

**Living with Holocaust Tourism:
Locals' Emotions in Hooghalen and Westerbork, the Netherlands.**

**Master Thesis
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Preface

I am Jordy Hindriksen, 25 years old and I live in Geesteren, the Netherlands. In front of you lies my master thesis of the Master Cultural Geography. With this Masters programme of Cultural Geography my plan was to develop my knowledge and experience about scientific research. In retrospect, now close to the end of this process, I can say it was a good decision, because I gained a lot of knowledge during this study, and I also had a great time in Groningen.

I wrote this thesis as final assignment of the Masters programme, because I could combine my interest in the Second World War and tourism. I did not have doubts about the topic of my Masters thesis. During my study at the University of Groningen I developed a particular interest in the concept of dark tourism. When I made that clear to the master thesis coordinator Bettina van Hoven she advised me to seek contact with Dorina Buda. So I talked with Dorina about previous research and possibilities for my Masters thesis. We agreed quite quickly about doing a qualitative research in Hooghalen and Westerbork about locals living with holocaust tourism.

In particular I want to thank Dorina Buda. Dorina was my supervisor during my project. I am really thankful for her support and I really enjoyed the way we worked together. Dorina always talked in a motivating way and came up with great ideas during the whole process. Besides Dorina I want to thank all the participants in Hooghalen and Westerbork for sharing their stories about living with holocaust tourism with me. Without their help and suitable input I could not write this master thesis. At last, but not least, I want to thank my family for their unconditional support during all the years of study.

I hope you enjoy reading this thesis!

Jordy Hindriksen

Geesteren, January 2016

Summary

In this thesis I offer insights into how locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork, two villages in the Province of Drenthe in northern Netherlands, live with Holocaust tourism. I draw on dark tourism, especially Holocaust tourism and geographies of emotions in my theoretical framework and go in-depth about the history of camp Westerbork. I employ a qualitative methodological approach relying mostly on in-depth, semi-structured, interviews, in combination with photo-elicitation discussion with locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork, in order to explore emotions felt in regards to living in these historically significant places. All in all I interviewed 16 locals out of which : 8 living in Hooghalen, 6 in Westerbork and 2 employees working in the remembrance centre camp Westerbork. I also kept a research diary wherein I wrote my activities, thoughts and feelings I experienced during this project. Main findings of this thesis are: 1) Along the years, camp Westerbork has been used for various purposes such as transit camp in the Second World War, ‘Woonoord [Residence] Schattenberg’, and as remembrance centre and the development of the camp is in a continuous process. 2) Locals experience their two villages as ‘normal’ because on a daily basis they live mostly without thinking about the tragedies which happened in the camp. 3) Most locals have visited camp Westerbork multiple times and consider it as a place which evokes strong emotional responses like disbelief, sorrow and anger. 4) Locals feel positive about tourists, as visitations of the site means that the atrocities of the Holocaust will never be forgotten and hopefully will never happen again. 5) Locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork feel there are similarities between what generated the Second World War and the current migration and refugee crisis from some countries in Middle East.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The first concentration camp in Nazi Germany was established in June 1933 at Dachau, a town close to Munich (Roth, 2008). To detain all the millions of victims, Nazi Germany established about 20,000 other camps between 1933 and 1945. In general, these camps were used for three different cases. Forced-labour camps were established, where prisoners had to work for Nazi Germany. Transit camps, like camp Westerbork the case study in my thesis, were established to collect ‘undesirable persons’ in the German society. Thus, extermination camps were established to kill so called ‘enemies of the state’. About 3 million people, mostly Jews, were murdered by the Nazi-s in these extermination camps (USHMM, 2015). In figure 1 it is shown where major camps were located in Europe, and in figure 2 it is shown how many people were murdered in which camps.



Figure 1: Major Nazi camps in Europe, January 1944 (USHMM, 2015).

<i>Camp</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Estimated Deaths</i>
Amersfoort	Amersfoort, Netherlands	1,000
Auschwitz-Birkenau	Oświęcim, Poland	1,100,000
Belżec	Belżec, Poland	435,000 to 600,000
Bergen-Belsen	Near Celle, Germany	35,000
Buchenwald	Near Weimar, Germany	56,000
Chelmno	Chelmno, Poland	152,000 to 320,000
Dachau	Dachau, Germany	28,000 to 32,000
Flossenbürg	Near Nuremberg, Germany	30,000
Gross-Rosen	Gross-Rosen, Germany (now in Poland)	40,000
Janowska	L'viv, Poland (now in Ukraine)	At least 40,000
Jasenovac	Jasenovac, Croatia	700,000
Koldichevo	Baranovichi, Belarus	20,000
Majdanek	Lublin, Poland	360,000
Mauthausen	Mauthausen, Austria	119,000
Mittelbau/Dora	Near Nordhausen, Germany	20,000
Natzweiler-Struthof	Natzweiler, France	At least 17,000
Neuengamme	Near Hamburg, Germany	At least 50,000
Plaszów	Kraków, Poland	At least 9,000
Ravensbrück	Near Berlin, Germany	90,000
Risiera di San Sabba	Near Trieste, Italy	5,000
Sachsenhausen	Near Berlin, Germany	At least 30,000
Sobibór	Sobibór, Poland	167,000 to 250,000
Soldau	Działdowo, Poland	13,000
Stutthof	Sztutowo, Poland	At least 60,000
Theresienstadt	Terezín, Czechoslovakia	33,000
Treblinka	Treblinka, Poland	870,000 to 925,000
Warsaw	Warsaw, Poland	200,000

Figure 2: Partial list of Nazi concentration camps which shows the location and the estimated deaths (Roth, 2008).

In the Netherlands there were five concentration camps during the Second World War. The concentration camps were located in Ommen (Province of Overijssel), Amersfoort (Province of Utrecht), Schoorl (Province of Northern-Holland, Vught (Province of Northern-Brabant) and Westerbork (Province of Drenthe) (see figure 3) (Historiek, 2009).



Figure 3: Map of concentration camps which were located in the Netherlands during the Second World War (Geoloket.cevi.be, 2011).

Camp Westerbork is considered to be the most known concentration camp in the Netherlands. This might be also because camp Westerbork was the biggest Dutch concentration camp from where approximately 107.000 people were sent to extermination camps (Kamp Westerbork, 2015c).

More recently, in February 2013 the Dutch cabinet nominated camp Westerbork for a European Heritage Label (EHL) and the official receiving of the EHL took place on 8 April 2014 in Brussels. The European Heritage Label is a new instrument to make the historical and symbolic value of heritage sites (buildings and locations) more visible. Places with EHL become increasingly important for the broader public locally, nationally and regionally for the whole of Europe. The aim of EHL is to increase mutual understanding between European citizens and strengthen the European cultural heritage (European Commission, 2015).

At the beginning of 2015 camp Westerbork was in the spotlight. From 22 to 27 January 2015 almost 700 people read 102.000 known names of Dutch victims of the Holocaust. On 27 January 2015, Europe celebrated 70 years from the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau. The reading of the names of the Dutch Holocaust victims could be followed on a known Dutch television channel and there was a live stream from the camp terrain via a designated website www.102000namenlezen.nl, Facebook and Twitter. These social media channels also presented portraits and stories of the victims (Kamp Westerbork, 2015a).

Despite the importance of the place there is, to my knowledge so far, only one academic publication (Isaac & Çakmak, 2013) and one HBO/Polytechnic Bachelor Thesis (Bakker, 2014) about Holocaust tourism at camp Westerbork. Isaac and Çakmak (2013) discuss visitor motivation in camp Westerbork. Their study addresses the gap concerning people's motivations to visit sites of death and suffering and to contribute to a deeper understanding of dark tourism consumption. The aim of their research was to examine motivations of visitors to former transit camp Westerbork. For their project 238 randomly selected Dutch visitors filled in the questionnaire. The findings show that people mainly visit camp Westerbork for 'self-understanding', 'curiosity', 'conscience', 'must-see' and 'exclusiveness' (Isaac & Çakmak, 2013).

Bakker's bachelor thesis (2014) is about the impact of emotions on behavioural intention in camp Westerbork. The aim of her research is to examine the emotions that are triggered when visiting camp Westerbork and the influence these emotions have on behaviour. She collected most of her information from 41 interviews with visitors of former transit camp Westerbork. The main conclusion of her study is that in general a lot of different emotions such as sorrow, grief and anger are felt during a visit to Westerbork and that there are only slight differences between people with different characteristics such as gender and age (Bakker, 2014).

In this thesis I explore Holocaust tourism as part of the broader concept of dark tourism, and in connection to emotions experienced by locals living in a place closely connected to the Holocaust. Since the mid-1990s dark tourism has emerged as an academic field of study with an ever-increasing number of research projects and scientific publications such as Foley and Lennon (1996), Miles (2002), Stone (2006), Sharpley and Stone (2009), White and Frew (2013), and Buda (2015). Most research projects about dark tourism focus on tourists at dark sites, with marginal attention to locals living at or close to these dark sites. Such examples are projects that discuss mostly tourist motivations and experiences. Nawijn and Fricke (2013) investigated which emotional responses are experienced by visitors of former concentration camp Neuengamme in Germany, and test how and in which way emotions are related to long-term consequences of revisits and the ways visitors promote camp Neuengamme after their visit. The most important emotions in their study were shock and sadness. Beech (2000) study is mostly about the management of former concentration camp Buchenwald in Germany and seeks an answer about the ways to handle ethical considerations concerning the development the dark site. Werdler and Geuskens (2012) focus on motives to visit former concentration camp Amersfoort in the Netherlands. Main results of their study were that people visit camp Westerbork mainly because of interest in history. Less important reasons mentioned for visitation were curiosity and nostalgia.

Nevertheless, there are two projects exploring the ways locals feel about living close to dark sites, such as Snowtown, Australia (Kim and Butler, 2013) and L'Aquila, Italy (Wright, 2014). These sites are considered as dark because of the work of serial killers in the 1990s in Snowtown, Australia and of the many victims of the earthquake in L'Aquila, Italy in 2009.

As written above the remembrance centre of camp Westerbork has received an EHL in 2014. The same year the remembrance centre of camp Westerbork registered a record number of visitors of more than 148.000 people. Insights generated by this study can be used by tourism industry, governmental and non-governmental agencies when developing new marketing, planning or development strategies.

With my study I want to add to the current literature by investigating the ways in which the locals live with Holocaust tourism in Hooghalen and Westerbork. I chose to conduct interviews both in Hooghalen and Westerbork, because the village Westerbork carries the same name as the tourist camp visited by people, and Hooghalen is the village closest to camp Westerbork. Hooghalen is located approximately at 1 km from the remembrance centre of camp Westerbork and 2.5 km from the camp terrain. The aim of my

study is to offer insights into how locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork live with Holocaust tourism and how they feel about living with Holocaust tourism. The main research question driving this study is:

How and in what ways do locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork live with Holocaust tourism?

In this chapter I wrote an introduction about concentration camps and in particular camp Westerbork, dark tourism, the research aim, the main research question and why and in which ways my research is social and scientifically relevant. The next chapter is about the historical background of the Holocaust in the Second World War, with this chapter I want to provide the readers with some general information of the Holocaust in the Second World War. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework. In my study I focus on the ways locals live with Holocaust tourism and how they feel about it. I draw on the concepts of dark tourism, especially Holocaust and genocide tourism, geographies of emotions and the history of camp Westerbork to tackle this aspect. In chapter 4 I present the methodological approach (in-depth, semi-structured, interviews combined with photo-elicitation and keeping a research diary during the process of study) and tools I undertook in Hooghalen and Westerbork. In chapter 5 I discuss the main themes that have emerged from the analysis of all the data. In the last chapter I offer my conclusions and possible future research avenues.

Chapter 2: Historical background of the Holocaust in the Second World War

In the Second World War camp Westerbork is used by Nazi Germany as transit camp. Camp Westerbork was a small, but important part of the structure which had to lead to Europe as Nazi Germany wanted it. In this chapter I offer information about the Holocaust. Below I argue why the Holocaust is such an important part of the history of the whole world. In my project I want to offer insights in the ways locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork live currently close to camp Westerbork, a part of the German war machine in the Second World War.

Causes of the Second World War lie inter alia in the aftermath of the First World War. The Allies (Great-Britain, France and the United States of America) set terms for defeated Germany formulated in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. The most important terms were: obligatory military service was forbidden for the German army, the Rhineland, an essential

part of Germany was demilitarized and Germany had to pay for reparations. These measures resulted in hate and anger among the German people (David Boyle, 2015).

Germany became a republic, called the Weimar republic, after the end of the First World War and came in an economic and political chaos. In the 1920s unemployment raised to 6 million people and international trade was replaced for barter. Both the far right and the far left did not support the Weimar republic. Also the more moderate forces turned away more than once from the young democracy (Duitsland Instituut, 2015). The German people became disillusioned because of the inability to control events of the democratic government. So a strong, decisive reign became attractive for the German people (David Boyle, 2015).

In the night of 8 November 1923 Hitler tried to take over power in Germany with his 'Bierkellerputsch'. The putsch failed and Hitler was arrested, but Hitler became also a national celebrity. Between 1 April and 20 December 1924 Adolf Hitler was in prison, because he was condemned of high treason (Duitsland Instituut, 2015). During this period he wrote 'Mein Kampf', in this book he wrote his ideas about politics, race and the future of Germany. Important aspects of the book I want to call here are that Hitler writes that Germany requires one single strong leader instead of a parliamentary democracy, that the German people need and deserve more living space (Hitler calls it Lebensraum) and Hitler states that if Germany wants to reach its destiny, Jews need to be eradicated from the nation (Hitler, 1924).

On 30 January 1933 Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany by the German president of that time Paul von Hindenburg. President von Hindenburg died a year later on the second of August 1934, and the positions of chancellor and president were combined, with Adolf Hitler assuming both offices. Hitler also became commander in chief of the armed forces (Boyle, 2015).

During the years Hitler had power over Germany many laws were adopted which limited the freedom of Jews and other "inferior people", such as "Gypsies", "negroes", intellectuals and homosexuals. Especially the Nuremberg Laws were important to make the Holocaust possible. The Nuremberg laws comprise inter alia the Law of the Protection of German Blood and Honour, which prohibits marriage and sexual relations outside of marriage between Jews and Germans, and the Reich Citizenship Law, which deprives Jews of German citizenship (Roth, 2008). Before the war started the Jew-hatred peaked in the Kristallnacht in 1938, when thousands synagogues and Jewish stores were looted and were set on fire (Boyle, 2015).

Since the start of the war the Nazi-s killed Jews mainly by shooting or gas vans, but these methods were soon regarded as inefficient and as bad for the moral of the killers. The Nazi-s required a so-called 'Final Solution for the Jewish question'. The aim of the Wannseeconference, held on 20 January 1942, was to search for answer for this Jewish question. The outcome was that Jews from all over Europe had to be transported to extermination camps. Such camps were killing centres designed to carry out genocide and about three million Jews were gassed in these extermination camps. In total the Nazi-s killed around two-thirds of the European Jews, which were approximately 6 million lives (USHMM, 2015).

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

3.1 Dark Tourism, holocaust tourism & geographies of emotions

Travelling to places of darkness where atrocities happened, is a phenomenon that has occurred since the Middle Ages. Some examples of such sites are the Roman catacombs and gladiatorial games and the crusades (Strange & Kempa, 2003; Stone, & Sharpley, 2008). Already in the 11th century the crusades started and people visited places like Jerusalem representing Christ's crucifixion (Riley-Smith, 1987). Visiting dark sites became more popular during the 17th century because of economic and cultural development (About, 2016). People who were curious about other places and had the money to travel journeyed around Europe. This phenomenon is known as the Grand Tour (Rosenberg, 2015).

The term of dark tourism was coined in 1996 by Foley and Lennon and has since been commonly used to describe visitations of places where atrocities, death and disaster have happened. Foley and Lennon (1996) defined dark tourism as "the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites" (p. 198). Visiting such dark places has been termed in multiple ways such as 'black spot tourism' (Rojek, 1993), 'thanatourism' (Seaton, 1996), heritage atrocity tourism (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), 'morbid tourism' (Bloom, 2000) and 'difficult heritage' (Logan and Reeves, 2009).

According to Seaton (1996) the battlefields of Waterloo and cemeteries of soldiers who died in combat became popular tourism destinations. Seaton used the concept of 'thanatopsis' to explain the motivation of people to visit places where atrocities happened in the past. 'Thanatopsis' refers to thinking about death, whereof Seaton derived the term 'thanatourism', which he divided into five categories: 1) travelling with the aim to see death;

2) travelling to locations where people died; 3) travelling to graveyards and memorial places; 4) travelling to places where people represent battle fields, the so-called ‘re-enactments’; 5) travelling to locations where evidence of the death is collected and exhibited (Seaton, 1996).

Miles (2002) differentiates between sites where atrocities actually happened and sites where atrocities which happened in other places are shown. He exemplifies this with the Auschwitz museum, where the act of death occurred, and the USA Holocaust Memorial Museum, a commemorative museum located far away from where the death occurred. Miles (2002) further acknowledges that the distance of the remembered event in time and space influences the extent to which the attraction is darker or darkest tourism. Also Stone (2006) attempted to make a distinction between dark sites so as to place them in a light to dark framework. He considers sites associated with genocide and mass extermination in the darkest part of his framework.

The trend is that dark sites become more commercial (Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Dale & Robinson, 2015). Organizations such as Merlin Entertainments develop dark tourism products such as ‘dungeon’ attractions in Edinburgh, London and York in the United Kingdom. Merlin Enterprises is a British company which operates 105 attractions in 23 countries around the world (Merlin Entertainments, 2015), and heavily capitalizes on and commodify death-related places and/or situations. Using the phrase ‘commodification of death’, seemingly coined by Wilson (2008), development and marketing of dark tourism attractions can be explained via a concept like Disneyization (Dale & Robinson, 2011). Disneyization is about the society becoming increasingly focussed on recreation (Bryman, 1999). Such dark tourism attractions are part of the lighter side of Stone’s (2006) light-to-dark framework and are mostly focussed on the entertainment of tourists. Re-enactments, a category of ‘thanatourism’ mentioned by Seaton (1996), are examples of dark sites developed, influenced by a wider society, more focussed on leisure. In my study I want to explore whether locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork feel that their place has been ‘touristified’ for consumption of dark places and dark history.

Proper development and management is very important for a dark place to become a successful and ethical tourist destination. Managers have to deal with multiple opinions and views coming from stakeholders such as locals, visitors, (local) government and the owner of the place. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) and Dale & Robinson (2011) present examples of studies, which focus partly on management of dark sites. These studies go in-depth both on the supply and demand side of dark tourism attractions.

Acceptability, suitability and ethics are important aspects to consider when creating the best possible outcome for all stakeholders involved. People have different opinions about what is acceptable to show at a dark site. The presentation of and interpretation at a dark site can be perceived as acceptable by a group of persons, and possibly as unacceptable by another group. Managers of dark sites need to think about what is acceptable to show at the dark site and negotiate about what to show at the dark site with stakeholders. Every dark site is considered unique, so there is no single best way to manage a dark site. Managers have to consider sensitive local and historical issues and handle the dark site in the manner most suitable for that particular place.

Ethics is another important aspect when considering representation of locals' feelings, and refers to the moral impact a dark tourism place may have on locals and visitors alike. It is plausible that presentations at camp Westerbork will be received differently between various groups of people. For example, Jews of the current generation can have a different view towards the current use of camp Westerbork than others. According to Sharpley and Stone (2009), amongst other, religion and individualization in 'western' economically developed societies represent important factors that influence feelings at dark sites. From the locals perspective living with tourism ethical displays at dark sites require ethical, sensitive and appropriate interpretation. Besides the stories of locals living with Holocaust tourism in Hooghalen and Westerbork, in my thesis I want to explore the ways camp Westerbork is managed, the ways in which the local history is portrayed, and the impact this has on locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork.

As claimed before, dark tourism has received increased academic attention. Most studies, however, focus on tourists at dark sites (Nawijn & Fricke, 2013; Isaac & Çakmak, 2013; Beech, 2000; Werdler & Geuskens, 2012), rather than on locals and the ways they live with dark tourism. Some exceptions are Kim and Butler (2013), and Wright (2014) who focus on locals living near dark sites. Kim and Butler (2013) studied local community perspectives towards dark tourism development in Snowtown, Australia. In the 1990s a group of serial killers was active in and around Snowtown and murdered 11 persons. The authors explore the economic perspectives of the local community in relation to dark tourism, tourism infrastructure and facilities, differences between newer and older residents and (un)ethical tourism development. Significant outcomes of their research were: 1) economic benefits are the most common reason for resident support of dark tourism in Snowtown. 2) Local business owners made profit from the increasing number of visitors. 3) Locals in Snowtown are disappointed about the lack of infrastructure in Snowtown, this resulting in quick departure of

tourists. 4) Newer locals in Snowtown are more positive towards development of dark tourism in their town. Stronger emotional ties to Snowtown is the main reason for older locals in Snowtown to be more negative towards development of dark tourism. Newer locals blame the older ones for the unwelcome atmosphere in Snowtown. Kim and Butler maintain that future research on Snowtown, or any other such local community, should incorporate a greater sample than the 6 locals of Snowtown they interviewed. In my study, however, I conducted interviews with 15 locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork and kept a research diary throughout the project. Economic benefits, tourism infrastructure, differences between older and newer residents and (un)ethical tourism development became points of discussion during interviews with locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork.

A local Italian community was studied in regards to perceptions of dark tourism development in L'Aquila, Italy (Wright, 2014). L'Aquila was hit by an earthquake in 2009 where 309 civilians died, and 70.000 people was made homeless. The aim of that project was to investigate how the local community feels about and responds to the concept of dark tourism, and also to explore the responses of the local community in L'Aquila as it becomes a dark tourist site. In general, locals in L'Aquila are negative about dark tourism in their city. Outcomes of the research were, amongst other, that: 1) Locals in L'Aquila feel betrayed by the authorities, because of the lack of progress in redevelopment of the city. 2) Residents feel that tourists come to see their destroyed city and feel that tourists do not understand them. 3) Locals in L'Aquila are in general not willing to help with the promotion of dark tourism. 4) Nevertheless, over time locals in L'Aquila are more willing to accept dark tourism in their city. In my study I compare these outcomes with results of my in-depth, semi-structured, interviews in Hooghalen and Westerbork.

In what follows I will outline genocide and Holocaust tourism. I will go more in-depth about these concepts of dark tourism because my case study, camp Westerbork, is used as transit camp in the Second World War. 'Geno-' derives from the Latin *gens*, a race of people and '-cide' means killing. The term 'genocide' was introduced by Raphael Lemkin, a Polish Jew, in 1944 in his book 'Carnegie endowment for international peace, Division of International Law', and since this first use it has been continuously in debate. The mass killings of Jews in Nazi-Germany between 1939 and 1945 (Melson, 1992), of Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994 (United Human Rights Council, 2015a), of Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995 (Leydesdorff, 2011) and of Darfuris in Sudan between 2003 and present (United Human Rights Council, 2015b) are clear examples of genocide. In

general, it is agreed that genocide is about killing a group of persons because of their race, the killing is consciously carried out and is systematic (Sharpley and Stone, 2009).

In 1996 John Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth coined the term genocide tourism in their book 'Dissonant Heritage'. They pointed out the ways atrocities are usable as heritage. Tunbridge and Ashworth proposed five factors which are important to define a dark site. These factors are in relation to each other: 1) the atrocity; 2) the offenders; 3) the victims; 4) the way the original event is visible today; 5) the way the atrocity is still seen as an atrocity. They also discussed difficulties within what is seen as atrocity heritage. I explain here only the difficulties which I consider relevant for my study, which are: 1) the intended and received messages; 2) atrocity as dark tourism attraction; 3) which dark sites are considered as heritage. I want to explore what is presented in camp Westerbork and how it is perceived by the locals, to what extent locals feel that this Holocaust camp has become a dark tourism attraction and to what extent the camp is an important heritage place for locals and why (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). These aspects of the interpretation of dark sites helped me with the formulation of interview questions and the analysis of these interviews. Holocaust tourism, perhaps a 'branch' of both genocide and dark tourism, refers to visitations of Holocaust places of the Second World War. People, including Jews, have derived profit from these visitations to places where the Holocaust is commemorated and commodified (Finkelstein 2000; White & Frew, 2013).

During the past 50 years interest in the Holocaust increased within Europe and abroad. More and more people in western Europe and North America read literature about the Holocaust. Furthermore, movies cause increased interest to visit places related to the Holocaust (Doneson, 2002). During the 1990s Holocaust films became more popular. Particularly via Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List* and Roman Polanski's film *The Pianist* (White & Frew, 2013). The most known dark or Holocaust tourism places in the Netherlands is the Secret Annex, where Anne Frank and her family lived in hiding between 6 July 1942 until 4 August 1944 (Frank, 2014). During the second half of the twentieth century, the Annex emerged as a tourist site, a must-see destination in the Netherlands. In 1960, the first year the Secret Annex was accessible for public, alone 9.000 people visited the Secret Annex. The numbers grew exponentially throughout the following decades from 180.000 in 1970, to 600.000 in 1990, to over one million in 2007 and the current record comes from 2014. In 2014, 1.227.462 people visited the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam (AFH, 2015).

Holocaust sites are often incorporated into packaged tourist deals. A visit of Krakow, one of the most important Polish cities (Ashworth & Kavartzis, 2010), is often included in a

'package deal' with a visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau. In the Netherlands when one visits Amsterdam, multiple tours in the city are combined with a visit of the Anne Frank House (Masurel et al., 2008). Such dark sites are of historic, heritage and cultural importance and provide visitors with possibilities to better understand the atrocities that happened there (White & Frew, 2013). In my thesis I explore how locals feel about the raising popularity of camp Westerbork.

Now I will outline geographies of emotions in dark tourism. This is an important aspect for my study, because it allows me to explore the emotional lives of locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork who live with- and in places of Holocaust histories. Buda et al., (2014) argue that tourism studies, like this one, should pay closer attention to feelings of human beings. They argue that the geographical working field becomes increasingly connected to emotions, affects and feelings.

Emotions can be considered inner feelings such as joy, anger and sadness and are brought forth through a specific situation. Some authors (Reeve, 2008) consider emotions as feelings which are only felt for a short period of time. People can, for example, become happy because it is someone's birthday, become sad because someone they loved died, or become angry because someone hurt another person. Emotions can often be confused with moods. The main difference between those two terms is that emotions are only felt for a few seconds and are felt very intensely by human beings. Moods, on the other hand, are less intense and can occur for a longer period of time than emotions (Nawijn & Fricke, 2013). Another difference is that emotions are triggered by the direct environment (Beedie et al., 2005), while people can 'not be in the mood' for something just because it is not their day. The human body is inseparably related to emotions. People can be affected through what happens in their environment and express their emotions through their body. Emotions cannot be divorced from the human body (Buda, 2015). Emotions are dynamic and can change during lives through what we experience, such as birth, bereavement, bullying or becoming disabled.

Emotions can have positive effect, such as being happy, pleased or content, and negative affect, such as being sad, lonely or grouchy. The power of the emotions depends on the art of the emotion and of the person which experience the emotion. Terms of extreme emotions are amongst other being shocked, excited and terrified (Watson and Clarke, 1988).

Emotions are important because it affects the way we feel and respond to the world around us. This changes continuously because of what we experience in our lives (Davidson & Milligan, 2004). Also Buda (2015, p. 22) has recently explained the importance of emotions in relation to the geography of tourism: 'The human world is constructed, lived,

experienced and performed through emotions; so too are travel and tourism.’ (Buda, 2015, p. 22). Furthermore, Wood and Smith (2004) provide a useful approach for my study. They argue that, to understand emotions is ‘to properly appreciate how lives are lived, histories experienced, geographies made and futures shaped’ (p. 533).

Emotions can be connected to dark tourism, because earlier mentioned importance of emotions can also be drawn specifically on dark tourism. Researches like Nawijn and Fricke (2013) and Isaac & Çakmak (2013) focussed already on emotions of tourists felt a dark sites. This study adds to the current literature the way locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork feel to live close the dark site, camp Westerbork.

3.2 Camp Westerbork

Camp Westerbork is a former transit camp in Drenthe, a province in the Netherlands. When Adolf Hitler became chancellor of Germany from 1933 to 1945 and dictator of Nazi Germany from 1934 to 1945 the world changed (History, 2015). Especially horrendous was the confirmation of the racial laws in 1935 in Nazi Germany, which made the Holocaust legal in Nazi Germany (Historiek, 2008). Some of those who were discriminated against decided to escape from Germany immediately and others waited. At first, the Netherlands were not so welcoming for the Jewish refugees, but in the summer of 1939 the Dutch government finally wanted to establish a refugee camp for the Jewish population coming from Germany. The Central Refugee Camp Westerbork started to be built and the first refugees were hosted on 9 October 1939 (Kamp Westerbork, 2015b).

While the camp was meant to provide safety and shelter for the refugees, Nazi Germany took over control of the camp on 1 July 1942. Camp Westerbork then primary functioned as a transit camp. An estimate number of 107.000 Jews, 245 Sinti and Roma were deported to camps in Nazi Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic. Approximately 93 trains transported about 107.000 people to places like Auschwitz (Poland), but also to Sobibor (Poland), Theresienstadt (Czech Republic) and Bergen-Belsen (Germany). Only 5000 Jews and 32 Sinti and Roma who were deported survived the Second World War (Kamp Westerbork, 2015c). On 12 April 1945 the Canadian army liberated the camp with 876 Jewish prisoners (Kamp Westerbork, 2015c). After the Second World War until 1 January 1949 the Dutch government used the camp as prison for NSB’ers, which were followers of the “Nationaal Socialistische Beweging” (National Socialist Movement). The NSB was the Dutch political party which based their program on that of the German Nazi Party of Adolf Hitler (Encyclo, 2015). Finally in 1951 demobilised KNIL-militaries of South-Moluccan origin, and

their families lived in the camp. KNIL is the abbreviation of ‘Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger’ [Royal Dutch-Indian Army]. This was the Dutch colonial army, which was active between 1830 to 1950 (Defensie, 2016). On 27 December 1949 became Indonesia an independent state. Residents of Indonesia with both Indian and Dutch ancestors had to choose between migrate to the Netherlands or stay in Indonesia. Because of safety reasons most people chose to migrate to the Netherlands and the Dutch government assigned camp Westerbork as one of the places to shelter the migrants from Indonesia (Kamp Westerbork, 2016). In 1971 the last families left, because the Dutch government wanted them to integrate in the Dutch society, and the camp was demolished. In 1983 the remembrance centre camp Westerbork was opened and in the early 1990s the former camp terrain was redeveloped. The remembrance centre is 2 miles away from the camp terrain and it is possible for visitors to walk or to go by bus from the remembrance centre to the camp terrain. In figure 4 is a picture shown from the remembrance centre and in figure 5 is a picture shown from the camp terrain.

The way of thinking about and dealing with war heritage has changed over the last 25 years. In the coming years the remembrance centre Camp Westerbork wants to make the historical site more recognisable. Since the opening in 1983, 40.000 people visited the site. This increased in 2010 to 140.000 visitors and in 2014 to 148.000 visitors. The large majority of visitors to camp Westerbork are Dutch nationals (Kamp Westerbork, 2015d).



Figure 4: The remembrance centre of camp Westerbork



Figure 5: The camp terrain of camp Westerbork

3.3 Summary scheme

In the theoretical framework I outlined the most important concepts of my research. These concepts are used to analyse the ways locals live with holocaust tourism. I developed a summary scheme to identify correlations between the theoretical framework, the methodological approach, and the analysis of the information. The summary scheme shows the aim of my study and what I want to research to reach my research aim.

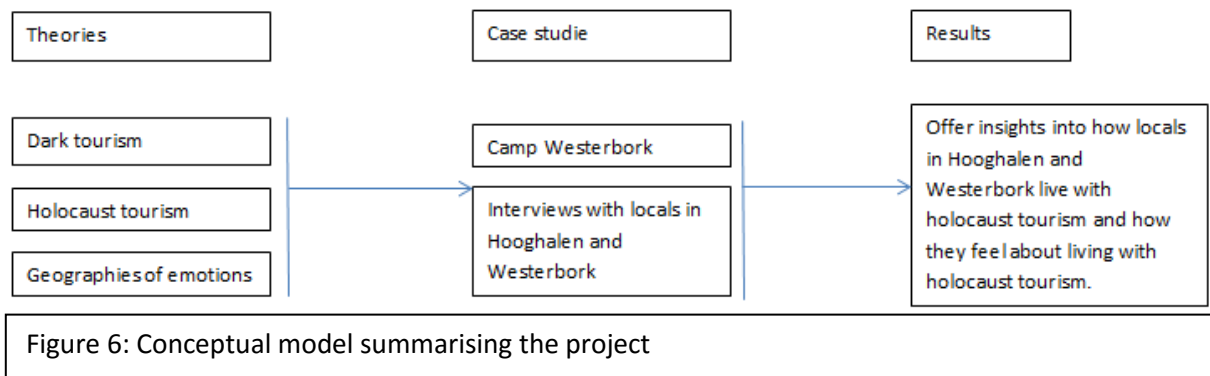


Figure 6: Conceptual model summarising the project

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 General

In my master thesis the methodological approach employed is based on the qualitative research cycle (figure 7), which I followed step by step during the whole process. I used in-depth, semi-structured, interviews, in combination with photo-elicitation discussions with locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork. Besides this, I have also spent time on the grounds of the entire camp terrain, and at the remembrance centre located close to the camp terrain. Furthermore, I recorded in my research diary my own felt experiences at this dark site, and also during the interviews. By collecting data through three different ways the picture of the research project can become clearer (Nightingale, 2009). I have combined information gathered through interviews, photo-elicitation, and experiences I wrote in my research diary.

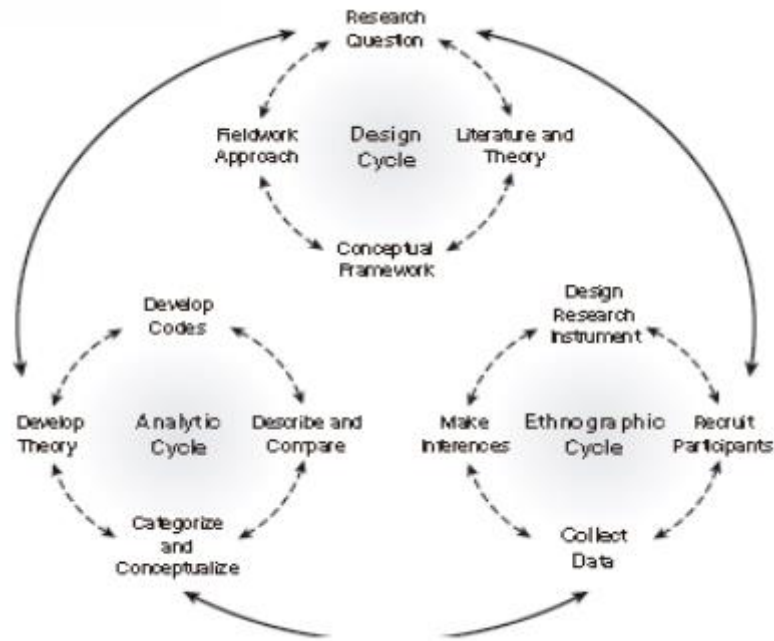


Figure 7: Qualitative research cycle (Hennink et al., 2011)

4.2 Recruiting participants

I arranged the first interview with employee Wendy Doorten by calling the remembrance centre of camp Westerbork by telephone. After we finished our interview I used the technique called snowballing (Longhurst, 2009). I asked Wendy if she knew another employee whom I could interview, and so I arranged the second interview with employee and also resident of Hooghalen, Karin Schaap. I used two methods to gather local participants. I hung posters at the local bakeries and in other public places in Hooghalen and Westerbork and on other public places in Hooghalen and Westerbork (figure 8). This method was not as successful as expected to recruit participants, but it made my project known to the local community. I employed a method of recruiting participants named cold calling, which means I called locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork by telephone and asked them if they wanted to participate in my study. This method proved to be more successful. I borrowed a telephone book of acquaintances who live in the province of Drenthe. Both in Hooghalen and in Westerbork I started calling persons in alphabetical order by last name. I called 36 households in Westerbork, out of which 17 picked up the telephone and 6 locals were willing to participate. In Hooghalen I called 16 households, out of which 10 picked up the telephone and 8 locals were willing to participate. First I explained why I called. Afterwards, I explained about my thesis and topic in lay terms. This proved to be a very successful method to recruit participants.



Figure 8: Poster to recruit participants

4.3 In-depth, semi-structured, interviews

I started all the 16 interviews with handing out the Information Sheet and the Agreement to Participate form. In appendix 8 I offer an overview of the interviews. All the participants gave the same answers about the agreement to participate. I could record all the interviews and no participant wanted to stay anonymous. The quality of the interview improved. I could focus totally on the discussions as I did not have to write down notes (Valentine 2005; Longhurst, 2009). I audio recorded the interviews with a phone's recording function. Furthermore 14 participants gave their e-mail, because they are interested in the outcomes of my study. I promised to write a summary of my study in Dutch for them and send it sometime during the winter. The interviews, being semi-structured, were more a conversation than an interrogation. I asked open questions, this way the participants were given the chance to give an in-depth answer and talk about the subject from any angle the participant wanted (Longhurst, 2009). Since non-verbal cues, like body language, are an important aspect of conversations, I wrote down striking experiences as soon as possible in my research diary.

The first 2 interviews were with employees of the remembrance centre of camp Westerbork. I interviewed Wendy Doorten and Karin Schaap in the restaurant of the remembrance centre. We took place at a table in the back of the restaurant, because there was the least of noise. For these 2 interviews I used another interview guide (appendix 1) than for the interviews with locals, because the relations of these participants towards the camp differ from the locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork. These interviews were about camp Westerbork in relation to politics, management, the local community and was set in international context. The interview with Karin Schaap was expended with some subjects from interview guide 2,

because she is besides an employee of the remembrance centre of camp Westerbork, also a resident of Hooghalen.

The other 14 interviews were with locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork. I visited all the participants at their place, so they felt quite comfortable during the interview. I combined the in-depth, semi-structured, interviews with discussions elicited by photographs of the camp that I took with me. With this method I wanted to gain information from participants through photos (Johnson, 2007). It turned out to be a successful method, because emotions of participants were sometimes triggered by the photos of camp Westerbork, an aspect which I outline in the next chapter. In figure 6 the photographs I used can be seen.



Figure 9: Pictures of camp Westerbork in 2015.

4.4 Research diary

I kept a research diary, recording personal data during the time of research. I also recorded activities and personal feelings experienced in my research diary. According to Meth (2009), these diary accounts often provide important insights into the methodological practices shaping the overall argument of my study. I experienced that, through writing in a research diary I felt more and more engaged towards my topic. Besides written text, I also added some pictures I took during my research process in my research diary. I combined the research

diary in this way in conjunction with participant observation. Observation is a research method that enables researchers to systematically observe and record people's behaviour, actions and interactions (Henning et al., 2011). There are different types of observations (participant observation, non-participant observation, observations with visual aids and walk through the spaces). In this study I engaged in participant observation. Participant observation is "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the research setting" (Schensul et al., 1999; Hennink et al, 2011). The whole research diary is shown in appendix 7 of this master thesis and I added most important points of my research diary in the next 2 chapters.

4.5 Data analysis

After making transcriptions of the recorded semi-structured interviews I coded the transcriptions. In this thesis, by code I mean a sentence which describes a subject, topic or theme which is often discussed. Examples of codes I used are 'years of living in Hooghalen and Westerbork', 'education in Hooghalen and Westerbork', 'changed feelings after multiple visits of camp Westerbork' and 'locals opinion about tourists'. Through codes I could divide parts of the interviews and I could make comparisons and see relations and connections in a clearer way. It helped me to identify links and connections between my data and the theoretical framework, and to write the findings of my study. I wrote the codes down on paper and code by code I wrote down what all the participants said about the code. I inserted both deductive and inductive codes, because participants made use of the interviews being semi-structured. Participants came up with own experiences and visions towards camp Westerbork, the Second World War, tourists and more.

4.6 Ethical considerations

All the participants participated voluntary in my study. 15 participants were recruited by calling them by telephone and employee and also resident of Hooghalen was recruited by the snowballing technique (Longhurst, 2009), via another employee Wendy Doorten. First I explained why I called and when locals reacted positive on my call for participants I arranged an meeting with them. All the locals invited me in their houses. It happened that participants forgot our appointment, but those who were at home when I came, made time for the interview nevertheless. When I reached their place I started the meetings with handing out the Information Sheet (appendix 3) and the Agreement to Participate (appendix 4) in my study. I used this two documents in Dutch language, because all the participants were Dutch citizens.

The locals could read their rights and what my study is about. The documents proved to be clear, because there were hardly any questions asked. Further, I consider I treated all participants with respect. The opinions of locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork towards points we discussed often differed from my opinion, but I respect all the opinions and try to learn from other opinions than my own.

4.7 Reflection

I am very pleased about this study and I am proud of the end result. The process took more time than usual, because of some personal issues. I experienced the collaboration between me and my supervisor as successful and also the contacts with locals went well. The quality of the interviews became better at the end of the process, what is normal because this was the first time I worked with in-depth, semi-structured, interviews. I am also pleased about the outcomes of the interviews, because the locals I interviewed offered me a lot information which helped me to write this master thesis.

Chapter 5: Analysis and results

In this chapter I analyse the information gathered for this project. After transcribing all 16 interviews I had in Hooghalen and Westerbork, I made a codebook of the interview transcripts. An overview of the interviews is shown in appendix 8 and the codebook is shown in appendix 7. In the following paragraph I have written multiple results from the semi-structured, in-depth, interviews with two employees of camp Westerbork and fourteen locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork and the research diary as well. The whole research diary is shown in appendix 6. The findings will be connected to the theories as described in chapter 3.

I spoke with both men and women in Hooghalen and Westerbork, all above 40 years of age. The years of living in Hooghalen or Westerbork varied between ‘born and raised in Hooghalen or Westerbork’ to 1.5 years of living close to camp Westerbork. Overall newer and older locals think both that remembering the Second World War and in particular the Holocaust is a good thing, because something horrible should not occur again in the future.

I visited camp Westerbork two times during this research project. On both occasions I visited the camp terrain and the remembrance centre on weekdays. I noticed people talk much on the camp terrain and also everybody greets each other, while visitors of the remembrance centre are quieter. I experienced a friendly atmosphere and the camp terrain is well maintained. Further I saw that visitors were impressed by what they saw and read, manifesting this by

standing still in many places where they could read information. I also heard visitors talking a lot about what the horrible acts of war.

5.1 Development of camp Westerbork

As written in chapter 3 camp Westerbork was used for various purposes in the past. In 1970, the railroad was opened, and in 1983 camp Westerbork really became a place of commemoration as the remembrance centre was inaugurated. Managers of camp Westerbork have to deal with different views towards regarding its development, according to Wendy Doorten:

“In time more things have been developed here. At the beginning the museum café was seen by some people as a taboo. People thought it was strange that a place like this sold ice-creams. Nowadays, in 2015, that is not an issue anymore. But we always have to consider how far we can go with our profits. Good example, we already sold books, but we thought about selling more stuff. So, since the beginning of 2015 we also offer jewellery. This jewellery has links with the Second World War, for example a work of art of a former member of the resistance is sold here at the remembrance centre. There have been a lot of discussion about this, will we do it or not? Can we do it or not? (Interview, Wendy Doorten, executive secretary of the remembrance centre, 30-10-2015)”

This is an example of the way camp Westerbork has become more commercial. Nowadays people earn money by commodifying the stories and places connected to the Second World War. Other well-known places connected to the Holocaust such as, Auschwitz-Birkenau, for example, is often combined with a visit of the city Krakow in Poland, and is than included in a package deal. This is different for camp Westerbork, which works together with similar institutions in the region, but does not offer tour package deals including surrounding cities. The municipality of Midden-Drenthe has information about camp Westerbork, and bus companies offer trips to the camp, but they do not work together in tour packages.

Currently camp Westerbork still experiences transformations. In 2015 two original wagons (figure 10) and a barrack (figure 11) were placed back on the camp terrain. Wendy Doorten argues: “the Holocaust is constantly in the news and the attention for the subject remains. People keep coming when we show new things at camp Westerbork. (Interview,

Wendy Doorten, executive secretary of the remembrance centre, 30-10-2015)” As argued in previous chapters, managers have to take responsibility and genuinely consider ethical debates in the developments of the camp. Camp Westerbork receives visitors of all ages as it portrays the stories of the Holocaust in ways appropriate for a broad range of people. To become more appealing to children, camp Westerbork has developed a ‘Kinderwijzer¹’ [exhibition for children] and joined ‘Oktobermaand Kindermaand²’ [Month of October, Month of Children], so children can enter camp Westerbork for free and their parents pay half the price. A comparable action ‘Gekleurd Grijs³’ [Coloured Grey] is focussed on elderly people. ¹



Figure 10: Two original wagons at camp Westerbork in 2015.



Figure 11: A barrack with original parts at camp Westerbork in 2015.

5.2 Daily life in Hooghalen and Westerbork

The conversations I had with the 16 participants in this project provided me with a good picture about the locals’ daily lives in Hooghalen and Westerbork. The presence of camp Westerbork is clearly not a reason for these locals to live there, or the contrary, to relocate elsewhere. The two main reasons of living there are work and the beautiful environment. Nellie Doornbos, a local of 56 years old in Hooghalen said for example: “I lived

¹Kinderwijzer: This is an exhibition specially for children between 8 to 12 years old. The exhibition is about the story of Leo Meijer, a Jewish boy in the Second World War.

²Oktobermaand Kindermaand: Since 2001 do children to 12 years old have free entrance to cultural institutions and cultural activities. These free exhibitions and workshops pull thousands of children and their parents to cultural institutions each year. This project is active in the provinces of Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe (K&C, 2016).

³Gekleurd Grijs³: ‘Gekleurd Grijs’ is a project in the provinces of Groningen and Drenthe what focusses on seniors (65+). ‘Gekleurd Grijs’ tries to offer seniors the change to visit various forms of art and cultural heritage (Gekleurd Grijs, 2016).

in Assen in a flat and I wanted something else. Especially for the summer, balcony, to go outside” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 20-10-2015). In general locals, both in Hooghalen and Westerbork, do not think a lot about camp Westerbork and what happened there during the Second World War. They see their villages as ‘normal’ villages where they work, live, have their hobbies and the like. Tina Bell, a local woman of 50 years old in Westerbork says: “I experience Westerbork actually as an ordinary, normal village. Not related to the story of camp Westerbork” (Interview, local in Westerbork, 14-10-2015). Westerbork is considered a lively village with many restaurants and locals undertake a lot activities in their village. Annie Baardink, a local woman of 75 years old in Westerbork says: “Almost every Sunday there is an event here in Westerbork” (Interview, local in Westerbork, 14-10-2015).

The Second World War ended 70 years ago and nowadays locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork enjoy live in their villages, mostly without thinking about it. Nevertheless, there are moments during the year when these locals are confronted with the history of the camp. They experience these confrontations both in positive and negative ways. They are positive about education in relation to the history of the Holocaust and consider that their children do not learn more about the Holocaust than children in other places in the Netherlands. During May each year, due to the commemoration of 4 May and liberation day on 5 May, locals feel that their children do learn more about the Holocaust, because they lay wreaths at the railroad monument (figure 12) and their school assignments are about this. It is worth mentioning that school children in Hooghalen do not visit camp Westerbork every year, but only occasionally, especially during commemoration months. Locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork do also take their (grand)children to the camp on their own, without interference of schools. Locals feel it is important for children to know what happened in the Second World War, because something so horrible like the Holocaust should never occur again.

On the other hand, locals in Westerbork also experience negative feelings towards confrontations with the history of Westerbork. Locals in Westerbork experience their village as an ordinary village, but others do not often share this opinion. Ina Benthem, a local woman of 76 years old in Westerbok says: “People ask me: ‘where do you live?’ I say in Westerbork. ‘Do you want to live there? And do tourists send a card with the text: ‘Greets from Westerbork.’ Then I say: ‘Of course they send a card, but that does not erase the past’” (Interview, local in Westerbork, 15-10-2015). Jan Brouwer, a local man of 70 years old in Hooghalen argues: “Westerbork is still seen negatively, but not that extreme as I experienced it 20 years ago” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 22-10-2015). So in time the view towards the village of Westerbork changed, but it is still linked to the histories of the Holocaust. Locals in

Hooghalen do not experience this, because people link the village of Westerbork to the camp itself with the same name, and not to the village closest to the camp, perhaps due to its different name, that of Hooghalen. Locals in Hooghalen do not necessary have to talk about camp Westerbork when they want to explain where they live. For example Anneke Aalvanger, a local woman of 53 years old in Hooghalen tries to explain where she lives using another well-known landmark close to Hooghalen: “I am more often in conversation with others about the TT circuit in Assen than about camp Westerbork” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 27-10-2015). The TT circuit in Assen is a well-known place mostly because it is part of the Motorcycle World Championship every year since 1949 (motogp, 2016).



Figure 12: Railroad monument at camp Westerbork

5.3 Visitations of camp Westerbork by locals

Most locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork have visited camp Westerbork multiple times. Locals with whom I talked for this project have visited camp Westerbork either by themselves, with family or friends, especially the camp terrain rather than the remembrance centre. This is because locals have to pay to enter the remembrance centre, especially if one is not a member of a ‘Vriend van Westerbork’ [Friend of Westerbork]. Furthermore, locals often mention that the camp terrain is a more important place for them than the remembrance centre, because the prisoners were actually there on that place. Locals visit the camp mostly to remember the victims and to learn from the past. A second reason often mentioned is to use a cycle road which runs through the camp terrain (figure 13), which locals experience as a fine area for recreation because it is green and quiet.

Most locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork point out that the first visitation evokes the most intense emotions. I used a photo elicitation to evoke emotions in my interviews with the

locals. Because most locals have visited the camp terrain and the remembrance centre, they have seen the pictures I took and showed them. Locals feel mostly negative emotions such as disbelief, sorrow, powerlessness and anger, especially looking at the pictures I took in camp Westerbork. Picture 11 (figure 14) of my collection I used in the photo-elicitation evoked the most emotions, they pointed out that they could see despair in her eyes. In 1994 journalist Aad Wagenaar discovered that the unknown girl was Settela Steinbach, a Gypsy girl from the province of Limburg, the Netherlands (NPO Geschiedenis, 2011). Also pictures 4 (figure 15) and 5 (figure 16) from my collection were easily recognised by locals. Picture 4 is often mentioned because of the number of stones. These stones symbolise the number of persons who took the train to extermination camps. Picture 5 is often mentioned because of the poignant image of the barbed wires. This symbolise the horrible daily view prisoners of camp Westerbork had during the Second World War.

Locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork say that they have changed feelings after multiple visits of camp Westerbork, especially due to the increased familiarity provided by these multiple visits. They think camp Westerbork is a more special place for other people, for the visitors outside of their area. Tineke Alves, a local of 56 years old in Westerbork: “It does not evoke intense impression as the first time, that is not possible. You get used to everything. You get even used to horrible things if you have seen them often” (Interview, local in Westerbork, 13-10-2015). Secondly, several locals mention that ageing is an important aspect of evoking emotions. As written in paragraph 3.1 emotions change during lives, through what we experience. Locals say that they become more emotional as they become older. Nowadays they feel emotions more intensely, than when they were younger. Also parenthood makes them think and feel differently. Locals wonder how horrible it would be if their children would be prisoners of such a horrible camp. Thirdly, some locals compare camp Westerbork to other concentration camps of Nazi Germany. Geesje Alards a local woman of 63 years old in Westerbork visited concentration camp Buchenwald, and she said that she could ‘still smell death’ in the gas chambers (Interview, local in Westerbork, 14-10-2015).

The fact that locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork visited extermination camps, where people actually were murdered, provide them with a different view towards camp Westerbork. They see camp Westerbork not as dark as extermination camps, because camp Westerbork was used as a transit camp and not focussed on direct murdering of people. As I analyse camp Westerbork in the light of the dark tourism framework there are many camps used by Nazi Germany which are experienced as ‘darker’. Another dark site, the Berlin Wall, was mentioned by Marie Bartels, a local woman of 71 years old in Westerbork, and she made me

think about the concept of McDonaldization, because she said there are many dark places in the world: “Why should I go to the place, I can experience it in my head and see it on television. Horrible events have happened in several places” (Interview, local in Westerbork, 21-10-2015).

The second issue when locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork compare camp Westerbork to other concentration camps used by Nazi Germany is the presumed lack of authenticity at the camp. Local Marc ten Brink visited Theresienstadt, in the Czech Republic, where the original barracks are still standing. Ruud van Hal, a local man of 54 years old in Hooghalen, visited camp Vught in the province of Gelderland, the Netherlands: “We have been in camp Vught, where original parts are still standing. Then it becomes easier to come to the emotion of that time” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 21-10-2015). Nevertheless, locals experience camp Westerbork as an important place for them, also when they have visited camp Westerbork multiple times and compare the camp to other former concentration camps. Locals think it is not just an important place for them, but also for others according to Marc ten Brinke, a local man of 50 years old in Hooghalen: “I think it is a universal feeling about our history and our disgust about it” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 22-10-2015). When I link this to the ‘difficulty’ mentioned by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) ‘what dark sites are considered as heritage’, I am aware of the importance of camp Westerbork for the whole world. Locals often mention camp Westerbork is not an important place just for them, but for everybody. This is because camp Westerbork is an important place within the Holocaust and the Holocaust have had an enormous impact on the whole world.



Figure 13: Cycling road through the camp terrain



Figure 14: Picture which evokes most emotions in locals



Figure 15: 102.000 stones at camp Westerbork



Figure 16: Barbed wire at camp Westerbork

5.4 Locals opinion about tourists

Locals are mostly positive about tourists. Most important subject locals bring forward is that the Second World War and the Holocaust are important historical events which must never happen again. Gerrit Braam, a local man of 64 years old in Hooghalen, says : “Tourism is positive. This must not be forgotten, it must not happen again. It happens daily, not on this scale, but when you see what happens in the Middle-East” Secondly locals are positive about tourism in their local environment because of the economic benefits. Locals say it is a good thing for the local economy, because tourists spend money at camp Westerbork and at other places, like restaurants, in Westerbork and Hooghalen as well. Further, camp Westerbork becomes a more popular dark site, but locals do not perceive that it becomes busier in their villages. The interviewed locals did not mention that the tourists are annoying.

When I compare these outcomes to the two studies of Kim and Butler (2013) and Wright (2014) I outlined in the theoretical framework I can identify some differences. Locals in Snowtown, Australia, where serial killers murdered 11 persons, see economic benefits as most positive, while locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork say that the most important thing is to remember, because the Holocaust must never occur again. Economic benefits are also mentioned, but not as main reason why it is positive that camp Westerbork should exist as a tourist destination. Compared to the study in L’Aquila, hit by an earthquake were 309 civilians died and 70.000 became homeless, the most striking point is that locals in L’Aquila are negative towards tourists and locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork are positive towards tourists. Causes for these differences were maybe that locals in L’Aquila are personal hit by the earthquake, while locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork only live close to the dark site.

Also, the earthquake occurred recently, while the Holocaust occurred more than 70 years ago. Miles (2002) acknowledges that the distance of the remembered event in time and space influences the extent to which a site is darker or darkest tourism.

5.5 The connection between the current time and the Second World War

This project was undertaken in a time when the Netherlands and more European countries were overwhelmed with refugees from the Middle-East, especially Syria. Also the terror attack in Paris took place on 13 November 2015 whereby more than 120 people died (NPO, 2015a). In many interviews I talked with locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork about the current political situation in the world. In general the locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork think the Netherlands should offer refugees a safe place to stay. Locals turned it around and said that if and when we would ever have a war here, we would hope to be welcome somewhere else in the world. Jan Brouwer says: “If I ever have to flee I hope there is also a place for me to stay” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 22-10-2015). Locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork argue that it is nevertheless important to investigate who exactly enters the Netherlands” They opine it is important to know the motives of refugees, why they want to enter our country. We do not want that people (fighters for the Islamic State) with plans for a terrorist attack to enter the Netherlands. Further, locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork say that refugees have to stick to Dutch norms and values and respect our law.

Opinions if Dutch people have learnt from the past vary. Annie Baardink says: “extermination still happens. They do not have learnt anything from the past”(Interview, local in Westerbork, 14-10-2015). Ruud van Hal is of the opinion that: “We have learnt from the past, but I think the situation can develop in the way it can happen again” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 21-10-2015). Anneke Aalvanger mentions the Zwarte Piet [Black Pete] discussion and says: “It is a tradition. We celebrate it for so long, why is it wrong now? Because a few people are bothered? People in Suriname also celebrate Santa-Claus” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 27-10-2015).

Locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork can find similarities between the current time and the period just before the Second World War started. Ruud van Hal states: “it would not surprise me that the same can happen with the refugees, we remain egoistic” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 21-10-2015). Also Hendrik Bakker, a local man of 84 years old in Hooghalen, agrees with this comparison: “Just like now with the refugees. It is like it was in the Second World War. People experience it as an ordinary routine” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 21-10-2015). Marc ten Brinke says: “When you look to the politics, hate, fear for people who are

different, asylum seekers, the like” (Interview, local in Hooghalen, 22-10-2015). Locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork do not understand why people have to hurt each other, but it happened and it still happens.

At last I viewed 2 relevant documentaries during the process of my study. I viewed the episode ‘Buren van Westerbork’ of the television program ‘Sporen’, recorded in 1995. Locals, who lived close to camp Westerbork during the Second World War were interviewed. People said locals did not help the prisoners a lot, because it was dangerous and locals’ first priority was safety for their own family. Also prisoners did not ask a lot for help, because it was dangerous for them too, and they did not know what would happen with them. They still had faith in a happy ending. Locals did not consider Jews as inferior people, but as ‘others’. The way locals ‘helped’ the prisoners was mainly by collecting the card prisoners would throw out the trains and send it to the relatives and friends of them, but this was dangerous too and most locals did not do anything. I think we cannot say that we should act differently now, because we have never been in such a situation. My opinion is that you have to experience something yourself if you want to get clear what you should do in such a difficult situation as it was for the neighbours of camp Westerbork.

Secondly, I viewed ‘ongewenste vreemdelingen’ (undesired strangers) of the television program ‘Andere Tijden’ (other times). I viewed this documentary because I and also locals in Westerbork and Hooghalen see connections between the Second World War and the current time. In the 1930s the European countries closed borders for Jews who fled Nazi Germany. Also in the current time there is discussion about how to handle the refugees from Syria. Nowadays we think the issue of the refugees is something we have to handle with whole Europe, but nobody seems to have the right answer about the best way to handle the refugee crisis.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

This thesis is about dark tourism, especially Holocaust tourism. With my study I add to the current literature about dark tourism, more specifically about how locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork live with holocaust tourism.

The camp has been used for various purposes along the years. Before it really became a place of remembrance, camp Westerbork served for 20 years as a place of residence for Moluccans. They left in 1971 because the Dutch government wanted them to integrate in the Dutch society. When the Moluccans left all the buildings on the camp terrain were destroyed, and nowadays locals regret it, because the authenticity of at the camp terrain was thus altered.

Placing things back on the camp terrain represents a positive development, but it will never restore its original authenticity, according to the interviewed locals. When locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork compare this to other former concentration camps they visited, they really miss the original parts on the terrain. In general, locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork agree that authentic parts on the camp terrain would have evoke even more emotions.

Acceptability, suitability and ethics are important aspects (Ashworth and Hartmann 2005; Dale & Robinson 2011) to properly manage a place of darkness such as camp Westerbork. These matters have been taken into consideration by managers of the camp when designing actions such as ‘Gekleurd Grijs’ and ‘Oktobermaand Kindermaand’ to better cater to both elderly people and children.

One aspect that emerged from my research is that locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork experience their villages as ‘normal’. Locals work, study, conduct their hobbies, and the like, as all other Dutch citizens do, without thinking about the atrocities that happened in the camp. Camp Westerbork have never been a motive to live in Hooghalen or Westerbork for the locals with whom I talked. Living close to work and in a beautiful environment, according to these locals are the main reasons to live in these villages. The moments when locals are confronted with the remembrance of the atrocities which happened at the camp are experienced both as positive and negative by them. The commemoration of the death (4 may) and liberation day (5 may) is celebrated at camp Westerbork, as children in Westerbork lie wreaths at the railroad monument and work on school assignments about the Holocaust. School children in Hooghalen do not visit camp Westerbork every year, but occasionally. This happens mostly during commemoration months. Furthermore, locals take their (grand)children to the camp without interference of schools, because they think it is important for their children to know what happened at camp Westerbork during the Second World War.

Further locals in Westerbork experience that other people know the village of Westerbork because of the camp. When they talk to people from other parts of the country and say they live in Westerbork, than often other people connect this to the camp. This is not the case for locals in Hooghalen. In general locals in Westerbork do experience this as a bit annoying. They have to explain why they live in a village close to a dark site, while locals in both Hooghalen and Westerbork feel that they live in an ordinary village.

Also, out of 15 locals I interviewed, only one has never visited the camp. All other locals have visited camp Westerbork at least one time, but mostly several times. Visitations of camp Westerbork by locals represents another theme which emerged from my project. Locals

in Hooghalen and Westerbork have visited the camp terrain more often than the remembrance centre, because they experience the camp terrain as a more important place than the remembrance centre and the camp terrain is a green and quiet location where people can enjoy the outdoors. There is also an entry fee for the remembrance centre when one is not part of the club 'Vriend van Westerbork' [Friend of Westerbork]. Main reason for visiting camp Westerbork is to remember the victims and to learn from the past. In general locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork argue that the first visit of camp Westerbork evokes the most emotions, especially of disbelief, sorrow and anger. In general locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork can hardly believe that a whole nation can support the horrible ideas of one single man, feel sorrow for the victims and feel anger towards the people who are responsible for the Holocaust.

The emotions seem to change after multiple visits of camp Westerbork mostly because 'they get used to the camp'. Also another reason is that locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork experience that they become more emotional when they become older. This seems to argue against the first reason mentioned, because locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork have visited the camp more often when they become older. The locals are aware of the importance of the camp. Nevertheless locals they argue that there are other concentration camps used in the Second World War which evoke even more and stronger emotions. They mention camps where the massacres actually happened and concentration camps where original parts are still presented.

Regarding tourists and tourism, the locals are positive about this. They think it is important never to forget what happened in the Second World War. Locals often point out that something horrible as the Holocaust must never occur again. This differs from previous research which is done in L'Aquila, where locals are negative about tourists. This might be because the earthquake happened there more recently (Miles, 2002) than the Holocaust, and locals in L'Aquila are victims themselves. Secondly locals are positive about tourism because of the economic benefit. This refers to the commodification of death (Wilson, 2008), because people earn money nowadays because people want to visit camp Westerbork. The economic benefit was the main reason for locals in Snowtown, Australia, to be positive towards dark tourism, but locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork see remembrance as more important than making profit from the raising popularity of camp Westerbork.

One last aspect that came forth in my discussions with the locals is the connection between the current political situation in the world and the Second World War. This study is conducted in a time when Europe is overwhelmed by migrants, asylum seekers and refugees

from some countries in the Middle-East, especially Syria. Locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork feel that there are similarities between the current time and the period leading up to the Second World War. In the 1930s Jews fled away from Nazi Germany to the Netherlands to find safety and security. People in Hooghalen and Westerbork are afraid that not all Dutch people might welcome the refugees and focus their anger with the current crisis on them. Nevertheless the Netherlands can offer a safe place for the refugees, say the locals in Hooghalen and Westerbork. They empathise with the refugees and think of themselves in the dire need to find a safe place if ever there will be war in the Netherlands. As this was one of the last point of discussion during our interviews, there was not much emphasis on it, but future research should unpack this aspect even further.

Another avenue for future research, can be interviewing younger adults between the ages of 18 to 50 years in Hooghalen and Westerbork. It is interesting to explore if this generation shares the view towards camp Westerbork with the older locals I talked. Another issue for future research are the Moluccans, who lived a long period on the camp terrain after the Second World War. How did they experience it? Is camp Westerbork a different place for them than for locals of Hooghalen and Westerbork? They really lived on the place where prisoners lived before them. It could be an interesting study to see how the Moluccans experienced living at camp Westerbork.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide for interviews with employees of camp Westerbork

Theme	Questions
Dark tourism in international context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How does camp Westerbork handles more visitors? - Is camp Westerbork included in some package deals? - Do you feel that people come to camp Westerbork more for recreation and animation these days instead of learning, mourn or remember?
Dark tourism and politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do (local) politics use camp Westerbork? (Political messages or viewpoints)
Dark tourism and management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How does camp Westerbork handles differences between people who visit the dark site (age, Jews etc.) - Ethics: Does camp Westerbork makes changes in process of time in the presentation of the dark site?
Dark tourism and local communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Does camp Westerbork know how the local residents think about camp Westerbork? (Economic benefits – Tourist infrastructure& Facilities – Differences between newer and older residents) - Is camp Westerbork more important for local residents than for others.

Appendix 2: Interview guide for interviews with local residents

Theme	Questions
Opening	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you tell me something about yourself? (Age, education, work, etc.) years of living in Westerbork, motives to live in Westerbork).
Knowledge about camp Westerbork	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you know about the history of camp Westerbork? - <i>Refugee camp before the Second World War 1939 – 1942.</i> - <i>Transit camp during the Second World War 1942 – 1945.</i> - <i>Internment camp 1945 – 1948.</i> - <i>Military camp 1948 – 1949.</i> - <i>Repatriation camp 1950 – 1971.</i> - <i>Camp at rest 1971 – 1983</i> - <i>Centre of remembrance ‘Kamp Westerbork’ 1983 – today.</i> - <i>(knowledge about Holocaust)</i>
Pictures of Camp Westerbork	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you have got pictures of Camp Westerbork? - What do you feel and/or think when looking at those pictures (Also take a look to my pictures of Camp Westerbork).
Living in Westerbork	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why do you live in Westerbork? (Is there a reason related to Camp Westerbork?) - Do you feel that you live in a village close to a place where many people took the train to extermination camps? (Is the darkness gone?) - How important is camp Westerbork for Westerbork and its residents? (Would Westerbork be different without the camp? Is the camp part of the identity of Westerbork? Is the camp more special for residents of Westerbork than for others?) - What do you think about tourists who visit camp Westerbork? (Good for Westerbork, employment? Tourists are annoying? Good that people are interested in such an important subject and place?) - Have you visited camp Westerbork? (How often? Which motives? Do your feelings about the place change after multiple visits?)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you participate in events about camp Westerbork? (for example the 102.000 names). - Education in Westerbork? (Do you think that schools in Westerbork learn children more about the Holocaust than schools in other places).
Discrimination in the future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you think about current discrimination? (have people learnt from the past? Have people forgotten the Holocaust? How do the world have to deal with discrimination? What will the future bring with regard to discrimination?)
Closing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do/can you want to tell me anything more about Westerbork in combination with dark tourism? - Thank you for participating in my study.

Appendix 3: Information sheet for research project: Living with Holocaust Tourism: Locals' Emotions and Perceptions of Holocaust Tourism Development in Hooghalen and Westerbork, the Netherlands.

(This is a translation of the information sheet I used during the interviews. I used an information sheet in Dutch, because all the participants were Dutch citizens).

Thank you very much for taking the time to consider getting involved in my research project. My study is about holocaust tourism and I take camp Westerbork as the 'dark' place which I will study. The aim is to offer insights into how local residents in Westerbork live with holocaust tourism and how they feel about living with holocaust tourism.

Confidentiality and participant rights

The interviews will be audio-recorded and notes will be taken during the interview. You have the right to ask to have the recording turned off whenever you decide and you may also end the interview at any time. If you wish so you will be sent a copy of the interview notes, and you will have the opportunity to make corrections or request the erasure of any materials you do not wish to be used. The information you provide will be kept confidentially in a locked facility or in a password protected file on my computer up to five years upon completion of my research. The main use of the information you provide will help me towards my Master Thesis (for MSc candidates), which upon completion will publicly be available on Internet. The data may also be used for articles, book chapters, published and unpublished work and presentations.

Unless you have given explicit permission to do so, personal names or any other information which would serve to identify you as an informant will not be included in this research or in any future publication or reports resulting from this study.

As a participant you have the right to:

- decline to participate;
- decline to answer any particular question;
- ask for the audio-recorder to be turned off at any time;
- end the interview at any time

withdraw from the study up until three weeks after participating in the research;
ask any questions about the study at any time during participation; and
ask for the erasure of any materials you do not wish to be used in any reports of this study.

Once again I thank you for taking the time to find out more about my study. I am at your disposal for any questions you might have. You can also contact my supervisors at the address below.

Yours sincerely

Researcher: Jordy Hindriksen Contact details jordyhindriksen@hotmail.com T: 0651560049	Main Supervisor: Dorina Buda Contact details d.m.buda@rug.nl
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This study has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email frw-ethics@rug.nl. Physical address: Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen, Landleven 1, 9747 AD Groningen, The Netherlands.

Bijlage 4:

Informatieformulier voor het onderzoeksproject: Leven met ‘Holocaust Tourism’: Emoties van inwoners van Westerbork, Nederland.

Dank u wel voor uw tijd om me te helpen bij mijn onderzoeksproject. Mijn onderzoek gaat over holocaust toerisme en ik neem (kamp) Westerbork als plek die ik ga onderzoeken. Het doel van mijn onderzoek is inzicht te geven in hoe inwoners van Westerbork leven met holocaust toerisme en welke emoties zij daarbij voelen.

Vertrouwelijkheid en rechten van participanten.

De interviews worden opgenomen en er worden aantekeningen gemaakt gedurende het interview. U heeft het recht om te vragen om de opname uit te zetten en u mag ook het interview eindigen wanneer u wilt. Als u wilt kan ik u een kopie sturen van mijn notities, zodat u de kans krijgt correcties te maken en punten verwijderen waarvan u niet wilt dat ik ze ga gebruiken. De informatie die u geeft zal ik bewaren in mijn, met paswoord beveiligde, computer tot 5 jaar na het afronden van mijn onderzoek. Uw gegeven informatie helpt mij bij het behalen van mijn Master Thesis Culturele Geografie, die na afronding beschikbaar komt op internet. De data kan ook gebruikt gaan worden voor artikelen, hoofdstukken in boeken, gepubliceerd en niet-gepubliceerde werken en presentaties.

Tenzij u expliciet toestemming heeft gegeven, worden persoonlijke namen en andere informatie die kan leiden tot uw identificatie niet toegevoegd aan dit onderzoeksrapport of in toekomstige publicaties of rapporten die een vervolg zijn op dit onderzoeksrapport.

Als participant heeft u het recht om:

Te weigeren om te participeren;

Te weigeren om antwoord te geven op bepaalde vragen;

Te alle tijden te vragen om het opnameapparaat uit te schakelen;

Te alle tijden het interview te beëindigen;

U terug te trekken uit het onderzoek tot 3 weken na participatie in het onderzoek;

Vragen te stellen over het onderzoek op elk moment gedurende de participatie;

Te vragen om materiaal te verwijderen dat u niet wil dat ik gebruik in mijn onderzoeksrapport;

Nogmaals hartelijk bedankt voor uw tijd. Ik sta tot uw beschikking voor alle vragen die u heeft met betrekking tot dit onderzoek. U kunt ook contact opnemen met mijn supervisor.

Hoogachtend,

Onderzoeker: Jordy Hindriksen Contact details: jordyhindriksen@hotmail.com T: 0651560049	Hoofd supervisor: Dorina Buda Contact details: d.m.buda@rug.nl
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Dit onderzoeksproject is goedgekeurd door het Ethisch Onderzoekscomité van de Faculteit Ruimtelijke Wetenschappen. Vragen over ethiek kunt u sturen naar het secretariaat van het comité, e-mail frw-ethics@rug.nl. Adres: Faculteit Ruimtelijke Wetenschappen, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Landleven 1, 9747 AD Groningen, Nederland

Appendix 5: Agreement to participate in research project: Living with Holocaust Tourism: Locals' Emotions and Perceptions of Holocaust Tourism Development in Hooghalen and Westerbork, the Netherlands.

(This is a translation of the agreement I used during the interviews. I used an agreement in Dutch, because all the participants were Dutch citizens).

The aim is to offer insights into how local residents in Westerbork live with holocaust tourism and how they feel about living with holocaust tourism.

I have read and I understand the information sheet on this present research project.

I have had the opportunity to discuss this study. I am satisfied with the answers I have been given.

I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the study up to three weeks after interview, and to decline to answer any individual questions in the study.

I understand that my participation in this study is confidential. Without my prior consent, no material which could identify me will be used in any reports generated from this study.

I understand that this data may also be used in articles, book chapters, published and unpublished work and presentations.

I understand that all information I provide will be kept confidentially either in a locked facility or as a password protected encrypted file on a password protected computer.

Please circle YES or NO to each of the following:

I consent to my interview being audio-recorded YES / NO

I wish to remain anonymous for this research YES / NO

If YES

My first name can be used for this research YES / NO

OR

A pseudonym of my own choosing can be used in this research YES / NO

“I agree to participate in this individual interview and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form and the research project information sheet.”

Signature of participant: _____ Date: _____

“I agree to abide by the conditions set out in the information sheet and I ensure no harm will be done to any participant during this research.”

Signature of researcher: _____ Date: _____

Please fill in the following information. It will only be used in case you want to be sent a copy of interview notes so that you have the opportunity to make corrections.

Address: _____

Email: _____

Bijlage 6:

Overeenkomst voor participatie in dit onderzoeksproject: Leven met ‘Holocaust Tourism’: Emoties van inwoners van Westerbork, Nederland.

Het doel van mijn onderzoek is inzicht te geven in hoe inwoners van Westerbork leven met holocaust toerisme en welke emoties zij daarbij voelen.

Ik heb het informatieformulier van dit onderzoeksproject gelezen en ik begrijp het. Ik heb de kans gehad om dit onderzoek te bediscussiëren. Ik ben tevreden met de antwoorden die ik heb gegeven.

Ik begrijp dat participatie in dit onderzoek vrijwillig is en dat ik het recht heb om me terug te trekken uit het onderzoek tot 3 weken na het interview, en dat ik individuele vragen in dit onderzoek mag weigeren te beantwoorden.

Ik begrijp dat participatie in dit onderzoek vertrouwelijk is. Zonder mijn toestemming wordt er geen materiaal gebruikt in dit onderzoek en vervolgonderzoeken die kan leiden tot mijn identificatie.

Ik begrijp dat data ook gebruikt kan gaan worden in artikelen, hoofdstukken in boeken, gepubliceerd en niet-gepubliceerde stukken en presentaties.

Ik begrijp dat informatie die ik geef in vertrouwen bewaard blijft in een computer die van paswoord voorzien is.

Omcirkel JA of NEE voor de volgende punten:

Ik geef toestemming dat mijn interview wordt opgenomen JA / NEE

Ik wil anoniem blijven in dit onderzoek JA / NEE

Bij JA

Mijn voornaam kan gebruikt worden in dit onderzoek JA / NEE

OF

Een door mij gekozen pseudoniem kan worden gebruikt in dit onderzoek JA / NEE

‘Ik ga akkoord met participatie in dit individuele interview en erken een kopie te hebben ontvangen van het toestemmingsformulier en het informatieformulier van dit onderzoeksproject.’

Handtekening van participant: _____ Date: _____

‘Ik ga akkoord met de voorwaarden beschreven in het informatieformulier en ik verzeker dat er participanten geen schade ondervinden van het onderzoeksproject.’

Handtekening van onderzoeker _____ Date: _____

Vul alstublieft de volgende informatie in: Het wordt enkel gebruikt in geval u een kopie wilt van de aantekeningen van het interview, zodat u de kans krijgt correcties aan te brengen.

Adres: _____

E-mail: _____

Appendix 7: The poster I hang up on several locations in Westerbork and Hooghalen to recruit participants

Leven met ‘Holocaust Tourism’: Emoties van inwoners van Westerbork.

Hallo. Mijn naam is Jordy Hindriksen. Ik ben student Culturele Geografie aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Voor mijn Master Thesis doe ik onderzoek naar emoties van inwoners van Westerbork. Hoe leven inwoners van Westerbork met holocaust toerisme?



Bent u een inwoner van Westerbork en wilt u mij helpen met mijn onderzoek, zoek contact met me via e-mail of telefoon.

E-mail: jordyhindriksen@hotmail.com

T: 06-51560049

Alle verzamelde informatie wordt in vertrouwen behandeld en is anoniem. Participanten hebben ten alle tijden het recht om zich terug te trekken uit het onderzoek. Dank u. Ik kijk ernaar uit om u te ontmoeten!

Appendix 8: Research Diary

Plaats	Voormalig Kampterrein Westerbork
Datum	30-09-2015
Gebeurtenis -sen	Wandeling over het kampterrein
Ervaringen	<p>De heenweg ben ik van het herinneringscentrum met de bus naar het kampterrein gegaan. De rit heeft een lengte van ongeveer 2,5 kilometer en in de bus werd een kort verhaal verteld over de plek Kamp Westerbork en haar verleden. Op het kampterrein viel mij op dat mensen spraakzamer en opener waren dan in het museum. Mensen begroeten elkaar en praten luider (misschien logisch omdat je in de buitenlucht bent. Aangezien ik in februari 2015 ook al op het kampterrein was geweest viel me meteen op dat er een nieuwe barak en 2 wagons op het terrein waren geplaatst. Bij de wagons werden uit een luidspreker de 102.000 namen genoemd die vanuit Westerbork naar vernietigingskampen zijn getransporteerd. Verder was opvallend dat er uit palen verhalen werden verteld van overlevenden (deze stonden uit tijdens mijn vorige bezoek). Verder was het kampterrein netjes onderhouden. Het trottoir was vrij van onkruiden het gras was kort gemaaid. Ook was er geen zwerfafval te zien. Qua mensen viel me op dat er vooral ouderen waren, maar dat kwam hoofdzakelijk ook door de dag en het tijdstip. Hieronder staan foto's die ik op 30-09-2015 heb genomen gedurende mijn bezoek aan het kampterrein van Kamp Westerbork en die ik heb genomen op openbare ruimtes in Westerbork en Hooghalen waar ik poster heb opgehangen.</p>

Plaats	Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork
Datum	30-09-2015
Gebeurtenissen	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Interviews met werknemers Wendy Doorten en Karin Schaap. 2 Bezoek aan het museum
Ervaringen	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Wat mij vooral opviel bij deze interviews was hoe passioneel deze twee personen vertelden over Kamp Westerbork. Beide personen kwamen op mij over dat ze het een voorrecht vonden om op deze plek te mogen werken. Dat ze er met plezier werken het zeer zinvol vinden hier hun werk te verrichten. Ook vond ik het opvallend en fijn hoe behulpzaam ze waren voor mij. Het interview met Karin is ter plekke geregeld en ze wilde graag haar verhaal met mij delen in haar eigen tijd. Naast deze geïnterviewde personen heb ik ook nog gesproken met de conservator van Kamp Westerbork, Guido Abuys. Hij kwam met de tip om participanten te vinden door een oproep te doen in de lokale krant De Boekhoorn. 2 Tijdens mijn bezoek aan het museum viel mij op dat bezoekers onder de indruk geraken van een bezoek aan het museum. Mensen praten op zachte toon met elkaar en blijven veelal overal stilstaan bij wat het museum te bieden heeft. Er wordt door iedereen veel interesse getoond. Terwijl het museum maar klein is qua omvang viel mij op dat veel mensen er wel minimaal een kwartier verblijven en een enkeling die alles wil lezen en zien wel langer dan een uur. Woorden die bezoekers gebruikten om hun gevoelens te uiten waren onder andere: 'koude rillingen', 'wanhoop', 'arme stakkers' en 'wat zielig'. Ikzelf vond het museum ook erg indrukwekkend. De beelden van de zwaar ondervoede mensen raakte me het meest, maar ook de volle koffers met spullen die er staan en die geen eigenaar meer kende en de verhalen van overlevenden die er vertelt worden.

Plaats	Thuis
Datum	05-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	<p>Op 01-10-2015 heb ik contact gezocht met dorpskrant De Boekhoorn Hooghalen. Het contact begon met een telefonisch gesprek met Koos Wichers van financiële zaken. Hij adviseerde mij een mail te sturen naar de redactie. Dit deed ik op 01-10-2015 en kreeg op -5-10-2015 reactie op mijn mail. Ik kreeg van Anita Talens bericht dat er recent een vergelijkbaar onderzoek is gedaan en ze heeft mijn gegevens doorgestuurd naar de betreffende onderzoeker. In de volgende Boekhoorn zou ik in begin November een oproep kunnen doen, waar wel kosten aan verbonden zijn. Als reactie heb ik teruggemailed dat ikzelf veldwerk moet verrichten en ongeacht de uitkomsten van het vergelijkbare onderzoek graag een oproep wil doen in dorpskrant De Boekhoorn. Ik heb gevraagd of ik de vergelijkbare oproep in mag zien, wanneer ik mijn oproep door kan sturen en welke kosten daaraan verbonden zijn.</p>

Plaats	Thuis
Datum	09-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Telefoneren met inwoners van Kamp Westerbork om interviews met hen te regelen.
Ervaringen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mensen die vaker in aanraking komen in het dagelijks leven met het studentenleven zijn bereidwillig te helpen. - Veel mensen geven aan niet veel van Kamp Westerbork te weten en er zelf niet te zijn geweest. - Bewoners van Westerbork geven vaak aan dat het Kamp ver van de woonplaats Westerbork gelegen is. - De meerderheid van de gebelde inwoners geeft aan dat ze geen behoefte hebben om in mijn onderzoek te participeren, maar ik vind dat ik vrij snel de interviews heb kunnen regelen, namelijk in een middag.

Nr.	Achternaam	Reactie
1	Aalderink	Nee, daar heb ik geen behoefte aan.
2	Aardema	Geen gehoor.
3	Abbing	Nee, dank je.
4	Abma	Geen gehoor.
5	Achterberg	Geen gehoor.
6	Alards	Ja, ik heb zelf studerende kinderen.
7	Alberts-Sikkema	Ja, dat wil ik wel.
8	Alves	Ja, is prima. We wonen alleen niet in de buurt van het kamp hoor.
9	Amsing	Geen gehoor.
10	Arends	Geen gehoor.
11	Arends Roel	Geen gehoor.
12	Arends	Geen gehoor.
13	Aukes	Geen gehoor.
14	Baan	Nee, zoek maar een ander. Woon er 15 km vanaf en woon er pas.
15	Van Baar	Geen gehoor.
16	Baardink	Ja is goed.
17	Bakker	Geen gehoor.
18	Bakker	Nee, ik bedankt ervoor. Heb er niets mee en ben er nooit geweest.
19	Baks	Zoek maar iemand anders. Heb er niets mee.
20	Barelds	Geen gehoor.
21	Barkhof	Geen gehoor.
22	Van Barneveld	Geen gehoor.
23	Bartels	Ja is goed. Woon hier al 30 jaar, maar ben er nog nooit geweest.
24	Bartje	Geen gehoor.
25	Bazuin	Nee, daar heb ik geen belangstelling in.
26	Beekman	Geen gehoor.
27	Bel	Ja, is goed hoor.
28	Benda	Geen gehoor.
29	Bening	Geen gehoor.
30	Bening	'Moej ma iemand anders onderzoeken'.
31	Benjamins	Nee, geen belang bij.
32	Benner	Nee, weet er niets van. Ben er nooit geweest.

33	Van de Bent	Nee, geen tijd.
34	Benthem	Geen gehoor.
35	Benthem	Geen gehoor.
36	Benthem	Ja is goed. Ik zit zelf in het onderwijs en weet hoe moeilijk je mensen krijgt.

Plaats	Thuis
Datum	12-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Interviews met Wendy Doorten en Karin Schaap transcriberen en coderen.
Ervaringen	Zoals in de lijn der verwachting lag ben ik erachter gekomen dat het transcriberen van de interviews veel tijd kost. Het typen gaat niet zo snel als er gesproken wordt, zodat ik telkens terug moet spoelen. Bij het coderen viel mij op dat ik eigenlijk uitsluitend nog deductieve codes heb gemaakt, maar dat zal na het afnemen van meerdere interviews waarschijnlijk wel gaan veranderen. Het geven van de juiste codes vergaat mij nog moeilijker dan ik gehoopt had.

Plaats	Westerbork
Datum	13-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Interview met Tineke Alves
Ervaringen	Dit interview vond in de vooravond plaats en naast Tineke zat haar man die het interview ook interessant vond en soms toevoegingen deed aan het verhaal van Tineke, dit ervaarde ik als positief en ook Tineke leek er geen problemen mee te hebben. 2 weten er meer dan 1 leek het en leek ook zij te denken. Tineke gaf aan zelf geen foto's van Kamp Westerbork te vinden en deze vond ik dus ook niet terug tijdens de observatie die ik deed naast het interview. Hoewel ze aangaf dat ze gewend is geraakt aan Kamp Westerbork kon ze nog beschrijven dat het bij haar eerste bezoek een beklemmend en rot gevoel opriep. Toen we hierover praatten was de toon van het gesprek ook serieuzer had ik het idee en kwam de kern van het bestaan van kamp Westerbork binnen bij Tineke. Hoewel ze aangeeft dat de plek went lijken de gebeurtenissen die zijn voorgevallen op de plek altijd de aandacht trekken als het onderwerp van gesprek is.

Plaats	Westerbork
Datum	14-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Interviews met Geesje Alards, Annie Baardink en Tina Bel
Ervaringen	Interview met Geesje Alards Net als bij het vorige interview met Tineke Alves was ook de echtgenoot van Geesje Alards aanwezig. Ook zijn aanwezigheid was niet storend. Meest opvallend aan dit interview vond ik dat Geesje aangaf dat een bezoek aan Westerbork niet minder indruk maakt dan een bezoek aan het voormalige vernietigingskamp Buchenwald. Het museum bij Westerbork, waar veel verhalen verteld worden, draagt daar met name aan bij, aldus Geesje Alards. Verder gaf Geesje Alards aan met name boosheid te voelen, wanneer ze Westerbork bezoekt, foto's bekijkt en terugdenkt aan hoe het leven moet zijn geweest in de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Dit zag ik terug in de gedrevenheid waarover Geesje sprak over de oorlog en ook over de huidige discriminatie.

	<p>Interview met Annie Baardink</p> <p>Dit interview zal mij het langst bijblijven. Annie komt van oorsprong uit Zenderen, een dorp vlakbij mijn woonplaats Geesteren, en we hebben ons gesprek gevoerd in het Twentse dialect. Ze wist dat ik van mijn vaders kant (Hindriksen) Protestants was, dat vond ik een heel grappig moment. Het was een fijne conversatie, maar er werd wel heel veel over zaken gesproken die niet relevant waren voor mijn onderzoek, vandaar ook dat het zo'n lang gesprek was. Meest belangrijke punten:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Door de oorlog mee te hebben gemaakt voelt Annie betrokkenheid tot de oorlog en ook tot het kamp. - Emoties die ze voelt als in het kamp is of eraan denkt: 'drama, griezelig, indrukwekkend, verschrikkelijk' - Vernietigen gebeurt nu nog, men heeft er niet van geleerd. - Gewenning, acceptatie van het kamp. - Westerbork heeft een wrange naam, maar je voelt er niets van. - Zakelijke kant, commodification. - Mensen die vluchten voor geweld moeten geholpen worden, maar ze moeten zich hier dan wel aanpassen aan onze Westerse normen en waarden. <p>Interview met Tina Bel</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kennis over kamp Westerbork vooral opgedaan door de kinderen te helpen met school. De basisschool is elk jaar actief op 4 mei in kamp Westerbork en als ouders mag je dan mee. - Kamp Westerbork meermaals bezocht. 5 of 6 keer - Indrukwekkend, elke keer weer. Stil, huiverig, interessant en naar. - Geen reden om er te wonen gerelateerd aan het kamp. - Hoort wel bij de identiteit, als je zegt dat je in Westerbork woont wordt dat meteen gekoppeld aan het kamp. - Niet meer bijzonder voor inwoners. - Toeristen positief, het mag niet vergeten worden. Gewoon leuk ook en goed voor de werkgelegenheid. - Nieuwe barakken 'triggert'. Herhaalbezoek, weer timide en beladen. - Participeert niet mee. - Er is wat geleerd van de Holocaust, maar niet voor 100%.
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Plaats	Westerbork
Datum	15-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Interview met Ina Benthem en telefonisch contact met Ruud van Hal
Ervaringen	<p>Interview met Ina Benthem</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ina was met haar 76 jaar een van de oudere geïnterviewde personen. Blijkbaar was mijn onderzoek onderwerp van gesprek binnen het dorp, want ze wist dat ik al bij Annie Baardink was geweest. - Ina kon veel vertellen over eigen ervaringen en verhalen van bekenden over de Tweede Wereldoorlog. <p>Telefonisch contact met Ruud van Hal</p> <p>Op 15-10-2015 kreeg ik telefoon vanuit Hooghalen. De heer Ruud van Hal had</p>

	via de Boerhoorn vernomen dat ik een oproep wilde doen in de krant. Hij gaf aan ook bezig te zijn met een onderzoek en was bang dat onze onderzoeken met elkaar zouden gaan ‘clashen’. We spraken af elkaar te ontmoeten op 22-10-2015 en tevens heb ik met hem een interview geregeld voor mijn onderzoek. Deze kans kon ik prima aangrijpen aangezien hij ook inwoner is van Hooghalen.
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Plaats	Thuis
Datum	16-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Participanten zoeken in Hooghalen.
Ervaringen	Evenals bij het zoeken van participanten in Westerbork viel het participanten zoeken in Hooghalen mij mee. De meerderheid van de gesproken mensen wilde mij helpen, namelijk 6 van de 9 mensen die ik aan de telefoon heb gehad.

Nr.	Achternaam	Reactie
1	Aalvanger	Ja, is goed. Zeg maar wanneer.
2	Arends	Geen gehoor.
3	Bakker	In eerste instantie pakte de vrouw des huizes op en zij wilde niet, maar gaf de telefoon door aan haar man. Hij gaf aan 84 jaar te zijn en geen verstand van school te hebben. Ik zei dat dat niet hoefde en dat alle antwoorden op mijn vragen goed zijn en mij verder helpen. Toen kon het doorgaan.
4	Balsma	Geen gehoor.
5	Beekhuis	Geen gehoor.
6	Braam	Ja, is mij goed.
7	Bregman	Geen gehoor.
8	Ten Brinke	Ja is prima. Marc toonde daarnaast veel interesse naar mijn onderzoek, waarna ik hem het informatieformulier vast op heb gestuurd.
9	Broekhuizen	Geen gehoor.
10	Brouwer	De heer gaf aan in een klein gehucht te wonen tussen Smilde en Hooghalen in, maar er wel geboren en getogen is.
11	Van Bruggen	Nee, ik ben niet veel thuis.
12	De Bruin	Geen gehoor.
13	Bruinius	Geen gehoor.
14	Doornbos	Ja is goed.
15	Dubbelhuis	Nee, ik denk niet dat je van mij veel wijzer wordt. Natuurlijk ga ik aan er wel wijzer van te worden, maar hij wilde blijkbaar liever niet participeren in mijn onderzoek.
16	Duker	Ja is goed. Mevrouw vroeg wel of het een moeilijk onderzoek was en zei dat ze al 70 jaar was. Ik heb haar proberen gerust te stellen en vertelt dat het interview meer een gesprek is en dat alles wat ze vertelt mij verder zal helpen. Ze woont al sinds haar 15 ^e in Hooghalen.

Plaats	Hooghalen
Datum	20-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Interview met Nellie Doornbos
Ervaringen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nellie was vergeten dat ik langs zou komen, maar maakte desalniettemin tijd voor mij vrij, terwijl ze nog in haar ochtendjas zat deed ze haar verhaal. - Motief om in Hooghalen te wonen is het landelijk wonen. - Kennis naar eigen zeggen te weinig van het kamp en wil er eigenlijk vaker een bezoek aan brengen. - Verhalen over de oorlog trekt ze met name naar persoonlijk vlak en probeert zich in te leven in hoe het voor de slachtoffers, nabestaanden en overige mensen die de oorlog hebben meegemaakt moet zijn geweest. - Meermaals naar en langs het kampterrein en 2 keer het museum bezocht. - Het raakt haar, bijzonder. <p>Het beïnvloedt haar stemming voor even. De ‘darkness’ is verdwenen voor haar.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Belangrijke plek, maar hoe dichterbij je iets woont, hoe verder je er ook afstaat. Hoe minder vaak je er komt. - Waarom ga je niet gewoon gezellig met elkaar leven? M.b.t. huidige oorlogen en conflicten. Waarom zoveel haat en nijd? Ook m.b.t. het geloof, macht homohaar etc. - Toeristen ervaart Nellie als positief. - Participeert als gast soms mee als er iets wordt georganiseerd op het kamp. - Nellie gaf aan dat ik met haar buurvrouw moest gaan spreken, maar Karin Schaap had ik al geïnterviewd in het museum. - Mensen in nood moet je helpen, maar respecteer elkaar. - Langs geweest i.v.m. enquête tegen een AZC. Niet getekend, want ze moeten toch ergens naartoe. - Conflicten met vluchtelingen, dan denk ik jongens, waar kom je weg? Wees blij dat je hier veilig bent.

Plaats	Hooghalen en Westerbork
Datum	21-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Interviews met Hendrik Bakker, Trijnie Duker, Marie Bartels en Ruud van Hal.
Ervaringen	<p>Interview met Hendrik Bakker</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hendrik was de oudste persoon die ik heb geïnterviewd en heeft de oorlog meegemaakt, want is in 1931 geboren in Hooghalen. Hendrik heeft in het verleden een bereorte gehad, waardoor hij misschien meer emotioneel is dan anders het geval zou zijn. Tijdens ons gesprek over de oorlog heeft hij 3 keer moeten wenen. - Hendrik is nog nooit in het museum geweest viel mij op, terwijl hij van alle geïnterviewde personen misschien wel de sterkste relatie heeft met de oorlog aangezien hij het daadwerkelijk beleefd heeft. - Huis vernielt in de oorlog. - Spreekt duidelijke taal: ‘zwarten’, ‘moffen’, maar is niet boos als hij terugdenkt aan de oorlog. - De oorlog blijft hem altijd bij, hij kan het moeilijk onder woorden brengen wat hij voelt, maar moet er wel bij huilen. - Je vond het leven destijds normaal.

	<p>- Discriminatie blijft bestaan, kijk maar naar de asielzoekers.</p> <p>Interview met Trijnie Duker</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bij het interview met Trijnie was ook haar man aanwezig. Hij gaf ook enkele antwoorden op vragen en kwam met eigen verhalen. De input van haar man was van toegevoegde waarde. - Meest opvallend was dat bij de vraag over wat Trijnie van kamp Westerbork wist ze over het werpen van kaartjes uit de treinen begon. Dat inwoners van Hooghalen ze zochten en dan verstuurd naar familie of bekenden. Dat had ze dan ook van verhalen. <p>Interview met Marie Bartels</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ook bij het interview met Marie was de echtgenoot aanwezig en was dat van toegevoegde waarde. - Meest opvallend van dit interview was dat de echtgenoot van Marie uit principe nog steeds iets tegen Duitsers heeft. Zo zal hij bijvoorbeeld nooit een Duitse auto kopen zegt hij. Zijn zoon heeft daarentegen een Duitse vrouw en na onderzoek bleek hijzelf van Duitse afkomst te zijn. - Verder was Marie heel duidelijk in haar standpunt dat ze in haar hoofd kan beleven wat er in kamp Westerbork plaats heeft gevonden en daarom niet per se naar kamp Westerbork heen hoeft. <p>Interview met Ruud van Hal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ruud heeft mij een documentaire en een daarover geschreven krantenartikel Buren van Westerbork (gedetailleerd verslag hierover verder in dit dagboek. - Meest opvallend was dat Ruud aangaf dat zijn gevoelens op kamp Westerbork juist versterkt zijn na meerdere bezoeken. Dit staat tegenover informatie vergaard uit andere interviews. Hij gaf aan dat de band met de versterkt is door meer kennis over kamp Westerbork en de Holocaust te hebben vergaard en mensen te hebben gesproken die van Joodse afkomst zijn en familieleden hebben verloren in de Tweede Wereldoorlog.
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Plaats	Hooghalen
Datum	22-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Interviews met Marc ten Brinke, Jan Brouwer en Gerrit Braam.
Ervaringen	<p>Interview met Marc ten Brinke</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ik was natuurlijk met alle participanten heel blij, maar bij Marc en zijn vrouw had ik het idee dat ook zij blij waren met mijn bezoek. Ze kwamen heel enthousiast over en wilden zelf ook graag meer weten over mijn onderzoek en de uitkomsten ervan. - Meest opvallend aan dit interview was dat Marc en zijn vrouw aangaven niet van mensenmassa's te houden en graag in stilte herdenken. Ze zijn alle mensen niet nodig om te herdenken en te voelen wat er gebeurd is. <p>Interview met Jan Brouwer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - De vader van Jan zat in het verzet tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog,

	<p>door verhalen te hebben gehoord kon hij over deze tijd vertellen. Zo heeft zijn vader bijvoorbeeld nog iemand helpen ontsnappen uit het kamp.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meest opvallende uitspraak van Jan was voor mij dat hij er niet aan moet denken dat een man als Geert Wilders premier van Nederland zou kunnen worden. <p>Interview met Gerrit Braam</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dit was 1 van de laatste interviews en op een avond nadat ik overdag al 2 interviews had gehad. Ik merkte bij dit interview dat het wel een vermoeiende bezigheid wordt om zoveel mensen te interviewen over hetzelfde onderwerp. - Dit gezin bleek een voorbeeld van toenemende werkgelegenheid doordat kamp Westerbork meer bezoekers trekt. Naast de vrouw van Gerrit hebben ook haar beide dochter gewerkt in het museum café.
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Plaats	Thuis
Datum	23-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Documentaire 'Buren van Westerbork' van het programma Sporen van Geschiedenis 24 aandachtig bekeken en het geschreven artikel over de documentaire bestudeerd.
Ervaringen	<p>Meest indrukwekkende gebeurtenissen in de Tweede Wereldoorlog en uitspraken van de 'Buren van Westerbork'</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 'Kleine kinderen riepen 'Jodentrein komt aan', dat was iets wat gewoon bij de week hoorde'. 2. 'Je had veel meer kunnen doen, maar dat is allemaal achteraf he. Je moest ook aan je gezin denken'. 3. Omwonende Dirk Massier werd voor de keuze gesteld: afzwaaien en een onzekere tijd tegemoet, of bijtekenen, als werknemer van het ministerie van Justitie. Hij koos het laatste. Hij is pas met zijn kleinkinderen weer terug geweest naar het kamp, omdat zij dat wilden zien. Ze vroegen hoe hij daar werken kon. 'Je had geen keus, anders moest je naar Duitsland'. 4. Het kamp was een 'beklemming', als je er weer uitging was je 'opgelucht'. 5. Joden hielpen omwonende boeren op het land. Mannen kostten de boeren 1 gulden en vrouwen 50 cent. 6. Misschien is dat bij alle mensen wel zo, dat je eigen hachje voorop komt. 7. Boer Spriensma stelt vast dat er inderdaad gelegenheid genoeg was om te vluchten. Maar de Duitsers wisten wat ze deden. Zij hadden de regel: 1 ontsnapt, 10 op straftransport naar Polen. Veel mensen hadden familieleden in het kamp „Dan bedenk je je wel tien maal voor je wat doet,“ zegt Spriensma. 8. „De boeren en de joden waren hier meestal niet vertrouwd met elkaar,“ zegt de oude mevrouw G. „Geen van beiden durfden ze hun nek al te ver uit te steken. Daar was het risico veel te groot voor. 9. Namen Joden zelf het initiatief om hulp te vragen konden ze een steuntje in de rug verwachten van de boeren en hoefden ze weinig vrees

	<p>te koesteren voor verraad, zelfs niet van NSB'ers. Daarvan zaten er heel wat in Drenthe, maar van antisemitisme gaven ze weinig blijk. Van de goeden hadden de Joden weinig goeds, van de fouten weinig verkeerd te verwachten. De burens van kamp Westerbork hadden weinig tegen Joden, zo lijkt het, maar hadden ook weinig met hen op.</p> <p>10. Voor de burens van het kamp waren de Joden niet minderwaardig, maar hoe perfect hun Drents ook was – ze bleven van een ander slag.</p> <p>11. Pas als de trein vertrokken was, als de SD'ers met hun dreigende karabijnen uit het gezicht verdwenen waren, sloeg voor de Hooghalers het uur van verzet. De mensen kwamen naar buiten, de kinderen ook. Zij zochten de brieven en kaarten bij elkaar die de Joden uit de trein hadden gegooid en zorgden dat die gepost werden. Zelfs deze allerkleinste genoegdoening voor het machteloos toezien was niet van gevaar ontbloot en heel van Hooghalers hielden zich ook hiervan afzijdig.</p> <p>12. Hooghalers waren met andere dingen meer bezig dan met het kamp: je eigen gezin, je bedrijf moest ook doorgaan. Eigen jongens werden opgeroepen, allerlei dingen werden gevorderd. „Het kamp was dusdanig afgebakend gevaarlijk gebied.” Zegt Jan Abbing, „de massa in Hooghalen leefde daar gewoon aan voorbij . . . die leefden toch niet met het geval Joden. D'r is geen situatie zo krom of je went eraan, he.”</p> <p>13. Vluchten deed men dus nauwelijks. Dat het alternatief bestond uit zoiets gruwelijks als de gaskamer, konden de meeste Nederlanders – Joden en niet-Joden, Drenten en Amsterdammers – zich gewoonweg niet voorstellen.</p> <p>14. Die verzetsmensen die doodgeschoten werden in Bork, ik geloof dat dat ons nog meer aansprak dan wat er met de Joden gebeurde.</p> <p>15. 106.000 zijn weggevoerd naar vernietigingskampen, waarvan er nog geen 6000 terugkeerden na de oorlog en maar 210 gevangenen zijn ontsnapt uit kamp Westerbork.</p>
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Plaats	Hooghalen
Datum	27-10-2015
Gebeurtenis	Interview met Anneke Aalvanger
Ervaringen	- Anneke was de eerste en enige die begon over haar geloof. Ik had wel gehoord dat Hooghalen een gelovig dorp was, maar nog geen mensen geïnterviewd die daarover spraken. Zij gaf aan te horen bij een gereformeerd kerkgenootschap en dat ze mede daardoor in Hooghalen woont. Daarnaast viel mij op dat Anneke een Oranje fan is, wat ook bleek uit een portret van Koning Willem-Alexander aan de muur.

Plaats	Thuis
Datum	De maand november
Gebeurtenis	Interviews transcriberen en coderen
Ervaringen	Ik had verwacht dat het transcriberen en coderen veel tijd in beslag zou gaan nemen en dit bleek ook uit te komen. De interviews heb ik opgenomen, maar ik kan niet zo snel typen als dat er in de interviews gesproken werd, waardoor ik geregeld terug moest spoelen. Daarnaast heb ik per code geschreven wat een

	participant erover zei. Elke code heb ik zo op 1 A4 geplaatst met alle reacties erop, om zo een duidelijk overzicht per code te creëren. Hier heb ik veel aan gehad tijdens het schrijven van de analyse van de interviews.
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Plaats	Thuis
Datum	8-12-2015
Gebeurtenis	Andere Tijden: Ongewenste vreemdelingen
Ervaringen	<p>Op dinsdag 6 oktober 2015 zond NPO 2 deze aflevering uit. De aflevering duurde iets langer dan een half uur. De aflevering ging over Joodse vluchtelingen uit Duitsland die in de jaren '30 op een pijnlijk en inhumaan Nederlands vluchtelingen beleid stuitten. Voor de Duitse invasie in 1940 vluchten tussen de 35.000 en 50.000 Duitse Joden naar Nederland. Het merendeel probeert verder te vluchten en dat heeft de Nederlandse overheid ook het liefst. Naarmate de nood in Duitsland hoger wordt, doet Nederland de grens steeds verder dicht.</p> <p>Deze documentaire heb ik gekeken omdat het mijn interesse wekt, maar ook omdat ik en geïnterviewde inwoners van Westerbork en Hooghalen verbanden zien tussen de tijd van toen en nu. Ook toen al vonden de Europese landen de vluchtelingen toestroom een Europees probleem en dat het op Europees schaalniveau aangepakt moest worden. Europese landen sloten hun grenzen voor vluchtelingen doordat andere landen het ook deden en zij niet alle vluchtelingen in hun eigen land wilden hebben. In de documentaire deden Joodse mensen, die voor de Tweede Wereldoorlog van Duitsland naar Nederland vluchten, hun verhaal over die tijd. Joodse kinderen mochten niet meer bij Nederlandse kinderen in de klas zitten toen Duitsland Nederland bezette, een meester moest destijds huilen voor de klas toen hij dat zijn leerlingen vertelde. Dat maakte logischerwijs heel veel indruk op de kinderen. Verder ging ook toen de discussie over geld. De overheid wilde geen geld uitgeven aan vluchtelingen, maar moedigde de burgers wel aan om dat te doen. Tegenwoordig willen we ook dat vluchtelingen een bijdrage leveren aan de Nederlandse maatschappij. Ook was toen 'Not In My BackYard' al aan de orde, wat het Joodse vluchtelingenkamp dat in Westerbork is gekomen zou eerst in Gelderland komen, maar dat vond Koningin Wilhelmina te dichtbij haar leefomgeving.</p>

Appendix 9: Codebook

Codes from interviews with employees of the Remembrance Centre of Westerbork				
	Code	Type	Description	Example from data
1	Development of camp Westerbork	Deductive	Use to understand how camp Westerbork handles the growing interest of the dark site.	Wendy Doorten: ‘We have innovative things on the camp terrain, that is why people keep coming. And this subject is of course continuously in the news. Especially this year, everything is 70 years ago. We mark there is enormous attention for the Second World War and also for camp Westerbork. Through putting things on the camp terrain, people want to see things, 2 wagons and a barrack are replaced, through new things people keep coming. It is alive.’
2	Visitors of camp Westerbork	Deductive	Use to understand which people visit camp Westerbork, how often and why.	Wendy Doorten: ‘repeated visits are minimal here. We do research every year and it is 2%. People often visit camp Westerbork for the first time.’
3	Corporation of camp Westerbork with other institutions	Deductive	Use to see if and in which way camp Westerbork works together with other institutions.	Wendy Doorten: ‘We do not work together with other institutions. Bus companies do offer us as destination, but we do not organize it together.’
4	Camp Westerbork and (local) politics	Deductive		Wendy Doorten: ‘We do not interfere with the political situation. In the past could political parties rent a room here, but we do not do that anymore.’

				You become involved and that is not what you want. We receive money from the Province of Drenthe and the municipality of Midden-Drenthe, but that is not much.'
5	Management of personal differences	Deductive	Use to see how camp Westerbork handles differences (like age or race) between visitors.	Wendy Doorten: 'our target audience is between 10 and 90 years old, we do not make distinction in it. We do not present very horrible pictures. Of course we have special things like Oktobermaand Kindermaand for children and Gekleurd Grijs for elderly people.'
6	Camp Westerbork and locals	Deductive	Use to see how camp Westerbork is related to the locals.	Wendy Doorten: 'People do not go especially for us to Drenthe, but when they visit Drenthe, they often also visit camp Westerbork. And of course a lot local people work here. We have around the 30 employees and a lot volunteers who deliver a contribution to camp Westerbork.'
7	Education at camp Westerbork	Deductive	Use to see if it is important for visitors to learn of the visitation of camp Westerbork.	Wendy Doorten: 'It is nice for the children to race through the forest, but most people come for the story of camp Westerbork.'

Codes from interviews with locals in Westerbork and Hooghalen				
	Code	Type	Description	Example from data
8	Years of living in Westerbork/Hooghalen.	Deductive	Use for differences between locals who live already for a longer period in Westerbork/Hooghalen and locals who live just a few years in Westerbork/Hooghalen in relation to Kamp Westerbork.	Tina Bel: 'We live now 15 years here in Westerbork. We come from Drenthe, but from another part of the area.'
9	Motive to live in Westerbork/Hooghalen.	Deductive	Use to understand why locals have chosen to live in Westerbork/Hooghalen and to see if there is a relation between living in Westerbork/Hooghalen and Kamp Westerbork.	Nellie Doornbos: 'I lived in Assen in a flat and I wanted something else. Especially for the summer, balcony, to go outside.'
10	Knowledge about camp Westerbork.	Deductive	Use to get clear what locals know about Kamp Westerbork. Do they know how it's used in the past and the current situation of Kamp Westerbork?	Tineke Alves: 'yes, I think what almost every Hollander knows. That it is used as transit camp and later as place for Moluckans.'
11	Dark place anno 2015.	Deductive	Use to get clear if locals feel and think in which way Westerbork/Hooghalen and Kamp Westerbork is still a dark place today.	Ina Benthem: 'When people ask: 'Where do you live?' I say Westerbork. 'Oh, do you want to live there?' 'And when there are visitors, do they send a card? Greetings from Westerbork?' Off course they send a card, but that doesn't erase the past.'
12	Education in Westerbork/Hooghalen.	Deductive	Use to get clear if children in Westerbork/Hooghalen learn more about the Holocaust than other children, through the eyes of locals.	Tineke Alves: 'All our children were here to school and the primary school lies down wreaths with Remembrance Day.'
13	Changed feelings after multiple visits of camp Westerbork.	Deductive	Use to get clear if feelings and thoughts change after multiple visits of Kamp Westerbork.	Tineke Alves: 'It doesn't evoke anymore what it did at the beginning'. The first time it was oppressively, unbelievable and scary. I don't know

				how to say it, but you do feel really bad. It is not to contain.’
14	Shared identity	Deductive	Use to get clear if locals feel and think that Westerbork/Hooghalen would be different without Kamp Westerbork.	Ruud van Hal: ‘Unspoken yes, but when it comes to close. Shame or fear to make others angry. It is a sensitive topic.’
15	Differences between locals and others in relation to Kamp Westerbork.	Deductive	Use to get clear if camp Westerbork is more or less important for locals and why.	Tineke Alves: ‘I think that locals are accustomed to Kamp Westerbork and it’s more special for others.’
16	Locals opinion about tourists.	Deductive	Use to get clear what locals think about the tourists who visit Kamp Westerbork. Is it positive/negative and why and in which way?	Gerrit Braam: ‘Tourism is positive. This may not be forgotten, it may not happen again. It happens daily, not on this scale, but when you see what happens in the Middle-East.’
17	Number of visits of Kamp Westerbork.	Deductive	Use to see if locals visit Kamp Westerbork. Is it still a place which they visit and why?	Jan Brouwer: ‘Dozens of times. Yes, I visit camp Westerbork multiple times a year.’
18	In which company do locals visit Kamp Westerbork and why?	Inductive	In which company do locals visit Kamp Westerbork and with which reason?	Marc ten Brinke: ‘We were there with our 2 children to show the camp to them, with friends who come from the centre of the Netherlands, they were very impressed and with a friend who is high sensitive, it really banged in here.’
19	Participation in events on Kamp Westerbork.	Deductive	Use to see if locals participate in events on Kamp Westerbork and understand why they (don’t) participate.	Tina Bel: ‘I do not join. I have colleagues who do join.’

20	Discrimination in the future.	Deductive	Use to see if locals think the world had learnt from the past and how the world has to handle the current discrimination	Marc ten Brinke: 'I think we have learned something of the past, but we are still capable to do it again.'
21	Visiting the Remembrance Centre Kamp Westerbork.	Inductive	Use to see if locals visit the Remembrance Centre of Kamp Westerbork, how often, and to see differences between visiting the camp terrain and the museum.	Geesje Alards: 'I have been in the Holocaust museum only once. We were inside for at most 2 hours, but when you want to see everything you have to be there the whole afternoon. The short time we have been there, the chills go over your back.'
22	Locals' reaction on the pictures.	Deductive	I took 15 pictures of the camp terrain and the memorial centre to all the interviews. This code is used to show how locals react on which pictures.	Ruud van Hal: 'the more authentic a place is, the more emotions it triggers. We were in Kamp Vught, where original pieces still exist, than it becomes easier to come to the emotions of that time.'
23	Differences between Kamp Westerbork and other dark places.	Inductive	Locals sometimes said they were on other dark places. This code shows differences for them between other dark places and Kamp Westerbork.	Geesje Alards: 'We were in Buchenwald, it was very scary. It really happened there. We were also inside the gas chambers, but we still smelt the death. It was very sinister. It's inside your head, but we both experienced it, is was really weird.'
24	Own stories and experiences about the Second World War.	Inductive	In particular elderly locals started to talk about own experiences or stories which direct relatives had told to them. This code shows in which way experiences and stories of the Second World War still lives with locals.	Ina Benthem: 'I lived in Beerta, where the train with the jews came along. It was pretty dangerous. The resistance was active, also with the

				trains. Our parents told us when people came to sleep, we may not ask anything. We had a great farm, but they lie close to each other' I said: 'Goh, they even do not sleep in the beds, but in the chairs.' My mother said: 'where they can lie, they may lie.'
25	Connection between the current time and the Second World War	Inductive	This code shows that locals often see connections between the current situation in the world and the Second World War.	Annie Baardink: 'The destruction happens still. They haven't learnt from the past. Oh, I am so scared that it will get out of control with the refugees.'

Appendix 10: Overview of the interviews

Nr.	Interviewee	Age	Location	Date
1	Wendy Doorten (F)	Not discussed	Remembrance centre of camp Westerbork	30-09-2015
2	Karin Schaap (F)	Not discussed	Remembrance centre of camp Westerbork	30-09-2015
3	Tineke Alves (F)	56	Westerbork	13-10-2015
4	Geesje Alards (F)	63	Westerbork	14-10-2015
5	Annie Baardink (F)	75	Westerbork	14-10-2015
6	Tina Bel (F)	50	Westerbork	14-10-2015
7	Ina Benthem (F)	76	Westerbork	15-10-2015
8	Nellie Doornbos (F)	56	Hooghalen	20-10-2015
9	Hendrik Bakker (M)	84	Hooghalen	21-10-2015
10	Trijnie Duker (F)	71	Hooghalen	21-10-2015
11	Marie Bartels (F)	71	Westerbork	21-10-2015
12	Ruud van Hal (M)	54	Hooghalen	21-10-2015
13	Marc ten Brinke (M)	50	Hooghalen	22-10-2015
14	Jan Brouwer (M)	71	Hooghalen	22-10-2015
15	Gerrit Braam (M)	64	Hooghalen	22-10-2015
16	Anneke Aalvanger (F)	53	Hooghalen	27-10-2015