

The Leeuwarden Holocaust Monument: A place of “Dark” Heritage and *Emotional* Meanings



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This thesis is dedicated to young Linde Dekker, my daughter. Just never give up!

Abstract

At the start of the Second World War in the Netherlands on May 10th 1940, the city of Leeuwarden had a vibrant Jewish community and culture that were situated in its own Jewish neighbourhood. It consisted of nearly one thousand Jewish people, of whom a majority was deported and gassed. After the war, many of the surviving Jews left the city, to settle in Amsterdam or Israel. In 1987, a local monument was finally erected to commemorate these Jewish people that vanished in death camps. This local Holocaust monument is an example of “dark” heritage, because of various tangible and intangible aspects that remind of a “dark” and painful history. Many guided tours visit the monument for a brief explanation, and the primary school that is situated in the former Jewish school, keeps alive the memory of the monument’s commemorative meanings. These, and other local groups of stakeholders attach various meanings to this “dark” heritage monument, expressing these meanings via a range of emotions.

This thesis identifies the main meanings of an emotional nature, expressed from a local stakeholders perspective, via primary research, being on site observations and by conducting semi-structured interviews with ten representatives of local stakeholder groups. The results show the meanings attached to the Holocaust monument differ for various generations of locals and tourists. Furthermore, the original meaning of the monument as a site to commemorate the faith of the local Jewish inhabitants, seems to have broadened in the eyes of some local stakeholders.

Lastly, the year 2018 offers a unique opportunity to show both locals and tourists the meaning of the monument, when Leeuwarden is host of Cultural Capital of Europe. Guided tours should raise more awareness for the monument. The rich Jewish culture, both from the past and the present, could help to achieve this goal as well.

Keywords: dark heritage, dark tourism, dark emotions, meanings, stakeholders, Holocaust monument

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research aim and main research question

The research aim of this study is to gain insights into the role emotions and emotional meanings play in the collective local memory of a Holocaust monument and its surrounding neighbourhood in Leeuwarden, northern Netherlands. The main research question tackled in this thesis is: *What role do emotions play in the local stakeholders' memory of a Holocaust monument and its surrounding neighbourhood in Leeuwarden, northern Netherlands?*

By “local stakeholders”, in this research question and thesis as a whole, I refer to individuals or groups of people (the stakeholders) in Leeuwarden who display a common interest and shared heritage in the Holocaust monument and history of this city. By “tourists” or “visitors” I refer to anyone who visits the former Jewish neighbourhood and the Holocaust monument from outside the city of Leeuwarden.

Heritage is of different types, material and immaterial. To structure these types and explore the scale of the heritage, Howard (2003) introduced the term “heritage cube”. The first part of the cube describes the type of heritage and its elements, such as nature, landscape, monuments, artefacts, activities, people and sites. According to these elements, the Leeuwarden Holocaust monument is also a site, as both the monument and its adjoining primary school (called the Oldenije and known as the former Jewish school or Dusnus School) are closely connected. This connection will be explored in greater detail in chapter 1.2. The Leeuwarden Holocaust monument is also considered to be an artefact, because of its shape and size (see figure 1).

The next element of “the heritage cube” is represented by stakeholders, such as owners, insiders, visitors, governments and academics. Such representatives of local stakeholder groups were selected for this thesis, an aspect which will be explored in chapter 3.3.2. The last element of “the heritage cube”, the heritage scale, ranges from the world, a continent, nation, region and locality, up to the size of a family. The importance of the Leeuwarden Holocaust monument, discussed in this thesis, is on a local scale.

1.2 Case study: The Leeuwarden Holocaust monument

In order to understand the meaning and relevance of this Leeuwarden Holocaust monument, it is necessary to first examine the history of the local Jewish community. The first written files about this community date from around 1645, so that is where the description of its history in this thesis starts. Because the Leeuwarden Holocaust monument is situated opposite of the oldest municipal monument, the Grote Kerk [Big Church] from the 13th century, it is relevant to define and explore the concept of heritage. The children of the Jewish community were forced to attend their own Dunsus School, starting in 1941 (Joodse Gemeente Leeuwarden, n.d.). This represents the starting point of their deportation during the Second World War.

In connection to heritage, in this thesis, I will also discuss the concept of “dark tourism”. The element of “dark” represents the trauma of the Holocaust, and the tourism element points to increased contemporary interest to visit this Holocaust monument and site in Leeuwarden. Moreover, emotions play a major role in heritage and dark tourism performed at a Holocaust site, and, as such, in this thesis I will also explore this aspect of emotions expressed by different groups of stakeholders.

1.2.1 Short history of the Leeuwarden Jewish community from 1645 until 1940

In 1645, local authorities requested the Jewish community of Leeuwarden to register at the town hall, in order to count their numbers. According to Schabbing (2017), this Jewish community might have arrived from Emden, a town in the North of Germany. In 1670, the community bought a piece of land on the so-called “Oldenhoof”. This land was located in the central part of Leeuwarden and was used as a cemetery (Joodse Gemeente Leeuwarden, n.d.). From 1700 onwards, devotions were held, initially in a building that was shared with those of Catholic religion, which represented the other religious minority in town at the time.

Local authorities tolerated the Jews through the decades and centuries, although they took measures to control the immigration of poor Jews to town and the nuisance they took with them (Joodse Gemeente Leeuwarden, n.d.). An example is the on-going riots that happened after rabbi Jacob Nachman Levij was inaugurated in March 1747. Originally from Emden, he was not accepted by a minority of the local Jewish community and weekly brawls occurred before, during and after his devotions. Despite

efforts from the local authorities to stop these fights, the riots only ended after his main opponent, Isaak Levij, died around 1747 (Van der Woude, 2016). Because of these events, regulations were established, finally leading to rest and peace in the Jewish community. In 1755, a synagogue was opened in town, in the Sacrementsstraat. New cemeteries were opened in 1786 and in 1855 (in present times the only remaining cemetery, at the Spanjaardslaan, just outside the city centre).

In this city center, a Jewish neighbourhood consisting of several streets arose. In the late 19th century, economic conditions for the Jewish community in Leeuwarden were poor, and numbers started going down. Between around 1900 and 1940, the number of inhabitants of the Jewish community decreased. Even so, several Jewish organizations were established and Jewish locals mainly became entrepreneurs of different trades (Joodse Gemeente Leeuwarden, n.d.).

1.2.2 Short history of the Leeuwarden Jewish community between 1940 and 1945

Only in October 1941, more than a year after the German invasion of May 1940, all Jewish school children were expelled from education, forced to enrol in a newly established local Jewish school, being their Sunday school, the Dusnus School (Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 mei, 2016). Furthermore, a local Jewish council was appointed in November 1941. The first raid to capture the Jewish inhabitants of Leeuwarden took place on the 13th April, 1942. More organized raids were carried out between the end of August 1942 and February 1943. The majority of the local Jewish community that lived in Leeuwarden when the Second World War started, died in death camps (around 550 of them). The remaining 250 Jews took shelter and survived the war (Joodse Gemeente Leeuwarden, n.d.).

1.2.3 Short history of the Leeuwarden Jewish community after the Second World War

As only a few hundred members of the Jewish community survived, Jewish community life resumed on a small scale after the war. Luckily, the local synagogue and its interior survived, being untouched by the Germans. In 1948, it reopened its doors, but soon it was decided that it simply was too big for the community at that time. A major part of the interior, including the scrolls, was handed over to the Jewish youth village Kfar Batja, near Ra'ana in Israel (Joodse Gemeente Leeuwarden, n.d.).

Currently, the relatively small Jewish community holds its services in a small synagogue (sometimes called “shul”) in the Slotmakersstraat. The interior of this synagogue (established in 1980) is from the former synagogue of Gorredijk. Some important events took place in the last few decades: in 1987, the Holocaust monument at the Jacobijnerkerkhof was erected, being restored in May 2001. In 2013, the Jewish community started celebrating its annual Chanukah outdoors again, on the site of the Holocaust monument. This celebration is open for the public and being visited by dozens of people, both Jewish and locals, regardless of the often wet Leeuwarden weather.

A major event, organized and promoted with the help of the Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden [“Historic Centre Leeuwarden”, abbreviated as HCL] and other organizations, is the “Joodse Open Huizen” (translated as “Jewish Open Day”) in the former Jewish neighbourhood, an open house for the community of Leeuwarden to look inside the houses of the former Jewish inhabitants. More important, however, are the storytellers, who inform the audience about the former Jewish inhabitants and their sad stories. These Joodse Open Huizen, which have been organized in 2014 and 2016, will be organized again in 2018. Because of the huge crowd that gathered, it can be considered as an emotionally important event for both locals and other visitors.

After the Second World War, the HCL received a special gift from Mr Fuks, a surviving member of the local Jewish community. This collection is being referred to as the so-called “Fuks collection”. It consists of a large and rare collection of books and literature from Jewish origin from the 19th century, which survived the Second World War. Parts of the Fuks collection are currently displayed in the HCL. The collection is important for the local Jewish community, as it consists of several rare (and therefore important) books describing the history of the Jewish people (Studiecentrum voor Judaica en Hebraica Dr L. Fuks, 2013).

1.2.4 The Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden

To remember the fate of the local Jewish community during the Second World War, a Holocaust monument was erected in 1987. It was commissioned by the city council and is situated in front of the former Jewish Dunsus School. It consists of a column and two aisles. The column has the shape of a mezuzah with 17 rings (see figure 1). A

traditional Jewish mezuzah contains written texts from the bible book Deuteronomy, chapter 6 and chapter 11, hanging in a small tube at the door-posts of houses with Jewish inhabitants (De Munck, 2017).



Figure 1: The column of the Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden (source: Hans Dekker, 2016)

Behind the 4.50-meter-high column, a wall is situated, coated with 600 ceramic tiles. The monument is situated in front of the former Jewish School. In a 15-meter long wall of this school, two memorial tables are immured. The first memorial table reads “JOODSE SCHOOL 1886-1943”, the second memorial table reads (on the table in Hebrew language) “Genesis 37:30: the child is no longer there” (Traces of War, 2017). The wall also contains a list of absent children who were taken away by the Nazis. Currently, this Monument is opposite of the Grote Kerk [Big Church], one of the main Protestant churches in Leeuwarden. While imbued with meaning of Holocaust history and heritage, the Holocaust Monument together with the former Jewish neighbourhood in Leeuwarden seem to be forgotten or ignored by the local community, as well as by the visitors in the area.

1.3 Societal relevance

The Holocaust Monument and the former Jewish neighbourhood of Leeuwarden where the memorial monument is located, seem to be forgotten or ignored in the collective memory of the local community. Information about these can be found mostly in the online mediums. In the offline environment of the lived reality of the everyday, attention

and awareness about the holocaust in Leeuwarden and the local monument that was erected to remember this tragedy seem to be missing. Memories and emotions are closely connected, and investigating this connection in the context of this particular case study can provide understandings of how such a monument can be revived in the memory of the city, if at all. Such an aspect is of increasing relevance as in 2017 there will be a three-decade commemoration since the monument was erected in 1987.

Also, the upcoming Leeuwarden Cultural Capital 2018 event will provide opportunities to show such a significant part of the city's history to a large number of national and international visitors. In other words, this event could, or maybe should, be a catalyst to revive the monument in the living history of the collective local's memory. The core term for the upcoming event is the Frisian term "Mienskip", which refers to the social link between people or groups of people in society, in order to connect them. Therefore, the societal relevance of my thesis is connected to raising awareness and to reviving this Holocaust Monument in the living memory of locals and visitors.

1.4 Thesis structure

The theoretical background is elaborated in chapter 2. Besides a short justification in academic terms, it incorporates theories on both heritage tourism and dark tourism. A separate sub-chapter on emotions and affect and the link to heritage tourism and dark tourism is incorporated as well. Chapter 3 starts with a justification of the chosen methodologies and discusses these chosen methodologies in detail. Chapter 4 contains the results of the interviews and the observations. Finally, chapter 5 contains the expectations for the future of the Holocaust monument, a reflection, recommendations and ends with the answer to the main question.

Chapter 2: Theoretical background

This chapter presents the theoretical concepts of heritage, dark tourism and emotions, as all three concepts are closely linked to the case of the Holocaust monument and their meaning to groups of local stakeholders in Leeuwarden. An increasing number of studies relate to emotions from a visitor's perspective. It is equally important to define emotions from a local stakeholders' perspective at non-hedonistic sites, to experience how these emotions influence the motivation and experience of both local stakeholders and visitors (with the latter being a stakeholder group as well, from outside the local community).

2.1 Academic relevance

Most literature on dark tourism focuses on the experiences of tourists visiting places such as the Lepong Japang tunnel system on West Sumatra, Indonesia (Lennon & Foley, 1996), Nazi death camp Buchenwald, Germany (Beech, 2000), World War One cemeteries in Flanders, Belgium (Darlington, 2014); World War Two former transit camp Westerbork, the Netherlands, (Isaac & Cakmak, 2014), walking the Falls of West Belfast, Northern Ireland (Skinner, 2016) and visitors experiences of the Airborne Museum in Oosterbeek, the Netherlands (Gieling & Ong, 2016).

Few studies to date focus on locals' experiences of living in places of dark tourism [but see Hindriksen (2015) who investigates holocaust tourism linked with locals' emotions living in close proximity to a former transit camp in the Netherlands called Westerbork]. A study with a different perspective, is that of Alcatraz in the United States of America and Robben Island in South Africa (Strange & Kempa, 2003). This study focuses on internal and external interest groups when it comes to dark tourism. There might be other studies investigating connections between heritage tourism, dark tourism and emotions, but there is limited attention to emotions felt by locals and visitors in regard to a Holocaust monument. This research links the collective memory of stakeholder groups to emotions about a Holocaust monument.

Furthermore, it brings the fields of heritage tourism and dark tourism together, linking both of them to emotions. It is important to understand emotions in dark tourism, as it allows researchers to better understand emotional experiences of visitors (Buda, 2015, Nawijn et al, 2016; Stone & Sharpley, 2008).

2.2 Heritage Tourism

Ashworth (2005) defines heritage as “that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, whether they be economic or cultural (including political and social factors) and choose to bequeath to a future” (p.7). Thus, heritage is both about the present, the past and the future. Heritage can be considered a tourism resource and a tool for economic development of rural or urban settings. To be more specific, it refers to various strategies to attract visitors and to contribute to boosting local economies (Graham, Ashworth & Turnbridge, 2005). The concept of heritage also encompasses the cultural element, which refers to meanings of cultures, both as knowledge and experience or a cultural product. Heritage also has a socio-political function, being a prominent link between history and power in our contemporary societies (Graham, Ashworth & Turnbridge, 2005, p. 17).

On the other hand, Schouten (1995) defines heritage as “history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing” (p.21). The historical aspect connects parts, or interpretations of that past, to the present. Thus, heritage experiences are mostly about tangible remains of the past, interpreted and experienced in the present. So, heritage can be interpreted as either tangible or intangible. Examples of tangible heritage are monuments, sites and landscapes (Antrop, 2005), besides castles, windmills, bell towers (Ashworth, 2005) or ancient rock paintings (Conway, 2014). Intangible heritage ranges from music genres, experience in working with leather or ancient community festivals (Conway, 2014).

Turnbridge and Ashworth (1995) discuss contested heritage, stating that all heritage belongs to either an individual or a group of people. As a result, that same heritage cannot belong to other individuals or a group, leading to the conclusion that any given heritage site is an object which entails intangible aspects, and immaterial meanings attached to it. The Voortrekker Monument [Pioneer Monument] in Pretoria, South Africa, is considered an example of contested heritage, having a different meaning for both Voortrekkers / Pioneers (that left former South African states Transvaal and Oranje Vrijstaat) and local indigenous people.

Legacy of communities can be connected to either the natural environment or the creations of humans. This is known as heritage, with natural and cultural components

(Lowenthal, 2005). Cultural heritage is claimed to be created in the past, natural heritage is of nature and natural landscapes. Natural heritage is traditionally argued to be temporally older than cultural heritage, whilst concomitantly having contemporary relevance and implications. From a social constructionism perspective, both cultural and natural heritage are without intrinsic values, these being socially, culturally and politically re/interpreted and co-constructed.

As Antrop (2005) explains, the transformations of the landscape caused by the Industrial Revolution, was considered as destroying the landscape and the environment at the end of the eighteenth century. Perceptions people have about landscapes, nature and peace of the landscape itself are affected by driving forces such as globalization, impact of calamities, accessibility and urbanization. This forms the basis of the cultural landscape (Antrop, 2005). These cultural landscapes can be both rural and urban. I would argue that all landscapes that have been touched by humankind, are cultural landscapes, regardless of geographical location or size. As stated before, cultural landscapes contain both tangible and intangible elements. Changing these elements might lead to an alteration or even a loss of identity. It can also lead to a new cultural landscape with a new identity. Finally, Antrop (2005) mentions the four categories of cultural heritage: sites, landscapes, monuments and natural landscapes.

Heritage tourism is closely connected to heritage attractions (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Some of the main reasons for tourists to take heritage tours are for educational purposes (which can be described as the motivation of tourists to study or learn), entertainment (tourists' demand to be entertained), and the purpose to be exposed to a personalized form of heritage (tourists' desire to be involved in a "personal heritage experience") (Poria, Butler & Airey, 2004, p.10).

Focussing the discussion on heritage from a global to a national scale, the new Dutch national policy for the management of cultural heritage in the Netherlands is of particular importance for my thesis whereby I bring heritage and tourism together. This policy has been implemented on the first of July 2016. All museum-related exhibits, monuments and archaeological objects on land and water have been integrated in one law, to protect all Dutch cultural heritage. In this new policy, responsibilities and supervision are also secured for future generations. Stakeholders involved in and

impacted by this new policy are, for example, owners and users of monuments, museums visitors, local communities, professionals in the heritage sector and authorities at different governmental levels (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2016).

Focussing even further, to a local perspective, the local Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden seems to be forgotten on a collective basis. That does not automatically mean that local stakeholder groups do not remember the monument anymore. As Schwartz (2009) defines collective memory as “remembering and forgetting, knowledge and ignorance, unevenly distributed among different communities, groups, and individuals” (p.123), this means that some stakeholders have stronger emotions and affect with the monument, than others.

2.3 “Dark” Tourism

Dark tourism is a term that was coined only two decades ago. It has existed as a practice for at least two thousand years, and is being defined as “the act of travel to sites, attractions and exhibitions of death, disaster or the seemingly macabre” (Seaton, 1996, p. 224). A variance of dark tourism is thanatourism, defined by Seaton (1996) as “travel to locations whereby actual and/or symbolic encounters with death are possible” (p.224). The basis of thanatourism is shaped by the concept of ‘thanatopsis’, which refers to the thought of death.

Seaton divides thanatourism in five separate categories. The first category is travel to sites where people have been executed in public. Such an example would be Waalsdorpervlakte, just north of The Hague in the Netherlands, where over 230 members of the resistance have been killed by the Germans in the Second World War. The second category is travel to locations where individuals or groups of people have been killed in the past. Examples are battlefields (Waterloo, Belgium), death camps (Sobibor, Poland), places where genocide took place (Killing fields of Cambodia) and sites where famous people died (the tunnel in Paris where Lady Diana died in a car crash). The third category is travel to grave-yards or memorials, like Margraten in the Netherlands, which is the main Netherlands American cemetery, with over 8,300 graves of American soldiers that died in the Netherlands in 1944 and 1945. The fourth category is travel to sites or museums which represent death or killing, like the torture

museum in Rüdeshheim (Germany), which collects and exhibits a collection of torture machines. Finally, it encompasses travel to sites where simulation of death, or re-enactment takes place, as for example the battle of Bourtange (in the north-east of the Netherlands), which takes place every summer.

On the other hand, a distinction between dark tourism and thanatourism is identified (Buda, 2015; Light, 2017). Light (2017) defines dark tourism as “an umbrella form for any form of tourism that is somehow related to death, suffering, atrocity or crime” and thanatourism as “a more specific concept, about long-standing practices of travel motivated by a specific desire for an encounter with death” (p.277). Thus, it is to be argued that dark tourism is of the present, whilst thanatourism has a much longer history. However, Light considers both terms as parallel and closely-related together. The thought of death that Seaton mentions, has been re-worked by Buda (2015) in the light of the psychoanalytic concept of the death drive, defined as “a constant force at the junction between life and death, which isn’t understood in a biological sense of physical demise of the body, nor in opposition to life” (p.1).

Other terms used to refer to the phenomenon of dark tourism are “heritage that hurts” (Roberts & Stone, 2014, p.9), “difficult heritage” (Logan & Reeves, 2009, p.1) and “atrocities tourism” (Beech, 2003, p.39) amongst others. Additionally, Lennon and Foley (2000) signal a “fundamental shift in the way in which death, disaster and atrocity are being handled by those who offer associated tourism products” (p.3). They label these three phenomena “dark tourism” and consider the topic of death to have a link with religion and ideologies, in order to provide meaning to (a group of) people. These practices are ritualized to a certain extent, resulting in a ‘permanent’ site for visitors. Dann (1998) proposes and conceptualizes several motives for dark tourism. These motives range from the seeking of experiences that remind visitors of dark sites and locations of one’s own mortality to the search for experiences that challenges one’s imagination. Dann calls these reasons examples of “dicing with death”.

According to Ashworth (2002), the motives for visiting dark tourism sites and locations range from curiosity and interest in violence, suffering and death, self-understanding and a search for identity, a sense of social responsibility, empathy and horror. In his article on the 1915 war cemeteries of Galicia, Ashworth (2009) describes the term

“dissonant heritage” (p.6), being heritage which interpretation causes feelings of “disquiet, alienation or even distress to some recipients of it”. He states that powerful human emotions play an important role by the violence resulting in casualties on large scale to be seen. It is claimed to be dissonant by its nature by Ashworth, because different groups have different ways of coping with heritage resources (Light, 2017).

An important element of dark tourism is the notion that it is grounded in post-modernity (Knudsen, 2011; Stone & Sharply, 2008). The features of this notion are for example global communication technologies that play a role in the creation of interest in dark tourism. Furthermore, this development of tourism products can be considered as an opportunity, supported by educative elements of sites which go hand in hand with commercial ethics and partial commodification of dark tourism sites. Thanatouristic sites encode specific events in a different way, and the encoding process happens through the site’s tangible aspects, but also through the use of various communication tools and technological devices on site (Knudsen, 2011).

In addition, seven “dark suppliers of the tourism product” can be identified (Stone (2006, p.152). According to Stone, first are the Dark Fun Factories, which are visitor sites, tours and attractions which mainly focus on entertainment. These so-called factories have a commercial goal and present real or fictional death and macabre events. The London dungeon in England is an example. The second dark supplier is Dark Exhibitions, which are sites or exhibitions that attempt to educate and provide learning opportunities. Usually, they are not located on the actual site of death and / or macabre events. The Body Worlds exhibition, which has attracted over 40,000,000 visitors worldwide, is an example. A third type of dark suppliers is Dark Dungeons, attractions or sites focused around (former) courthouses and prisons, which can be considered as a mix between education and entertainment. Usually, these sites offer an excellent tourist infrastructure, including a museum and restaurant facilities. One such Dutch example would be the Blokhuispoort (being an old Dutch word for “jail house”), the former prison of the city of Leeuwarden. This place is currently being transformed to a hostel, public library and the headquarters of the Cultural Capital of Europe 2018 organization. Dark Resting Places such as cemeteries and grave yards are the fourth type of dark tourism suppliers. One such example would be the famous Cimetière du Père-Lachaise in Paris, France, where Jimmy Morrison and Edith Piaf

are buried. Closely connected to the fourth supplier is the fifth one, Dark Shrines, encompassing places of remembrance of the recently deceased, such as the grave of popstar Michael Jackson on Woodlawn Cemetery in Detroit, USA. Stone's sixth supplier is Dark Conflict Sites, which refer to sites and destinations associated with military conflict and war. Examples are re-enactment weekends, which can be found on many locations during the summer, or the Casemates Museum on the Afsluitdijk in the Netherlands. This museum still exhibits the original casemates from the Second World War, that were used in May 1940, as a defensive line against German forces. The final supplier is Dark Camps of Genocide and refers to "the darkest edges of the dark tourism spectrum" (p.157): those places and sites which represent scenes of genocide, atrocity and other catastrophes. All Holocaust camps from the Second World War would be an example, but also sites in countries like Rwanda, Congo or Cambodia. The Seven Dark Suppliers range from "lightest" to "darkest" (Stone, 2006).

Sharpley (2005) identifies four metaphors for dark tourism consumption. The first metaphor is dark tourism as an experience, meaning that these dark tourism experiences give meaning to the social existence of each individual tourist. Examples are war-related museums, memorials and war cemeteries. The second metaphor for dark tourism motivations that Sharpley identifies, is dark tourism as play. The dominant factor in this category is the collective mourning, celebration or remembrance, without the death of a group of people or an individual being the initial driver. Examples are forms of pilgrimage, like the anniversary of Elvis Presley's death at his own estate, Graceland, by his fans. The third metaphor is dark tourism as integration. Within this category, Sharpley and Stone (2009) mention two sub-categories: firstly, the integration of tourists into the object or site of consumption, like the Cu Chi tunnels in Vietnam, where tourists are allowed to crawl inside, to experience life as a soldier during the Vietnam war (Sharpley, 2005). Secondly, being the darkest form of tourism, sites where tourists try to integrate to witness or expect death. This happened in Sarajevo during the Yugoslav Wars, when tours to operate as sniper were organized for tourists. The last metaphor is dark tourism as classification, meaning that tourists travel to places that are considered to be dangerous, like El Salvador, which in the recent past was commonly known to be dangerous for backpackers. Those that did go though, are proud to wear t-shirts stating "I survived El Salvador" (Sharpley, 2005).

Sharpley's concept can be concluded in a matrix (see figure 2), with the demand on the vertical axe (ranging from pale till darkest) and the supply on the horizontal axe, ranging from accidental till purposeful. When sites of death and atrocity are part of any of the above-mentioned metaphors, this can is considered dark tourism.

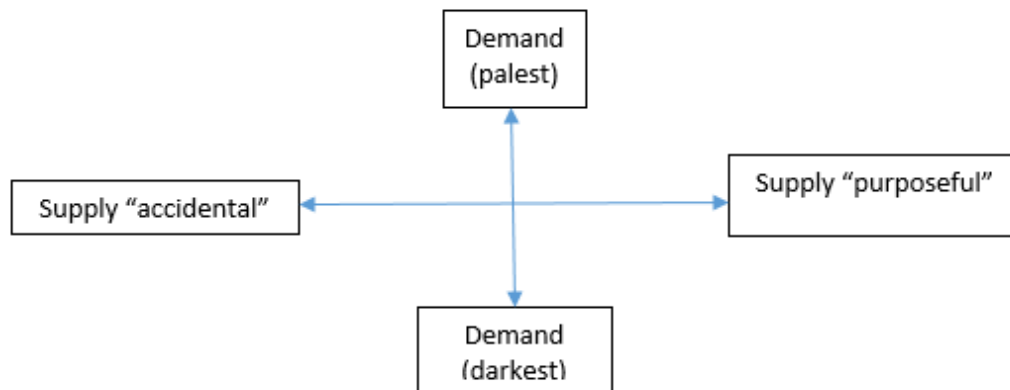


Figure 2: Matrix of dark tourism demand and supply (Source: Sharpley, 2005)

Different clusters of motivation influence the visit and experience of dark sites. That is, these clusters allow researchers of darker forms of tourism for a better understanding into the emotional experiences of visitors. This would provide a solid basis to further study consequences and causes (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

Finally, Nawijn, Isaac, Van Liempt and Gridnevskiy (2016) divide these clusters of emotions in positive and negative clusters, stating “the combination of negative emotions and positive emotions can be key in understanding how tourists experience these dark tourism sites and how meaning and behaviour is affected via this emotional experience” (p.244). They distinguish 33 emotions, ranging from affection and embarrassment to irritation and shame. In other words, both positive and negative emotions come to surface at the same time, when tourists visit a dark site. Both clusters of emotions are important in understanding how these dark sites are experienced and how the meaning of the site and the behaviour that is shown is influenced via the emotional experience. This clearly indicates that potential effects of emotions and their meanings on behaviour and meaning-making are caused by both positive and negative emotional experiences.

2.4 Emotions and their meanings in Heritage and “Dark” Tourism

The word ‘emotions’ comes from the Latin word ‘emovere’, meaning ‘to move, to move out’ (Dictionary.com, 2017). Closely connected to emotions are affects and feelings. Emotions should not be mistaken with the term “moods”, which occupy several levels of affect, being affective traits and emotions (Rosenberg, 1998). Furthermore, moods are not directly linked to specific situations or objects (Rosenberg, 1998). Emotions on the other hand, can directly influence behaviour of the individual or group. Emotions and affects can be considered as intangible. Whereas emotions are a ‘subjective content’ and have a ‘qualified intensity’, affect is the actual intensity (Massumi, 1995).

According to Anderson (2006), the definition of affect is “a transpersonal capacity which a body has to be affected (through an affection) and to affect (as the result of modifications)” (p.735). According to Plutchik (1980), the eight basic emotions are joy, sadness, acceptance, disgust, fear, anger, surprise and anticipation. Some authors categorize emotions as either positive (happiness about the birth of a child) or negative (grief over the sudden death of a loved one). These emotions happen inside, around and between bodies (Buda, 2015). Emotions show the way individuals, groups of people or societies feel about something or someone.

Harding (2015) states that emotions are considered to be a phenomenon of the individual and private. However, she points out that these emotions are being recognized as part of a bigger context on a deeper level, referring to professional, institutional and organizational settings, but also to relations on a personal or family level. Ahmed (2004) argues that emotions not only shape both individuals and society, but also the personal space of an individual and the space of the collective.

Anderson and Smith (2001) are widely considered as being the first to call for emotions to form a basis in debates in human geography, as they connect the term emotions with “doing, knowing and being”, rather than “reflecting, abstracting, translating and representing” (Anderson & Smith, 2001, p.9). Pocock (2015) states that emotions are of potentially added value for scientific research, as the researcher, besides gathering data, always develops feelings (whether positive or negative) about the topic of research. Buda (2015) states that performances and encounters in tourism are

experienced through emotions and feelings, mentioning that research on what feelings are, and what they do with tourists and in tourism, hardly exists.

In their book on semiotics and heritage, Waterton and Watson (2014) suggest that heritage tourism students should explore the space between performance and representation by applying a variety of ethnographic methods. They claim this could be achieved by using “their bodies as instruments of research” (p. 179). Furthermore, history (on which heritage is based) is memory, criticized and seen through different kinds of documents, either written, visual or aural. On the other hand, memory is history, seen through affect. As affect is not objective, but subjective, it is nearly impossible to examine the claims of history like the claims of affect (Winter, 2010).

Beech (2003) identifies two types of visiting tourists in his research on Nazi death camp Buchenwald in Germany. Firstly, tourists without personal attachment to the site, secondly tourists who have a personal meaning to the site (for example, being a survivor of the camp). This leads to a conclusion that emotions can play an important role when people visit a dark site. In addition, Singh (2014) mentions that thorough scrutiny of several cases (for example tourism in Thailand after the tsunami or even Graceland, where Elvis Presley lived) reveals that tourists are not necessarily looking for negative emotions when visiting dark sites. Instead, they are “ambassadors of peace” (p.23), trying to come to peace with an emerging global culture that rejects war in any form. As a result, he describes the “love factor”, with love obviously being an example of emotions.

Poria, Reichel and Biran (2006) state that heritage and dark tourism have a link to emotions. They claim that in order to really understand and manage a heritage or dark site, the emotional link between an individual tourist or group of tourists and the space / site visited, should be explored. As stated above, Logan and Reeves (2009) use the term “difficult heritage” when describing sites of for example genocide or political imprisonment. In their book however, only Young (2009) refers to the concept of dark tourism with his article about Auschwitz-Birkenau. Thus, as Logan and Reeves (2009) write, “arguably, dark tourism has yet to be fully recognized as a mutually relevant cross-referential field in heritage studies contexts” (p.15).

On the other hand, when examining dark heritage locations, White and Frew (2013) suggest a trend in further heritage research to provoke tropes for dark tourism. These sites, and the associations or emotions connected to them, should relate to “historic human experience” (p.1). So, to conclude, it can be said that both heritage and dark tourism, with the case study of the Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden, connect to the Holocaust history. These two theoretical concepts are better explored and understood via emotions and meanings attached to these emotions.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Methodological justification

Qualitative research is an approach that allows researchers to examine people's stories and experiences in greater detail (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). Commonly used qualitative research methods are observation and in-depth interviews amongst others. The research approach in this thesis employs these two qualitative methods of data collection: in-depth, semi structured interviews and non-participant observation. These two methods allow me to identify experiences and issues from the perspective of the interviewees, in order to understand the interpretation and meaning they attach to the object of research, the Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden, the Netherlands.

The researcher, myself, is looking for opinions, meanings and emotions, rather than numbers, facts or figures. Therefore, I do not use any quantitative research methods, which would have impeded the process of capturing these personal stories. The observation part of the research took place at the Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden, which is situated at the Jacobijnerkerkhof in the center of the town. Considerations about ethical issues and a personal reflection have been added in appendices 1 and 2.

3.2 Participant observation

Observational research sometimes is referred to as being an unobtrusive method, meaning that there generally is no involvement between the researcher and the observed (Kellehear, 1993). In general, this leads to unawareness from the observed participants of actually being observed. However, I realize that it is not always possible to be invisible when spending long hours at the same location, apparently being inactive. Contact was avoided with anyone who passed by or spent time at the monument in any way, to avoid people changing their behaviour at the location.

Observation is defined as "a research method that enables researchers to systematically observe and record people's behaviour, actions and interactions" (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011, p.170). Observation allows researchers to obtain a detailed description of social settings or events in order to situate people's behaviour within their own socio-cultural context (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011, p. 170).

According to Veal (2011), four types of observation exist. The type of observational research that is most valid for this research, is the unstructured / naturalistic one, meaning that no formal rules are established. The researcher only seeks to describe what happens on site, only to develop explanations and understandings in the process. This way of observation can be compared to the informal, in-depth interviews (Veal, 2011). Denscombe (2010) mentions two kinds of observation. The first kind is systematic observation, often linked with numbers and statistics and originating from social psychology. The second kind is participant observation, often associated with anthropology and sociology.

One of the main reasons to employ qualitative research is to understand culture and the different processes of the group being researched for the project. However, these two different kinds of observation share important characteristics. The setting is usually a natural one, with the observation being a direct one, meaning that the researcher is there where the action is.

Another characteristic is that the data that is collected during the fieldwork, is gathered during real life situations. Spradley (1980) distinguishes three main elements of participant observation: firstly, what people do. Secondly, what people know, and finally what people create and use. During the observation near the Holocaust monument, I only focused on the first and third element: to observe what people do, create and use. Thus, I observed cultural behaviour such as events and interactions. Besides, I also observed cultural artefacts such as the monument itself, as well as symbolic marks (the meaning of the monument). Finally, the issue of perception implies that the researcher acknowledges the fact that the process of observation is far from straightforward (Denscombe, 2010).

I conducted observation from the benches that are situated a few meters from the Holocaust monument, on the Jacobijnerkerkhof Square, just to the right of the sight of the Juliana Tree (located in between the Big Church and the Frisian Nature Museum, see figure 3). This particular place was chosen, because it provides a perfect overview of the monument itself, as well as the entrance of the Big Church, its former church yard (now being a playground for school children surrounded by lower bushes) and a

part of the back of the Frisian Nature Museum and the former Jewish school, nowadays called the Oldenije School.

The observation period took place in blocks of two to three hours in the third week of August 2016, being the last official week of the summer holidays of the north of the Netherlands in that year. I observed both during mornings and afternoons, so as to explore whether any differences occurred on site between the different time frames.



Figure 3: Areal overview of Holocaust Monument and immediate vicinity (source: google maps, 2016)

3.3 Semi-structured interviews

All the interviews were conducted in Leeuwarden, as most stakeholders either work or live in this town. The locations varied from my private home or that of the interviewee, to office spaces where I or participants work. All ten interviews with representatives of local stakeholders took place between November 2016 and February 2017. These stakeholders have been identified in 2016 and were contacted in November and December 2016 as a preparation before the actual interviews took place. A tentative

list of several stakeholders was used to contact possible participants for an interview. Using the snowballing technique, the initial first interviewees were asked to recommend other possible participants to interview. This proved to be successful, as all stakeholders were willing to provide new names of other possible participants for interviews.

3.3.1 Interview content and structure

Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011) explain in-depth interviews as a method of collecting data involving an interviewer discussing a certain topic in-depth with the participant. The purpose is to collect relevant data in a – merely – one-way process, with the interviewer asking the questions and the interviewee stating his / her opinion about the topic. Veal (2011) refers to several main characteristics of semi structured interviews. The length of this type of interviews is usually between half an hour and several hours. Furthermore, the depth of the interview is deeper than a regular questionnaire, with follow up questions and the researcher encouraging the interviewee to talk and answer these follow up questions. An in-depth interview is less structured than a questionnaire-based interview, making sure each interview to be unique.

All conducted interviews were generally held following the same structure. Before the start of the interview, coffee or tea was served, followed by an informal chat and a brief introduction about the topic. Furthermore, the participants were informed that the interview was being taped, and the voice recorder was tested. In the first minute of each interview, I welcomed the participant and the date, time and location were mentioned. Participants were informed that the interview had no commercial purpose or goal, the data would be stored confidentially and only their first name would be used in the actual thesis. Finally, each participant was asked if he/she agreed with these conditions, by saying “yes” out loud.

Each interview then continued with a first set of general questions, intended to support the main sets of questions. This set started with a question about the personal or work-related connection with the monument. Moreover, I asked the participant to describe the monument and its visitor groups and the way he/she believed locals and tourists are educated about the meaning of the monument. The second set of questions focused on the relationship between the monument and both heritage and dark

tourism, whilst the third set of questions included seven questions about the relationship of the monument and emotions. In the final set of questions, participants were asked about a possible role of the monument during Leeuwarden Cultural Capital of Europe in 2018 and the future of the monument in 25 years. I also asked if there would be anything that had not been discussed, but might be worth mentioning. The final question was “How do you feel after having talked about this topic for more than (half) an hour?”, in order to learn more about stakeholders’ emotions via a more direct question.

3.3.2 Recruitment of participants

The participants of the in-depth interviews all are local stakeholders of the Holocaust monument. By stakeholder I mean to refer to a person, group of people or an organization that have either a share, a concern or an interest in a common topic of interest. The main local stakeholders are the government and its agencies, employees, unions, suppliers and the community from which the topic of interest draws its resources (Daft, Kendrick & Vershinina, 2010). Marcus and Van Dam (2007) add competitors and customers to this list. According to Page and Connell (2014), stakeholders are groups or individuals that either affect, or are affected by a certain issue.

I conducted a number of ten interviews between about half an hour and a full hour. I ascertained that after these ten interviews enough material was collected to analyse and answer my research question, in conjunction with the on-site observations which I dutifully recorded.

There were two stakeholders who refused to cooperate, for various reasons: the local rabbi as a representative of the Jewish community, and the artist who made the monument, Cees van Renssen. The participants of the interviews were either carefully selected by myself, or being suggested by other participants. One of the neighbours of the monument approached me when I conducted the observation, offering his assistance. The member of the Jewish community, the local resident, the city guides and one of the employees of the local government and its agencies were approached directly. The other employee of the local government and the Jewish survivor were asked indirectly. All requests for an interview, either face to face or via an e-mail, were done in a respectful and polite way, so as to encourage participation. The only moment

when participation was rejected (by the rabbi, right after the Chanukah festival in Leeuwarden in December 2016), I immediately dropped the subject. However, the rabbi did agree on answering the questions by e-mail. Unfortunately, I did not receive any answer to the questions I e-mailed the rabbi.

Table 1 shows a general overview of the first names, main relationship with the monument and/or occupation (if relevant), of all interviewees. Furthermore, it provides the dates and location of all conducted interviews.

Initials	Relationship with the monument / occupation	Date and location of the interview
J.M.	Personal relationship: J.M lives only 10 meters away from the monument, for 13 years already	November 23 rd 2016 in Stenden Hogeschool
P.W.	Personal relationship: P.W. lives only 10 meters away from the monument, for 18 years already	November 30 th 2016 in Blokhuisplein 18
L.v.H.	Work-related relationship: L.v.H. is a policy advisor culture for the local city government, for 8 years already	December 2 nd 2016 in Stenden Hogeschool
K.Z.	Work-related relationship: K.Z. is the coordinator of the team historic information at the local city government, for 31 years already	December 7 th 2016 in Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden (HCL)
M.Z.	Work-related relationship: M.Z. is director of the Oldenije Basisschool (former Jewish school) for 14 years already	December 9 th 2016 in the former Jewish School (nowadays the Oldenije School)
W.L.	Work-related relationship: W.L. is a local tour guide for the Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden and the Tourism Information Office several decades already	December 14 th 2016 in Blokhuisplein 18
E.v.P.	Personal relationship: E.v.P. is an active member of the local Jewish community	December 17 th 2016 in the residence of the participant
H.W.	Work-related relationship: Hi.W. is a local tour guide for several decades already	December 21 st 2016 in Blokhuisplein 18
B.T.	Personal relationship: B.T. is the only living local Jewish survivor of the Second World War. He is more than 90 years old	January 19 th 2017 in the residence of the participant
M.v.d.M.	Personal relationship: M.v.d.M. is a third-generation local. His family has lived in Leeuwarden since 1928	February 8 th 2017 in Blokhuisplein 18

Table 1: Overview of the main profile of the interviewees (Source: Hans Dekker, 2017)

3.3.3 Methods of data analysis

Boeije (2010) defines the analysis of qualitative data as “the segmentation of data into relevant categories and the naming of these categories with codes while simultaneously generating codes from the data” (p.76). During the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, no software tools (such as ATLAS.ti) were used. The reason is that all in-depth interviews contain some deep emotions felt and expressed by the interviewees. Therefore, all these personal stories were analyzed by hand, instead of relying on a software tool. This manual analysis ensures a special personal attention to each interview, thus capturing all personal stories that were shared.

Another definition which is related to qualitative analysis reads:

analysis is a breaking up, separating, or disassembling of research materials into pieces, parts, elements or units. With facts broken down into manageable pieces, the researcher sorts and shifts them, searching for types, classes, sequences, processes, patterns or wholes. The aim of this process is to assemble or reconstruct the data in a meaningful or comprehensive fashion (Jorgensen, 1989, p.107).

Finally, the main tool to create “order” in the raw data, is coding, which defines or codes all important elements (or fragments) of the raw data. Charmaz (2006) defines the concept of coding as “to category segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data. Your codes show how to select, separate and sort data to begin an analytic accounting of them” (p.43)

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Introduction

The starting point for the analysis is the raw data that was generated in all interviews and observations, and only the most relevant quotes from the interviewees per theme are cited in this thesis to showcase the importance of emotional meanings attached to the Leeuwarden Holocaust monument. Whenever the quotes that matched one specific theme were selected, the codes were thoroughly scanned again for new information. After this open coding, the most important terms were selected and labelled in several factors per theme. Finally, these factors were linked to the theory from chapter 2. On several occasions, an interviewee did not answer a question, or gave information that better suited another question from the interview guide. Furthermore, several questions were combined and analysed together, because the answers to the individual questions were occasionally nearly identical.

I am amazed by all the personal and proud stories that were shared with me during the interviews. Most of the expressed feelings and stories are personal ones and various sets of positive and negative emotions came to surface, both verbal and nonverbal. This is because, when conducting interviews and participant observation, I was not necessarily looking for “straight” facts, but for the participants’ emotions or work-related considerations they might have. People’s stories are subjective, full of emotion, and share similarities in regards to descriptions of the Holocaust monument or the characteristics of the old Jewish neighbourhood in Leeuwarden before and during the Second World War.

Thus, the raw data obviously contained repetitive information that, whenever relevant, was clustered in themes and coded. The main themes that will be analysed in the following sub-chapters, are:

- The Leeuwarden Holocaust monument and “dark” heritage (chapter 4.2)
- “Dark” emotions at the Leeuwarden Holocaust monument (chapter 4.3)

4.2 The Leeuwarden Holocaust monument and “Dark” Heritage

In this sub-chapter, I analyse the heritage aspects of the Leeuwarden Holocaust monument via the lens of heritage studies. Referring to Ashworth’s (2005) definition of heritage, it is to say that all participants describe what is called the Jewish neighbourhood as a part of the past. Typically, this neighbourhood and its Jewish community are characterized as being active during several interviews. With active, I mean there was much trade and there were relatively many stores inside this neighbourhood (which were even opened on Sundays), compared to other neighbourhoods in Leeuwarden. Besides these social and economic factors, a geographical factor is identified, being the relatively big size of the neighbourhood, with a massive concentration of Jewish people inside.

During the Second World War, measures against this Jewish community were taken. Many Jews took shelter and survived the war, but the vast majority was deported and murdered in concentration camps. As one participant, having survived the war, states with much emotional engagement:

no-one ever thought it would be so bad what those Huns did. My father would not believe it, and yes, he paid the price, he was gassed. Actually, the entire family was (B.T., personal communication, January 19, 2017).

This quote indicates that entire families were indeed transported to concentration camps, in order to be gassed. So, when the Second World War ended, the local Jewish identity and culture (both intangible elements of heritage) had almost completely been annihilated. Only few traces of Jewish heritage, like the synagogue and cemetery, remained. Most surviving Jewish people migrated to Amsterdam or Israel, leaving only a handful of the original community behind in Leeuwarden.

Some 30 years ago, a local Holocaust monument was erected representing “a *confession of faith in the Jews*, as stated during one of the interviews” (H.W., personal communication, December 21, 2016). The contemporary purposes of the monument are mainly cultural, with both strong political and social factors involved. The main political factor is the tragic history of the local Jewish community, the social factor that this community never fully recovered and disappeared from its once “active” neighbourhood. As will be elaborated further in sub-chapter 4.3, the participants of the Holocaust monument have mixed feelings when answering the question “*how do you*

picture the Holocaust monument in 25 years?" A majority of the participants think positively about the monument in future times, but some of them have a more negative opinion. Concluding, it can be stated that the Holocaust monument represents the past, the present and the future.

The cultural element of heritage refers to knowledge and experience (Graham et al., 2005). An example in this case study is the existence of the so-called Fuks collection in Tresoar (see chapter 1.2.3). Furthermore, the monument has a socio-political function, being the strong link between the past of the Jewish community and the current use of the monument as a symbol of meaning and power for Jewish people. As one of the participants expresses:

So, much attention was given to the history of that place and the meaning the sculpture has or could have for the people that live or used to live there (H.W., personal communication, December 21, 2016).

The heritage aspect of the Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden connects parts, or interpretations of that past, to the present (Schouten 1995). In this case, the tangible heritage part is the monument itself, as well as the neighbourhood it is situated in, being the former Jewish neighbourhood. The intangible element is the spirit of the former Jewish neighbourhood, which used to be a strong one, but which has now complete gone:

there is nothing left. There is no sign of activity anymore", stating that the once present spirit of the Jewish community has vanished completely (B.T., personal communication, January 19, 2017).

This intangible part of heritage can be linked to social constructionism perspective (Antrop 2005). Given the fact that the Holocaust monument is an example of cultural heritage, it is without intrinsic value, but socially, culturally and politically interpreted and co-constructed. The social interpretation and co-construction is the Jewish migration from Leeuwarden to for example Amsterdam or Israel. As an interviewee says: *"After the war, 100 returned and of this group, many people went to Israel and Amsterdam"* (M.v.d.M., personal communication, February 8, 2017). The cultural interpretation refers to the remaining parts of Jewish culture, which were highlighted during the primary research phase. In some of the interviews, participants mention they have the feeling the Jewish community is slowly but surely growing again at this

moment. This can be connected to a revival of the feeling of Jewish identity as a socio-cultural and political co-construction, along the lines of Antrop's explanations (2005). Nearly all interviewees express feelings of grief they still feel, although the Second World War ended more than half a century ago.

The Leeuwarden Holocaust monument, including both tangible and intangible elements, is an example of a cultural landscape (Antrop, 2005). Focusing on the intangible elements of heritage, Turnbridge and Ashworth (1995) discuss contested heritage. In this case study, the Holocaust monument belongs to the Jewish community of Leeuwarden. This is stated by nearly all participants of the interviews. This leads to the conclusion that the entailed intangible aspects attached to it, assure that the monument does not belong to other groups or individuals. This aspect of the monument, belonging to a specific group of people, reflects in the answers of the interviewees.

On a few occasions, they discuss the absence of a Jewish community and the presence of other groups of residents in the former Jewish neighbourhood. Although it is clearly stated by the participants that they feel the neighbourhood still has a Jewish identity, the image of the neighbourhood is one in which Jewish people are currently absent. It seems that, with the passage of time, other groups of people, such as students, inhabit the neighbourhood. This leads to the conclusion that although the neighbourhood still is being referred to as the Jewish neighbourhood, with a Holocaust monument in it, only the monument, as an example of the tangible aspects, physically belongs to the (former) Jewish community. The area itself has been claimed by others, like students, thus making this heritage "contested heritage" through diverse meanings given to the place and its subsequent uses.

The Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden can be considered an average "dark supplier" product, according to Stone (2006). Combining the concepts of heritage and dark tourism in this analysis of the Holocaust monument, I find the monument to be considered an example of "the dark suppliers of the tourism product" as it has an educational orientation and its location can be described as authentic (Stone 2006). The tourism infrastructure around the monument is not very developed, although many heritage attractions (including the Big Church) are present within a few minutes walking range. Besides, there is a shorter time scale to the event which was the reason the monument to be erected in 1987, more than forty years after the end of the Second

World War. But most important, the Holocaust monument exerts a higher political influence and ideology, as it is a contested monument.

The Holocaust monument as a piece of “dark” heritage should remain alive in the collective Dutch memory, and not only. To raise awareness of its importance three main sources are identified. The first source is the municipality and its subsidiary, the HCL. The latter organizes guided tours through the city center. Furthermore, it has a wide variety of booklets describing local heritage (including Jewish heritage) and lastly, it participates as one of the main sponsors of the Jewish Open Day (see chapter 1.2.3). The municipality itself has a databank, in which a description of the monument has been added, including facts, figures and photos.

The second main source of information is the primary school that is situated in the former Jewish school, located only a few meters away from the monument. As one of the interviewees states about the Oldenije School:

I believe that primary school does pay a lot of attention. I would only assume all primary schools would do something with the monument, year after year, on the fourth and fifth of May, I think (J.M., personal communication, November 23, 2016).

The third source of raising awareness for the cultural “dark” heritage that the Jewish neighbourhood and the Holocaust monument represent, are the city guides who take tourists and locals on guided tours through the city center. For heritage tourism to develop around a monument and become a heritage attraction, central location is considered one of the main important factors (Timothy & Boyd, 2013).

The Holocaust monument can be considered such an attraction. On a daily basis, with a strong emphasis on the local tourist season (from May until October), guided tours, which pay a (short) visit to the monument, take place to show visitors the main heritage sites. Both the city guides who were interviewed for this thesis, confirm this. Other interviewees concurred, although not everyone considers the city guides to clarify the original meaning of the Holocaust monument clear enough to their guests.

To quote one such statement:

guided city tours also pass by and explanations are given. I think that it is always a bit superficial, what they do (M.Z., personal communication, December 9, 2016).

Main reasons behind heritage tourism are tourists that travel for educational purposes, entertainment, and the purpose to be exposed to own and personal heritage (Poria, Butler & Airey, 2004; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). The efforts of raising awareness by the municipality and HCL can be considered examples of such educational purposes. The monument also serves as a true leisure function, because locals visit it throughout the day for recreational purposes:

On the square, there is obviously more to see than just the monument. There are people, pedestrians, that pass by, take a rest and drink a soda. Or a homeless person who drinks a can of lager or smoking some pot. School children, from the neighbouring school, the Jewish school, have their breaks, play there all day, as the monument is part of their school yard (P.W., personal communication, November 30, 2016).

The guided tours represent the mix of education and entertainment, another important motivation in heritage tourism. Members of the Jewish community seem to be visiting the monument for Jewish celebrations that take place at the site of the monument, like Chanukah (see chapter 1.2.3), and on other occasions as well. This represents the desire to be exposed to own and personal heritage. Such an aspect is confirmed by one of the participants: *“I often sit on a bench when I walk around on my own and see Jews that probably have had a link to Leeuwarden, on the site”* (W.L., personal communication, December 14, 2016). During my observations, people whom can probably be identified as Jewish (by e.g. hairstyle or wearing a yarmulke), indeed seem to pray on site. So, for different (groups of) people, the Holocaust monument serves different purposes to visit it, akin to a “personal heritage experience” (Poria, Butler & Airey, 2004, p.10).

4.3 “Dark” emotions at the Leeuwarden Holocaust monument

In this sub-chapter, “dark” tourism and emotions are brought together to analyse different emotional meaning connected to the Holocaust monument.

When discussing the meaning of the Leeuwarden Holocaust monument, three main factors come to surface: rational, emotional and social. The rational factor mainly refers to awareness of the heritage value of the monument. The emotional factor refers to the guilt for the faith of the local Jewish community, with many emotions expressed over and over again during the interviews, including sympathy for their community: *“it makes me emotional, it has affected me for a long time”* (J.M., personal communication, November 23, 2016) and *“especially the visualization of the drama which did not pass Leeuwarden at all. That is the main issue to me”* (W.L., personal communication, December 14, 2016). Social factors that return during the interviews are the fear for a declining interest in the monument, the monument being a place that connects people, the meaning making of the monument and the value of the Jewish identity.

When asked about this personal or work-related meaning being attached to the monument, the factors that are mentioned are examples of “heritage that hurts” (Roberts & Stone, 2014, p.9) or “difficult heritage” (Logan & Reeves, 2009, p.1). Moreover, the meaning-making the interviewees express are connected to Lennon and Foley (2000), who consider the topic of death to be linked to religion and ideologies, in order to provide meaning to individuals or groups of people.

Relating this theory to the case, one of the interviewees indeed confirms this example of providing meaning:

I have lived in Israel for 1,5 years, so in that sense it (referring to the Holocaust monument) already has a meaning to me. People do not pay attention to what happened in Leeuwarden anymore. That is the true meaning and this feeling is increased by the time I live here (W.L., personal communication, December 14, 2016).

On the other hand, one interviewee says she had different sets of emotions about the concept of meaning making in relation to the monument:

well, on the one hand it does not mean that much, because I wasn't born in Leeuwarden, so it is a piece of heritage which concerns other more than I.

Furthermore, it means a lot. Because on the monument, on the side wall, the history of the ever-reducing number of children that visited the Jewish school is written (E.v.P., personal communication, December 17, 2016).

Moreover, it is stated that a division between adults and children should be made, when discussing the concept of meaning making. One interviewee commented on this: *“a child, who is ten or twelve years old, cannot describe the meaning”*, indicating such a division exists (J.M., personal communication, November 23, 2016).

The term “dissonant heritage” is linked to the monument as well (Ashworth, 2009, p.6). Feelings of “disquiet, alienation or even distress to some recipients of it” Ashworth describes, are visualized by interviewees as:

an overwhelming historical awareness arises in such a situation, which declines after some period of time (M.Z., personal communication, December 9, 2016)

or it is a beautiful thought, that these people are able to see the monument through my eyes, on a daily basis. It makes me emotional, it has affected me for a long time (M.Z., personal communication, December 9, 2016).

These two quotes clearly link powerful human emotions to the Holocaust monument.

Seaton (1996) suggests the Holocaust monument is an example of a dark tourism site. From the conducted interviews, it becomes clear that individual tourists and groups of tourists do indeed travel to Leeuwarden for the monument as a site of the seemingly macabre. The director of the former Jewish school provides an example: *“We have had groups from Belgium, Germany and the south of the Netherlands, that take a trip to Leeuwarden”* (M.Z., personal communication, December 9, 2016).

In addition, travelling to the Holocaust site, as “a location where a symbolic encounter with death is possible”, is a form of thanatourism (Seaton, 1996, p.224). Seaton (1996) defines five separate categories of thanatourism. Referring to the primary and secondary research I conducted, the Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden belongs to the third category, being travel to grave-yards or memorials. The emotions that come to the forefront, when talking about the representation of the monument, are “dark” emotions. What is meant by that is the fact the site itself, and all associations and/or emotions attached to them, relate to a so-called “historic human experience” (White & Frew, 2013).

Nearly all interviewees state deep emotions when describing what the monument represents. Examples are quotes like:

it also symbolizes the rude taking away deportation of the major part of that community, like the children of the Jewish school (K.Z., personal communication, December 7, 2016)

or the loss of the Jewish children that were forced to go to the Jewish school. The fact that the classroom became emptier and emptier. Until nobody was there anymore (E.V.P., personal communication, December 17, 2016).

These examples of deep emotions show these emotions are still present within the local society, even more than seventy years after the end of the Second World War.

According to Antrop (2005), the Holocaust monument is an urban cultural landscape, containing both tangible and intangible elements. Tangible elements are the column, the Wailing Wall and the cubes, an intangible element is the story of the schoolchildren that were deported. As Antrop stated, changing these elements might lead to an alteration or possibly even a loss of identity. This is what is happening at the moment, according to me. The story of the Jewish population of Leeuwarden during the Second World War is seen as a tragic story from the past.

So, unfortunately, the meaning of the monument seems to have changed with certain groups of stakeholders, given differences in religious and political background of individuals. This process is emphasized by a neighbour: *“once I saw a group of youngsters from I guess Morocco passing by on their bicycles and they started shouting to the monument. I guess because they saw the star of David”* (P.W., personal communication, November 30, 2016). The same interviewee also notices: *“I witnessed drunk guys bringing a Nazi salute”* (P.W., personal communication, November 30, 2016). Another interviewee says, when talking about the meaning of the monument for locals: *“for very old people, the monument has a completely different meaning as it has for us”* (M.Z., personal communication, December 9, 2016), clearly indicating that different generations attach different meanings to the monument.

To continue, the role of younger generations is highlighted during some of the interviews:

older people talk about it, they have their memories. They have awareness that many of the people that used to live there, did not survive the war. But I guess that means nothing for the younger part of the population of Leeuwarden (E.V.P., personal communication, December 17, 2016).

Besides the presence of different generations in local society (with younger generations paying lesser attention to the monument), a declining interest also plays a role in the meaning making:

many that pass by do not care. They consider it just to be a monument, like we have more monuments in town. So, there is a generation that passes by without showing any interest. Because history is not too important for younger generations, that is a fact (H.W. personal communication, 21 December 2016).

On the other hand, an increasing interest for the monument is also noticed. One participant states that interest from the locals is increasing:

I guess the meaning has gotten stronger. One reason is that history is more alive than it used to. Another reason is that young people have discovered not only the Oldenhove, but also other monuments (W.L. personal communication, 14 December 2016).

There might be more reasons for the loss of identity that Antrop (2005) describes. I argue that the meaning making of the monument is currently considered from a broader perspective than several decades ago. This is confirmed during the primary research phase, when one of the interviewees combines meaning making (with the sad history of local Jews) with the broader perspective of the monument:

it has become one of many symbols in town that makes us aware that we have had a Second World War and that people were not free to live their lives. This is even nowadays still a worldwide issue. So, the interest for that place, and to pay respect for the meaning of it, has become less over the years (E.v.P., personal communication, December 17, 2016)

Thus, the Holocaust monument used to be a monument to commemorate the Jewish community of Leeuwarden during the Second World War in the past. However, its meaning has grown over the years, according to this participant. Not only to commemorate the Holocaust, but also other, unidentified conflicts.

To conclude, interest is declining on the one hand (lesser interest from younger generations) and increasing on the other hand (tourists that already start visiting Leeuwarden for Cultural Capital 2018). The meaning the monument thus has changed, from a narrow perspective in the past, to a broader perspective in current times. However, although the meaning might be changing, emotions and feelings still play an important role in the process of meaning-making.

These feelings and affects are closely connected to emotions but should not be mistaken with moods (Rosenberg, 1998). When asked to describe these feelings that arise when thinking about the faith of the local Jewish community, many engaging accounts of feelings and emotions come to surface. The two categories of factors that are identified are emotional factors and social factors, both describing “dark” emotions. The emotional factors are to be divided in feelings of guilt, grief and the question “*what would I have done in such a situation?*”. The social factors mainly attach personal opinions about the Holocaust, but also feelings and emotions about racism, unawareness, ignorance of the local community and the level of assistance that was provided by the local community during the Second World War. Thus, feelings like grieve and guilt about events that took place more than half a century ago are expressed and identified.

Nawijn, Isaac, Van Liempt and Gridnevskiy divide clusters of emotions in positive and negative ones (2016). The positive emotions that are identified in this thesis are inspiration, affection, hope, pride and compassion. The only remaining local Jewish survivor identifies:

the monument means a lot to us. It is a memory of a time, not such a good time, of the time of the occupation. And some things took place, during the occupation. We think it is a good thing, that the monument was placed, so everyone could see it (B.T., personal communication, January 19, 2017).

This quote indicates that the members of the contemporary local Jewish community believe the monument that was erected to commemorate their people, currently serves as a sign of inspiration and hope for the entire local community of Leeuwarden.

Furthermore, the monument evokes feelings of affection. This is stated by the interviewee from the municipality, when she says: “*I happen to know the relationship with the surroundings, so I believe it is a beautiful sculpture, situated at that place*”

(L.v.H., personal communication, December 2, 2016). Finally, another positive emotion such as compassion emerged several times during the interviews. Sympathy and compassion are an important factor when describing the role of feelings and affect. One of the neighbours of the monument expresses these feelings, when he says:

it is a beautiful thought, that these people are able to see the monument through my eyes, on a daily basis” (referring to all local victims of the Holocaust when he states “*these people*”) (J.M., personal communication, November 23, 2016).

Another striking quote from a participant is: “*the text besides the Jewish monument, which says: “the child is not there anymore”. It remains in my memory forever*” (H.W., personal communication, December 21, 2016). These quotes clearly show that a site of dark tourism leads to positive dark emotions.

Obviously, negative clusters of emotions also play a role in darker forms of tourism (Nawijn, Isaac, Van Liempt & Gridnevskiy, 2016). Expressions that represent negative emotions, emerge more often during the conducted interviews than positive emotions. Negative emotions that are frequently stated during the interviews are anger, disgust, embarrassment, sadness, shame and shock.

The core issue is the deportation for me. That deals with that madman that figured out that a different race of people should be killed” is a clear example of anger. Feelings of disgust are expressed as “*it is still horrible. The only way to talk about it is in clichés. It is so immense.* (J.M., personal communication, November 23, 2016)

Embarrassment is linked to one of the neighbours of the monument, when he says:

I have always had a feeling of vicarious embarrassment about the history of the Jewish community in the Netherlands and in Leeuwarden. I have always been in intrigued by the question” what would I have done” in such a situation. (P.W., personal communication, November 30, 2016).

When the member of the Jewish community was interviewed, she tells me about her feelings of the Second World War, narrowing them down to her own family. An example which is labelled as shock, but also sadness, is the result, when she says: “*you see, the ultimate history of the Jews in the Netherlands, or even in Europe during the Second World War, is obviously inevitably linked to the fact that my mother is the only*

survivor of her family, she survived the war as a war orphan” (E.v.P., personal communication, December 17, 2016).

Sadness can have negative emotional connotations, and a statement of grief about the local Jewish community during the Second World War, is expressed in nearly each interview. The most striking quote:

It is a deeply sad story. I mean genocide, that’s terrible. It makes one sad. Can you imagine, half of your family being murdered and oneself being a single person returning home? And not being able to go home again, because it was sold? Having to buy it back? I mean, people got screwed. (M.v.d.M., personal communication, February 8, 2017).

Thus, as claimed by Nawijn, Isaac, Van Liempt & Gridnevskiy (2016), clusters of both positive and negative emotions are important to understand how a dark site like the Holocaust monument is experienced by visitors or, in this case study, representatives of local groups of stakeholders.

Furthermore, it is important to understand how the meaning of the Holocaust monument and the behaviour that is observed on site, is influenced by all these emotions. Finally, during the analysis phase, it became clear that feelings about the sad faith of the local Jewish community are somehow linked to the story of the Jews in the Netherlands, even in Europe in general. Examples can be found in some of the quotes above.

Societal developments, a collective memory and an established link between Jewish people and the state of Israel are the main elements of social factors that are identified, when discussing change feelings about the history of the local Jewish community over the years. An emotional factor emerges too, being intensifying feelings for the monument. This emotional factor relates to Hardy (2015), who argues that although feelings and emotions are considered an issue of the individual or family, they are also part of the bigger context on a professional or even organizational level. An interviewee illustrates that his own feelings have intensified over the years: *“they have grown over the years. Because the Jews could not protect themselves” (H.W., personal communication, December 21, 2016).* It indicates feelings that have grown stronger, with the reason being the incapability of the Jews to defend themselves during the Second World War.

The Holocaust monument, as a dark tourism product, introduces senses of “anxiety and doubt” (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p.11). They suggest these senses challenge the optimism and certainty of modern times. All elements of the societal developments are examples of this challenge. As stated:

have a look at this moment in time. The matter is being refined. The state of Israel is linked to the Jewish religion immediately, which is good, but also has its down side. (M.Z., personal communication, December 9, 2016).

This same worry about current and future times is stated by another participant: *“I have the feeling that there is something in the air that remind one of events”*, linking these current events to the history of the local Jews during the interview (E.v.P., personal communication, December 17, 2016). Thus, linking back to the challenge Lennon and Foley (2000) introduce, the local Holocaust monument seems to evoke images of the state of Israel and its current sensitive geo-political situation.

Finally, Lennon and Re (2005) mention that tourism to dark sites has to take place within living memory. This is confirmed by an interviewee: *“it is a confronting object. It confronts one with the town, with the history, with oneself, with these kind of questions”* (P.W., personal communication, November 30, 2016). With this quote, the Holocaust monument can be linked to dark tourism and living memory. This link between dark tourism and living memory has been established in the past:

I believe that in those days, some twenty till twenty-five years ago, many more inhabitants of Leeuwarden had memories, living memories about that place and somehow made sure that the monument was placed and maintained (E.v.P., personal communication, December 17, 2016).

Chapter 5: Conclusions

5.1 Expectations for the future of the Holocaust monument

The Holocaust monument in Leeuwarden is a heritage site of great importance to the local community. The neighbourhood in which it is situated, is described as an “active one” in the past, with active trade. Besides social and economic factors, a geographical factor was also identified, being the concentration of Jews within that neighbourhood. During the Second World War, more than half of the members of the local Jewish community were deported and gassed. This meant the end of both local Jewish identity and culture at that time. The remaining Jewish people mainly moved to Amsterdam or the state of Israel. Only a few remained in Leeuwarden.

Cultural, political and social factors were involved, when the Holocaust monument was erected in 1987. The cultural factor includes the Fuks collection and guided tours through the former Jewish neighbourhood. Socio-political factors include the link between the past of the Jewish neighbourhood and the current use of the Holocaust monument as a symbol of meaning. Thus, the monument refers to the past, the present and serves as a symbol for the future.

When analysing the recent history of the Jewish community, it was determined that the monument does connect interpretations of the past to the present (Schouten,1995). Both tangible and intangible elements are present when discussing the value of this monument, also as an example of cultural heritage. Although it is without intrinsic value, it does have social, cultural and political interpretations. The social interpretation is the migration, away from Leeuwarden, after the Second World War. The cultural interpretations are represented by the remaining elements of the Jewish culture, like the synagogue and the Jewish cemetery. The political interpretation refers to the Jewish identity, which seems to have survived the Second World War after all and appears to grow stronger at the moment. An example of this is the annual outdoor celebration of the Chanukah festival.

The former Jewish neighbourhood has several characteristics. First of all, it is considered contested heritage (Ashworth, 1995), as the Holocaust monument belongs to the Jewish community. Although the current Jewish community is only visible on certain locations and only during certain events and festivals, the interviewees all claim

the former Jewish neighbourhood still has a Jewish identity, thus making it contested heritage, as the neighbourhood is inhabited by other groups, such as students.

Hence, locals and tourists are aware of the tragic history of the Jews in the Second World War. Awareness is raised by the municipality and HCL, primary school Oldenije and the guided tours that pass the monument on a daily basis. Opinions are divided when it comes to the amount of attention that city guides pay to the meaning of the monument. The interviewed city guides themselves claim to pay sufficient attention to the monument and its meaning, other stakeholders don't share this opinion. To summarize, these various ways that attempt to raise awareness for the monument, being either educational, as a form of entertainment or as personal heritage, all offer examples of reasons to travel to sites that are considered heritage tourism.

The second topic to be concluded, is the analysis of the Leeuwarden Holocaust monument and "dark" emotions. The meaning of the monument for the stakeholders, whether from a work-related or personal view, is split up in three basic sets of factors. The first set are rational factors, with a clear meaning described to the heritage value of the monument. The main emotional factors include guilt for the faith of the Jewish community and sympathy for their community. Furthermore, the Holocaust monument, as a place that connects individuals or groups in society, is also to be considered an emotional factor. Social factors are fear for a declining interest for the monument and the value of the Jewish identity. It can be concluded that all these factors of dark emotions, that are linked to meaning making, are considered examples of "heritage that hurts" (Roberts & Stone, 20014, p.9), "difficult heritage" (Logan & Reeves, 2009, p.1) and "dissonant heritage" (Ashworth, 2009, p.6).

Not all the participants of the interviews attach the same meaning to the monument, which is understandable because of the various personal and work-related backgrounds of the participants. Moreover, when it comes to meaning making and generations, a division should be made. Whereas the generation that has witnessed the Second World War, or their children (who are currently older than about 65 to 70 years of age), still attach a strong meaning to the monument, all younger generations seem to have lost a strong feeling of meaning making.

The Holocaust monument is an example of a dark tourism site, with individual tourists and groups of tourists travelling to the site. Because of the symbolic encounter with

death, the monument is a form of thanatourism. The emotions that the site represent, are “dark” emotions: both the site and all associations and emotions attached to it, relate to a historic human experience. The monument has various meanings to the local community in Leeuwarden. There is a declining interest for the monument, caused by different generations with a different interest in the monument and the local history of the Jews during the Second World War.

Moreover, the site is an urban cultural landscape for the locals, with tangible and intangible elements. Because some of these intangible elements have changed or are currently changing, an alteration of the meaning, or even a loss of identity, might occur. One possible reason for this might be the current geo-political situation of the region where the Israel is located and its relationship with the neighbouring countries. Another reason might be the fact that the monument is seen from a broader perspective by local stakeholders than several decades ago. On the other hand however, not all participants do agree when it comes to a possible loss of identity, as some of the participants state that the meaning for the local population has even increased over the years. One reason is the upcoming Cultural Capital festival in 2018.

The participants all describe their feelings about the history of the local Jewish population during the Second World War, including their feelings when they visit the current former Jewish neighbourhood. Besides emotional factors, social factors come to the surface. These social factors include topics like for example racism, worries about unawareness and ignorance by the locals. Furthermore, they express feelings of guilt and grief. Besides these emotions, some of the participants ask themselves the question: “*what would I have done in such a situation*”, referring to the question what they would and could have done to help Jewish people during the Second World War.

During the interviews, I only seemed to encounter negative feelings and emotions, but during the analysis of these interviews, many positive emotions and feelings came to the surface. All these feelings, whether positive or negative, are labelled “dark” emotions in this thesis. Even nowadays, more than seventy years after the end of the Second World War, many strong emotions, both positive and negative, exist in the minds of the participants. The conclusion can be drawn that these clusters of “dark” emotions influence the visit and experience at a dark site like the Holocaust monument. These feelings have changed over the decades though, as feelings and emotions have intensified.

The fact that the Jewish community in Leeuwarden (but also in the Netherlands and many other countries in Europe) couldn't defend themselves against their aggressors, still causes intense feelings of pain and unease, from insiders and outsiders. Furthermore, current events in some parts of the Middle East (with wars going on in for example Libya, Iraq and Syria) influence the feelings of the participants, as they link the Holocaust monument to these events and the state of Israel. In summary, it can be concluded that the Holocaust monument is strongly linked to "dark" tourism and functions as a living memory within the local society.

Several meanings for the future of the monument can be distinguished. First of all, the monument as a cultural product, is able to perform a variety of roles during the upcoming Cultural Capital event in Leeuwarden in 2018. Although some of the participants do not expect the monument to play a role at all, the monument provides an emotional experience and serves as a social structure within the local society. One of these possible meanings is the link with Tresoar and its Fuks collection. Furthermore, the link between the monument and the Second World War should be highlighted, for example by organizing more guided theme tours. Attention should also be paid to Mienskip, as the monument represents strong elements of it, which should be highlighted, both during Cultural Capital, and beyond.

Because of the representation of the monument, being the sad story of the Jewish community during the Second World War, it should be possible to use this story as a warning in the present. A warning that groups in society should connect, not be divided, blaming weaker groups in society. Another meaning the monument could have in 2018, is being part of a future to be organized Jewish festival, or be a major part of another upcoming Joodse Open Huizen again. During these expressions of Mienskip, the monument could serve as a place to remember and to celebrate.

Opinions differ when it comes to the expectations for the Holocaust monument in 25 years from now. Some of the participants expect the monument to have disappeared, because of a lack of interest from both the local community and the municipality. The reasons for this rather negative perspective is the decay of all people that lived during the Second World War. Furthermore, the lesser attention for history by younger generations could also have a negative impact. The municipality itself however, still expects the monument to be present at the current site. Moreover, some of the participants expect the monument to have the same or even a higher value when it

comes to commemoration of victims. Not only the Jewish community during the Second World War as victims, but also victims of other conflicts, on a broader scale than just a local one. The participants expressed many emotions during the interviews: very intense stories and deep emotions were shared. These emotions and stories caused emotions on my side too.

5.2 Reflection and recommendations

Based on the conclusions, a reflection for local stakeholders can be written. First of all, it should be clear that there is a difference in awareness between “older” and “younger” generations, for the Holocaust monument and history. In fact, this is a knowledge gap: whereas older generations know the history of the Jewish community in Leeuwarden, younger generations do not know this story to a great extent, with the exception of local primary school pupils, who are educated about the Holocaust monument and its meaning. However, as soon as these pupils leave their primary school, the story of the Second World War and the cruel way the Jewish community was dealt with, seems to be forgotten. So, secondary schools should somehow pay attention to the meaning of the monument and the story of the Jewish community somehow, to close this gap. This can be achieved by inviting stakeholders, to share their story and emotions. These personal stories are perfect examples to raise awareness about the meaning of the Holocaust monument amongst young people.

Secondly, it should be realized that the Holocaust monument encompasses more than “just the monument”, when it comes to this meaning making. As the monument itself is a tangible element, the intangible elements should also be part of the representation of the site. To be more specific, the meaning of the Fuks collection and meaning-making during guided tours (whether organized by HCL, or the tourist information office) should be brought to the attention of visitors both from within the city or from outside of it.

Furthermore, there should be more focus on the link between the current Holocaust monument and the Jewish community and its culture before and during the Second World War. This can be achieved by emphasizing on this link in all documentation available, whether digital, written or oral. When all guided city tours that stop at the Holocaust monument focus on storytelling instead of paying attention to facts and figures only, the meaning of the site would become more obvious to participants.

Perhaps city guides can be trained by experts. There seem to be several unexpected local experts available to do this, as nearly all interviewed stakeholders have emotions and personal stories to share.

Moreover, the Jewish community and the municipality / HCL might promote the former Jewish neighbourhood more by storytelling. Although emotional stories from the Second World War are known by a small group of people (like the story of Bram and Eva!), they are not known on a local level in society. Why not tell these stories, whether via information panels in the former Jewish neighbourhood, and / or via a special website / app? These stories should be available in several languages, easy to download and easy to use for different generations.

Thirdly, the Jewish community itself should continue showing its culture and activities to locals and tourists. The Joodse Open Huizen event is the perfect example that shows how much interest there is for the Jewish culture and history. The primary research has shown that events like Joodse Open Huizen are emotionally important to stakeholder groups and local society, given the huge crowd that showed up in the past. Other events, like Chanukah, can also be promoted more, in order to show locals the clear message of peace and love of this religious Jewish event.

Finally, Cultural Capital offers the unique opportunity to show both younger and older generations, whether locally bound, from within the Netherlands or the rest of Europe, the story of the local Jewish community. All elements are available: tangible and intangible elements, including an involved group of stakeholders, that are a source of story telling to all visitors interested to know more about this important historical event. As preparations for Leeuwarden Capital of Culture 2018 are already underway, a festival to commemorate the Holocaust heritage of the city can be proposed. So, this Holocaust history recent enough to be in the memory of some Second World War survivors, yet distant enough for the younger generation is imbued with meaningful emotions that lend an increasing importance to the monument discussed in this thesis. These emotional meanings have the power to revive this history and its importance in our collective memory, and learn from it.

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Appendix 1: Reflection on ethical considerations

For most of the participants, the topic of the interview was sensitive, as they shared with me their personal story and shared their private thoughts about a delicate subject. Informed consent about data collection and storage was reached with all participants before and at the start of each recorded interview (Endacott, 2004, Boeije, 2010). It was agreed to establish voice consent on tape, to protect the anonymity of the interviewees. So, the topics of confidentiality and anonymity were obviously discussed and agreed upon.

To achieve this, I started each interview with the promise that only initials or first names would be used. Moreover, I stated that I had no commercial interest with the interview or the data of the recorded interview and that all notes, data and such like would be confidential. Finally, I asked whether the participants agreed to this.

Appendix 2: Personal reflection

This research project was the finishing touch of the Masters of Science course in Cultural Geography at the Rijksuniversiteit in Groningen, the Netherlands. The first concept I learned to understand during my pre-master, was “place is space with a meaning”. I kept this in the back of my mind during the pre-master, the four regular courses and the two minors. Writing this thesis was the grand finale of all models, definitions and theories I studied.

Finding a suitable topic was initially hard, until two of my roommates at Stenden Hogeschool pointed the Holocaust monument out to me: “why don’t you do something with the Holocaust monument?” My thesis supervisor, Dr Dorina Buda, also encouraged me to tackle a topic I was passionate about. Having collected over 1,000 books about the Second World War and being interested in both local history and the horrible story of the Jews in Europe during that war, I did not think twice and made up my mind: my thesis would be about the local Holocaust monument.

The only issue I faced when I started thinking about the research proposal, was the fact that none of the other courses had prepared me to write about the topic of tourism, or more specifically on dark tourism and emotions. So, firstly I had to read through a massive amount of literature, which proved to be both interesting and fruitful. When

selecting a research method, I quickly decided to conduct qualitative research, thus focusing on opinions, emotions and experiences, rather than diving into statistics and big data sets. The actual observations I did on site were the perfect opportunity to get familiar with both this local monument and its surroundings, including the former Jewish school and the Big Church. Conducting the interviews with different local stakeholders made me aware of strong emotions that still exist, even more than seventy years after the end of the Second World War. Emotions not only from a Jewish survivor or a member of the Jewish community, but also emotions from neighbours and local city guides.

The phase in which all ten interviews were transcribed and translated from Dutch in English, seemed to be endless, taking nearly three months' time. For understandable reasons of participants' anonymity and confidentiality the transcripts cannot be concluded in this thesis, to showcase the detailed and robust work undertaken in qualitative methodologies. Given my detailed and focused attention in the transcription and translation phases of the process, the analysis phase seems to have taken less time and effort. Combining all parts of the thesis seemed relatively straightforward as all piece of 'my puzzle' were there. All in all, I enjoyed conducting this research, as the interaction with all stakeholders proved to match the topic and methods of research well.

The same applies for the cooperation and interaction with my supervisor, Dorina. She has been a great support throughout the entire process. Dorina, thank you!

Appendix 3: Interview guide (English version)

Theme	Questions
General questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Q1: What can you tell me about the professional link you have with the Jewish Monument; - Q2: What can you tell me about the personal link you have with the Jewish Monument; - Q3: If you visualize the Jewish Monument in Leeuwarden, how would you describe it; - Q4: Which different (groups of) people visit the Jewish Monument; - Q5: In which way are locals and visitors educated about the meaning of the Jewish Monument?
Relation with dark heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Q6: How would you describe the Jewish neighbourhood of Leeuwarden before and during the Second World War; - Q7: What can you tell me about the recent history of the Jewish community of Leeuwarden (that is, since the end of the Second World War until the present); - Q8: What characteristics do you think the Jewish neighbourhood of Leeuwarden has at this moment; - Q9: Are locals aware of the tragic history of the Jews in the Second World War? Why / why not; - Q10: Are tourists aware of the tragic history of the Jews in the Second World War? Why / why not?
Relation with dark emotions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Q11: What does the monument mean to you as a professional; - Q12: What does the monument mean to you as a person; - Q13: What does the monument represent to you; - Q14: What do you think that the Jewish Monument means to the locals of Leeuwarden; - Q15: How do you think these feelings have changed over the years; - Q16: What are your own feelings about the history of the Jews in Leeuwarden during the Second World War;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Q17: How comfortable are you when you think of what happened to the Jews in Leeuwarden when you visit the former Jewish neighbourhood; - Q18: In which way have your feelings about the history of the local Jewish community changed over the years?
Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Q19: How can the Jewish Monument play a role in the upcoming Cultural Capital event in 2018; - Q20: How do you picture the future of the Jewish Monument in 25 years; - Q21: Is there anything else we have not discussed, that you would like to share with me; - Q22: How do you feel after have talked about this topic for more than (half) an hour?

Appendix 4: Interview guide (Dutch version)

Thema	Vragen
Algemene vragen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wat kunt u mij vertellen over de professionele band die u heeft met het Joods Monument; - Wat kunt u mij vertellen over de persoonlijke band die u heeft met het Joods Monument; - Als u zich het Joods Monument voor de geest haalt, hoe zou u het dan beschrijven; - Welke verschillende (groepen) mensen bezoeken het Joods Monument; - Op welke manier worden de lokale bevolking en bezoekers onderwezen over de betekenis van het Joods Monument?
Relatie met "donker" cultureel erfgoed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hoe beschrijft u de Joodse buurt in Leeuwarden voor en tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog; - Wat kunt u mij vertellen over de recente geschiedenis van de Joodse gemeenschap in Leeuwarden (met recente geschiedenis bedoel ik de periode vanaf de Tweede Wereldoorlog tot het heden);

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Welke karakteristieken denkt u dat de Joodse buurt in Leeuwarden momenteel heeft; - Is de lokale bevolking op de hoogte van de tragische geschiedenis van de Joden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog? Waarom / waarom niet; - Zijn toeristen op de hoogte van de tragische geschiedenis van de Joden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog? Waarom / waarom niet?
<p>Relatie met “donkere” emoties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wat vertegenwoordigt het monument volgens u; - Wat betekent het monument beroepsmatig voor u; - Wat betekent het monument persoonlijk voor u; - Wat betekent het monument voor de bevolking van Leeuwarden volgens voor u; - In hoeverre is deze betekenis veranderd in de loop van jaren; - Wat zijn uw eigen gevoelens over de geschiedenis van de Joden in Leeuwarden tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog; - Hoe voelt u zich wanneer u denkt aan wat er gebeurt is met de Joden in Leeuwarden wanneer u de vroegere Joodse buurt bezoekt; <p>In hoeverre zijn uw gevoelens over de geschiedenis van de lokale Joodse bevolking veranderd in de loop der jaren?</p>
<p>Conclusie</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hoe kan het Joodse monument een rol spelen in 2018, wanneer Leeuwarden Culturele Hoofdstad van Europa is; - Hoe ziet u de toekomst van het Joodse monument voor zich over 25 jaar; - Is er iets waar we het niet over gesproken hebben, maar wat u toch wilt delen met mij; - Hoe voelt u zich, nu we meer dan een (half) uur over dit onderwerp hebben gesproken?