

Dark Tourism and Affect: Rendering of Historical Tragedy at Kamp

Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork

Linde A. Vroegop (568375lv@eur.nl)

EUR-ESHCC

Global History and International Relations

Supervising Lecturer: Dr. Lise Zurné

Second Reader: Dr. Daniel R. Curtis

The 24th of June, 2024

Word Count: 20,821

Abstract

Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork are among the most visited dark tourist spots in the Netherlands, highlighting their significance. Dark tourism involves visiting places where historical tragedies, often involving death, occurred, with the encounter mediated to render it less threatening. These sites tied to memories of events like World War II, such as Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Amersfoort, often evoke strong emotions and form affective relations. This thesis examines how historical tragedies are presented at these sites, focusing on affective relations, defined as strong emotional responses, such as a sense of loss when viewing the names of fallen soldiers. While much research on dark tourism focuses on visitors, there is a lack of emphasis on Dutch tourist spots, tours, tour guides, and how these sites adapt to different generations and visualize past realities. To explore this, two methodologies were applied at Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork: non-representational theory and interviews. Non-representational theory analyzes relational materialism, practices, and how bodies can be affected. Interviews with those involved in storytelling at these camps were semi-structured, featuring direct and follow-up questions. The analysis reveals that Dutch transit camps like Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork convey historical tragedies through various means, including physical spaces, objects, collection materials, museum exhibitions, guided and audio tours, virtual reality, publications, graphic novels, and lessons. Both camps aim to create affective relations using diverse methods to foster identification, deepen understanding, and ensure the historical tragedies are effectively conveyed and remembered.

Keywords: Dark Tourism, Affect, Dutch Transit Camps, Commemoration, Education, Second World War.

Table of Contents

Dark Tourism and Affect: Rendering of Historical Tragedy at Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork.....	6
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	6
1.1 Kamp Westerbork and Kamp Amersfoort as Dark Tourism Spots	6
1.2 Research Questions.....	7
1.3 Main Theoretical Concepts	8
1.3.1 Dark Tourism	8
1.3.2 Affect.....	9
1.4 Literature Review.....	10
1.5 Innovative Aspects	16
1.6 Sources and Methods	17
1.6.1 Sources.....	17
1.6.2 Methodology	18
Chapter 2: Kamp Amersfoort and their Materials and Tools	21
2.1 Introduction Kamp Amersfoort.....	21
2.2 The Creation of an Affective Experience by Objects and Materials.....	21
2.3 Conclusion on the Evocation of an Affective Experience	28
Chapter 3: Kamp Amersfoort and their Stakeholders and Tours	29
3.1 Sampling of Interviewees	29
3.2 Different Means	29
3.2.1 Rules of the Tour.....	30
3.2.2 Adaptability of the Tour	31
3.2.3 Interactive Tours	32
3.3 Materials	34
3.3.1 Space and the Objects situated at the Space	35

3.3.2 Authenticity of Objects	37
3.4 Sensation and Experience	38
3.5 Motivations	40
3.6 Conclusion on the Reflection and Bolstering of an Affective Relation	41
Chapter 4: Kamp Westerbork and their Materials and Tools	43
4.1 Introduction to Kamp Westerbork.....	43
4.2 The Creation of an Affective Experience through Objects and Materials	43
4.3 Conclusion on the Evocation of an Affective Experience	49
Chapter 5: Kamp Westerbork and their Stakeholders and Tours	51
5.1 Sampling of the Interviewees.....	51
5.2 Different Means to Tell the Story.....	51
5.2.1 Adaptability.....	53
5.2.2 Characteristics of the Story	54
5.3 Personal Stories.....	55
5.3.1 Utilization of Personal Stories	56
5.3.2 Motivations for Utilization	57
5.4 Materials	59
5.4.1 The Space and Object situated at the Space.....	59
5.4.2 Collection Materials.....	60
5.5 Sensation and Experience	61
5.6 Conclusion on the Reflection and Bolstering of an Affective Relation	62
Chapter 6: Conclusion and Discussion	64
6.1 Conclusion of the Thesis.....	64
6.1.1 Materials and Tools.....	64
6.1.2 Stakeholders.....	65

6.1.3 Tours.....	66
6.2 Discussion of the Thesis	67
Bibliography	68
Primary Sources	68
Secondary Sources	68
Appendix I	71

Dark Tourism and Affect: Rendering of Historical Tragedy at Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Kamp Westerbork and Kamp Amersfoort as Dark Tourism Spots

Nearly 200,000 people visit Kamp Amersfoort¹ and Kamp Westerbork² each year, highlighting their importance as significant dark tourism sites in the Netherlands and underscoring their societal relevance as popular destinations for visitors. Additionally, recent research reveals that Kamp Amersfoort played a more significant role in the Holocaust than previously thought. As reported by Trouw on April 25, 2024,³ Kamp Amersfoort, known mainly as a transit camp for forced laborers and resistance members, also participated in the collection and deportation of Jews. A new book highlights that Jews were not only gathered there for deportation but that 82 Jews, including a baby, were killed at the camp. These findings call for a reevaluation of the camp's history and its impact during the Holocaust. With new findings, the historical narrative has to be altered, shaping how these sites are presented as dark tourism locations. Without a specific attachment to the landscape, the intertwining of historical tragedy and visitation that defines dark tourism would not occur.

Dark tourism has gained significant traction in academia, with the founding of the Dark Tourism Institute at the University of Central Lancashire, the launch of an academic journal, and the publication of a handbook on the subject.⁴ Dark tourism involves visiting places where historical trauma occurred, such as genocide camps, murder sites, and abandoned cities. Conceived by Foley and Lennon in 1996, the term describes the visitation of places where death is “neutralized, mediated, and rendered less threatening.”⁵ Because of its neutralization, it develops into a commodity and thus more accessible to an audience.

¹ “Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort,” *Sporen van oorlog* (blog), accessed June 17, 2024, <https://www.sporenavoorlog.nl/portfolio/kamp-amersfoort/>.

² “130.000 bezoekers in 2023 - Kamp Westerbork,” accessed June 17, 2024, <https://www.kampwesterbork.nl/de-stichting/nieuws/item/130-000-bezoekers-in-2023>.

³ “Kamp Amersfoort speelde grotere rol bij vernietiging Joden dan gedacht,” April 25, 2024, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2518074-kamp-amersfoort-speelde-grotere-rol-bij-vernietiging-joden-dan-gedacht>.

⁴ Rudi Hartmann et al., “The History of Dark Tourism,” *Journal of Tourism History* 10, no. 3 (September 2, 2018): 269, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2018.1545394>.

⁵ Annaclaudia Martini and Dorina Maria Buda, “Dark Tourism and Affect: Framing Places of Death and Disaster,” *Current Issues in Tourism* 23, no. 6 (March 18, 2020): 680, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2018.1518972>.

Furthermore, the ubiquity of death and destruction portrayed in the media has led to a heightened exposure in people's daily lives, potentially culminating in a sense of familiarity that could transform into emotional desensitization. Different media effectively communicate the horror of such events, leveraging the elicited emotions to create a sense of imagined community, shared in response to the tragedy. Consequently, death serves not only as a reminder of communal bonds but also prompts contemplation of individual mortality, evoking powerful emotions in the process. The evocation of powerful emotions contributes to creating an affective resonance.⁶ Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork are significant dark tourist sites due to their traumatic WWII history, but rarely researched as such. Guided tours at these camps highlight affective connections through materials, traces, and visual representations.

The interplay of changing narratives, dark tourist sites, tours, affective resonance, and transit camps in the Netherlands displays the societal and academic relevance of this research. This study examines how various transit camps balance education, commemoration, and the elements of dark tourism. The findings aim to illuminate the impacts generated at these sites, offering insights into their potential benefits for educational and commemorative objectives.

1.2 Research Questions

The encounter with death and mortality and its affective relation raises the question: *how do Dutch transit camps as a form of dark tourism convey historical tragedies of WWII within their tours and the sites themselves?* And to extend on this research question I outlined various sub-questions: *what types of materials and tools are used to evoke an affective experience of the historical tragedy? How do stakeholders reflect upon the historical tragedies of WWII present on the site? And how do these tours bolster an affective relation with the tragic past of the place?*

The research questions aim to explore how Dutch transit camps, functioning as sites of dark tourism, communicate the historical tragedies of World War II through their tours and physical locations. The investigation delves into the methods and strategies employed by these camps to convey the events associated with World War II, focusing on the narratives presented, the visual materials used, and the affective connections created. The examination of these methods consists out of non-representational methodologies and interviews with the tour guides. This inquiry seeks to understand the role of Dutch transit camps in educating and memorializing

⁶ Martini and Buda, 679.

the past while examining the various elements that contribute to the visitors' perception of historical tragedies, such as materials, stakeholders and tours.

The structure of this thesis will be in a division of four chapters, two for each camp, and two focus on the first sub-question and the other two on the second and third sub-questions. The first sub-question will utilize non-representational methodologies and the second and third sub-questions will be analyzed with the help of the interviews.

1.3 Main Theoretical Concepts

In the research question, I am discussing forms of *dark tourism* and how they convey the historical tragedies. In my sub-questions, I address the concept *affect* and *affective relation* to talk about the conjuring that appears at the sites of *dark tourism*. Both of the concepts will be explained in the upcoming paragraphs.

1.3.1 Dark Tourism

Dark tourism involves visiting places of historical trauma, such as genocide camps and murder sites. Coined by Foley and Lennon in 1996, it emphasizes the journey and the mediated encounter with death, making it less menacing.⁷ This neutralization transforms these sites into commodities, making them more accessible for audiences to engage with.

Dark tourism, linked to the consumption economy, is often misunderstood as simply attracting tourists without imparting historical lessons. However, these sites grapple with interpreting cultural trauma, raising questions about how and why it is remembered. Some academics argue that “if difficult heritage is the production and presentation of tragic history, then dark tourism is the consumption of that history.”⁸ In this case, dark tourism will turn into an establishment of mortality mediation with the co-operation between the heritage-producer and tourist-consumer. Here in this intersection, meaning-making of these heritages appear.

Moreover, dark tourism sites evoke a range of emotions, from offense and shock to excitement.⁹ Due to their tragic histories, these sites are often shaped by constructed narratives, which can sometimes oversimplify or exclude significant factors like national identity or education. For instance, the history of slavery in the US South is often romanticized,

⁷ Malcolm Foley and J. John Lennon, “JFK and Dark Tourism: A Fascination with Assassination,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, December 1, 1996, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527259608722175>.

⁸ Hartmann et al., “The History of Dark Tourism,” 291-292.

⁹ Martini and Buda, 679.

marginalizing its darker aspects.¹⁰ This shaping of narratives is a key factor of tourist sites. Stakeholders, or heritage-producers, have the duty to formulate the historical story and meaning for tourism objectives, so the narrative will be modified, engineered, and manipulated.¹¹ This particular articulation will organize the historical event to be consumed by the visitors.

Furthermore, dark tourism has emerged as a specialized area within tourism research, exploring the fascination with mortality. This interest has existed for centuries, from ancient Rome's gladiatorial combats to medieval public executions.¹² Consequently, sites linked to such phenomena often evolve into tourist attractions, focusing on their darker history or integrating it into broader heritage themes.

Critics argue that dark tourism has a limited theoretical foundation, leading to the generalization of diverse experiences and emphasizing entertainment over commemoration, unlike war tourism.¹³ Despite this, the concept is significant and widely used by scholars. Dark tourism can educate, generate empathy, preserve heritage, and support local economies.¹⁴ It bridges the gap between difficult heritage and consumption, fostering critical engagement with the past.¹⁵ As research continues, the theoretical base of dark tourism can evolve and strengthen.

1.3.2 Affect

The reason for the combination of *dark tourism* and *affect* is the interrelation it has. Encounters with death and mortality at dark tourist spots evoke affective resonance, as already stated in the explanation of dark tourism.

Affect is a complex theoretical concept involving an intensity of feeling, sensation, passion, atmosphere, urge, mood, and drive.¹⁶ It is flexible and volatile, appearing in various contexts and often hard to articulate. In non-representational theory, affect opens new ways to reflect on the relationship between bodies and space, focusing on the implicit effects of interactions between human and non-human bodies.¹⁷ Described as a "transpersonal capacity" to

¹⁰ Martini and Buda, 682.

¹¹ Martini and Buda, 686.

¹² Hartmann et al, 271.

¹³ Siri Rosa Driessen, "Touching War: An Ethnographic Analysis of War Tourism in Europe" (Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2020), 22.

¹⁴ Martini and Buda, "Dark Tourism and Affect," 681.

¹⁵ Hartmann et al., "The History of Dark Tourism," 294.

¹⁶ Phillip Vannini, ed., *Non-Representational Methodologies: Re-Envisioning Research* (New York: Routledge, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315883540>, 8.

¹⁷ Ben Anderson and James Ash, "Atmospheric Methods," in *Non-Representational Methodologies* (Routledge, 2015), 34.

be affected and to affect,¹⁸ affect operates on a subconscious level, creating an intensity that infuses a place and generates an *affective resonance* between feeling bodies.

The intriguing aspect of affect is its perception as a universal intensity, which can manifest suddenly or be meticulously constructed at a location.¹⁹ For example, an architectural design featuring the names of fallen soldiers visually represents the immense number of lives lost, highlighting the magnitude of the sacrifice and evoking the sense of loss. That sensation can be called the affective resonance that is created. Affective relation can be observed in qualitative differences when it is energetically enhanced or depleted in a space, because it is entangled with relations between bodies, materials, and the space. And these movements of enhancement or depletion of affect is indicated as “proprioceptive and visceral shifts in the background habits, and postures, of a body that are commonly described as ‘feelings.’”²⁰ There is a transformation in the way of perceiving or an intensity such as a blush of a body embarrassed, or the heat of a body angered.

There are some limitations to the theory of affect. One of the problems is its intertwinement with emotions and the distinguishment between the two. The definition of emotion in sociology has been oscillated between inherent or socially constructed.²¹ Nevertheless, emotion is a personal experience, a manifestation of an individual's feelings. In contrast, affect operates on an unconscious level, residing beneath and extending beyond cognition. Resolving the intertwinement involves considering degrees of intensity rather than essence. The conclusion drawn from the degree is that when an affect reaches a certain level of intensity, it transforms into an emotion. Both are encountered in relation to one another and connected to the body and its experiences.²² In the methodology, the method of perceiving and analyzing affect will be discussed.

1.4 Literature Review

This literature review explores dark tourism, tour guides, education, and remembrance, focusing on Dutch transit camps as a form of dark tourism. The central research question is *how Dutch transit camps convey WWII's historical tragedies through tours and the sites themselves?*

¹⁸ Ben Anderson, “Becoming and Being Hopeful: Towards a Theory of Affect,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24, no. 5 (October 1, 2006): 733–52, <https://doi.org/10.1068/d393t>.

¹⁹ Martini and Buda, “Dark Tourism and Affect.”

²⁰ Anderson, “Becoming and Being Hopeful,” 735-736.

²¹ Anderson, “Becoming and Being Hopeful,” 735.

²² Martini and Buda, “Dark Tourism and Affect,” 683.

Through a comprehensive examination of literature on dark tourism, war tourism, remembrance, and affect, this review highlights the importance of integrating these elements in the research.

Firstly, for a short timeframe, I want to showcase that it took some time before there was a clear conceptualization of dark tourism, Chris Rojek introduced *black spots* that can be defined as the economic advancements related to burial grounds and locations where notable figures or significant groups of individuals have experienced unexpected and tragic incidents. After that introduction, Anthony Seaton came up with *thanatourism* to explain the visitation of a place driven by the longing for real or symbolic interactions with mortality. According to Seaton, many cultures contemplate death, but currently society has covered up death and rendered it taboo so the encounter with death has become more intriguing.²³ However, in the same journal in 1996, *dark tourism* is formulated by Foley and Lennon and as defined before: the exploration of specific sites where a historical tragedy has occurred. Often, this definition resulted in the study of trips to contemporary locations such as Auschwitz or Chernobyl.

Dark tourism has been researched many times after its conceptualization. When examining the visitations of actual sites, this thesis found various different research articles that have dealt with the question of the experience of dark tourism. These journal articles are concerned with the motivations of tourists visiting these places, such as an article by Jacqueline Mangwane, Uwe Peter Hermann, and Antje Inge Lenhard. They have examined 205 participants that visit the Hector Pieterse Memorial and Museum, a museum and memorial built in remembrance of the Apartheid Soweto Uprising.²⁴ Each participant contributed to the study by completing a survey aimed at identifying motivational factors. The survey revealed three primary motives among the participants: novelty and knowledge-seeking, remembrance, and curiosity. It is noteworthy that, contrary to typical motivations for heritage sites, escape and relaxation ranked among the least influential factors in this context. Furthermore, significant relationships emerged between demographic variables and motivators, particularly in education level and marital status. Understanding these motivations is crucial for comprehending the dynamics of tourists at dark tourism sites, facilitating a more comprehensive examination of their

²³ Hartmann et al., "The History of Dark Tourism," 270.

²⁴ Jacqueline Mangwane, Uwe Peter Hermann, and Antje Inge Lenhard, "Who Visits the Apartheid Museum and Why? An Exploratory Study of the Motivations to Visit a Dark Tourism Site in South Africa," *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 13, no. 3 (January 1, 2019): 276, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCTHR-03-2018-0037>.

experiences.²⁵ By examining these motivational factors, a recurring trend emerges where participants express a preference for education and remembrance—two factors previously discussed as essential elements to balance at a concentration camp site. This observation underscores the significance of these concepts at such locations. It accentuates the pivotal role that education and remembrance play in shaping the visitor experience and their affect, particularly within the context of sites associated with historical trauma.

Additionally, the focus of this research will be on Dutch transit camps. When looking at specific sites of dark tourism and transit camps in the Netherlands, there has been limited examination and this thesis tries to bridge the gap between the two phenomena. In one article by Karel Werdler and Nadiah Geuskens, they display the limited efforts executed to formulate the phenomenon of dark tourism, particularly within a Dutch context. In their article, they examined the transit camp Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort to finally analyze dark tourism in the Netherlands.²⁶ However, their focus also centered on visitors' motivations, aligning with the aforementioned article. Werdler and Geuskens' study primarily relies on surveys to analyze the motivations and demographics of visitors. The main findings show that the majority of survey participants were from the Netherlands, with fewer from foreign countries, and they exhibited a relatively high level of education. The primary motivation for visiting was attributed to an interest in heritage, particularly in historical events such as the Second World War. Common motivations associated with dark tourism, like curiosity and nostalgia, were less present. Regarding the limits of the research is the conditions of the site itself. The limitation of the research as Werdler and Geuskens conclude is its restricted research to one location. They stress the importance to visit more places and examine the motivations, visitations, and experiences of the dark tourist sites.²⁷ Regarding the previously conducted research, it becomes evident that motivations are frequently examined, but there is a tendency for studies to concentrate on one location only, akin to the preceding article. There is a noticeable gap in research addressing the universal experience of visitation compared to individual ones.

As mentioned before, concentration camps are intertwined with war tourism, a concept part of dark tourism. Numerous research studies have been conducted in this domain, by

²⁵ Mangwane, Hermann, and Lenhard, 283.

²⁶ Karel Werdler and Nadiah Geuskens, "Dark Tourism in Nederland?" September 28, 2012, 7.

²⁷ Werdler and Geuskens, 14-15.

Driessen, for instance, delving in the motivations of people to visit former war sites associated with twentieth-century conflicts in Europe.²⁸ War tourism can be defined underneath the umbrella term of dark tourism, but concentrates more on commemoration and mourning than the mediated encounter with death and traumatic events. In her dissertation, Driessen also directs her attention on the different ‘visitors’ that come to these places and their motivations. Here, she points out the affective relation,²⁹ relating to the theory of affect, as one of the motivations but Driessen also considers secondary witnessing and the importance of engagement, responsibility, reflection and care for the visited places.³⁰ Moreover, the dissertation concludes on various aspects on what to do for future research. She talks about the significance of physical spaces, especially because of the current digitalization of everything and wants to broaden the perspective of tourism by also including conflict tourism, so there is not only a focus on merely war. She also presents the importance of a more global research, a more gendered approach, and an analysis on the mental health of visitors.³¹ However, the primary insight derived from this research is the affective relation established between the place and the tourist, representing the intensity of affect and how it can motivate people to visit the sites. While it is presented from the perspective of the tourists, transitioning to a focus on the universal experience and the choices of heritage-producers could prove beneficial in addressing the research question.

In contrast to the research mentioned before that primarily focus on visitors, this thesis identified variations in the representation of the sites, upon examining other articles addressing locations and dark tourism. Some articles discuss different portrayals in various types of media. For example, Urszula Kowalska-Nadolna analyzed the diverse displays of the Terezín (Theresienstadt) concentration camp in contemporary Czech literary, historical, and educational sources.³² She focused more on the commodification part of dark tourism and how some of the aspects of the Terezín concentration camp have been commercialized. Nevertheless, Kowalska-Nadolna concludes that the commercialization is not as bad as initially feared. Instead, she emphasizes a distinctive feature of places commemorating historical tragedies. This aspect

²⁸ Siri Rosa Driessen, “Touching War: An Ethnographic Analysis of War Tourism in Europe” (Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2020) p.17.

²⁹ Driessen, p.157.

³⁰ Driessen, p.160.

³¹ Driessen, p.161-162.

³² Urszula Kowalska-Nadolna, “Is Experiencing History Possible? Between ‘Dark Tourism’ and ‘the Holocaust Industry:’ The Case of Terezín,” *Prace Filologiczne. Literaturoznawstwo*, no. 9(12) cz.1 (July 4, 2019): 123, <https://doi.org/10.32798/pflit.111>.

encompasses the special attention and consideration given to formulating historical, artistic, or literary messages that must adapt to social and psychological changes across generations. This caution is due to the fact that historical spaces grapple with the imposition of ideological memory, be it in institutional, official, educational, or nation-building contexts. However, she does emphasize the pressure to adopt popular and attractive approaches. As the article notes, 'The Holocaust Industry' must navigate the balance between method of learning through play and the somewhat dark nature of official monuments.³³ This article showcases the essential balance I have been discussing, but adds another factor to it. This factor could be part of the answer to one of the sub-questions regarding the material and experience utilized.

Moreover, Emily Grace Mannheimer provides another perspective on the representation of historical sites in her dissertation. However, she does not discuss it in the context of dark tourism because she focuses on the tour guide as a mediator. She examines tour guides in Belfast and their approach to constructing and reproducing the reality of the Troubles. These guides navigate the representation of the Troubles for a tourist audience, serving as mediators between socio-spatial norms, personal motivations, and tourist expectations. These various factors show that the guides not only need to focus on entertaining a tourist audience but also on crafting a specific narrative. Mannheimer explains that the guides can redefine “the image of Northern Ireland after conflict by providing a platform for multivocal representations to be expressed.”³⁴ Her dissertation mainly centers on social transition and the role of tour guides in the participation of remaking their society. Furthermore, Mannheimer's research relies on the narratives provided by tour guides, leading to the identification of three crucial categories for effective mediation: the personal expression of the tour guides, the socio-spatial context, and tourist expectations.³⁵ However, she discusses some limitations of her thesis. Such as, are the tour guides a good representative of this narrative displayed? Because it tackles tourism, the tour has transformed into more of a commodity.³⁶ Also, the tour narrative is a changing and dynamic text. When going to actual exhibitions, they are more stagnant. With tour guides, a story is never the exact same because it is flexible to the current situation it will be told. There are short-term fluctuations and

³³ Kowalska-Nadolna, 133-134.

³⁴ Emily Grace Mannheimer, “Re-Imagining a New Northern Ireland: Tourism and Social Transition after Conflict” (Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2022).

³⁵ Mannheimer, p.87.

³⁶ Mannheimer, p.90.

long-term evolutions.³⁷ It is essential to highlight that Mannheim's dissertation specifically addresses tourism and tour guides in transitional societies, with a focal point on societal transition. While societal transition is not the main focus of this thesis, the exploration of tourism and tour guides is crucial, particularly in understanding how they navigate spaces of conflict or historical trauma. This connection to dark tourism, although not explicitly mentioned in Mannheim's dissertation, is relevant to my research. As my study aims to examine stakeholders at concentration camps, including tour guides, Mannheim's research underscores the limitations faced by both tour guides and the site itself.

Now, another facet of representation is visual materials, an aspect of dark tourism that has received comparatively less attention. Concerning the visualization of events at dark tourist sites, the existing research has predominantly relied on literary and secondary sources, lacking an empirical aspect. One of those articles that uses literary and secondary sources is written by John Lennon who discusses the visualization aspect. During the visitation of those locations, one will encounter the photographic, filmic, or heritage artefacts connected with death.³⁸ He explains that in educative exhibitions at dark tourism sites, interpretive images are utilized to convey a specific image of the past that is separated from the present. This past reality can be visited as a recreation with semi-authentic/authentic elements. It is crucial to lead the public know the differentiation between truth and falsity. The interpretation of visualization at dark tourism sites can be used to convey themes of dominant ideology or selectivity of record.³⁹ ⁴⁰ Lennon does not explore the affective resonance these visualizations can evoke, which this thesis aims to address. While this study will not focus on analyzing specific visual materials and their individual use, Lennon's research offers valuable insights into the significant role that materials, particularly visual ones, play at these sites and the emotions they can elicit.

At last, the interplay of dark tourism and affect is framed by Annaclaudia Martini and Dorina Maria Buda. The connection between dark tourism and affect arises from the intense affective engagements that can occur at such sites. Frequently, these engagements are

³⁷ Mannheim, p.91-92.

³⁸ J. John Lennon, "Dark Tourism Sites: Visualization, Evidence and Visitation," *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 9, no. 2 (January 1, 2017): 220, <https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-09-2016-0042>.

³⁹ Lennon, 230.

⁴⁰ John J. Lennon and Hugh Smith, "Shades of Dark: Interpretation and Commemoration at the Sites of Concentration Camps at Terezin and Lety, Czech Republic," in *Representing the Unimaginable: Narratives of Disaster*, ed. Angela Stock and Cornelia Stott (University of Münster, 2007), 67–85.

challenging to interpret and represent, as certain horrific events, coupled with the affective relation, escape their retelling.⁴¹ Nonetheless, utilizing various non- or more-than-representational theories and methods can assist in exploring the actions of bodies and attempting to represent affect, acknowledging that affect can never be entirely representable,⁴² but with the help of more straight-forward methodologies such as interviews, the affective relation that is formulated can be affirmed. Moreover, Buda and Martini stress the importance of examining theories of affect concerning dark tourism, as well as the influence of tour guides and heritage-producers on the affective relation through place-making processes. They also explore how dark sites are framed by news and information outlets. While advocating for a tourist perspective, a common approach in dark tourism research, Buda and Martini also propose new routes for future research. One of these involves geographical approaches to the concept of atmosphere. Martini and Buda define atmosphere in relation to dark tourism as a class of experience that is very much shaped at a dark tourist site in which affects are observable. While atmosphere and affect share similarities, atmosphere is often considered more tangible than affect. It suggests a location infused with social, ethical, and political charges that can be perceived. However, atmosphere is a part of affect and stakeholders – tour guides and heritage-producers – play a crucial role in shaping the atmosphere, making their involvement vital in research on this subject.⁴³ This article by Buda and Martini showcases the vital need to examine the intersection of affect and dark tourism. There is limited existing research in this area and the combination highlights its significance in shaping narratives and retellings.

1.5 Innovative Aspects

When reviewing previous research, it is important to note existing gaps in the field of dark tourism. Notably, the literature tends to concentrate on visitors' experiences, leading to a deficiency in exploring the historical narratives in the display and spatial organization of the sites, the balance between education and commemoration, generational and attractive approaches, the affective relation at dark tourism locations, the inclusion of Dutch dark tourist sites, and the utilization of visualization with empirical research.

⁴¹ Martini and Buda, "Dark Tourism and Affect," 682.

⁴² Martini and Buda, 683-684.

⁴³ Martini and Buda, 686.

With my research question: *how do Dutch concentration camps as a form of dark tourism convey historical tragedies of WWII within their tours and the sites themselves?* I aim to focus on the affective relation at the transit camps in the Netherlands. The research analyzes the representations of affective relations through materials and experiences at these sites, adopting a theoretical framework rooted in theories of affect—a perspective not yet thoroughly explored. This framework will be supported by a more straight-forward methodology, allowing observations to be validated through interviews and tour experiences.

In conclusion, the utilization of theories of affect will be conducted at the locations themselves to analyze the affective relation that has been created. To gain insights into the establishment of affective relations, interviews with stakeholders, such as tour guides or those responsible for crafting the tours, will be conducted. This innovative approach to examining both the affective relations at the site and their creation by stakeholders is a novel aspect not yet explored in research. Also, the exclusive concentration on Dutch dark tourism sites, particularly focusing on transit camps, adds academic relevance to the study. Although transit camps have been frequently studied in the context of dark tourism, the scarcity of research within the Dutch context, coupled with the unique combination of two different locations, contributes to the originality of this research.

When not focusing on visitor experiences, this thesis will prioritize theoretical approaches that emphasize the internal dynamics of the spot's narratives, the curatorial process, and the construction of meaning within the space itself.

1.6 Sources and Methods

Here I will explain the nature of my sources, the methods, and the expected challenges during the research.

1.6.1 Sources

The primary sources that I have utilized for this research are dark tourism places in the Netherlands and their employees that are part of constructing the narrative. The focus lays upon two different transit camps of the Second World War that were under the reign of the Nazi party. These two concentration camps are Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork. Both of these places are the actual site of a traumatic historical event, so they would be a clear example of dark

tourism location that is mentioned in the main research question.⁴⁴ When looking at Kamp Amersfoort, the significance of remembrance of the 47.000 people that have been imprisoned at the location is immediately pointed out on the website. It has become a remembrance site in 2004 and established a museum exhibition in 2021.⁴⁵ There are two types of tours to be followed at Kamp Amersfoort, an audio tour and a tour with a tour guide. A tour with a tour guide is offered at the site with a primary emphasis on education of the story of Kamp Amersfoort. However, it is a specialized experience that requires advance reservation before visiting.⁴⁶

In the case of Kamp Westerbork, it displays itself as a remembrance location. They stress the importance of remembrance, education, and reflection. All of their activities are based on the historical place the location is situated at.⁴⁷ For this camp, the tours are similar. It is either conducted by an expert guide or facilitated through an audio tour.⁴⁸ Both of the camps show the importance of remembrance and their interwovenness with the ‘dark’ event that occurred, but the interest regarding ‘death’ is not their initial point of presentation, but mostly remembrance, commemoration, and education. The visitation of the camps and the display of their materials in connection to the tours and the interviews of the employees will aid in the answering my research question, because the observations will showcase the materials and tools, the tours and the interview will show the reflection on the historical narrative and the affective relation created.

1.6.2 Methodology

All of the methods are qualitative research-based. For example, tour guides and tour formulators are questioned for the interviews. To get the interviewees, I have been in contact with the two different concentration camps and will explain the establishment of the interviews at the corresponding chapters. However, the way of obtaining these interviews was executed by snow-ball sampling. This sampling method involves firstly contacting a small group of individuals relevant to the research topic and then using these connections to establish further

⁴⁴ Annaclaudia Martini and Dorina Maria Buda, “Dark tourism and affect: framing places of death and disaster,” *Current Issues in Tourism* 23, no. 6 (2020): 680.

⁴⁵ “Homepage - Kamp Amersfoort,” February 8, 2021, <https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/>.

⁴⁶ “Rondleiding programma algemeen - Kamp Amersfoort,” February 8, 2021, <https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/rondleiding-en-educatie/rondleiding-programma-algemeen/>.

⁴⁷ “Missie En Visie - Kamp Westerbork,” accessed December 2, 2023, <https://kampwesterbork.nl/de-stichting/missie-en-visie>.

⁴⁸ “Rondleidingen en audiotours - Kamp Westerbork,” accessed February 4, 2024, <https://kampwesterbork.nl/programma/activiteiten/item/rondleidingen>.

contacts.⁴⁹ The interviews with the employees at the camp are semi-structured to obtain a well-rounded comprehension of the stakeholders' role in the atmosphere at the location. A semi-structured interview is characterized by explorative and descriptive predetermined questions, succeeded by more specific explanatory follow-up questions to grasp the respondents' answers entirely.⁵⁰ For example, when a respondent recounts a particular event or describes a tool used during a tour, the subsequent question often revolves around the underlying motivation: 'Why are you telling this story or utilizing this tool?' This inquiry seeks to uncover the deeper rationale behind their storytelling choices and tour methodologies, shedding light on the overarching goals and intentions driving their approach. A list of predetermined questions will be formulated. However, because the interviews will be semi-structured, it is important to concentrate on a set of themes and topics regarding the research question, theoretical framework, and the literature review. Because the research is based on specific parts about the location and the tour guides part in it, I will focus mostly on those questions, but it will be important for me to let the interviewee speak about the aspects they think are important about the site and its affect and follow up on their utilization of these aspects.

Regarding the theories of affect methodology, I used non-representational methodologies that focus on understanding and exploring the affective relation that is formulated at the space. Non-representational methodology is based on non-representational theory which consists of seven core principles: capturing the 'onflow' of everyday flow, being anti-biographical and pre-individual, concerning itself with practice, action, and performance, relational materialism, experimental, and focusing on the importance of bodies. There are three of those principles this research will be concentrating on. The engagement with practice, action, and performance emphasizes an appreciation of physical rituals and embodied actions over verbal expression or cognitive attitudes. These actions can be shared experiences, unexceptional interactions and affective intensities.⁵¹ Relational materialism is another principle and expresses that materials are not just mere parts of an overall picture, but each carry their own agency. One has to examine the symbolism of objects and their qualities, movements, and force that exert their meaning.⁵² The

⁴⁹ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 4. ed (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2012), 202.

⁵⁰ H. Russell Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 4. ed (Lanham, Md.: AltaMira Press, 2006), 210.

⁵¹ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 4.

⁵² Vannini, 4-5.

last principle is the importance of bodies. Bodies are vital because of their affective capacities. Here, affect and its derivatives “transcends the human, focusing on relations and inanimate objects, living, non-human matter, place, ephemeral phenomena, events, technologies.”⁵³

This methodology emphasizes the embodied, sensory, and affective aspects of human experiences, seeking to capture the nuances and complexities that may be overlooked by more conventional, representational methods. Vannini encourages researchers to engage in more immersive and participatory forms of inquiry, often involving direct experiences and interactions with the subjects of study. The aim is to move beyond mere description and representation of phenomena to a deeper understanding of the ways in which individuals perceive and engage with their surroundings. This approach aligns with the broader philosophical shift in qualitative research towards acknowledging the subjective and context-dependent nature of human experiences.⁵⁴ The methodology includes various methods such as phenomenological observation which was utilized regarding the materials and tools section of the thesis.⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ The vital feature of this methodology is the active description-making of an all-encompassing affective relation that is created at the dark tourism site.

⁵³ Vannini, 5-6.

⁵⁴ Vannini.

⁵⁵ Anderson and Ash, “Atmospheric Methods.”

⁵⁶ Nina Wakeford and Lury, eds., *Inventive Methods: The Happening of the Social* (London: Routledge, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203854921>.

Chapter 2: Kamp Amersfoort and their Materials and Tools

In the non-representational methodology chapters, this chapter and chapter 4, this thesis will first discuss the camp that I have observed and then focus on the materials such as buildings and monuments, and experiences drawn from primary sources at the site itself.

2.1 Introduction Kamp Amersfoort

Kamp Amersfoort has undergone numerous transformations, but its most significant role was as a transit camp during World War II. Initially built to house newly militarized soldiers, it was taken over by the Germans and operated under two names: Polizeiliches Durchgangslager Amersfoort (PDA) from 1941 to 1943⁵⁷ and Erweitertes Polizeigefängnis Amersfoort (EGA) from 1943 to 1945.⁵⁸ Post-liberation, it housed NSB members and Moluccans, who were later moved to other camps like Kamp Westerbork. Despite its historical significance, Kamp Amersfoort was not officially recognized as a national monument until 2004, when a memorial center was also established.⁵⁹ This delayed acknowledgment raises questions about how the camp has chosen to memorialize its past, particularly given the lack of authentic artifacts and the demolition of original barracks, emphasizing the challenge of preserving its history.

2.2 The Creation of an Affective Experience by Objects and Materials

While exploring the camp, I started my observations and analysis, focusing on the overall narrative related to practices, materials, and the importance of bodies. I analyzed the diverse array of artifacts and materials at the National Monument of Kamp Amersfoort and followed both an audio tour and a guided tour. This analysis explores the materials, traces, and experiences at Kamp Amersfoort, emphasizing the role of practices and bodies in shaping them.

Information Signs

When walking from the bus stop and entering the camp from the woods instead of Loes van Overeemlaan, the emphasis on historical significance and authenticity is evident from the information signs encountered during the hike. There are various ways to enter Kamp Amersfoort. From Loes van Overeemlaan, the outdoor area is to the right, and the visitor's building, housing the museum exhibition, is on the left. However, entering from the woods offers

⁵⁷ "PDA 1941-43 - Kamp Amersfoort," February 8, 2021, <https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/geschiedenis-en-onderzoek/pda-1941-43/>.

⁵⁸ "EPG 1943-45 - Kamp Amersfoort," February 8, 2021, <https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/geschiedenis-en-onderzoek/epg-1943-45/>.

⁵⁹ "Na de oorlog - Kamp Amersfoort," February 8, 2021, <https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/geschiedenis-en-onderzoek/na-de-oorlog/>.

two routes: one from the golf club side and the other immediately towards the shooting range. Entering from the golf club side, one encounters an information sign with a map of Kamp Amersfoort, helping visitors situate themselves among the camp's remnants. If you enter the camp from the other side, you won't encounter the introductory information sign. Near the shooting range, the first sign references original posts of the fence, though discerning the authentic posts is challenging as they look similar. These posts and the barbed wire are poignant remnants of the shooting range's grim past. At the back of the shooting range, where the hike from the woods begins, a patch of green grass hosts another sign discussing the former mass graves and the establishment of a new graveyard to honor Soviet soldiers and other camp victims. It details the history of the original cemetery at Kamp Amersfoort and the relocation of the deceased to the new cemetery, Rusthof. In 1951, the last victims were interred at the honorary cemetery in Loenen, marking the closure of the former cemetery.

What's intriguing is how these signs seemingly emerge unexpectedly amidst the landscape. When one comes from the side of the woods, there has been no indication of what kind of location one is situated. People are hiking and walking their dogs. In the distance, one hears the roaring of engines, the birds, and the lawn mower of the golf course.

The sudden presence of the green patch and information signs sharply refocuses attention on the site's historical significance. These signs clearly aim to highlight the importance of the place. Without them, the location could easily blend into its surroundings,⁶⁰ merely appearing as part of the woods or the adjacent golf course, obscuring its tragic history.⁶¹ The motivation to preserve and commemorate past events is now unmistakably visible.⁶²

As previously mentioned, the concept of “doings” emphasizes practices and the importance of capturing the rhythm of life.⁶³ Observing this flow has revealed noteworthy patterns related to the information signs, which contextualize the historical landscape. People engaged in routine activities often overlook the site's significance, exhibiting distinct behaviors based on their proximity to it, showcasing the affective relation formulated.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 9.

⁶¹ Lennon, “Dark Tourism Sites,” 230.

⁶² Vannini, 4-5.

⁶³ Vannini, 7.

⁶⁴ Vannini, 9.

Initially, people were walking their dogs, hiking, and conversing normally. However, upon encountering a tour group of young people led by an adult, a shift was observed. The children's behavior became notably quieter, with hushed conversations compared to those hiking through the woods. This subdued atmosphere intensified near the national monument building of Kamp Amersfoort, suggesting the historical context influenced a more restrained manner of speaking and acting.⁶⁵ People walked slower and spoke quieter, reflecting the site's solemnity and its interaction with the remnants.

The Shooting Range and the Stone Man

The shooting range, constructed by prisoners who dug a pit and formed natural walls with sand remnants, is the largest remnant of WWII Kamp Amersfoort. Unlike a traditional building, it is a pit reclaimed by nature, yet its man-made origin is evident and highlighted by tour guides. Visitors emerge from the woods and descend a staircase into the shooting range, greeted by a prominent statue directly in front. This contrasts with entering from Loes van Overeemlaan, where visitors see the long path to the Stone Man statue. As the largest relic of WWII Kamp Amersfoort, the shooting range once hosted the camp's first commemorative monument—a wooden cross marking the execution site.

In 1953, the cross was replaced by a statue known as the “Gevangene voor het vuurpeloton,”⁶⁶ commonly called the Stone Man. This statue depicts an emaciated figure with a poignant yet resolute expression, wearing an open shirt, long pants, and big shoes. One hand is clenched, and the other is open. The statue stands on a platform surrounded by white peace doves, symbolizing the experience of a prisoner facing execution. Its presence transforms the shooting range, imbuing it with profound symbolism and historical context,⁶⁷ reflecting the harsh conditions of life in the camp.

⁶⁵ Vannini, 9.

⁶⁶ Translation: “Prisoner in front of the firing squad”

⁶⁷ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 4-5.



Figure 1. The Stone Man

Without the statue, the shooting range might still catch attention, but its historical significance would be less apparent, possibly seen as just a pit dug by people. However, its notable length and the presence of a copper gate with a barred door at the entrance suggest a restricted area. This gate, visible from Loes van Overeemlaan, originally belonged to the camp. The entrance to the shooting range is open, flanked by small hills. Accessibility has improved with a steep staircase at the end and benches facing the statue, inviting visitors to reflect or rest after the long walk.

The shooting range's significance is amplified by the statue of the Stone Man's presence, alongside an adjacent information sign detailing its origin and symbolism.⁶⁸ Without the statue, the shooting range might be viewed merely as a dug pit, lacking its historical context.

According to the information sign, the statue was made by an ex-prisoner and unveiled by the prime minister on May 14, 1953. The clenched fist symbolizes powerless anger and unyielding resolve, while the open hand represents despair. The doves symbolize peace, their

⁶⁸ Vannini, 4-5.

number corresponding to the five years of wartime suffering endured at the camp. This monument encapsulates the diverse associations of Kamp Amersfoort, serving as a multifaceted method of commemoration.

Visitors arriving from the woods, rather than from Loes van Overeemlaan, encounter an issue. The information sign displays a picture of excavations at the shooting range but does not explain the context. However, as visitors proceed along the path towards the entrance, they encounter another sign detailing the discovery of a mass grave at the end of the shooting range. With this additional context, the landscape transcends mere geography, becoming a poignant memorial to the camp's tumultuous history.⁶⁹ These elements enrich the site, transforming it into a powerful memorial and affective relation that encompass the complex associations of Kamp Amersfoort.⁷⁰

The Watchtower and the Memorial Stone

Other enduring structures, like the watchtower, punctuate the landscape. One of the original seven watchtowers still stands prominently at the entrance of the national monument, as emphasized by tour guides. Its presence evokes an affective experience of its historical function overseeing the prisoners.⁷¹ Access to the watchtower is restricted, highlighting the divide between those permitted to ascend and those, like the prisoners, who were barred. Additionally, the information sign in front of the watchtower is positioned so that it is visible when approaching the visitors' building. The sign emphasizes the authenticity of the watchtower, noting that it is one of the few original remnants of Kamp Amersfoort, and briefly explains its use during the Second World War.

Directly facing the watchtower stands a memorial stone, adorned with text honoring the victims and sanctifying the ground upon which it rests. The alignment creates a poignant relation between the monument and the watchtower, affirming the lasting memory of the hardships endured and the atrocities inflicted under its gaze.⁷² The stone's name, "Gedenksteen,"⁷³ underscores its purpose as a testament to the enduring power of memory.

⁶⁹ Vannini, 9.

⁷⁰ Vannini, 9.

⁷¹ Vannini, 9.

⁷² Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 8.

⁷³ Translation: "Memorial Stone"

During the tour, the guide introduces the stone as a means to preserve the memory of the ex-prisoners and explicitly asks visitors to reflect on its message. This question encourages visitors to actively interpret the stone's message rather than passively reading it, thus bridging the gap between memory and engagement.⁷⁴ The answer is given: "do not forget, keep thinking about it."

The Rose Garden

Although many remnants at Kamp Amersfoort are authentic, some, like the Rose Garden, are replicas. This garden replicates a barbed wire fence that once served as an outdoor prison section within the camp, now positioned in the courtyard. According to the audio tour,⁷⁵ prisoners in this area endured strict punishments, such as enforced stillness under threat of harassment for any movement. Adjacent to the Rose Garden entrance lies a stone plaque depicting a rose surrounded by thorns made from barbed wire. This plaque, crafted by a former prisoner, serves as the emblem of Kamp Amersfoort, the national monument. The name 'rose garden' derives from the resemblance of the barbed wire thorns to those of a rose.

The deliberate inclusion of this replica in the narrative contrasts with the original remnants elsewhere on the site. While authentic remainders contribute to the overall narrative through the surrounding environment, monuments, and informational signs, the introduction of the Rose Garden reflects a conscious decision in shaping the historical narrative at Kamp Amersfoort.⁷⁶ The garden serves multiple motivations, including educational purposes to inform visitors about the punitive measures imposed on prisoners, commemoration to ensure remembrance of their hardships, and personal motivations of former prisoners, as exemplified by the creation of the stone plate memorializing the Rose Garden and displayed in the audio-tour.

These motivations often intertwine, blurring the lines between them and rendering them inseparable from one another. Unlike most objects encountered at the site, the Rose Garden is completely reconstructed and not in its original location, yet it is narrated to reflect its historical significance within the camp's history.

⁷⁴ Vannini, 4.

⁷⁵ Vannini, 4.

⁷⁶ Vannini, 4-5.

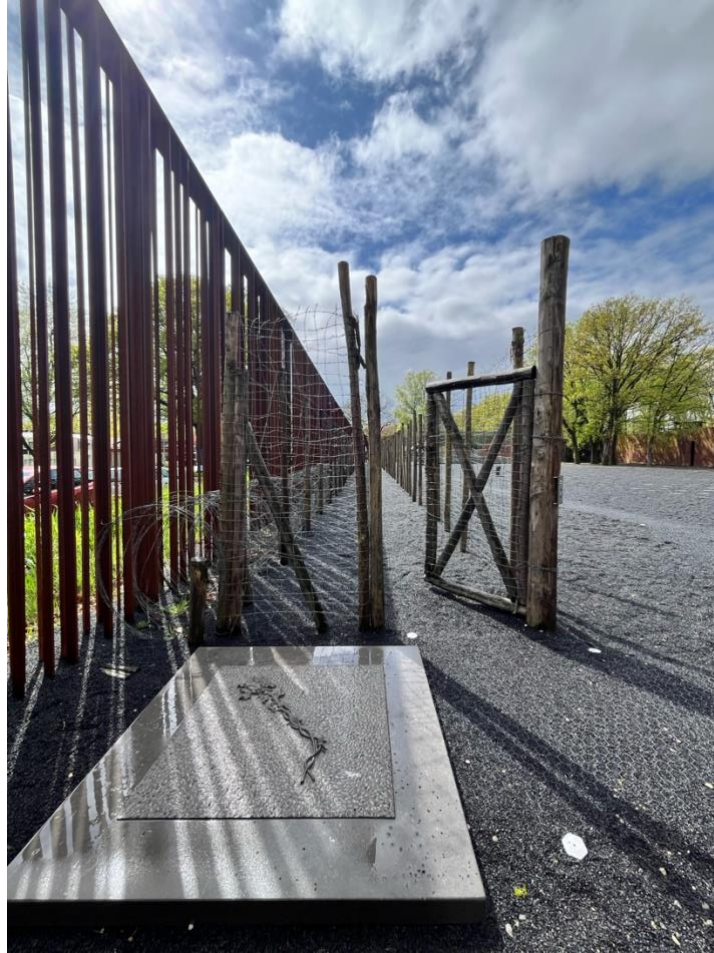


Figure 2. The Rose Garden and the Plate with the Rose

Furthermore, most of the information given regarding the Rose Garden at the site is about the circumstances and experiences of the prisoners at that time. They specifically tell what they have been through and to also see for one self. The emphasis on experience⁷⁷ and affective resonance⁷⁸ showcases a different side of the methods used to commemorate at Kamp Amersfoort.

This experience-based focus is also visible in the tours given by the place. For example, regarding the school classes, one notable aspect of these tours is the use of immersive experiences, such as the Rose Garden. Here, the high schoolers were actively encouraged to enter the garden and stand still for a minute, simulating the conditions experienced by the

⁷⁷ Vannini, 8.

⁷⁸ Vannini, 9.

prisoners.⁷⁹ While the students were standing inside the cordoned off section, the tour guide explicitly pointed out a high schooler and their potential punishment because of a movement, enhancing the tangible nature of the experience for the students. By standing in the exact spot and having the exact words spoken, the memory of the Rose Garden is acted out and felt.⁸⁰

2.3 Conclusion on the Evocation of an Affective Experience

Kamp Amersfoort is filled with indicators of its historical tragedy, with choices focused on text, authenticity, and historical relevance creating an affective experience through materials, background, and actions. Highlighting authentic remnants enhances the tangible experience.

When examining specifically relational materialism,⁸¹ this thesis has pointed out various remnants. There are three central examples. The first one are the information signs that have the agency to create a relation between the history and the place. Regarding the combination of the shooting range and the statue of the Stone Man, an actual embodiment of a prisoner, display the combination of origin and symbolism of the history and have become an agent of historical depiction. Another example is the watchtower becoming the conductor of an affective experience of looking down upon you. The watchtower and the memorial stone facing each other formulates a poignant relation between the victims and the perpetrators, showcasing the agency and relations of these materials.

The surroundings further enhance the experience.⁸² The combination of the shooting range, its length, the copper gate, and the statue, creates a restricted, memorializing background. Tour guides also play a crucial role, using deliberate questions to engage visitors with the memorial stone, enhancing affective resonance.

These elements collectively form an affective relation⁸³ between place, history, bodies, and surroundings. However, other factors contribute to this resonance, such as the immersive experience of the Rose Garden, the subdued atmosphere due to silence, and personal experiences intertwined with the Rose Garden, which establish an active affective relation even without additional means.

⁷⁹ Vannini, 8.

⁸⁰ Vannini, 9.

⁸¹ Vannini, 4-5.

⁸² Vannini, 9.

⁸³ Vannini, 9.

Chapter 3: Kamp Amersfoort and their Stakeholders and Tours

In this chapter and chapter 5, this thesis examines interviews with heritage producers at the camps to explore how they influence the site's narrative with affective resonance and how their tours evoke affect. Each quote is translated from Dutch. The interviews generally do not refer to the camps as dark tourist spots, with only one interviewee mentioning this in the context of other spaces and research.⁸⁴

3.1 Sampling of Interviewees

After finding an email contact on Kamp Amersfoort's website, I reached out for research assistance. The contact offered to connect me with employees and volunteers at the National Monument. After approval, their emails were forwarded to me. Scheduling the interviews proved challenging, but eventually, dates were finalized. Most interviews took place at Kamp Amersfoort, with one at an individual's home and one online. The five interviewees represent various roles crucial to the storytelling process: a researcher, educative employee, training coordinator, and volunteer tour guides. Their characteristics are displayed in Appendix I.

3.2 Different Means

The interviewees revealed multiple storytelling methods at Kamp Amersfoort. Initially, conventional formats were discussed, including podcasts, personal and audio tours, museum exhibitions, virtual reality experiences, and theatrical presentations.

Kamp Amersfoort has a room for virtual reality where specific dilemma's will be presented and later on discussed. One reason behind this initiative is the profound impact it has on individuals, showcasing the stress on affective relation. '*And it just provides an insight to the idea that choices are not that black and white.*'⁸⁵ The incorporation is a significant aspect of the overall portrayal of the story of Kamp Amersfoort. However, it's important to note that the virtual reality (VR) experience is not typically available to regular visitors. Instead, it is reserved for groups and recommended to engage in comprehensive discussions about the choices presented within the VR experience.

The decisions regarding the various outlets for storytelling largely revolve around the dual motivations of reaching a broader audience and providing an immersive experience. This combination shows that there is an interest in creating an affective relation, which could also be

⁸⁴ Interview with researcher, April 11, 2024.

⁸⁵ Interview with educative employee, May 3, 2024.

part of affective curation that has appeared at museums. Affective curatorship is the experience of memorable affective encounters in the curated environment of museums.⁸⁶ Concerning that relation, there are specific methods utilized in the tours that are explained subsequently.

3.2.1 Rules of the Tour

When looking specifically at the tours, the analysis of interviews revealed a notable emphasis on adhering to specific narrative guidelines. The interviewees stressed the importance of factual storytelling in Kamp Amersfoort's narrative. They emphasized that tour guides should base their narratives on thoroughly researched truths and avoid injecting personal political beliefs. It was highlighted that conveying Kamp Amersfoort's story through various mediums should steer clear of political messages. Maintaining communication from the monument free from external agendas was emphasized, with a strict focus on factual accuracy. One interviewee stressed this importance by illustrating an agenda-driven story: *'We would like the outcome to be that when we investigate this transport of eight prisoners, we would like to tell the story that all eight survived the war. Yeah, then you have to work at a different organization.'*⁸⁷ In this quote, the individual emphasizes the importance of conducting research at Kamp Amersfoort without making assumptions, instead allowing the evidence to guide the process.

To ensure the accuracy of stories shared during tours, a standardized guide has been implemented for all guides at Kamp Amersfoort. This measure ensures consistency, addressing variations that may arise from individual guides delving into personal prisoner documents more extensively than others. It is now mandatory for all guides to thoroughly familiarize themselves with this guide before conducting tours. Additionally, another interviewee emphasized the significance of narrative integrity in storytelling: *'You are telling the story of Kamp Amersfoort. The story of Kamp Amersfoort told by you, not your story of Kamp Amersfoort, because then it would become something different.'*⁸⁸ A political discussion would meddle with the factual story. Also, personal anecdotes can be utilized, but no falsification of history. *'We must always stick to the facts, otherwise you will not do justice to the surviving relatives,'* one person explained.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Marzia Varutti, "The Affective Turn in Museums and the Rise of Affective Curatorship," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 38, no. 1 (January 2, 2023): 64, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2022.2132993>.

⁸⁷ Interview with researcher, April 11, 2024.

⁸⁸ Interview with training coordinator, April 11, 2024.

⁸⁹ Interview with educative employee, May 3, 2024.

They underscored the gravity of Kamp Amersfoort's story, emphasizing its inherent misery and tragedy, which renders embellishment or fabrication unnecessary.

The narrative framework for tours relies on research conducted by the Kamp Amersfoort research department. One respondent clarified the process of formulating the story, stressing that new research findings are regularly shared with guides. It is expected that guides learn and incorporate these updated facts into their tours. For example: *'In the last year, there is a children's book written about a certain family that has been imprisoned here. It was a different type of imprisonment than in the barracks, because they were more situated in the bunkers. And that is the starting point of the new education program.'*⁹⁰ They highlighted the connection between historical facts of the camp period and contemporary issues. However, a more detailed explanation of this connection to the present is provided in subsequent sections discussing other tour techniques.

Overall, interview respondents emphasized objective guidelines for the story of Kamp Amersfoort, focusing on factual storytelling and preserving historical accuracy while avoiding personal political discourse which corresponds to the motivation displayed on the website regarding the tours.⁹¹ These principles are driven by a commitment to honoring surviving relatives.

3.2.2 Adaptability of the Tour

The tours at Kamp Amersfoort are designed with a keen awareness of their audience, varying in approach based on the demographic. Kowalska-Nadolna argues that historical narratives must adapt to different generations, as the dark tourist space grapples with ideological memory.⁹² Flexibility is key, ensuring the experience resonates appropriately with both children and adults. This adaptability is crucial because dark tourist spots can mediate mortality, fostering a co-creation of meaning between visitors and the tour guide.⁹³ For younger participants, the emphasis is on interactivity, sensation, and experiential learning. Given their lack of personal connection to the wartime era, the tour engages them through hands-on activities and immersive encounters, highlighting the crucial role of performance in building affective resonance.⁹⁴ In

⁹⁰ Interview with educative employee, May 3, 2024.

⁹¹ "Rondleiding programma algemeen - Kamp Amersfoort."

⁹² Kowalska-Nadolna, "Is Experiencing History Possible?" 133-134.

⁹³ Hartmann et al., "The History of Dark Tourism," 292.

⁹⁴ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 9.

contrast, for adults, the focus shifts to a deeper exploration of Kamp Amersfoort's historical narrative. Immersive experiences take a backseat, allowing visitors to engage more thoroughly with the facts and stories of the site's history.

The distinction in tour delivery reflects an understanding of the diverse needs and expectations of visitors. This difference is a conscious choice, because one interviewee noted when the visitors belong to surviving relatives: *'Because they often carry the trauma of their parents and grandparent with them, so adult tours talk a lot more about the history of the place.'*⁹⁵ As this person pointed out, adapting the tour to align with individual experiences, particularly when visitors have surviving relatives connected to the events, underscores the sensitivity and thoughtfulness behind the approach.

For one interviewee, the cornerstone of employing tours lies in the guide's ability to adapt to the audience's needs.⁹⁶ Audience interests vary. When individuals want to know more about specific groups at Kamp Amersfoort – prisoners, guards, or others – a guide can provide tailored insights and narratives. This personalized approach contrasts with the limitations of audio tours, which offer a static, one-size-fits-all experience. Audio tours lack the flexibility to delve deeper into specific topics, presenting a uniform presentation of information. This lacks the depth and nuance that enriches understanding and engagement, which personal tours can provide, which has been stated both by Kowalska-Nadolna⁹⁷ and Hartmann et al.⁹⁸

3.2.3 Interactive Tours

One facet of the tour designed for children or young adults is the utilization of discussions and questions in the tour. An interviewee explained the transition of a standard historical story with dates and years to an interactive experience with the group: *'In 1941, this happened... No, we don't do that anymore. No, we have let go of that to an extent. Of course, that history is like a red thread throughout it. It is the story of Kamp Amersfoort, but not with years, but with events. (...) But what we are doing right now is being interactive with your groups. This what happened... And those were the dilemmas during that moment... How do you feel about*

⁹⁵ Interview with educative employee, May 3, 2024.

⁹⁶ Interview with volunteer tour guide, April 11, 2024.

⁹⁷ Kowalska-Nadolna, "Is Experiencing History Possible?" 133-134.

⁹⁸ Hartmann et al., "The History of Dark Tourism," 292.

*that?*⁹⁹ This choice is based on the belief that a mere story will not have a lasting impact on the audience.

Interviewees describe the interactive tour in diverse ways. Frequently, tour guides try to stimulate conversation by posing specific questions about the objects, such as: *‘Why is this statue, the Stone Man, here? At this spot, because here, there was a mass grave. Gee, what is that, a mass grave?’*¹⁰⁰ Those are specific questions on the story of Kamp Amersfoort and are employed to encourage active participation from the children.

The tour also explores themes like peer pressure, liberty, identity, lawlessness, safety, and equality, connecting them to both the narrative of Kamp Amersfoort and the visitors’ personal experiences. For example, discussions on identity include questions such as: what is your identity, who are you, what do you want to show others, where do you belong, what do you do, one interviewee explained that these questions are asked because of the motivation *‘to indicate them from the example when prisoners come here, everything is taken away. They are shaved and given a number. That means that within the camp they will never be called by their name no more by guards, because they don’t even know it. Just numbers. Then you completely destroy people’s identities. So, you are nothing anymore, you are a louse to be crushed to death at the moment they think it is fun or necessary.’*¹⁰¹ These words are harsh and offer a distinctive perspective on the time spent at the camp. However, they illustrate how a visitor’s personal journey intersects with the prisoners’ experiences, a concept Violi identifies as “identification.” This term implies that visitors recognize connections and similarities with historical actors without fully merging their identities, maintaining an awareness that the past differs from the present.¹⁰² This intersection highlights the interviewees’ aim: to intertwine personal narratives with those of the prisoners, fostering empathy, understanding, and affective connections.

Another broader theme is the moral dilemmas faced by many prisoners. These dilemmas are explored both in the virtual reality experience and during personal tours. According to one interviewee, the reason for this inclusion of dilemmas is because *‘it makes you actually feel how to make a choice where it is not really clear if it is now right or wrong. Do you understand? I*

⁹⁹ Interview with training coordinator, April 11, 2024.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with volunteer tour guide, April 16, 2024.

¹⁰¹ Interview with training coordinator, April 11, 2024.

¹⁰² Maria Patrizia Violi, “Spectacularising Trauma: The Experientialist Visitor of Memory Museums,” 2014, <https://cris.unibo.it/handle/11585/520836>, 65.

*think that it helps when you have experienced that once.*¹⁰³ They discussed that showcasing examples from the camp era helps formulate decisions or opinions on contemporary issues. This nuance is crucial to the interactive story, as explained by various interviewees. They stressed that nothing is black or white; most people are grey. This approach avoids political messages and highlights the nuanced complexity of personal stories, balancing education with the site's darker nature. As Kowalska-Nadolna notes, dark tourist spots must balance learning through engagement with the inherent somberness of official monuments.¹⁰⁴

Additionally, the selection of broader themes aims to prevent tour guides and stories from being perceived as having political or religious connotations, which is something they strive to avoid. That is why there is a focus on broader themes, because with specific conflicts, *'it would be way too complex to do that during a tour.'*¹⁰⁵ Another reason is the connection it establishes, rendering the story more accessible for visitors, because they deal with some of these themes at least once in their lives.

Most interactive decisions are formulated to resonate personally with visitors, reflecting how some experience dark tourism spaces. Affective encounters with the past are significant, creating personal connections as noted by Driessen.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, all choices regarding specific outlets, the adaptability of the tour, and interactive elements are intertwined to evoke a distinct sensation or experience regarding the story.

3.3 Materials

All of the interviewees have mentioned materials and spaces one way or another. The reason for this is stated by an interview respondent that discussed the importance on the combination of the tour, audiovisuals, and objects: *'I think you need everything. They will complement each other.'*¹⁰⁷ That's why the following section will talk about the discussion of materials within the context of objects found on the site.

Materials and space are utilized in the tours as one of them explicated: *'The story of the camp is told in the context of the places on the outside area.'*¹⁰⁸ This person specifically states that individuals can wander around for three hours on the outside area and *'and there you just see*

¹⁰³ Interview with educative employee, May 3, 2024.

¹⁰⁴ Kowalska-Nadolna, "Is Experiencing History Possible?" 133-134.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with educative employee, May 3, 2024.

¹⁰⁶ Driessen, "Touching War," 156.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with educative employee.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with researcher, April 11, 2024.

the places where a piece of the history of the place happened and took place.'¹⁰⁹ As one other interviewee also says: *'Because there you can show what happened during all the misery.'*¹¹⁰ For them, the objects and materials can embody and display the tragic events that have happened during the utilization of Kamp Amersfoort in the Second World War, reflecting an argument of Driessen. She states that physical sites can serve as conductors that can encourage an affective relation.¹¹¹

3.3.1 Space and the Objects situated at the Space

Numerous interviewees have elaborated on various examples of materials used during storytelling to, specifically during the tours, indicating a focus on material relationism. Material relationism appears here, because the material is not seen as a separate object, but as a conduit of a relation between the place and its historical narrative.¹¹² These materials include the national monument building, the Rose Garden, the roll call place, the watchtower, the Stone Man, the shooting range, the trenches, sitting stones, the morgue, and the landfill site. One interviewee detailed their tour approach, beginning with an introduction before embarking on a walk. At each designated spot featuring a specific object, they will tell a story. For example, the interviewee respondent described their tour route: *'Then I go down the stairs here, tell my story at the Stone Man, the statue. Yes, then I walk down the shooting range, tell the story about the people who were shot there, the resistance people, but also about the 49 members.'*¹¹³ Similarly, another interviewee outlined the full tour itinerary, with a primary focus on key locations such as the Rose Garden, the roll call place, the watchtower, and the small monument: *'where we then eventually talk about freedom and Article 1 of the constitution, citizenship, because that also plays an enormous role in this of course.'*¹¹⁴ Furthermore, interviewees highlighted the significance of engaging with visitors, particularly children, at the Schuilplaatsverlenersmonument.¹¹⁵ Here, discussions about the story of Anne Frank ensue, with guides encouraging their audience to share their knowledge and interpretations of the story.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with researcher.

¹¹⁰ Interview with training coordinator, April 11, 2024.

¹¹¹ Driessen, "Touching War," 156.

¹¹² Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 8.

¹¹³ Interview with volunteer tour guide, April 11, 2024.

¹¹⁴ Interview with training coordinator.

¹¹⁵ Translation: 'Shelter provider monument.'

Interviewees explained the need to prioritize important sites due to time constraints, as most tours last about an hour and a half. Because of this, guides often skip Monument Sneevliet, despite its interesting story, since it is off the main path and deep in the woods. However, when asked where would one put the priorities, one interviewee argued for the shooting range, because: *‘that obviously concerns many more people, who were shot there as innocents. And then there is also a whole story of the shooting range, that story of what happened to the Jews. You can tell a whole story about that. And that is tangible.’*¹¹⁶ Most interviewees explained that they visit specific objects because of the sheer number of victims associated with them, their compelling narratives, and the motivation provided by surviving ex-prisoners. The tangibility of these objects displays their role in fostering an affective relation.

An interesting point is made regarding the national monument building. Two interviewees explained they stress the significance of its shape. However, they offered different interpretations. One of them intertwines the building with the landscape: *‘It actually shows that the memory of Kamp Amersfoort has sunk into the landscape. And if you are attentive to this and look back at it from the head of the shooting range, it is clearly visible.’*¹¹⁷ This quote demonstrates how the interviewee utilizes the space itself to tie together the story and remembrance. The other interviewee relates the shape of the roof to the historical time line: *‘Than you see at the tower, you see the roof sloping downwards. After the war, forget everything as fast as possible. We had to work hard, rebuild the Netherlands. Look forward and not backward (...) And then you see that history declining. Then at the end of the 1990s, Vught, Westerbork and Amersfoort became national monuments. And you see interest increase again. And the roof moves upwards too. So, you see that in that history.’*¹¹⁸ According to these interviewees, the building serves as an additional layer to the narrative of Kamp Amersfoort, either in its roots in the landscape or its representation of the historical timeline the national monument has traversed.

Objects are not just used to recount stories but also to recreate experiences, utilizing performances as an effective engagement that has the power to produce certain effects.¹¹⁹ At Kamp Amersfoort, the roll-call is showcased in two locations: upstairs in the courtyard and

¹¹⁶ Interview with volunteer tour guide, April 11, 2024.

¹¹⁷ Interview with volunteer tour guide.

¹¹⁸ Interview with training coordinator, April 11, 2024.

¹¹⁹ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 8.

downstairs. One interviewee mentioned using the downstairs location for a specific ambiance, where they reenact the historical roll-call.¹²⁰ This approach is not unique; others also utilize the footsteps displayed at the roll-call place for similar reenactments.

3.3.2 Authenticity of Objects

In addition, there is a stress on authenticity of the objects. One person illustrated the emphasis on authenticity, because they state that visitors will not come to a museum for a copy of the object: *'look, you are going to the Louvre because you want to see the Mona Lisa, but a photo print of the Mona Lisa is of no use to you, and then you think: 'well, what the fuck, did I pay my money for this?' And of course, that is what it is. It brings it. It is just museum rule number one. The object tells the story.'*¹²¹ Another interviewee elaborated on the importance of discussing the original components of the camp, highlighting their significance in the narrative. They emphasized the scale of the camp's original size, noting that only one-tenth of it remains today and illustrating to the visitors the magnitude of the former camp.¹²² A different respondent also related the originality of objects to a better realization of the reality of the story. For example, *'the bell that is hanging over there, that is the bell where people really... There are people that wince when they hear the church bell, because it reminds them of the roll-call bell. That is because of that bell. I think that just does something to people and that it is therefore very valuable to preserve the place and its objects.'*¹²³ This person demonstrated the importance of authenticity when discussing the proposed construction of a new building at Kamp Amersfoort. While there was a suggestion to build a barrack, it was acknowledged that replicating it precisely in the courtyard space would not be feasible because of the lack of space. The interviewee emphasized that maintaining authenticity was crucial, arguing that duplicating the barrack exactly would not contribute significantly to the site's value. *'I think it is good to not make an exact replica when you also have original objects, like the bell and the watchtower, because that actually makes you question them.'*¹²⁴ Of course, there is one notable object that is used for stories at the tour, but is an exact replica: the Rose Garden. Regarding this specific place, the interviewee explicated that the motivation of building that was mostly expressed by ex-prisoners.

¹²⁰ Interview with volunteer tour guide, April 11, 2024.

¹²¹ Interview with researcher, April 11, 2024.

¹²² Interview with volunteer tour guide, April 16, 2024.

¹²³ Interview with educative employee, May 3, 2024.

¹²⁴ Interview with educative employee.

For them, it is such an inherent part of their story and their memory that they explicitly argued for the placement of this object.

Overall, materials are intensely used during the tours, but due to time constraints, not all objects on the terrain can be visited. So, choices have to be made. The motivations behind the chosen objects typically revolve around their association with the number of victims, compelling stories, and significance for ex-prisoners. During the tours, materials are employed to narrate the story of Kamp Amersfoort and to reenact certain events from its history. The agency of materials is clearly identified by the interviewees, all utilizing them to connect the space to the historic past of the space.

Authenticity is highly prized by the interviewees, who distinguish between original objects and replicas to heighten the visitor experience's realism. While certain replicas, such as a barrack, are not recreated in exact detail, the Rose Garden has been faithfully reconstructed. This decision was driven by ex-prisoners who stressed its importance.

3.4 Sensation and Experience

According to the interviewees, creating a sensation and experience is crucial for effectively conveying the story. They emphasize that people connect more deeply with stories when they are experienced rather than read as large chunks of text. Engaging the senses and addressing the audience directly enhances this connection, making them feel involved in the narrative. It is about experiencing the story firsthand, not just observing or hearing about it. The ambiance plays a significant role too; one interviewee pointed out the deliberate creation of an oppressive atmosphere in the museum setting.¹²⁵ This strategic approach underscores how ambiance shapes visitors' experiences by evoking an affective relation¹²⁶ and providing a tangible sense of historical context. Ultimately, the goal is to impact the audience deeply, leaving a lasting impression even after they have left the physical space.

Furthermore, visiting the physical space adds a palpable experiential dimension to the story. It bridges the gap between the narrative and the audience, as previously discussed by Driessen. In her dissertation, she argues that physical sites act as conduits for fostering an affective connection.¹²⁷ One interviewee actively asks about the feelings that come to the

¹²⁵ Interview with volunteer tour guide, April 11, 2024.

¹²⁶ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 9.

¹²⁷ Driessen, "Touching War," 156.

surface: *‘and what I do more and more with school groups, and I notice that more colleagues do the same, especially when the atmosphere is good, that I conclude at one of the places, most of the time that is at the Stone Man or the Reflection Room, and then I ask – I will quietly stand next to a father – “let’s all be quiet for a moment out of respect for the people that have been there, what they have experienced.” (...)* But then I ask you to think about two things for a minute. *When I ask you later, give me one or two words that tell something about your feelings, what you now feel here. And the second thing you ask yourself to think about in that minute of silence is when you sit down for dinner tonight, with your father or your mother, or with your grandparents, or whoever. What story you heard today would you like to tell first?’*¹²⁸ These two things are specifically asked to think about sensation and what people’s triggers are. *‘You are coming close, you are stepping towards how is this for you?’*¹²⁹ The interviewees aim to establish a personal connection with their audience and the space. They discuss sensation and experience as crucial means to achieve this connection, employing methods like asking visitors about their emotional responses. By actively engaging visitors in the emotional journey of the narrative, the interviewees claim to cultivate deeper empathy and understanding, underscoring their focus on intensifying the affective relation. One interviewee stated: *‘I think, as soon as you can connect, as soon as you can see (...) How can we understand each other? How can we together, next to each other, with each other, you do not need to be friends, but you can interact somewhat normally with each other.’*¹³⁰ Without establishing this personal connection, individuals may distance themselves from the story, resulting in a lack of motivation to learn and understand.

One interviewee explains that research has been conducted on the most effective ways for adults and children to learn, focusing particularly on the role of affective engagement: *‘that if something affects you – it makes you laugh really hard or because it makes you sad or something like that – it increases the possibility of learning something about that. So, when you know how to affect people by the story, they will become open to learn about the context of the story.’*¹³¹ Affect and sensation are very much interrelated regarding the respondents.

¹²⁸ Interview with volunteer tour guide, April 16, 2024.

¹²⁹ Interview with volunteer tour guide.

¹³⁰ Interview with educative employee, May 3, 2024.

¹³¹ Interview with educative employee.

Identification, closely linked with immersive experiences, is emphasized as crucial in establishing a connection between visitors and the victims' stories.¹³² As respondents also highlight the pivotal role of authentic materials in this process. Additionally, the museum's presentation of various groups fosters a sense of identification among visitors.¹³³ Incorporating personal anecdotes into the narrative is seen as particularly effective for enhancing identification, which is also identified by Mannheimer as one of the key factors of effective mediation of the narrative.¹³⁴

In interactive tours, presenting significant questions prompts visitors to connect with the themes that were integral to the prisoners' experiences at the camp. This process expands visitors' emotional engagement and understanding of the historical narrative.

To conclude, sensation, experience and identification are utilized through questions. Each of these different feelings that can appear are there to create a certain connection with the narrative of Kamp Amersfoort. When an affective relation is established according to the interviewees, a sense of understanding can be more easily fostered.

3.5 Motivations

The motivation behind the storytelling methods at Kamp Amersfoort includes honoring the victims and preserving the memory of ex-prisoners and surviving relatives. This goal emphasizes that the camp's history of systematic starvation, abuse, forced labor, and execution was not its original purpose. Interviewees highlight that their main aim in sharing this story is to showcase the profound impact the camp's history has had on individuals. This motivation combines elements of education, remembrance, and dark tourism, reflecting the effort to recall and confront the 'darker' aspects of official monuments, as noted by Kowalska-Nadolna.¹³⁵

Additionally, personal motivations also come into play. Some individuals believe that the significance of Kamp Amersfoort is often overshadowed in the broader historical narrative of the Second World War, and they advocate for greater recognition of its story. Others are driven by personal connections, whether through knowing a victim at Kamp Amersfoort or having friendships with ex-prisoners. These personal ties serve as powerful motivators to ensure that the story of Kamp Amersfoort is acknowledged and preserved. For them, *'It is really about*

¹³² Violi, "Spectacularising Trauma," 65.

¹³³ Interview with researcher, April 11, 2024.

¹³⁴ Mannheimer, "Re-Imagining Northern Ireland," 87.

¹³⁵ Kowalska-Nadolna, "Is Experiencing History Possible?" 133-134.

people.’¹³⁶ Other motivations include preserving memory, maintaining a connection to the place, highlighting issues of inclusion and exclusion, and a general concern about the fading relevance of history itself.

Nevertheless, the overarching motivation remains to educate people about the atrocities of Kamp Amersfoort, ensuring that such events are never repeated. As one of the interviewees states the story *‘is not a fairytale. And it is not the Efteling of fun here. We really have a horrible story in that regard. But it did happen. And what do we learn then? That is what it is about.’*¹³⁷ Another one of the interviewees states this motivation concerning visitors: *‘You really want to tell him: “Look, this is what war does to people.” And even more so, our message is of course very clear: we simply never want that again.’*¹³⁸ An interviewee similarly discusses this motivation, focusing on the diverse groups imprisoned at the camp and their individual reasons for incarceration. Regarding the whole story: *‘Because when the arbitrariness is so high, the lack of freedom is so high, then people just do strange things, also to survive. And I think if we realize that risk, and I am not saying I know what people should choose if we ever find ourselves in that situation again. (...) But I think that if we start by listening to each other in the Netherlands, continuing to see each other as people instead of throwing stones at each other. If we do our best to understand each other, there is the least chance that we will end up in these kinds of excesses again.’*¹³⁹ The primary motivation for the interviewees at Kamp Amersfoort is to use storytelling and sensory experiences to prevent future atrocities. They believe that by sharing the camp's story and evoking emotional responses, they can inspire a commitment in people to prevent such injustices from recurring.

3.6 Conclusion on the Reflection and Bolstering of an Affective Relation

Tour guides at Kamp Amersfoort emphasize the importance of the place and its story, focusing on the best methods to convey it and using resonating elements to motivate their storytelling. They aim for a broader audience and immersive experiences, creating memorable affective encounters.

There are objective guidelines that focus on factual story-telling and preserving historical accuracy. Nevertheless, the tours are adaptable, which is crucial because historical narratives

¹³⁶ Interview with volunteer tour guide, April 11, 2024.

¹³⁷ Interview with training coordinator, April 11, 2024.

¹³⁸ Interview with researcher, April 11, 2024.

¹³⁹ Interview with educative employee, May 3, 2024.

must accustom to different audiences as the spot deals with ideological memory. Additionally, these spots can mediate mortality, promoting a co-creation of meaning between visitor and the tour guide. Questions can be asked by the tour guides regarding the specific aspects of the story or overarching themes can be addressed by them.

Furthermore, with the help of material relationism like the narrative behind and the actual embodiment of the trauma, interviewees utilize these objects in their story to evoke emotion while adapting to the audience that is standing in front of them. The site and the materials are utilized as conductors to create connection to the past between space and narrative and thus an affective resonance. The combination of all these factors emphasizes the aim recognized by the interviewees: to interrelate personal experiences with those of the prisoners, sense the experiences, create an affective relation, and thus formulate empathy and understanding. With the help of the formulation of the affective relation, various motivations are aimed to achieve such as the combination of remembrance, education, and the crossroads with 'dark' nature of official monument and the broader motivation of the story-telling: this tragedy should never happen again.

Chapter 4: Kamp Westerbork and their Materials and Tools

4.1 Introduction to Kamp Westerbork

The second camp I visited was Kamp Westerbork, which served as a transit camp primarily for Jews during World War II. Initially a refugee camp for German Jews fleeing Nazi Germany, it was taken over by the Germans in 1942 to imprison Dutch Jews, Sinti, Roma, and a few Dutch resistance fighters, who were then transported to concentration camps like Auschwitz. Liberated in 1945, it later housed NSB members, Dutch Army personnel, Indo-Dutch people, and Moluccans, during which time it was called Schattenberg. In the 1970s, the camp was completely demolished, but a remembrance center was established in the 1980s, and a museum opened in 1999.¹⁴⁰

4.2 The Creation of an Affective Experience through Objects and Materials

In this chapter, I discuss the materials and events used in the narrative of Kamp Westerbork, grounded in non-representational theory, particularly material relationism, events, and surroundings. The research focuses on events such as site tours, relationships, activities, affective resonance, and story backgrounds. Notably, Kamp Westerbork, like Kamp Amersfoort, has been completely demolished, leaving no authentic remnants from its time as a World War II camp or later housing for Moluccans, except for one building, which will be discussed. This absence of material remnants underscores the importance of preserving the memory of this solemn chapter in history. It's crucial to clarify that references to Kamp Westerbork pertain to the World War II transit camp, not the refugee camp or Schattenberg.

Sleepers and The Signs of Westerbork

The remembrance center of Kamp Westerbork consists of a single building that houses the museum, while the actual camp site is a short distance away. I borrowed a bike from an employee who directed me to follow an asphalt road marked by poles. However, I mistakenly took a detour onto the Milky Way path, which runs through the woods near the center. The serene, cosmic theme of the Milky Way contrasted uneasily with the site's somber history.

When I eventually found the correct road with the poles, they reminded me of train tracks. This association could also have been construed by the words of the employee who had

¹⁴⁰ "De Geschiedenis - Kamp Westerbork," accessed June 9, 2024, <https://kampwesterbork.nl/collectie?id=8>.

told me that those were sleepers and displayed the transports that left Kamp Westerbork.¹⁴¹ Following the road, one is surrounded by woods and sees the sleepers, each marked with the number of people on the transports. The emotional weight of the site intensified when I encountered tomb-like monuments inscribed with names and numbers, lining the road to Kamp Westerbork.¹⁴² Called “De Tekens in Westerbork,”¹⁴³ these monuments honor the deceased like grave markers.

These elements, such as the railway sleepers and the tombs, are deliberately placed to connect visitors to the history of the site. The sleepers evoke the train tracks that once carried prisoners from Kamp Westerbork, while the tombs memorialize the victims, creating a sense of connection to the past.¹⁴⁴

The House of the Camp Commander

Arriving at the site, the immensity of the space and the presence of an old house within a greenhouse are striking. The house, old and battered, is the only visible building and is situated outside the camp's original confines. An information sign explains that this wooden building was constructed during the refugee camp era. In late 1942, SS camp commander Albert Konrad Gemmecker moved into the house. From 1950 until 2007, it was privately occupied.

While the authenticity of the main house is emphasized, additional structures, such as the orangery and the greenhouse, were added later. The orangery was built after the war, and the greenhouse was constructed to protect the villa, a national monument. Although the house itself is not accessible to the public, the surrounding greenhouse is. The size of both the house and the greenhouse makes the structure very imposing. The house holds particular significance as the only remaining building from the camp and as the residence of a key figure in Kamp Westerbork's tragic history,¹⁴⁵ evoking a sense of unease and weariness.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 4.

¹⁴² Vannini, 9.

¹⁴³ Translation: “The Signs in Westerbork.”

¹⁴⁴ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 4-5.

¹⁴⁵ Vannini, 4-5.

¹⁴⁶ Vannini, 9.



Figure 3. The Commander's House and The Westerbork Movie

The Westerbork Movie

As partially shown in Figure 3, several screens have been placed around the grounds. Those displays near the camp commander's house provide information about a movie filmed during the Second World War, specifically when Kamp Westerbork was under SS control. Seven large frames displaying moving images from the movie are scattered throughout the park, intended to contextualize the scenes within the actual space.¹⁴⁷ These images are not explained at their locations but at the beginning of the tour, implying that the visuals alone should convey the story, which visitors can read about before or after their visit. The screens' agency as a material visualizes the relation of the past when the Westerbork was shot and the current state of the place, attempting to bridge the time that has elapsed since the events depicted in the film occurred.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Vannini, 4-5.

¹⁴⁸ Vannini, 8.

The Sound Columns, Picture Screens, and the Elevated Patches of Grass

The camp site features distinctive elements such as sound columns, picture screens, and raised patches of grass. These elevated grass patches, though lacking explanatory signs, seemingly mark the former positions of buildings.¹⁴⁹ Their rectangular shapes and the way pathways curve around them suggest this purpose, a notion affirmed by a tour guide who pointed out the kitchen's former location identified by one such patch.¹⁵⁰

The large picture screens throughout the camp display black-and-white images of people,¹⁵¹ deportations, and buildings, often accompanied by adjacent sound columns. These screens serve as focal points for narrating Kamp Westerbork's history.¹⁵² For instance, one image near the original hospital site depicts an elderly woman in a hospital bed. According to tour guides, she celebrated a significant birthday at the camp before being deported to a concentration camp shortly after receiving flowers from the camp commander.¹⁵³ This example illustrates how personal stories are intertwined with specific locations, reinforced by deliberate picture placement aimed at visualizing these narratives.¹⁵⁴

Additionally, the sound columns, rusty and round with small holes emitting a feminine voice, narrate firsthand experiences from Kamp Westerbork. These columns function similarly to tour guides, connecting personal histories with the physical space of the camp. Together, the screens and sound columns deepen the link between individual narratives and the camp's geographical layout.¹⁵⁵

The Wagons and the Spoken Monument

On the site, two wagons sit atop short train tracks, emitting a voice. A tour guide explains that this audio feature, known as "het Gesproken Monument,"¹⁵⁶ lists the names and ages of deported individuals. While it's uncertain if these wagons were used at Kamp Westerbork, they date from the same era. The guide acknowledges that while the wagons' authenticity may be debated, they serve as representative examples of those used during that period.

¹⁴⁹ Vannini, 9.

¹⁵⁰ Vannini, 8.

¹⁵¹ Lennon, "Dark Tourism Sites," 230.

¹⁵² Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 4-5.

¹⁵³ Vannini, 8.

¹⁵⁴ Vannini, 8.

¹⁵⁵ Vannini, 4-5.

¹⁵⁶ Translation: "The Spoken Monument."

The Spoken Monument goes beyond the voice and wagons. Positioned between the two wagons, a small screen shows details such as the date, departure point, destination, and the number of people deported. Coupled with the voice listing their full names and ages, this setup creates a profound connection between the individuals transported and those listening.¹⁵⁷ It enhances the memorial's impact and fosters an affective relation with the visitors.¹⁵⁸

Two information signs flank either end of the wagons. One sign details the Spoken Monument, highlighting the deportations of 107,000 Jews and 245 Sinti and Roma from Kamp Westerbork, and elucidates the monument's purpose. This sign effectively links the monument, the wagons, the deportations, and the individuals transported, enriching the historical context of Kamp Westerbork.¹⁵⁹ The other sign explains that both passenger and freight wagons were used by the Nazis, and while the displayed wagons resemble those used, their exact historical use is uncertain. It underscores the authenticity of the chassis and iron construction, which are original and pre-war, while noting that the wood and lettering were added later, reflecting the historical period of 1942-1943. This emphasis on authenticity strengthens the connection to Kamp Westerbork's past, offering visitors a visual and historical insight through these wagons.¹⁶⁰

The 102,000 Stones

After the wagons, one can walk further into the camp and will encounter the monument called '102,000 stones.' Here, a tour guide highlights the staggering number of people who perished and never returned from deportations – 102,000 individuals.¹⁶¹ The monument itself serves as a visual representation of this immense figure, aiming to convey the scale of loss.¹⁶²

The information sign in front of the monument begins by framing Kamp Westerbork as the story of the murder of 102,000 individuals – mothers, grandfathers, aunts, brothers, daughters, cousins, friends, neighbors, classmates – each representing social connections that resonate with people's personal lives. This choice of wording underscores the narrative's connection to personal relationships.¹⁶³ It goes on to explain that the stones at the monument, situated at the former roll-call place, symbolize those who were murdered. Positioned against a

¹⁵⁷ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 4-5.

¹⁵⁸ Vannini, 9.

¹⁵⁹ Vannini, 8.

¹⁶⁰ Vannini, 4-5.

¹⁶¹ Vannini, 4.

¹⁶² Vannini, 8.

¹⁶³ Vannini, 8.

dark outline of the Netherlands map, each stone bears a distinct emblem. These emblems denote different groups and reasons for deportation and murder: most prominently, the star signifies Jews, while a flame represents Sinti and Roma, and no emblem denotes resistance fighters.

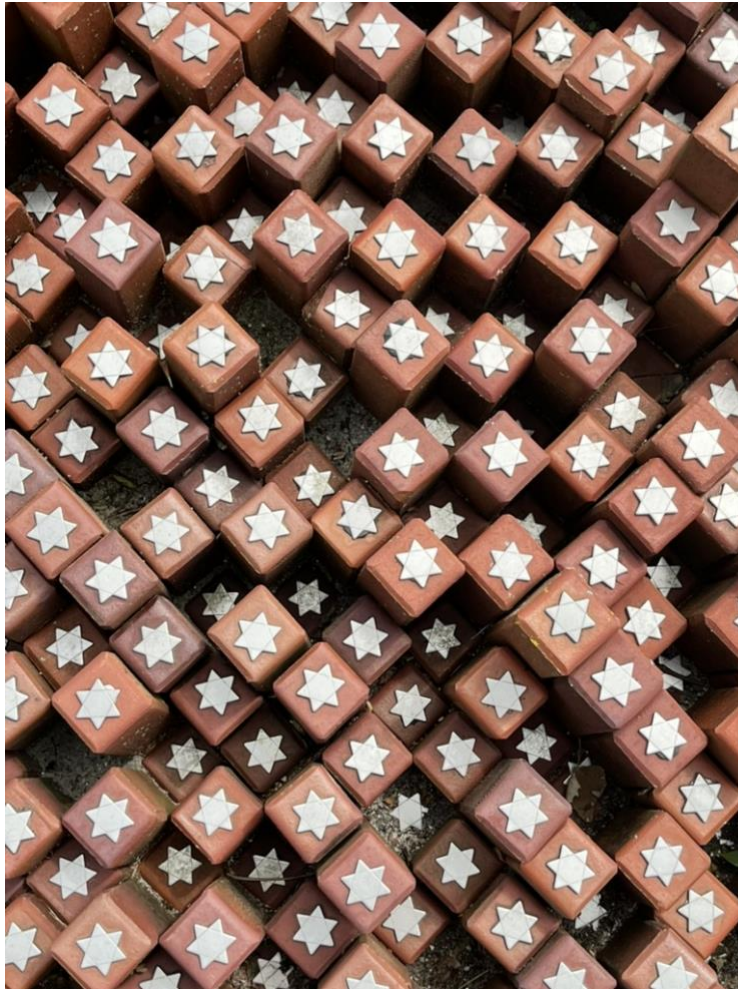


Figure 4. Close-Up of the Monument 102,000 Stones

There are not only stones placed on the monument, but between the stones, pictures have been positioned. Each showing a portrait of a person. Therefore, not only the number of people that have been deported and murdered are showcased by this monument, the monument also tries to tie the stones to faces of people.¹⁶⁴ This monument vividly visualizes both the scale of the tragedy and the individual lives lost. Placed on the Dutch map, it symbolizes the diverse origins of the victims from all across the country.¹⁶⁵ Complemented by informational signs, emblems,

¹⁶⁴ Lennon, "Dark Tourism Sites," 230.

¹⁶⁵ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 8.

photographs, and historical context of the space, it effectively portrays the journey and fate of those who were transported and murdered.¹⁶⁶

The Barrack 56

Near the monument, a pathway leads to the frame of a barrack, with a picture screen positioned in front displaying images of five different barracks. According to both the information sign and a tour guide, this structure is an original barrack from Kamp Westerbork. However, the sign indicates that the barrack was sold in 1965 and repurposed as an agricultural shed. While a portion has since been returned to Kamp Westerbork, most of it has been reconstructed. The sign originally mentioned pictures in glass, but the current barrack has windows with glass, though no images are visible on them.

This object on the site stands out for displaying an actual building amidst otherwise empty camp grounds.¹⁶⁷ While raised patches of grass outline the contours and placements of other barracks, this particular barrack remains physically standing. Adjacent to it are skeletal remains, one of which features a picture affixed to its pillar—a drawing depicting the interior of a barrack filled with beds and clothes, devoid of people.¹⁶⁸ These remnants and the drawing serve to visualize how the barracks once stood on the site, now deconstructed and absent. This blending of past and present highlights the site's historical crossroads.¹⁶⁹ The drawing uniquely offers a glimpse into the past by depicting the interior of a barrack that no longer exists in physical form.¹⁷⁰

4.3 Conclusion on the Evocation of an Affective Experience

When exploring the affective resonance of the site, relational materialism plays a crucial role in forging connections between the present and its poignant past. For instance, the villa of the camp commander is the only actual remainder, and displays to the tragic history of the SS that had the authority at the camp. However, with the minimal number of materials, the chosen ones are deliberate. Regarding most of the objects and places constructed at the site, the story is pertinent. This emphasis is especially visible in the Westerbork Movie, but even more so in the sound columns. These two elements function as a representation of the story and tell it in an

¹⁶⁶ Vannini, 9.

¹⁶⁷ Vannini, 4-5.

¹⁶⁸ Lennon, "Dark Tourism Sites," 230.

¹⁶⁹ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 8.

¹⁷⁰ Lennon, "Dark Tourism Sites," 230.

actual fashion. There is also an importance stressed on the train deportations with the number of choices regarding train tracks, such as the sleepers and the wagons.

When observing surroundings, the elevated patches of grass create the environment of the past buildings, bringing the deconstructed version just like the skeletal remains of the barracks behind the actual barrack. Also, regarding the surrounding of the 102,000 stones monument, the information sings, the emblems, the pictures, the past of the place, and the map portray the journey and fate of the victims when they got transported.

Central to this resonance are deliberate choices like the Spoken Monument, listing full names and ages to humanize the victims and facilitate visitor identification. As Violi states, identification can help visitors become aware of the connections and similarities between past actors and themselves.¹⁷¹ Also, there is various usage of visualizations, for example with the pictures in the 102,000 stones and the drawing which can recreate the past reality as semi-authentic/authentic element.¹⁷²

In conclusion, these carefully curated materials and their contextual surroundings create a profound connection between past events, present contemplation, and the physical space itself. They invite visitors to emotionally engage with the historical narrative, fostering deeper understanding and empathy towards the site's historical significance.

¹⁷¹ Maria Patrizia Violi, "Spectacularising Trauma: The Experientialist Visitor of Memory Museums," 2014, <https://cris.unibo.it/handle/11585/520836>, 65.

¹⁷² Lennon, "Dark Tourism Sites," 230.

Chapter 5: Kamp Westerbork and their Stakeholders and Tours

In this chapter, as in chapter 3, this thesis examines interviews with heritage producers at the camps. These interviews explore how stakeholders influence the site's narrative with affective resonance and evoke emotional responses. All quotes are translated from Dutch. Interviewees at Kamp Westerbork did not explicitly use dark tourism in their narrative but acknowledged the active visitation of tourists, indicating their awareness of visitors as tourist-consumers.

5.1 Sampling of the Interviewees

The interviews with employees at Kamp Westerbork were arranged through a contact from my internship at the Institute of Sound and Vision. She connected me with a contact in the research department, who then introduced me to others interested in participating. I conducted several interviews during a visit, speaking with three employees from the education and collection departments, and later conducted another interview online. In total, I interviewed five individuals, all integral to the storytelling process at Kamp Westerbork, engaging in research, managing collections, developing educational programs, and guiding tours. Their characteristics are displayed in Appendix I.

5.2 Different Means to Tell the Story

Similar to the interviewees at Kamp Amersfoort, the interviewees indicated that Kamp Westerbork's narrative is conveyed through various media, including tours, museum exhibitions, guest lectures with survivors, graphic novels, research books, audio tours, immersive experiences, and newsletters. Additionally, a project initiated by the province of Drenthe involves primary school students working with the Westerbork movie and taking their own photographs.¹⁷³ One interviewee highlights the importance of diverse storytelling methods at Kamp Westerbork, noting the varied range of visitors. They explain that these methods should evolve, as each visitor connects differently – some may resonate with museum visits or tours, while others might find a personal connection through eyewitness accounts: *‘So, it can be very diverse. And in this way, we try to fill up our annual program every year by looking at: “okay, can we utilize different outlets?”’*¹⁷⁴ Here, the motivation aligns with Kowalska-Nadolna's

¹⁷³ Interview with educational employee, May 29, 2024.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

observation: there is an urge to adopt popular and attractive approaches to tell the story.¹⁷⁵ One interviewee also describes the use of publications, noting that they are often more helpful than exhibitions for engaging audiences and are also valuable for internal use. For example: *‘I mention that because all those publications that we have, that is, let’s say, to show the audience story, in a simple way, the story, that they can read the story, but because in every publication we express something incorporating the collections or from interviews.’*¹⁷⁶ The combination of various media is the method used to convey the narrative of Kamp Westerbork to visitors. With the aid of publications, new stories can be introduced in exhibitions and tours, allowing a broader audience to connect, create an affective relation, so people can resonate with the story.

There is a preference for tours with a tour guide compared to audio tours. According to one interviewee, most visitors choose guided tours because *‘in one way it is easier to listen to it than to actually have something on your ears in which the story is told.’*¹⁷⁷ Additionally, guided tours offer the benefit of allowing visitors to ask questions and hear personal stories while the audio tour primarily focuses on the locations of buildings and brief experiences.

These methods are designed to reach as many people as possible and are tested with audiences for effectiveness. Visitors are asked for their feedback, which includes questions such as: *‘How do you view Kamp Westerbork? Can we put barracks back? Should we replace barracks? Should we open the wagon that is there? Should we do reenactment? Holograms?’*¹⁷⁸ The focus extends beyond visitors to include survivors and their relatives, who play a significant role in determining the use of different outlets, as their memories are crucial in telling the story. One interviewee states: *‘How we work here together, based on, well, experience and knowledge, but also many conversations with memory communities, at the training center. Making an exhibition about Sinti and Roma means two-thirds having conversations with Sinti and Roma and one-third making an exhibition.’*¹⁷⁹ Memory communities play a crucial role in decision-making at Kamp Westerbork. Many are integral to the camp’s ownership and operation, underscoring the remembrance center’s mission and vision of remembrance, education, and reflection as stated on their website.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ Kowalska-Nadolna, “Is Experiencing History Possible?” 133-134.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with curator, May 27, 2024.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with educational employee, May 27, 2024.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with researcher.

¹⁸⁰ “Missie En Visie - Kamp Westerbork.”

5.2.1 Adaptability

Regarding the tours, a basic script is provided to guides at Kamp Westerbork, similar to Kamp Amersfoort. Guides are encouraged to personalize and adapt the story rather than repeat it verbatim. One interviewee motivates this by saying: *‘because it eventually is how you bring the message, which is maybe equally as important as what the message is. And if you do it the way someone else does that does not fit you, it will also not resonate with the listener.’*¹⁸¹ Tour guides at Kamp Westerbork, often with educational backgrounds, craft flexible narratives tailored to their audiences. Tours are available for educational groups or scheduled visits on weekdays, and for all visitors on weekends. This adaptability is crucial, as dark tourism sites mediate mortality and co-create narratives with visitors,¹⁸² while addressing ideological memory and adapting to different generations.¹⁸³

One interviewee talks about the different visitors and notes that often they are just tourists exploring the vicinity of the camp who decide it is important to stop by Westerbork. They state that: *‘Our tendency as historians is that we want to make the camp visible in all the details and let people fully understand how it worked. But you have to take the entry level of the average visitor into account. So, what is really important? Make choices. How do you tell the story of Westerbork in a way that is not too complex? And sometimes you have to simplify a bit to keep it understandable.’*¹⁸⁴ The interviewee also mentions that when there are particular interests, such as a focus on the history of the Moluccan residents, the tour guide can adapt the narrative accordingly. Given the variety of educational groups, the story is tailored to the audience, whether they are primary school students or college students. For younger students, the story often includes more factual short stories about personal experiences, while for older students, the narrative is adjusted to provide a deeper and more complex understanding; *‘You’ve heard it from primary school students: spectacular escape story. But at secondary schools you also try to explain the consequences. How easy it was to escape and what happened when you did it? Where were you supposed to go then? Were you able to go to a hiding place? Where was your own house? You didn’t have that anymore.’*¹⁸⁵ In addition, it is not just the content of the narrative that

¹⁸¹ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

¹⁸² Hartmann et al., “The History of Dark Tourism,” 292.

¹⁸³ Kowalska-Nadolna, “Is Experiencing History Possible?” 133-134.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with interdepartmental employee, May 27, 2024.

¹⁸⁵ Interview with interdepartmental employee.

is adaptable. Another interviewee discusses how the size of the groups can influence the use of dialogue or monologue during tours. This changing approach is based on the tour guide's insight and experience. Smaller groups might allow for more interactive dialogue, while larger groups may necessitate a more structured monologue to effectively communicate the story: *'Okay, today more monologue, less dialogue. And the next time more dialogue, if you are with ten men. And then it's a bit more intimate.'*¹⁸⁶ Other interviewees agree with this statement, as do some tour guides, noting that it is often necessary to gauge what resonates with the audience while telling the story.

The adaptability of the different media is displayed in this quote by an interviewee: *'In fact, Kamp Westerbork must be a chameleon every day, depending on the visitor who is visiting and it must be able to adapt to that visitor.'*¹⁸⁷ However, this statement highlights the intention of the interviewee by discussing the best way to resonate with visitors. The use of various outlets and the adaptability of the tours can create a chameleon-like experience. This flexibility allows the narrative to shift and change based on the audience's needs, ensuring a more engaging and meaningful connection with each visitor, also according to other interviewees. This focal point displays the importance of adaptability that is displayed by Kamp Amersfoort, Hartmann et al.,¹⁸⁸ and Kowalska-Nadolna.¹⁸⁹

5.2.2 Characteristics of the Story

One of the focal points in telling the story is the make-believe world created during the SS's authority at the camp. Although the tour covers the entire chronological order of events, it also emphasizes this aspect. An interviewee explained what is briefly covered during a tour: *'arrival, registration of the people, what were the contacts with the outside world? What happened to the Sinti's, who exactly are they? Because they often don't know that at all. What was life like in the barracks? How were people here in the camp? And what could they do here? Trying to illuminate a piece of that make-believe world and also the deception that took place.'*¹⁹⁰ Another interviewee discusses this aspect of the story as well: *'Westerbork was the starting point for 107,000 people who were taken to the concentration camps. And so that whole*

¹⁸⁶ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

¹⁸⁷ Interview with researcher.

¹⁸⁸ Hartmann et al., "The History of Dark Tourism," 292.

¹⁸⁹ Kowalska-Nadolna, "Is Experiencing History Possible?" 133-134.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with interdepartmental employee, May 27, 2024.

*system of hope and despair - playing 'nice weather' in Westerbork to get those people on the train without protest. I think those are the main things that characterize this camp here.*¹⁹¹ For the interviewees, this aspect of the deception is a key characteristic of the story. They find it particularly interesting because it highlights the ambiance at the camp and how it differed from other Second World War camps.

In addition to the deception, there is also a discussion about moral dilemmas faced by individuals who had to make difficult decisions, such as putting people on trains to concentration camps. For example: *'There was a group of Jews, German Jews who had the task of, for example, here, well, draw up the transport list every week. And then you have to decide the fate of others to leave here for those camps in the east. What did those men and women know? That's a question. But also, why did they do that? And if they hadn't done it, what does that mean for themselves? Well, maybe deportation too.'*¹⁹² This story is often told to older students, as they are more familiar with the historical context and can better understand the complexities of the situation. Highlighting these moral dilemmas is crucial to presenting all facets of the story of Kamp Westerbork according to the interviewees.

Another interviewee talks about the involvement of Dutch civil servants and police officers, but also just people that saw the trains leave and closed their curtains each Tuesday because they did not want to see it: *'the victims, the perpetrators, the bystanders.'*¹⁹³ This combination of stories aims to ensure the audience learns something meaningful. After watching an introductory movie before the tour, the audience is left with the message: *'you should respect each other as you are. Look around you. Even though children in your class are different: have respect for each other and work together to ensure that it cannot happen again.'*¹⁹⁴ This message provides a brief introduction to the common motivation shared by the respondents for telling the story and working at Kamp Westerbork.

5.3 Personal Stories

All of the interviewees discuss the importance of incorporating personal stories into the various media they use. With “personal story,” they mean an individual account about one person. As one interviewee states: *'The personal story always remains one of the most important*

¹⁹¹ Interview with educational employee, May 29, 2024.

¹⁹² Interview with interdepartmental employee, May 27, 2024.

¹⁹³ Interview with educational employee, May 27, 2024.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with educational employee.

*principles for how we tell history here.*¹⁹⁵ Another interviewee agrees: *‘And the power is in the story. (...) And there's power in how you tell the story.’*¹⁹⁶ This storytelling can be done by a survivor themselves, as one interviewee noted, who facilitates the lesson: *‘a survivor project, in which we bring personal family stories into the classroom. (...) This means that the personal story is central and they actually convey the impact of the war to students during such a guest lesson.’*¹⁹⁷ Nonetheless, most interviewees discuss personal storytelling through other means.

5.3.1 Utilization of Personal Stories

There are two primary ways personal stories are utilized. One is by specifically mentioning the places people come from, making the story more relatable and personalized for the visiting group. The connection to the place is often only done with the reserved tours, particularly with the school groups, as an interview explains: *‘Most school groups that start in the museum are given an introductory story about a family from their own area that was brought to Westerbork. With this we want to bridge the distance in time between the student and the Second World War in a geographical sense. And in general, creating recognition works well.’*¹⁹⁸ Interviewees believe that knowing local residents were sent to Kamp Westerbork during WWII should evoke identification for visitors. This adaptability is evident in how tour guides tailor the introduction story by observing their audience.

Another approach is to discuss individuals who were at the camp, sharing their names, photos, and specific details. This helps visitors form a mental image of the person, creating a personal story they can visualize and experience more deeply. One interviewee stated that personal stories resonate better than dry facts because *‘if you say: “There was a transit camp from 42 to 45. And there were 93 or so, more than 100 transports that left.” That doesn't mean much to people. But if you show a postcard that was thrown from the train in which someone says something about what it was like in that wagon. And then you confront people with: whose postcard is that? Who is that person? And you see a face. That stays with you.’*¹⁹⁹ The use of materials is also displayed in the previous statement, which will be elaborated further in an upcoming paragraph. The combination of personal stories and materials is aimed at educating

¹⁹⁵ Interview with interdepartmental employee, May 27, 2024.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with curator, May 27, 2024.

¹⁹⁷ Interview with educational employee, May 27, 2024.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with educational employee, May 29, 2024.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with curator.

people through the story, the personal story with the postcard in this case. If it resonates, that's precisely what the interviewee aims for, because there is *'the hope that people might learn from it or do something with it.'*²⁰⁰ Another key aspect is the shift from presenting facts to engaging in storytelling, which is the main principle for conveying history at Kamp Westerbork.

Furthermore, there is one interviewee who occasionally shares a personal experience of a personal story themselves. During one day, the interviewer accidentally met a survivor who visited the camp. This person shared a story with them and the guide tells it now to their own audiences; *'By just telling in detail what he told me then, you can see that people go along with such a story. And what I often hear is: "I think, oh, if you tell it, you can just experience it. And you can imagine how it went."'*²⁰¹ Another characteristic of personal storytelling highlighted in this statement is the emphasis on details. According to another interviewee, incorporating specific details is crucial for effective storytelling, enabling people to vividly imagine the stories in their minds.

5.3.2 Motivations for Utilization

There are various motivations for this method of story-telling. One of them is the way it can carry a simple message without pointing fingers and be moralizing. For example, one interviewee wants to create the connection to contemporary life and discusses: *'It started with exclusion, that people had to wear a star, that they couldn't go to certain places. Well, exclusion is not done after the war. That still happens.'*²⁰² They give an example of the simple message with a commemoration speaker: *'and they just say at the commemoration as a man of 87: "be a little nice to each other." Well, if that is the message, fine, right? We hope that people take something away from it.'*²⁰³ This example of the simple message relates to the one already given in the paragraph about the characteristics of the story's content, emphasizing how people should treat each other in the present in relation to the past.

Moreover, an interesting comment was made by various interviewees regarding the message of the camp. Some external voices suggest that visiting Kamp Westerbork can help eradicate discrimination. As an interviewee noted: *'Well, google the past few weeks, and you see that Kamp Westerbork must be the answer to people who are antisemitic; they all have to go to*

²⁰⁰ Interview with curator, May 27, 2024.

²⁰¹ Interview with educational employee, May 27, 2024.

²⁰² Interview with educational employee.

²⁰³ Interview with educational employee.

*Westerbork.*²⁰⁴ However, this assumption is questioned, as another interviewee argued: *‘Should we solve that problem with a one-hour tour? You can try to at least make it clear to them what this was because it is often a matter of ignorance that they do those kinds of things. But you cannot send a group here or send children or young people here as a kind of punitive measure and then they think, well, they’ve been there, so they saw it. And so, it’s done now. Because I don’t think it works that way. So, you have to do it in a different way: you have to try to resonate with them by just telling the stories. And then hope that it happens.’*²⁰⁵ Often in these statements, there is a hope of resonating with the visitors. They seem motivated to create resonance, but they are not necessarily certain it always succeeds. Nevertheless, there is an interviewee that explains: *‘what works very well with most groups is simply telling the personal story.’*²⁰⁶ Another interviewee agrees with that statement, noting that bridging the time gap between the present day and the Second World War is effective because the identification aspect works well.

Another motivation is given by an interviewee, about remembrance instead of education. Because the remembrance center was established by memory communities, the importance of telling personal stories is the remembrance of the person that this story is of. According to an interviewee, people need to be mentioned, because innocent people have been murdered and they should not fall into oblivion. They explain it with: *‘That is the involvement in the subject that makes you say: “yes, I don’t just want to have as much knowledge as possible about the place, about the camp or whatever. But I also want everyone to be properly appreciated, to be mentioned, to have a face wherever they are mentioned. That it is clear to anyone who will... Or engage with that person, that they can then find such a link or such a connection.”’*²⁰⁷

In these motivations concerning personal stories, the blending of education and remembrance is evident. This section on personal narratives aligns closely with scholarly literature. According to Mannheim, personal expressions like individual stories can effectively mediate an affective connection.²⁰⁸ There is a distinct emphasis on fostering identification, aiming to raise awareness of connections and similarities between the past and the present.²⁰⁹ Moreover, the integration of education and remembrance is a primary draw for visitors to dark

²⁰⁴ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

²⁰⁵ Interview with educational employee, May 27, 2024.

²⁰⁶ Interview with interdepartmental employee, May 27, 2024.

²⁰⁷ Interview with curator, May 27, 2024.

²⁰⁸ Mannheim, “Re-Imagining Northern Ireland,” 87.

²⁰⁹ Violi, “Spectacularising Trauma,” 65.

tourism sites.²¹⁰ The interviewees aim to educate and commemorate, arguing that the use of detailed personal stories and accompanying materials will help achieve this goal.

5.4 Materials

As previously noted, materials play a crucial role in the storytelling at Kamp Westerbork, akin to Kamp Amersfoort. These materials are varied in their forms: from the physical space itself, which acts as a conduit for creating an affective relation as highlighted by Driessen,²¹¹ to specific objects and smaller collection items like letters. They serve as agents in narrating the historical tragedy associated with the camp.²¹²

5.4.1 The Space and Object situated at the Space

All of the interviewees stress the significance of the space and how the tour guide ‘*stops at various places in the camp. And then it is explained: “okay, you see a hill here. Or you see a reconstruction. Or a barrack. Or a monument. What is the story here?” The factual story of this place, plus a personal story.*’²¹³ However, the combination of the story and the space is most often mentioned: ‘*If you walk around there without a tour guide, you actually have no idea what it actually looked like. Everything is just gone. So yes, with those stories in place you can bring it back to life. And I think that's the beauty of such a tour.*’²¹⁴ The tour is described in this quote as a method to vividly portray the story and immerse visitors in the narrative, leveraging the significance of being at the actual location where historical events took place.

Another interviewee wants to showcase that without the story the place is just a ‘*beautiful forest, nice walk, heathland. Okay, you look at the plants, you look at the flowers. And then you see all kinds of traces in the landscape. Yes. But you have no idea what it is. (...) if you suddenly see a burial mound and you have no idea why that elevation is in the landscape. But when you hear that there is a dolmen underneath it and you have some information about the dolmen builders or whatever, then you walk and view a place like that in a completely different way. And that also applies to this place.*’²¹⁵ Here, the interviewee covered not only the aforementioned elements of storytelling, such as the audio tour and guided tour, but also the impact of prior knowledge on experiencing a place. Prior knowledge is mentioned because ‘*as Kamp Westerbork*

²¹⁰ Mangwane, Hermann, and Lenhard, “Who Visits the Apartheid Museum and Why?” 283.

²¹¹ Driessen, “Touching War,” 156.

²¹² Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 4-5.

²¹³ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

²¹⁴ Interview with interdepartmental employee, May 27, 2024.

²¹⁵ Interview with curator, May 27, 2024.

*is now, but in general, camps like Westerbork, even if there is a lot or little, you take your own baggage with you. So how you view Kamp Westerbork as a person has as much to do with Kamp Westerbork as it has to do with you.*²¹⁶ The aspect of prior knowledge is intriguing as it underscores how interviewees view the interaction between a visitor's personal background and their experience of the space, as noted by Driessen. She suggests that individuals may be more deeply affected based on their personal histories and backgrounds.²¹⁷

In addition to the space, one interviewee also talks about objects and how they can link the space to the story, showing their agency as a material,²¹⁸ so *'in that way, that almost empty terrain, indeed, still gains some context.'*²¹⁹ There is a particular selection on the objects on the terrain. Another interview states: *'Those are the wagons, those are 102,000 stones, that is the National Monument.'*²²⁰ However, it is not always necessary to strictly follow these guidelines. This interviewee, along with others, argues that they are guided by the audience and the available space, demonstrating adaptability not only in the narrative but also in the selection of objects to be shown.

5.4.2 Collection Materials

Additionally, another crucial aspect of materials is their collection and utilization. Interviewees discuss obtaining collection materials through conversations with survivors and relatives. The treatment and integration of these materials are integral to constructing the narratives told at Kamp Westerbork. An interviewee states: *'The collection of pieces that person may have with them to acquire those and to take care of them. That was the most important thing for those people, that there was a place where they were received and where a story was passed on. But that also applies to the second generation, then it is the story of their parents, the story of their grandparents. Yes, that is so intrinsic. Truly.'*²²¹ Not only the obtainment of the personal collection materials is vital to the creation of the narrative, for another interviewee, it is also the utilization of an object material. This person discusses finding a new letter *'and then gradually starting from such an archive piece, to then build up a story about someone. Look, and if you're*

²¹⁶ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

²¹⁷ Driessen, "Touching War," 156.

²¹⁸ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 4-5.

²¹⁹ Interview with researcher.

²²⁰ Interview with educational employee, May 29, 2024.

²²¹ Interview with curator, May 27, 2024.

lucky, it's such a good story that you can use it in your tour.'²²² The integration of materials into the creation and presentation of the narrative is evident in this quote from the interview. The interviewee discusses the practical use of these materials, explaining in an example that when selecting a geographical story for an introduction, they chose a particular story involving a letter which has the quote: '*It is fun in Kamp Westerbork.*' Well, perfect. What better way to show the make-believe world than to use a quote from such a little boy?'²²³ This interviewee demonstrates the interdependence of personal stories that resonate with the audience and the incorporation of collection materials, both crucial elements in shaping the narrative of Kamp Westerbork. The use of collection materials facilitates a vivid visualization of historical reality, echoing Lennon's perspective on recreating semi-authentic or authentic elements.²²⁴

5.5 Sensation and Experience

The showcase of focus on affect is already infused in the language used by the interviewees. By utilizing words such as resonating and intimate, it seems sensation is an essential factor on the way of telling the narrative. For example, one interviewee utilizes experience by saying: '*we try to bring the war closer to them.*'²²⁵ This interviewee also explains that with all the different media, they '*try to let people experience something of it. So, a tour, a tour guide who*'²²⁶ is well-versed in story-telling. The statement about story-telling is thus related to sensation and experience and the creation of an affective relation.²²⁷

Furthermore, another interviewee discusses this creation further when discussing the importance of visiting the space in enhancing the sensory aspect of the narrative. According to them, connecting the story with the actual visitation of the place is powerful '*because you're trying to make that history stick. And if it sticks a little, not only in knowledge, but also a little in the soul, evidence of, that's what you call it, in people's feelings, then that makes more impact. And that also helps us understand that history better. I think that is the power of visiting such a place. That you experience something more than just a book or a teacher telling it in class.*'²²⁸ The utilisation of these factors is utilised to create an affective relation, or as this interviewee

²²² Interview with educational employee, May 27, 2024.

²²³ Interview with educational employee, May 27, 2024.

²²⁴ Lennon, "Dark Tourism Sites," 230.

²²⁵ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

²²⁶ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

²²⁷ Vannini, *Non-Representational Methodologies*, 9.

²²⁸ Interview with interdepartmental employee, May 27, 2024.

discusses it as a “feeling in the soul.” Again, here the point about physical sites as conduits for a formulation of affective resonance is highlighted.²²⁹

However, there is variability in experience and thus the affective relation, and in relation to this, the aspect of prior knowledge becomes significant. As an interviewee states: *‘It makes little sense to visit the place unprepared. Precisely because you see nothing, you find nothing. It is an empty place. It has little information. (...) So, in other words, it won't mean much to people. But it affects people especially if they have already heard or read the initial stories, or if they follow a guided tour there, making things suddenly come to life or become very vivid.’*²³⁰ The variation is not only displayed in a preparation or the encounter with the different media at Kamp Westerbork, but according to an interviewee: *‘the interpretation that people give to Westerbork actually differs per visitor and changes constantly. And current events play a major role in this.’*²³¹ The primary argument concerning this display of differentiation revolves around prior knowledge, which can encompass several factors as various interviewees state.

In addition to the aspect of prior knowledge, interviewees discuss a limitation related to experience. As visitors, while they may know what happened, they can never truly experience how it was, because *‘whatever you put here, so you can rebuild a barracks, an entire camp garden. You can restore all barracks. You can put beds in it. But that barrack still remains empty. And then you might be standing in that barracks with 30 other tourists and you are not sitting in that barrack in 1944 with uncertainty: “I might be taken away. I don't know what's going to happen.”’*²³² It is the question if people actually want that and how ethically that is, the interviewee also adds, but the only way to approach it is to provide information through the different media.

5.6 Conclusion on the Reflection and Bolstering of an Affective Relation

Tour guides discuss various factors in creating an affective relation, such as different methods, tour adaptability, story characteristics, personal stories, materials, and sensory experiences. Interviewees demonstrate using diverse methods to reach as many people as possible, focusing on popular and engaging approaches to foster personal connections and

²²⁹ Driessen, “Touching War,” 156.

²³⁰ Interview with curator, May 27, 2024.

²³¹ Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

²³² Interview with researcher, May 1, 2024.

affective relations. They highlight the importance of remembrance, influenced by memory communities that shape the narrative.

Tours are the preferred method due to their adaptability, which is crucial for conveying the narrative of dark tourist spots, co-creating meaning, and shaping ideological memory. This flexibility is evident in the stories told, the balance between monologue and dialogue, and the audience's age and size. For example, younger students hear more factual personal stories, while older students receive a deeper, more complex understanding, including the consequences of certain decisions.

Most stories on the tours display the camp's unique make-believe world and deceptions, moral dilemmas, and the involvement of Dutch organizations. These elements are aimed to teach respect and collaboration to prevent future atrocities. The tours emphasize personal stories, using specific names, photos, and details to create resonance and remembrance, fostering an affective connection through identification with these stories.

Materials enhance the impact of the personal stories, with the physical site itself evoking an affective relation due to its historical significance. Interviewees note that visitors' personal histories contribute to their affective resonance. Objects like letters help recreate past realities, and tours often focus on collection materials in storytelling. There is more focus on bodies and experience through stories, without immersive experiences.

The focus on affective experience is there which is already showcased in the language used by the interviewees. Resonance is an important factor regarding their means and the story, stressing importance on sensation. However, here prior knowledge and personal history comes in again, because they interrelate with affective relation. The creation of affective relation is defined by the interviewees as a connecting the visitation of the space to a deeper understanding of the history through feelings so the personal motivations to not fall innocent people into oblivion, take something from the story and treat people with kindness are achieved.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Discussion

6.1 Conclusion of the Thesis

The research question of thesis is *How do Dutch transit camps as a form of dark tourism convey historical tragedies of WWII within their tours and the sites themselves?* To expand this research question, I outlined several sub-questions, beginning with: *what types of materials and tools are used to evoke affective experience of the historical tragedy? How do stakeholders reflect upon the historical tragedies of WWII present on the site? How do these tours bolster an affective relation with the tragic past of the place?* In this section, I will go over the three separate parts that answer the research question.

6.1.1 Materials and Tools

The conclusion, informed by non-representational research focusing on relations, actions, surroundings, and affect, examines the use of materials and tools in conveying historical tragedy. Materials and experiences that evoke affect and convey history include monuments, statues, authentic remnants, screens, sound columns, information signs, audio and guided tours, museum exhibitions, virtual reality, and replicas of objects and buildings.

At Kamp Amersfoort, various monuments, such as the Stone Man and the Memorial Stone are utilized to connect the relation to mention origin and symbolism as an agent of historical depiction. Information signs enhance the historical connection and relational materialism. However, complete surroundings can evoke an affective resonance like the combination of the shooting range, its notable length, the copper gate with a barred door, and the statue. Without knowing any context, the environment already suggests a restricted area with a memorial because of the door and the statue.

At Kamp Westerbork, the work of different visualizations is utilized, for example with the help of screens, the Westerbork movie is situated at the space. However, there are also pictures used to showcase the different images of Kamp Westerbork and the sound columns help to locate the stories of the images. Evoking affective experiences is also done by displaying the immensity of the number of people that have transported and later on killed. The magnitude is seen in the sleepers, the Signs of Westerbork and the 102,000 Stones who all list the numbers of people transported and later on killed.

Both sites use monuments to foster an affective connection, honoring and remembering the victims. They also emphasize the authenticity of objects to recreate and visualize past

realities, thereby deepening visitors' understanding and emotional engagement with the historical events.

6.1.2 Stakeholders

The analysis of stakeholder reflections on rendering historical tragedy focuses on interviews with storytellers at Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork. Interviewees share their perspectives on conveying WWII's historical tragedies through different means and their personal motivations.

Interestingly, neither site was identified as a dark tourist spot by the interviewees. Only one interviewee at Kamp Amersfoort briefly discussed dark tourism in the context of other places, while at Kamp Westerbork, tourist visitation was acknowledged without framing it as dark tourism.

Both camps emphasize employing diverse methods to engage a broad audience. Specifically for Kamp Westerbork, the utilization of tours is argued to be more helpful in telling the historical tragedy present at the site. According to interviewees from both camps, tour adaptability is crucial, reflecting that the co-creation of meaning between heritage-producer and tourist-consumer is present and there is a consideration of different generations that visit because the historical tragedy is part of people's memory and even ideological memory.

Interviewees of both camps discuss the adaptability for audiences. At Kamp Amersfoort, guides emphasize interactive experiences to resonate with younger audiences, while older visitors receive more historical narrative due to their expected knowledge of WWII. Kamp Westerbork delivers factual stories to younger students and deeper narratives to older students.

Additionally, they discuss specifics of the story, such as the deception that occurred, the moral dilemmas faced, and the involvement of Dutch organizations at Kamp Westerbork. This focus on a constructed narrative at Kamp Westerbork is motivated by the fact that fewer tragic events occurred there compared to Kamp Amersfoort. Despite these differences, both sites address the complex moral choices and dilemmas that arise from their histories.

Stakeholders' reflections often stem from personal motivations. These motivations could either involve educating people so this will not ever happen again, and people will treat each other with respect. Or it involves remembrance, keeping the memory of people alive, the victims themselves, but also the stories of the relatives. At Kamp Amersfoort, it is often a focus on the

ex-prisoners that have to be remembered. At Kamp Westerbork, the memory is honored through the wishes of and the discussion with the memory communities.

6.1.3 Tours

The conclusion on fostering affective relations during tours draws from both observations and interviewee responses. Adaptability is a key focus, allowing the experience to be tailored to different audiences, and both Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork employ this in distinct ways.

For Kamp Amersfoort, there is more interaction at the tours. Questions are asked that focus on their understanding of the narrative, their beliefs on some overarching themes, and the moral dilemmas faced by the past actors. In contrast, Kamp Westerbork centers on personal stories, connecting them to the audience's background and specific individuals. While Amersfoort also includes personal stories, it places more emphasis on the diverse groups involved.

Both approaches aim to foster identification and create a tangible affective relation, leading to a deeper understanding. Interviewees highlight the importance of materials in encouraging affective resonance, though they use different types: Kamp Amersfoort focuses on onsite objects, while Kamp Westerbork uses collection materials to illustrate personal stories.

Kamp Westerbork also stresses the importance of visitors' prior knowledge, noting that personal history enhances affective connections. Overall, affective relations are strengthened by linking the visitation experience to a deeper historical understanding through emotional engagement, crucial for effectively conveying WWII's tragedies.

Overall, Dutch transit camps, specifically Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork, as a form of dark tourism convey historical tragedies through various means, including the physical space, objects, collection materials, museum exhibitions, guided and audio tours, virtual reality, publications, graphic novels, and lessons. Both camps strive to create affective relations, using diverse methods to foster identification, deepen understanding, and ensure the historical tragedies are effectively conveyed and remembered.

6.2 Discussion of the Thesis

There are some limitations regarding the methodology used in this thesis. One of the approaches was non-representational methodology, which relies on subjective observations. In the analysis of the observations, not all of the materials, objects and experiences are described in the chapters that one could encounter at Kamp Amersfoort and Kamp Westerbork. For example, another monument of train tracks is not part of the analysis. Non-representational methodology also has inherent constraints due to its abstract nature and limited generalizability. To mitigate these limitations, interviews were incorporated to provide a more balanced and less subjective perspective. Despite this effort, the issue of generalizability remains, suggesting that further research could include additional camps or other dark tourism sites to broaden the scope of understanding regarding the rendering of historical tragedies and the creation of affective relations.

Regarding the interviews, the sample size and diversity could be improved to yield more representative findings. In this thesis, particularly for Kamp Westerbork, there was a potential skew in representation due to a higher concentration of participants from a single department. However, it is worth noting that these participants were involved in various aspects of the department and discussed different topics in their interviews.

Future research could also focus more on the museum exhibitions at dark tourist sites and their role in fostering affective relations. While some respondents mentioned the use of various means within museums, this was not supported by observational data in the same way other spaces and materials were examined.

Overall, this thesis demonstrates the complex interplay between changing narratives, dark tourism sites, tours, and affective resonance at transit camps in the Netherlands. It explores how these transit camps navigate the dual objectives of education and commemoration within the context of dark tourism, shedding light on the impacts of these sites, offering valuable insights into their potential benefits for both educational and commemorative purposes.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, Oosthalen 8, 9414 TG Hooghalen, visited on May 27, 2024.

Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort, Loes van Overeemlaan 19, 3832 RZ Leusden, visited on March 7, 2024.

Secondary Sources

“130.000 bezoekers in 2023 - Kamp Westerbork.” Accessed June 17, 2024.

<https://www.kampwesterbork.nl/de-stichting/nieuws/item/130-000-bezoekers-in-2023>.

Anderson, Ben. “Becoming and Being Hopeful: Towards a Theory of Affect.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24, no. 5 (October 1, 2006): 733–52.

<https://doi.org/10.1068/d393t>.

Anderson, Ben, and James Ash. “Atmospheric Methods.” In *Non-Representational Methodologies*. Routledge, 2015.

Bernard, H. Russell. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 4. ed. Lanham, Md.: AltaMira Press, 2006.

Bryman, Alan. *Social Research Methods*. 4. ed. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2012.

“De Geschiedenis - Kamp Westerbork.” Accessed June 9, 2024.

<https://kampwesterbork.nl/collectie?id=8>.

Driessen, Siri Rosa. “Touching War: An Ethnographic Analysis of War Tourism in Europe.” Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2020.

“EPG 1943-45 - Kamp Amersfoort,” February 8, 2021.

<https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/geschiedenis-en-onderzoek/epg-1943-45/>.

Foley, Malcolm, and J. John Lennon. “JFK and Dark Tourism: A Fascination with Assassination.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, December 1, 1996.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13527259608722175>.

Hartmann, Rudi, John Lennon, Daniel P. Reynolds, Alan Rice, Adam T. Rosenbaum, and Philip R. Stone. “The History of Dark Tourism.” *Journal of Tourism History* 10, no. 3 (September 2, 2018): 269–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2018.1545394>.

“Homepage - Kamp Amersfoort,” February 8, 2021. <https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/>.

- “Kamp Amersfoort speelde grotere rol bij vernietiging Joden dan gedacht,” April 25, 2024.
<https://nos.nl/artikel/2518074-kamp-amersfoort-speelde-grotere-rol-bij-vernietiging-joden-dan-gedacht>.
- Kowalska-Nadolna, Urszula. “Is Experiencing History Possible? Between ‘Dark Tourism’ and ‘the Holocaust Industry:’ The Case of Terezín.” *Prace Filologiczne. Literaturoznawstwo*, no. 9(12) cz.1 (July 4, 2019): 123–34. <https://doi.org/10.32798/pflit.111>.
- Lennon, J. John. “Dark Tourism Sites: Visualization, Evidence and Visitation.” *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 9, no. 2 (January 1, 2017): 216–27.
<https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-09-2016-0042>.
- Lennon, John J., and Hugh Smith. “Shades of Dark: Interpretation and Commemoration at the Sites of Concentration Camps at Terezin and Lety, Czech Republic.” In *Representing the Unimaginable: Narratives of Disaster*, edited by Angela Stock and Cornelia Stott, 67–85. University of Münster, 2007.
- Mangwane, Jacqueline, Uwe Peter Hermann, and Antje Inge Lenhard. “Who Visits the Apartheid Museum and Why? An Exploratory Study of the Motivations to Visit a Dark Tourism Site in South Africa.” *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 13, no. 3 (January 1, 2019): 273–87. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCTHR-03-2018-0037>.
- Mannheimer, Emily Grace. “Re-Imagining a New Northern Ireland: Tourism and Social Transition after Conflict.” Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2022.
- Martini, Annaclaudia, and Dorina Maria Buda. “Dark Tourism and Affect: Framing Places of Death and Disaster.” *Current Issues in Tourism* 23, no. 6 (March 18, 2020): 679–92.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2018.1518972>.
- “Missie En Visie - Kamp Westerbork.” Accessed December 2, 2023.
<https://kampwesterbork.nl/de-stichting/missie-en-visie>.
- “Na de oorlog - Kamp Amersfoort,” February 8, 2021.
<https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/geschiedenis-en-onderzoek/na-de-oorlog/>.
- “PDA 1941-43 - Kamp Amersfoort,” February 8, 2021.
<https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/geschiedenis-en-onderzoek/pda-1941-43/>.
- “Rondleiding programma algemeen - Kamp Amersfoort,” February 8, 2021.
<https://www.kampamersfoort.nl/rondleiding-en-educatie/rondleiding-programma-algemeen/>.

“Rondleidingen en audiotours - Kamp Westerbork.” Accessed February 4, 2024.

<https://kampwesterbork.nl/programma/activiteiten/item/rondleidingen>.

Sporen van oorlog. “Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort.” Accessed June 17, 2024.

<https://www.sporenavoorlog.nl/portfolio/kamp-amersfoort/>.

Vannini, Phillip, ed. *Non-Representational Methodologies: Re-Envisioning Research*. New York:

Routledge, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315883540>.

Varutti, Marzia. “The Affective Turn in Museums and the Rise of Affective Curatorship.”

Museum Management and Curatorship 38, no. 1 (January 2, 2023): 61–75.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2022.2132993>.

Violi, Maria Patrizia. “Spectacularising Trauma: The Experientialist Visitor of Memory

Museums,” 2014. <https://cris.unibo.it/handle/11585/520836>.

Wakeford, Nina, and Lury, eds. *Inventive Methods: The Happening of the Social*. London:

Routledge, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203854921>.

Werdler, Karel, and Nadiah Geuskens. “Dark Tourism in Nederland?,” September 28, 2012, 7–

16.

Appendix I

Kamp Amersfoort

Interviewee	Role at the Site	Date
F.	Researcher	April 11, 2024
J.	Volunteer Tour Guide	April 11, 2024
W.	Tour Guide Training Coordinator	April 11, 2024
P.	Volunteer Tour Guide	April 16, 2024
N.	Educative Employee	May 3, 2024

Kamp Westerbork

Interviewee	Role at the Site	Date
B.	Researcher	May 1, 2024
J.	Interdepartmental Employee	May 27, 2024
G.	Curator	May 27, 2024
P.	Educative Employee	May 27, 2024
M.	Educative Employee	May 29, 2024