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Supervised by

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demonstrate how the steps taken by the Dachau Memorial Site to accommodate visitors have commercialized the visitor experience at the Memorial Site through the sale of souvenirs.

The first phase of this investigation explores the history of the Dachau Memorial Site and how it transitioned from a concentration camp into a Holocaust memorial. Chapter one examines this postwar history and illustrates the challenges and circumstances that facilitated the memorialization of KZ Dachau. In its history and evolution, the Dachau Memorial Site responded to a central existential question faced by all Holocaust memorial sites: How do we remember? This chapter is therefore a study of memory and how it is transmitted through the experiential interaction between people and memorial spaces. This study is navigated through an examination of the measures taken by the Memorial Site. A research framework was formulated. The chapter proceeds chronologically beginning with an overview of the concentration camp's history, which is followed by the history of its memorialization from 1945 until 2009.

In phase two, the investigation shifts and explores the dimensions of the Holocaust tourism industry. Under the umbrella of dark tourism, Holocaust tourism is defined as the action undertaken by tourists to visit Holocaust memorial sites and redefined as tourism destinations, or Holocaust destinations, that exist within regional, national, and international tourism industries. Chapter two examines the dimensions of the contemporary European Holocaust tourism industry and how the Dachau Memorial Site is situated within it. Within the broader Holocaust tourism industry, specific focus is

<sup>1</sup> Kit Messham, 'The Holocaust as a Dark Tourism Destination', *Journal of Dark Tourism Research*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2004): 97.

<sup>2</sup> & UDLJ - DQJXOD <sup>3</sup> 7KH +RORFDXVW DQG HPV RIH ñAA8 Pt

devoted towards former concentration camps including statistical data on their visitors, factors affecting attendance, and the motivations that guide tourists on their visit. The chapter examines concentration camps from a commercial perspective that illustrate V<sup>3</sup> W K H H P H U J L Q J G \ Q D P F R P P H U F L D O L J D W L R Q D Q G P D U N H W L Q J O R g a n i z e d O n F i n a n c i a l l y, W V L W H this chapter provides an overview of the conditions within the Holocaust tourism industry, which influence the management of the Dachau Memorial Site as a tourist destination.

The final chapter of this study synthesizes the previous chapters through an analysis of the contemporary state of the Dachau Memorial Site. Chapter 5 specifically examines changes in the last twenty years that have improved the functionality of the Memorial Site as a tourist destination. This chapter is navigated through an investigation of two separate bookstores found in the Memorial Site, which were introduced in 2003 and 2009. Therefore, detailed analysis will be conducted on the merchandise available in these two bookstores and how these products commercialize the Site and conventionally problematic historical interpretations.

Finally, this thesis considers the scholarly debate regarding the intersection between tourism and Holocaust memorialization. This discussion will then be followed with some general reflections on the development of the Dachau Memorial Site and its intersection with Holocaust tourism.

This investigation is certainly not the first study of the Dachau Memorial Site or the conditions of the Holocaust tourism industry. A growing body of literature exists on both subjects through both historical and tourism fields of study. However, much of this literature remains confined in its own discipline and exists in isolation from one another. This thesis responds to this gap in scholarship by incorporating the study of tourism within the study of Holocaust

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<sup>3</sup> - D Q J X O D <sup>3</sup> 7 K H + R O R F D X V W D Q G ' D U N 7 R X U L V P '





## Chapter 1: The History of the Dachau Memorial Site

The Dachau Memorial Site must change to keep pace with the changing prerequisites of present and future visitors. We, the custodians of such sites, must endeavor to cut ourselves loose from our own mythic moorings to shape the site according to the needs of those we serve.

- Harold Marcus

From a place of death and despair to a place of memory and education, the Dachau Memorial Site has been filled with controversy and contention on its transition towards becoming the Dachau Memorial Site. The following chapters will examine this history beginning with a small overview of KZ Dachau during the National Socialist (Nazi) period which will be followed with its postwar history from 1945 until 2009. Organized chronologically, the chapter examines four periods in the

M



Dachau was used to intern political prisoners including H U P D Q & R P P X Q L V W V 6 R F L D C  
W U D G H X Q L R Q L V W V D Q G R W K H U S R O W F D O R S S R Q H Q W V R

Z L W K L Q W K H 6 R Y L H W E O R F 7 K H Q H Z V H ( V W W O F I P H Q G W K Z D X V H R G I L  
 German refugees from the fall of 1948 until 1964. During this period, many of W K H F D P S ¶ V  
 physical features changed in order to accommodate the refugees. The watchtowers were mostly torn  
 down, while the prison walls and barbed wire were replaced with storage<sup>15</sup> sheds. Throughout its  
 existence, Dachau East was open to public visitation while it housed German refugees and  
 functioned as an informal quasi-refugee settlement. Holocaust memorial site. Yet, beyond the  
 presence of a few small monuments and a temporary exhibition in the former crematorium building,  
 minimal visitor services existed and there was little tourism infrastructure in place

From its liberation until the mid ¶ V H I I R U W V W R H V W D E O L V K D G H V L  
 KZ Dachau were met with resistance and hostility from local and regional officials. In the fall of  
 1945 a small exhibition documenting the atrocities that took place at KZ Dachau was set up in the  
 former crematorium building.<sup>17</sup> However, on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1953, the Bavarian government decided to  
 remove the exhibition from the crematorium and close the doors to the site. This unilateral  
 decision highlighted the negative attitudes prevalent among many local and regional officials  
 towards efforts to commemorate KZ Dachau. For example, in 1952 Hans Zauner was elected Head  
 Mayor of the town of Dachau despite being a Nazi party member since April 1933.<sup>19</sup> As mayor,  
 Zauner always maintained the Y L H Z 3 W K D W W K H F D P S K D G E H H Q D O H J L W L  
 society plain. ¶<sup>20</sup> = D X Q H U ¶ V P \ W K R O R J L ] H G Y L H Z R I . = ' D F K D X E H F D I

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>16</sup> The small exhibition in the crematorium building was F U H D W H G E \ ' D F K D X ¶ V V X U Y L Y R U V Z R U N L G  
 International Information Office (IIO). IIO was an organization set up by the United States Military that provided  
 V X S S R U W W R ' D F K D X ¶ V W R S U W R S O F N A Z I P E R S E C U T I O N G R A V E L L I N G T H R O U G H T H E D A C H A U C A M P  
 disillusioned in 1950 Marcuse, The Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 170.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 79.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 80.

the activity of Heinrich Junke, who served as the Dachau County Governor from 1954 to 1958, in the Bavarian House of Representatives.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Junke was emboldened by the closure of the crematorium exhibition and in 1955 introduced a motion to the Bavarian House of Representatives have the crematorium building torn down.<sup>22</sup> Ultimately, Junke would withdraw his motion after it was met with widespread criticism and condemnation. Despite this setback, the hostility which emanated from local and regional officials successfully impaired the commemoration of Dachau.

commemorate the tenth anniversary of its liberation.<sup>23</sup> The survivors encountered a settlement in which they,

discovered a kindergarten in the former infirmary, a tannery in the erstwhile shower building, and high altitude experiments, a food store in the former sick morgue, and a restaurant in the old delousing building.<sup>24</sup>

the name of Nico Ros observed how there were no directional signs in the town of Dachau that led visitors to the camp.<sup>25</sup> The survivors decided to find the

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 184.

<sup>23</sup> ODUWLQ 6FKPLGO <sup>3</sup>'DFKDX 7KH 0HWDSKRULFD 00 0(1K010Z 485.3T0 .0ETNE30

Comité Internacional de 'D F (CDD) was an organization that

In 1964, the Bavarian government closed down the Dachau refugee settlement and in the following year established a designated Memorial Site. The financial burden of this endeavor

fell on the shoulders of the state. The financial burden of this endeavor fell on the shoulders of the state. The financial burden of this endeavor fell on the shoulders of the state.

are preserved in the new museum. The original exhibition was recreated in the new museum. The original exhibition was recreated in the new museum.

behind the service building [maintenance building] and the two crematoria were left



Figure 4, was organized by the Bavarian Association of Jewish Communities. Construction began

in September 1964 and finished on May 7, 1967. Meanwhile, the cornerstone of the Protestant

monument was laid in May 1965 during the 20th anniversary of the founding of the FDPS. The

monument, as seen in Figure 5, would become known as the 'Wahlscheid' or 'Wahlstein'.

FRPSOHWHG RQ \$SULO \$OO WKUHH RI WKHVH UHOLJL



the end of the war. Despite the growing number of visitors and evolving demographics, the Memorial Site did not take any significant steps to accommodate the changes. Instead, this period became widely known as the "Dachau Effect," where the site's management and the camp, made only nine round trips between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m., with gaps of more than an hour. This example illustrates how the Memorial Site lacked the necessary services that a popular tourism destination would take until the late 1990s for the Memorial Site to implement large-scale renovations that could accommodate its visitors and rejuvenate its educational program.

For over thirty-years, the Dachau Memorial Site had seen its educational component grow i

Holocaust commemoration, education and research, challenging prevailing ~~assumptions~~ what a

+RORFDXVW PXVHXP FRXOG DQG VKRXOG EH '



allowed it to b

variety of Jewish memorabilia items. Literaturhandlung provide V W K H 0 H P R v s i t o 6 L W H ¶ V with a potential shopping opportunity, during their visit to a former concentration camp.

Nowadays, instead of finding guards and prisoners at the Dachau concentration camp, we find tour guides and tourists at the Dachau Memorial Site. This transition was initially fraught with contention. D Q G D F U L P R Q \ D V ' D F K D X ¶ V V X U Y L Y R U V V W U X J J O H G W W K H I L U V W W Z H Q W \ \ H D U V D I W H U L W V O L E H U D W L R Q . = ' D F K who used the site as a refugee settlement and in the process fully destroyed the majority of its original infrastructure. Despite this adversity, in 1964 refugee settlement camp was closed and in the following year the Dachau Memorial Site was officially established. Although a museum was conceived and numerous

## Chapter Two: The Holocaust Tourism Industry

Today, Holocaust museums operate in a competitive, crowded marketplace (for example, over a thousand organizations are included in the Task Force for International

- Isabella Wollastoff<sup>76</sup>

Each year, millions of people visit former concentration camps in Europe and other Holocaust museums and memorials across the world. As a result, a global Holocaust tourism industry has emerged that capitalizes from this branch of dark tourism and global fascination with the Holocaust. This industry is particularly relevant and lucrative in Eastern Europe through the hundreds of related destinations that attract millions of foreign tourists every year. Through a theoretical framework incorporating both tourism studies and historical analysis, this chapter examines the dimensions of the contemporary Holocaust tourism industry. Within this industry, specific focus is devoted towards concentration camps, particular the Dachau Memorial Site, that operate as popular tourism destinations. Numerous aspects of the industry are explored including: attendance statistics, demographic features, factors affecting attendance, marketing strategies, and clientele motivations. The chapter exposes the conditions that affect the Dachau Memorial Site's ability to remain a successful tourism destination within a competitive marketplace.

Holocaust tourism is a growing industry that has increased in popularity due to geopolitical changes in the last 30 years. After four decades of conflict, the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s provoked a notable breakthrough for European tourism, as it opened access to sites that once lay on the other side of the Iron Curtain. More tourists were now able to travel to sites such as the former Warsaw Ghetto, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Site (Poland) the

<sup>76</sup> : ROODVWRQ 3 1HJRWLDWLQJ WKH 0DUNHWSODFH 7KH UROH V RI +ROR  
<sup>77</sup> 'DQLHO 5H\QROGV 3&RQVXPHUV RU ZLWQHVVHV" +RORFDXVW WRXULVW  
 Consumer Culture 16, no.2 (2016): 335.

Theresienstadt Memorial Site (Czech Republic), and other destinations in countries that had been previously inaccessible for Westerners. For destinations such as the Dachau Memorial Site which were located in Western Europe, the end of the Cold War provided a new consumer market through the opportunity to attract Eastern European tourists. Alongside this geopolitical development, advances in technology, transportation and communication have stimulated the ongoing process of globalization, that has made international travel an increasing part of life. Globalization diminished many of the logistical challenges involved with tourism including: language barriers, currency exchange rates, and border control. Furthermore, the establishment of the European Union on November 1, 1993, facilitated increased inter-European travel to the benefit of countless Holocaust destinations. Through the end of the Cold War, globalization, and the establishment of the European Union, Holocaust destinations have become more popular and accessible in an age of mass tourism.

Over the

Brzezinka (Auschwitz Birkenau), Majdanek, and Belzec have continuously increased in the last ten years, while Breendonk, Theresienstadt and Mauthausen kept their attendance at a steady plateau. With over 1,534,000 visitors in 2014, Auschwitz Birkenau was the most visited concentration camp in Europe and further demonstrates the growing interest in Holocaust tourism. Furthermore, other Holocaust tourist destinations like the USHMM and the Berlin Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, boasted excellent attendance figures in 2014 with 1.44 million and 470,000 respectively.<sup>83</sup> Statistics at former concentration camps and other Holocaust destinations clearly suggest that Holocaust tourism is a growing industry with strong consumer demand.

Concentration camp memorial sites work with clientele who are primarily foreigners and do not reside in their country of origin. In 2013, a Y L V Study was conducted at the Dachau Memorial Site which found that, 3 W-ZR of those surveyed are from abroad, most of them from Europe (64%) or North America.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, the nationalities with the greatest representation at the Memorial Site included Italy with 26% and the U.S.A. with 19%.<sup>85</sup> From a macroeconomic perspective, the affluent societies of Europe and the United States are important considerations because, 3 F R Q V X P U R is immanent in



and expectations. Meanwhile, the Dachau Memorial Site also works with a young clientele base who visit on educational trips. As part of their education, German school children are required to visit concentration camps in organized groups and learn about the Holocaust at these sites. In 1965, 2.5% of 'D F K D' visitors were German school children on educational trips; yet, by 1990 that figure had risen to over 50%.<sup>88</sup> This dramatic demographic evolution is a product of shifting cultural and generational perspectives on the Holocaust that have changed German educational policies and school curriculums. It is important to note that German school children and foreign tourists are two dramatically different types of visitors. Their perceptions and relationships towards the Nazi past including



and retailers, in order to satisfy consumer needs, wants, and G H P D Q M V while critics contend that, <sup>3</sup> I D r o m meeting pre-existing consumer demands that is, simply responding to the freely expressed needs of keencostumers marketing creates the demands that consumers subsequently H [ S U H A S v a c o m m e r c i a l e n t i t y , m a r k e t i n g h a s a l w a y s b e e n v i e w e d a s a c o n t r o v e r s i a / F 3 q 0 . 0 0 0 q 0 . 0 0 0 0 0 9 1 2 0 6 1 2 7 9 2 r e W \* n B T / F 3 1 2 T f 1 0 0 1 1 2 7 . 1 7 1 4 . 4 5 T m 0

As tourist destinations concentration camp memo 404 site (e) 13 (c) TJ ET Q q 0.00000912 0 612 7

places of L Q W H P U A H V W. Contending with location and the many factors affecting attendance, Holocaust destinations must then manage their facilities in a way that

tourist D W W U Deaths in famous sites due to their dark and murderous history;



the opportunity to physically engage with and witness places in which humanity confronted its darkest demons.

Despite the passage of time, the world remains fascinated by the Holocaust and our thirst for understanding continues unquenched. It is therefore unsurprising that Holocaust sites have become popular tourist attractions for millions of people from across the world. In Germany and Eastern Europe, concentration camps are prominent tourist destinations that boast excellent attendance figures among foreign visitors. For this clientele, location and historical legacy are significant factors that affect both accessibility and interest in these destinations. In order to increase their market share, destinations and associated third-party ventures subject tourists to a variety of promotional marketing schemes. Jewish tourists are specifically targeted for financial gain as they are perceived as attractive clientele through their consumer behavior. To satisfy their clientele, Holocaust destinations including former concentration camps must understand their motivations and provide the educational experience they desire. Within this industry, the Dachau Memorial Site is well positioned to continue prospering as a tourism destination.



## Chapter 3:



established successful, and professionalized tourism destination. Further, the introduction of the Literaturhandlung bookstore substantiated the commercial services available at the Memorial Site through its wide variety of merchandise in its inventory, in which the Memorial Site has zero sale of souvenirs on our premises [Dachau Memorial Site].<sup>123</sup> Yet, the merchandise available at both Literaturhandlung and the CID bookstore contradict this statement. Perhaps the Memorial Site distanced itself from the commercial activities of the CID and Literaturhandlung. Regardless, the merchandise available at both these stores contains products which are commonly associated as souvenirs. Literaturhandlung did augment the tourism services available at the Memorial Site in a way that commodified the visitor's experience by providing a platform in which shopping could be performed at a concentration camp.

An example of this supposed shopping experience might include buying postcards to keep or send to friends and family. Postcards are iconic souvenirs that provide tourist destinations with a form of revenue and free publicity. These affordable and easily transportable products are sold at retail outlets at almost any tourist destination.<sup>124</sup> Postcards are commonly found at Holocaust destinations such as the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Site, USHMM, Yad Vashem, the Berlin Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, and of course the Dachau Memorial Site. Beyond the initial revenue generated through their sale, postcards and their subsequent distribution create an

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<sup>122</sup> Sandra Zerbin interview by Arie Kelerstein, March 2, 2018.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> \$G\ 0LOPDQ 33RVWFDUGV DV UHSUHVHQWDWL BQm of Dachau Marketing 18, no.2 (2011): 158.

DGYHUWLVLQJ PHGLXP WKDW LV GLVVHWHW QDWK GHDWUWUW HVR

SXEOLFLW\ IRU <sup>125</sup> According to Sandra Zevlin, the Dachau Memorial Site maintains

the official position that has <sup>3</sup> QR PDUNHW. However, the sale of postcards by the CID

provide the Memorial Site with a source of free publicity and represent a limited form of

marketing<sup>126</sup>

narrative of the SS training facility is visually excluded. This prevents its viewers from gaining a spatial or historical understanding of the relationship between the two facilities. Perhaps the CID did not want the viewer to realize that a portion of the SS training facility and turned into the Dachau Golf Club, featuring a postcard currently on sale, a foggy scene depicts a security ditch, watchtower and barbed wire at the Memorial Site.<sup>32</sup> What is notable about this postcard is that the viewer can glimpse the location where the former prisoner barracks once sat. On the other side of the ditch, slightly elevated rectangular shapes are seen on the ground which identify where these barracks once stood. The postcard, which contains no textual description or explanation, marginalizes the failed history of preservation at the Memorial Site. Without contextual information, postcards have the potential of misrepresenting important historical narratives of a destination. Ultimately, the two sample postcards demonstrate how the presence of souvenirs, and the form they take





The efforts of these two delegates became a reality nowadays, the webpage for the German National Tourist Board contains an entire section Jewish Travelers, which lists famous Jewish destinations in Germany including the Dachau Memorial Site.<sup>137</sup> Other activities concentration camps as a form of ethnic activity. Established in 1988 by the Israeli Ministry of Education, March of the Living is a program that annually brings together approximately 10,000 Jewish high school students from over 40 countries. These students then visit Holocaust destinations in Eastern Europe including the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Site, before concluding the trip in Israel.<sup>139</sup> What is curious about the Dachau Memorial Site is that it has specifically taken steps to promote itself as a Jewish heritage destination. By allowing a Jewish business that sells Jewish merchandise to operate on its facilities, the Memorial Site specifically accommodated its Jewish visitors and distinguished their interaction with the Memorial Site as a Jewish heritage experience.

What we do know is that these two bookstores ended an established practice that had restricted the sale of consumer products at the Memorial Site. Nowadays, visitors can find anything from postcards and bookmarkers at the CID bookstore, to DVD copies of *Fiddlers Green* and *Yiddishkeit* Jewish dreidels at the Literaturhandlung bookstore. The merchandise at both the CID and Literaturhandlung bookstores convey specific historical themes that are related to the Holocaust

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<sup>137</sup> See (OOLQ 3 \$GYHUW, WULQHO \$KHUW PDQH WUD New York Times, Dec. 6, 2001, C7.

<sup>138</sup> 3 +R P7HRZQV FLWLHV FXOWXUH ' .





## Conclusion

Does the inevitable commodification of these sites through the sale of guided tours, bookshop offerings, refreshments, and souvenirs eliminate any possibility of an ~~in~~ encounter with the Holocaust as historical event?

- Daniel Reynolds<sup>141</sup>

The intersection between tourism and Holocaust memorialization has produced a lively

VFKRODUO\ GHEDWH \$W WKH KHDUW RI WKH GHEDWH OLHV  
DSSURSULDWH WR <sup>3</sup>VHOO' WKH +RORFDXVW XVLE<sup>142</sup>J PHWKRGV

3URSRQH QWV RI WRX~~W~~ conflict in the healing process and social renewal <sup>143</sup> Furthermore, scholars argue that visiting Holocaust museums, memorials, and concentration camps help inspire their visitors to refute

WKH JURZLQJ <sup>3</sup>FODLPV RI <sup>144</sup>Meanwhile, critics argue that this is a corrosive influence that inhibits authentic

FRQVXPHU EDVH WKH\ PXVW DLP IRU <sup>145</sup>Skeptics question whether <sup>3</sup>WKH LQFUHDVLQJ QXPEHU RI YLVLWRUV WKH UHQ~~id~~es DWLRQ

(e.g. coffee shops, cafeterias, selling books, a coffee machine at Auschwitz), etc. do somewhat

GHYDOXDWH WKH DXWKHQWLFLW\ RI <sup>146</sup>The purpose of this study is not to position itself within this debate because <sup>3</sup>WKH HQG <sup>3</sup>HYH~~bb~~W~~he~~ KLQJ GHSHC

+RORFDXVW LV UHPHPEHUHG E\ ZKRP <sup>147</sup>Rather, these scholars GHU ZK

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<sup>141</sup> 5H\QROGV <sup>3</sup>&RQVXPHUV RU :LWQHVVHV" +RORFDXVW WRXULVWV DQG V  
<sup>142</sup> \*D\ <sup>3</sup>7KH SROLWLFV RI FXOWXU~~Document~~ HBERU DQFH 7KH KRORFDXVW  
<sup>143</sup> 3RGRVKHQ +XQW DQG \$QGJMHMZVNL <sup>3</sup>\$WWULEXWLRQ 3URFHVVHV LQ

debates outlined to illustrate the challenges and complexities of remembering the Holocaust and the moralistic implications of that commemoration.

Beyond the realm of scholarship, several artists have also used the Holocaust tourism industry as a medium for artistic expression. In 2016, Sergei Loznitsa released an unsettling new documentary *That Time We Did Not Die* in which the camps are experienced today.

This documentary was filmed at both the Sachsenhausen and Dachau Memorial Sites and serves how tourists interact with the Holocaust, with each other, and with the Memorial Sites. In one scene, a 270-pound gate was actually stolen from the Memorial Site in 2014 and was recently found in Norway and returned to the Memorial Site.<sup>148</sup>

Although the film takes no explicit position on whether these forms of interaction are

popular. In a similar project, Polish artist Pawel Szypulski published a coffee book entitled *Greetings from*

*Auschwitz*. This book pulled together a collection of postcards that had been sent by tourists at the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Site since 1946 through the medium of postcards.

*Greetings from Auschwitz* is another artistic endeavor that studies how tourists interact with concentration camps. It

<sup>148</sup> *That Time We Did Not Die*, Sergei Loznitsa, New York Times, August 31, 2016, International Arts.

<sup>149</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> *That Time We Did Not Die*, Sergei Loznitsa, Washington Post, February 22, 2017, World Views.

<sup>151</sup> *That Time We Did Not Die*, Sergei Loznitsa, New York Times, August 31, 2016, International Arts.

<sup>152</sup> *That Time We Did Not Die*, Sergei Loznitsa, New York Times, August 31, 2016, International Arts.

is clear from these two artistic projects that the Holocaust tourism industry is an interesting artistic medium, which can be used to explore how contemporary society interacts with places of history and memory.

elaborated. It is clear that Holocaust tourism is a popular industry and that concentration memorials work with a growing clientele base composed primarily of foreigners and young schoolchildren. In this industry, the Dachau Memorial Site has benefited from its proximity to Munich and its legacy as the first Nazi concentration camp. These attributes have helped enable its popularity, which was supplemented through the use of promotional techniques through associated third-party ventures and online websites like TripAdvisor. Ultimately, the dimensions of the Holocaust tourism industry have generated a variety of conditions and factors that have affected the Dachau Memorial Site.

The final phase of the investigation synthesized the previous two chapters and examined how the steps taken by the Memorial Site in the last twenty years affected its representation of history. Specific focus was devoted towards the introduction of the CID and Literaturhandlung bookstores. These bookstores ended a focus on the CID and towards the introduction

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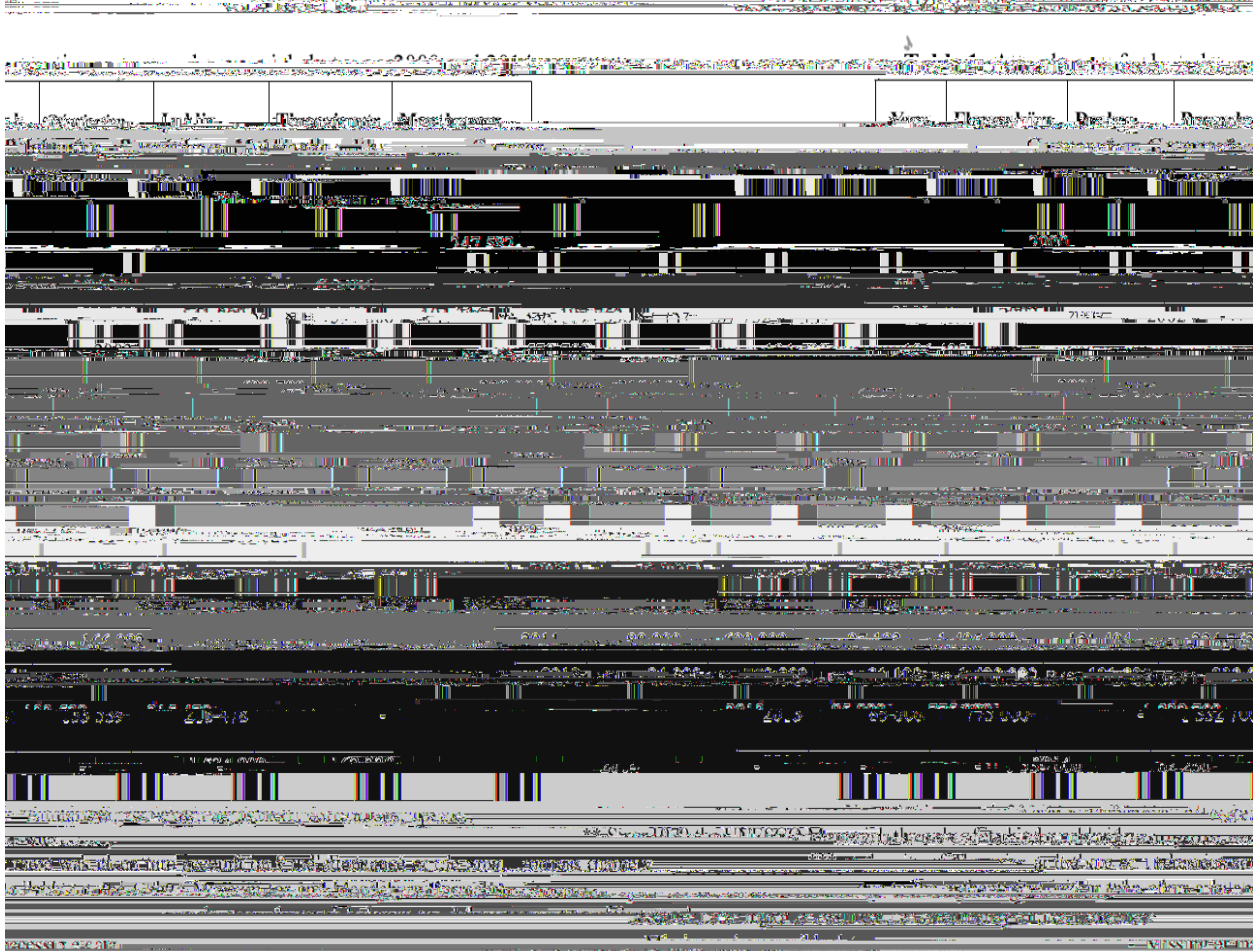
3 33- +LVWRU\ RI WKH 'DFKDX &RQFHQWUDWLRQ &DPS ' 33 YLVLWRU VWXG\ ' 36 <https://www.kzgb.de/war-de/index-e.html> (accessed March 2018).





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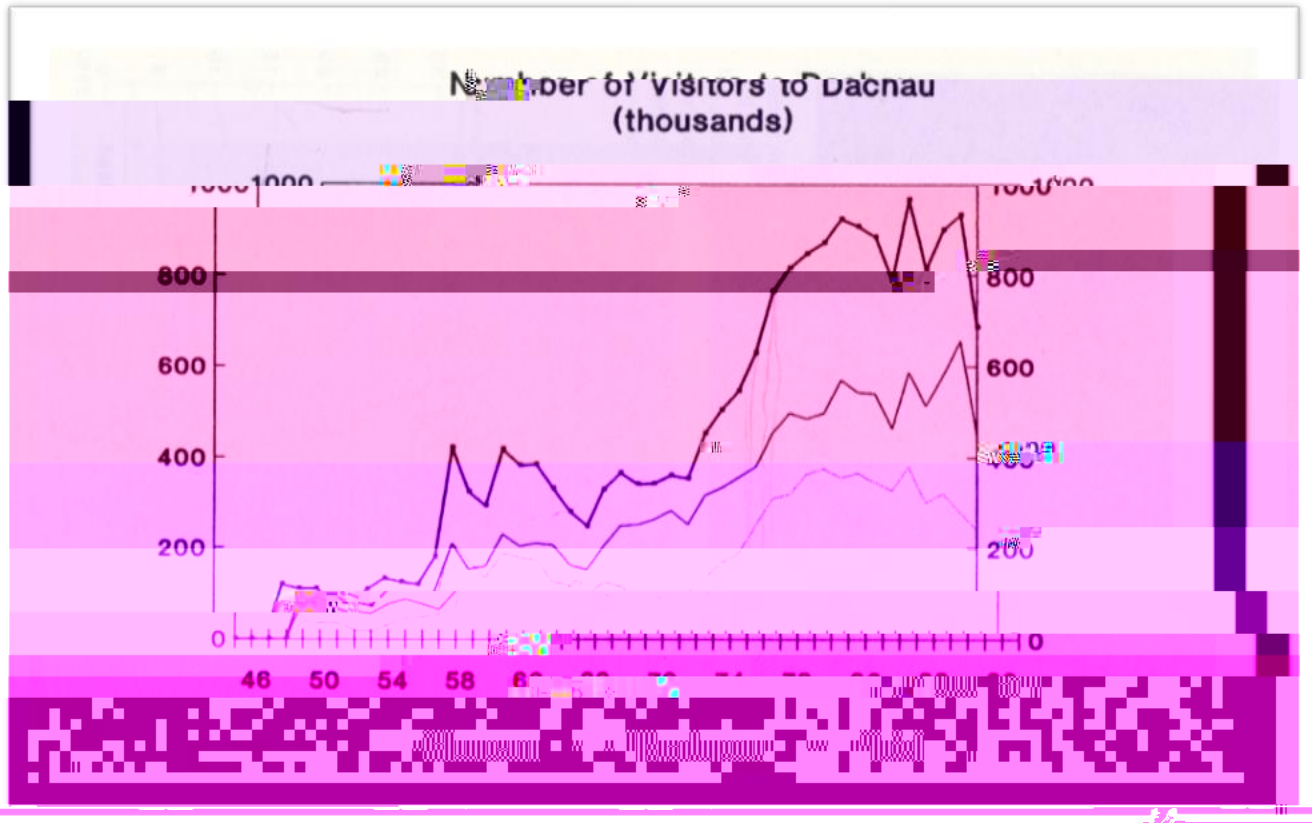


Figure2: Source taken from the Dachau Memorial Site <https://www.kzgedenkstaette-dachau.de/topography.html>



Figure3:



Figure4:

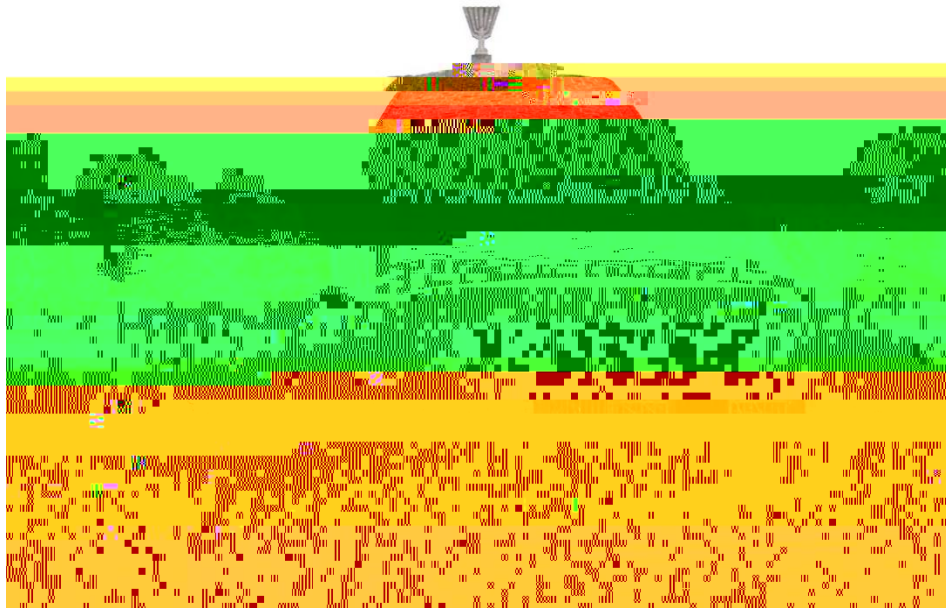




Figure6:

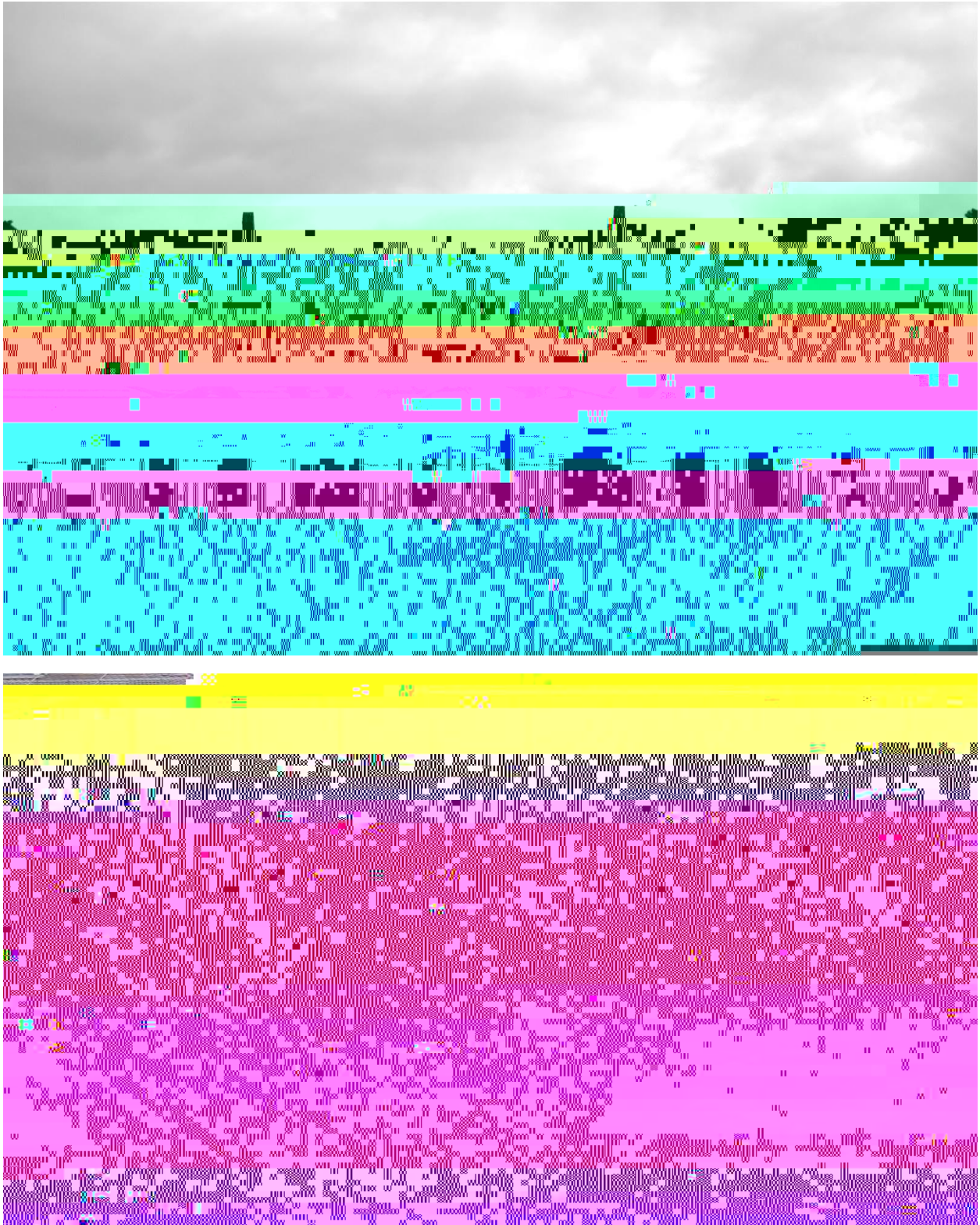


Figure 7:

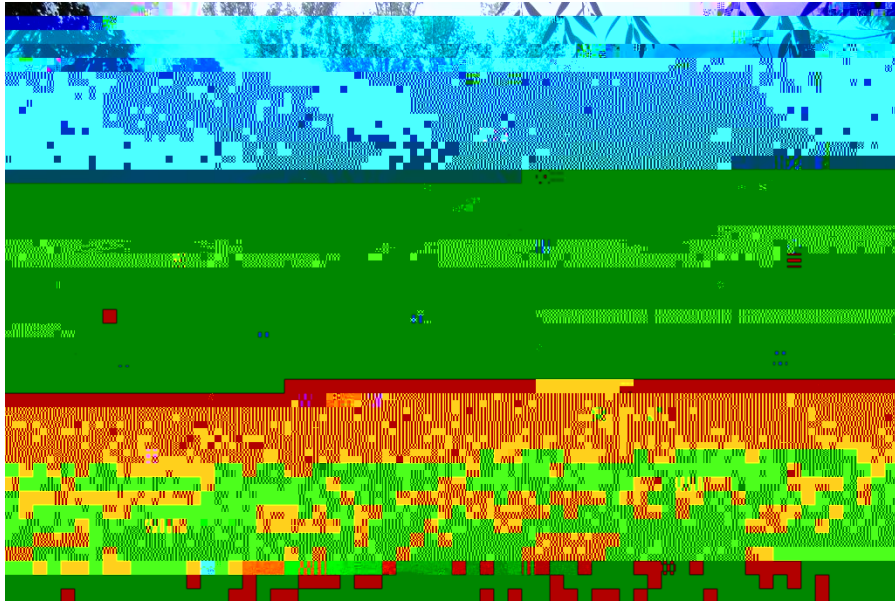


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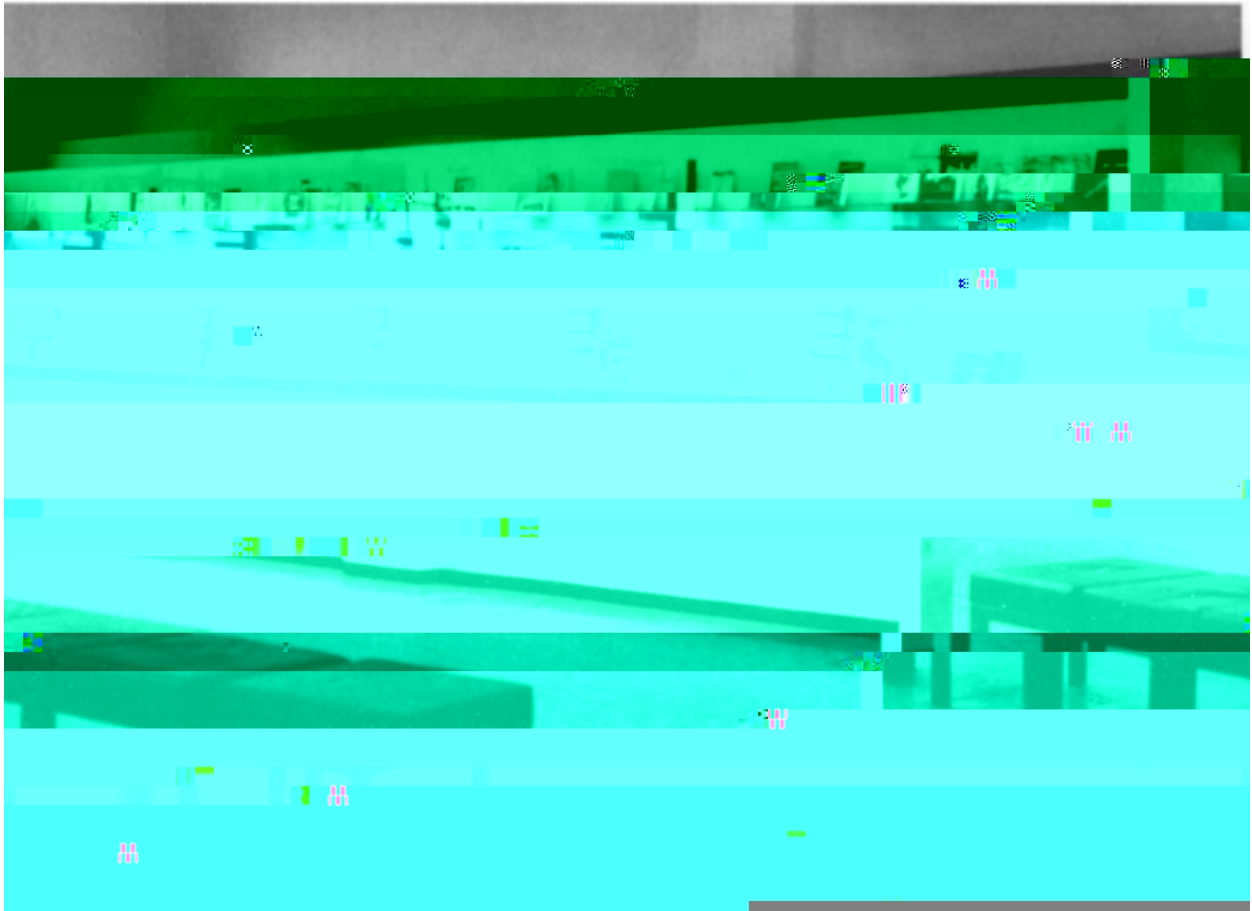


Figure 9:

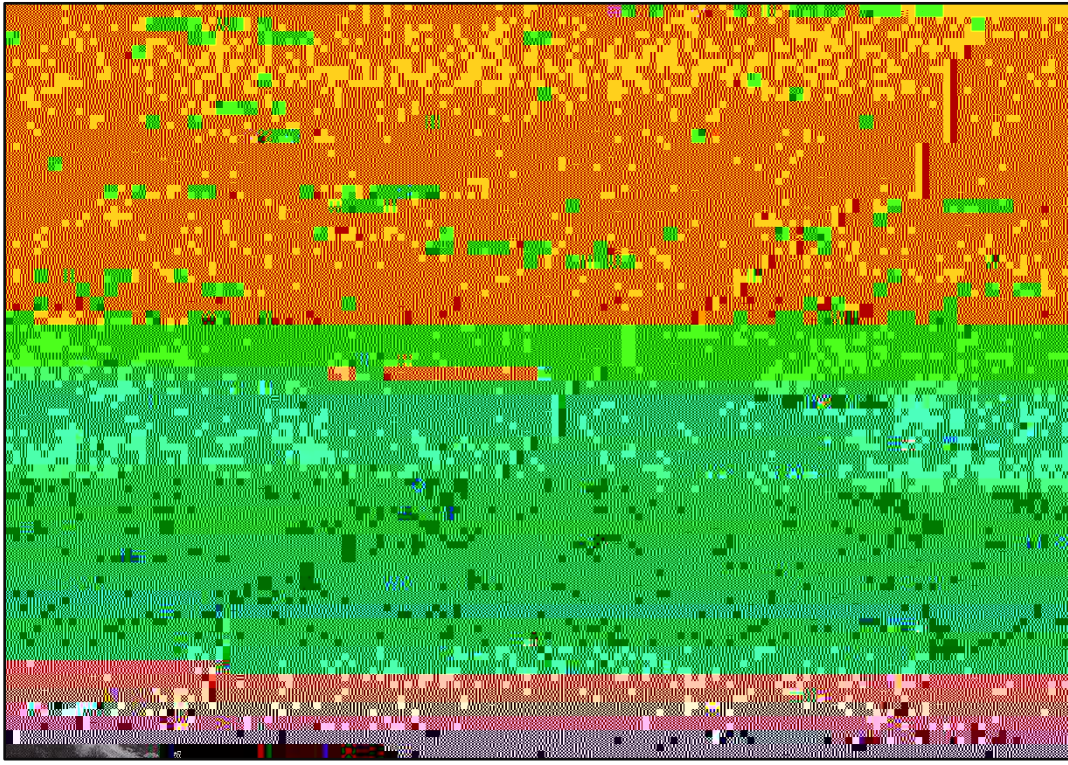


Figure 10:







