bevolkingsteller> (Accessed 30 December 2016).

toria⁽²²⁾, an anglo-american production about the early life of Queen Victoria (ruler of the United Kingdom from 1837 - 1901), and one other documentary called *Drie Vorstinnen van Oranje* ("Three female sovereigns of Orange") that is part of a series. The episode this week focused on Queen Wilhelmina (of the Netherlands from 1890 - 1948).

Except one movie, all history related programs are documentaries. The topics are related to the history of the 19th and 20th century. None of the programs focuses on one specific event, as many programs highlight a broader theme, rather than a specific historical moment. The people that account for the past in the programs vary from witnesses, to voiceovers, actors to historians. Almost all programs that we presented were analytical in the senses that the topic or issue of the documentary is looked at from different perspectives. With the exception of the *Young Victoria* movie, all programs broadcasted this week, were co-financed with public money. This could imply that not many commercial channels think it would be profitable to broadcast or produce programs that are related to history. Finally, the viewing statistics are relatively low. The history programs had between 50.000 and 311.000 viewers (for *Drie Vorstinnen van Oranje*). An overview of the complete history offer during this week can be found in **Table 1** below.

22) Internet Movie Database, *The Young Victoria*, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0962736/> (Accessed 30 December 2016).

Table 1 The history offer on TV during a “typical week”						
Number of viewers	Name of the program	Time and Date	Channel	Type	Who accounts for the past	Approach¹
311,000	<i>Drie Vorstinnen van Oranje</i>	18 June 2016 19:35 - 20:15	NPO 1	Documentary	Historian(s)	Analytical
144,000	<i>Young Victoria</i>	17 June 2016, 23:40 - 01:30	NPO 2	Film	Actors	Emotional
113,000	<i>De Strijd: De Gouden Eeuw van de Arbeider</i>	20 June 2016, 16:08 - 17:00	NPO 2	Documentary	Witness(es)	Thematic
59,000	<i>De Strijd: De Gouden Eeuw van de Arbeider</i>	17 June 2016, 16:10 - 16:55	NPO 2	Documentary	Witness(es), Voice-over/presenter, Socialists	Analytical
59,000	<i>De Strijd: De Gouden Eeuw van de Arbeider</i>	21 June 2016, 16:05 - 16:50	NPO 2	Documentary	Witness(es), Voice-over/presenter	Analytical
50,000	<i>De Strijd: De Gouden Eeuw van de Arbeider</i>	22 June 2016, 16:10 - 16:55	NPO 2	Documentary	Voice-over/presenter, Politician	Analytical

A “typical week” of TV on the History Channel

In the Netherlands, there is no national channel completely related to history. There is an online channel that is part of the public channel NPO 2, but that channel is not completely devoted to history. The TV programs on NPO 2 that are related to history are already described in the section above. Almost all packages have the American History channel, but we decided not to research that here because it does not represent the offer of history on Dutch television.

4. THE MOST POPULAR TV PROGRAM RELATED TO HISTORY IN 2016 AND 2017

The most watched TV program related to history, as proved by the viewing statistics provided by *Stichting Kijkonderzoek*⁽²³⁾, the organization that does research to the viewing statistics in the Netherlands, is *De Gouden Eeuw* (The Golden Age, see the more in-depth description below). The complete season of *De Gouden Eeuw* had an average of 774.000 viewers per week.⁽²⁴⁾ The series was broadcasted from 11 December 2012 - 5 March 2013 on NPO2, one of the public channels. The second most watched TV program related to history is *Verborgen Verleden*. It had an average of around 600.000 viewers every week.⁽²⁵⁾ This program is - as of 2017 in its seventh season - still running and is based on the format of “Who do you think you are”, the British TV program where celebrities go on a trip to find out interesting stories about the origins of their family.

De Gouden Eeuw

“De Gouden Eeuw” is a documentary type TV program that was broadcasted in a series of 13 episodes in 2012 and 2013. It presents the so-called the Dutch Golden Age, a period of economical bloom in the 17th and

23) More information on Stichting Kijkonderzoek: <https://www.kijkonderzoek.nl/about-sko> (Accessed 24 June 2016).

24) Source: Stichting Kijkonderzoek.

25) News article published on the website of the community of Amsterdam, <https://www.amsterdam.nl/stadsarchief/nieuws/verborgen-verleden/> (Accessed 24 June 2016).

18th century in the Netherlands. In thirteen episodes, various aspects of this era are highlighted. For example, the uprising against the Spaniards during the Eighty Years' War, the parliamentary history, the Dutch East Indian Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, VOC), the economic, social and art history are covered in the different episodes.

In the TV series, the historical context and explanations are given by three types of people: the voice-over, the presenter (who is also a historian) and various historians. These historians are often interviewed by the presenter, on the local sites, often on the exact spot where the historical event that are being talked about happened.

The makers of the series create a link with the present in every episode. This makes the program more appealing to a larger public and to explain the relevance of history for today. The approach is analytical in the sense that different historical interpretations are being explored and multiple aspects of a historical topic or development are highlighted. For example, the fifth episode which is looking at the history of the VOC mentions and gives attention to different aspects of the VOC, some of which are good, and some of which are bad.

The series was made as a reaction to a statement made by the Prime Minister of the Netherlands in 2006, Jan Peter Balkenende, who said: "Let's be happy with each other! Let's say: the Netherlands can do it again! That VOC-mentality, watching over boundaries, dynamics! Right?"² This statement received critical attention and many were angry about the way the Prime Minister used the VOC in a positive, while the VOC is also known for its oppressive methods and engaging in slave trade. The presenter of the series, Hans Goedkoop, explained their motivation for the series, in reaction to the debate triggered by Jan Peter Balkenende's statement: "In the Netherlands we think quickly that it is too chauvinistic to devote too much attention to the Golden Age. If we give it attention, we are inclined to emphasise the bad side. But foreign historians praise the period as the beginning of world trade."³ Hans Goedkoop also mentions the dark side of the period, but in this statement, it seems a reaction to bring more

perspective into the debate whether or not the period of the Golden Age deserves its name.

In sum, the history offer on TV in the Netherlands consists mainly of history documentaries focussed on different aspects of national history, made with the support of the government. There are also commercial movies related to national history, reaching different audiences, typically focussed national heroes. There is little attention for history that is not directly related to the history of the Netherlands.

5. HISTORICALLY SIGNIFICANT DAYS

There are several National Remembrance Days in The Netherlands. For this analysis, we focused on the National 4 and 5 May Remembrance Day (commemorating the end of World War 2 for the Netherlands), the National 1 July Remembrance Day (commemorating the abolition of slavery in Surinam and the Antilles, who were then Dutch colonies), and Europe Day, commemorating and celebrating peace and unity in Europe on 9 May.

These days are specifically important to the Netherlands, because they represent issues that are still sensitive to this day.

5.1 Remembrance days in the Netherlands

The **4 May** Remembrance Day commemorates the all Dutch victims of war since the beginning of the Second World War.⁽²⁶⁾ The 4 May commemoration includes a national remembrance ceremony that takes place every year in Amsterdam at Dam Square. Everybody in the country is asked to pay respect by holding a two-minute silence at 20:00. The **5 May** Remembrance Day commemorates the liberation of the Netherlands from Nazi German occupation in 1945. 5 May is a public holiday every five years but in 2016 it coincidentally was together with Accession Day, so it was a public holiday in that year as well. 5 May is being celebrated through a series of festivals and concerts across the country. A national concert is held on a canal in Amsterdam, attended by several members of the royal family.

26) Before 1961 the commemoration was limited to the Dutch victims of the Second World War only.

Both 4 and 5 May Remembrance Days are being organised by the National Committee 4 and 5 May, a foundation funded by the government.⁽²⁷⁾

5.1.1 Remembrance days in the Netherlands on TV in 2016

On **4 May 2016**, twelve programs paid attention to the Remembrance Day for at least part of the program, of which eight programs were broadcasted especially for the occasion of the Remembrance Day. The offer consisted of three daily talk shows, one news broadcast, two reportages of remembrance ceremonies, four documentary type programs and three theatre related programs. In addition to this, several movies related to the history of the Second World War, such as *Schindler's List* and *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* were broadcasted on commercial channels. Of the twelve programs described above, the best viewed program was the national remembrance ceremony, which was viewed by 2.560.000 people.⁽²⁸⁾ The most viewed TV documentary type program on the National Remembrance Day, viewed by 810,000 viewers, was '*De Onderduikkin-deren van Utrecht*' broadcasted on NPO2, one of the public channels, from 20:30 - 21:00 (see more in-depth description below).

On several programs, the discussion #geen4meivoormij/#wel4meivoormij that is described in the analysis of social media is mentioned. Most programs adopt an emotional approach and focus on remembrance as main theme of the program (see **Table 2**). One documentary has an analytical approach, showing not only the story of the victims, but also of the helpers and the view of a historian are taken in account. One talk show also has an analytical approach, enabling multiple people explain their experience and give their opinion and insight into the topic of anti-Semitism. Although most of them are Jewish, they do have multiple perspectives on various topics, for example about the meaning of their religion nowadays. Some of them also approach the topic in a

27) http://www.4en5mei.nl/over-het-comite?gclid=CjwKEAjwtLO7BRDax4-I4_6G71USJAA6FjN1y9ttieCp7Acl3SL90H04xCuYaNWXL02AP3Zgy3Xe-xoC3XTw_wcB (Accessed 24 June 2016).

28) Source: Stichting Kijkonderzoek.

multiperspective and analytical way and bring nuance to the discussion. An overview of the complete offer of programs related to the victims of World War 2 and other can be seen in **Table 2** below.

De Onderduikkinderen van Utrecht

This documentary tells the story of Frits Pront, who is researching his own past. He survived the war with the help of the Utrechts Kindercomité (Child Committee of Utrecht). The Kindercomité was a group of students in the city of Utrecht who helped Jewish children to go underground during World War 2. During the war, several Razzia's were held. These were large scale raids to find enemies of the regime, in this case mainly Jewish people. A student from Utrecht saw the razzia's and the often very young children who had just lost their parents in these razzia's together with other students helped these Jewish children. Contacts in Amsterdam at the time of the war, advised Jewish parents to let their children go underground in Utrecht. The documentary explained that the students did not see the danger of their work because they thought that helping children was good. Several children were betrayed however.

The documentary makes clear that the people who were helping victims to go underground were not always nice, and that being underground was not always happy. Pront was abused physically and mentally. Another child rescued by the Kindercomité, Frank, had to stay with her helpers after the war for a while as Frank's parents did not come back. The documentary also pays attention to the tough choices that the Kindercomité had to make. This was the case when one of the houses where children were placed turned out to be the house of traitors. The Kindercomité, when they found out, wanted to liquidate these traitors, but their attempt to do so, failed for the most part, leading to the betrayal of the Kindercomité. In the end 350 children were saved.

The documentary provides the historical context in which the Kindercomité worked by explaining that the NSB, a Dutch party loyal to the Nazis, had their headquarters in Utrecht, that many loyalists lived

there as well, and that several students were radicalising, all prosing great dangers for the work of the Kindercommissie. Original historical footage from the World War 2 is used to help the viewers imagine the past. It is not evident how far the historical footage is matching the events that are being discussed. In addition, new footage with reconstructions of the past was used to support the story. The documentary makes a link with the refugees of today, when Pront points out how terrible it for children to be forced to move from place to place every time again.

Making a documentary is very difficult and possibly underestimated. Finding a balance in facts and emotions plus showing images really suitable to the theme without a misrepresentation is a hard job. By showing the achievements, but also the limitations, the difficulties, and the bigger picture, this documentary came a long way in providing a balanced view.

On 5 May, there were eight programs that were either completely or partially related to the liberation of the Netherlands. We analysed three talk shows, one news reel, one documentary type program and four other programs. These other programs were broadcasted only on this day so were not part of a series. They were all focused on how the day is celebrated in the Netherlands. The most watched program of these was the national news broadcasted at 20.00 (viewed by 1,777,000). The most watched TV documentary type program related to the end of WW2 was *Maliebaanmonologen*, broadcasted on NPO2, one of the public channels from 22:45-23:00 (see more in-depth information below).

Almost all programs are more dedicated to how people are celebrating Liberation Day, than on the actual history. Not all talk shows dedicated their whole show to the liberation, for example *De Wereld Draait Door* was more focused on the 21st century than the Second World War. The news broadcasts made only one historical reference when it showed a temporary monument that was made in Amsterdam in the form of a bridge crossing the IJ remembering the so-called Hunger Bridge of 1945 made of ferries that had run out of fuel to connect the Northern part of Amsterdam with the rest of Amsterdam to bring

enable the transport of food.⁽²⁹⁾ The rest of the item addressing the liberation, solely focussed on all the festivals and events that happened throughout the Netherlands. The only program that was broadcasted on a commercial channel (*RTL Late Night*) and mentioned Liberation Day, made no historical reference at all. One-fifth of the talk show was dedicated to Liberation Day, and only touched upon the concept of freedom without historical references being made. An overview of the complete offer of programs related to the Liberation of the Netherlands in 1945 can be seen in **Table 3** below.

29) Amsterdam had weer even zijn ‘hongerbrug’, NOS,
<http://nos.nl/artikel/2103237-amsterdam-had-weer-even-zijn-hongerbrug.html> (Accessed on 31 December 2016).

Table 3
The history offer on TV related to 5 May Remembrance Day

Number of viewers	Name of the program	Time and Date	Channel	Type	Who accounts for the past	Approach
1,777,000	NOS Journaal	5 May 2016 20:00 - 20:25	NPO 1	News	Journalist(s), Voice-over/presenter	Thematic
1,548,000	NOS Bevrijdingsdag: Concert op de Amstel	5 May 2016 20:20 - 22:05	NPO 1	Concert	Well-known individual(s), Journalist(s), Author(s), Witness(es)	Thematic
898,000	RTL Late Night	5 May 2016 22:30 - 23:40	RTL 4	Talkshow	Musicians	Emotional
882,000	De Wereld Draait Door	5 May 2016 19:00 - 20:00	NPO 1	Talkshow	Historian(s), Well-known individual(s), Journalist(s)	Analytical
231,000	Nationale viering bevrijding 2016	5 May 2016 11:00 - 12:00	NPO 1	Both lecture and talkshow	Journalist(s), Witness(es), Voice-over/presenter	Analytical
163,000	Pauw	5 May 2016 22:50 - 23:40	NPO 1	Talkshow	Well-known individual(s), Author(s)	Emotional
106,000	NOS Artiesten voor de Vrijheid 2016	5 May 2016 23:25 - 23:50	NPO 3	Reportage	Voice-over/presenter	Thematic

Maliebaanmonologen

Last year, it was exactly 70 years ago that the Second World War ended and the Netherlands was freed from German rule. To give this celebration extra attention, a local theatre group in Utrecht, made six short plays, monologues, about life under German rule in Utrecht. These monologues were filmed and broadcasted this year in the week of 4 and 5 May.

For six days in a row, the NPO (Dutch Public Broadcasting) aired one episode of the Maliebaanmonologen, that together tell the story of the Maliebaan in Utrecht, which they claim was 'most exiting street in the Netherlands during World War 2: the. Each episode, one actor plays a monologue of a person working or living at the Maliebaan during World War Two. The monologues are all based on the book 'Aan de Maliebaan', written by Ad van Liempt.

During the Second World War, the Maliebaan hosted more than 10 German institutions and at least as many NSB related offices. At the same time, this street was also still the living place of many normal people and some resistance fighters. This makes it an interesting street where many things happened even though it looked like a decent and quite street.

The episode aired on 5 may 2016, tells the story of Marie Anne Telegen, a resistance fighter who lived at Maliebaan 72Bis, next to the German Sicherheitspolizei (Security Service), during the year so the war. The actress who is playing Marie Anne Telegen, is the main story teller. She tells how her character worked for the municipality, and arranged and spread the wages of the railway personnel during the National Railway Strike in 1944 in her free time. She explained that his was a dangerous job, that she recruited women called 'Koeriersters' to pick up the money and deliver it to different addresses where people from the Railway Company were hiding for the Germans.

This approach of letting one person act and play the story of a real person living in Utrecht during World War Two is emotional. The view-

ers are drawn into the life of Marie Anne Telegen, and helped to image what the past has been like. The fact that each story is only 15 minutes, and the fact that multiple stories are told, enables the audience to learn about history in an interesting and effective way.

CONCLUSION

The history offer on TV in the Netherlands mainly looks at history through a national lens. The history offer mostly consist of national productions co-financed with public money in the form of history documentaries. The most watched programmes are part of a series giving an overview of national history in a particular period. This includes parts of history that are seen in a positive light (such as the Golden Age), but also parts of history which are seen in a negative light (including Slavery and the Colonial past). Movies on history produced in the Netherlands, are mostly produced commercially. These commercial movies focus on national heroes, like Michiel de Ruyter and Kenau, or on the Second World War, like *Zwartboek*.

Of all three Remembrance Days covered in this analysis, the Remembrance Day that is commemorating the Dutch victims of wars since the Second World War, on 4 and 5 May, receives most coverage on TV. In both years analysed, these ceremonies received most attention, and had most viewers.

Whereas the broadcast of the Remembrance Ceremony of 4 May - 2016 and 2017 - was watched by over two million viewers, the Remembrance Ceremony of 30 June and 1 July, was watched by under 200.000. The difference in time of the broadcast - the 30 June 2016 ceremony was broadcasted at 23:40 - 00:15, and the 1 July 2017 ceremony at 13:00 - 14:20 - is likely to be part of the explanation why less viewers watched this ceremony compared to the ceremony on 4 May, which is broadcasted at 20:00.

Europe Day received virtually no attention both years, with no mentions on TV, and subsequently no social media coverage.

On social media, it can also be seen from the analysis that 4 May receives most attention. Both years discussions erupted on who to commemorate and why. From these discussions, it becomes clear that remembrance in the Netherlands is still a very sensitive subject.

Several debates related to history in the Netherlands are related to the colonial past. Examples are the debate triggered by the #Geen-4meivoormij post by Christa Noëlla, the debate about the use of the Golden Carriage by the King and Queen during prinsjesdag, the protest related to the release of the Michiel de Ruyter movie, the ongoing debate about the Black Pete, and the celebration of the VOC mentality by then Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende.

Another debate is also visible: until what extent can historic remembrance be applied to current events? Rikko Vervoorts attempt to expand the scope of Remembrance to the refugee crisis was met with a lot of online resistance.

Both years it becomes visible that the lack of filtered messages on social media, can contribute to an enormous amount of hate, but that it can also create a more nuanced and valuable discussion.

REMEMBRANCE DAYS IN THE NETHERLANDS ON SOCIAL MEDIA IN 2016

This part of the analysis focuses on the social media coverage of history related to the 4 and 5 May National Remembrance Days in The Netherlands in 2016⁽³⁰⁾. The analysis is based on all Twitter and Facebook posts using the hashtags #4mei (4May), #dodenherdenking (Remembrance Day), #geen4meivoormij (No 4 May for Me) and #wel4meivoormij (4 May for Me). These were the hashtags that were trending and related to the National Remembrance Days just before, during, and just after 4 May and 5 May in 2016.

#Geen4meivoormij: In 2016, the National Remembrance Day of 4 May

30) The background to the 4 May and 5 May National Remembrance Days can be found in the previous section.

in the Netherlands became a topic for debate when a Facebook post by Christa Noëlla, a 22-year old woman from the Netherlands, went viral, and triggered many positive and negative reactions³¹. In the post (see image 1) you can see her holding a paper with the text “Geen 4 Mei voor mij” (No 4 May for me). In her post Christa argued that National Remembrance Day should become more inclusive and remember a wider range of victims, in particular the victims from Dutch slavery through the centuries and argued that she found the commemoration meaningless in the face of the rise of fascism and islamophobia. The full texts is included as Annex 1.

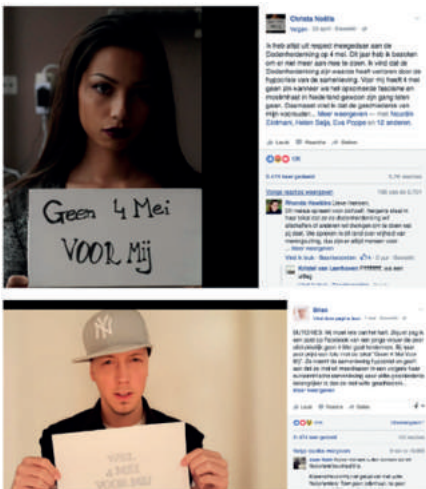


Image 1 - The Facebook post of Christa Noëlla (above) and the reaction of Brian (below). Full texts of both posts are included to this analysis in Annex 1.

Christa Noëlla and the reactions they got, were picked up by the national news

In an interview with *NRC Newspaper*, Christa Noëlla is quoted explaining her background: *“My father is Suriname-Japanese. My grandparents were shipped to Surinam in 1930 to do the work that was previously done by enslaved people. I have a Dutch mother whose grandparents were in hiding during the Second World War”*³².

#wel4meivoormij: The counter reaction that got most attention, was a Facebook post by Brian, a 36-year-old vocalist and songwriter, who introduced the hashtag #wel4meivoormij (4 May for me) (see Image 1). The post by Christa Noëlla, the reaction of Brian

31) De Volkskrant 2 May 2016, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/media/jonge-activisten-boycotten-4-mei-om-hypocrisie~a4293453/> (Accessed 24 June 2016).

32) <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/05/03/die-stille-twee-minuten-symboliseren-het-hedendaagse-fascisme-a1403437> (Accessed 27 December 2016).

broadcaster, several newspapers⁽³³⁾. The debates related to these posts dominated the discussions on social media and online forums in the days leading up to 4 May⁽³⁴⁾.

Common reactions:

In both camps, the language used by a large portion of the people who reacted was offensive and insensitive. However, there were also more moderate reactions, such as the one by Harriet Duurvoort, a



Image 2 - This Facebook post “Nothing has changed”, compares discrimination of Jews in the Second World War with hate speech towards Muslims in the Netherlands. Both murals call for religious communities to go away, first the Jews (upper picture), then the Muslims (lower picture).

columnist at the newspaper De Volkskrant and very active on Twitter, who asked to stop the campaign on the grounds that Christa Noëlla and the people who started the campaign, had hurt many people, victims or families of victims of the Holocaust “deep in their soul”⁽³⁵⁾. Duurvoort emphasized that also she supports more attention to the victims and remembrance of slavery, but that this should not be done in the way of #Geen4meivoormij did.

Those who supported the #geen4meivoormij campaign argued that the organisers of the 4 May National Remembrance Day took a one-sided ap-

33) Among others: <http://www.nltimes.nl/2016/05/03/reject-remembrance-day-face-rising-fascism-islamophobia-activist/> (NL Times), <http://www.metronieuws.nl/nieuws/binnenland/2016/05/ophef-vanwege-hashtag-geen4meivoormij> (Metronieuws), <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/05/03/die-stille-twee-minuten-symboliseren-het-hedendaagse-fascisme> (NRC), and <http://nos.nl/artikel/2103030-vluchtelingen-moeten-weten-wat-we-op-4-mei-herdenken.html> (NOS) (All accessed 24 June 2016).

34) <http://forum.fok.nl/topic/2299612> (Accessed 27 December 2016).

35) The Post Online NL, <http://media.tpo.nl/2016/05/02/harriet-duurvoort-zegt-neen-geen4meivoormij/> (Accessed 27 June 2016).

proach and did not pay enough attention to other victims that the victims of the Second World War (from the Netherlands). Especially the relative lack of attention towards the victims of the Dutch colonies and the victims of slavery, were frequently criticised in the pro-camp. Other posts from the pro-camp pointed towards other societal issues, such as the lack to support refugees, the discussion on Black Pete and islamophobia (see Image 2)⁽³⁶⁾. The kind of negative reactions (including many expressions of hate speech) towards Christa Noëlla and supporters of the #geen4meivoormij campaign were used to supported the claim that 4 May Remembrance Day was led by people that only care about their own community and have low moral standards. Ironically, several of these accusation-type of posts were also insensitive and hurtful.

36) The debate on Black Peter has been ongoing in the Netherlands for decades, but has been fierce in recent years, following a statement by the United Nations' Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, on the conclusion of its official visit to the Kingdom of the Netherlands, 26 June-4 July 2014 (<http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14840&LangID=E>, Accessed 27 December 2016) concluding that the figure of Black Pete is racist. Black Pete is part of the Saint Nicolas traditional celebration, in which children get presents, celebrated by most people in The Netherlands. The issue is that Black Pete traditionally is black-faced, and has other features (such as red lips, golden earrings, clothing and afro hair) that part of the negro stereotype, seen as offensive in most countries, that he used to be a scary figure and now is a silly figure. Critics point out the similarities between Black Pete and these negative stereotypes, the fact that some young children associate Black Pete with black people, and past of the Netherlands in terms of colonies and slavery. Most defenders of the tradition point out that their intentions are not racists and see the critics as a threat to the national heritage and identity. The debate has led to changes over the last few years, but the changes are too fast and too significant for some, and too slow and too insignificant for others.

The golden carriage refers to another controversy about history in the Netherlands. The golden carriage plays a central role during the annual Prinsjesdag ceremony when the King and Queen travel in the carriage as part of a parade from the royal palace in The Hague to the Ridderzaal (next to the parliament) where the King gives his state of the union address. The golden carriage is controversial because of an image on the side portraying enslaved people who are black in an uncritical manner. Critics say that it is inappropriate for an object which such an image to play such a central role during a national ceremony, especially given the colonial past of the Netherlands, and would like to see the golden carriage not being used, or to be put in a museum. Supporters of the golden carriage, either say that slavery and the colonial past are part of the history of the Netherlands and that the past should not be white-washed, or say that people should not be so sensitive and that traditions should be respected.

In an interview by the Robinson Report, that was made after the post went viral, Christa Noëlla summarises her stance by stating that she does not want that history is being viewed *“from one side, that history is being told as a whole. 4 May is Eurocentric, shedding light on the Holocaust, but not on colonial history. We demonstrate to the colonial propaganda of the Golden Carriage.*

4 May and the two minutes of silence symbolize the rise of fascism and suppression of the past.”



Image 3 - *An example of a hate speech comment directed to Christa Noëlla.*

Christa Noëlla received an enormous amount of reactions, including many cases of hate speech (see Image 3), thereby giving reasons for the #geen4meivoormij to say that they were right in their claim that those who celebrate 4 May are insensitive towards others. Several supporters of the #wel4meivoormij campaign pointed out that having one day the remembers the victims of the Second World War, does not mean there is no space to remember other victims, and that remembering other people can be done on other days.



Image 4 - The text reads: *"The group #geen4meivoormij does not deserve my respect. I think about and remember the people that have suffered, have been through a lot and fought for our freedom.*

Because it can never be forgotten, and every form of war is senseless. Both then and now." The text on the image underneath the post says "I am silent for 2 minutes on 4 May. And [what about] you? Freedom is something that you pass on."

Other supporters of the #wel4meivoormij campaign complained about the lack of respect that the #geen4meivoormij campaign had for people that died during the Second World War and people who lost relatives in the war (see **Image 4**) or took a more defensive stance and accused the #geen4meivoormij campaign trying to destroy a piece of Dutch tradition (see **Image 5**).



Ik moet toch nog even iets van het hart. Ik ben echt best wel in shock van de mensen van #geen4meivoormij. De dame die hier mee begon blijkt z'n uiterst extreem links figuur te zijn die ook de nieuw soort Black Panthers steunt met het bang maken en uitscheiden van kinderen die van zwarte piet houden. Af en toe vraag ik me echt af in wat voor land we leven. Als deze misbakels de toekomst moeten zijn... Dan houd ik mijn hart vast hoe mijn gehandicapte zoonje moet leven als wij (Tanya en ik) er zelf niet meer zijn. Dit vuilnis voik heeft totaal geen respect meer voor mensen die anders denken dan zij of ouderen of mensen die voor onze vrijheid gestorven zijn. Mijn vader had de oorlog overleefd. Wel op het nippertje want hij zat bij de ondergrondse. De verhalen van hem kan ik nog steeds zo naverstelen. Ook nam hij me als klein kind al mee naar de begraafplaatsen. Nooit zal ik dat vergeten. Miljoenen mensen zijn gestorven! (40 miljoen zeker) Onze vrijheid hebben we aan hun te danken. 4 mei ben ik 2 minuten stil. Morgen zal ik terug denken aan de indrukwekkende verhalen van mijn vader die jammer genoeg in 2005 gestorven is. Hoop dat alle mensen in Nederland nu kunnen inzien hoe verschrikkelijk die zwarte piet halers zijn. Het gaat hun alleen maar om het haatzaaien. Ze zijn zelf de grootste fascist en racisten maar roepen het omgekeerde. Precies zoals W Churchill ons voor heeft gewaarschuwd net na de oorlog. Ik denk dat ze mede door dit aardig onmaskerd zijn. Toch vraag ik me af wat ze nu weer proberen kapot te maken van de Hollandse traditie.



145 vind ik leuk · 68 raactes · 37 keer gedeeld

Vind ik leuk Reactie

Image 5 - *"I have to get something of my chest. I am quite shocked by the people of #geen4meivoormij. The lady who started it, appears to be this extreme left person who wants to establish a new kind of Black Panther movement through scaring and shaming the kids who love Black Pete. Sometimes I really wonder in what kind of country we are living. If these freaks are supposed to be our future... I then fear the day my handicapped son will have to continue living when we (Tanya and myself) won't be here anymore. This garbage people has no respect what so ever for people that think differently, nor for the older generation that had to fight for our freedom. My father has survived the*

war. I was close though, as he was a member of the resistance. The stories he told, I still remember vividly. He also took me to the cemeteries when I was still a kid. I will never forget those days. Millions of people died! (at least 40 million) We owe our freedom to them. On the 4th of May, I will be quiet for 2 minutes. Tomorrow I will think of the impressing stories my father, who unfortunately died in 2005, told me. I hope that all people in the Netherlands will now see how bad these Black Pete haters are. Their only goal is to spread hate. They are themselves the fascists and racists, but they claim the opposite. This is precisely what W Churchill warned us about just after the war. I think that this will help to show their true colours. But still I wonder what part of the Dutch tradition they will try to destroy next."

The president of the 4 and 5 May National Remembrance Committee, Gerdi Verbeet (who is also a politician of the Labour Party in the Netherlands, the PvdA), reacted to the debate raised by the #geen4meivoormij post by Christa Noëlla as well. Gerdi Verbeet, said that the issues that

[Christa] Noëlla raised are legitimate and deserve attention, but that they should be at the centre of the 4 May celebration, arguing that 4 May is explicitly for those people who gave their lives for the freedom of the Dutch people. Instead Gerdi Verbeet emphasised the need for refugees to know what is being remembered on 4 May (See **Image 6**).



Image 6 - A post by the national broadcaster summarising the reaction of Gerdi Verbeet, (president of the 4 and 5 May National Remembrance Committee) to the post by Christa Noëlla.

Posts related to the 4 May National Remembrance Day that were not part of the #geen4meivoormij post by Christa Noëlla were mostly written to encourage others to respect the 2 minutes' silence or explained why someone decided to be silent for 2 minutes (see for example **Image 7**).



Image 7 - “On 4 May, 20.00, I am quiet for two minutes. That is what I can do for all people that died for our freedom. To show that I am grateful for what they did for us. And for what they are still doing, somewhere in the world. Freedom, pass it on.”

Most posts related to the 5 May National Remembrance Day, in contrast to the posts related to the 4 May National Remembrance Day where not about the actual meaning of the day. Frequently, the nature of the Remembrance Day was implicit when references were made to freedom and its celebration (through posting images, poems or thoughts) but these were done without historical references (See for example Image 8).



Image 8 - *“CELEBRATE TODAY THAT WE ARE FREE. As hard as you can. Because it is not a given thing. #5mei”*

More frequently, people were using social media to just share what they were doing on this particular day, such as going to one of the many festivals, concerts or just enjoying their public holiday (See for example Image 9).



Image 9 - *A post from Van Velzen (a well-known singer who was also a judge on the tv-shows ‘The Voice of Holland’ and ‘the X-factor’), expressing that it is very festive (read as: an honour) to play at two of the state supported freedom festivals (commemorating the liberation of the Netherlands in 1945).*

In contrast to the individuals that were posting about their feelings or activities during the day, institutes were making historical references related to the meaning of 5 May. For example, the Rijksmuseum posted a digital copy of a poster made to celebrate the liberation of the Netherlands on 5 May 1945 (See **Image 10**).



Image 10 - Post by the Rijksmuseum: “Object of the day: festive in the honour of the liberation of the Netherlands on 5 May 1945”. The text on the poster reads: “It was Orange up. It stays Orange up. 10 May 1940 - 5 May 1945.” Orange refers to the name of the Royal Family of the Netherlands (the house of Orange). Up means that the banner of the house of Orange is above the tri-colour flag of the Netherlands. In order words the message of the poster is that it is good that the royal family is back (in power).

There was no large discussion or an ongoing debate on social media on the 5 May Remembrance Day, which made the posts more positive and less open to debate. There were a few exceptions, like the supporters for the right-wing Party of the Freedom (PVV) that lead to a few critical comments on their post with the national flag (see **Image 11**), but this was more about nationalism than about history and remembrance.



Image 11 - Post by self-proclaimed PVV supporters (referring to the Party for Freedom Movement of populist politician Geert Wilders) “The Netherlands. Our flag, our country, our freedom.”

There were specifically history-related references honouring individuals who fought for the Netherlands during Second World War. **Image 12**, for example, is honouring a group of paratroopers that jumped into France on D-Day. It was shared 106 times and is dedicated to a group of.



Image 12 - *“Amazing picture of real heroes!”*

Overall, there were more posts on social media related to 4 May Remembrance Day than then 5 May Remembrance Day. This is largely due to the debate between the #geen4meivoormij and the #wel4meivoormij campaigns. Posts that were not related to this debate, the post related to 4 May were more solemn, about silence and about remembering what happened in the past, and most posts about 5 May were positive, focussed on the celebration of freedom, completely in line with the nature of both days.

1.1 Remembrance days in the Netherlands on TV in 2017

On **4 May 2017**, seven programs paid attention to the Remembrance Day for at least part of the program, of which four programs were broadcasted especially for the occasion of the Remembrance Day. The offer consisted of three daily talk shows, two reportages of remembrance ceremonies, and two documentaries. On commercial channels American films like *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* and *Schindlers List* were

broadcasted, in addition to the Dutch productions of Oorlogswinter and Zwartboek. Of the seven programs described above, the best viewed program was the national remembrance ceremony, which was viewed by 2.599.000 people.⁽³⁷⁾ The most viewed TV documentary type program on the National Remembrance Day, viewed by 992.000 viewers, was 'Oorlogsdocumentaire: Voor Joden verboden 75 jaar na de invoering van de jodenster' broadcasted on NPO2, one of the public channels, from 21:00 - 22:00

Almost all programs adopt an emotional approach and focus on remembrance as main theme of the program (see **Table 4**). Both documentaries have an emotional approach, in which historical sources and witness accounts are used to cause an effect on the viewer's minds. One talk show has an analytical approach, enabling multiple people explain opinions on if 4 May should solely focus on victims of war, or if for example the victims of the refugee crisis can also be commemorated.

Table 4
The history offer on TV related
to 4 May Remembrance Day 2016

Number of viewers	Name of the program	Time and Date	Channel	Type	Who accounts for the past	Approach
2.599.000	NOS Nationale Herdenking 2017	4 May 2017 18:45 - 20:30	NPO 1	Reportage	Well-known individual(s), Voice-over/presenter, Civilians	Descriptive and emotional
1.127.000	Eenvandaag	4 May 2017 18:15 - 18:45	NPO 1	Talkshow	Well-known individual(s), Journalist(s), Witness(es)	Thematic
1.027.000	Dodenherdenking Waalsdorpervlakte	4 May 2017 19:50 - 20:10	RTL 4	Reportage	Witness(es), Voice-over/presenter	Emotional
992.000	Oorlogsdocumentaire: Voor Joden verboden 75 jaar na de invoering van de jodenster	4 May 2017 21:00 - 22:00	NPO 2	Documentary	Historian(s), Witness(es)	Emotional
944.000	De oorlogswinter van Roermond	4 May 2017 20:35 - 21:00	NPO 2	Documentary	Historian(s), Witness(es)	Emotional
757.000	Pauw	4 May 2017 22:45 - 23:45	NPO 1	Talkshow	Well-known individual(s), Journalist(s), Author(s)	Analytical
696.000	RTL Late Night	4 May 2017 22:30 - 23:45	RTL 4	Talkshow	Well-known individual(s), Journalist(s), Witness(es)	Emotional

On **5 May 2017**, there were seven programs that were either completely or partially related to the liberation of the Netherlands. For this analysis we reviewed two concerts, one news reel, one documentary type program and three other programs. These other programs were broadcasted only on this day so were not part of a series. They were all focused on how the day is celebrated in the Netherlands. The most watched program of these was the national news broadcasted at 20.00 (viewed by 1,790,000). The most watched TV documentary

type program related to the end of World War 2 was 2DOC: Het zijn maar Duitsers (They're only Germans), broadcasted on NPO2, one of the public channels from 19:25-20:30.

Almost all programs are dedicated to how people are celebrating Liberation Day, than on the actual history. The items addressing the liberation, solely focussed on all the festivals and events that happened throughout the Netherlands. At the liberation concerts and festivals there was a small focus on how witnesses experienced the liberation, for example Radio DJ Frank van der Lende travelled to various festivals by helicopter with his grandmother, to share her liberation experiences with the audience. There was also a small controversy surrounding the Artiesten voor de Vrijheid concert. The Ambassadors of Freedom, which are chosen every year, this year consisting of popular Dutch Rap group Broederliefde, were denied their ambassadorship after a video surfaced of them chanting anti-Semitic slogans after a football match⁽³⁸⁾.

38) NRC:

<https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/03/09/broederliefde-toch-geen-ambassadeur-van-de-vrijheid-a1549472> (Accessed 28-09-2017)

Table 5
The history offer on TV related
to 5 May Remembrance Day

Number of viewers	Name of the program	Time and Date	Channel	Type	Who accounts for the past	Approach
1.790.000	NOS Journaal	5 May 2017 20:00 - 20:25	NPO 1	News	Journalist(s), Voice-over/ presenter	Thematic
1.620.000	NOS Bevrijdingsdag 2017	5 May 2017 20:30 - 22:30	NPO 1	Concert	Mucisians	Thematic
419.000	2DOC: Het zijn maar Duitsers	5 May 2017 19:25 - 20:30	NPO 2	Documentary	Historian(s), Witness(es)	Emotional
202.000	Klokhuis	5 May 2017 18:25 - 18:45	NPO 3	Children's show	Historian(s), presenter	Emotional
170.000	De Tweeling	5 May 2017 23:00 - 1:15	NPO 2	Film	Actors	Emotional
192.000	Nationale viering bevrijding 2017	5 May 2016 12:00 - 13:00	NPO 1	Both lecture and talkshow	Journalist(s), Witness(es), Voice-over/ presenter	Analytical
63.000	Artiesten voor de Vrijheid	5 May 2017 22:40 - 23:10	NPO 3	Reportage/ Concert	Voice-over/ presenter/ Mucisians	Thematic

1.1.1 Remembrance days in the Netherlands on Social Media in 2017

As with the analysis on 2016, this subchapter focuses on the social media coverage of history related to the 4 and 5 May National Remembrance Days in The Netherlands in 2017. The analysis is based on all Twitter and Facebook posts using the hashtags #4mei (4May) and #dodenherdenking (Remembrance Day). These were the hashtags that were trending and related to the National Remembrance Days just before, during, and just after 4 May and 5 May in 2016.

On **4 May 2017**, an initiative to expand the focus of the 4 May Remembrance Day to include the refugee crisis as well, caused a lot of commotion on social media. Initiative taker Rikko Voorberg, a Dutch theologian, proposed an alternative remembrance ceremony to com-

memorate all refugees that have lost their lives in the Syrian conflict or while fleeing to Europe⁽³⁹⁾. Voorberg organised a small ceremony on Rembrandt Square, this ceremony took place at the same time as the national ceremony on Dam Square, holding a two-minute silence in honour of the victims. Around 40 people attended this ceremony

In an open letter on Facebook Rikko Voorberg explained his action, stating that the 4 May remembrance ceremonies commemorate a “black page” in history, while the current “black page” regarding the refugee crisis is largely ignored. According to Voorberg, a parallel between the past and present should be drawn, in order to find nuance and humanity in the heated debate around the refugee crisis.

Voorbergs stance caused a lot of backlash and online hate speech, but also created an opportunity for discussion: what do we commemorate on 4 May, and why is a selection made in who we commemorate?

Both Tineke Ceelen, director of “Stichting Vluchteling” (Refugee Foundation) and Hanna Luden, director of “Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israël” (Center for Information and Documentation Israel) argued that it is very important to commemorate the refugees who gave their life for freedom, but that 4 May is not suited for this. They pleaded that a ceremony 20 June, International Refugee Day, would be better, and keep 4 May for remembering the War. According to Luden, in order to learn from the past, we have to commemorate it. In other words, to draw lessons from the past, one has to know it.

Jewish activist and writer Robert Vuijsje wrote an essay claiming 4 May was being “de-jewished” by broadening the scope of the remembrance. By doing so, according to Vuijsje, the historical reason for the remembrance ceremony - the Holocaust - fades into the background, ignoring the importance of remembering the victims by the Jewish minority in the Netherlands. Vuijsje says in his essay: “I know there isn’t a lot of us (left), but can we [Dutch Jews] please keep the Remembrance Ceremony on 4 May?”

Another online controversy was caused when a 16-year-old Turkish

39) Full transcript of Voorberg’s letter can be found in Annex 2.

boy won the yearly poetry contest, and was asked to recite his self-written poem after the two minutes' silence during the National Remembrance Ceremony on Dam Square. A tweet about this by controversial Dutch politician and leader of the political party DENK Tunahan Kuzu, unleashed a large amount of counter tweets.

On **5 May 2017**, most social media posts focused on the celebration of freedom. While some focused on the irony of celebrating freedom in a country in which freedom, in their eyes, is no more than an illusion.

An op-ed by Gerald Thus, touched upon this sentiment, though in a different way. He argues that true freedom can't survive in a country where sexism and homophobia exist, where people are in severe debt and homeless and where refugees are being detained like criminals. According to Thus: "Freedom can only be freedom if everyone can partake in it. Freedom can only be freedom if everyone can celebrate it. Not only on 5 May, but 365 days in a year".

Overall, posts on 4 May 2017, were a lot more related to the discussion on who Remembrance Day should focus and why. This ongoing discussion is the reason why more posts were made on 4 May. The 5 May posts were largely cynical, alluding to the question of what does freedom mean if the "free" western values, established after the Second World War are under fire in present day Europe.

1.1.2 Analysis of the Remembrance days on TV and Social Media: how does 2017 compare to 2016?

During the Remembrance Days in May it can be seen from the analysis, that the focus on TV programs and documentaries in 2016 and 2017, mainly lies on the Second World War. The commemoration of the victims of the Second World War, and other war efforts, are focused upon most, with two ceremonies that are broadcasted live - both on NPO and commercial channels. History documentaries, historic films and talk shows broadcasted during the May days are also exclusively focused on remembrance of the Second World War.

However, a shift from this focus can be seen in social media posts,

where both years discussion erupted on who should be commemorated in the remembrance ceremonies and why. There is a call heard to widen the scope of remembrance. Not solely focusing on the victims of the Second World War, but also on the colonial past of the Netherlands, as seen in 2016, and the refugee crisis in 2017.

Furthermore, 5 May, seen over 2016 and 2017 on social media, has become more about the question of freedom. A shift is seen from a celebratory day, to questioning the meaning of freedom in a society increasingly threatened by terrorist attacks. What is the meaning of freedom if our western values are being threatened?

The media, including newspapers and radio programs, pick up these debates and provide background information and present different points of view. The posts on social media related to the remembrance days, include many examples of hate-speech, especially by those who feel that they are being threatened and accused. More nuanced voices can be heard as well, providing a more calm and reflective approach to an otherwise polarizing debate.

1.2 THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

On the first of July, the abolition of slavery in Surinam and the Antilles by the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1863 is commemorated. The abolition of slavery consists of a ceremony at the Slavery Monument in the Oosterpark in Amsterdam, and festivals named Ketí Koti (meaning “the chains are cut” in Surinamese) in different cities. Since 2016 the remembrance ceremony and the festival are held at different days (30 June for the ceremony and 1 July for the festival). As was the case with celebrating the end of WW2, it was seen fit to not have remembering and celebrating in one day. The remembrance activities are organised by the National Institute Dutch Slavery History and Heritage (NiNsee) and Foundation Amsterdam Centre.

1.2.1. The abolition of slavery on TV in 2016

For the 30 June/1 July Remembrance Days commemorating the Abolition of Slavery in Suriname and the Antilles, three programs related to this oc-

casation were broadcasted on TV. On 30 June, the remembrance ceremony was broadcasted, and around 5 minutes of the national 30-minute news broadcast of 20.00 pm was viewed by 1.698.000 people. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ The program that showed the remembrance ceremony was viewed by 95.000 people, and was broadcasted late in the evening. On 1 July, there was no coverage at all on the national television, including the long version of the national news broadcast. Except for the news items, there was no special TV program fully or partially related to the abolition of slavery, either on the public channels, or on the commercial channels. An overview of the complete offer of programs related to the abolition of slavery can be seen in **Table 6** below.

Table 6 The history offer on TV related to 30 June / 1 July Remembrance Day						
Number of viewers	Name of the program	Time and Date	Channel	Type	Who accounts for the past	Approach
1,992,000	NOS Journaal	30 June 2016 20:00-20:30	NPO 1	News	Voice-over/ presenter	Thematic
1,698,000	NOS Journaal	1 July 2016 20:00 - 20:30	NPO 1	News	None	Thematic
95,000	NOS Herdenking Slavernijverleden	30 Juni 2016 23:40-00:15	NPO 2	News	Voice-over/ presenter	Analytical

1.2.2 The abolition of slavery on TV in 2017

On the 1 July Remembrance Day in 2017 there were three important TV programs broadcasted, shown below in **Table 7**⁽⁴¹⁾. All programs were broadcasted on the public broadcaster, on commercial channels, there was no mention of the remembrance of slavery. The best watched program of 1 July, witch 242.000 viewers, was “Amsterdam Sporen van Suiker” (Amsterdam Traces of Sugar). A documentary in which well-known Dutch individuals with forefathers involved in slavery go on a journey to uncover their roots. The documentary has an emotional approach.

Two programs showed the Remembrance ceremony, one live - on NPO

40) Source: Stichting Kijkonderzoek.

41) Source: Stichting Kijkonderzoek.

1 - watched by 182.000 people. The other program was a summary of the ceremony, substituted with items on the Dutch history of slavery. This program was broadcasted on NPO 2, and viewed by 110.000 people.

Table 7
The history offer on TV related
to 1 July 2017 Remembrance Day

Number of viewers	Name of the program	Time and Date	Channel	Type	Who accounts for the past	Approach
242.000	Amsterdam Sporen van Suiker	1 July 2017 20:20-21:20	NPO 2	Documentary	Historian(s), Witness(es)	Emotional
182.000	NOS Herdenking Slavernij-verleden	1 July 2017 13:00-14:20	NPO 1	Reportage	Well-known individual(s), Voice-over/presenter, Civilians	Descriptive/emotional
110.000	NOS Herdenking Slavernij-verleden	1 July 2017 19:30-20:20	NPO 2	News	Voice-over/presenter, Well-known individual(s)	Descriptive/emotional

1.2.3 The abolition of slavery on Social Media in 2017

To perform this part of the analysis, all usage of the hashtag Keti Koti (#KetiKoti) in the days surrounding 1 July 2017, was researched. It includes posts from twitter and Facebook.

On social media it can be seen that a discussion is started surrounding the memory of slavery. Most users emphasize that there is still not enough done in the Netherlands to acknowledge and remember this part of history⁽⁴²⁾. The Dutch history education in secondary schools is challenged, stating that slavery is often skipped, or barely touched upon⁽⁴³⁾.

Many question why Keti Koti isn't remembered in the same way as 4

42) NRC:

<https://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/harriet-duurvoort-schande-dat-uitgerekend-nederland-geen-slavernijmuseum-heeft~a4504622/?hash=f4afaae8ba7b6144c66912cf3e397eb7843896b2> (Accessed 28-09-2017)

43) De Volkskrant: <https://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/commentaar-slavernijverleden-verdient-aandacht-maar-nationale-feestdag-is-niet-de-manier~a4504115/> (Accessed 28-09-2017)

May, and why so little attention is paid to it⁽⁴⁴⁾. Some people even pose the question if it can be compared to the holocaust, as slavery caused many dead related to ethnicity.

In the case of Ketj Koti remembrance of slavery, especially on social media, it goes hand in hand with blatant racism. From people wondering why white slaves aren't commemorated, to remarks accusing people to use their dark skin-color to cause a division in Dutch society by remembering slavery. Profanities were used, as well as numerous remarks telling people to go back to Africa⁽⁴⁵⁾.

1.2.4 Analysis of the abolition of slavery on TV and Social Media: how does 2017 compare to 2016?

From the analysis it becomes clear that the TV programs concerning the celebration of Ketj Koti have shifted from 2016 to 2017. In 2017 the 1 July ceremony of the Abolition of Slavery is broadcasted live, with an in-depth program dedicated to it later on the evening, followed by a documentary. Tones have also shifted. Where the main approach in 2016 was mainly analytical and descriptive, 2017 saw a more emotional approach to programme making.

The amount of viewers also increased in 2017, mostly due to the fact that the viewing times changed from midnight in 2016, to prime-time in 2017.

1.3 EUROPE DAY

Europe day is celebrated annually in EU member states since 1985 on 9 May. On this day it is commemorated that on this date in 1950, French minister Robert Schuman made a proposal to make the European Coal and Steel Community a joint organisation under French

44) Trouw:

<https://www.trouw.nl/samenleving/-waarom-herdenken-weinigen-de-slavernij-~a824fb8a/> (Accessed 28-09-2017)

45) Joop:

<https://joop.vara.nl/nieuws/racisten-gaan-los-op-livefeed-slavernijherdenking-nos> (Accessed 28-09-2017)

and West-German supervision, thus taking the first steps toward the European Union as it is known today.

1.3.1 Europe Day on TV in 2016

On 9 May there was no attention paid to the commemoration of Europe Day. It was not mentioned in the news broadcast of the National Broadcasting Foundation, and there were no special programs broadcasted dedicated to Europe Day. There was however brief attention in the news broadcast for the celebration in Russia on the 9th of May on which they celebrate the victory of the Soviet Union over Nazi-Germany in 1945. And in terms of mentions of the European Union, it was stated that professor in Turkish languages and cultures, Erik-Jan Zürcher, is returning a price he won in 2005. He felt that Turkey is becoming a dictatorial state and that the Turkish people are becoming more and more separate from the European Union.

1.3.2 Europe Day on Social Media in 2016

Due to the limited attention Europe Day received in the media, there are no noteworthy social media posts on this day. There were no tweets using the hashtag #Europadag2016, no Instagram posts and on Facebook the only posts regarding Europe Day were shared agenda's on what people could do, related to the European Union, on 9 May.

1.3.3 Europe Day on TV in 2017

On 9 May 2017, there was again no special interest in Europe Day on Dutch television. It was not mentioned in the news broadcast of the National Broadcasting Foundation, and there were no dedicated programs broadcasted. The only program related to Europe on Dutch television, was the Eurovision Song Contest, in which Europe Day was also not mentioned.

1.3.4 Europe Day on Social Media in 2017

Again, due to the limited attention Europe Day received on Dutch national television, the analysis on social media posts concerning Europe Day in

2017, will be short. The hashtag #Europadag2017 was used only used once on twitter, and only one post concerning Europe Day appeared on Facebook. The Facebook post is most noteworthy, explaining in a nuanced voice how, according to the writer, the EU has changed, and what changes need to be made in order to restore the core values of the EU.



Today it is Europe Day, to commemorate the fact that 67 years ago, Robert Schuman called for a supranational union.

Perhaps we can use this occasion to realise that the European Union has brought us so many good things: among other things peace, safety, stability, freedom and a certain ease in life. But we also have to look critically at the threat of the Union that comes from within.

The Union was first and foremost an economic cooperation; if that brings prosperity to everyone, then that is good. But if this prosperity comes at the cost of another, then that isn't good. When competition for working conditions and production costs are organized

within the Union that is astounding, and undermines the support and capacity of this cooperation. If the EU isn't capable to take a leading and driving force in the world when it comes to lower the risks of climate change that is very sad. When member states are arguing over taking in refugees from neighbouring areas that is shameful.

Yesterday it was Liberation Day, the memory of the end of WWII. We are quite aware that this long period of peace that we know after that does not come naturally in a historical perspective. We will then not be played out against each other by false sentiments of nationalism, hate or jealousy. But that does mean that we have to demand the EU makes a turn toward equal social conditions, a justified European fiscal system, and an economy made for people in harmony with our earth.

Al 60 jaar #vrede #Europadag2017



06:20 · 9 mei 2017

1 retweet

Celebrate #EuropeDay and the peace and solidarity it has brought Europe. Watch how it all began! For over 60 years! #peace #Europeday2017

1.3.5 Analysis of Europe Day on TV and Social Media: how does 2017 compare to 2016?

To conclude this part, Europe Day received little attention, compared to other Remembrance days. In both years it is not mentioned in news broadcasts, and barely mentioned online. Reflection is limited to a single post on Facebook, not causing an extensive online discussion on what, how, who and why we remember as seen with the other Remembrance Days.

Annex 1. Full texts of the #geen4meivoormij and #wel4meivoormij posts

Post by Christa Noëlla

"I always participated out of respect in the 4 May Remembrance Ceremony commemorating the dead. This year I decided not to participate [in this ceremony] any more. I believe that the 4 May Remembrance Ceremony has lost its value because of the hypocrisy of the [Dutch] society. For me, 4 May, has no purpose when we allow the rise of fascism and hatred of Muslims to happen. In addition, I believe that the history of my ancestors, should also be remembered. I don't want to join in a Euro-centric approach to history, where the history of white people is more important than the history of non-white people, which is a history in which the Netherlands had a very important role. I cannot remember the victims of fascism with a straight face, when we allow Nazi's to march in Dutch cities every month, under the banner of freedom of speech. How can we agree amongst ourselves that this terrible past is never allowed to happen,

when in the meantime we are bombing Syria? I don't join the 4 May Remembrance Ceremony. I think it is a much more beautiful sign if we provide a better future for the young generation, by fighting fascism in the present and by decolonization. Especially because we should learn from the past and not forget. #geen4meivoormij⁽⁴⁶⁾

Post by Brian

DUTCHIES: I have to get something of my chest. Just now I saw a post on Facebook by a young woman who very explicitly is not going to commemorate 4 May. Alongside her post shines a picture with the text "No 4 May for me". She calls the society hypocritical and says she does not want to participate in what she calls a Euro-centric society where white history is more important than not-white history. As a child, I always used to be the one laying the wreath during the annual national 4 May Remembrance Ceremony. I witnessed how elderly people were crying of sadness, how public speakers were stuttering because of emotions, and how children were hugging each other when they realised that something terrible as this [World War 2 and the Holocaust] had really happened in our country. Those people who lived through the war were left with terrible inner wounds, and I may be bitter, but I find the Facebookpost of this young lady lacking so much respect, that

46) Original Text (in Dutch): "Ik heb altijd uit respect meegedaan aan de Dodenherdenking op 4 mei. Dit jaar heb ik besloten om er niet meer aan mee te doen. Ik vind dat de Dodenherdenking zijn waarde heeft verloren door de hypocrisie van de samenleving. Voor mij heeft 4 mei geen zin wanneer we het opkomende fascisme en moslimhaat in Nederland gewoon zijn gang laten gaan. Daarnaast vind ik dat de geschiedenis van mijn voorouders ook herdacht moet worden. Ik wil niet meedraaien in een eurocentrische samenleving waar witte geschiedenis belangrijker is dan de niet-witte geschiedenis, waar Nederland een zeer belangrijke rol in heeft gespeeld. Ik kan niet met een stalen gezicht de slachtoffers van fascisme herdenken wanneer wij elke maand nazi's laten rond marcheren in de Nederlandse steden onder het mom van vrijheid van meningsuiting. Hoe kunnen wij het ermee eens zijn dat dit vreselijke verleden nooit meer mag gebeuren terwijl wij ondertussen bommen op Syrië gooien? Ik doe niet meer mee aan Dodenherdenking. Ik denk dat het een veel mooier signaal is als wij een betere toekomst kunnen achterlaten voor de jongere generatie door het hedendaags fascisme te bestrijden en door te dekoloniseren. Juist omdat wij moeten leren van het verleden en niet moeten vergeten,".

I am disgusted by it. Why would you not honour an important Remembrance Day, solely to make a point about something totally different? And, more importantly, why would you associate yourself with such a statement, when you know it is lacking respect towards the victims, the descendants and Dutch history in general? The way in which she makes her point is unique, but she lacks respect for the dead of the war from the past, and has no respect for the young people who were mown down at the beaches of Normandy in order to liberate us [in the Netherlands]. And all of this, whilst it would be possible for her to make a point without involving the 4 May Remembrance Day. For the moment, enough about this young lady, I will come back to her later.

The original meaning of the 4 May Remembrance Day was only to commemorate the Dutch victims from the Second World War. Since 1961 a broader definition of the Remembrance Day is officially used to remember ALL victims and people who died since the outbreak of the Second World War, therefore also including people from different races and nationalities. The official statement about the 4 May Remembrance Days is as follows: "During the National Remembrance Ceremony we commemorate everyone - civilians and military - who died or were killed in the Kingdom of the Netherlands or anywhere in the world during war and peace missions since the outbreak of the Second World War".

Therefore, the Netherlands is not self-centred at all, but rather emphatic in the way the 4 May Remembrance Day is held. It even remembers people who died during peace missions, such as Lebanon, Bosnia [-Herzegovina] or Afghanistan. Does Turkey remember all the dead from Afghanistan? Does Morocco, remember the dead from Syria? Does Surinam remember all the dead from Bosnia or Kosovo?

One day later, on 5 May, the liberation [of the Netherlands] from the German occupiers is celebrated. A day where in 1945 million people were liberated from repression, hunger and torture. On 15 August, the Indian [Indonesian] community in the Netherlands is celebrating Independence Day because of the Japanese surrender in the Dutch-In-

dies in 1945. Also, on these days the Netherlands is not self-centred. Let me return to the young lady from the Facebook post. She says that she is not able to commemorate the victims of Fascism with a straight face when we allow Nazi's to march in Dutch cities every month, under the banner of freedom of speech. She writes: "How can we agree amongst ourselves that this terrible past is never allowed to happen, when in the meantime we are bombing Syria?"

We? WE?!

In the meantime, young lady, WE are providing shelter in our tiny country at the moment to more than 42.000 refugees, of which well over 43% comes from Syria, and others from Iraq, Afghanistan and Eritrea. This number has increased almost five-fold compared to 2014. In the meantime, young lady, I am part of the society that you are all treating the same, whilst you imply that you are against generalisations and discrimination. In the meantime, young lady, I am part of the group of homosexuals that are in THIRTEEN countries in the Middle East alone, will be punished when they express their feelings. In Iran, Saudi-Arabia and Yemen homosexuals getting the death penalty is in the order of the day, and also on Gaza and Turkish-Cyprus being homosexual is a criminal offense. In the meantime, young lady, my driving instructor is Surinam, my [music] band member is Belgian, one of my music crew is Jewish and my best female friend is a Muslim. In the meantime, young lady, I am together with million other people in the Netherlands, both autochthone and allochthone, doing my very best to make a beautiful future inside our country. That is also "US"... Your intentions are probably good, and your attempt noble, but if you don't treat others with respect, don't expect to be respected in return. On 4 May I will take part in the Remembrance Ceremony, just because I have respect for the other, regardless of their sexual orientation, colour or race. #WEL4MEIVOORMIJ".⁽⁴⁷⁾

47) Translated from: "DUTCHIES: Mij moet iets van het hart. Zojuist zag ik een post op

Annex 2. Full text of Rikko Voorbergs Facebook post about 4 May 2017

Facebook van een jonge vrouw die zeer uitdrukkelijk geen 4 Mei gaat herdenken. Bij haar post prijkt een foto met de tekst "Geen 4 Mei Voor Mij". Ze noemt de samenleving hypocriet en geeft aan dat ze niet wil meedraaien in een volgens haar eurocentrische samenleving waar witte geschiedenis belangrijker is dan de niet-witte geschiedenis. Als kind was ik stevast een kranslegger tijdens de jaarlijkse nationale Dodenherdenking. Ik heb daarbij bejaarden zien huilen van verdriet, publieke sprekers horen stotteren van emotie en kinderen zien knuffelen nadat bij hun het besef was binnengedrongen dat zoiets vreselijks dan toch echt gebeurd was in ons land. Zij die de oorlog hebben meegemaakt hebben hieraan vreselijke innerlijke wonden overgehouden en misschien ben ik bitter maar de Facebookpost van deze jongedame vind ik dermate respectloos dat ik er van moet walgen. Waarom zou je een belangrijke herdenkingsdag niet eren enkel en alleen om een statement te maken over heel iets anders? En nog belangrijker, waarom zou je zo'n dag met je statement associëren als je weet dat dit heel respectloos is naar slachtoffers, nabestaanden en de Nederlandse geschiedenis in zijn algemeenheid? Uniek dat ze zo haar punt maakt, maar dan heeft ze totaal geen respect voor de oorlogsdoden uit het verleden en geen respect voor de jonge mannen die op de stranden van Normandië zijn neergemaaid om ons te bevrijden. En dat terwijl ze ook haar punt had kunnen maken zonder daarbij Dodenherdenking te betrekken. Voor nu even genoeg over deze dame. Daar kom ik zo op terug.

De oorspronkelijke opzet van Dodenherdenking ging uitsluitend om de Nederlandse slachtoffers in de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Sinds 1961 wordt officieel een ruimere definitie van Dodenherdenking gehanteerd die ALLE oorlogsslachtoffers of omgekomenen sinds het uitbreken van de Tweede Wereldoorlog omvat, dus óók mensen van andere rassen en nationaliteiten. Het officiële gedenkschrift voor Dodenherdenking op 4 mei luidt:

"Tijdens de Nationale Herdenking herdenken wij allen - burgers en militairen - die in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden of waar ook ter wereld zijn omgekomen of vermoord sinds het uitbreken van de Tweede Wereldoorlog, in oorlogssituaties en bij vredesoperaties." Nederland toont zich dus totaal niet eenkennig maar juist eerder begripvol bij de invulling van Dodenherdenking en herdenkt zelfs mensen die zijn omgekomen bij vredesoperaties zoals in Libanon, Bosnië of Afghanistan. In Turkije, herdenken ze daar alle doden van Afghanistan? In Marokko, herdenken ze daar alle doden van Syrië? In Suriname, herdenken ze daar alle doden van Bosnië / Kosovo?

Een dag later, op 5 mei, wordt de bevrijding van de Duitse bezetting gevierd. Een dag waarop in 1945 miljoenen mensen werden bevrijd van onderdrukking, honger en marteling. Op 15 augustus viert de Indische gemeenschap binnen Nederland Bevrijdingsdag vanwege de Japanse capitulatie in Nederlands-Indië in 1945. Ook op deze dag(en) toont Nederland zich dus niet eenkennig.

Terug naar de jongedame van de Facebookpost. Ze zegt dat ze niet met een stalen gezicht de slachtoffers van fascisme kan herdenken wanneer wij elke maand nazi's laten rond marcheren in de Nederlandse steden. Ze schrijft: "Hoe kunnen wij het ermee eens zijn dat dit vreselijke verleden nooit meer mag gebeuren terwijl

wij ondertussen bommen op Syrië gooien?"

Wij? WIJ?!

Ondertussen, jongedame, vangen WIJ hier in ons kleine kikkerlandje in opvangcentra door het gehele land momenteel meer dan 42.000 vluchtelingen op, waarvan ruim 43% afkomstig is uit Syrië maar ook mensen uit respectievelijk Irak, Afghanistan en Eritrea. Dit aantal is bijna vervijfvoudigd tegenover de cijfers van 2014. Ondertussen, jongedame, hoor ik bij die maatschappij die jij over één kam scheert terwijl je zelf impliceert dat je tegen generalisatie en discriminatie bent. Ondertussen, jongedame, hoor ik bij de doelgroep homoseksuelen die in DERTIEN landen in alleen al het Midden Oosten gestraft wordt bij het uiten van hun gevoelens. In Iran, Saoedi-Arabië en Jemen kunnen homo's aan de orde van de dag zelfs de doodstraf krijgen en ook in Gaza en op Turks Cyprus is homoseksualiteit strafbaar. Ondertussen, jongedame, is mijn rij-instructeur een Surinamer, mijn bandmaatje een Belg, een van mijn geluidsmensen Joods en mijn beste vriendin een moslim. Ondertussen, jongedame, doe ik elke dag samen met miljoenen andere Nederlanders, zowel autochtoon als allochtoon, enorm mijn best om een mooie toekomst te maken binnen ons land. Ook dát zijn "WIJ"... Je intentie is waarschijnlijk goed en je poging is nobel, maar als je geen respect kunt opbrengen voor een ander, verwacht dan ook geen respect terug. Op 4 Mei neem ik dus wél deel aan Dodenherdenking, gewoon omdat ik dat respect over heb voor een ander, ongeacht seksuele voorkeur, kleur of ras. #WEL4MEIVOORMIJ"

- 48) Original text: "Tijdens de Nationale Herdenking herdenken we de Nederlandse slachtoffers van de Tweede Wereldoorlog en oorlogssituaties nadien." staat er op de website van Het Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 Mei. En zo staan we voornamelijk stil bij de slachtoffers van de inktzwarte bladzijde van de vorige generatie. Maar om te zorgen dat de boodschap levend blijft, wordt - terecht - altijd een link gezocht met het heden. Tijdens speeches op de Dam klinkt steeds het strijdvaardige 'opdat wij niet vergeten', 'dit nooit weer' en 'geef de vrijheid door'.

Maar welke boodschap willen wij dan levend houden? Aan wie geven wij de vrijheid door als wij met allemaal bevrijde mensen samenkomen? Als je praat over slachtoffers van oorlogsgeweld doemen vandaag onherroepelijk de beelden op van doden op zee, de gasaanvallen en het 'slachthuis' van Assad, het levenloze lichaam van Aylan Kurdi op het strand van Bodrum, de moorden op sjiïeten, Yezidi en Arabische christenen.

De vluchtelingen crisis is de zwarte bladzijde van vandaag. Wij willen ons realiseren hoe schrijnend het is dat er mensen sterven doordat we die vrijheid zo onbereikbaar hebben gemaakt.

Niet om de Tweede Wereldoorlog te verdringen, laat staan te 'kapen'. Maar om de omgekomen vluchtelingen in verband te brengen met de verantwoordelijkheid die het herdenken van de de Tweede Wereldoorlog met zich meebrengt.

Waar we ons gevoel van verantwoordelijkheid met liefde en respect een plek wilden geven, raakten we een open zenuw. Veel burgers maar ook belangenorganisaties hebben ons in niet mis te verstane woorden aangegeven dat dat helemaal niet

Why we wanted to commemorate in freedom and why we are not going to do that.

“During the National Memorial Day we commemorate the Dutch victims of the Second World War and wars that followed afterwards”, it says on the website of The National Committee of the 4th and 5th May. And so we reflect/dwell upon the black page and the victims of the previous generation. To ensure the message stays alive, a link with the past is always sought after -and rightly so. During speeches on the “Dam” fightable lines, such as “that we should never forget”, “this never again” and “pas freedom on” echo. But what message do we want to keep alive? To whom do we pass freedom on if we gather with all liberated people? If you talk about victims of war violence, images of death bodies on sea, gas attacks and “slaughterhouse of Assad”, lifeless body of Aylan Kurdi on the beach of Bodrum, the murders of Sjiites, Yezidi and Arab Christians will unfortunately loom. The Refugee crisis is the black page of today. We would like to realise how poignant it is that people die because we made that freedom so unreachable.

We don't want to suppress the Second World War, let alone hijack. But we do want to connect the refugees that died to the responsibility of commemorating that the Second World War has given us.

Where we wanted to give our feelings of responsibility, love and respect a place in society, we hit a nerve. Many citizens but also interest organ-

mag, zómaar iedereen herdenken. En dat er op 4 mei alleen ruimte is voor denken aan de slachtoffers van toen.

Omdat boze woorden langzaam overgingen in boze daden hebben we besloten, met pijn in het hart, om ons initiatief aan te passen. We komen samen met alle betrokkenen om de ceremonie te volgen en ons af te vragen wat er de afgelopen dagen in vredesnaam is gebeurd.

We hopen dat we de kiem hebben gelegd voor meer verbinding op de Nationale Herdenkingen van de toekomst. We doen een appél op de verantwoordelijkheid die het herdenken van slachtoffers uit de Tweede Wereldoorlog met zich meebrengt: opdat wij niet vergeten, dit nooit weer, geef de vrijheid door!

Namens We Gaan Ze Herdenken,

Rikko Voorberg (We Gaan Ze Halen)

Matthijs Jaspers (Whocares)

Katinka Simonse (TINKEBELL. en We Gaan Ze Halen)

isations have indicated us, that not everyone can be commemorated. And on the 4th of May there is only room for the victims of the Second World War. Because angry words slowly passed on to angry deeds we have decided, with pain in our hearts, to change our initiative. We will gather with all involved to follow the ceremony and to reflect on what the previous couple of days for God's sakes has happened.

We hope we have planted a few seeds to have more connection on National memorials in the future.

We call upon everyone's responsibility that commemorating victims of the Second World War brings us: "So that we will not forget, never again, pass on the freedom!"

Rikko Voorberg

Matthijs Jaspers

Katinka Simonse

Footnotes

- 1) The descriptions of the different approaches are as follows: Analytical: the person who accounts for the past makes use of different perspectives, tries to emphasize more sides, describes confrontation between forces, situations, characters exhibiting similarities and differences. Emotional: the person who accounts for the past makes use of documents/stories aimed at creating an effect on spectators' minds, especially as regards to stressing situations. Thematic (descriptive): all aspects of the program relate to the same subject, without the aim of reaching a particular effect at the audience.
- 2) Article with an interview with the presenter: <https://www.televizier.nl/categorie/overig-tv-nieuws/presenter-hans-goedkoop-over-de-gouden-eeuw.11822.lynkx> (Accessed 24 June 2016).
- 3) Ibid.
- 4) The descriptions of the different approaches are as follows: Analytical: the person who accounts for the past makes use of different perspectives, tries to emphasize more sides, describes confrontation between forces, situations, characters exhibiting similarities and differences. Emotional: the person who accounts for the past makes use of documents/stories aimed at creating an effect on spectators' minds, especially as regards to stressing situations. Thematic (descriptive): all

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AUTORI / AUTORS

ITALY

LUISA CIGOGNETTI

E-Story Project Manager - Istituto Parri, Bologna

PIERRE SORLIN

University of Paris Sorbonne Nouvelle - Istituto Parri, Bologna

GISELLA GASPARI

Istituto Parri, Bologna

SLOVENIA

DARKO ŠTRAJN - SABINA AUTOR - TINA ŠEŠERKO - VANESA BREZINŠEK

Pedagogskega Inštituta (ERI), Ljubljana

SPAIN

JULIO MONTERO

UNIR - Universidad Internacional de La Rioja, Logrono

UNITED KINGDOM

ERIN BELL - FLORIAN GLEISNER

University of Lincoln, Lincoln

HUNGARY

LAZSLO STRAUZS - BALASZ VARGA - TEREZ VINCZE

Kosztolanyi Dezső Kávéház Kulturális Alapítvány, Budapest

POLAND

URSZULA JARECKA

Instytut Filozofii i Sociologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warsaw

THE NETHERLANDS

STEVEN STEGERS - LAURA STEENBRINK - RIVKA OTTEN

Euroclio, The Hague



Questo numero de Il Filo d'Europa è a cura di



www.assemblea.emr.it/europedirect

Grafica

Roberta Gravano

Centro grafico dell'Assemblea

Stampa

Centro stampa regionale

Finito di stampare nel mese di maggio 2018



SAVATORE GIULIANI
e FRANCESCO RISO



ZENIT- OHRANJANJE FILMSKE DEDIŠČINE, 2005

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Eer niet De Ruyter, maar he...
Weg met de VOC-mentaliteit!
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ISBN 978-88-905962-8-5



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