The Hidden Holocaust: Bystanders, Thoughtlessness and Sympathy

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The list of people to thank is incredibly long! First and foremost, I wish to express my unending gratitude to my ever patient supervisor, Larry, who has been an absolute godsend and sparked the initial idea for this thesis and the original two pilot studies. The staff of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, in particular Geoffrey Megargee who generously shared his data pertaining to the geographical coordinates of the Nazi concentration camps with me, the staff at the Mittelbau Dora, Bergen Belsen and Neuengamme memorials, particularly Dr Regina Heubaum and Herr Klaus Tatzler who were incredibly helpful in locating the archival data and were a great support in researching the camps, were exceptionally kind and helpful during my fieldwork and I am grateful for everything. Furthermore, thank you to Frau Claudia Dettmar-Müller and her daughter for the interesting insight into the Bergen area, discussion about your previous research – and the delicious cake!

The staff in the SSPSSR department are incredible and, while I know I'm a pain for administrative tasks, you've all been marvellous! Thank you also to David Stovell who taught me German and was responsible for the initial visit to Dachau concentration camp, the Holocaust Educational Trust for allowing me to participate in their programme, Margaret Carr for my love of geography which came in handy here, and Barry Robson for my love of sociology and criminology. I would also like to thank the students I have had the privilege to teach during my thesis who have challenged me, made me smile, and helped me to achieve my dream. I would also like to blame Jamie Cross and Kate Dobson – this is all your fault, but thank you!

More personally, I would like to thank Adam Branston, Warren De Souza, Laura Edwards, Michael Edwards, Emma Gladwell, Ellie Green, Edward Martin, Kenna Moy, David Waterson and 'G-' for their unending love and support. Even in the most difficult of times, you've stood by me without judgement and encouraged me to push on. Furthermore, in these last few months I have been tremendously supported by the Roberts family. Words cannot express how grateful I am to you all for the number of times you have picked me up, dusted me off, given me a hug and sent me back on my way.

Finally, I wish to dedicate this thesis to the memory of friends and family who have passed along the way: David Hampshire, Katherine Ormerod, Kane Ashcroft, Uncle Glenn Worsnop, Uncle Jim Hannam, Peter Green, Lord Greville Janner and the 'Wandas'.

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ABSTRACT

This research draws on key sociological theorists to show that the architecture and topography of the concentration camps promoted thoughtlessness amongst civilians, which ultimately allowed the Holocaust to take place. In the works of Arendt, Bauman, Cohen and Elias the theme of psychological denial or 'thoughtlessness' recurs. Bauman argued that the civilising process had failed to 'erect a single foolproof barrier against the genocide' (2009: 110), however, this research argues that Elias' theory of the 'civilising process' shares key links with Bauman's theory in that it is through mental and physical sequestration that denial can take place through the 'dyscivilising process' argued by De Swaan. Moreover, it is as a result of this sequestration that the civilising process is relevant to other key theorists of the Holocaust including Arendt and Cohen.

The results are comprised of two parts. Firstly, the results of an analysis of the architecture and topography of the camps are presented, to show the sequestration that took place which promoted the 'thoughtlessness'. Secondly, the results of a case-study of Mittelbau Dora concentration camp are presented, to show how this sequestration impacted on empathetic and sympathetic responses by civilians.

Specifically, the research examines the changes in sensory knowledge of the concentration camps in Nazi Germany by German civilians and the importance of the 'dyscivilising process' for their inception and development. Sensory knowledge is explored through data collected by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and historical maps. This is further complimented by contemporary and archival photographs of concentration camps in the Harz and Hamburg regions. In so doing, I challenge the descriptions of Sofsky and Goffman as to what a concentration camp looked like in that many concentration camps were located in previously used buildings such as farms or houses. Across time, it is possible to explain the changes in sensory knowledge through a breakdown of the 'civilising process' and the importance of physical and psychological sequestration of violence, suffering and death acknowledged by academics including Arendt, Bauman and Cohen. I argue that while the camps in Germany were very much an 'open secret', it was only very late in the Nazi era that most German civilians had first-hand, sensory knowledge of them. Moreover, in a case-study of Mittelbau Dora concentration camp, I argue that the physical and psychological distances between inmates and civilians had a direct impact on the 'mutual identification' and empathic responses between them, thus the architecture and topography of the camps promoted thoughtlessness. Moreover, in a case-study of Mittelbau Dora concentration camp, I argue that the physical and psychological distances between inmates and bystanders had a direct impact on the 'mutual identification' between them. In direct contrast with Goldhagen, I argue that the residents of the Harz region were not the 'willing' and virulent Nazis he would argue. Civilian workers at the V2/A4 rocket plant at Mittelbau Dora were more able than other civilians in the region to identify with the inmates because of the sensory knowledge, which allowed for greater empathy and 'fellow-feeling'. Conversely, the residents of the Harz region who did not work alongside the inmates were much more able to psychologically deny the camps and the suffering of the inmates because their first-hand sensory knowledge was so limited. Thus, the architecture and topography of the camps contributed to the thoughtlessness of the civilians as a result of the sequestration.

Indicative Timeline of Key Events in Nazi History:

1933-1945

This timeline highlights some of the key events in Nazi German history. It is by no means exhaustive but serves to highlight some of the key social and political events during the era which may have impacted on the architecture and topography of the concentration camps, and civilian empathy towards the inmates of concentration camps¹.

1933

- January 30: President Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler Chancellor of Germany.
- February 22: The Reichstag burned down. Dissidents were blamed.
- February 28: 'The Emergency Decree for the Protection of People and State'
 passed. Civil liberties were suspended, the left wing press was banned, and
 communist and socialist leaders were arrested.
- March 20: The first concentration camp, Dachau, opened.
- March 22: The 'Racial Hygiene Department' opens.
- April 1: Jewish opened shops and businesses were boycotted.
- May 10th: 'Un-German' books were publicly burned.
- July 5th: All political parties other than the Nazi Party were banned.
- July 14th: A 'Sterilisation Law for the Prevention of Hereditary Diseases' was passed.
 Criminals, convicted homosexuals and the physically and mentally disabled were particularly targeted

- June 30: The 'Night of the Long Knives'. Leadership of the SA and Hitler's political enemies were arrested or murdered.
- August 2: President Hindenburg died. Hitler declared himself both Chancellor and President. The armed forces swore an oath of loyalty to Hitler.
- October 26: Homosexuals were arrested across Nazi Germany.

¹ Derived from Benz (2000), Rees (2005), Reitlinger (1968), and Friedlander (2007)

- March 17: Compulsory military service was introduced.
- June 26: Compulsory labour service was introduced.
- September 15: Nuremberg Race Laws were enacted. Jews could no longer hold German citizenship, were prevented from marrying or having sexual relations with German 'Aryans', were forbidden to vote or hold public office. The laws defined a Jew as someone with three or four Jewish grandparents, regardless of their religious practice.

1936

- March 7 1936: German troops march into the Rhineland.
- August 1-16, 1936: Summer Olympics in Berlin. Jesse Owens, an African American runner won a gold medal in his race but Hitler would not present it to him.
- August 28: Jehovah Witnesses arrested en masse.
- December 1: The Hitler Youth became a state organisation. All non-Nazi youth movements were banned.
- December 13: Lebensborn was established. 'Aryan' women were encouraged to become pregnant to populate Germany with more 'Aryans'. Some centres were created to care for new mothers and their babies.

1937

- March 9: 'Habitual criminals' arrested en masse.
- July 15 Buchenwald concentration camp opened.
- November 8: Anti-Semitic exhibition opened in Munich

- March 11: Germany incorporates Austria in the Anschluss (Union).
- April 22: Jews are no longer permitted to be employed.
- November 9: Kristallnacht Night of the Broken Glass. Widespread pogrom against
 Jews and their businesses.
- August 17: Jews are required to incorporate new names into their own: Israel for men, and Sara for women.
- September 29: Munich Agreement. Sudetenland annexation.

- October 5 German Jewish passports are declared invalid.
- December 3¹ Jewish businesses are closed or forced to be sold to 'Aryans'.

- September 1: Germany invaded Poland.
- September 3: England and France declared war on Germany.
- September 17: The Soviet Union occupied Poland from the east.
- October 8, 1939: The first ghetto was established in Piotrków Trybunalski, Poland.

1940

- April 9: Germany invaded Denmark and Norway.
- May 10: Germany attacked western Europe (France and the Low Countries).
- May 20: Auschwitz opened.
- July 10: Battle of Britain began.

1941

- April 6: Germany invaded Yugoslavia and Greece.
- June 22: Germany invaded the Soviet Union., known as 'Operation Barbarossa'
- July 6: Einsatzgruppen Aktionen (mobile killing units) commence
- August 3: Bishop Clemens August Graf von Galen of Muenster denounced the 'euthanasia' killing program in a public sermon. Widespread public outrage led to a temporary halt to the killings
- August 20: Drancy camp in France established
- October 15: Jews from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia were deported to the east. Operation Reinhard begins
- December 8: The first killing operations began at Chelmno
- December 11: Nazi Germany declared war on the United States.

- January 20: Wannsee Conference held near Berlin, Germany. The details of the 'Final Solution' were discussed
- March 1: Auschwitz Birkenau opened

- March 27: 65,000 Jews from Drancy in France were deported to the east
- June 28: Germany attacked the city of Stalingrad.
- July 15: 100,000 Jews from the occupied Netherlands deported to the east
- July 22: 300,000 Jews deported from the Warsaw ghetto to Treblinka
- September 5: Death penalty for aiding Jews enacted
- November 23: Soviet troops counterattack at Stalingrad, trapping the German Sixth Army in the city.

- February 2: Germans defeated at Stalingrad
- April 19: Warsaw ghetto uprising. The remaining Jews not yet deported to Treblinka fight to the last.
- October 1, 1943: Rescue of Jews in Denmark.
- October 1: Sobibor uprising. Many inmates escaped or were shot in their attempt to escape. The camp was subsequently closed.
- November 6: Soviet troops liberate Kiev.

- March 19: Germans forces occupied Hungary.
- May 15: 440,000 Jews deported from Hungary, primarily to Auschwitz.
- June 6: D-Day. Allied forces invaded Normandy, France.
- June 22: The Soviets launched an offensive in eastern Belorussia (Belarus).
- July 20: Assassination attempt on Hitler
- July 23: Lublin-Majdanek liberated
- August 15: Allied forces landed in southern France.
- August 25: Paris was liberated
- October 2: Revolt at Auschwitz Birkenau
- Nov 25: Order to destroy Auschwitz and Auschwitz Birkenau gas chambers and crematoria
- December 11: Last gassing at Hartheim. End of the T4 'euthanasia' programme
- December 16: Battle of the Bulge.

- January 12: Soviet winter offensive. Soviets gained more ground in the East
- January 18: 60,000 prisoners marched from Auschwitz camp system towards
 Germany and Austria
- January 25: 50,000 prisoners from Stutthof camp marched towards Germany
- January 27: Soviet troops liberated the Auschwitz camp complex.
- March 7: US troops entered Germany
- April 16: The Soviets encircled Berlin.
- April 29: American forces liberated Dachau
- April 30: Adolf Hitler committed suicide.
- May 7: Germany surrendered to the western Allies.
- May 9: Germany surrendered to the Soviets.

CHAPTER 1 - Introduction

This research is the culmination of more than fifteen years' academic and personal study into the history and sociology of the Holocaust yet in truth, my interest began much earlier than this. As a child, I read *When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit* (Kerr, 2017) on the recommendation of a friend although the majority of the history and significance of the story was far beyond my understanding at the time. The Holocaust was not something I had heard of, let alone could begin to comprehend. A few months later, I came home from a sunny afternoon with my friends to find my father watching a film and crying. This piqued my curiosity for I never saw my father cry, let alone at a film. I 'borrowed' the videotape and found myself watching *Schindler's List*. Finally, I understood why my father had cried.

In July 2001, I visited the site of the former Dachau concentration camp during a German language exchange program. I was reluctant to go inside the camp as I was ill-prepared emotionally and academically for the day. We were guided through former barracks, the former 'bunker' (prison) and to the site of mass executions with snippets of information provided by our teachers. It was a deeply moving day for all of us, and a profound silence descended over our small group for the rest of the day. On the train back to our billets, I asked the teachers the unanswerable questions: How could this have happened? Why did nobody stop it? No answers were given. For all I had learned that day and shocked to the core though I was, still, I was left with questions.

In October 2002, the opportunity arose to take part in the Holocaust Educational Trust's *Lessons from Auschwitz* programme. I begged my teacher to allow me to go, assuring her that parental consent was certain and that this was an opportunity for me to gain some answers to the many questions remaining from the visit to Dachau. Thankfully, I was given the place. The course took place over a series of three sessions. In the first instance, the group met with Kitty Hart-Moxon who had survived Auschwitz. We listened to her speak, watched a little of her documentary and purchased her memoirs. I had learned from my mistake at Dachau and in preparation for the visit, I read anything relevant I could find to emotionally and academically prepare myself. Later that month, I visited the sites of Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau and found myself still grossly ill-prepared. The day was tense and like so many of the other teenagers on the visit, I found myself (as I still do now) lacking the words to describe the place or the very experience of being there. I was staggered and overwhelmed, yet compelled to learn. I listened attentively to our guide,

read every information board, and looked intently at every artefact and building I possibly could. Then I looked beyond the walls and the fences. Houses stood nearby and these houses were not recently built. These houses were present at the time the camp was operational. Amongst the many other questions I took away from the camps, I returned to my original questions from Dachau: How could this have happened? Why did nobody stop it? I was dumbstruck that anyone could live so close to a place such as Auschwitz. There is no disguising it from a place of utmost terror; it is a scar on the landscape as it is on human history and human morality. We left Auschwitz Birkenau at dusk, walking in silence from the gas chambers to the main gate along the railway line. I resolved to learn more, to keep reading, thinking and speaking out. This prepared me for the third and final session of the course where we planned and discussed how to disseminate the knowledge we had gained during the course. My school limited me to presenting to a small group of students and writing a short article for the school magazine, but this was not enough.

For the best part of a decade, I learned for my own benefit to answer these questions which would continually arise and to speak out with more knowledge whenever the opportunity presented itself. I was fortunate to meet with a number of survivors of the Holocaust including Trude Silman, John Chilag and Arek Hersh and other members of the Holocaust Survivors Friendship Association. I was also fortunate to have supportive teachers who encouraged my interest, and thus wrote pieces of AS and A2 Sociology coursework examining the nature of Weberian 'rationality' by way of how the concentration camps were run, and later studied relevant modules at undergraduate level.

At the end of my undergraduate degree, I had still not learned enough and could still not answer so many of the questions I posed. I also wanted to *do* something with the knowledge I had gained so far, thus I contacted the Holocaust Educational Trust. Their advice was to study for a Masters qualification. As soon as it was possible to do so, I commenced my postgraduate studies and tailored my studies around the Holocaust as much as possible. It was during this course that the academic catalyst for this thesis appeared. As I listened to a lecture on *The Civilising Process* (Elias, 2000), I was both troubled and compelled. How the theory could work against the backdrop of the Holocaust fascinated me, and allowed scope for the theoretical exploration of the questions I had long asked. Studying the civilising process, I was struck by two questions: how secretive were the concentration camps, and how thoroughly were the social bonds between people broken in the Nazi era? This led to two pilot studies by way of Masters dissertations.

In the first pilot study, primarily I questioned the sequestration of violence and death of the concentration camps in Poland. How many civilians would have had firsthand knowledge of the camps? How far away from civilians were the camps? Who would have seen the violence? Who took part in the violence? The pilot study, although comparatively small, yielded interesting results suggesting there was sequestration of violence and death but that it differed with facilities for the disposal of human remains. Civilians were largely shielded from the full realities of the camps but the camps and the violence which took place therein was seen. In the second pilot study, I explored the 'mutual identification' (Elias, 2000) or empathy of rescuers with those they rescued during the Holocaust. Again, interesting results were yielded to suggest that some social bonds originally created before the Nazi era were not broken and many were strengthened. Kate Lipner (1997), for example, hid her lover's child and even murdered an SS officer to keep the secret. She believed that she would marry her lover and become a mother to the child, thus it was desperately important to her to save their lives. Trude Lowy (1998) also went on to marry one of the men she rescued. It was often the case that rescuers started out helping those they knew and loved the most, but often their rescuing activity expanded to strangers.

This thesis is, therefore, broadly speaking, my attempt to answer those questions I posed In July 2001 after I visited Dachau concentration camp: how could this have happened? Why did nobody stop it? More narrowly, I focus on the impact of the architecture and topography of the Nazi concentration camps in Germany on civilian empathy. What did a concentration camp *look like*? Were nearby civilians empathetic or sympathetic to the inmates inside the camps? Did the architecture and topography allow civilians to ignore and deny what was taking place therein? Are changes in architecture and topography apparent, which may further explain civilian empathy towards the inmates?

In exploring these questions theoretically, a number of notable writers were examined. Yet no single theory explains the Holocaust and there are considerable contradictions between each. Arendt (2003) was deeply critical of Milgram (2013) and any theoretical association seen between his study and her theories. Bauman (2009), conversely, supported both Milgram's findings and Arendt in her concept of the 'banality of evil' (1983). Cohen (2001) was also supportive of these three theories but neglects any discussion of Elias (2000) and the 'civilising process', and Bauman (2009) directly argued against Elias. De Swaan (2001) began to bridge the gap between Bauman and Elias when he conceptualised the 'dyscivilising process'. For all the apparent contradictions in the various theories and

arguments, there is one common denominator: **thoughtlessness**. The very act of thinking is the 'silent dialogue with oneself' which allows a person to question if they can bear to live with himself or herself if they act unethically (Berkowitz, 2010:5). Faced with a moral dilemma, the individual can choose to accept responsibility for his or her actions or can ignore or deny the problem's existence. Thinking then is 'the habit of erecting obstacles to oversimplifications, compromises, and conventions' (Berkowitz: 2010:8). A person may seek to justify their indiscretion, for example, by claiming they were following orders or that everyone else was doing it, but this is not thinking. The thinker is the person who sees beyond this, recognises that their action would be wrong and does not commit it where the thoughtless person acts on the contrary. Each of the above theorists discusses thoughtlessness under various guises, but it remains the common thread through each.

It is this concept of thoughtlessness at the heart of the theories of Arendt (1983), Bauman (2009), Cohen (2001) and Elias (2000) which forms the core of the research. For Elias (2000), over the course of the civilising process more and more behaviours deemed socially unacceptable do not necessarily cease, but are pushed behind the scenes of social life so that we need not think about them. This is also true of death (Elias, 2001) which has similarly been pushed behind the scenes of public life, into specialised institutions such as hospitals and hospices because death upsets our 'delicacy of feeling' (Elias, 2000: 106). We need not worry about death or violence on a day-to-day basis because it is not something we see. We can ignore that these things happen in specialised institutions because they rarely directly confront us. For Bauman (2009) and Arendt (1983), the perpetrators of the Holocaust could avoid thinking about the moral consequences of their actions because they were at the other end of a bureaucratic chain and thus were both physically and psychologically sequestrated. A piece of paper was signed and thousands would die, but the signatory could morally reassure themselves that it was not they who pulled the trigger or poured pellets of Zyklon B into the gas chambers. The bureaucratic chain allowed the likes of Eichmann to claim they were just a small cog in a larger machine. In Cohen's theorising (2001), we can interpret our situation to deny our social reality, or be so distant (physically and psychologically) that we don't need to think. Like Elias (2000), what happens in some far-off and distant place is not for our everyday concerns and we can deny it is even happening at all, or at least diminish its importance. So too, individuals are able to deny responsibility because their part was only 'small' or they were following orders as Milgram (2013) argued.

Central to this thesis is the argument that the means of promoting such thoughtlessness can be humanly manufactured. Whether it is by having a designated space in which to perform our ablutions so that they do not take place publically, or by a carefully designed bureaucracy, the physical and psychological distance between the act and others can be humanly created.

The focus of the study is the concentration camp system in Nazi Germany. The promotion of thoughtlessness towards these camps and the actions which took place within them will be explored through their physical development across time and also through their architecture and topography. For example, the increase in the number of camps in relation to wider historical events, such as the November Pogrom in 1938 and Allied advancements in 1944, takes place. The architecture and topography are explored as to what the building of the concentration camp was, prior to its use as a camp and the surrounding landscape. Many concentration camps were purposely built but many were repurposed. Examples of repurposing include former factories, houses, hotels, farms or military buildings. The effectiveness of this promotion of thoughtlessness by way of architecture and topography is then further explored. The concentration camp, Mittelbau Dora, was chosen as a case study. It is through the testimony of those civilians living and working in the vicinity of the camp, or even inside the camp, that the promotion of thoughtlessness can be seen to be effective in light of the empathy shown between civilians and inmates. This is theoretically explained through the links between the theorists mentioned above; namely thoughtlessness. As the 'darkness' of Nazism progressed from a movement to a totalitarian regime (see Arendt, 1970; 1979) a partial breakdown or reversal in the civilising process (Elias, 1996) took place whereby the sequestration of the concentration camps dramatically faltered. Moreover, the camps were the very epitome of evil in accordance with Arendt's thinking. In this regard, the concepts of the 'banality of evil' (1983) (thoughtlessness) and that evil is a 'fungus' (1978: 251) (lacking in roots, or of any real depth) are considered alongside her argument of darkness and dark times (1970)². Much like a fungus grows and strengthens in darkness; the camp structure grew and strengthened in the darkness of thoughtlessness propagated by the totalitarian regime. It will be shown that in the darkest time of the Nazi era, just before liberation, there was an explosion in the number of concentration camps in Germany, and thus the camps became increasingly public. An

² While there are many readings and interpretations of Arendt, it is the 'situationist' approach, most in accordance with Milgram's findings (2013) which is adopted.

empirical examination of the link between Bauman (2009) and Elias (2000; 2001) also takes place whereby it is through the architecture and topography of the concentration camps that a 'dyscivilising process' (De Swaan, 2001) takes place. The architecture and topography of the camps permitted a sense of normality to continue outside the camps when the process was breaking down within. An illusion of normality could be maintained when the camps were overlooked, consciously or unconsciously. Violence and death have not yet reached the safety of home – they remain sequestrated in a designated space, away from 'civilised' life.

The concentration camps evolved throughout the Nazi era. The first concentration camp inmates arrived at Dachau on 22nd March 1933 (Distel, 2012) and such camps, at this early stage were labelled as 'protective custody' camps for the imprisonment of political enemies and threats to Nazi power. Many of the main camps opened much later, around 1937. Buchenwald, for example, opened in July 1937 to consolidate prisoners from several smaller 'protective custody' camps (Zengenhagen, 2012). Early camps were welcomed in local neighbourhoods and were popular for the propaganda that they were imprisoning criminals, 'asocials' and the 'workshy'. The small town of Dachau, for example, was initially pleased to have found a degree of fame for their association by proximity to the camp. The residents nearby to the camp of Flossenburg were equally pleased to have a camp in such close proximity for they believed it would bring wealth and commerce to the area (Gellately, 2001). Acts of violence and outright murder took place in these earlier camps but their full use as an instrument of genocide had not yet been fully realised. The T4 programme for the 'euthanasia' of the physically and mentally ill was created in October 1939 and by January of the following year, experiments with murder by carbon monoxide gas were taking place within dedicated T4 centres and not concentration camps (Proctor, 1988). Elsewhere in Europe concentration camps were opening en masse. Auschwitz opened in May 1940 and gassing experiments with Zyklon B began in August 1941 with the murder of several hundred Soviet prisoners of war in the hermetically sealed basement of Block 11 (Sydnor, 2012). Gassings in German concentration camps slowly began to occur but remained infrequent. At Neuengamme, for example, some 488 Soviet prisoners of war were gassed in two separate experiments in 1943 although many prisoners of the sickest and weakest prisoners were sent to Dachau to die (Kaienburg, 2012). Meanwhile, the war and the 'Final Solution', agreed at the Wannsee Conference in January 1942 were gathering momentum. In Germany, camps were opening across the country and the slave labour was

used in the building of armaments or in clean-up operations and bomb disposal. The last main camp (a concentration camp with sub camps falling under the administration of the larger camp to open, was Mittelbau Dora in 1943. In the East, particularly in Poland, gassings were taking place on a daily basis. The Sonderkommando at Auschwitz Birkenau worked day and night to cremate the bodies of victims of the gas chambers but the number of gassings increased in 1944 with the influx of Hungarian Jews. Eventually the crematoria could no longer cope and bodies were burned in mass pits nearby (Venezia, 2012). In late 1944, the Allies were making steady progress in their fight against the Nazi regime. England and the United States had made great strides on the Western Front after D-Day on 6th June 1944, and the Soviets were marching on Poland. In January 1945, the death marches from camps in Poland was in full-effect. The weakest prisoners were left behind to fend for themselves but the strongest, relatively speaking, were ordered to march to camps in Germany and Austria. Those who could not maintain pace died by the roadside of their illhealth or injuries and others were shot (Hart-Moxon, 2000). The abysmal conditions in the concentration camps in Germany reduced still further with the arrival of the death march prisoners and many already weakened prisoners died in the final days of the war. The camps, however, were being liberated. On January 27th, 1945 Soviet forces liberated the Auschwitz complex. By April and May of that year, as the war in Europe drew to a close and Nazi surrender became inevitable, British and United States forces were liberating the camps in Germany and Austria and reporting their horror back home to a stunned audience. Since the end of the war in Europe in 1945, numerous war crimes trials have taken place, even as late as 2017, although a relatively small number of perpetrators have been prosecuted for their actions.

I argue that as the concentration camp system developed over time, so did the architecture and topography of the camps. It is through the exploration of the architecture and topography of the camps that the physical descriptions of concentration camps argued by Goffman (1991) and Sofksy (1999) are challenged. 'Auschwitz' stands as a totem of the Holocaust and the abject suffering we, as human beings, can inflict on one another. Images of the camps at both Auschwitz and Auschwitz Birkenau are replete in the multitudes of literature on the Holocaust but their reproduction and constant repetition (Hirsch, 2000) misses the crucial underbelly on the concentration camp system as a whole. Auschwitz and Auschwitz Birkenau as geographical spaces are in stark contrast to their surroundings and even now images of the spaces can evoke a visceral response, but in the course of the

research for this thesis a far more frightening reality dawned - that the Holocaust could take place in an otherwise outwardly 'normal' appearing building. The descriptions of Goffman (1991) and Sofksy (1999) are accurate of many of the purposely built concentration camps but a large percentage of the concentration camps in Nazi Germany were buildings repurposed as concentration camps. This, furthermore, encompasses Cohen's (2001) concepts of denial, particularly in that both physical and psychological distances are critically important for denial. Concentration camps could be located in rural areas, almost perfectly sealed away from civilians to provide a physical distance, but a psychological distance could be created in that the building was 'just' a house or 'just' a farm and not places of absolute terror. In turn, this relates back to the distancing Bauman (2009) and Arendt (1983) noted of the bureaucratic system, and the physical and psychological distancing Milgram (2013) noted aided participation in violence. In the infamous experiments conducted by Milgram, participants were significantly more likely to administer a lethal electric shock if they could not see or hear their 'victim', and repeatedly cited being under instruction to continue administering shocks. In this way, I draw attention to the necessity to consider the wider concentration camp system in literature and education. Moreover, there is an important contemporary reminder: the constant need for vigilance against the proverbial wolves in sheep's clothing.

Returning to Elias (2000), and in consideration of a breakdown of 'mutual identification', we can see this promoted thoughtlessness in action. This draws on Smith's (2002) concept of empathy and Darwall's (1998) concept of sympathy. The two terms are often used as synonyms but there is a key difference between the two. Where we empathise with another, we recognise the other's pain and imagine ourselves in their situation. We 'enter into' their feelings and albeit to a lesser extent, we feel also that pain (Smith, 2002). Sympathy, by comparison, takes this a step further. We still recognise the other's pain and imagine ourselves in their situation, but we do so because we *care* for that individual. The other matters, thus we share their pain in a deeper manner. Drawing on Smith's (2002) concept of empathy and Darwall's (1998) concept of sympathy, the impact of this sequestration can be seen to take place. Where there was less physical sequestration between civilians and the concentration camps, there was reduced psychological distance and thus greater capacity for empathy and sympathy, thus mutual identification (Elias, 2000) was more greatly maintained and thoughtlessness was more difficult to render. 'Mutual identification' for Elias was a common grounding between two people and

something we see ourselves in the other. This may be a familial tie in that we share relatives or that our family operates in a similar manner to another. So too we may find common ground in the town we live in or how long we have lived there, or through our nations, classes or ethnic minority groups (Elias 1994; Dunning, 2004). Mutual identification becomes more difficult, however, when real or perceived differences in power arise. Dunning (2004) notes that inmates of a concentration camp or slaves on a plantation may have identified with their oppressors, but this is far from to say this was mutual. Similarly, Brikgreve (2004) noted the different capacities for empathy in the power dynamic within heterosexual couples. Van Stolk and Woulters (1983) found that the husbands in heterosexual relationships were unaware of their wives' experiences and saw no reason to consider them. Women, conversely, as the subordinates, felt 'obliged' to empathise with their husband (Brikgreve, 2004: 148). Thus, where there is a greater power dynamic, it is more difficult for the party in power to empathise and identify with the party with less power.

The research takes place along two central strands. In the first instance, how the thoughtlessness was promoted by way of the architecture and topography of the concentration camps. This was achieved utilising historical data pertaining to each camp, compiled by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in The Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (Megargee, 2012). Data on the architecture and purpose of the buildings prior to the Nazi era and how each camp disposed of the corpses was collated using the encyclopaedia. To this was added data collected from historical maps from the Nazi era. These maps show the population of villages, towns and cities at the onset of Nazi rule in 1933 and from which the total population with sensory knowledge of the camps could be ascertained. The term sensory knowledge is used to denote those civilians who would have been able to see, hear, smell or potentially touch the concentration camps first-hand. A person in a nearby village might walk past the camp on their way to work, smell the burning of corpses or hear screams within. The local population may also have been employed in some of the camps, or delivered supplies to the camp. Sensory knowledge is first-hand and direct apprehension and does not account for hearsay, rumour, or newsreels of concentration camps which may have been seen in the early incarnation of the concentration camps. This is complimented by both historical and contemporary photographs and diagrams of the concentration camps and sub camps of Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme. Using this data alongside the aforementioned

theorists, it is argued that the architecture and topography of the concentration camps promoted thoughtlessness amongst the nearby civilians. This was achieved by repurposing pre-existing buildings into concentration camps which promoted a sense of normality amongst the nearby civilians, by the slow acceleration in the number of concentration camps within Germany, and keeping the majority of the 'Final Solution' by way of outright murder outside of Germany.

This sequestration and promotion of thoughtlessness can then be seen in action in the second strand of the research. Here, a case study of Mittelbau Dora concentration camp was conducted, employing civilian testimonies donated to the Mittelbau Dora memorial and museum archives after the war. These testimonies were thematically analysed for wider attitudes to the prisoners therein, encounters with the prisoners and the camp and relationships between civilians and prisoners, amongst others. Within the testimonies, the pattern emerges that the local civilians with the lowest levels of sequestration, particularly those who worked alongside the inmates of the camp showed the greatest degree of 'mutual identification' in the Eliasian thinking (2000). Those civilians with the least sequestration and capacity to speak with the inmates within the concentration camp were able to form relationships with them and thus their emotive responses were more akin to Darwall's sympathy (1998) and exceeded Smith's (2002) empathy. The civilians went beyond empathetically feeling for the inmates, but sympathised with them because they mattered to them. Conversely, those with the greatest levels of sequestration, and physical and psychological distancing displayed far less 'mutual identification', showed no 'sympathy' and little 'empathy' in the same theoretical framework. In the strongest case, a woman who worked at the camp but was shielded from the realities by her superiors had nothing but disdain for the inmates.

The importance of the architecture of the concentration camps and their promotion of thoughtlessness cannot be understated, and yet has been overlooked sociologically. Goffman (1991) described the typical architecture of 'total institutions' which included concentration camps, and Sofsky (1999) described the physical attributes of concentration camps in more depth, but neither fully accounted for the vast differences in the architecture of the camps. In the course of the research, one example of 'unusual' architecture stood out; Bad Oberdorf, a sub camp of Dachau. This concentration camp existed for one month in March 1945 and held only one prisoner, a Jehovah's Witness by

the name of Friedrich Frey. He was held at the home of Ilse Hess and her son and performed manual labour around the grounds. In conversation with Gernot Römer in 1983, Ilse Hess, wife of Rudolf Hess who was later found guilty of war crimes at the Nuremberg trials, dismissed any assertion that she had effectively been a Kommandant of a concentration camp; "We all ate together. He was treated like everybody else." He did not wear a prisoner's uniform and slept in her house. Furthermore, she argued, "no concentration camp sub camp existed at Bad Oberdorf." (Römer, 2009: 455-456) Yet legally speaking, for the purposes of reparations for the Nazi crimes, the Sechste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes³ (6-DVBEG, Bundesministeriums der Justiz⁴ 1982) listed Bad Oberdorf as a concentration camp. This is a rare and extreme example. Nowhere else in the research could such an example of the living conditions of a prisoner be found. There are many other striking examples of what might at first appear as 'unusual' concentration camps. It will be shown, however, that such camps were far from unusual in their architecture but it was this normality in architecture which promoted thoughtlessness amongst the local civilian populations. Moreover, it is through the investigation of the architecture and topography of the concentration camps that the key link of thoughtlessness between the aforementioned theorists can be drawn out.

At this early point, it is prudent to draw attention to the categories concentration camps were assigned to during the research process. I defined 'types' of camps as follows:

- Operation Reinhard camps refer to those used only for mass murder. These include Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec. In such camps, victims disembarked from the cattle truck, were immediately murdered in the gas chambers, and their corpses burned in the crematoria. The only inmates of such camps were the *Sonderkommando* and those who sorted the gassed victims' possessions.
- Concentration camps with gas chambers refer to camps such as Auschwitz,
 Auschwitz Birkenau and Mauthausen. These camps had a sizable population of
 inmates for slave labour, but also had the capabilities to gas and cremate victims.
 Inmates, on disembarking from the cattle truck would be directed to the left or
 right; either immediately to the gas chambers or become part of the slave labour
 force.

³ Sixth Ordinance on the Implementation of the Federal Constitutional Law

⁴ Federal Ministry of Justice

- Concentration camps without gas chambers refer to camps utilised solely for slave labour. They differ from ghettos or transit camps by the semi-permanent status of the inmates, their micro geography and architecture. Such camps may, however, have had crematoria to burn the bodies of those who were beaten, starved or worked to death.
- Protective custody camps refer to an early incarnation of the concentration camp.
 These were penal colonies for political prisoners, Jews and Jehovah's Witnesses.
 Forced labour for the war effort or local companies was not universal.
- Transit camps refer to specifically temporary camps such as Westerbork in the Netherlands. These were not intended to provide medium or long-term slave labour to the war effort or local companies. Instead, they were created specifically to hold inmates until they could be transferred elsewhere for slave labour or immediate murder.
- Ghettos refer to slum areas of a city, usually in pre-existing buildings, which were cordoned off and guarded to prevent victims from leaving.
- T4 centres refer to the six institutions whose dedicated purpose was the 'euthanasia' of the mentally and physically ill, orphaned and elderly. Many 'feeder' institutions including hospitals, asylums and homes for the elderly formed part of the euthanasia programme. These have, however, been omitted from the analysis as their original purpose was distinct from the Nazi regime. An analysis of their locales would, therefore, not be indicative of values to Nazi violence.

The research focuses on concentration camps with and without gas chambers and protective custody camps. Operation Reinhard camps and ghettos operated on the eastern side of Poland and in occupied countries to the east of Germany, and transit camps in occupied countries to the west of Germany. Thus, with a focus on camps in Germany, these 'types' of camps were omitted. T4 centres were similarly omitted from the analysis as there were countless 'feeder' institutions such as hospitals or asylums whose original purposes as places of healing and care were distinct from the Nazi regime.

A further explication of the architectural categorisation is necessary. Architecture was divided into several categories:

- Civilian buildings (CB) including houses, farms, hotels
- Fortresses (FT) previously used castles and fortresses

- Industrial buildings (IB) including factories
- Military buildings (MB) including airfields and army barracks
- Purpose built buildings (PB) built specifically to imprison inmates
- Total institutions (TI) prisons, asylums, boarding schools, monasteries, former workhouses
- Underground (UG) those underground⁵.

I broadly define the purpose of the camps prior to their use within the Nazi system as:

- Purpose built these camps were built specifically to accommodate victims for slave labour, transportation to other camps or immediate murder.
- Pre-existing structures these include but are not limited to houses, farms, airfields, factories, castles, prisons or other defined 'total institutions'.

These categorisations are based on the descriptions within the *Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos* (Megargee, 2012). Total institutions represent a category defined by Goffman (1991) to describe institutions (including concentration camps) as places with architectural or topographical features which prevent social discourse between inmates and the wider population.

In chapter two, I present my review of the current literature and present my theoretical framework. I critically expand upon the theories espoused by Arendt (1970; 1979; 1983), Bauman (2009), Cohen (2001) and Elias (1996; 2000; 2001). I further seek to highlight the theoretical link of thoughtlessness between each to emphasise their importance both to the thesis and the wider academic study of the Holocaust. The descriptions of the physical attributes of concentration camps by Goffman (1991) and Sofsky (1999) are critiqued as neither fully accounts for the variety of architecture. The issue of 'bystanders' is then addressed. The term is deliberately avoided in favour of 'civilians' for there may have been civilians who, at opposite ends of a spectrum, denounced or rescued victimised groups, where others worked alongside the military, provided resources for the concentration camps, or merely stayed silent. The morally loaded nature of the term 'bystander' is, therefore, discussed and rejected. Finally, the framework for addressing mutual identification (Elias, 2000) by way of empathy (Smith, 2002) and sympathy (Darwall, 1998)

⁵ Abbreviations such as 'CB' for civilian buildings were used during data collection and also appear in graphs and timelines in Chapter 4.

is then discussed. The importance of examining the capacity for empathy and sympathy takes place against a discussion of Goldhagen's (1997) argument that the wider German populace was virulently anti-Semitic to the extent that they were 'eliminationist' towards the Jews. His argument is critically examined to argue that there was scope for empathy and sympathy. The definitions of empathy and sympathy are then explained, returning to the problem of 'mutual identification' (Elias, 2000) and that pockets may have remained.

In chapter three, the methodological choices and process are discussed and described. Firstly, the cartographic method is discussed as to the rationale for using cartographic data and that from the Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (Megargee, 2012). How the sample was created from this and the Sechste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (6-DVBEG Bundesministeriums der Justiz, 1982), is then described, in addition to how the data was fully collated and then created. The fieldwork within Germany is then discussed. Within this section how a number of potential obstacles to the research were overcome, not least of all the collection of archival data quickly and in a manner which could be analysed back in England, and locating the sub camps to photograph them. Considerations as to how the contemporary photographs of the concentration camps were framed and structured take place alongside a discussion of the potential for bias and my part within the narrative of the Holocaust. It is further discussed how, despite visiting the archives of three former concentration camps, the qualitative case study was limited to the Mittelbau Dora concentration camp. Finally, a discussion of the choice of analysis of the data collected from the Mittelbau Dora concentration camp takes place. The chosen method was thematic analysis as, given the variety in depth and length of some of the testimonies and having previously applied thematic analysis in the examination of empathy and sympathy amongst rescuers in another previous pilot study (Burns, 2012), it was found to be highly effective. A further important point of bias and 'emotion work' (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, and Liamputtong, 2009) is discussed in this chapter. The topic is highly emotive thus it was critically important to the collection and analysis of the data that this was fully considered and accounted for.

The results of the research are collated and discussed in chapters four and five. The first of these results chapters pertains to the architectural and topographical results. These results are presented as graphs, compiled from the data in *The Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos* (Megargee, 2009) and historical maps. This is further complimented with both

historical and contemporary photographs of the camps of Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme alongside some of their sub camps which were found during fieldwork in Germany. Chapter four shows the clear distinction in architectural types of concentration camps and how this could contribute to, and promote civilian thoughtlessness towards the camps and the inmates therein. The second results chapter, chapter five uses qualitative archival data of testimonies donated to the Mittelbau Dora memorial museum and archive. The chapter commences with a brief overview of the history of Mittelbau Dora concentration camp, followed by selected vignettes of the analysed civilian testimony. The problem of the term 'bystander' is then discussed in light of the vignettes, for several of the civilians worked alongside both SS guards and inmates within the camp and amongst these, there were instances of actions to save or prolong the lives of the inmates they encountered. Moreover, other civilians were beaten by SS guards or had previously been imprisoned at a concentration camp. The chapter then goes on to discuss obedience and the capacity of the civilians to disobey orders in order to help inmates wherever they could. This feeds into a return to the discussion of the capacity to think. Despite orders to the contrary and a real risk to their own lives, there were instances of civilians disobeying and helping prisoner. The response to violence within the camps is then examined, paying particularly close attention to any idealisation of violence or 'delicacy of feeling'. The degree of empathy or sympathy between civilians and inmates is examined within the framework of Smith (2002) and Darwall (1998) respectively. In this way mutual identification (Elias, 2000) is explored to show that the degree to which it was maintained was dependent on the capacity for social connection. This capacity for social connection was greatly reduced by physical and psychological distancing by the concentration camp architecture and topography. The discussion then returns to the central argument that the architecture and topography of the camp had a direct impact on the capacity for empathy and sympathy between civilians and inmates, whereby the greater the physical and psychological sequestration, the weaker the emotive response and thus the greater capacity for thoughtlessness.

<u>CHAPTER 2 - Literature</u> <u>Review</u>

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are two broad questions motivating my research into the Holocaust: how could the Holocaust have happened and why did nobody stop it? These vague questions, posed at the age of barely fifteen, have continued to guide my studies. Nevertheless, with the introduction of criminological and sociological theories, I have been presented with the means to begin to address them. Throughout the course of this study, I assert that the architecture and topography of the Nazi concentration camps in Germany promoted thoughtlessness amongst German civilians, and decreased their feelings of empathy and sympathy towards the inmates. They did so by means of physical and psychological sequestration.

This chapter sets forth the literature relevant to my central research questions:

- What did a concentration camp look like?
- Were nearby civilians empathetic or sympathetic to the inmates inside the camps?
- Did the architecture and topography allow civilians to ignore and deny what was taking place therein?
- Are changes in architecture and topography apparent, which may further explain civilian empathy (or lack thereof) towards the inmates?

They key theorists central to this study are Elias (1996, 2000, 2001), Bauman (2009), Arendt (1970, 1978, 1979, 1983) and Cohen (2001). Their works may, at first, glance, appear contradictory and, particularly in the case of Bauman and Elias, directly argue against the other. There is, however, a common thread; that there was (and is) a means of distancing oneself from the reality of that which we may find abhorrent. More specifically, humans are able to exist and act thoughtlessly.

Initially, however, it important to discuss several key considerations in the research. The concept of thoughtlessness, as Arendt (1971) conceived of the concept, so central to the research is explicated first in the interests of clarity. Secondly, the importance of examining and researching the architecture and topography of the German concentration camps is imperative. I discuss here that the existing literature and presentations in the media are incomplete in that they largely overlook the importance of the smaller concentration

camps and sub camps. The chapter then goes on to explicate the problem of studying bystanders, not least of all slippery definition of a 'bystander'. I then discuss existing studies on the attitudes of bystanders, paying particular attention to the difficulty of breath and depth studies. Some researchers have chosen to explore a non-homogeneous sample of bystanders across Germany whereas others have performed case studies on individual camps. The problems arising from both methods are, therefore, discussed. The final consideration is that of Goldhagen's (2001) argument that the German population was 'eliminationist' in their anti-Semitism and welcomed the eradication of the Jewish population. If this argument is held to be true, little scope for empathy or sympathy would be found in the civilian testimony.

The chapter then moves on to discuss the central theorists more widely. Commencing with Elias and the problem of the 'civilising process' (2000) in light of the Holocaust. It also outlines the key theoretical similarities between Elias (2000; 2001), Bauman (2009), Arendt (1983) and Cohen (2001) as to the human capacity for thoughtlessness. The chapter moves to a discussion of the importance of physical and psychological sequestration for socially abhorrent acts to take place, before finishing with a discussion of the framework in which empathy and sympathy were explored in the analysis of qualitative data.

'Thinking', 'Thoughtlessness' and Arendt

In 1961, Arendt travelled to Jerusalem to report on the trial of Nazi bureaucrat, Adolf Eichmann, for The New York Times. Her report was subsequently re-released as a monograph, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A report on the banality of evil* ([1963]1983). The report was, however, not well received and faced widespread criticism on a number of elements. Her phrase, 'banality of evil', for example, was much maligned and Arendt later clarified the statement and her meaning. Central to the banality of evil was the 'inability to think' (Arendt, 1971) and being completely 'devoid of thought' (1983), yet what she meant by to think was not included. She later clarified the point in her lecture Thinking and Moral Considerations as 'the habit of examining and reflecting upon whatever happens to come to pass, regardless of specific context and quite independent of the results ' (1971: 418). Berkowitz expands on this further, arguing thinking is 'the habit of erecting obstacles to oversimplifications, compromises, and conventions' (2010:239). To 'reason', however, is not the same as to 'think'. In Berkowitz's example, when torture becomes normalised the ordinary man can reason himself into 'justifying' what ought to be unthinkable (2010:240).

Nazi policy, for example, in labelling the Jews as vermin and genetic pollutants, 'reasoned' and 'justified' the genocide to the perpetrators. Such policy did anything but encourage thinking, but did provide an easy out – a 'reason'.

Berkowitz, however, goes further to explain how it is that a totalitarian State can promote 'reason' and hinder 'thinking'. In a totalitarian movement and later regime, the world becomes reorganised and restructured. Our place in the world must be redefined and, social creatures that we are, we are eager to do so. In so doing it is possible to become 'swept away' by the others (Berkowitz, 2010:240). It is here that Berkowitz highlights the necessity for solitude to thinking, so exemplified by Arendt in her praise of Jaspers (1968). Loneliness and solitude are different states of being. In a totalitarian State, a person can be 'lonely' insofar as they crave their place in the restructured world and 'morally lonely' in that their former rubric and social network of morals and mores are disintegrating, or have already done so. Solitude, conversely, is the 'conversation one has with oneself' (Berkowitz, 2010:244). Those in a state of solitude have stood back and taken a moment to 'think' and reflect. They, however briefly, are avoiding the trappings of conformity and are engaged in deep conversation with themselves. In essence, thinking is a conversation with the conscience – the guiding inner voice of right and wrong which places moral obstacles in our paths. To think, and therefore to confront one's conscience, can be a daunting prospect for to do so shines a light on our mistakes and indiscretions. By not thinking, whether by choice or unconscious omission, one 'will not mind contradicting himself' and thus is not accountable to himself (1971:444). For he who thinks, drawing on Socrates, it is a better state of affairs to disagree with the masses than be 'out of harmony' with one's conscience (1971:439) - 474). Equally, in the position of committing murder or losing the respect of one's peers, it is preferable to suffer as the pariah than murder, because one would have to live with oneself – as a murder.

Thoughtlessness then is the inability to commune with one's conscience and to accept the reasoning which negates the need to think. It is to be immersed in the world and conform to the extent that inclusion by those in the position of power takes precedence over one's own inner voice.

The importance of examining concentration camp architecture and topography

More than seventy years have passed since the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps. In this time, ever more information about the realities of the camps and the Holocaust has been released. Images and stories of the camps perpetuate in the media every January 27th – the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and, in Britain, Holocaust Memorial Day. It came as quite a surprise when, in the early phases of the study, different architectures began to emerge from the data. Descriptions of farms, house and even hotels stood in stark contrast to the repeatedly used photographs of the Holocaust we may be used to seeing (see Milton, 1986). Thus, a different picture began to emerge. I argue here that the representation of the Nazi concentration camps, both in academic works and more broadly, largely ignores the smaller sub camps and, critically, their architecture.

One day after the liberation of Bergen Belsen by the British army, Richard Dimbleby reported on the conditions of the camp and the prisoners. His description of the camp became infamous but was questioned and its broadcast delayed because it was so extraordinary and that which was depicted was so unthinkable. Some camps have gone down 'in the infernal geography of world history: Theresienstadt and Buchenwald and Auschwitz etc' (Klemperer, 2006: 76) and 'anyone who today commemorates the murder of the Jews thinks of the gas chambers in Auschwitz' (Klemperer, 2006: 125). While first published in 1957, this is no less true today as these larger camps stand as a totem of the evil capable by mankind.

Cohen (2001) argues that there may be an 'official' narrative of the past which imparts a collective memory (see also Jedlowski, 2001). How we view events of the recent or distant past may be proscribed to us through memorials, museums or books. It is difficult, for example, to read about the Holocaust without encountering Auschwitz and images thereof. Films, even those produced as fiction based on history, present an archetype of the topography and architecture of concentration camps. Max commits suicide on the electrified fence of Dachau after the murder of Horst in *Bent* (1997); Sophie is under the scrutiny of guards in Auschwitz watchtowers in *Sophie's Choice* (1982); Bruno befriends Schmuel across the barbed wire fence of a thinly veiled Auschwitz in *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (2008); Auschwitz; and the testimony of an Italian survivor was the inspiration for La *Vite E Bella* (1997). As a historical biopic, *Schindler's List* (1994) went as far as to film

outside the gates of Auschwitz-Birkenau. The smaller sub camps, however, are largely ignored in such films.

Auschwitz acts as a totem of the Holocaust and man's industrialised inhumanity man, as a memorial site to remember the lost, and as a museum to learn. Scathingly, Cole argues that Auschwitz is to the Holocaust what Graceland is to Elvis; it has become the 'backdrop' to 'filmic "Holocausts", a 'staple of the Holocaust myth' (2000: 98). The camp is now preserved and partly rebuilt to allow visitors an insight into the vastness of the horrors that took place there. Items of clothing, pairs of shoes and glasses, and human hair shorn from the heads of those entering the camp are now displayed in Auschwitz as a reminder of the individual lives lost. The history of Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau allow for this degree of memorialisation and education to take place. Auschwitz was every type of camp; it was a transit camp for those who would be transported further East or West; it was a concentration camp to hold great swathes of populations; it was a labour camp and prisoner of war camp, and it was a death camp. In the strictest sense, it was not part of Operation Reinhard, but more than a million people perished there. Pragmatically, Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau are easily and cheaply accessible, particularly from within Europe so that day or weekend trips are more possible today than ever before. The Holocaust Educational Trust, for example, take sixteen to eighteen-year-olds on their Lessons from Auschwitz course, which includes a day trip to the camp. For many, this may be their first and only visit to a concentration camp site. The course is difficult and hardhitting, but memorable and powerful. It is a valuable experience to promote further reading and learning but should only mark the beginning of studies.

Larger camps are more easily memorialised and themselves act as totems of the Holocaust. Many of the smaller sub camps were destroyed in whole, or in part, during the war by the allied attacks or after liberation. Gusen II (a sub camp of Mauthausen) in Austria, for example, is now a housing estate where only the gates and the crematoria remain. In comparison, Mauthausen remains as a museum and memorial to the entire complex (see Bloomstein, 2006). These totems allow us to remember the past without living in it.

A place where over a million people lost their lives in systematic murder should not be confined to the footnotes of history. The importance of Auschwitz as a site of industrialised genocide and now a place of memorial and learning should not be diminished, yet the 'myth' it perpetuates (Cole, 2000) may blur our image of the wider history of the Holocaust. Headlines such as "50,000 camps across Europe" (Lichtblau, 2013) do little to help. Such a

number of Auschwitz or Belsen-like concentration camps would be untenable. With such a number, however, leads to the question of what Nazi concentration camps in Germany actually looked like.

Goffman described an ideal type 'total institution', such as a concentration camp, as symbolised by the 'barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure' (1991: 15). These barriers include 'locked doors, high walls, barbed wire, cliffs, water, forests or moors' (1991: 16). The total separation of inmates from civilians was complete with barbed wire fences and the threat of shooting should an inmate, or civilian, stand too close to the wire or look too closely at the other's world. The inmate's world resembled nothing close to their previous lives on the outside, or, on very rare occasions could inmates find a way to celebrate a festival or enjoy an evening of culture amongst themselves (Hart-Moxon, 2000). We may think of 'Arbeit Macht Frei' above the gates, row upon row of overcrowded huts to accommodate prisoners, gas chambers and crematoria as Klemperer (2006) suggested. When we imagine these, we imagine the most well-known and well-discussed camps within the system: Auschwitz, Treblinka, Dachau, Bergen Belsen amongst others. Our imaginations of the space in which the Holocaust was conducted, however, may hold too closely to this. Purposely constructed rows of wooden barracks, perhaps a camp kitchen and ill-equipped infirmary surrounding an Appelplatz where prisoners would gather for rollcall are something of a generalisation. They were not the exception to a hard-and-fast rule, but there was a further aspect to their layout. Using this ideal type and with an estimated 50,000 camps in the system (Lichtblau, 2013), spanning Europe and this ideal type, it is difficult to imagine the possibility that anyone could 'deny' their existence.

Following his liberation from Buchenwald, Kogen (2006) wrote about his experiences of concentration camp life not from a personal narrative but a sociological perspective. His background as a student of sociology serves to aid in the presentation of his work as partly ethnographical and, as an eyewitness to, and victim of, the brutalities of the Nazi concentration camp system, his work is seminal. Kogen's perspective is limited in some respects. He could not have comprehended the full extent of the camp system while incarcerated and in publishing the first German edition in 1947, some details have since been edited as a result. His description of the 'camps' focuses around the Buchenwald main camp and thus omits the differences between the sub camps and larger camps in the system. As Wachsmann (2006) further notes, his writings on the Holocaust proved

immensely popular and even in Germany in the late 1940s, found an audience. As a result, his descriptions have had a direct influence on the public imagination.

Sofsky notes that early concentration camps did not concretely follow the ideal type design of a concentration camp. Jails, factories and castles all comprise his concept of an 'early' camp (Sofsky, 1999: 48). He does, however, note that these were formed in the early weeks of SA arrests and the ideal type typifies the later camps and it is only with 'minor variations' that the boundaries separating inmates from civilians; moats, walls, layers of fencing and guard towers etc, that camps differed (Sofsky, 1999: 56). These boundaries to the outside world were 'clear, unmistakable, and insurmountable' (Sofsky, 1999: 60). It was, however, the satellite camps where the fortifications were weaker thus the chance for escape greater (Sofksy, 1999: 58). Sofsky, however, describes a generalisation of the sleeping quarters of prisoners as 'wooden barracks' where 'hundreds were crowded together' (Sofsky, 1999: 65) and in so doing, fails to note the true extent of variety in microgeography or architecture of the camps within the system. Some camps were in the basements of houses, others were in hotels or factories, occupied by the SS. This variation in layout does not render the ideal type image we hold useless but it does call into question the clarity of what a concentration camp actually looked like, and how out of place it may have seemed within wider society. The ideal type concentration camp is an extraordinary construction and completely out of place with wider society.

Neither of these descriptions by Sofsky (1999) or Goffman (1991) of the architecture and layout of camps fully takes into account their development and their place within the time and space of the Holocaust. Moreover, there have been no large-scale empirical studies of the literal sequestration of violence and death by way of architecture and topography. The November Pogrom of 1938 was a particularly violent episode in the wider public consciousness in which destruction of Jewish property was widespread, yet *Einsatzgruppen Aktionen* took place outside of Germany.

Both Goffman and Sofksy, as do many other authors, take for granted the very definition of 'concentration camp' and use it as an umbrella term. Some authors may note the 'death camps' for what they were and make some reference to ghettos and transit camps. What is so often ignored, however, are the blurring of boundaries and definitions as to what constitutes a 'death camp' or a 'concentration camp'. Death camps may be considered to be the 'Operation Reinhardt' camps - Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka - as well as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Chelmno, Gross Rosen, Majdanek and Stutthof. This ignores that other camps,

Mauthausen for example, had gas chambers and may be described as 'concentration camps' but with the capacity for mass killing. Theresienstadt can be described as a ghetto, a transit camp or a concentration camp depending upon the author. The purpose of specific camps is often overlooked in relation to the actions which took place within them. Some camps were specifically for providing forced labour to a company. This is not to say that violence and murder did not take place here, but the purpose differs somewhat from Treblinka, for example, where prisoners alighted the train to be immediately gassed. In Treblinka, prisoners were only kept alive to cremate other prisoners and sort their possessions. The definitions used in this study and their application will be discussed later.

In recognising that there is too little focus on the sub camps and the architecture thereof, and that these may deviate from the totems we might expect to find in photographs, films or literature, we open the door to the prospect of more in-depth research into these smaller camps and thus expand our knowledge of the Holocaust more broadly. If we examine or imagine the Nazi concentration camps only by the totem of Auschwitz, that there could be any means to be 'thoughtless' in their vicinity is impossible. Thus it is of critical importance to re-examine what concentration camps looked like by way of their architecture and topography.

The problem of 'bystanders'

Within this section, the difficulties in studying bystanders will be explored. Firstly, the slippery definition of who a bystander was will be considered, particularly in light of 'rescuers' who tried to aid the evasion and escape of would-be victims of the Nazi regime. The generalisability of bystander studies is also a key difficulty. This will take into account numerous examples of studies of bystanders to highlight key problems in their research which this piece explores. In particular, I explore the problem of breadth and depth of studies, reflecting on the lack of generalisability of concentration camps and homogeneity of civilians living in the vicinity.

The very definition of who was a bystander during the Holocaust is difficult to identify. Staub, for example, defined bystanders as 'those members of society who are neither perpetrators nor victims or outside individuals, organisations and nations' (Staub, 1989:20). This, Barnett (1999) notes is in direct contrast with Oliner and Oliner (1988: 4) who defined bystanders as those people who did nothing to help victims or resist that Nazi regime. The

line between 'perpetrator' and 'bystander' was deliberately blurred by Heydrich who preferred the 'control of the Jews through the watchful eyes of the whole population' (minutes from conference November 12, 1938, document PS-1816 Nuremberg Trials,). In Germany, social isolation amongst the wider community was, therefore, preferred to ghettoisation as occurred in Poland and elsewhere in the East. The definition is further blurred in that some civilians supplied the camps with necessities such as the scant food for distribution amongst the prisoners (see Horwitz 1990, and Barnett, 1999 for example). Some civilians lived close-by to the camps and potentially worked with or near inmates. Photographs at the Mittelbau Dora memorial museum, for example, clearly depict civilian workers entering the tunnels to work alongside camp inmates at the V2 and Junkers works.

The issue is further complicated by Hilberg (1992) dividing the category of bystanders further into those who helped victims, those who gained from the victims' isolation and annihilation and those who looked on. Some civilians (and on rare occasion, military personnel) assisted the victims where they could. Victims could be hidden and passed false documents to allow attempts to flee to safety, or merely passed potentially life-saving extra food. Some civilians and members of the armed forces were able to profit from the genocide, perhaps by demanding payment for their help or by accepting property from dispossessed victims. Here, it should be noted that in numerous camps, the property of victims was sorted for redistribution amongst the German civilian population. The area within Auschwitz, nicknamed *Kanada* by inmates contained such possessions and was found crammed full of personal possessions ready for transport back to civilians in Germany by the Soviet Army upon liberation (see Hart-Moxon 2000, for example).

Despite the efforts of the Nazis, and negative action, or inaction of bystanders, there were the small pockets of resistance and individuals who did not succumb to attempts to diminish identification with persecuted groups, or actively sought to preserve their lives. These individuals who hid, produced and distributed false identity papers, provided and smuggled necessities into ghettos and concentration camps to persecuted individuals are deemed 'rescuers'. There has been much academic interest in these remarkable individuals and the key question posed in research is 'why?' Researchers seek to find commonalities between rescuers as to their attitudes, socioeconomic attributes and motivations. Samuel and Pearl Oliner, for example, examined the personalities, values and attributes of rescuers as to whether these resulted in rescue activities and whether the rescues were opportunistic (1988: 261). This mixed methods study produced largely extensive

quantitative psychological studies, with 682 individuals interviewed; 406 authenticated rescuers; 126 non-rescuers, and 150 rescued survivors (Oliner and Oliner, 1988: 261). Fogelman also explored the common traits of rescuers, questioning their risk-taking personalities and levels of discordance with society. She was also keen to explore whether it was possible to learn their moral courage and integrity (Fogelman, 1995: xv). Her conclusions were drawn from qualitative research conducted by the Rescuer Project, conducted by the American Jewish Committee, spanning over ten years and with over three hundred respondents (1995: xiv-xv). Monroe conducted interviews with twenty-five rescuers to explore their 'perspective' or 'world view' and the extent to which this impacted on their rescue activities. The interviews were largely unstructured in order to perform a narrative analysis on the data for authenticity (Monroe, 1996: 18). In this respect, what was important to the rescuers and the way they presented themselves and their story was of given equal importance in the analysis as the content of the interviews. Holocaust rescuers were not the primary focus of her study, however, as entrepreneurs, philanthropists and heroes from other social, geographical and historical backgrounds were also interviewed (Monroe, 1996: 16).

Recurring themes emerged in the previously conducted research include: strong family attachments; strong social attachments including 'Judeophiles' (Fogelman, 1995: 181); feelings of similarity (Oliner and Oliner, 1988: 154); little religious moral influence, (Oliner and Oliner, 1988: 156) and patriotism (Oliner and Oliner, 1988: 159). A further recurring theme is the assumption of 'pure' altruism (Monroe, 1996: 91; Oliner and Oliner, 1988: 1) in that the rescuers could not see any personal benefit to themselves in their behaviour. These are, however, in relation to the rescuers of victims of the Holocaust and not feelings of civilians towards the victims. Moreover, these were reasons for the rescuers to help and did not look directly at the capacity for empathy and sympathy or the labels used in descriptions, for example.

Rescuers are an important aspect of research into the Holocaust, if only that they provide us with hope for at least some good in the world. Moreover, as the antithesis of the perpetrators, they leave the bystander gap in the middle. In so doing, the research conducted into the rationales for their actions provides a framework for which we can examine bystanders rationales for their feelings, actions and inactions. There exists, however, a key problem within the existing literature on rescuers; issues of objectivity within the research process. Fogelman's father (1995: xiii) and Samuel Oliner (1988: xvii)

were rescued survivors of the Holocaust. Directly or indirectly, these researchers owe their lives to rescuers. Furthermore, Fogelman acknowledges that deep friendships were formed with respondents and she became connected to them in a 'profound and indelible way' (1995: xix). Monroe also openly acknowledging her bias towards particular respondents in opening her study with: 'I liked Otto Springer. I liked him immediately' (1996: ix).

There are two key ways to study bystanders of the Holocaust. We may opt for breadth or depth. Where Barnett (1999) takes a broad, overarching examination of the problem of bystanders, Horwitz (1990) performs a narrow case study of Mauthausen concentration camp. One now often quoted letter from a bystander who found herself an 'unwilling witness' to the barbarity in the Mauthausen quarry asked for it to be 'discontinued, or else be done where one does not see it' (Gusenbauer, 1941). Fear of the camp was ubiquitous and locals avoided going near or looking at the prisoners for fear of becoming a prisoner themselves. The camp provided locals with opportunities for work and commerce but this did not make it popular. One labourer was dismissed for being too kind to the prisoners (Steinmüller, 1939), others were less concerned and considered the inmates to be hardened criminals (Horwitz, 1990). While a fascinating study into life around the camp of Mauthausen, it should be noted that it was a study of a large camp in Austria which had been annexed in 1938 (Horwitz, 1990). Each country within Europe had a different experience of the Nazi regime and differing attitudes to those who would become victims. Denmark, for example, lost very few Jews to the concentration camps owing to a high degree of resistance amongst the population; Italy, while under a Fascist regime, later capitulated to the Nazis; Croatia was also under a Fascist regime and took it upon themselves to develop new and ever more gruesome means of killing victims. Generalisations across camps are, therefore, impossible to make.

A further criticism of Horwitz's (1990) study is that he makes little distinction between the main camp of Mauthausen and the subsidiaries. True, he discusses a nearby T4 centre and Gusen camp but he does not take the sub-system as a whole. Each camp has its own history and characteristics. Mittelbau Dora, for example, was only established in 1943 and employed a number of civilians to manufacture the V2 rockets in the tunnels close to the entrance of the barrack block. Following the liberation of the camp, archives were established to document the history of the camp, the location of which fell into East Germany. A number of civilians have since spoken about their experiences of living near the camp during the war. Conversely, when the region around Bergen Belsen fell into Allied

hands after the war, having been liberated by the British, very few civilians will speak of their lives during the war in relation to the camp. Each camp is also memorialised differently; Dora was all-but destroyed leaving only visible foundations; at Bergen Belsen, even the foundations have been largely covered up and the area is now a graveyard for the many thousands of bodies the British found; at Neuengamme, the area was levelled save for two large brick barracks which became part of the prison after liberation. It was only in 2004 that the Neuengamme site became a recognised memorial and museum, and the foundations of blocks were recreated. So too, Bergen Belsen evolved from a Soviet prisoner of war camp into a camp where 'privileged' Jewish prisoners were held who theoretically would be exchanged with the Allies for German POWs. Mittelbau Dora held mostly male prisoners who were Jewish or prisoners of war. Smaller, subsidiary camps more often provided labour for specific purposes such as bomb disposal or clear-up and were fewer centres for immediate slaughter. Horwitz's (1990) study, therefore, becomes increasingly niche in its application and may not only be inapplicable to camps in Germany but to camps across the system within Austria.

Johnson and Reuband (2006) conducted oral history interviews with numerous bystanders who had lived under the Nazi regime in Germany and had also conducted wider surveys. Again, this provides a fascinating insight into the understanding of some of Germany's population regarding the concentration camp system but remains incomplete. Most of the oral histories are derived from those who had lived in the larger cities such as Berlin and Dresden. Moreover, the majority of oral histories and all of the survey data comes from the north of Germany. Some oral history data comes from elsewhere, such as in the region of the General Government (now Poland) but research into more rural areas is lacking.

Klee, Dressen and Riess (1991) compiled a series of reports of the Holocaust in their book titled, "The Good Old Days". This leading title refers only to *Einsatzgruppen Aktionen* and the camps of Chelmno, Treblinka, Sobibor and Auschwitz directly. The mass shootings took place outside of Germany, Auschwitz was in the region of General Government, and the Operation Reinhard camps were on the far eastern side of Poland. Again, this makes the documents largely inappropriate for studying attitudes within Germany.

Barnett (1999) and Hilberg (1992) have written more generally about the concept of bystanders and why people may behave so 'passively' in such an extreme circumstance as Nazi Germany. Gellately, for example, (2001) argued that the residents near Dachau and Flossenburg initially believed that the camps would provide prosperity to the area, only to

be disappointed and find that their tourism was hindered. Camps may have been initially welcomed under economic pretences of bringing employment and trade to the local area but they were quickly revealed to be a hindrance and a terror. Where Dachau town had once thought of itself as important because of the early protective custody camp and initially increased the visitor numbers, this quickly stopped as people were reluctant to go near such a camp.

This research, therefore, focuses on the case study of the camp of Mittelbau Dora and the sub camp system thereof. By studying the Mittelbau Dora complex as a whole, and attitudes to the main camp as well as the subsidiaries, this gives rise to a greater depth of understanding, not only about the main camp, but potentially an insight into attitudes associated with the Holocaust towards the smaller camps. Moreover, because of the difficulties outlined above of the term bystander and to whom this refers, the case study focuses on civilians in the vicinity of Mittelbau Dora and the sub who may have had direct, first-hand sensory knowledge of the Mittelbau Dora concentration camp and sub camps thereof. Sensory knowledge refers to the ability to see, hear, smell or potentially touch the concentration camps first-hand. A person in a nearby village might walk past the camp on their way to work, hear screams coming from the camp or smell the crematoria. The local population may also have been employed in some of the camps, or delivered supplies to the camp. Sensory knowledge is first-hand and direct apprehension. Hearsay, rumour, or newsreels of concentration camps which may have been seen in the early incarnation of the concentration camps is not included in the analysis.

<u>Goldhagen and eliminationist anti-Semitism</u>

When one considers the many millions who were murdered at the hands of the Nazis and their compatriots, and the grotesquely violent manner in which so many perished, it is difficult to comprehend a reality in which the perpetrators of these crimes were not 'monsters'. In the 1960s when Arendt reported on the trial of Eichmann, she was struck by his normalcy. He 'was not lago and not Macbeth' (Arendt, 1983: 287) and psychologists had found him to be a 'normal', healthy individual (Arendt, 1983: 25). So too, those tried at the Nuremberg Trials similarly appeared to be 'staggeringly, disturbingly normal' (Cole, 2006: 199). Thus, the debate between whether perpetrators of the Holocaust were 'men' or 'monsters' has raged. Since the mid-1990s, however, research into the Holocaust has been set against an interesting dichotomy of conclusions on this very subject. Both Goldhagen

(1997) and Browning (1997) studied the same data of Police Batallion 101 but came to opposing conclusions; Goldhagen that the German population were eliminationist in their anti-Semitism, and Browning that the men were 'ordinary' and caught in a bureaucratic machine. The backdrop of this debate, particularly the arguments of Goldhagen, will here be discussed for, if Goldhagen is correct in his assertions, any degree of 'empathy' (Smith, 2002) or sympathy (Darwall, 1998), and therefore mutual identification (Elias, 2000), as will be discussed later in this chapter, were lost.

Goldhagen asserts that the Holocaust was caused by these centuries of deeply held anti-Semitic values by the German population. Germans were 'preoccupied' and 'obsessive' in their anti-Semitism. They saw Jews as 'malevolent', 'powerful', and a different race (1997: 77). 'Eliminationist' anti-Semitism was the root of, and constant throughout, the Holocaust. That the perpetrators approved of the mass-slaughter and 'willingly gave assent to their own participation, is certain. That their approval derived in the main from their own conception of Jews is all but certain, for no other source of motivation can plausibly account for their actions' (Goldhagen, 1997: 416).

Prior to the Nazi rise to power, Jews were far from wholly assimilated into European or German culture (Arendt, 1973). Anti-Semitism was rife across Europe, not least of all in Germany, whereby they were blamed for the death of Christ, seen as heathens or dangerous and malevolent parasites (see Goldhagen, 1997 for further discussion on the history of anti-Semitism in Europe). Historically known as money-lenders, for the state to allow them to fully assimilate, this would run the risk of them too not lending the state money in a society which otherwise, under Christianity, would forbid such an act. The Jews themselves, Arendt argues, resisted total assimilation (1973: 28). In Poland, for example, differences in language became a contentious issue where many Jews only spoke Yiddish and very little Polish (Hilberg, 1992: 204). The Jewish people became a 'fortress' (Arendt, 1973: 28) to defend their faith and their people, and they began to see themselves as 'by nature more intelligent, better, healthier, more fit for survival – the motor of history and the salt of the earth' (Arendt, 1973: 74) as compared with gentiles.

Although critical of Goldhagen's (1997) argument, Finkelstein concedes that 'no serious German historian discounts the legacy of German anti-Semitism' (Finkelstein, 1997: 45) and relics of anti-Semitism can be seen across Europe for centuries prior to the Holocaust. In the Nazi era, countless speeches, posters, pamphlets, films, songs, educational materials and even children's toys denounced Jews as attempting to subvert German economic

recovery and destroy the economic and political powers from the inside out. 'Race science' denounced Jews as biologically inferior who tainted and weakened the gene-pool, further destroying the 'superior' Aryan race (Proctor 1988; Rafter, 2008). Jews, in the ideology of the Nazis, were the enemy and needed to be eliminated. Finkelstein, however, labels Goldhagen's thesis as 'crazy' (1997). Finkelstein argues that if we were to accept Goldhagen's argument, and dissent from Browning's assertion that 10-20% of Police Battalion 101 shied off their roles as killers, this would suggest that '80-90 per cent of the German people would have relished the occasion to torture and murder Jews' (1997; see also Goldhagen, 2001: 563-564). Thus he questions the legitimacy of the argument for its outlandishness. Furthermore, just as Finklestein argues Browning's lack of evidence for this number, so too does Goldhagen. Other academics have discussed the proportion of 'enthusiastic' killers including Valentino who argued that of the men taking part in Einsatzgruppen Aktionen, 20-30% often refused to participate in the mass shootings of men, women and children, and less than 30% were 'enthusiastic' (Valentino. 2005: 54), Matthäus also notes that the legality of the killings was often questioned by the perpetrators of these Aktionen (1996: 136).

Moreover, what remains surprising in considering Goldhagen's thesis is how unexpected this new breed of anti-Semitism was to the civilians of Europe, not least of all the Jews themselves. Numerous survivors and rescuers recount their surprise at the propaganda levied at them, and the brutality exacted against them (see Venezia, 2009; Muller, 1999; and Haas, 1984). Prior to Nazi occupation, they had attended school, worked alongside, socialised and been neighbourly with gentiles. Assimilation was not total but, for example, Berlin in the Weimar Republic was a socially and sexually liberated city. Jews, Arendt argued, lived in a 'fool's paradise' until the November Pogrom of 1938 and twenty thousand Jewish men were sent to concentration camps before they finally awoke (Arendt, 1973: 39). For example, survivors have recounted their shock at the sudden victimisation they felt under Nazi rule, and video footage at the Bergen Belsen museum depicts Jews boarding a train in the Netherlands, bound for Bergen Belsen but did not seem to comprehend where they were going or the conditions they would face.

Moreover, one may consider the quantity of propaganda levied against persecuted groups in Nazi Europe. If the persecuted groups were already so hated and vilified that the Germans welcomed the opportunity to eradicate them, such a degree of propaganda should not have been necessary. With millennia of anti-Semitism and a proposed normalcy

of this, surely then it was already 'justified beyond the need of argument' (Arendt, 1973: 7). Franz Stangle, commandant of Treblinka, for example, believed that propaganda had been used to 'condition those who actually had to carry out these policies to make it possible for them to do what they did' (Sereny, 1995: 270). Bauman argues this propaganda was not applied uniformly or consistently by Germans against all Jews. Many Germans, he claims were 'immune' to the propaganda. Others refused to apply it to their Jewish friends, colleagues and neighbours (2009: 124). Eichmann claimed to apply the policy liberally to his Jewish friends, and claimed no ill-will to the Jews; he had a Jewish friend in school, and a Jewish mistress in Vienna (Arendt, 1983: 30). Were propaganda the only means of 'sealing off' the intended victims, it would have likely failed and could have resulted in a splitting of the population between the virulent anti-Semites and the poorly organised 'but effective mass of non-collaborators' (Bauman, 2009: 124)

A further criticism of the virulent anti-Semitism hypothesis is that of its all-but vanishing after the war. Goldhagen also notes that in 1946, an American survey conducted by the military found 60% of respondents held racist or anti-Semitic views (1997: 604). He also argues that 'absurd' beliefs have been seen to change rapidly, using the example of white racism against black people in the southern states of the USA (Goldhagen, 1997: 605). The Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s did not change the United States overnight. Racism against black people has pervaded the modern West for centuries, propagated by propaganda and pseudo-science no different to that of the Nazis. Indeed their 'scientific' methods were largely very similar and reached not dissimilar conclusions (Montague 1964; Proctor 1988). Although it is fair to say that vast improvements on race-relations have been made, unfortunately, a true equality is yet to be formed. So too, while greater freedoms and civil liberties were enjoyed by black people in the United States, apartheid was the norm in South Africa and this was supported by Western states. Today, Germans are 'committed democrats' (Finkelstein, 1997: 44) yet the reasons for the dissipation of virulent anti-Semitic beliefs, if they were ever truly widely held, has never been explained. Moreover, Nazi party membership peaked at eight million members - less than ten percent of the German population (Kater, 1983: 263). In 1928, the National Socialist Party stood for election but gained only 2.6% of the vote. In 1928 they stood again and gained only 18.3% of the vote, and 43.9% in 1933 (Rees, 2005: 37; 46).

The 'Civilising Process' and the Holocaust

In this section, the 'civilising process' outlined by Elias (2000) will be discussed, alongside key criticisms of the theory. In The Civilising Process (2000), Elias argued that European society has developed along a moderately linear path towards that which we would now call a 'civilised' society. There is no 'point zero' at which the process begins where humans are wholly 'uncivilised', and no end point where a society is wholly civilised (Elias, 1992: 146). The use of inverted commas, particularly within Elias' original works was noted by Dunning and Hughes as a distancing from the 'normative connotations' (Dunning and Hughes, 2013:78) which carry a 'potent emotional load' (Scheff, 2001: 100). Nevertheless, Elias argues that were we to time-travel to the Middle Ages, we would probably be disgusted by some of the everyday practices of the people we would meet and consider them less 'civilised' than in the twenty-first century. To complicate matters further, behaviours which a person may deem 'civilised' or 'uncivilised' in one culture may be different to those in another culture. In Western cultures, we may, for example, view the methods of eating, with or without particular utensils, in other cultures as less 'civilised' than within our own, and conversely, other cultures may view elements of Western culture as surprising or 'uncivilised'. Even within the Western cultures, there are individual differences in what is considered 'civilised' and well-mannered behaviours; queuing or apologising to the person who steps on our toes, for example, might be seen as a very 'British' thing to do. The degree of civilisation exists on a spectrum and exists as a form of comparison; my society is more civilised than the other, or earlier period, because we hold 'superior' standards of manners or because we have a greater level of technology. As Dunning and Hughes argue, there is very little within society which cannot be labelled as more or less 'civilised', from the way we eat, sleep or perform ablutions, to our technological expertise or how we treat one another based on our class, gender or race (Dunning and Hughes, 2013:82).

The process need not, however, be universally linear and there are occasions when the process is seen to reverse. Elias (1996) referred to this as 'decivilising' behaviour. Elias did not, however, full explicate what a decivilising process would look like, referring in The Germans to the decivilising 'spurt'(Elias, 1996: 1) although Mennel makes a clear distinction between 'civilising' and 'decivilising' behaviour; civilising is the 'advance' and decivilising is the 'regression of earlier standards' (1989:201). De Swaan also argues that decivilisation may be described as 'a breakdown of civilised canons of interaction, as a regression into a prior, more primitive, less structured stage of existence' (De Swaan,

2014:125). Fletcher argues that the section of *The Civilising Process* (2001) dedicated to the feudal system might act as an 'implicit model' (1997:83). Fletcher furthers this argument of an implicit model by asserting that the three main criteria of decivilisation would be the shift in balance of constraints by the self and others towards the constraints of others; changes in behaviour and feeling which generate 'the emergence of a less even, all-round, stable and differentiated pattern of self-restraint; and, the contraction of mutual identification. (Fletcher, 1997:83). For the purposes of this study, however, the focus remains on the sequestration of violence and death and the breakdown of mutual identification between civilians and victims.

Three central themes emerge during the process. Firstly, a state monopoly of force and violence is used, thus pacifying the internal society within the state. Secondly, the violence used by the state, and other behaviour deemed socially unacceptable or taboo, becomes sequestrated and removed 'behind the scenes' of everyday social life. This is as a result of the changing attitudes to the body which led to greater control and thus mannered behaviour. Finally, the chains of interdependence between state citizens result in a 'mutual identification' with others whereby we monitor our behaviour in order to avoid offending others (Burkitt, 1996: 142). It is the latter two of these key themes which is of particular interest to the study.

His original work was published in Switzerland at the outbreak of World War Two. After the war, and the death of his mother at Auschwitz, Elias challenged the perception of the presentation of a 'Whig' view of history in his collection of essays later collated in The Germans (1996). In this later work, he acknowledged that the process is not unilateral in always heading in one direction towards 'civility'. The Holocaust was, for Elias, an extreme example of the 'breakdown of civilisation' (1996: xii).

Over the course of time, behaviours deemed socially unacceptable have either become socially prohibited or sequestered into a more private sphere. This, Elias observes, is particularly notable in attitudes to behaviours relating to the body. Spitting, for example, is strongly discouraged (2000: 129-135) and personal ablutions are confined a dedicated room – the bathroom (2000: 109-120). Both of these behaviours would not have been unusual in the public sphere of Medieval society. In Eliasian thinking, that which we find disgusting and unpalatable, and which acts against our 'delicacy of feeling' becomes sequestrated and hidden from view (Elias, 2000: 102; see also Basson, 2006: 1155; Burkitt, 1996: 145; and Linklater, 2004: 15). We may also consider that state organised mass

sequestration takes place within Goffman's (1991) 'total institutions'. 'Disgust' and 'shame' became synonymous throughout the civilising process as the former can arouse the latter.

A consequence of the civilising process was that of the sequestration of violence. While individual acts of violence against the person were prohibited and punishable under law, the state monopolised the penalty of legal transgressions and the use of violence as punishment. A perpetual readiness for violence was quelled as only when requested by the ruler could a knight use violence against his foe (De Swaan, 2001: 62). As with other behaviours, this became internalised; protection from violence was granted by the ruler in exchange for pacification, therefore individual violence became a transgression of societal rules. Violence could, however, still be conducted by and on behalf of the state and ruler. When not in a proscribed setting for violence, on the battlefield, for example, one was required to moderate his temperament and act in a 'refined' fashion (Mennell, 1992: 58), lest he feels shame and sees repugnance in others at his actions.

As Foucault (1991) notes, such violence as punishment through the pillory, branding, torture and execution, were historically conducted against the body. Historically, the body might be the only 'possession' one had at which the state could direct a punishment, but the development of the mercantile and monetary economy allowed for a greater number of punishments, including forced labour (Foucault, 1991). With this in mind, Mennell argues that while the lower social strata had only direct physical threats to the body, this did not promote the self-constraint held by members of the aristocracy (1992). Moreover, the change in the type of state violence reflects the changes in attitudes. By the time of the Reformation or the Spanish Inquisition, torture had become refined as a 'technique' and not an 'extreme expression of lawless rage' (Foucault, 1991: 33). While a parallel has been noted between this element of Foucault and Elias' thinking, Foucault was more concerned with the 'deadening discipline' which sequestrated punishment in a prison afforded, but for Elias, it was more a result of the delicacy of feelings of the wider public (Ray, 2011: 72). The prison as a means of punishing the offender and thus inflicting a form of violence on him, exerted power immediately, whereas Elias saw the exertion of power and control through the monopolisation of violence by the state. Violence and violent punishments, including executions, were once conducted publically and 'regarded as a matter of entertainment' (Parliamentary Papers, 19866, vol. XXI: 200-221; see also Basson 2006: 1152 and Elias, 2001: 2). The gladiators of antiquity, for example, fought bloody battles to the death for the amusement of the Roman crowds (Elias, 2001: 2). With the suppression of one's own

impulses to violence, a vicarious or 'mimetic' experience of violence takes place during sport (Dunning and Elias, 1986: 42). In a mimetic experience, we 'transfer' our emotions onto the actor (Mennell, 1992: 58), thus the spectators 'identify' with the actor (Elias, 2000: 170).

A negative correlation between social status and violence emerged (Cooney, 2003: 1379) and became 'status affirming' (Gatrell, 1994: 232). Elias saw these sensitivities materialising in the aristocracy (Greenberg, 2003), where other 'civilised' behaviour also formed, Gatrell argued that bourgeois reformers found a means of differentiation from both the 'unfeeling mob' and the 'arrogant and exclusive aristocracy' (1994: 232). So too, the entertainment element of violent punishments which allowed the public to feel vengeance also gradually reduced. As attitudes changed, however, a feeling of 'solidarity' with the accused began to emerge, particularly when it was felt that the punishment exacted was immoderate and unrestrained (Foucault, 1991). Resultantly the pillory, for example, was banned in France and England in 1789 and 1837, respectively. Guards were placed at an execution in France in 1775 to 'neutralise' the spectacle (Foucault 1991: 63) but violent responses by the masses to public executions remained. A 'social crisis' emerged as to how governments were to punish criminals (Ignatieff, 1978: 210). Violence per se was not objectionable by the masses as a punishment, its place should merely no longer be public (Vaughan, 2000). Between 1850 and 1870, therefore, Britain, Holland, Austria, Spain and the German states removed executions from the public gaze, placing them behind the walled institutions of prisons (Spierenberg, 1984).

While the previously mentioned behaviours have largely been the result of drives which were suppressed over time (Elias, 2000: 161), one further action, however, has yet to be mentioned. While it is inevitable that the human body will perish, attitudes towards and acceptance of death have changed over time. Historically, death was a publically pervading concern. To die a 'natural' and 'peaceful' death in a bed of old age was the exception to a rule of a death on the battlefield (Elias, 2001: 15, 49-50). This, as Mennell (1992: 51) notes is in stark contrast with Aries' (2009) historical analysis of death. One should remember that as Western societies have become more secularised, death ceased to be the 'entry into another phase of being' and has become an 'exit' (Bauman, 1992: 129). So too, grandiose public ceremonies decreased and increasing individualism resulted in death becoming a further challenge to the identity of the individual (Mellor and Shilling, 1993).

This increase in secularism simultaneously ran concurrently with an increase in rationalisation during the Enlightenment. The fields of science and medicine and everimproving living conditions have acted to alter our attitudes towards death. Moreover, we know how disease is spread and that some diseases may lead to death, therefore many may see death, at least subconsciously, as contagious, threatening, dirty or a contaminant (Mellor and Shilling, 1993; Blauner, 1966; Raphael and Madison, 1975) and presence around, or touching, the dying reminds us of our own mortality (Elias, 2001).

Those human actions we now think of as belonging in a private sphere, including death, do not merely cease just because we feel 'shame', 'repugnance', or 'embarrassment' at their happenings. The true capabilities of the human body, in effect, become a closely guarded secret and death, too, has been sequestrated into specialised locales. To die in a hospital or hospice is more common than to die on the street or even at home. The treatment of the deceased has also changed dramatically, coinciding with changing attitudes to the body. The use of ossuaries and cadaver tombs (also called transi tombs), for example, have made way for more discrete final resting places (Aries, 2009).

The German peculiarity of habitus

Each state has, however, differed in their state formation and national habitus. Germany certainly did not lack a civilising process but it differed significantly from France and England, the two other countries of his focus in The Civilising Process (2000). This differing civilising process was, for Elias, the primary reason for the decivilising spurt seen in Germany in the Nazi era (Elias, 1996: 1). State development in Germany was 'exceptionally disturbed' (Elias, 1996: 401) and took far longer than the aforementioned countries largely because of the geographical locality. Where England and France were unified under their single respective rulers comparatively early and Britain in particular had strong borders owing to its island geography, Germany's lack of these advantages encouraged invasion. Similarly, it was only in the nineteenth century that the feudal system was replaced, and only in 1871 when Germany became united in one Confederation - the Second Reich (Fulbrook, 1990). Of the three countries, France had the strongest absolute monarchy by the time Louis XIV took power but England replaced the feudal system first. This led to a comparatively unusual habitus which was thus detrimental to the monopolisation of violence (1996). These malleable borders led to 'military bearing and warlike actions being highly regarded and often idealised', particularly amongst the aristocracy (Elias, 1996: 7).

Historically, there had existed a great rift between the German aristocracy and the bourgeoisie; the former hindering the social mobility of the latter to the highest echelons of society. The bourgeoisie had sought to distinguish themselves from the aristocracy by means of developing Kultur. This was distinct from what the French or English would have deemed 'civilised' behaviour in that the focus was more towards the product of one's behaviour, such as art or literature, as opposed to the behaviour itself (Elias, 2000: 6-7). Between 1871, following the unification, and 1914, however, the German bourgeoisie and aristocracy 'made peace' (Elias, 1997: 60) and the war-like values of the warrior nobility dispersed amongst society, maintaining a strong hierarchy (Fletcher, 1997). Dunning and Hughes define the satisfaktionsfähige Gesellschaft which existed at the time as referring to a 'society orientated around a harsh and unbending code of honour in which the demanding and giving of "satisfaction" in duels occupied pride of place' (Dunning and Hughes, 2013:107). Thus with the intermingling of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie in universities, the middle classes became 'brutalised' (Dunning and Hughes, 2013:108). Moreover, following the Russian Revolution, a divide formed in German society. One group advocated 'non-violent reform', the other advocated 'violent revolution' (Elias, 1996: 217). What occurred, Elias argues, in the Weimar Republic, was a 'double-bind' situation (Elias 1996: 216). Violence by one group triggers violence in a second, which triggers an escalating and self-perpetuating vicious cycle. In the Weimar example, anti-republic groups were violent towards the state, who then retaliated. As this escalated, the already 'high value' placed on physical force was strengthened following the end of the First World War in 1918 (Elias, 1996: 217) and while the aristocratic code of honour, civility, good manners, expediency and diplomacy existed, violence was permissible as long as it was conducted in a 'gentlemanly fashion'; by duelling, for example (Elias, 1996: 139).

The Weimar era was a particularly tumultuous time for German citizens. During this time, social norms began to relax in Germany and self-restraint and self-modification of behaviours increased. Rules as to the formation of romantic attachments, for example, became far less structured for the university student. A male student would have learned the rules and rituals of courtship from older students. During this time, German students became increasingly self-reliant in their social 'experiments' and relied less on controls exacted by others in favour of their own judgement (Elias, 1996). 'Informalisation' as Elias labelled this process within the civilising process, was also taking place in France and England but one must remember that in England a balance of power had been struck between state rulers and state citizens (that is, to a large extent, the monarch and the

aristocracy) long before and self-restraint had long-since become ingrained. Such a degree of informalisation would have been less of a 'shock' to the German population who had been more accustomed to a strict code of honour.

Moreover, having capitulated at the end of the First World War, forced to pay reparations and drastically downsize their armed forces under the Treaty of Versailles, coupled with an economic depression, high levels of unemployment and rising inflation, times were difficult. Fletcher, in analysing Eliasian theory maintains that the middle and upper classes, particularly the nobility, bourgeois civil servants, judicial servants, entrepreneurs, merchants and bankers were eager for another war to overcome the restrictions placed on them (1996: 122,137). Elias draws attention to the romanticism of war in the Weimar Republic through the novels of Jünger and Bloem. Jünger's work was based on his diary written during the First World War. It 'toned down' the horrors of war - the strewn bodies and body parts, and death cries - through the boldness, courage and loyalty of the German soldiers (1996: 209). In stark contradiction, however, Remarque focussed on his experiences of the 'bitterness' of life during wartime which Elias supposes was intended to spoil the appetite for war (1996: 211). It is also worth noting that Remarque's book was one of many burned under the Nazi regime and Elias notes that the book was seen as treacherous. Whether the book and sentiments expressed within were seen as treacherous during the Weimar years or Nazi years, however, is not made explicit. Pinker, however, doubts a willingness within the industrial classes, bourgeois and intellectuals, for more warfare after Germany's earlier defeat, even extending into the military (see Pinker, 2011 and Fletcher 1997).

In consideration of this argument and the importance of the aristocracy's propensity to resolve disputes by duelling, Mann's study of the backgrounds and demographics of Holocaust perpetrators is of relevance. Perpetrators, for Mann, were those who worked within the T4 programme, doctors, those who worked as camp guards or in the *Einsatzgruppen*, within the Security Police or were simply members of the Nazi party. 37% of sampled perpetrators could be identified as 'working class', 36% were of a military rank of Non-Commissioned Officer or lower and 41% had enjoyed a university education (Mann, 2000: 340). Moreover, each social class, based on the perpetrator's father's occupation, was evenly represented in his sample (Mann, 2000: 342). The importance of a university education and being a military officer are important for Fletcher (1997) who drew attention to the propensity within these groups to demand 'Satisfaktionsfählig' (satisfaction) and

demand the typically aristocratic means of settling a dispute by a duel if one's honour was questioned.

That the German population were in some way 'different' to the rest of Europe, however, is questioned by universalists. Advocates of the particularism standpoint, 'other' the perpetrators. Genocide could be perpetrated by 'them', but not by 'us' (Hay, 2000: 122) and in so doing 'reduce' the Holocaust to a specific historical event, outside 'our' world, separated from 'us' (Birn, 1998: 213). That there was something 'special' about the German perpetrators of the Holocaust is called into question when examining psychological data of their values regarding violence. Goldhagen extorts an unsubstantiated claim of metaphorical mental illness in the minds of the perpetrators; in that the Nazi ideology made perpetrators 'pathologically ill' and 'struck with illness of sadism' (2001: 397). This is in direct contrast with the Rorschach ink-blot tests which were conducted on Nazi leaders prior to the Nuremberg trials and revealed results which 'could be duplicated in any country of the world today' (Blass, 1993: 37). So too, Arendt (1983), in witnessing the trial of Eichmann in Jerusalem, was struck by his normalcy. Moreover, we may consider the experiments of Milgram (2013) and Zimbardo (2009) which indicated the capacity for ordinary citizens to commit acts of violence against others.

We may also consider a further German state peculiarity by way of homicide statistics. If duelling to resolve conflicts had filtered down from the aristocracy to the middle classes, one might expect to see this reflected in such statistics across time (Pinker, 2011). Homicide statistics collated by Eisner (2003) cast some doubt on this German propensity towards violence as there is little difference in violence between Germany and other states. With a comparably strong central government, England's homicide rate decreases gradually between 1300 and 2000 CE, but so does Germany's homicide rate despite the lack of centralised government before 1871. Eisner also acknowledges that while countries such as Belgium and Holland had also lacked a strong centralised government, they were also at the forefront of a decline in violence (2003). Nevertheless, because Germany did experience a civilising process, falls in homicide statistics could still be explained by the process. A Leviathan, therefore, is not necessarily imperative to the pacification of violence (Pinker, 2011: 78). In highly centralised states, such as those under a totalitarian regime, unrestrained violence, such as homicide by a civilian, will be relatively infrequent whereas restrained violence, by execution, for example, is far more common (Cooney, 1998). This is the polar opposite of the non-centralised (or less centralised) states under a democracy,

where political killing by execution is infrequent or does not occur, but homicide by civilians will be higher. In the highly centralised states of the twentieth-century unrestrained power was wielded to execute the many millions, in the many genocides, during the century (Cooney, 2003). Moreover, Staub (1989) argues in that in societies where violence is idealised and an acceptable form of achieving goals, state violence is more likely to be utilised as a means of state control.

In his extensive critique of Germany, Elias neglects how violent England had been, particularly with regard to the British Empire and thus the importance of the British military. Elias' essays on English public opinion of the armed forces were written for a German audience and large swathes of public life are taken for granted (Fletcher, 1997: 97). In this vein, a further point neglected by Elias and Eliasian theorists is that while Elias notes a difference between England and Germany as to their differing state formations and history of invasion, England had a profound military history within the United Kingdom and the Empire. To this end, one might again question that there was something 'unusual' about the German population. Internal pacification within the United Kingdom was not as readily achieved as Eliasian theorists might have us believe. Furthermore, violence even as late as the twentieth century was often used in an attempt to retain power and pacification. We may consider, for example, military reactions the decline of the Empire, and the independence of the Republic of Ireland. Pride in the armed forces is ever present in English culture. England may have sought the more 'knightly' approach to the military in comparison to Germany's 'Spartan' approach but it was, and still is, nevertheless, a highly militaristic country. Perhaps then, it is more appropriate to label England as more 'civilianised' internally, than Germany for the armed forces of England were largely away from the country and controlling the Empire, where German armed forces were more concentrated on defending or expanding the territories immediately surrounding Germany (Ray, 2011: 69).

When violence was used to resolve differences in Germany, it was necessary that it was 'gentlemanly' (Elias, 1997: 139). Among bourgeois fraternities, fencing and duelling were commonplace activities and to repeatedly lose matches would lower a man's social rank. This could ultimately result in his expulsion from his group (Elias, 1996: 101). Should one member of a fraternity feel another had questioned his honour, he could demand satisfaction (satisfaktionsfählig) by way of a duel. Duels allowed members to increase their social capital by winning and forcing another member to lose his social capital, thus

cultivating a lack of empathy (Fletcher, 1997: 130). Such violence was neither legal nor sanctioned by the state, but it was also the lawmakers who acted as the lawbreakers in such circumstances. In order for a 'blind eye' to be turned to the actions, it became necessary during the Second Reich for such duels to be conducted away from the public and in a tolerated manner (Elias, 1996: 52-53). The aristocracy, however, remained distinct from the bourgeois in that they were largely above the law when duelling went wrong. Should they be caught, or an opponent seriously injured or killed, they could leave the country to escape legal repercussions. Thus 'the aristocratic code of honour took priority over the law of the state' and 'participants bound themselves to a norm which called for the use of formalised violence under specific circumstances, thus echoing the "warrior code"' (Fletcher, 1997: 126). The duel was a highly ritualised form of violence, conducted under strict rules. Further to this, Fletcher recalls witnessing duels in 1992 in the traditional format, even noting the inability to wince or cry out at any pain for fear of losing social standing (1997: 131).

It may be psychologically less challenging to hope that there was something extraordinary, even monstrous, about those who committed the genocide and the situation in which in the genocide arose, in the vein of Goldhagen (1997) or Elias, (1997), but theorists such as Arendt (1983) and Bauman (2009) and psychological experiments such as the infamous Milgram (2013) experiments argue on the contrary. It was Arendt who controversially opened the debate that there was something inherently 'normal' about Eichmann when she witnessed his trial in the 1960s (Cesarani 2004).

Criticisms of the 'civilising process'

One criticism levied at Elias and his theory of the civilising process was that Elias saw the decivilising process as mutually exclusive from the civilising process (Breuer, 1991). This criticism was argued before Elias' The Germans (1996) was published and thus fails to account for his recognition that a civilising process and a decivilising process can exist simultaneously (Van Krieken, 1998). In this respect, the process can be 'Janus-faced' (Elias, 1996:175) for an extreme monopolisation of force can turn against its own people, as occurred in Nazi Germany, thus 'shifts in one direction can make room for shifts in the opposite direction so that a dominant process directed at greater integration could go hand in hand with a partial disintegration' (1996:235). While there may be multilinear processes at work in the overall civilising process, as Elias (2000) acknowledged, and we

may see 'regressions' in one area of social life while simultaneously seeing 'progressions' in others, the focus remains here on violence and death within society during the Nazi era of German history. There was clearly no return to chivalric knights baring their arms in support of the Holy Roman Emperor, a return to feudalism or a return to the dietary habits of the Middle Ages as Elias outlined in The Civilising Process (2000). If Germany had, however, reached the highest point of her civilisation to date in January 1933, what then does it mean to say that Germany regressed along the civilising process, at least in terms of violence and death? In Mennell's (1989:201) terms, there was a 'regression from earlier standards'. No genocide had, until the Holocaust, taken place on such a scale or in such as manner on German soil. The regression of standards is, throughout this thesis, taken to mean a reversal of standards towards violence and death. In this regard, while violence was never completely eradicated in any society, violence by the state was more measured and exacted behind the scenes to the privacy of prisons and death, thus more public and extreme displays of violence would indicate a lesser degree of civilisation. So too, death had been hidden away from the public gaze more so that had existed in previous eras of history, thus more public deaths would be indicative of a breakdown or regression in this element of the process.

Bauman largely indirectly (he never specifically mentions him by name) criticises Elias' theory in that the process failed to 'erect a single foolproof barrier against the genocide' (2009: 110) but, I argue, the sequestration element of the civilising process is what made it possible on European soil. It was neither barbarism nor rationality alone which allowed the genocide to take place, but a combination which allowed a degree of 'normal' life to continue while millions were slaughtered. Bauman's assertions for his own theory against the civilising process may, at first, seem entirely at odds with the process. In the civilising process, increasing chains of interdependency created as a result of more people knowing and having to pay attention to one another require a greater level of empathy with more people (Elias, 2000). For Bauman (2009), conversely, by way of bureaucracy and chains of command increasing social distance, empathy and the 'moral significance' of an action can be eroded (Ray, 2011: 202). This argument, however, neglects that both empathy and moral distance can take place simultaneously. There might be efforts to conform in behaviours witnessed by those we see on a regular basis but moral ignorance (consciously or unconsciously) of those people we rarely or never see. There is also the criticism that it was through modernity that the Nazis were able to turn part of the civilising process against itself - delicacy of feeling regarding the body was turned against perpetrated

groups so that they were seen (pseudo-scientifically speaking) as being a contaminant and as something repulsive (Ray, 2011). Moreover, the claim made by Bauman (2009) that the civilising process would claim that violence has been totally eliminated from public life is inaccurate. Outwardly, states in modernity can appear to be less violent because there is less violence on a day-to-day basis and this violence is pushed more behind the scenes in institutions such as prisons. Moreover, violence is further intensified, at least by way of state crimes, by far of inter-state wars and state-sponsored genocides (Ray, 2011).

De Swaan began to bridge the divide between the standpoints of 'tyranny and barbarism' and the 'culmination of rationality and modernity' (2001: 265) and thus addresses the criticism of Breuer (1991) that Elias saw the civilising process and completely separate and distinct from the decivilising process. It was the 'compartmentalisation' of violence, both physically and psychologically which allowed the genocide to take place. Targeted populations were denigrated under constant propaganda to initially 'other' them. In the case of the Holocaust, the Jews (as one target group of several) were 'demarcated' and registered and then socially isolated by a 'persistent campaign of vilification and dehumanisation' to instigate or further 'disidentification' with the other and increase feelings of togetherness with their own demographic (De Swaan, 2015:119). The compartmentalisation then becomes institutionalised whereby the targeted group are barred from schools or hospitals and perhaps physically marked. In Nazi Germany, for example, Jews were forced to wear a yellow Star of David prominently on their clothing in public (see Friedlander, 2004). In the final stage, De Swaan argues, the target group are sequestrated in special areas such as concentration camps for 'out of sight is out of mind' (De Swaan, 2015:121 emphasis original). Even then, he goes on to argue that the compartmentalisation can still be furthered by dedicated specialists in killing and cremation, as was confirmed in the original pilot study of this research (Burns, 2010). Thus he argues this compartmentalisation results in 'local decivilisation' De Swaan, 2015: 125). German society did not need to completely break down into total anarchy for the Holocaust to happen; instead with compartmentalisation as the 'psychic defence mechanism par excellence', the targeted groups could be murdered en masse while the rest of society carried on with their lives (De Swaan, 2015:126). In this way, De Swaan's (2001) 'dyscivilising process' bridges the gap between Elias (2000) and Bauman (2009). He notes that between both these theorists, both acknowledge that the modern society can be simultaneously 'reactionary and modernist, rationalist and bestial' (De Swaan, 2015:256

emphasis original) and acknowledges the importance of both bureaucracy and physical sequestration for the Holocaust to have occurred in the manner it did.

Physical and psychological distance, and the impact on psychological denial

Within this section, the importance of sequestration is discussed. It should be noted that this section refers back to key theoretical concerns previously mentioned; not least of all the civilising process (Elias, 2000), the concept of thoughtlessness advocated by Arendt (1971) and descriptions of concentration camps from Sofsky (1999) and Goffman (1991). Moreover, the term 'banality of evil'(Arendt, 1983) is use synonymously with the concept of thoughtlessness (Arendt, 1971).

Although individualisation has increased in society and thus social requirements to selfregulate one's behaviour are required, this self-regulation was intrinsic to the civilising process (Elias, 1996: 43). However, the mass individualisation or 'atomisation' brought about by a totalitarian regime, such as that in the Nazi era, produced superfluousness of individuals within the society (Arendt, 1973: 459). In a totalitarian regime, social ties are broken down to such an extent that individuals become 'morally lonely' Schapiro, 1978: 102-3. In the Nazi era, even family bonds could be strained by loyalties (and real or perceived disloyalties) to the party (see Reitlinger, 1968). Simultaneously there were individuals willing to die for the regime, such as the Nazi propaganda minister, Josef Goebbels and his wife who, after poisoning their children, committed suicide 'for the abstract ideal of their beleaguered and defeated Volk' (Dunning and Hughes, 2013:61) whilst there were others being killed by it. Resulting from this, the social grounding on which moralities are formed, for example, through friends and family, are removed and leave the individual 'morally lonely' (Schapiro, 1978: 102-3). Furthermore, in the large bureaucracy created by the Nazis with so many interdependencies between individuals, the 'psychic distance' between actor and result (for example between Eichmann's paperwork and the transport and gassing of millions) limited the 'moral significance of the act and thereby pre-empt[ed] all conflict between personal standard or moral decency and immorality of the social consequences of the act' (Bauman, 2009: 25). In this way, psychological distance helps aid 'thoughtlessness' because it is easier to deny responsibility if one, at least, believes their actions are inconsequential in the bigger picture or responsibility will rest with another.

By confining bodily functions, violence and death to dedicated spaces, in the main, we allow ourselves the possibility to forget their existence. Not only are we physically distanced from them but psychologically. Cohen (2001), for example, expressed this as a means of denial. It may not be deliberate or even conscious but acts a defence mechanism against 'disturbing' emotions such as guilt and anxiety which are aroused by a situation. As Arendt notes, how to overcome 'the animal pity by which all normal men are affected in the presence of physical suffering' (Bauman, 2009: 20 n25) was one of the greatest challenges faced by perpetrators of the Holocaust. He further argues that one such technique to self-deny reality is to claim obedience and cites Milgram's now infamous experiment. He neglects, however, the importance that Milgram also places on both psychological and physical distance as to the willingness to harm or witness harm. Milgram argued that 'distance, time and physical barriers neutralise the moral sense' (Milgram 2013: 159). As proximity to the 'victim' became closer, the fewer subjects were able to give the full, potentially lethal shock. While the experiment largely focuses on the perpetrators of violence and was later dubbed as the 'Eichmann experiment' (Milgram, 2013: 177), the role of bystanders was also taken into account. Where forty subjects were asked only to witness another 'subject' administering the shocks, a staggering thirty-seven allowed the lethal shock to be administered. Those who did administer shocks had a level of 'strain' on their self-image and values but, as Milgram argues, 'any feature that reduces the psychological closeness between the subjects' action and the consequence of that action also reduces the level of strain' (Milgram 2013: 158) where avoidance of the sensory consequences of one's actions were key (Milgram, 2013: 159). Looking away and drowning out the screams to pretend that pain was not being inflicted or making excuses for their own actions were frequent. Theoretical links between Arendt (1983) and Milgram (2013) are not to be taken lightly. There are several ways to read Arendt's Eichmann in Jerusalem (1983) (Lang, 2014). The term 'banality', for example, led some to see him as an 'everyman' (Alexander, 2002). This reading 'de-historicised' and 'universalized' the evil Eichmann conducted made it as an all-too-human potential (Lang, 2014: 650). Milgram (2013) latched to one interpretation of 'banality of evil' to support his own findings of obedience, but Arendt felt her argument had been misinterpreted needed of far more appreciation of the social systems involved, particularly the Fascist regime (Arendt, 2003: see also Lang, 2014). Nevertheless, such a reading is popular amongst social scientists and social psychologists. Not only Milgram (2013) but Bauman (2009) and Cohen (2001) have noted the link

between obedience in the Milgram experiments and this reading of the 'banality of evil' which would otherwise be deemed by Arendt (2003) to be a fallacy.

Cohen also makes reference to Arendt's concept of 'language rules'. The term 'language rule' itself, Arendt argues, was a code name or what we might also call a lie (Cohen, 2001: 80) which made the task of murder more psychologically tolerable. Liquidation and killing became Sonderbehandlung or 'special treatment' and deportation became resettlement. Viktor Klemperer, himself a survivor of the Holocaust, duly noted the specific language used within the Third Reich to disguise realities. Those who perished in a camp or a T4 centre were reported to have died of ill health or shot as a result of trying to escape (Klemperer, 2000). Specific language was used to vilify victims and represent them as disease-carrying economic threats who also threatened the racial superiority of the 'Aryan' race. In Eliasian civilised thinking, such contagion would be removed from the public sphere. The eradication, however, would require another transgression from the civilised norms - that of violence and outright murder. This, therefore, had to be sequestered. Euphemisms and disguises were used throughout the Holocaust to disguise the violence from victims, perpetrators and bystanders alike. Victims and perpetrators could believe that the disinfection rooms were just that, and not gas chambers. Moreover, bystanders could believe there was a prison for hardened criminals or even that there was no camp there at all, just a barn holding a few prisoners. In this study, I will assert that individuals and groups can allow themselves this level of denial of reality but it was made easier by the architecture.

Cesarani is amongst many scholars who have critiqued Arendt for what he wrongly perceived as racism and anti-Zionist zeal. Moreover, she is criticised for her lack of historical fact-checking and the length of time she spent at the trial listening to Eichmann's testimony (Cesarani, 2004). Her critique of the *Judenra*t, Jewish police and, 'grotesquely', as Diner argues, the mainly Jewish *Sonderkommando* of the death camps (2001: 170) insulted many, and she was deemed to be too sympathetic to Eichmann and lacking in sympathy for the victims. This apparent sympathy Barnouw ascribes to her 'flexible narrational position' which allowed her the imagine Eichmann's reality (Barnouw, 1990: 22) in that she reflected her attempts to 'enter into' the mind of Eichmann in her writing. Her 'inappropriate tone', 'analytical coldness', 'loveless irony' and 'arrogant intellectuality' (Barnouw, 1990: 25) may have lost many friends and gained many enemies but this we may also see as a direct reflection of Eichmann's – if not the Nazi regime as a whole –

demeanour. That we can read and understand her argument is, therefore, perhaps what makes it so deeply unsettling.

Beyond the criticism of her representation of the trial, Israel, Zionism and the victims of the Holocaust, however insulting they appeared to many of her readers, is the problem of the interpretation of the banality of evil and quite what was intended by this clause. When Arendt referred to the 'banality of evil' in her report on the trial of Adolf Eichmann, by no means was she suggesting that Eichmann's acts themselves were banal or not evil, indeed she supported the trial and the outcome (Benhabib, 2000: 66). Eichmann's guilt lay not in his firing a gun or in pouring in the Zyklon B pellets into the gas chambers but in his responsibility for the mass transportations of victims across Europe in the most appalling conditions to the concentration camps where they would be murdered en masse, if they hadn't already perished on the journey. Both Hilberg (1992) and Bauman (2009) note that the majority of the perpetrators were the desk-bound bureaucrats who organised and made possible the genocide. This bureaucracy, a key characteristic of modernity, allowed for the moral distancing of action and outcome which Arendt had previously described in Eichmann. Awareness may be 'abstract' and 'detached' (Bauman, 2009: 99). 'Banality of evil' refers to a 'specific quality of mind and character' (Benhabib, 2000: 74) by the person committing an act, Eichmann was 'devoid of thought' (Kristeva, 2001: 26; Cole, 2006: 95) for the moral consequences of his actions. Eichmann, as Arendt argued, 'never realised what he was doing' (emphasis original, Arendt, 1983: 287; Bernstein, 2002: 220). Arendt then goes on to argue that such thoughtlessness and 'remoteness from reality' can 'wreak more havoc than all the evil instincts taken together' (1983: 288). To read 'banality' as something common or commonplace could be argued to diminish the gravity of the charges against Eichmann if we see him and his actions as inherently human (Lang, 2014: 269). Instead, Lang offers a different interpretation whereby the potential for humanity and capacity to think humanely can be drained out and replaced with totalitarian ideals (Lang, 2014: 269). Thus a human-looking robotic puppet of the totalitarian regime takes his place in the bureaucratic machine of destruction. Under this interpretation, perhaps what Cesarani intends as a criticism, that Arendt was forwarding her prior thesis on totalitarianism may ring true and bridge the gap between the 'radical evil' espoused by Arendt in The Origins of Totalitarianism (1979) and 'banality of evil' (1983). The 'radical' evil to which Arendt discusses suggests that within a totalitarian regime, all persons are superfluous and see themselves as such (1979: 459). Furthermore, the social system is designed to prevent thinking (Kristeva, 2001: 156). Under Nazi rule, the terror within a

totalitarian regime was not there to frighten but to isolate by 'atomisation'. Free association, the support of friends and family, and moral resistance are crushed, leaving the individual 'morally lonely' (Schapiro, 1978: 102-3). The Nazi state made it possible for acts otherwise labelled as crimes, to be 'legal' (Schaap, 2001: 753), thus Eichmann became a criminal who 'commits his crimes under circumstances that make it well-nigh impossible for him to know or feel that he is doing wrong' (Arendt, 1983: 276). This is not, however, removed from 'banal' evil for 'radical' evil entails the destruction of thought (Kristeva, 2001: 144). Later in her career, Arendt no longer wrote of 'radical' evil, preferring to write that it could be 'extreme', further rejecting any notions of depth or demonic dimensions (Feldman, 1978: 251). In doing so, she was suggesting that the banality of evil 'presupposes' the understanding of radical evil (Bernstein, 2006: 218). When faced with Eichmann in court, rather than a complete change in opinion of the motivations for evil, Bernstein argues that this was clarifying the ambiguities of her previous statements (Bernstein, 2006: 218). Thus, while some see the concepts of 'radical' evil and the 'banality of evil' as different ideas, the latter is a development of the former concept.

Perhaps one of the most psychologically challenging aspects of Arendt's discussion of Eichmann is that he 'was not lago and not Macbeth' (Arendt, 1983: 287) and psychologists found him to be 'normal' (Arendt, 1983: 25). Those tried at the Nuremberg Trials similarly appeared to be 'staggeringly, disturbingly normal' (Cole, 2006: 199). Such findings have, however, been vastly debated. Blass, for example, discusses that Rorschach ink-blot tests were conducted on Nazi leaders prior to the Nuremberg trials in 1945 to conclude that they were of a 'distinct group' and 'were not psychologically normal or healthy individuals' and where Eichmann had been perceived by Arendt and Wiesenthal to be 'normal' and acting under orders, blind analyses of personality tests revealed him to be 'sadistic and violent in his hostility', 'quite paranoid' and 'a criminal with an insatiable killing intention' (Blass, 1993: 37). It is entirely possible that certain individuals under the Nazi regime were psychopathic megalomaniacs but such a 'homogeneously sick society' would act as an alibi for the perpetrators for 'who can condemn a "crazy" people' (Finkelstein, 1997: 44). This, in conjunction with Goldhagen's argument the Germans were 'pathologically ill' and 'struck with illness of sadism' (2001: 397) owing to their eliminationist anti-Semitism is the reason that the role of psychological distancing cannot be extracted from any discussion regarding Goldhagen's thesis for it was a 'sustained riposte' to Arendt and her theoretical successors (Cesarani, 2004: 355).

The importance of Arendt and her concept of the 'banality of evil' or 'thoughtlessness' should not be diminished. Cesarani, just one of her critics, partially accredits the formation of Holocaust Studies as an academic field to the debates sparked by Arendt. Yet he also accused scholars from across academic fields of falling 'under the spell of Milgram' (Cesarani, 2004: 354) who he had earlier critiqued for being overly influenced by, and riding the wave of discussion following Arendt's publication. Not least among these academics criticised by Cesarani are Bauman and Browning. Criticising Arendt thus, not only criticises one scholar but multiple fields and decades of academic research.

The Holocaust has often been described as having been an 'open secret' although as Cohen (2001) rightly notes, this is a complicated concept. There were rumours of gas and death camps but what to know and what to believe were difficult to fathom. The camps were simultaneously known about, and the existence completely denied. Moreover, where one lived in Europe could be influential on one's comprehension. Video clips presented in the Bergen Belsen museum, for example, show Dutch Jews boarding a train bound for the camp with no real understanding of their destination – they even appear to be smiling. Contemporary reports now held in the Wiener Library which were originally posted to and written in the Netherlands also show that victims were unsure of the destination of deportees. They are aware that people are disappearing but their fate is unknown. Even reports from Auschwitz escapees were disbelieved by Allies. Knowledge of atrocities varies with 'political setting, length of the conflict, control over mass media, visibility, geographical spread, the proportion of the population involved' amongst other factors (Cohen, 2001: 78).

It is my contention that the banality of evil extended into the very architecture of the camps and that these pockets of the 'decivilising process' brought about thoughtlessness in the civilians living in the vicinity of the concentration camps. Furthermore, the 'dyscivilising' process and compartmentalisation advocated by De Swaan (2001) can be empirically proven and extended, incorporating the thoughtlessness which made psychological denial possible. Denial, Cohen argues, is the 'defence mechanism for coping with guilt, anxiety and other disturbing emotions aroused by reality' (2001: 5). This is not to argue that Germans knew the full extent of the atrocities committed during the Holocaust, for 'knowledge' of an atrocity is a 'tricky matter' (2001: 5). Escaping any knowledge of the Holocaust was nigh-on impossible for the estimated spanning of the camp system (Lichtblau, 2013). Moreover, millions of Germans were employed to passively or actively

work for the regime. Doctors, lawyers, the postmen who delivered deportation notices, civil servants supplying birth certificates of Jews, employees of pharmaceutical companies who tested drugs on camp inmates and companies who received shaved hair or gold from camp inmates were not living in a vacuum (Cohen, 2001: 79-80). Instead, just as euphemistic 'language codes' made it possible for high-ranking Nazi officials to psychologically soften their true role: *Sonderbehandlung* (special treatment) was murder, for example, so too the architecture, geographical placing and timings of the camps made it possible for people to psychologically 'deny' what they knew. They didn't have to think.

This compartmentalisation was imperative to the Nazis because it was a further technique of neutralisation. It is well known that the Nazis socially isolated their victims with the Nuremberg Laws and mass propaganda. Geographical distance, Cohen argues, in conjunction with this social distance, stereotyping, lack of 'knowledge' and the scale of atrocities can give an other-worldliness to human suffering (2001: 217). The solution to witnessing human sufferings and social injustice, he further argues, is 'exclusion and segregation' in remote enough locations that they become 'out of sight, out of mind' (Cohen, 2001: 293). With 50,000 camps situated across Europe, it was impossible to be completely oblivious but the compartmentalisation, nevertheless, allowed the German population to 'live a lie' (see Cohen, 2001: 86). Officially, the secrecy surrounding the Final Solution was so great that few written documents alluding to it exist. Only one copy of the minutes from the Wannsee conference remain, for example, and use coded euphemisms In 1942, however, following protests about the T4 euthanasia killings and the subsequent dissolution of the program, the manager of the T4 killings, Viktor Brack, wrote to Himmler an expressly reminded him of the 'need to camouflage the action and that it should be carried out as soon as we can' (Friedlander, 2004). The civilising process cannot entirely prevent behaviour deemed unacceptable, but behaviour can become camouflaged or sequestrated. Indeed, Bauman argues the process 'failed to erect a single foolproof barrier against the genocide'. Instead, I argue, the civilising process itself allowed a psychological 'denial' of reality where bystanders acted according to their social norms and averted their eyes from that which they found shameful.

One such means of doing so was to camouflage the Operation Reinhard camps behind a veil of other concentration camps. Officially, the camps were as depicted in the propaganda surrounding the Theresienstadt ghetto/camp. The reality of the camps, however, was far from the image presented in propaganda footage. Distance, therefore, acts as a

camouflage – a technique of neutralisation – because it allows us to psychologically deny reality. Where Goffman (1991) considered all total institutions as having similar barriers to human contact, I propose that the different types of concentration camps were camouflaged and sequestrated differently because they were so radically different from anything previously seen on European soil, and at a far greater level than the 'typical' institutions such as TB sanatoria and barracks Europeans were accustomed to.

The importance of empathy, sympathy and mutual identification

Within this section, it is important to address the framework which empathy and sympathy will be utilised to explore Elias' concept of 'mutual identification'. The most fundamental question of sociology for Durkheim was: 'what are the bonds that unite men to one another?' (Durkheim 1888: 257-81). Both altruism and egoism exist on a spectrum in every society where the conscience collective dominates the lives of citizens within (Durkheim 1893: 197). Egoism is especially apparent in modern society and is equated with the individualism that modernity creates (Miller, 1996: 97). Miller argues Durkheim's response to egoism and altruism as egoism being the 'self-absorbed withdrawal that numbs feelings of attachment to our milieu' and altruism, by contrast, as 'a crushing of the self' (Miller, 1996: 4). Scheff argues that interdependence and mutual identification balance the 'I-self' and the 'we-self' (Scheff, 2001: 101). In this way, we identify with another person and identify with them as a fellow human being. Fletcher argues a similar standpoint in that 'problems of I-identification [the I-self] emerge when a person struggles with his own conscience' (Fletcher, 1997:48). We may recall here the definition of thoughtlessness earlier in the chapter in that thinking involves a pseudo-conversation with the conscience to decide if one can live with the consequences of one's action or inaction (1971). One has to simultaneously look in on him or herself and judge, whilst also being judged. Dunning and Hughes, critique Scheff for adopting a normative approach to the terms of identification and interdependence and argue that whilst there are 'bonds of similitude' and 'bonds of interdependence' in Durkheim's work - that is how similar we feel to others and interdependence based on economics, for Elias interdependence stretches far further. Their vignette of driving, for example, highlights that for our own safety, we are dependent on other road users to drive safely with care and consideration, and the other road users are equally dependent on us to drive with the same caution (Dunning and Hughes, 2013). In

light of Durkheim's economic arguments, it is also important to note Breuer's (1991) argument that with the increasing densities of social ties there may also exist an emotional need to negate these ties, thus an 'atomisation' occurs in society. There are times, for example when it is socially and economically prudent to identify with, overlook or vilify another thus Van Krieken (2014) notes that this supports Burkitt's (1996) argument that lengthening chains of interdependence can reduce mutual identification thus pockets of the civilising process can co-exist with pockets of decivilising behaviour. It is, however, far easier to exact violence on those we fail to identify with. Labels of 'us' and 'them' constitutes 'a boundary for the exercise of violence and aggression' (Van Krieken, 2014:27). Moreover, 'identification also determines whether one is concerned about and thus emotionally affected by what happens to other people, or whether one remains indifferent' (Van Krieken, 2014:27). Thus the Nazis sought to break down identification between German population and the victims (see, for example, Friedlander, 2007 or Rees 2005).

Feelings of empathy and 'togetherness' are far from universal. Barriers to this may be imposed by the State, societal norms or the self. We see, for example, tremendous changes in attitudes to homosexuals in the West from criminality to gay marriage. In some states, it is still illegal to be actively homosexual or to 'promote' homosexuality, and there are still individuals who oppose homosexuality on religious grounds.

'Empathy' entered the English language when Lipps' 'Einfuhlung' was translated. It was originally used in psychology in German aesthetics and is derived from 'to feel one's way into' (Wispé, 1991: 78). What authors including Smith in The Theory of Moral Sentiments (2002) have labelled 'sympathy' will here be regarded as empathy. The two terms are often used interchangeably and are held to be synonyms in the Oxford English Dictionary. Twenty and twenty-first-century philosophers, however, distinguish between the two and hold 'empathy' to be the modern lexis for the older term 'sympathy' (Taylor, 1960: 59, Lindgren, 1973: 21-22). Thus it is of critical importance here to define the terms and their usage in this study. Empathy is the feeling of 'agreement, coincidence or harmony of sentiments' between individuals (Campbell, 1971: 94). Imagination was central to Smith's philosophy of morals (Evensky,2005: 34) and empathy is the embodiment of the imagination of the feelings of others (Darwall, 1998: 261). We imagine how another person is feeling when they appear in distress and feel this for, or with them. As Smith noted:

Taylor supports this view of empathy in that he believes it to be an 'imaginative, vicarious sharing of another's feelings – or the feelings imputed to him'. (1960: 58-9). Empathy is an 'acquisition into one's self – one's own feelings – of a kind of echo or reflection of the other, observed, active person's apparent feelings, which results from a successful, imaginative 'identification' of the self with that other person' (Taylor, 1960: 58-9). It is the ability to 'enter into' another's feelings of their situation which allows us to feel their emotions (Smith, 2002: 11). So too, if a situation does not affect us in a similar manner, we may believe their emotions are unwarranted (Smith, 2002: 16). Mennell argued this within the framework of the civilising process in that we might understand others' feelings, sharing in them, feeling their pain and seeing ourselves in them (Mennell, 2006: 430) We do so because we experience 'fellow feeling' (Smith, 2002: 10) and 'vicariously share' our imagined feelings onto the other (Taylor, 1960: 58). We do not need to copy the feelings of another to feel their distress; we only need to put ourselves in their position to work out how to feel (Darwall, 1998: 268).

Smith and Hume use 'sympathy' (our empathy) differently in that Smith describes empathy as the agreement of sentiments and Hume as the communication of sentiments (Campbell, 1971: 105). For Hume, empathy could be a contagion in that we 'catch a feeling or emotional state from another' (Darwall, 1998: 264). If we walk into a comedy club, for example, we see smiling faces and hear laughter, and know that others around us are enjoying themselves. Conversely, if we walk into a hospital and see sombre faces, we can imagine that there is worry or unhappiness causing this.

In empathising with others, we too enjoy being empathised with (Lindren, 1973). In so fulfilling this mutual empathy we become 'both respectable and respected' (Smith, 2002: 84) and manipulate out actions by imagining what others will find respectable (Lindren, 1973). In this way, the identification of empathy does, indeed, become mutual in the Eliasian sense (2009). Empathy leads to identification with the welfare of others and the appreciation of our existence as part of a 'larger whole' (Morrow, 1925: 611). Furthermore, Schopenhauer believed that *Mitleid* (compassion) had a higher moral value than egoism because with *Mitleid* we 'transcend the illusion of our individuality' (see Leiter, 2002: 57).

Maris (1981) interprets Smith as similar to Hume in that our morality has its basis in sympathy. He notes, however, that Smith's interpretation of sympathy is to imagine oneself in the other's position whereas Hume believed sympathy was the transference of

feelings onto another. Those we feel socially closer to result in deeper and stronger feelings than 'the feeble spark of benevolence (Smith, 2002: 156, see also Scott and Seglow, 2007).

Darwall, (1998), and Scheler (1954) see sympathy as from the perspective of the thirdperson; the one who cares. Where empathy was the sharing of mental states, sympathy
arises as an emotion of care and he offers the vignette of a person who hates himself. We
may not be able to share their feelings of low self-worth or misery but we can care for and
about them (Darwall, 1998). The sadist may empathetically enjoy seeing another in pain
but they fail to sympathise with them (Scheler, 1954: 14) or a gunman, for example, can
use empathy to predict his opponent's next move but still want to kill him (Binmore, 1998:
12). A key difference between empathy and sympathy then, is that empathy can give rise to
sympathy when we are distressed for another, but also on their behalf (Darwall, 1998).
Psychological experiments into empathy arousal, rooted in Stotland's (1969) research, have
found that those who protectively empathise with others report parallels of emotion and
physical symptoms. The imagined distress of the other causes real distress in the
sympathiser (Darwall, 1998: 271). On a literal level, for example, we could consider
'sympathy pains'

The key issue, and the distinction between empathy and sympathy is that in sympathy the other person matters (Darwall, 1998). Sympathy can occur when the other's welfare appears 'as an argument in his [the sympathiser's] utility function', the extreme of this being the mother's love for her child (Binmore, 1998: 12). To see a child on a precipice, for example, I am not just concerned for the child's welfare because I can imagine their feelings of fear but because that child matters to me (Mensius, 1970: 82).

This is not, however, to suggest that feelings of empathy or sympathy give rise to action or solutions. In all too many examples, we see an outpouring of grief for a persecuted group but complete inaction; the Dutch UN force was enervated at the Srebrenica massacre, as were the Belgian UN in the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Moreover, it is important to consider the structures of power and definitions of good and evil and their impact on the value structure of society. Within an oppressive regime and unable to remove the regime from power, a 'self-interested class' of people create their own values and devalue those of their oppressors. This *ressentiment* gives rise to feelings of 'pity' (Leiter, 2002: 194) and when those socially above or beneath us are not seen as a 'threat' they are far easier to identify with (De Swaan, 1988)

To return to the civilising process (Elias, 2000) As the court society (Elias, 1983) developed, individuals began to adopt a more 'psychological' view of others, consciously observing one's self and their behaviour, and that of others (Mennell, 1998: 202). In this regard, we identify with others and imagine their position on our behaviour (Mennell, 1998: 202). As our number of social connections increases we are 'forced more often to pay more attention to more other people' (Goudsblom, 1989: 722). This arises from a greater dependence on others for social status, thus the consequences of our actions become greater (Mennell, 2001: 35).

Since the Medieval era individuals developed greater social ties to those around them; for example in the move from a *gemeinschaft* society in which one's social contacts might only extend as far as one's family and within a short geographical radius to a *Gesellschaft* society in which one's social ties extended to family, friends and work colleagues across a greater geographical radius (Tönnies, 2001). In this respect our chains of interdependency increase as the carpenter, for example, is dependent upon the woodsmen, the retailer and customer to buy the furniture they manufacture. These social ties can be seen to extend even further in twenty-first century society where the power of technology has made it possible to connect with those across continents. That the number of social connections increased over time is largely unquestioned here. Rather the focus is that individuals are increasingly able to 'mutually identify' with another, imagining themselves in their position and act accordingly.

Much discussion of The Civilising Process (Elias, 2000) and The Germans (Elias, 1996), however, has been theoretically grounded and not examined empirically. Mennell, for example, argued theoretically that mutual identification was not 'negligible' but was 'successfully bypassed' (2001: 38). Nazi diminishment of identification with victims was not easily achieved and was not achieved by propaganda alone but by the social and geographical removal of Jews and other persecuted groups. Under The Nuremberg Laws social, educational, familial and economic liberties were eroded (see, for example, Mennell, 1998 and Benz 2000). Their function in society was gradually diminished, as too were their chains of interdependence. This, in turn, diminished 'mutual identification'. Social contracts were finally severed with their sequestration to ghettos, transit and concentration camps, and finally to the extermination camps in Poland (Mennell, 1998).

Concluding remarks

There is, therefore, a central theme between the theories of Arendt, (1970; 1978; 1983), Elias (2000; 2001), Bauman (2009) and Cohen (2001). This theme is thoughtlessness. This thoughtlessness is central to Arendt's concept of evil. Cohen (2001) also examines thoughtlessness and goes on to examine the concept of denial. Bauman, Arendt and Cohen all acknowledge the importance of physical as well as mental distance from the act which allows for this thoughtlessness to take place. Moreover, there is a link to the civilising process in that this distance can be manufactured. Elias argued that the behaviours we find socially unacceptable are largely removed from the public sphere to specially designated places. There are further links between Arendt's concept of evil and the breakdown in the civilising process in that she described such evil as a fungus (1970). This grows and perpetuates in the greatest of darkness (1979) when individuals become less able to think, such as under a totalitarian regime. The breakdown of the civilising process argued by Elias (1996) and the progress from totalitarian movement to the regime (Arendt, 1979) ran concurrently. The importance of sequestration and the link between Elias and Cohen was highlighted by De Swaan (2001) in that compartmentalisation could take place to allow a degree of normalcy to continue to take place in the outside world, while the horrors of the Holocaust in Germany took place in the designated spaces of the concentration camp. Throughout each theory, there is the continued argument of physical distance giving rise to thoughtlessness. This thoughtlessness and thus decline in the 'mutual identification' (Elias, 2000) can be examined through empathy (Smith, 2002) and sympathy (1998).

It is my hypothesis that the architecture and topographies of the concentration camps contributed to the promotion of this thoughtlessness. They provided sequestrated spaces in which the violence and death took place during the Holocaust in Germany and are thus indicative of the dyscivilised process. Their growth in numbers dramatically facilitated thoughtlessness in that it was only as the Nazi regime reached its zenith and Germany was at its darkest point that there was an explosion in the number of concentration camps. Moreover, in using pre-existing buildings, the illusion of normality allowed the local civilians the capacity for thoughtlessness towards the camp and the inmates therein. It is where the social, physical and psychological barriers between the inmates in the camps and the local civilians were the least where the vestiges of empathy and sympathy remained, and thus a degree of mutual identification.

CHAPTER 3 - Methodology

This chapter explicates the research methodology used in conducting the study. The methodology takes places along three central methodological strands. In the first instance, historical maps were analysed alongside the Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (Megargee, 2012) and Sechste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes⁶ (6-DVBEG, Bundesministerium der Justiz⁷ ascertain what a concentration camp looked like, the population size in the vicinity of each camp, and changes in architecture and total civilian population size over time. In the second instance, the architecture and topography of Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme concentration camps, and their sub camps were photographed and analysed in support of the aforementioned data. Finally, the testimony of civilians who had lived in the Harz region (and thus near Mittelbau Dora camp) were collected from the Mittelbau Dora archives and analysed using thematic analysis for their empathy and sympathy, thus 'mutual identification' with the inmates. The impact of the architecture and physical and psychological sequestration on the thoughtlessness of the civilians is reflected in the archival civilian testimonies of Mittelbau Dora camp.

By empirically approaching the research in three ways, it is shown that the architecture and topography of the concentration camps impacted on civilian empathy by way of promoting 'thoughtlessness'; ignoring the moral consequences of one's actions, or justifying or reasoning away the action (see Arendt 1970; 1978; 1979;1983 and 2003; and Berkowitz, 2010). Thoughtlessness, as argued in the previous chapter is central to a number of key sociological theories. For Elias (2000, 2001), behaviours and actions deemed socially unacceptable and which might upset our 'delicacy of feeling', including acts of violence and death are, in modern times, sequestrated in specialised locales. Much as Cohen (2001) argued that distance, both physical and psychological from human suffering allows us to deny the reality of its occurrence. Bauman (2009) also argued that psychological denial of reality (and responsibility) takes place as the physical and psychological distance between bureaucrat and victim is extended in the bureaucratic process. The concentration camps in Germany were very much a product of their time; born of and in a 'modern rational society' (Bauman, 2009: x) of bureaucracy, but also a society which had progressed along the 'civilising process' (Elias, 2000; and 2001) sufficiently that the very worst in humanity

⁶ Sixth Ordinance on the Implementation of the Federal Constitutional Law

⁷ Federal Ministry of Justice

needed to be sequestrated away from the populace but not sufficiently enough for genocide and mass-murder to take place (Elias, 1996).

The architecture and topography contributed to 'thoughtlessness' (Arendt 1970; 1978; 1979;1983 and 2003) and psychological denial (Cohen, 2001) by way of their often outwardly appearing normalcy which allowed life to continue in relative normality. In this regard we can see 'mutual identification' lacking where physical and mental sequestration take place (see Elias, 1996; 2000; and 2001), and a 'dyscivilising process' taking place whereby pockets of de-civilised behaviour (in the Eliasian sense) and a decivilising process are occurring amongst an otherwise 'civilised'(De Swaan, 2001).

This chapter proceeds with an explication of the cartographic method, commencing with the rationale for using cartographic data, to garner data on population densities surrounding each concentration camp, and that from the *Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos* (Megargee, 2012) to collect data as to the architecture of each concentration camp. How the sample was created from this and the *Sechste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes* (6-DVBEG *Bundesministeriums der Justiz*, 1982), is then described, in addition to how the data was fully collated and presented as graphs and timelines.

The fieldwork within Germany is then discussed. The initial focus is the gathering of data from the archives at Mittelbau Dora, Bergen Belsen and Neuengamme concentration camps in a manner which was both swift and allowed for the data to be analysed away from the archives, given the limited time spent in the country. Considerations in the photography of the camps and sub camps are then discussed, particularly relating to difficulties in initially locating the sub camps and how photographs might be framed and structured takes place alongside the potential for personal bias and my part within the narrative of the Holocaust. Moreover, specific challenges arose during the course of the fieldwork, not least of all the emotional toll of the research topic and thus the potential for bias to creep into data collection and analysis. Thus a discussion of 'emotion work' (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, and Liamputtong, 2009) takes place. The rationale for limiting the case study of archival data to Mittelbau Dora, and the photographic data to Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme despite also visiting the archives and former camps of Bergen Belsen and Neuengamme is then argued. Finally, a discussion of the choice to perform thematic analysis on the data collected from the Mittelbau Dora concentration camp takes place. Primarily, this owed to the variation in depth and length of the

testimonies. Moreover, having previous experience in the application of thematic analysis in the examination of empathy and sympathy amongst rescuers in another previous pilot study (Burns, 2012), it was found to be highly effective.

The Cartographic Method

In the last two decades, Geographical Information Systems (GIS) have increasingly gained credence as a means to explore history, (Knowles, 2008). In the Social Sciences, GIS can also be an important methodology in examining where crimes take place, potentially altering policy in an attempt to cut crime in high rate areas (Chainey and Ratcliffe, 2005). Combining both academic fields and utilising GIS, particularly in relation to the Holocaust has, as yet, been underdeveloped. Gilbert produced The Atlas of the Holocaust (1998) in which he sought to show the movement of victims across Europe, the number of deaths in particular regions etc, using maps and has since released a series of maps detailing the geography of the Holocaust, showing the birth places of Jews executed in France for resistance (2005: 64), for example, or the location of camps along the Bug River (2005: 66). The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) has recently begun mapping the concentration camp system, examining the geographies of the Holocaust (see Knowles, Cole and Giordano, 2014; and Geographies of the Holocaust). One such example of USHMM mapping is the plotting of over 1,100 camps to show the widespread nature of the camp system and their location in relation to industry. These social geographies, however, have not literally examined the sequestration of violence and death, in light of Eliasian theory or otherwise8.

The use of historical maps grants the opportunity to examine how many people had direct sensory knowledge of the concentration camps across Germany. Not only are we able to see how many towns were in the vicinity of the camps, but how many people resided there. Such detailed data would be impossible to garner so quickly from any other source.

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⁸ In the course of this research, Knowles, Jaskot, Blackshear, De Groot and Yule (2014) published similar research in the United States and mapped the concentration camps. They also used the *Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos* (Megargee, 2012) as a data source alongside the geographical coordinates of the camp provided by the USHMM. Our research is complimentary of the other as their focus was not on the architecture or topography of the camps, or the facilities for the disposal of human remains. The foci of Knowles *et al* (2014) were the distance of sub camps from the respective main camps, the incarnation of camps across time and across Europe, the gender of inmates in camps across Europe and the geographical placement of camps respective of their primary role for slave labour in construction or armaments, and is not considered in light of sociological or criminological theory.

An examination of the camp structures as to the distance from local populations and, therefore, an empirical exploration of physical distance as a technique of neutralisation has, as yet, to be conducted. By conducting this research using the chosen data sources, the sequestration of the institutions for mass murder and genocide can clearly be shown. I argue that this was symptomatic of wider values to violence and genocide and can be explained with a synergy of key theoreticians.

A cartographic method, Kraak and Ormeling argue, is understood as 'representing a phenomenon or an area in such a way that its spatial structure will be visualised' (1996: 40). The maps and the graphs produced through the collection and analysis of the data are a form of 'scientific visualisation' (1996: 41) of the representation of data. Cartography need not be the image of 'just' a map but can include all data related to 'spatial information' (1996: 42).

The use of maps as a data source was pilot tested using ten concentration and death camps in Poland as part of a Masters dissertation (Burns, 2010). Data from this research suggested further promising data could be gleaned by more extensive research. Moreover, as an underutilised method of research in the study of the Holocaust, the pilot study opened a gateway for new and interesting data.

Data Selection and Sampling

Using a cartographic method, the research combines both primary and secondary data. The secondary data sources include:

- Sechste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (6-DVBEG, Bundesministerium der Justiz 1982). This lists legally recognised Nazi concentration camps, from which reparations were issued following liberation.
- The USHMM Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (Megargee, 2012). Within this, numerous scholars have attempted to catalogue as much known information as possible about the known camps including their times of operation, work carried out within, numbers of prisoners and whether or not gas chambers were in operation at the camps.
- Geographical coordinates of camps. These were previously researched and generously provided by the USHMM.

 Historical maps from the 1930s. These detail which towns were in existence at the time of occupation, and their approximate population sizes (Reichsamt fur Landesaufnahme, Berlin 1935).

In 1967, later amended in 1982, the Sechste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (6-DVBEG) listed the legally recognised Nazi concentration camps for the purposes of reparations. It is, however, by no means complete. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum have catalogued 42,500 camps in Nazi Europe to date (Lichtblau, 2013). Despite the encyclopaedias and the efforts of countless scholars, in many cases, very little is known about the smaller camps within the wider system. Efforts to destroy all physical and documentary evidence of, and therefore hide, the camps were made by the Nazis prior to capitulation. A great deal of documentation at Auschwitz was, for example, razed before the liberation. It was only because the architects' office was not destroyed that blueprints of the gas chambers still exist (Rees 2005). A great deal of knowledge comes from survivors of the camps and the comparatively little remaining documentation. The Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (2012) is perhaps the richest source of information on all the camps available, comprised of data collected by numerous historians in the field. Examining the data within the encyclopaedia in a cross comparison, however, has not yet been conducted. For this reason, the sample of camps is a result of combining the 6-DVBEG (1982) list with the USHMM encyclopaedia (2012).

Another encyclopaedia exists, written and compiled by Benz and Distel (2005), *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der Nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*. This fascinating encyclopaedia while useful, was not fully utilised in preference for the Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (2012) for several reasons. Firstly, the USHMM utilised many specialists in particular camps. Jens-Christian Wagner and his team, for example, were heavily involved in the sections relating to Mittelbau Dora camps where they research, archive and maintain the memorial site and museum. Secondly, the USHMM encyclopaedia was published in English which dramatically increased the speed at which data could be collected. Finally, the USHMM encyclopaedia was more recently produced and was, therefore, deemed to be more relevant to much more up-to-date research and data.

Data drawn from the 6-DVBEG (*Bundesministerium der Justiz*, 1982) and The Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (2012) was then tabulated into a spreadsheet. Some geographical coordinates for known camps were kindly provided by the USHMM. Where these were available and the camps were recognised in the 6-DVBEG (*Bundesministerium der Justiz*,

1982) list, they were temporarily included in the sample. Data was then collected on the camps from the encyclopaedia and input into a spreadsheet. The data collected includes dates of operation, the previous purpose of the building, the existence of gas chambers, the existence of crematoria (or other means of mass-disposal of bodies (and the dates of their operation), the maximum number of prisoners held at one time, any estimation of the number of deaths, the previous function of the building and the type of work conducted by the prisoners. An additional piece of data was also included in the spreadsheet – the 'type'.

I define 'types' of camps as follows:

- Operation Reinhard camps (Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec in Poland) refer to those
 used only for mass murder. In these camps, victims disembarked from the cattle
 truck, were immediately murdered in the gas chambers, and their corpses burned
 in the crematoria. The only inmates of such camps were the Sonderkommando and
 those who sorted the gassed victims' possessions.
- Concentration camps with gas chambers refer to camps such as Auschwitz,
 Auschwitz Birkenau and Mauthausen. These camps had a sizable population of
 inmates for slave labour, but also had the capabilities to gas and cremate victims.
 Inmates, on disembarking from the cattle truck would be directed to the left or
 right; either immediately to the gas chambers or become part of the slave labour
 force.
- Concentration camps without gas chambers refer to camps utilised for slave labour. They differ from ghettos or transit camps by the semi-permanent status of the inmates, their topography and architecture. Such camps may, however, have had crematoria to burn the bodies of those who were beaten, starved or worked to death.
- Protective custody camps refer to an early incarnation of the concentration camp.
 These were penal colonies for political prisoners, Jews and Jehovah's Witnesses.
 Forced labour for the war effort or in local companies was not universal.
- Transit camps refer to specifically temporary camps such as Westerbork in the Netherlands. These were not intended to provide medium or long-term slave labour to the war effort or local companies. Instead, they were created specifically to hold inmates until they could be transferred elsewhere for slave labour or immediate murder.

- Ghettos refer to slum areas of a city, usually in pre-existing buildings, which were cordoned off and guarded to prevent victims from leaving.
- T4 centres refer to the six institutions whose dedicated purpose was the 'euthanasia' of the mentally and physically ill, orphaned and elderly.

It was important to ascertain they 'type' of camp because each served a different purpose and could thus have potentially impacted on the nearby civilians differently. Without wishing to diminish the horrors each type of camp contained, each type of camp or institution was different in its location and time-frame. Protective custody camps, for example, were located in Germany in the earliest phases of the Nazi movement between 1933 and 1939. They were penal colonies and the precursor to the latter concentration camps (with, or without gas chambers), but their function was not intended to bring about death en masse. Nevertheless, they were different to Operation Reinhard camps in that the sole purpose of these latter camps was to bring about death en masse, often within hours of the inmates arriving, and were built specifically for the purpose in the early 1940s on the Eastern side of Poland. Moreover, each 'type' helped to ascertain the how corpses might be disposed of and thus impacted on the analysis. A concentration camp with a gas chamber would more likely have had crematoria than a transit camp or ghetto, for example. The number of people with sensory knowledge of the camps (particularly by way of the smell of the burning bodies) would, therefore, increase. The consideration of the 'type' of the camp was particularly important in the early phase of the research and the decision of which Nazi institutions to sample. Transit camps were located in occupied countries to the west of Germany (including France and the Netherlands) and were thus omitted. Ghettos were located in occupied countries to the east of Germany (including Poland and Czechoslovakia) and were also omitted. T4 institutions were omitted from the sample as many 'feeder' institutions including hospitals, asylums and homes for the elderly formed part of the euthanasia programme. They have been omitted from the analysis as their original purpose (as places of healing and care) was distinct from the Nazi regime. An analysis of their architecture and locales would, therefore, not be indicative of values to Nazi violence. Moreover, this would have required locating all such institutions and evidence of sending people to the centres. By ascertaining the 'type' of camp at this early stage, however, provisions were made to expand on the research at a later date and examine camps across Europe.

It should be noted that where there was difficulty in identifying a 'type' of camp, the analysis was made in multiple categories. Neuengamme, for example, did not have a permanent gas chamber in situ but did experiment with gassings in the prison block. In the months where gassings were experimented with, these were denoted as such within the spreadsheet and timelines. Furthermore, a strict omitting of the term 'death camp' has been made. This is because all camps brought about the cumulative death of millions thus camps were labelled only for their capabilities to dispose of human remains.

The architecture was divided into several categories:

- Civilian buildings (CB) including houses, farms, hotels
- Fortresses (FT) previously used castles and fortresses
- Industrial buildings (IB) including factories
- Military buildings (MB) including airfields and army barracks
- Purpose built buildings (PB) built specifically to imprison inmates
- Total institutions (TI) prisons, asylums, boarding schools, monasteries, former workhouses
- Underground (UG) those underground.9

Where there was a pre-existing structure and a camp was placed there, for example where airfields existed but had a concentration camp later built within the grounds, the analysis was made using the original purpose of the building. Dachau, for example, was originally a disused factory but later expanded upon (Distel, 2012) and thus analysis uses the original purpose as an industrial building. At Mittelbau-Dora, many inmates were permanently kept underground to prepare the previous fuel store for the manufacture of the V2 rockets while others had tents for shelter outside of the tunnels. In this respect, Mittlebau-Dora was classified for analysis as 'purpose built' (Wagner, 2012).

Dates of use were ascertained using a combination of the 6-DVBEG (*Bundesministerium der Justiz*, 1982) list and The Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (2012). Where there was a disparity of dates, the earliest and latest dates of operation were utilised. Having collected this data from the encyclopaedias, the data was then 'cleaned'. Clearly erroneous geographical coordinates, those locating camps in the sea or in lakes, for example, were omitted. Further primary research into missing data was instigated by contacting memorials, museums and local town halls, historical societies and tourist information

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⁹ Abbreviations such as 'CB' for civilian buildings were used during data collection and also appear in graphs and timelines in Chapter 4.

bureaus. Where missing data could not be located, these camps were omitted from the sample. In total, 285 concentration camps in Germany were identified on the 6-DVBEG (Bundesministerium der Justiz, 1982) list, and had complete data for analysis. Nevertheless, ninety percent of all the sub camps in Germany, and all of the main camps listed in 6-DVBEG (Bundesministerium der Justiz, 1982) were included, thus ensuring the sample was representative. While data was collected for as many camps as possible across the concentration camp system, the sample for this study was limited to Germany. This decision was made to ensure a hegemonic sample without limiting the scope for future research with the data.

Germany's border was defined by that on January 1st, 1933. This date was chosen because Hitler became Chancellor on the 30th, January. 1933 (Freidlander, 2004) and thus identified 'Germany' prior to the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, and the invasion and occupation of neighbouring countries. Germany's borders were subject to change throughout the centuries, as identified by Elias (1996), thus a stable point in time as to what was legally considered Germany was necessary.

Once the sample had been ascertained, the names of the towns and approximation of the population in the vicinity of the camps were collected. This aspect of the research required historical maps of the time, collected at the British Library in London. The use of historical maps was imperative as the number of villages and hamlets in the vicinity of camps is likely to have changed dramatically since the 1930s and 1940s. Not only has the global population expanded, but Germany has been subject to migration. Moreover, cities and towns razed during the war have since been rebuilt which will have affected the population sizes. Maps are a graphical representation of data but they are not unproblematic (Gregory, 1994: 75). Moreover, they are not a 'hermetic mode of knowledge' (Harley, 1992: 232). In order to 'read' a map, Wood (1992), Keates (1982) and MacEachren (1995) advocate the use of textual analysis when interpreting maps and the signs within as one must understand how the map has been presented and for what purpose. A semiotic analysis of the maps was, therefore, utilised. This involved an analysis of a text or image into a series of 'signs' and examined how these were given meaning (McKee, 2003: 130). For Saussure, what we see, the 'sign', is arbitrary without meaning and this meaning must be accepted by those reading the document for it to hold value (Culler, 1976: 19). For example, the population sizes are denoted within the maps according to the size of the marker and text size on the map. Maps utilising keys, demonstrating how to interpret the

maps were used to assist in this investigation. Moreover, detailed keys within the maps offered a quicker means of assessing population size where assessing census data would have been lengthy and laborious. Furthermore, historical maps offer accuracy as to the country borders before Nazi occupation. The area of East Prussia, for example, was formerly German territory but is now part of Poland. The *Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme*, (1935) maps of Germany, for example, were detailed enough to show hamlets with a population less than 5000 people.

This series of maps was chosen for a number of reasons. The scale of the maps was 1: 1,000,000 which provided the detail necessary for the research; the date was outside of copyright restrictions thus allowing for facsimiles to be made and research to be conducted elsewhere than the British Library, and the closest available map series to the January 1st, 1933 date; and the map key was clear. Moreover, the use of the historical maps provided a clear and concise notation of every city, town and hamlet and their approximate population size. To locate the individual data for each otherwise would have proved impossible. Moreover, maps also show their location. With the building of ever more inhabited areas in the last seventy years, this proved critical. The map series was not without its drawbacks, however. Firstly, the scale resulted in Germany appearing across eight separate maps. At times, this required working across two larger maps and later removing town names from the data which would otherwise have fallen outside of the estimated radius. Furthermore, as each of the eight regional maps was also very large, facsimile copies of the maps were made on A3 paper and later had to be reattached to recreate the larger maps. As the cost of colour copies was prohibitively expensive, black and white facsimiles were made. Researching the camps and towns on the southern border of Germany, in the Bavarian Alps, proved problematic as the black and white copies were unclear. To ensure the correct data was gathered, the original colour maps were used at the British Library. This was also beneficial in that it allowed a small sample of the data to be gathered again on the original map to ensure the data was correct from the copy. Moreover, this sample was peer-reviewed to ensure accuracy.

Data extraction from the historical maps and contemporary GIS

Having measured the scale of the historical map, one circle with a scaled ratio of 25km and another with a scaled ratio of 10km were drawn onto a sheet of acetate and left to dry so as not to damage the document. The centre point was then placed over the location of the

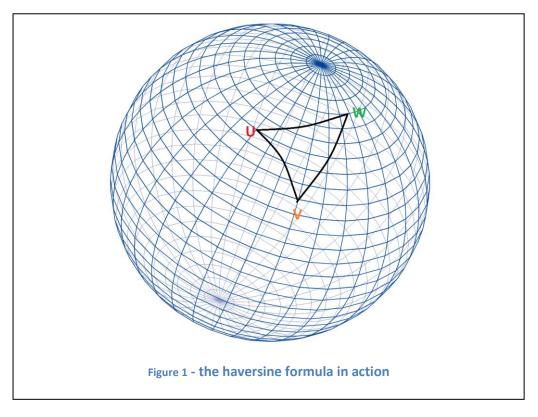
camp and any towns falling within this remit were noted on the spreadsheet. The radii of 25km and 10km allowed a 5km margin of human error in the noting of towns and to account for the need to use multiple regional maps. Towns over 20.5km and 5.5km respectively away were removed from the sample The distance of 20km was used where camps had facilities for the mass burning of bodies (including their own crematoria) because it was noted by bystanders of the camps that the smell of burning bodies could be detected up to this distance away (Lanzmann, 2007). The radius of 5km was used for camps without facilities for cremating bodies. This radius was proposed owing to the average travelling distance per inhabitant per day in Germany. This data was not available before the 1950s however, the data presented by Scheiner (2010: 76) allowed for an estimate of 5km to be ascertained by reverse extrapolating the trend in the data to 1945. This radius would account for civilian individuals being likely able to see, hear, smell, or approach (touch) the camps in their vicinity. Pooley and Turnbull (1999), for example, calculated that the average commuting distance per person per day in the 1930s and 1940s in Britain were 7km and 7.8km respectively. Scheiner (2010) also estimated the average distance travelled per person per day in 1950 as 9km. Accounting for the upwards trend in distance between 1950 and 1985 (after which the trend slowed), the trend was then calculated back to 1945 where it was found the average distance travelled per person per day was only 5km (which would also account for a lack of trains for public transportation which were otherwise engaged in the Nazi war effort). In order to ascertain whether this trend was accurate, it was compared with Pooley and Turnbull's study. The trend line for Pooley and Turnbull's study was $r^2 = 0.9644$ and for Sheiner's study (1950-1985) was $r^2 = 0.9648$, indicating remarkable similarity. It was, therefore, decided on the comparison of these two studies that the distance of 5km radius from the camps would be taken to account for the populations who may have seen, heard or entered the camps.

Once the towns had been located on the historical map, their geographical coordinates were located on Google Earth as primary data. These, along with their minimum and maximum population size, were then fed into the spreadsheet, alongside the coordinates of the camps from which the towns are in the vicinity of. In order to achieve this, the desired location was selected, the mouse was right-clicked, and 'what's here?' selected from the menu to show the decimal degrees of the location. We may be more accustomed to seeing latitudes and longitudes in the format of 51°32'05.3"N 10°44'55"E (the coordinates of Mittelbau Dora). Decimal degrees were used, however, as this was the

format of the coordinates provided by the USHMM and they are the required format for the haversine formula (Linoff, 2008).

This aspect of the research had undergone a pilot study. In the earliest incarnation, measurements of the distances between camps and towns were attempted on a printed image from Google Earth but this proved to be impossible as to show the 20km radius on one map, a number of the town names were unreadable and 'lost' in the hard-copy. This also proved extremely inaccurate as, when this method was replicated by peers, the results differed greatly. It was, therefore, originally planned that the straight line distance between camp and town would be measured using Google Earth. This proved more accurate in peer replications but in the interests of accuracy, reducing the risk of human error, and time, however, the haversine formula was entered into the spreadsheet to calculate the distance automatically. These distances and population sizes could then be plotted on various graphs to pictorially represent the data into a visually analysable format. In this way, the research generated new information by collecting and merging existing data.

The haversine formula measures the 'Great Circle' distance. This is the shortest distance between two points on a sphere (Lawhead, 2015). Thus, it measures the 'as the crow flies' or 'straight-line' distance between two geographical points but accounts for the curvature of the Earth.



$$d = 2r\sin^{-1}\left(\sqrt{\sin^2\left(\frac{\phi_2 - \phi_1}{2}\right) + \cos(\phi_1)\cos(\phi_2)\sin^2\left(\frac{\psi_2 - \psi_1}{2}\right)}\right)$$

Equation 1 - Haversine formula

In the above formula, d is the distance between two points with longitude and latitude (ψ, φ) respectively) and r is the radius of the Earth. (Chopde and Nichat, 2013:299)

This translates into a Microsoft Excel formula, thus:

Equation 2 - Haversine formula for Microsoft Excel

To use this in an example, we can calculate the distance between Mittelbau Dora and Nordhausen in Microsoft Excel by entering the formula below into the cell I2:

$$= ACOS(COS(RADIANS(90 - B2)) * COS(RADIANS(90 - F2)) + SIN(RADIANS(90 - B2)) * SIN(RADIANS(90 - F2)) * COS(RADIANS(C2 - G2))) * 6371$$

Equation 3 - Example use of haversine formula in Microsoft Excel

	А	В	С	D	Е	F	G	Н	I
1	Place	Latitude	Longitude		Place name	Latitude	Longitude		Distance
	name								(km)
2	Mittelbau-	51.5348	10.7488		Nordhausen	51.49656	10.79229		
	Dora								5.209346
3	Mittelbau-	51.5348	10.7488		Ilfeld	51.577016	10.787272		
	Dora								

Table 1 - Example of the haversine formula in use in Microsoft Excel

By simply 'dragging' the formula, or 'copying and pasting', down by one cell in Microsoft Excel the programme automatically calculates the distance between Mittelbau Dora and

the town of Ilfeld in cell I3. This process can then be repeated thousands of times in a matter of seconds, without losing accuracy.

The haversine formula is not flawless in that it assumes the Earth is a perfect sphere when it is actually an ellipsoid (slightly egg-shaped). A more accurate calculation uses the vincenty formula which is accurate to 0.5mm (Panigrahi, 2014:214). The vincenty formula is an extremely complicated calculation and such a degree of mathematical precision was unnecessary for this project when applied to Earth, the haversine formula is accurate to within one meter (Lawhead, 2015)

It was considered that ARC GIS software could be utilised in the research as a preference to Google Earth as this was the software utilised by the USHMM. Extensive training in using this software would have been required. It was also considered that by using Google Earth, replicability by anyone, whether academic or otherwise, would be possible as the program is free to download globally. This software, for example, has been utilised to track the genocide in Darfur (Parks, 2009) and Google also use their software to track crises as they occur.

These phases of the research can best be summarised in two phases shown on the following pages:

Figure 2 - Phase 1 of the research

Radii of 5km and 20km decided.

Locate complete list of concentration camps (April 2011) (Bundesministerium Der Justiz, 1982) Convert list into Excel spreadsheet (April/May 2011) Internet search to find locations of camps / email local memorials, town halls, museums, tourist information to find locations of camps. (May 2011 – October 2013) Geographical coordinates of camps provided by USHMM input into spreadsheet (October 2013) Input data from USHMM Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (Megargee, 2012) into spreadsheet. Data cleaned to exclude camps with critical missing data. Sample chosen. Larger camps were automatically added to the sample, whereas subsidiary camps were randomly chosen. Locate historical maps from British Library and arrange for facsimiles to be sent. (Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme, 1935)

Figure 3 - Phase 2 of the research

A scaled radius of 10km and 25km, respectively, was drawn on a sheet of acetate where the centre denoted the location of the camp. (This allowed for a degree of human error)

The geographical coordinates of each camp were inputted into Google Earth.

The relevant marked radius was placed as close to the location of the camp as possible.

Towns falling within this radius were entered into the spreadsheet, together with their approximate population sizes.

Geographical coordinates for each town were located on Google Earth and entered into the spreadsheet.

A calculation was entered into the spreadsheet to find the 'as the crow flies' distance in kilometres between town and camp. (To ensure calculation was correct, this was occasionally repeated manually on Google Earth)

Data was peer reviewed by two other individuals to ensure the data was correct.

Graphs and timelines showing this data were prepared.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork consisted of two objectives. Firstly it was necessary to collect as much written data from civilians who had lived in the vicinity of Mittelbau Dora, Bergen-Belsen and Neuengamme concentration camps as possible from the respective archives. Secondly, the opportunity was taken to visit numerous concentration camps across the system. This was advantageous in that it allowed the testing of the geographical coordinates for accuracy and allowed photographs to be taken where the buildings were still in place. By taking photographs and seeing the buildings formerly used as concentration camps, a depth and understanding could be achieved which would not have been possible otherwise.

Each camp was contacted in advance to arrange for the visits and these were carefully planned to avoid coinciding with the 70th anniversary of liberation. At the archives, photographs of the documents were taken. This was advantageous in that it dramatically reduced the cost of copying whilst simultaneously reducing the amount of paper copies I would need to bring back to England. Several backup copies could be stored in multiple locations should my technology fail. Most importantly, photographing the documents preserved older documents more readily than removing them from specialised files and placing in a photocopier. Archival data was the most readily available source for this particular topic, taking into account difficulties in finding willing participants who would have known about the full realities of the Holocaust is an ever increasing issue as the population ages and passes away. As it has been more than seven decades since liberation, many of the respondents would have been teenagers or children during the war and may have been shielded from the full reality of the Holocaust. Moreover, as was discussed with archivists at Bergen Belsen, there is a reluctance to speak of their experiences during the war. There is also the unethical potential for 'doing harm' to elderly participants by asking them to recall witnessing atrocities which should not be overlooked. Despite the research being archival and led by secondary research, it was still important to consider the ethics of the research in light of the British Sociological Association. Furthermore, difficulties in potentially interviewing bystanders or perpetrators at a native German-speaking level, and subsequent transcription and analysis would have proved too expensive in translator costs, and potentially extensive training of a translator, to fully grasp the subtleties and complexities of the language used.

The decision to perform a case study of Mittelbau Dora came from the exploration of three archives in Germany. The archives of Bergen Belsen memorial were limited in the number

of civilian testimonies in that there is a great reluctance to speak about their wartime experiences. The data from the Neuengamme memorial archive was plentiful but in video format. After much consideration, it became clear that the translation of documentation would be far more accurate and, therefore, reliable than that of the videographic data. These considerations led to the decision that the case study of Mittelbau Dora would provide the depth to the breadth of the cartographic research, rather than expanding further through three case studies. Initially it was proposed that a case study of three camps, Mittelbau Dora, Bergen Belsen and Neuengamme would be possible but when it appeared that the amount of data possible from Mittelbau Dora could allow for one detailed case study to emerge, the decision was taken to focus solely on the archival data of Mittelbau Dora to provide a depth to the breadth of the cartographic research. By focusing on one concentration camp (and respective sub camps), greater time could be spent analysing the data to ensure accuracy. Moreover, it provided a more homogeneous sample of testimony. With the history of each camp varying both during and after the Nazi era, as well as the social differences in regions, this was critically important. The civilians living in the vicinity of Bergen Belsen, for example, were very reluctant to share their experiences of living in the shadow of the camp. At Neuengamme, the camp later became a prison and only recently became a museum and memorial. The opportunity for civilians to record their memories of the camp has also only recently occurred. The museum and archive at Mittelbau Dora has been open for over fifty years and thus the opportunity for civilians to record their memories closer to the time of the Nazi era was increased. Thus had a sample from each of the camps been taken, the capacity for differences in cultural memory (see Cohen, 2001) might have altered the analysis.

Provenance and the issue of bias

The provenance of the archival documents at the Mittelbau Dora archives was discussed with the archivist. Several were sent to the archive without being requested. Others were requested where the opportunity presented itself, for example where an individual who had lived in the Harz mountains visited the memorial and made contact with the archivists. The provenance of documents arriving at the archives in the 1970s and 1980s is unknown. In the 1990s, however, archivists began researching civilians who might have lived in the area during the National Socialist era and began requesting their testimony.

The provenance, as well as the very nature of the topic, may lead to some questions over reliability and validity, for example, testimony may have been sent to the archives which presents the individual more positively to today's morals and values. This problem was particularly noted by Lifton who noted the capacity for 'wilful falsehood or (more often) distortion' as well as the question of memory (2000:8) in interviewing Nazi doctors, and Sereny (1995) in her extensive interviewing, and research of, Albert Speer. The question arose repeatedly during the research as to whether or not the data would, therefore, be biased, and whether the representations within the autobiographical testimonies were truthful or accurate. To this end, alternative data sources were sought, including letters and diaries were written during the Nazi era. Such personal effects, not written for a public audience, were sought, as any historian would, to avoid the trappings of autobiographies, including 'wishful thinking, defences, illusions, [or] delusions' (Freeman, 2003:116). Despite arduous searches, no such items were deposited in an accessible archive. Numerous archives were contacted or visited and it was concluded that the depth and richness of this data could not be surpassed elsewhere. Moreover, it was noted that within the testimonies there was a range of opinions towards the inmates – some significantly less favourable than others. Frau Pasch (P3 BD55), for example, was from a politically right-wing family, worked well with SS officers and expressed no empathetic sentiments towards the inmates. In her autobiographical testimony, she had the opportunity to present herself differently but did not.

Challenges during the fieldwork

One of the greatest challenges in the research process was locating relevant qualitative data. Further to this was the challenge of finding representative data to show a true cross-section of society. This can be problematic for any researcher but is compounded when conducting social research on a historical event as one is already so limited in data sources. I am indebted to the archivist at Bergen Belsen, Klaus Tätzler, for his advice on the matter. He pointed out that the data in the archives was just as interesting as what was not. Of the thousands of people in the vicinities of the camps, very few came forward to share their memories. Perhaps they didn't think their story particularly relevant or interesting, or perhaps they were ashamed of their own actions (or inactions). The civilians around Bergen Belsen were notoriously secretive with their memories as the museum and memorial team, as well as other researchers, had previously found. The authors of the testimonies in the archives at Nordhausen, however, did have something they wanted to share, although with

limited knowledge of the provenance of the data it is near impossible to ascertain their true intentions. In the testimony at the archives at Nordhausen, however, it was noted how many individuals had worked or even lived alongside inmates of the camps and that there was potential for friendships to form. This differs greatly from Bergen Belsen where slave labour, particularly amongst civilians, was severely limited. In the second pilot study (Burns, 2012), it was noted that the rescuers often loved those they rescued and spoke fondly of them. The people they rescued mattered to them and so did their memories of them. In this respect, there was physical and psychological closeness to those they rescued, and this was something they wanted to share publically. In this respect, the data from the Nordhausen archives is quite unique, but if understood in this way, mitigates problems of bias.

During the fieldwork, on days when the archives were not open and in the evenings, time was taken to drive to the locations of former camps. At times, this was problematic and reminiscent of the difficulties faced by Hirsch and Spitzer (2006) in their search for Vapniarka in Ukraine. Initially, a rough location of each camp was located on a map and a wide geographical area was selected to be examined. For example, on one day a route was planned between the Mittelbau Dora archives, Großwerther, Bleicherode, Osterode and Harzungen which took me to the southeast of the main camp. Another occasion took me to the southwest of the main camp to Boelke Kaserne and then northeast to Gunzerode, Ellrich-Julliushutte and Ellrich Goethestrasse. These routes were intended to reduce the travelling time and maximise the amount of light. Camps were located using a combination of archival data (including photographs), historical descriptions and geographical coordinates. The coordinates were input into a GPS device which was then driven to. Using historical photographs and descriptions, it was then possible to locate the buildings more speedily than might otherwise have been possible. Moreover, this allowed for checking of the coordinates where it was possible to find extant buildings. Where there was an obvious error, this was rectified in the data. For example, following the directions to the camp at Bleicherode resulted in a dirt track and a field. Knowing that the camp was located in the Bürgerhof required locating this building and editing the coordinates. Other camps such as Gunzerode, required asking for directions from locals, occasionally using historical photographs as prompts. Just as Hirsch and Spitzer (2006) found, there was often little known about the smaller sub camps and I was frequently given directions to the larger memorials and museums. Camps in the centres of cities were particularly difficult to find given the extensive rebuilding after the war. Camps in rural areas or those repurposed

during or immediately after the Nazi era were, comparatively, much easier to find as many have remained in situ. Füsbuttel, for example, was a prison before and after it was used as a concentration camp and was, therefore, very easy to find.

Time during fieldwork was carefully managed. Archival data could only be gathered when the relevant archives were open. This left time to gather photographic data of the sub camps and learn about some of the contextual history of the regions. A selection of my activities as a sample across week 1 is shown here:

Table 2- Week 1's work

Day	<u>Activities</u>				
Monday 4 th May 2015	Attempted to resolve mobile phone issues				
	and located the Tourist Information Bureau				
	 Mittelbau Dora archive (11am – 4pm) 				
	Purchased reading material from shop				
	Walked a little around the main camp				
	(4.30pm – 6pm)				
	Began reading books from shop				
Tuesday 5 th May 2015	Mittelbau Dora archive (10.30am – 4pm)				
	 Located Bleicherode and Groß-Werther, 				
	Attempted to find Osterode and Harzungen.				
Wednesday 6th May 2015	Mittelbau Dora archive (10.30am – 4pm)				
	Walked around Nordhausen, examining the				
	new and old buildings				
Thursday 7 th May 2015	Dora- Mittelbau archive (10.30am – 1pm				
	when archive closed)				
	Mittelbau Dora museum				
	• Located Bölke-Kaserne, Gunzerode, Ellrich-				
	Julliushütte, and Ellrich.				
	Attempted to find Harzungen.				
Friday 8th May 2015	ARCHIVE CLOSED				
	Nordhausen museum				
	Nordhausen tobacco warehouse museum				
	Read books from shop				
Saturday 9 th May 2015	ARCHIVE CLOSED				
	Visited Dinglestädt – one of the least bombed				
	towns in the vicinity of Nordhausen				
	Read books from shop				
Sunday 10 th May 2015	ARCHIVE CLOSED				
	Walked around Mittelbau Dora main camp				
	Drove to Bergen				

With only one month in Germany in which to collect the data, it was imperative that periods when the archives were closed was used effectively. When archives were closed, sub camps were located and photographed, or local museums were visited. Visiting the town museum and tobacco warehouse museum, for example, gave an interesting insight into the history and industry of Nordhausen prior to, during, and after the Nazi era. Visiting Dinglestädt gave an insight into how towns looked during the Nazi era, all adding to the context of the research. With no subsidiary camps of Bergen Belsen, however, I was able to use my evenings to explore the area of Bergen, read, reflect, relax a little more, and enjoy a hot meal at the hotel. So too in Hamburg, 'free' days and evenings were spent driving around the area to locate sub camps.

Safety was a key concern whilst in the field. I was unsure how existing residents would react if I told them I was looking for a concentration camp in their neighbourhood. Where it felt inappropriate to talk directly about my research interests, I claimed to be interested in 'German architecture'. Moreover, in the event that I felt unsafe for any reason, I could return to my locked hire car or duck into a shop. I was, also careful to ensure I was contactable on both my English mobile phone and German mobile phone at all times. Another concern before the fieldwork was the need to develop my driving skills. Having never driven on the right-hand side of the road, or left-hand side of the car – much less the Autobahn – this caused some level of anxiety. A familiarisation with German traffic laws and customs was necessary prior to travel, although the real trial-by-fire came whilst doing all three in torrential rain.

Further to the issue of physical safety in the in the field was the emotional drain of the research. Visiting a former concentration camp is a deeply moving experience. Having visited Dachau in 2001 and Auschwitz and Auschwitz Birkenau in 2002, and more than a decade of further reading and study, I thought I would be emotionally prepared to visit the camps. I was wrong. Upon arriving at Mittelbau Dora on my first day at the archive, I was reduced to tears. Visiting such a place as a concentration camp memorial is a deeply personal, humbling and lonely experience. After a day in the archives, I took a walk around the memorial site in the early evening but found the experience deeply unsettling, uncomfortable, claustrophobia-inducing and upsetting, and could not walk around the entirety of the camp that day as a result. Moreover, alone and surrounded by woodland I felt a profound, but intangible, lack of physical safety. The difficulty here lay in the rhetoric of 'scientific investigation' and 'objectivity' in conjunction with the reality of heavily

emotionally taxing research. Qualitative research can be particularly challenging to the researcher but techniques can be employed to help address negative impacts on the study and on the researcher (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen and Liamputtong, 2009). Rather than suppressing my emotional responses, I allowed myself to feel emotional about the subject matter. The deaths of millions of people are not something that one can research with a heart of stone. Instead, I made the decision to separate my 'academic' self from my 'emotional' self and allow time for personal reflection. Visiting the full memorial sites was left until data collection at the respective archives was complete. Even then, it was a mistake to walk around the camp alone. At Bergen-Belsen and Neuengamme, I made sure to stay close to other people for a sense of reassurance. I was fortunate to have an excellent support network by telephone and Skype and spoke openly to the archivists and staff at the museums about their coping strategies. Their insight proved invaluable and I am grateful for their support. I also ensured that time was taken away from the direct research while the archives were closed on weekends, for example, to recuperate, as can be seen in the above table of my activities in week one. This time proved invaluable as it allowed an exploration of local museums and local towns to further understand the culture, economy and history of the regions I was examining. For example, Dinglestädt is a beautiful town near Nordhausen which, according to local inhabitants, had not suffered the same level of bombing as the major towns and, therefore, gave a clearer image of what Nordhausen would have looked like during the war. By the fourth week, however, having tied up 'loose ends' in the research, I could have also visited Buchenwald concentration camp. By this time, and having already visited so many concentration camps, regrettably I did not feel that I had the physical, mental or emotional capacity to do so, particularly as my internet connection in the hotels was appalling so I was very limited in the support of friends and family.

It was advantageous to spend time exploring the local areas where I was staying in that I met several interesting people. One example was the serendipitous meeting with a fellow Holocaust scholar. Now a member of the Bergen council and business owner, I was fortunate to meet Frau Dettmar-Müller by chance at her cafe. I had read her masters dissertation (completed in 1998) on the bystanders of Bergen Belsen in the archive and recognised her name on the till receipt. We met again just over a week later when she very kindly invited me into her home and discussed her research with me and the difficulties now facing the town of Bergen. She had interviewed surviving bystanders of the town but her own father-in-law refused to speak of the Nazi era in the town of Bergen with her or

any other researcher. She, like the archivist at Bergen Belsen, noted the peculiar hesitance of the local people to speak of witnessing the atrocities in comparison with other camps. Moreover, she and her daughter kindly took me on a walk to see just how close the train station was from the town. In so doing, she pointed out which houses had been built since the war and I noted how easy it would have been to see inmates depart from the cattle wagons from the town or the main road.

Figure 4 - Phase 3 of the research

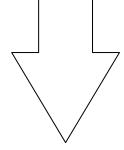
Geographical locations of nearby camps were noted and their distance away from base was noted

Camps in similar vicinities were grouped to reduce mileage

Coordinates were entered into GPS device and driven to.

Area scoured for any memorial stone etc. Where it was possible and felt safe to do so, directions were asked from local residents.

Photographs (and video) were taken of the location of the camp and surrounding area for context.



Visual methodology

Visual methodology includes photographs and images which present a 'reality' (Carson, Johnstone, Mangat, Pearson, Tupper, Warburton, 2005). Photographs provide a 'spectacle' (Bryman, 2004: 315) which allows for a less abstract description of events during the Holocaust and were applied to support the topographical data gleaned from maps. Moreover, in questioning what a concentration camp looked like, there is a distinct visual element to the thesis. In this regard, visiting and photographing the sites of former concentration camps, combined with historical images of the camps where possible also supports the cartographic data. The traditional framework for the use of photographs is 'realist', using the photographs to present facts. This was the aim in taking the

contemporary photographs; I wanted photographs that anyone, with the presence of mind, could have taken. I did not consciously think about the aesthetics of the photograph or deliberately frame them in any way. Nevertheless, the very subject matter of many of the photographs and their purpose could be said to arouse bias. In this respect, my small part in a narrative on the Holocaust was called into question. It was only on comparing the photographs I had taken during fieldwork against those I had taken over a decade earlier at Auschwitz that I realised the difference in purpose and subject matter. My purpose in taking the photographs at Auschwitz was to create a visual frame of reference, to 'shock and inform those I spoke to about the visit, and for use in a school magazine article or presentations to younger students. I intended to create images of horror and imprisonment against a backdrop of an unthinkable scale. In retrospect they were little more than cheap imitations; contemporary reproductions of already 'repetitive' images (Milton, 1986). The widespread and often repetitive use of images of Holocaust may be argued to desensitise the viewer, but their use also reconnects generations to the past (Hirsch, 2001). Nevertheless, with more than twenty million images in archives across the world, their repetition may lead us to miss aspects of Holocaust we might otherwise study. Images, like Auschwitz itself 'are transformed into symbolic images', and 'come to signify abstract concepts such as "evil" (Keilbach, 2009:54). At Auschwitz, this was precisely the concept I wanted my photographs to project. Thus when I later compared the photographs of Auschwitz against those taken during fieldwork, there was a marked difference and it was here that I realised my part in the narrative. At Auschwitz, we were actively encouraged to be part of a narrative. In the third seminar, groups of students 'look at ways they can pass on the contemporary relevance of the Holocaust to their schools and local communities'. At this point, students become 'ambassadors'.

'As a Holocaust Educational Trust Ambassador it is up to you to:

Take every opportunity you have to learn more about the Holocaust, after all it is going to be you and your generation who will ensure that the memory of the Holocaust lives on.

Share what you know and encourage others to remember the Holocaust. You're the driving force behind our efforts to ensure that people across Britain understand the importance of remembering the Holocaust.'

(Holocaust Educational Trust, n.d.)

Throughout the course, and at events held regularly by the Holocaust Educational Trust, we, the ambassadors, are reminded of our responsibility. I am forever indebted to the Holocaust Educational Trust but the course was an introduction and not a conclusion. Moreover, the questions I found myself asking at Auschwitz and Dachau continued to arise. Throughout my studies, Auschwitz and Auschwitz Birkenau stood out as totems on the Holocaust, but the smaller sub camps were often neglected. In this respect, I opted to explore a less explored aspect of the Holocaust narrative and this translated into the photographs taken of the main concentration camps and sub camps.



Photograph 1 Auschwitz-Birkenau, October 2001.

In the foreground, one student kneels to take photographs from a specific angle while another stares at his digital camera.

Photography by the author

Unlike at Auschwitz or Dachau, my photographs were largely focused on architecture and without the impetus to shock or show the 'abstract concept of "evil" (Keilbach, 2009:54). Photographs of electrified fence posts and front gates were still taken, as were photographs of crematoria and barracks wherever extant, but these were juxtaposed against something far more shocking — otherwise seemingly 'normal' looking buildings. Semi-consciously I took photographs of buildings because I was informed by the theories

studied in this thesis. In this respect there is a degree of sample bias for so few people visit the smaller sub camps¹⁰.

Nevertheless, a reflexive approach to the photography of the camps was taken as 'any account whether it involves photographs or not is constructed' (Chaplin 1994: 206; emphasis original). Personal biases were constantly considered, thus where it was safe and appropriate to do so videos were also taken with commentary for the benefit of later analysis. However, a more 'reflexive' approach to photographs was taken with the historical photographs as this involves an 'awareness and sensitivity to the ways in which the researcher as a person can impact on what a photograph reveals' (Bryman, 2004: 312, 385).

The research was 'ethnographically informed' (see Fetterman, 2010) in that the location of many of the former camps were visited to generate clearer data. The Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme camp archives both have numerous photographs of the sub camps within their respective systems and photographs of the camps themselves, but for the purposes of this research, a much deeper understanding was necessary. A photograph, for example, might only be facing in one direction when there are a full three hundred and sixty degrees to view and examine. Often, the location of other buildings in the vicinity was just as interesting as the former camp itself; I could get a better sense of how populated the area would have been and assess how visible the camp and inmates were.

Complete objectivity was impossible as this is a highly emotive topic, therefore in order to increase 'confirmability' and to decrease possible bias, the triangulation method was adopted. The triangulation method requires the collecting and comparing of various data sources and data types for a greater confidence in the findings (Bryman, 2004: 275). Contemporary images were compared to historical images to consider whether the conclusion of topography was in keeping with that at the time. It should, however, be noted that many of the more historical images were taken shortly after liberation. Photographs during the Holocaust, particularly pertaining to the suffering inside the concentration camps are very few in number. Four extremely rare photographs of burning bodies in pits were taken by a Jewish Greek man identified only as 'Alex'. The Polish resistance and other members of the *Sonderkommando* rallied to help take the photos and

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¹⁰ The photographs taken at Auschwitz with the Holocaust Educational Trust are available to view at https://wordpress.com/view/hidingtheholocaust.wordpress.com/

get them out of the camp and all risked their already perilous lives to do so (Didi-Huberman, 2008).

It was for this reason that a topographical case study of Bergen Belsen has been omitted. Immediately after liberation, most of the barracks were torn down and burned owing to the typhus epidemic. Similarly, photographs known to have been taken after liberation are problematic as these pictures of concentration camps are misleading insofar as they show the camps in their last stages, at the moment the Allied troops marched in.' (Arendt: 1986: 446). In this respect, a large part of the true reality of the camps is lost. This does not undermine, however, much of the topographical data of Mittelbau Dora or the sub camps. The mountains and trees were still extant, as were many of the buildings. A further problem with a topographical study of Bergen Belsen is that contemporary photographs of the site show very little as the area is now a graveyard and memorial. Very little remains of the original camp, spare a few outlines of building foundations. Moreover, to take photographs of what is now a graveyard where mounds of dirt cover many thousands of bodies felt disrespectful. To take photographs in a concentration camp is challenging in itself. One must remember, although can hardly forget, where one is.

A large aspect of the challenge is to remain emotionally conscious of where one is, without allowing the camera to act as a barrier or shield to the emotive realities. In part, this can help keep one academically grounded. Concurrently, when one visits as a human being, to see the extent of human barbarity, an emotional barrier will not be helpful. Furthermore, one must remain respectful. 'Arty' shots of barbed wire and fences were in no way appropriate. Neither more was attempting the 'perfect' photograph. Again, by being ethnographically informed (Fetterman, 2010), I was careful to consider my own 'presence' in the photographs and continually questioned the purpose of the photograph I was taking and what I was hoping the photograph would help me describe. Furthermore, I questioned my own biases and literal and figurative standpoints. In this way, while acknowledging it was I who was gathering, interpreting and presenting the data, I avoided an autoethnography (Fetterman, 2010).

The purpose of photography at the main camps and sub camps was to provide a visual point of reference for the topographical data to provide 'proof' of what I had seen, and what others could see (see Sontag, 1997). The photographs taken were from eye-level with every attempt to maintain the dignity and reverence appropriate for such a place.

Moreover, by taking the photographs 'as seen', with no filters, special lenses or peculiar angles, the resulting images are more easily replicable.

Since the Holocaust, the use of photographic equipment has increased dramatically; we have access to digital cameras and video recording equipment smaller than the palm of a hand and as part of mobile telephones. Access to photographic equipment in the 1930s and 1940s was not as readily available as today, more-so in the highly limiting environment of the concentration camps wherein access to food, clothing and adequate shelter could be the difference between life and death. There are, therefore, relatively few surviving photographs of the time and, as Scott argues, these are unlikely to be fully representative of the situation (Bryman, 2004: 385). Some images may have been captured as a result of propaganda. For example, propaganda photographs on display and explained at the camp museum and archive were taken of the workings inside the Mittelbau Dora tunnels. These photographs, taken in colour, were staged using healthier prisoners than one might have found working there and cannot be said to be representative.

Method of Analysis

These three camps were initially chosen because of the availability of data without extra payments, their locality to one another, and that a Death March had taken place from Mittelbau Dora to Neuengamme via Bergen Belsen. The three were, thus, inextricably linked. Without being able to physically see the data until visiting the archives, potentially studying three camps also erred on the side of caution if depth would not be available. With familiarity with the data within the Mittelbau Dora archives, it became apparent that there were a number of written testimonies of local civilians, survivors of the camps, and rescuers. Thousands of pages of documents were photographed for a detailed translation and analysis back in England. This was owing to the nature of the documents in that they are extremely fragile and photocopying them may have damaged them. Furthermore, it was significantly more cost effective and less time-consuming. One of the key difficulties of working with this data was a number of handwritten documents. Particularly given it was written in German, some were extremely difficult to understand and it was often necessary to ask the advice of a native German speaker. Concurrently, contextual knowledge of the texts proved useful. References to the colour of triangles worn by inmates, the role of Kapos or that the inmates largely worked underground in tunnels proved very useful when analysing the data.

The key advantage of these archival data sources is the availability of such quality data (see Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori, 2001). The Mittelbau Dora archives are open to anyone (by appointment) who wishes to review the documents. The depth of detail provided by the documentation and the questionnaires would not have been possible had it not been collected and collated by the archivists. Moreover, differences in cultural memory, even within a single country such as Germany should not be discounted. After the United States troops liberated Mittelbau Dora in April 1945 and removed as much data as they could pertaining to the V2 rocket, Mittelbau Dora and the town of Nordhausen fell under Soviet control. Later becoming part of the German Democratic Republic, it was still heavily influenced by the Soviets throughout the Cold War until the state was dissolved and unified with the Federal Republic of Germany. As much of the data was collected in the archives shortly after the Nazi era, the values portrayed have not been subject to the same changes in 'cultural memory' to time and the economic and political changes seen in Europe since the 1940s, not least of all the shock and abhorrence to the atrocities as the wider public became aware of the true extent of the Holocaust, as other camps in Germany. Cohen, for example, remarks that one graveyard in Lithuania was subject to 're-remembering' in three separate ways; 'victims of fascism', 'Jewish victims' and 'Lithuanian victims' with different political waves and priorities (2001: 234). Archivists and researchers at the Bergen Belsen memorial and archive, as well as inhabitants of the nearby town of Bergen commented during my period of fieldwork there, on the reluctance of many to speak about what they had witnessed. Even within families, those who had lived in Bergen during the Nazi era would not speak of their experiences during the war pertaining to the camp. The town of Nordhausen is very much aware of its position on the border between what was the GDR and FRG. Indeed, the town museum and tobacco museum make specific mention to the quality of life between 1946 and 1990 and the impact of the Communist regime. By examining the data in the archives of a camp which was not subject to the same potential changes in cultural memory as others in the FRG, this provides an interesting and fairly unique investigation. To conduct oral history interviews with bystanders, over seventy years after the events, could lead to a merging of 'individual biography and historical processes'. In other words, the collective memory of how we now see the Holocaust could creep into the data for accessing memories involves 'remembering' (emphasis original) which are also subject to filtering and interpretation (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006: 156). Any participants would inevitably have been very young during the Holocaust and may not have been privy to the full horrors owing to their age. Moreover, the issue is raised as to

how much they can remember after such a length of time. In a social context, it should be noted that our memories are subject to cultural mediation and construction (Jedlowski, 2001). As time has progressed, therefore, and a particular narrative discourse on the Holocaust has developed, how potential respondents might frame their values and their memories has been subject to change. One issue raised heavily at the Bergen Belsen archives was the issue of ethics. Despite the data being freely and publicly available to anyone wishing to see it, the archivist was concerned for repercussions for those who had given written testimonies or their descendants. It should be noted, however, that all questionnaires were freely completed by the residents of the Nordhausen district and written testimony was donated to the Mittelbau Dora archives for academic research. A key disadvantage of the data is the lack of familiarity with, and complexity of, the data (Bryman, 2008: 300). It was only when visiting the archives and reading the data that it was clear how invaluable it was. A staggering number of pages of documents were available at Mittelbau Dora, far fewer at Bergen Belsen and mostly video testimony at Neuengamme. While Bryman argues that a disadvantage of secondary data is the lack of quality and potential relevance to the topic (2008: 300), this did not prove to be the case with the Mittelbau Dora data.

Thematic Analysis

While the data offers a unique insight into values at the time and immediately after the war, the nature of the data results in the unsuitability of some methods of analysis. A further strength of the data is that of the heterogeneous sample of individuals – all lived in the vicinity of Mittelbau Dora or one of the sub camps. By using questionnaire data and written testimony, this assists in assuring greater validity (Ruane, 2005: 42-43). It should, however, be noted, that each concentration camp has a unique history. This is the case both during the Nazi era and in the following years. Mittelbau Dora and the Harz region, for example, were subject to Soviet influence after the war. The research acts as a case study of only one main camp within the complex and while patterns may emerge which follow previous research by other academics on other camps, generalisability across all the camps in relation to attitudes is difficult to assess. Moreover, a further disadvantage of a heterogeneous sample of data is that of finding a consistent means of analysing the data to increase validity and reliability. Narrative analysis was discounted on the grounds of the shortness of some of the excerpts of data. That much of the written testimony is typed also leads to the problem that it could have been edited into a narrative wanted by the author

rather than naturally occurring. Content analysis is also impossible as it is the essence of the texts which is of interest, not the counting the recurrence of particular words. The qualitative nature of the data sample allows for the drawing out of the difficult qualitative questions such as 'why' or 'how' which content analysis does not allow for (Bryman, 2008: 291). Furthermore, Bryman asserts that when imputing latent rather than manifest content, difficulties may arise. Individuals may refer to the same event, the Death Marches, for example, in the same manner, but using different lexis. Through a process of deduction, therefore, thematic analysis has been chosen as the most appropriate method of analysis which can be conducted across the data sets. Thematic analysis promotes the requirement a deep knowledge and understanding of these rich data sources and ever-increasing familiarity with the data sources and 'getting to know' and developing a deeper verstehen with the 'speaker'. In this way, it is hoped that a greater understanding of the core values of those 'speaking' in the data can be better understood. Furthermore, by using thematic analysis, this allows for a simultaneous deductive and inductive approach to the research which, it is hoped, will provide a more accurate interpretation of the data and more honest representation in the finished piece. The research is deductive in that it the methodology allows me to examine the theories outlined in the literature review, but is inductive in that while informed by the relevant theories, the data can speak for itself and potentially generate new theories or synthesise older theories (Ruane, 2005: 49). Conversely, Denzin argues that data cannot speak for itself and 'there is only interpretation' (Denzin, 1994: 500). Ezzy argues, however, that one of the key strengths of this form of analysis is also its weakness in that the process of analysis can creatively develop new interpretations of data but can be 'confusing, frustrating and somewhat chaotic', time-consuming, difficult, and potentially biased (2002: 90). Given the nature of the documents, however, thematic analysis appears to be the most suitable method available. 'The first step towards good measurement is good conceptualisation' (Ruane, 2005: 50). Conceptualising the data is partially grounded in previous theories but it must largely come from the data itself. Because the data is historical and the subjects were from another culture, it is important that today's values, norms, cultural memory or definitions were not placed too readily on the data (May, 2001: 52). The conceptualisation must largely come from verstehen. For example, familiarity with euphemisms or specific terminology gleaned from previous research and wider reading on the topic proved useful. In this respect, a degree of discourse analysis was employed. Within the early stages of engaging with the data, a more

deductive analysis was carried out. These codes were 'open' to determine early codes and the potential for further codes (Glaser, 1978).

Overtly positive or negative codes towards the inmates were sought. Were they seen as less than human; criminals; toxic to the Aryan race as propaganda would argue? Similarly, positive and negative codes as to their treatment, direct violence enacted against them and their physical condition were sought. Were the civilians concerned for the inmates at all? It was also considered what was clearly missing from the data and, for example, why might there be an absence of abject hatred? Was there something unusual about these people?

It was important to 'not become wedded too early to what look[ed] obvious' (Kendall, 1999: 753). Later coding was, therefore, more inductive in that these cannot be predetermined prior to analysis (Ezzy, 2002: 88, Boyatzis, 1998: 29). 'Axial coding' took place where possible to identify the conditions which brought about these sentiments and their contexts (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 97). This included discussion of previous military involvement, family history and individual values. May argues that the concept of 'rigorous research' requires objectivity and a separation of emotions (May, 2001: 21). Conversely, others, particularly feminist writers, argue that total objectivity in this manner is not only a myth but undesirable (May, 2001: 21). Because this is such an emotionally charged topic, it is important that one does not enter the research with preconceived ideas or biases. A particular problem of thematic analysis is that of subjectivity in the analysis (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012: 91) and it was, therefore, important to question my 'ethical standpoint' on the research prior to commencement (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006: 107). The standpoint taken (and which always has been) is that of truth in, and to, the data. The data is someone else's reality and truth, and it is a great anthropological principle to 'grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world' (Malinowski, 1922: 25). A 'commitment to viewing events, action, norms, values etc' (Bryman, 1988: 61) from perpetrators or 'active bystanders' is very much a challenge. While subjects may not always express the sentiments expected and may not be politically correct, I will, to the very best of my ability, inductively shape the research and analyse and present the data as truthfully and respectfully to the data as possible because 'credible thematic analysis is grounded in the data' (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012: 97). Furthermore, I have no specific 'loyalties' which may be divided in the research (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006: 96). The seeking of true data, however, need not be hindered by a genuine interest in the field but because of it (Bourdieu,1993: 11). Nevertheless, in representing the values of the

subjects, a 'self-presence' may find its way into the interpretation and it becomes critical that a sample of the data is 'double-coded' (Boyatzis, 1998: 4) to ensure replicability, validity and reliability, and that as little bias as possible finds its way into the write-up (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012: 11). Double coding is a peer review system involves a second individual examining the data and inputting examples of the themes into the analysis document with the possibility to develop new codes if deemed important (Boyatzis, 1998: 151). These are then compared to the original analysis and discussed at length until consistency is achieved (Boyatzis, 1998: 50). A willing 'double-coder' has already been found. Documents can be argued to 'possess the property of 'indefinite replicability" (May, 2001: 184). However, in both the analysis and presentation of the findings, a more realist depiction of the values of the subjects will be aimed for in that their world will be 'transparent' and 'brought to life'. The questionnaire documents were inputted into a large database to allow patterns to emerge visually. It was decided that a database was the most suitable method of inputting and analysing the data due to familiarity with the system and testing this method during the pilot study. While employed in the pilot study as content analysis, visual patterns of lexis and background of the respondents emerged which gave clear results. The larger written text documents were copy typed and translated into English for ease of use. Where specific terms were unclear, they were clarified with the assistance of a native German speaker to ensure that the subtle nuances of the language were understood. Where contextual understanding was necessary, the specific term (such as 'zurückhaltend', as mentioned above were discussed until an agreement had been met.

A note on translation

Data from the archives was translated from the original into German. Some terms seemed ambiguous or there was a danger that meanings could be lost in translation, thus it was necessary to discuss the translations at length with a native German speaker to ensure the subtleties and nuances were understood and accounted for. This was particularly important as thematic analysis was used in the analysis, thus a consistency in the translation and analysis was necessary. One word of particular significance was a description of the behaviour of inmates at the camp when confronted with civilians. They were repeatedly described as 'zurückhaltend'. This term was discussed at length to conclude any sense of ambiguity. I questioned what might this look like; what body language and facial expressions might be shown? It was agreed that this term suggested a

level of 'caution' and 'hesitance'. Nevertheless, despite the difficulties in translation and ensuring the correct understanding of the terms used in the testimonies, it provided an excellent opportunity to ensure accuracy and replicability in the analysis.

Concluding Remarks

The research, therefore, takes place along two central strands. In the first instance, the combination of geographical coordinates of the concentration camps, historical maps, contemporary Geographical Information System software and existing qualitative data on the concentration camps in Germany collated in the Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (2012) was assembled into graphs and timelines depicting the sequestration of violence and death from the wider German population. This was complemented by photographs of the camps of Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme, and their sub camps to further highlight the importance of the architecture and to depict the normalcy of the buildings from the exterior. This will show the importance of the architecture of the concentration camps in promoting thoughtlessness towards them and the inmates therein. Thus the link between the key theories of Bauman (2009), Elias (1996; 2000; and 2001), Arendt (1970; 1978; 1979; and 1983), and Cohen by way of the concept of thoughtlessness can be seen to be promoted by the architecture and topographies of the concentration camps. In the second strand of the research, qualitative data by way of testimonies from the Mittelbau Dora archive, complimented by some survey data collected by the archivists were used to further assess the comprehension of the camps during the Nazi era and attitudes to the actions which took place therein. Through this strand of the research it is possible to see this thoughtlessness in action as a result of its promotion as a result of the architecture; the greater the sequestration, whether physical or psychological the less the capacity for empathy and sympathy.

<u>CHAPTER 4 – Topographical,</u> <u>Architectural and</u> <u>Cartographic Results</u>

In this chapter, the topography and architecture of the concentration camps in Germany alongside the case study examples of Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme, and their respective sub camps will be presented and explored. In the first half of the chapter, photographs taken during fieldwork in May 2015, photographs and diagrams taken shortly after the liberation of the camps and graphs derived from the cartographic data generated by analysing historical maps (*Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme*, 1935) and the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* are presented and described to highlight key topographical and architectural features of the camps and the capabilities for disposing of human remains, in relation to population size and architectural type across time. The presentation of the photographs and graphs is further divided into five smaller sections; the case study results of Mittelbau Dora, the case study of the respective sub camps, the case study results of Neuengamme, the case study of these respective sub camps and, finally, the cartographic research results¹¹.

In the second half of the chapter, an analysis of this data is presented to demonstrate how the architecture and topography of the camps promoted thoughtlessness amongst civilians living in the vicinity, using the key theories of Arendt (1970; 1973; 1983), Bauman (2009), Cohen (2001) and Elias (1996; 2000; 2001). Thus, the data is related back to these key theorists. It will be shown that the architecture of the wider concentration camp system in Germany was not out of place within German civilian life as many of the camps were located in pre-existing buildings. There was a physical sequestration as a result of these camps, particularly early in the Nazi movement as a result of the architecture. It will further be shown that this sequestration rapidly declined as the Nazi regime reached its zenith and

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 $^{^{11}}$ In this section, please note that unless otherwise stated, historical information relating to Mittelbau-Dora or the sub-camps thereof which was garnered during the visit to the memorial and museum is acknowledged and denoted by † . Historical information relating to Neuengamme or the sub-camps thereof which was garnered during the visit to this memorial and museum is acknowledged and denoted by ‡ .

shortly before liberation. By locating camps in 'normal' buildings or sequestrating them as much as physically possible, it was possible to promote a thoughtlessness towards the actions which took place therein. In the following chapter through the use of archival, qualitative data from civilian bystanders, that the architecture promoted thoughtlessness through sequestration, and physical and psychological distancing will be shown to have been successful.

Extensive photography took place during the fieldwork and those presented here are the most descriptively comprehensive. Photographs are a powerful tool in explaining or describing what was. The use of photographs at the Nuremburg trials was 'unprecedented' and lead to the sceptics of the extent of the Holocaust to rethink (McQuire, 1998: 152). Photographs can pass 'for incontrovertible proof that something exists, or did exist, which is like what's in the picture' (Sontag, 1977: 5). That said, how the photograph was framed, and what its subject matter is may be ignored or misunderstood. Images are used here to explore and explain what a concentration camp looked like and to further explore the topography. A lexical description alone may not be descriptive enough. Photographs alone may allow the reader to overlook particular points of interest and not fully grasp why the photograph was taken or framed as it was. For this reason, particular points of interest are described alongside each photograph. In this way the photographs can show not just what was seen at face value, but what was seen in light of the theories earlier discussed. The historical photographs and images used here are presented in the same light. It should be noted that none of my photographs have been retouched or digitally edited in any way. My photographs were taken as evidence of what was seen when visiting the camps and to accurately capture this. It was important to remain reflexive during the photography as 'any account whether it involves photographs or not is constructed' (Chaplin 1994: 206; emphasis original). Personal biases were constantly considered, thus in some cases (where it was safe and appropriate to do so), videos were also taken with commentary to further aid the analysis. The composition of the photographs was informed by the theoretical discussions surrounding thoughtlessness and sequestration to encompass both the 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary'. For example, as much of a respective building was encompassed in the photograph as possible to depict the normality of the exterior architecture. Theoretical biases were also considered to account for anything which made the buildings stand out.

Topographical Case study: Mittelbau Dora

Mittelbau Dora became the central site for the production of the V2 rocket (*Vergeltungswaffe* or 'retaliatory weapon', also known as the '*Aggregat 4*' or 'A4') after air raids at the Peenemünde plant in August 1943 highlighted the vulnerability of over-ground production. Owned by the Reich Economic Research Society, digging into the side of the Kohnstein Mountain near Nordhausen had begun in 1936 by miners and forced labour and was initially intended as a location to store fuel. The underground site consisted of two transport tunnels, forty-six transverse chambers and an assembly area of more than 100,000 square meters (Wagner, 2011: 33). Inmates were not held in barracks but tents and later inside the tunnels. Chambers 43-46 were converted into 'sleeping tunnels' with the construction of wooden bunks while the construction materials and machinery arrived and was constructed[†].

Life expectancy in these tunnels was short. Dust and toxic gases made even breathing torture, there were no washing or medical facilities and toilets were little more than petrol barrels sawn in half. Lice plagued the inmates and the dead lay amongst the human excreta on the floor. Like other camps, the inmates were fed on a starvation diet and worked to death. Work in the tunnels took place twenty-four hours a day rendering sleep near impossible. Vermin, tuberculosis, dysentery, pneumonia and typhoid took hold. More than 3,000 inmates died in the first seven months of operation, and a further 3,000 were transported to other camps owing to their serious ill health and likelihood of perishing.

By placing the production of the rockets underground, it became much more difficult for the Allies to bomb the plants which may have stalled or even completely halted production. Moreover, *Mittlebau*, translating as 'middle construction' can also refer to the centrality of the production within Germany.

Work on constructing the barracks camp began in December 1943 and was completed by the autumn of 1944. The barracks camp was surrounded by an electric fence, had eighteen watchtowers and seventy wooden barracks. These barracks were for accommodation of the prisoners, to act as infirmaries for the sick and dying (although medical help was all but impossible), and for administration. Wooden buildings were also constructed for the camp brothel and carpentry *Kommando*. Brick buildings were also constructed. Among these included the crematoria and the camp prison (Wagner, 2012).

Particularly noteworthy in Diagram 1 is the 'exit north' in the top-right. This was a second entrance and exit to 'tunnel B' which was on the *other side* of the Kohnstein mountain from the Mittelbau Dora concentration camp for the civilians to use. Moreover, these were underground tunnels and thus not only protected from Allied bombing raids, but the conditions of the early incarnation of the camp were shielded from the civilians before the barracks and majority of the camp were constructed (Wagner, 2011).

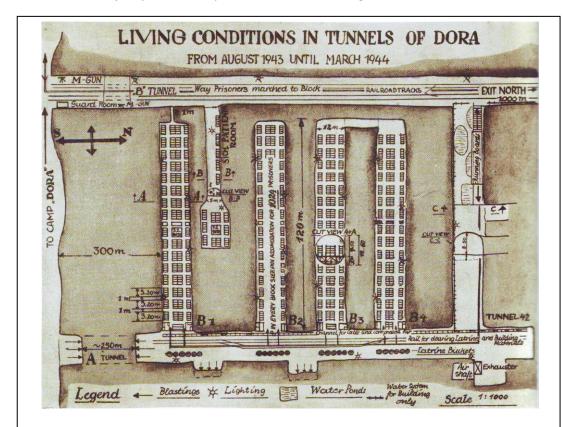
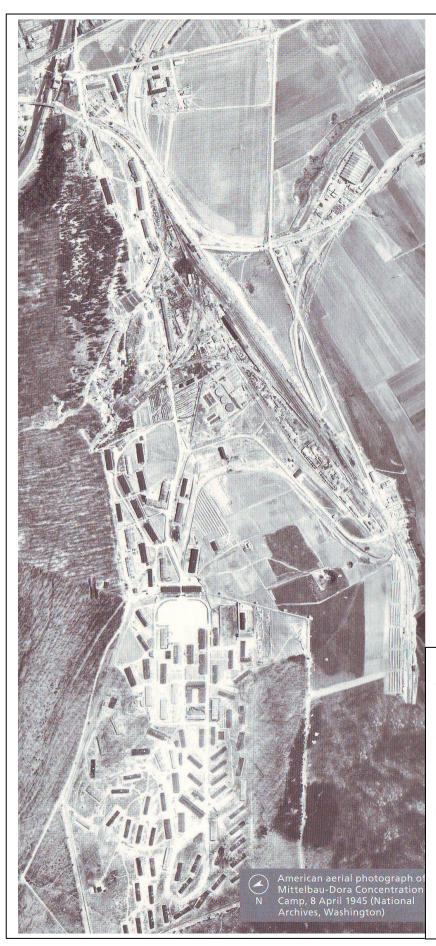


Diagram 1 - The tunnels of Mittelbau-Dora, 1947

This diagram was originally used at the Dachau-Dora trials in 1947 (Wagner, 2011: 48)

In examining Photograph 2 on the following page, to the bottom and centre are numerous rectangular shapes at various angles. These are the buildings constructed in 1944 onwards. They include the barracks, prison, crematoria, infirmary and administrative buildings. The buildings more central to the photograph and darker in contrast are the SS and administrative buildings. Above these were the entrances to tunnels A and B. The upper half, particularly to the right of the image, was the Mittelwerk industrial grounds. Surrounding the barracks in the bottom right, circling around the back of the camp onto the left, is particularly dark. This is a result of the dense forest. The lighter areas, by contrast, were agricultural land or areas cleared for the Mittelbau Dora camp and

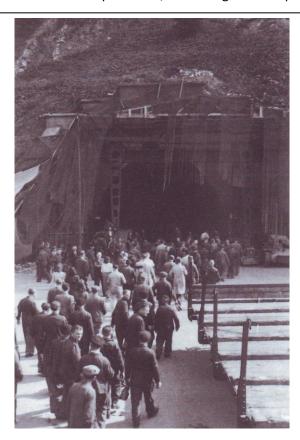
Mittelwerk industry. If one were to walk to and around the camp, we would first be met with the tunnel entrances A and B. Most likely, as a civilian labourer, these would be where our walk would end. A little further along the road we would come across the Mittelwerk industrial complex on our left. A few minutes later we would reach the SS barracks, kennels for the guard dogs and administration blocks. Only then would we reach the camp gate and the Appellplatz. To our right would stand the brothel for the use of the most prominent prisoners, the Kapos. Walking clockwise around the camp, at a distance from the rest of the camp, behind a small football pitch (used rarely and only by the SS and prominent prisoners), a tall wall and under heavy guard we would approach the camp prison and place for hanging prisoners. Further around the camp we would find the majority of the buildings used to run the camp, including the laundry and camp kitchen. Only then would we come across the camp barracks. Finally we would arrive at the camp hospital barracks where the most ill prisoners were held, and then the crematoria. The crematoria was located at the most northerly edge of the camp and was not readily accessible from the outside world given its location on the Kohnstein mountain. Within the camp there was only one path to the crematoria which was under heavy guard. A detailed map of the camp can be found at https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media nm.php?ModuleId=0&MediaId=338 . Thus we find clear physical barriers to social intercourse between civilians and inmates and further sequestration of direct acts of violence in the camp bunker and cremation of bodies.



Photograph 2 American Aerial photograph of Mittelbau-Dora, 8 April 1945

Original kept at National Archives, Washington. (Guide to the Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp) Mittelbau Dora became a camp in its own right in the autumn of 1944 and operated under its own administration. Production of the V2 had begun in the winter of 1943-1944 and operated with 6,000 'privileged' inmates from the camp (those with the highest skill sets, criminals and political prisoners) and up to 3,000 civilian workers, many of whom came from the Southern Harz region. Here is it important to note that while civilians worked side-by-side the prisoners of Dora and thus were able to witness the brutalities exacted against them on site, they did not have access to the barracks camp†.

The entrances to tunnels A and B, to underground plant were positioned outside the camp. The image below shows civilian workers entering tunnel B via the north entrance. As earlier mentioned in relation to Diagram 1, it is noteworthy that this entrance is on the *opposite* side of the Kohnstein mountain to the concentration camp barracks. Close inspection of Photograph 3 shows both male and female civilian workers entering the tunnel but there is a clear absence of concentration camp inmates, thus a degree of sequestration.

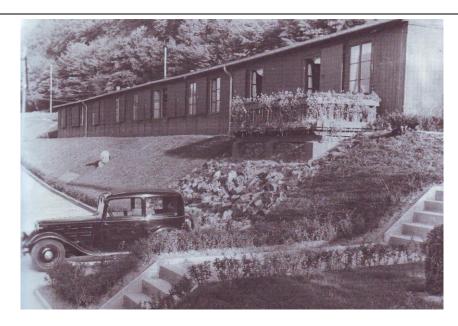


Photograph 3 - civilians enter the Mittelbau-Dora tunnels, date unknown

(Hanns Hubmann, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz; see Wagner, 2011: 113)

Photograph 4 depicts an SS accommodation barracks in the summer of 1944. Situated just outside the entrance gate to the concentration camp, the photograph is framed in that there is no reference to a camp at all. Particularly noteworthy is a relaxed appearing figure

on the perfectly manicured sloping lawn and well-maintained and newly-planted shrubberies and flower-boxes. In the foreground, there is a car at the front of the barracks at a time when gasoline would have been critical to the war effort. In the background of the image, the dense forestry of the area is visible which would have helped to shield the camp from any civilians who had strayed (deliberately or otherwise) in that direction. Moreover, it was these SS accommodation barracks which were immediately in front of the concentration camp entrance. It was buildings such as these which were the face or, more accurately, facade of the camp.



Photograph 4 - SS barracks, Mittelbau-Dora, Summer 1944

Summer 1944, National Archives Washinton; see Wagner, 2011: 101)

The camp prison was a place of torture and murder. Those prisoners suspected of sabotage or resistance were interrogated and tortured here by the SS or Gestapo. If they did not perish under this torture, they could be executed by hanging away from the main camp and the eyes of both the inmates and any potential civilians, or during roll-call on the *Appelplatz†*. It is interesting to note a designated separation of space between the prison and the *Appelplatz* by way of a high wall and 'sports ground'. This small field was rarely used for its named purpose but matches between *Kapos* and SS guards did take place here†.

Photograph 5, taken in the spring of 1945, the prison block is clear on the right side of the picture. Notable are the small windows, where one window provided some light for each cell. These small windows, however, would not have permitted any contact with either

other prisoners or civilians. Moreover, if we follow the building to the left and centre of the image, a large wall is visible. This wall surrounded the prison and further blocked social interaction or witnessing of what took place therein. Thus, in this already sequestrated place, we see evidence of more extensive sequestration of the most violent actions.



Photograph 5 Mittelbau-Dora bunker, Spring 1945

(Spring 1945, State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow; see Wagner, 2011: 94)



Photograph 6 - Mittelbau-Dora, May 2015. View from front gate to bunker

Photograph by author

Photograph 6 was taken from the site where the main camp gate would have stood. It shows three flagpoles in the centre (added long after liberation as a memorial). In the background, behind these flagpoles is a long grey wall. It was behind this wall that the specific site for execution by way of gallows, and the prison block, were located. Not all executions took place at the specific private execution site as some were conducted on the *Appelplatz* in full view of the prisoners. This site is recognisable in the image as the nearer wall to the right of the photograph. This wall was erected in 1974 as a memorial. Also notable is the gradient of the land. Despite this image looking to the south of the camp (Nordhausen town was to the south east), the gradient still shelters the camp and the execution site from any potential view. Again, we must remember that these buildings were located at the very back of the concentration camp, deep behind the facility buildings, administration buildings and SS barracks. Thus we see further evidence of sequestration within an already sequestrated space.



Photograph 7- Mittelbau Dora, May 2015. View from tunnel entrance B to Nordhausen

Photograph by author

By contrast to Photograph 6, Photograph 7 was taken from outside the entrance to tunnel B and looks to the south east and towards the town of Nordhausen. There is a very slight gradient to the landscape in the foreground, but of particular interest is the town of Nordhausen at the very centre of the photograph. The spire in the centre of the town is part of the Petri church. The distance between the camp and the nearby town was

remarkable and it was difficult to see any landmarks beyond church spires. Concurrently, when trying to look back towards the camp from the town to gage how visible it would have been from the reverse angle, this was impossible. It should be remembered that Nordhausen was mostly razed by the Allies during the final few weeks of the Nazi era and it is, therefore, quite difficult to ascertain given the extensive rebuilding work in the seventy years since. In the left middle-ground of the image there is a slight hint of a red roof emerging from the trees. On further investigation this building in the village of Salza was too modern to have been extant during the Nazi era. One local estimated it was built in the mid 1990s. It was ascertained during the fieldwork that while the camp stood out starkly against the backdrop, unlike many of the sub camps examined later in this chapter, sequestration was achieved largely owing to the topography of the camp and surrounding landscape. The gradient of the hills and the Kohnstein mountain made it difficult to see any of the realities of the camp from the nearby town of Nordhausen or village of Salza.

Photograph 8 depicts a similar scene but seventy years previously. The photograph was taken from the SS accommodation barracks and administrative blocks of the camp, shortly after liberation. It is noteworthy that the town of Nordhausen or village of Salza are not visible in the image, although this is likely a partial result of extant remaining barracks.



Photograph 8 – American congresspersons walk around Mittelbau Dora, 1 May 1945

(Merge, National Archives Washington; see Wagner 2011: 146)

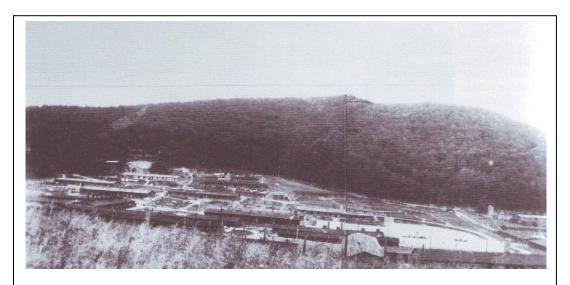
Taking into account that the city of Nordhausen has changed dramatically, particularly since Germany was reunified, a historical photograph from 1945 also clearly depicts the difficulty in looking back at the city from the camp. This supports the discovery during fieldwork of the challenge of seeing the camp from nearby Nordhausen or Salza and the sequestration achieved by the topography.

Photograph 9 was taken from the location of the former coal shed. This location was central within the camp and looks back towards where the main gate and *Appelplatz* once stood. In the foreground buildings including the camp kitchen and food store would have stood. Beyond these and beyond the gate the administrative buildings and Mittelwerks stood. Behind where this photograph was taken was the beginnings of the prisoner barracks and where most prisoners would have been held when they were not labouring. Again, in the left middle-ground of the photograph the rolling hills of the topography surrounding the camp are evident. These hills shielded the camp from view. Moreover, from this vantage point it was impossible to see any civilian buildings including the entire town of Nordhausen or smaller village of Salza. Thus the very worst of the conditions (the hospital barracks were behind the vantage point of this photograph) were hidden at the very back. Not unlike with the camp 'bunker' there was further sequestration within an already sequestrated location.



Photograph 9- Mittelbau Dora, May 2015. View from former coal shed towards Appelplatz

Photograph by author



Photograph 10 - Mittelbau-Dora facing North, summer 1946

(Franz Becker, summer 1946 Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp Memorial; see Wagner, 2011: 180)

The 'infirmary' and crematoria consisted of several wooden barracks, separated from the main camp by an additional line of electrified fencing. Moreover, the crematoria was disguised by the surrounding forest on the side of the mountain.

Photograph 10 depicts the extent of the physical sequestration of the camp by way of its natural topography. Despite being atop a mountain it was, nevertheless, in a recess and largely disguised from view. The vantage point of this photograph looks down into the recess where Mittelbau Dora stood. At the bottom and far left of the photograph stands the former prison block. Behind this is the vast space of the *Appelplatz* and beyond this, although not discernible in the image, stood the camp brothel. From this vantage point it is largely service buildings such as the camp laundry and kitchen which are visible. There also stood a barracks for Italian prisoners of war in the very centre of the image† although this, again, is not identifiable without a detailed map or guide. Despite that from this angle, it would be possible to *see* the crematoria, this too is difficult to view and appears to melt into the forestry in the background. It is also noteworthy that the crematoria is towards the rear of the camp, and how dense the forest is. This would have further contributed to the sequestration of violence and death within the camp as it was the least malevolent buildings which were clearly visible.

Mittelbau-Dora sub camps

The selection of sub camps presented here were those located during fieldwork which corroborated with the information provided by the Mittelbau Dora archives (see, for example www.buchenwald.de/en/153/). Some sub camps were more challenging to discern and were, therefore, omitted from this element of the case study. Harzungen, for example, was omitted because the site of the original camp has since been built over. Osterode was omitted because it was not possible (owing to safety concerns) to linger in the location to photograph it. Where a camp could be located and photographed, the photographs are presented here.

With the provided data from the archives and a discussion with the memorial archivist, however, it was possible to ascertain how unusual examples presented below were from those omitted. While unfortunate that more could not be located and photographed, those presented and discussed here are comprehensive and representative in their architecture. It should be noted that while residents of villages such as Ellrich and Günzerode frequently saw the thousand or more prisoners in their striped uniforms, the camps themselves were easily disguisable as they were within previously occupied and used civilian buildings. Even with the benefit of seventy years of scholarly research and numerous plaques and memorial stones, it was unclear where some of the former camps had been.

Bleicherode

Very little is known about the camp of Bleicherode. It operated for six months prior to the liberation in April 1945 and held approximately fifteen inmates who worked in construction. The inmates were accommodated in the basement of a hotel, now the *Kulturhaus* in the centre of the town of Bleicherode (Wagner, 2011: 179. USHMM p 979). Most notably upon visiting the site, the building appeared outwardly innocuous looking and in keeping with the surrounding buildings in architectural style and was challenging to locate. Surprisingly, at the time of visiting the site, a salsa class was taking place thus the building remains in use today as a community centre. Notable in the image below are the small windows of the basement, just visible at the bottom of the photograph. Although the prisoners kept here would have been visible when moving between this camp and the places they were put to slave labour, seeing inside the camp and understanding the full

realities would have been hindered by the normality of the exterior of the building and the small windows.



Photograph 11 - The outside of Bleicherode, May 2015

Photograph by author

Boelcke-Kaserne

Perhaps one of the most infamous sub camps was Boelcke-Kaserne on the outskirts of the city of Nordhausen. There was no forced labour from this camp as the inmates were those in the poorest of conditions and those closest to death. Inmates were expected to die here and there was no food or medical care. This camp was liberated shortly before the Mittelbau Dora main camp and the conditions and inmates therein were extensively photographed by the liberating army owing to their appalling physical condition[†]. In two long vehicle garages, more than 6,000 foreign civilian workers for the Junkers Company had been housed here since the summer of 1944 and the Gestapo, too, held a post here for the 'disciplining and terrorising' of foreign forced labourers' (Wagner,2011: 59) In January 1945, the forced labourers were re-housed on the Boelcke-Kaserne site and the two garages were repurposed for concentration camp inmates. The camp was little more than a site in which prisoners from the surrounding sub camps were sent to die. Many of the inmates were Jewish prisoners who had been evacuated from Auschwitz or Gross-Rosen.

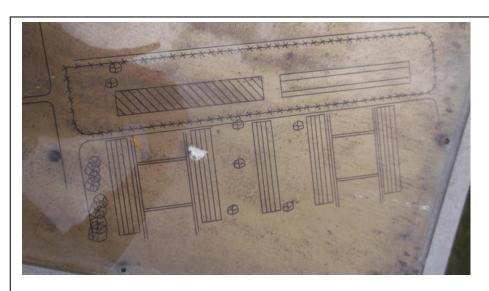
Of the 6,000 inmates held here, more than half died. It was, as former inmate, Georg Piper, described it 'nothing but a living crematorium' (2 May 1945, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg in Wagner, 2011: 56). Today, the remaining buildings are used by local businesses.

When visiting the site, the buildings appeared somewhat out of place as there were no other similar garages in the area. Nevertheless, the surrounding area was quite industrialised. A nearby plaque helped to identify the buildings as being part of the camp but very little else around the area appeared to be of the time. This camp, being within the remit of the town of Nordhausen is often referred to as 'Nordhausen camp' but it should be remembered that Nordhausen was razed by Allied bombing in 1945 and has since been rebuilt. As we see in photograph 13, however, this camp was surrounded by a barbed wire fence which acted as a barrier to social intercourse. Thus we see evidence of sequestration by way of the fence alongside a degree of normalcy in the architecture of the building.



Photograph 12 - Boelcke-Kaserne, May 2015

Photograph by author

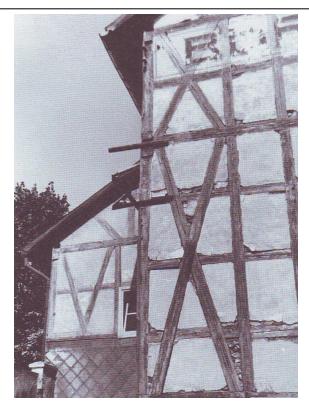


Photograph 13 - Boelcke Kaserne layout, May 2015

Photograph by author

Ellrich-Bürgergarten

Sometimes referred to as the 'upper-camp' of Ellrich-Julliushütte, it held 950 (some estimates approximate up to 1,200) prisoners between May 1944 and April 1945. The prisoners were then forced to march to Gardelegen where they were massacred. Their accommodation was the annexe of a restaurant and their daily slave labour consisted of construction, train line building and work in munitions (Wagner, 2011: 181). The annexe has since been torn down and the restaurant is now a private residence. The building now bridges between more historical buildings at one end of the road, and more recently built houses at the other.



Photograph 14 - Ellrich Burgergarten, approximately 1958

(Property of Mitelbau-Dora Concentration Camp Memorial; Wagner, 2011: 181)



Photograph 15 - Ellrich-Burgergarten, May 2015

Photograph by author

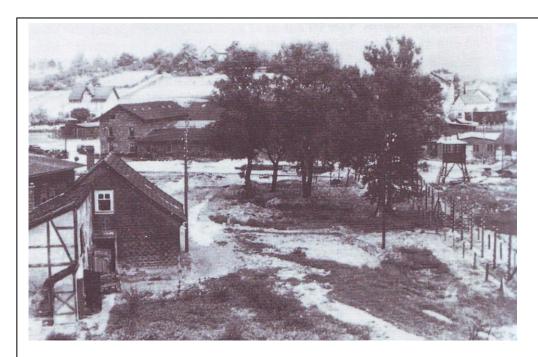
In Photograph 15, the white building with the red roof is all that is extant of the former concentration camp. Situated next to a beautiful lake and park, it was difficult to believe that a concentration camp could be in this area. Moreover, there were numerous newly built apartment blocks in the area and thus the camp was very difficult to locate. It was only with a memorial plaque next to where the annexe of the building had been that the

camp was identifiable. In Photograph 14, the former annexe is visible in the foreground. This annexe has since been torn down as a result of its use as a concentration camp†. Also evident in the photograph in the very centre is a search light which has also now been removed. In examining the two photographs, it is clear that a renovation of the exterior of the property has taken place as the beams are no longer visible. Nevertheless, at the time the building was in use as a concentration camp, the annexe and thus the camp blended in well with the restaurant. Some time was taken to walk around the small town of Ellrich to compare this building with others of a similar era. It was found to be very similar architecturally. Thus while the sequestration of prisoners was not 'total' as we would find at the Mittelbau Dora main camp, the building was not obtrusive to the rest of the town and sequestrated by its normalcy.

Ellrich-Julliushütte

Ellrich-Julliushütte was established in May 1944 in an old plaster factory on the outskirts of the town of Ellrich. Also known as 'Mittelbau II', it was the largest of the Dora sub camps. 8,000 inmates were held here in appalling conditions (more than half of whom died), to work in the Himmelsberg and Kohnstein mountains†. Situated next to the train tracks, accessing the camp today was difficult. It was not entirely clear that the camp was where it was expected to be after walking more than a mile along the railway line from the main road. Very little of the camp remains owing to the demarcation line of East and West Germany passing directly through the former camp.

In Photograph 16, on the horizon and to the far right, it is possible to see houses which were extant at the time the camp was operational. On the right of the photograph it is also possible to see barbed wire fences and a guard tower. Unlike the formerly discussed Ellrich camp, Juliushütte perhaps fits better with our imagined view of a concentration camp. The size of the camp in comparison to others is one explanation for the architecture. With so many inmates, the added security would have aided in the prevention of escapes. The camp was, however, on the outskirts of the town unlike the former Ellrich camp, thus there was space to erect the barbed wire fences thus there was greater capacity to sequestrate the camp from the town by way of distance and architectural means.



Photograph 16 - Ellrich-Julliushutte, 1945

Private collection of Manfred Bornemann. (Wagner, 2011: 182)

Gross-Werther

Gross-Werther camp was situated in the dance halls of two inns in a small village. These rooms were located on the first floor and accessible only to the inmates via a fire escape. It operated for less than a month prior to the death marches in April 1945 but housed 300 women who had previously been evacuated from Gross-Rosen. Conditions were hazardous with no real latrines or washing facilities. One inn remains in use.

Photograph 17 shows the remaining inn. It was difficult to ascertain if this was the correct building as there were no markers to denote its history and there were many other buildings on the street of a similar era and style. It was only when consulting with the Mittlebau-Dora archive team that it was fully realised that this was the correct building. Thus, while sequestration was not achieved by means of barbed wire fences or heavy gates as we would find at the Mittelbau Dora main camp, the building looked identical to others on the same street and thus could be psychologically sequestrated by its design.



Photograph 17 - Gross-Werther, May 2015

Photograph by author

<u>Günzerode</u>

This camp was established in September 1944. Up to 950 inmates lived in a barn and were used as slave labour in laying train tracks. The barn and farm are still in use today, surrounded by many newly built houses.



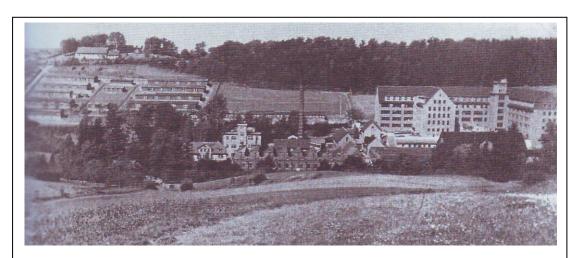
Photograph 18 - Gunzerode, May 2015

Photograph by author

Photograph 18 depicts the Günzerode concentration camp. Initially the building was difficult to find and a similar photograph from within the archive was used as a prompt to ask for directions to it. Eventually the barn was found by driving down a side-street of the village near to the geographical coordinates, and the location was additionally confirmed when a plaque commemorating the inmates was located. Modern homes surround the older barn but in a rural village, it did not look out of place in such a rural setting. The farm was surrounded by fences but these appeared to have been installed more recently than 1945. Thus, as with several of the other sub camps, there was little evidence of sequestration by way of barbed wire fences. Instead, the normality of the building made it difficult to identify it as a camp, thus achieving psychological sequestration.

Osterode-Freiheit

The camp was established in September 1944. They were located within a former purpose built forced labour camp just outside of Osterode. Slave labour consisted of carpentry and armaments manufacture in the Curt Heber business. No remains of the former camp were extant.



Photograph 19 - Osterode-Freiheit, date unknown

Private Collection of Dr Manfred Heber. (Wagner, 2011: 59)

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On the right side of photograph 19, the Curt Heber Engineering Works are evident as the large brick building. Behind this and at the top of the hill is a large wooded area. On the left side of the photograph, appearing on the hill is the former barracks camp. The concentration camp barrack was situated in the middle barrack of the left column of barracks. Other barracks were used to house foreign civilian labourers (Wagner, 2011: 59). While clearly outside the main part of the village, this camp is clearly visible from a distance. On closer inspection, however, there is evidence of fencing to separate the inmates from the outside world, thus we see some evidence of physical sequestration.

Concluding remarks on the Mittelbau-Dora sub camps.

This small sample of the Dora sub camps is indicative of the varying architecture of the camps in Germany, particularly of the Harz region. The largest of the camps, Mittelbau Dora and Ellrich-Julliushütte were purpose built barracks and housed the most prisoners. As the war reached its zenith, more civilian buildings were repurposed in a desperate effort for more slave labour for the war effort, and to accommodate the inmates evacuated from Poland. Outwardly, these buildings appear benign and many of them are still in use. Some buildings required a little additional research on the road to be able to find them as they otherwise appeared so 'normal'. Günzerode, for example, required showing a historical photograph of the camp to a resident of the village to see if they recognised it. Ellrich-Bürgergarten was only evident when it was noticed that a small group of people had gathered around an information board about the camp. The inmates would have been visible on their daily marches to and from their places of forced labour, but the camps looked otherwise commonplace thus there is evidence of limited use of physical barriers to social intercourse and a focus on psychological sequestration by way of the outward normalcy of the architecture of the buildings.

<u>Topographical case study - Neuengamme</u>

Unlike Mittebau-Dora, Neuengamme concentration camp was established much earlier in the Nazi era but was critical to Nazi economic and construction policy. Originally constructed in December 1938 as a Sachsenhausen sub camp the camp began to operate under its own administration and controlled its own sub camps from 1940. The camp was vast, covering fifty-seven hectares of space (Garbe, n.d). Established in rural Hamurg and away from the thousands of civilians living in the city and next to a brick-works, the inmates were to provide slave labour for the Reich by manufacturing bricks for construction in Hamburg city. Later, inmates would be used as slave labour to deepen the Dove Elbe, in construction of the camp or elsewhere (Kaienburg, 2012), or in armaments factories constructed with in the camp (Schawe, n.d.).

Conditions in the camp grew steadily worse throughout its existence and disease and famine were ubiquitous. The camp had its own crematoria in which the bodies of inmates from the main and sub camps were cremated. Outbreaks of typhus resulted in quarantine of the entire camp‡. Death was also deliberately inflicted by way of medical experiments on inmates and gas was utilised on two occasions to murder 448 Soviet prisoners in the camp prison or 'bunker' (Kaienburg, 2012)

The demographics of the inmate population were varied. Prisoners were interned from across all the Nazi occupied countries and included men, women (although they were largely held in sub camps, there was a camp brothel), Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses, political prisoners homosexuals, asocials and criminals (Kaienburg, 2012.)

Prisoners were being evacuated from the camp as early as March 1945 to other concentration camps including Bergen Belsen. Concurrently, inmates were arriving to Neuengamme having been evacuated from other camps – including Mittelbau Dora and Bergen Belsen (Schawe, n.d.). The camp was not liberated at the end of the war as it was completely evacuated before liberating forces arrived. Prisoners were evacuated elsewhere, including onto barges in the Baltic‡. Two such barges, the Cap Arcona and the Thielbek were accidentally bombed during an air-raid on 3rd May 1945, and of the approximately 7,000 prisoners onboard only 450 survived (Schawe, n.d.).

After the end of the war the camp was used as a displaced persons camp and as a prison for former staff. The wooden barracks were razed but much of the camp remained. The

location was utilised as a prison until 2006 when it was fully redesigned as a museum and memorial.

Α the available map of camp is at https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media nm.php?ModuleId=10005539&MediaId=2545. To approach Neuengamme, one would have a walk of at least 1km from the nearby villages before initially confronting the outskirts of the camp which included greenhouses and gardens, now used as quiet spaces for contemplation, meditation and prayer. The camp is surrounded by rural farmland and access, even in the twenty-first century, is quite a distance from nearby towns and villages. Just as at Mittelbau Dora, we would encounter the industrial complex of the brickworks first. This would be followed a few hundred meters later by the SS barracks, garages and kennels for their hounds. If we were permitted to continue further along the road, accounting for the guards in the numerous guard towers along the perimeter, we would only then come across the front gate and the beginnings of the barracks. We would have walked passed most of the barracks and Appelplatz as we approached the main gate for the road runs parallel to the edge of the camp. All the while, electrified barbed wire and guard towers bar our entry (or prisoners' escape). Perhaps surprisingly, the first barracks we would encounter on entering the camp proper would be the hospital barracks. Nevertheless, these buildings were some of the furthest away in distance, approximately 1km, from the nearest villages. A little beyond these barracks, we would come across the camp 'bunker' and beyond this we would find the crematoria, both of which would be under heavy guard and surrounded by barbed wire, prohibiting us from entering. Even in approaching the camp, therefore, it was noted that sequestration was achieved by a geographical distance, use of the rural surroundings as an additional perimeter and boundary to the rest of the world, and architecture such as barbed wire fences and guard towers.



Photograph 20 - Neuengamme main gate. Undated

(Eiber, n.d: 1)

The camp, like Dora, was surrounded by an electrified fence and the gate was guarded by the SS. Little of the original fence remains in situ as the brick buildings were later reused as a prison‡, however some was preserved and is housed inside the museum. This architecture is reminiscent of that found in other larger concentration camps. Photograph 20 depicts the front entrance to the camp, probably taken sometime after the end of the war (Neuengamme camp was not liberated as all the inmates were murdered or marched elsewhere) given the gates are not extant in this image. However, it is notable that standing outside the main gate, visibility is hindered by the two administration barracks on either side of where the gate stood.

The main road to access the camp ran parallel to the front gate but was guarded at either end to protect the camp from prying civilian eyes‡. When viewing the camp, it was noticeable how far any civilian buildings were from the former camp. A large field was opposite the entrance to the main camp and it was difficult to see inside the camp from a parallel road beyond. This sequestration by way of distance is evident in photographs 21-23. It was possible to *see* the camp from this road, but the distance was too great to see details, including people.



Photograph 21 - May, 2015. Neuengamme main gate, looking left.

Photograph by author



Photograph 22 - May 2015. Neuengamme main gate, looking straight ahead.

Photograph by author



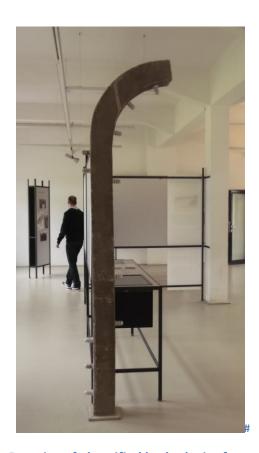
Photograph 23 - May 2015. Neuengamme main gate, looking right.

Photograph by author



Photograph 24 - Remains of Neuengamme main gate. May, 2015

Photograph by author



Photograph 25 - Remains of electrified barbed wire fence post. May, 2015

Photograph by author

Photographs 24 and 25 depict part of the original main gate and part of the electrified barbed wire fence surrounding the perimeter of the camp. These are evidence of physical

sequestration akin to that we would find in Goffman's (1991) or Sofksy's (1999) descriptions.

Interestingly, the medical blocks were located at the very *front* of the camp. Here, prisoners who were too sick to work were held for a very short period. While some recovered enough to continue slave labour, others died of their illnesses or were systematically murdered if their recovery was taking too long. In one medical block, inmates were deliberately infected with tuberculosis by way of medical experimentation. Furthermore, situated in and amongst the medical blocks was the camp brothel where women were forced to work as prostitutes for 'prominent prisoners'‡. The location of these barracks is interesting in that they are both at the front of the camp, thus arguably some of the most public, however, they are the most sequestrated from civilian life by distance, owing to the location of the front gate being so far from civilian villages. They are, thus, evidence of sequestration by distance.

At the very rear of the camp was the camp prison or 'bunker'. This building with five solitary confinement cells, operated as a location for the Gestapo (and SS) to torture and murder prisoners. Innumerable inmates were hanged within the confines of this building. Oftentimes, these solitary confinement cells were not occupied by one prisoner, but by multiple. It was, therefore, impossible to lie down and sleep. In the autumn of 1943, two experiments with *Zyklon B* gas took place in this bunker killing nearly 500 Soviet prisoners of war. The bunker was protected by an additional electrified barbed wire fence surrounding the perimeter‡.

The building has since been demolished but the foundations were excavated as part of the Neuengamme memorial and museum. In the above photograph, beams can be seen protecting the foundations. These, as well as the image in the background give a sense of house the building would have looked during the Nazi era. As at Mittelbau Dora, the bunker was sequestrated from civilians by being within the camp but further sequestration took place by way of another row of electrified barbed wire and heavy guard, thus we see evidence of physical sequestration by way of physical barriers.



Photograph 26 - Foundations of former bunker. May, 2015

Photograph by author



Photograph 27 - Former crematoria at Neuengamme. Date unknown (Eiber, n.d: 6)

Photograph 27 shows the former camp crematoria at an unknown date, although it was probably taken after the camp was in use. Until 1942, the bodies of deceased prisoners were cremated elsewhere but the dramatic increase in deaths led to the establishing of a

crematoria on-site, which was rebuilt in 1944 with two, more efficient, ovens. Only the foundations are now extant‡. Of particular interest in the photograph are the fence posts for the electrified barbed wire fence in the background, on the right hand side of the photograph. There are no visible signs of electrified fence to guard the crematoria close to its perimeter. The wider area of this part of the camp was, however, further divided from the rest of camp by a barrier of more electrified barbed wire fencing, thus providing evidence of further physical sequestration.

It is particularly noteworthy where the bunker and crematoria were located. The camp proper was surrounded by industrial buildings in which the inmates laboured. The bunker and crematoria, however, are at the rear of the main camp and would, thus, have been largely shielded from unwanted civilian view.



Photograph 28 - Neuengamme concentration camp. May, 2015

Photograph by author

The above photograph depicts a view of the concentration camp from just inside the main gate. In the foreground of the photo stood the *Appelplatz*. In the middle-ground and to the left stands one of the remaining two brick barrack buildings. The second can be seen on the far right of the photograph. The restructured foundations of the wooden barracks can be seen in the middle of the photograph. Behind this and towards the brick works stood the SS barracks. These barracks and brickworks were significantly closer to the nearby village and

thus further shielded the camp from civilian eyes. The *Appelplatz* was situated in the very centre of the camp, surrounded by the wooden barracks. Wooden barracks were constructed to house prisoners in 1940. In 1944, two brick buildings were completed to house yet more prisoners, using bricks from the adjacent brick works. The most westerly brick building, that at the front of the camp, was used to house Scandinavians bound for rescue by the Scandinavian Red Cross' 'white buses'. Thus, had a civilian approached the camp, the first inmate buildings and inmates they would have seen were the most prominent. This could indicated a degree of psychological sequestration in that the worst of the conditions would have been sequestrated behind these buildings. These two brick buildings were used first by the British as an internment camp until 1948, and later formed part of the new prison on the site‡.

Neuengamme sub camps

Sub camps of the Neuengamme camp, those which fell under the administration of the camp, were plentiful and scattered across northern Germany. The extent of the administration of the camp extended as far as Alderney in the Channel Islands where a camp was established. The small sample presented here were those able to be found during fieldwork in the vicinity of the city of Hamburg. Many of those located in Hamburg are difficult to find, owing to the bombing of the city by the Allies at the end of the war. As a major city and a port, Hamburg was an important target and, therefore, razed. Indeed, it was as a result of the Allied bombings that the Cap Arcona, a ship filled with evacuated Neuengamme inmates was sunk (Schawe, n.d.).

Bullenhauser Damm

Built in 1910 as a school, after the building was given over to the SS as a sub camp of Neuengamme in the autumn of 1944. The camp is situated on a man-made island surrounded by canals. Nearly one thousand Inmates were to clear rubble from the nearby bomb-struck buildings and repurpose it for later building work. The camp was evacuated on 14 April 1945. Six days later, twenty children, their four carers and six Soviet prisoners were brought from the Neuengamme main camp where they had been subject to medical experiments. The adults were hanged in the boiler room of the basement. The children were taken to the changing rooms of the school gymnasium where they were injected with an overdose of morphine. If still showing signs of life, were also hanged. Later, another group of Soviet prisoners were brought here. Some managed to escape, those who failed in their attempt were shot, and the rest were hanged. The bodies were then returned to Neuengamme main camp for cremation. The area where the murders took place is now a memorial, operating within the re-established school‡.



Photograph 29 - Bullenhauser Damm school

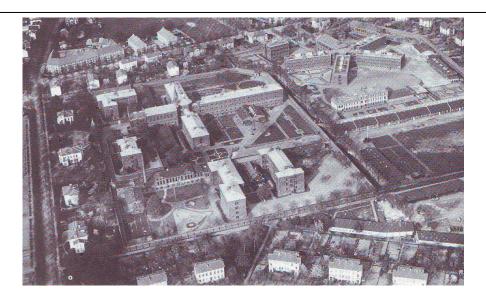
(Neunegamme Concentration Camp Memorial, May 2013)

Particularly noteworthy of this photograph is how usual this building looks. At first glance, it may appear to be a menacing sight but further on further thought I was reminded of my own former high school, or a hospital building. The building was, however, located on a man-made island, surrounded by canals. The inmates and building would have been under heavy guard, thus the camp was physically sequestrated by the topography of the landscape. That the architecture was normal and the building had been in use for decades before it became a camp could also have contributed to psychological sequestration in that it was not unusual for the area.

Fuhlsbüttel

Fuhlsbüttel was one of the earliest concentration camps established in Nazi Germany. It was established in September1933 in a former prison, to imprison political opponents of the regime. In 1934, Jehovah's Witnesses were imprisoned here, and following the 1935 Nuremburg Laws, Jews were also imprisoned. Criminals, asocials, homosexuals and other 'enemies' of the Nazi state were also imprisoned here. Prisoners were often tortured and beaten. In the basement of the camp were two cages, in which prisoners could be hung in a crucifixion position for days, or hung from the ceiling by their wrists which were tied behind their back‡. To the outside world, it *looks* like an ordinary prison. The physical barriers to social intercourse of high walls and barbed wire coupled with the imposing entrance are

evidence of physical sequestration, but contrast against the leafy suburbs which surround it. Yet in examining the two photographs below, this building would not be out of place next to Strangeways prison in Greater Manchester or Armley prison in Leeds. The building, a prison before its conversion to a concentration camp has remained operating as such since the fall of the Nazi regime. Thus, there may also have existed a level of psychological sequestration as the building was not new and the local residents would have been accustomed to seeing prisoners.



Photograph 30 - Aerial photograph of Fuhlsbuttel prison. Undated



Photograph 31 - Former entrance to Fuhlsbuttel prison. May 2015

Photograph by author

Poppenbüttel

Five hundred women were imprisoned here between September 1944 and May 1945. Their slave labour consisted of building a small village of prefabricated houses for bombed out families, and clearing the streets of the bombed-out city. Very little remains of the camp, spare one prefabricated building which now acts as the memorial. The surrounding area is now modern apartment blocks and a multi-storey car park. Unlike the nearby camp of Sasel (which could not be located owing to the immense number of newly constructed buildings in the area), there were no physical barriers to social interaction with civilians by way of electrified fences, thus little evidence of sequestration by way of architecture, although the prisoners would have lived under heavy guard at all times.



Photograph 32 - Former barrack. May, 2015

Photograph by author

Concluding remarks on the Neuengamme sub camps.

With so few remaining sub camps of Neuengamme in situ in Hamburg, it is difficult to draw large conclusions. Nevertheless, it was fortunate to be able to locate so many or have access to photographs of them from closer to the Nazi era. Many of the former camps were razed, either in Allied bombings or after the war when the city was rebuilt.

It is, however, pertinent to mention that the camp of Fuhlsbüttel was established inside a former prison which already offered sequestration within the total institution. Both Fuhlsbüttel and Bullenhauser Damm were located in pre-existing buildings and thus maintained an exterior appearance of normalcy. Moreover, the camp of Neuengamme was later repurposed into a prison, until it became a memorial in 2006. Each of the three sub camps mentioned here, and the main camp, were buildings formerly, or proposed, for other uses. This is particularly interesting to note because of Fuhlsbüttel's early date and longevity as a camp, but also the proximity to the major city of Hamburg.

Cartographic Results

Presented here are a series of graphs depicting the results of the cartographic element of the research. Two larger documents of timelines created from the data garnered from the *Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos* (2012) are presented on https://hidingtheholocaust.wordpress.com/additional-documents/ owing to their size.

The data within the graphs was collated from the Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos (2012) and Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme (1935). The encyclopaedia volumes contain the most up-to-date and complete research collected on the concentration camps established by the Nazis between 1933 and 1945. Specifically collected from these volumes was the largest population size of the camp, the previous purpose of the building (whether it was used in industry, as a civilian building such as a farm or hotel, or was purposely built as a concentration camp) and how human remains were disposed of. This data was entered into a spreadsheet. Alongside this data and using historical maps from Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme (1935), the location of nearby towns and villages to the camps was noted and the distance between the camps was then measured. This distance was then noted. Further data was extracted from the historical maps by way of population size of the towns and villages, and then entered into the spreadsheet. These results show widespread sequestration of the camps across Germany in the early phases of the Nazi movement and a dramatic reduction in sequestration as the Nazi regime hit its zenith. This is shown through the number of people with direct sensory knowledge of the concentration camps across time, the increasing number of concentration camps and their change in architecture across time. Sensory knowledge includes being able to see, hear or smell the camp, as well as being able to touch the camp perhaps as a farmer delivering vegetables for the inadequate food or as a civilian worker.

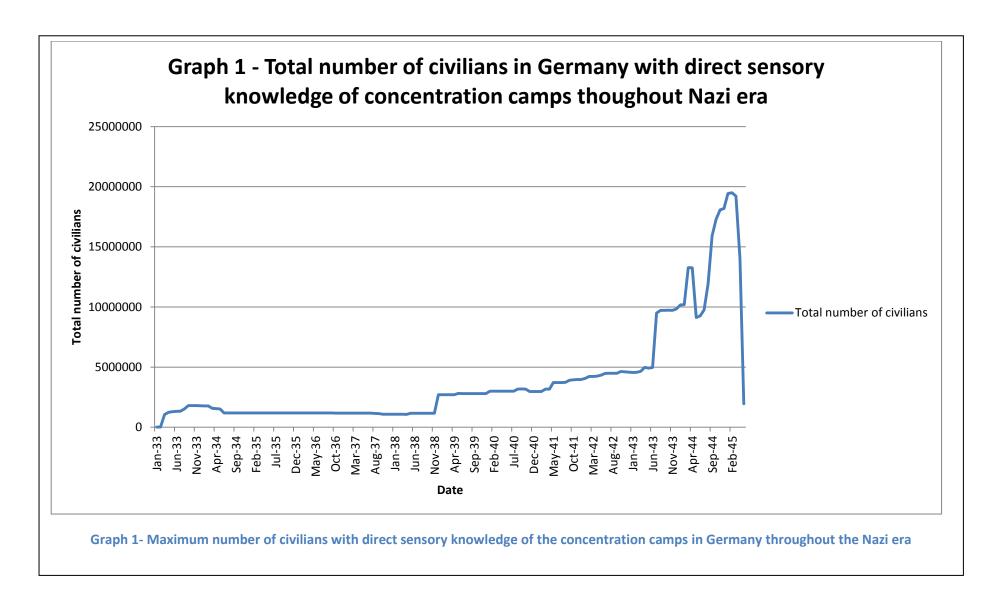
Abbreviations found in the chapter are defined as follows

CB – civilian building	PB- purpose built
FT – fortress	TI – total institution (other)
IB – industrial building	UG – underground
MB – Military building	

Portfolio 1 was the first incarnation of the results shown within this chapter. It is physically too large to present here but can be found and downloaded from https://wordpress.com/view/hidingtheholocaust.wordpress.com . Immediately noticeable when viewing this document is the scale of the Nazi concentration camp system - in Germany alone. As the timeline took shape, it was also immediately apparent that the majority of the concentration camps were built or created towards the end of the war. Earlier camps were usually put in repurposed civilian buildings or other total institutions. There were comparatively few concentration camps in Germany until 1938 when larger camps such as Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald were built. The majority of camps were opened for a short duration at the zenith of the war, after June 1944 when the Allies had landed in Normandy and the war began to turn. It was only in the final few months of the war that the majority of the purpose-built camps were created. The number of camps and their architecture can also be explained by movement of the Soviet forces across Poland in 1945 and the subsequent Death Marches which brought hundreds of thousands of inmates to camps in Germany, thus space was needed to hold them. Moreover, at the time many of these camps were built, the Allied bombing raids were increasing, thus there was a need for slave labour to clear up after these raids and to diffuse the bombs. Thus a clear change in architectural style of the camps emerges from one of a degree of 'normalcy' to the stark contrast against the landscape. In this way, Portfolio 1 shows evidence of a decline towards more violence in Germany against persecuted groups as the Nazi movement strengthened into a regime, and as the country went into a state of total war.

Portfolio 2 was also an early incarnation of the results within this chapter. Again, it is a very large document and can be found and downloaded from https://wordpress.com/view/hidingtheholocaust.wordpress.com . The data within this document is fascinating in that it depicts how the bodies of deceased inmates were treated. Moreover, it depicts whether gas chambers were in use at the specific camps. Immediately noticeable is how few camps utilised gas chambers within Germany. Even then, their use was sporadic and the prolonged duration within the timeline is, therefore, inaccurate. The use of dedicated crematoria is also depicted to be infrequent within the camps and only at specialised locations - the main camps. The smaller sub camps did not have their own crematoria for, although conditions were disastrous, there were 'not enough' deaths in each to warrant one. There is some use of municipal facilities,

particularly towards the end of the Nazi era, but overwhelmingly, the timeline depicts the return of the sick and dead to the main camps for disposal. Thus we see evidence of sequestration in that it was only in specialised locations where the cremation of the dead took



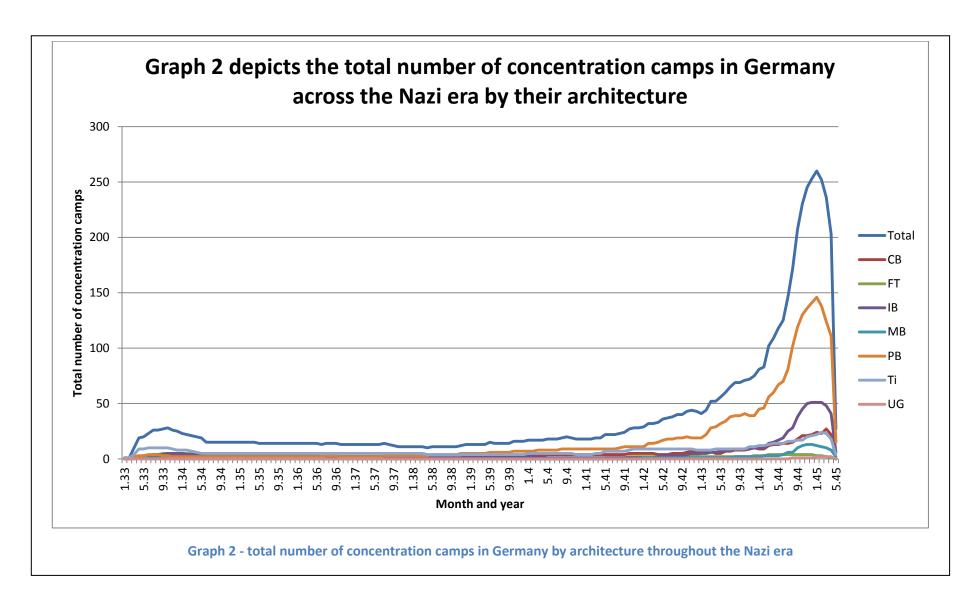
Please note, an annotated version of Graph 1 with a corresponding timeline of key historic events in the Nazi era can be found at https://hidingtheholocaust.wordpress.com/additional-documents/.

Graph 1 depicts the maximum number of people who would have had direct sensory knowledge of a concentration camp in Germany at various points throughout the Nazi era. Sensory knowledge is to say the camps could be seen, heard, smelled or visited by civilians. Direct is to say this was first-hand knowledge and not necessarily knowledge passed on verbally.

Marked changes throughout the Nazi era regarding the privacy of the camps are evident in Graph 1. Firstly, it is notable that in the earliest incarnations of the camps, there is an immediate rise in the number of the camps but these quickly become decidedly less public. A further notable change occurs in the final months of 1938, concurrent with the November Pogrom. This pogrom was widespread and enacted against Jewish businesses, homes and synagogues. Large numbers of Jewish people were rounded up and sent to the newly established concentration camps. Yet until 1941, only 2.5% of the German civilian population lived in the vicinity of a camp.

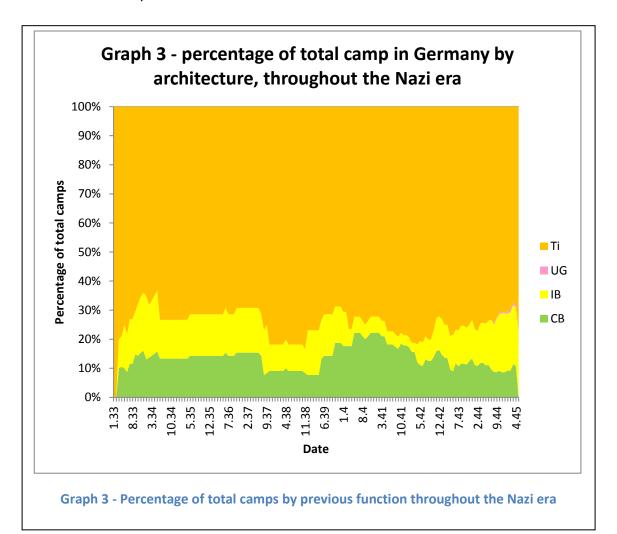
The maximum number of people with direct sensory knowledge of the concentration camps climbs slowly until the summer of 1943 at 16%, reaching nearly 22% by the end of that year. At this time, Allied bombings were growing and the need for slave labour within the cities to defuse unexploded bombs, clear rubble and work within the armaments industry was mounting. The maximum number of people with direct sensory knowledge reaches its zenith following the D-Day landings of 1944. As the war turned in favour of the Allies, a need to move the concentration camp inmates into Germany, in an attempt to protect the secret of the concentration camps was necessary. Moreover, the Allied bombings continued in the cities and evermore bomb disposal and clear-up was necessary. By January 1945, 30% of the German populace had direct sensory knowledge of the concentration camps.

Thus we see a marked decline in the sequestration of the camps across the Nazi era as the number of people with direct sensory knowledge of the camps increased dramatically. This is not to suggest that the sequestration of individual camps changed over time, but that the sequestration of the camp system as a whole broke down to become far more public.



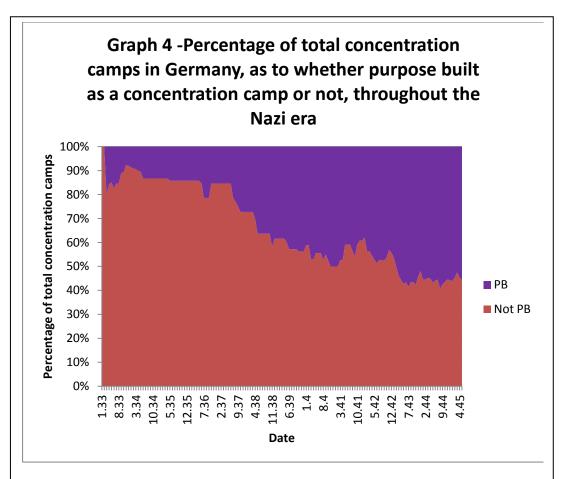
Graph 2 depicts both the total number of concentration camps in Germany, and the changing architecture of the concentration camps throughout the Nazi era. It is particularly interesting to note that the largest use of purpose built concentration camps – those which might have a similar architecture to the larger concentration camps occurs only during total war. The number rises dramatically with the Allied bombings of major cities but reaches its zenith with the influx of inmates being evacuated into Germany, particularly from the advancing Soviet army in the East. So too, the number of industrial buildings used to house inmates also increases dramatically at this time as round-the-clock labour was needed in armaments works.

Thus again we see a marked decline in the sequestration of the overall camp system across the Nazi era as the number of camps dramatically increased. As with Portfolio 1, this can be explained by the Death Marches of prisoners from camps in Poland evading the Soviet liberating troops, the need for slave labour to clear up the Allied bombing raids and in the armaments industry.



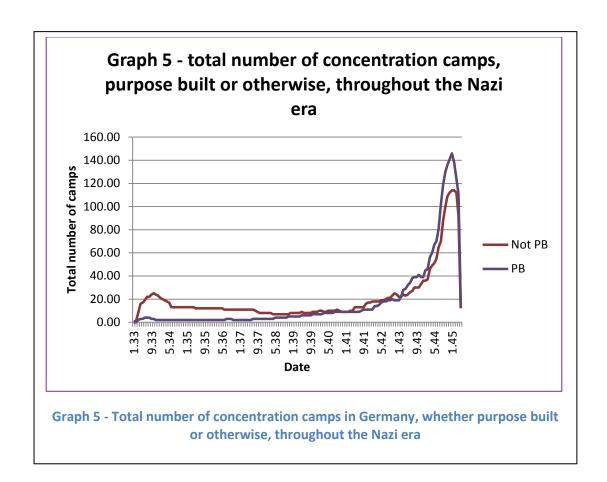
It is important to note the infrequency of concentration camps underground. Only Mittelbau Dora in the earliest incarnation of the camp and one other were located underground, thus they are not discernible on the above graph. Overwhelmingly, the camps were located in total institutions which was taken here to include purpose built camps, and those located in military buildings and fortresses as these were identified by Goffman (1991) as being 'total institutions'. On average, a quarter of all camps were in industrial or civilian buildings. The rise in use of civilian buildings as a proportion of the total peaks in 1940. There is a greater peak in the proportion of industrial buildings far earlier in the Nazi era, however. In the early 1930s, large numbers of pre-existing buildings were utilised as camps. A noteworthy example is Dachau. Thus, within Graph 3 we see extensive evidence of sequestration for total institutions, by their very nature, sequestrate inmates from the outside world by way of their architecture.

Moreover, both graphs 2 and 3 present the data of the timeline of the previous function of the concentration camps more clearly. Within that timeline it is possible to see the change in nature of the concentration camps and their escalation in number as the Nazi era progressed. Graph 2 also shows how the concentration camp architecture evolved in regards to the use of previously used buildings as opposed to those purposely built. The number purposely built as a proportion of the total number of concentration camps rises steadily, particularly after the 1936 Munich Olympics, which occurred during peace time but the world, nevertheless, was watching Germany. Thus we see peaks and troughs in sequestration, dependent on the global stage.

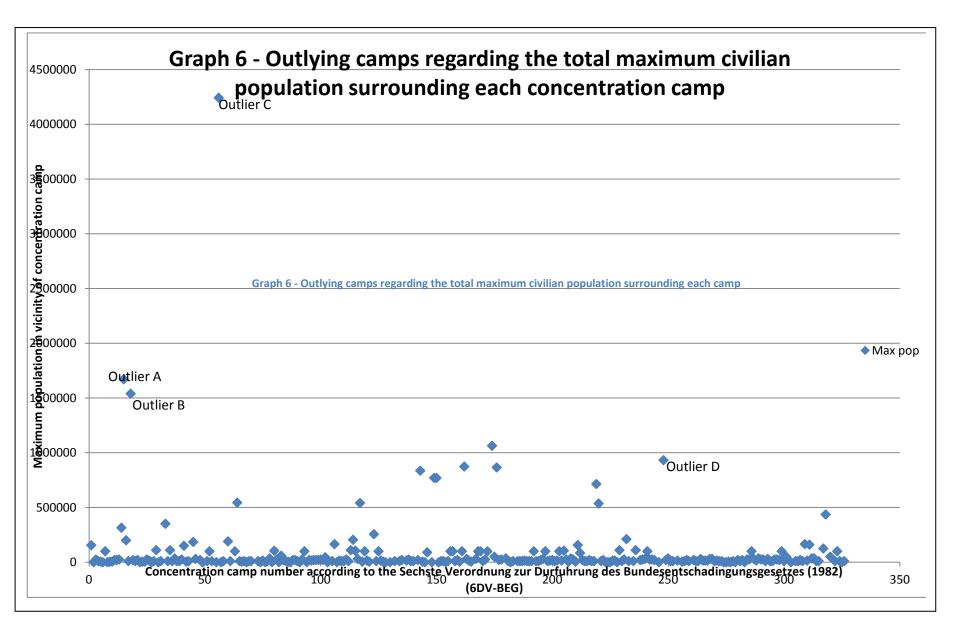


Graph 4 - Percentage of total concentration camps as to whether purpose built as a concentration camp or not, throughout the Nazi era

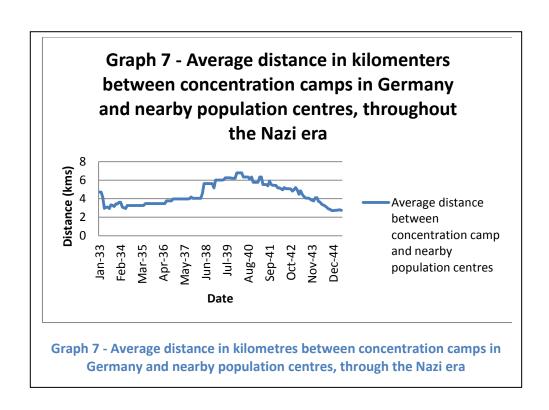
Graph 4 presents the percentage of the total number of camps which were purpose built or were in pre-existing buildings, at a given point in time (March 1942, for example) as a clustered stacked column chart. In March 1942, for example, 56% of the camps in existence at the time were in pre-existing buildings and, by contrast, in December 1944 only 42% of the camps in existence were in pre-existing buildings. This graph, therefore, shows that until the zenith of World War II, the majority of the camps were located in pre-existing buildings and, may have been easier to disguise. The increased use of purpose built camps would have increased the sequestration of these individual camps, for architectural barriers to the outside world, such as electrified barbed wire fences, could be built, thus increased the potential sequestration of each camp.



Graph 5 presents the same data as Graph 4 as a total rather than as a proportion of the total number of camps. Again, it displays the disparity in the number of camps which were purpose built across time, rather than those utilising previously used buildings. It does so as a number, rather than a percentage of the total number of camps. The number of purpose built camps increases dramatically in 1943 during total war, but also at a time when larger cities were being razed in Allied bombings. Purposely built camps in more rural areas were, therefore, necessary to accommodate prisoners as well as put them to work in slave labour in the armaments industry. This is coupled with increasing use of previously used buildings within cities for the purposes of bomb disposal and clear-up. As with Graph 4, the increased use of purpose built camps would have increased the sequestration of these individual camps, as architectural barriers to the outside world, such as electrified barbed wire fences, could be built.

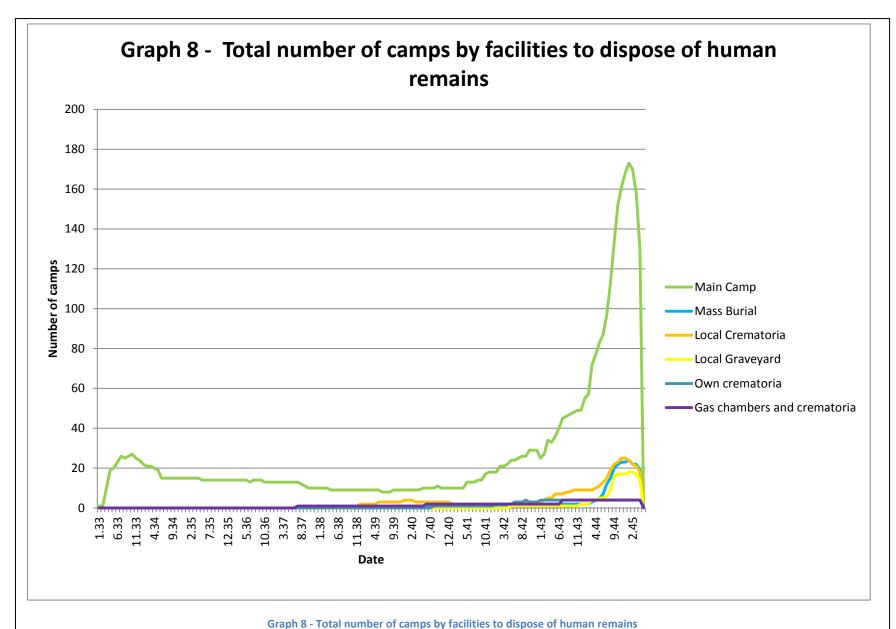


Graph 6 indicates which camps had the largest populations who may have had sensory knowledge surrounding the camps. Immediately noticeable is the large cluster of camps with a comparatively small surrounding population with sensory knowledge of the camps. The graph is deliberately presented in this manner to highlight this cluster and similarity. The contrast with the outliers is of the greatest interest here. Outlier A, is Hamburg-Eidelstedt; outlier B is Neuengamme; and outlier C is Berlin-Hakenfelde. Outlier A and C are explicable in that they were situated in two of Germany's largest cities to hold slave labour to be put to work in clear-up efforts after bombing raids and thus were in very densely populated areas. The cluster in which Outlier D can be found were also smaller camps located in larger cities for the same purpose. Their existence was, moreover, towards the zenith of the war. Outlier B, Neuengamme and outlier D, Dachau, situated in the central cluster are both oddly public. The populations with direct sensory knowledge of these camps is markedly high as both camps had crematoria. The smell of the crematoria could travel 20km (Lanzman, 2007) and the respective cities of were Hamburg and Munich respectively, fell within this radius. It was the smell, therefore, which would have impaired the secrecy of these camps. By contrast, outliers A and C, and those in the same cluster as outlier D did not have the same facilities for cremating bodies of deceased inmates and thus sent their dead to their respective main camps. Thus this graph depicts an impression of extensive sequestration overall, for most camps did not have large populations surrounding them, particularly if they had crematoria on site.



It is noteworthy that the change in distance between camp and population centres, shown in Graph 7 produced no usable results. It is impossible to ascertain sequestration form this graph as the larger concentration camps with facilities for the disposal of human remains by burning skewing the results. Such camps were detectable at a far greater distance owing to the smell emanating from the crematoria. This contrasts with the original pilot study which showed a remarkable distance in distance between camps and nearby civilian populations in Poland depending on their facilities for disposing of human remains. The sample size was, however, significantly smaller. Moreover the pilot sample focussed predominantly on Operation Reinhard camps and the Auschwitz complex at which inmates disembarked their trains and many were murdered in the gas chambers and their remains cremated immediately upon arrival. That this graph has produced no usable results is, therefore, of little surprise but is included here as it was hypothesised in the original pilot (Burns, 2010) that as the civilising process (Elias, 2000) broke down, the sequestration between civilians and the camps would reduce.

Graph 8 is interesting in that it condenses the data of Portfolio 2. It depicts the total number of camps by way of their capacity to dispose of human remains. The data is slightly inaccurate in that early camp data is categorised as returning data to the main camp owing to a lack of data pertaining to these early camps. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence of the sequestration of the disposal of human remains to specialised locations – those being the 'main' camps which held administration of the smaller sub camps.



Analysis of Topographical and Cartographic Results

This section addresses the topographical and cartographic results presented earlier in this chapter. The data in the earlier section of this chapter is discussed in light of the theories of Arendt (1970, 1978, 1979, 1983), Elias (1996, 2000, 2001), Bauman (2009), Cohen (2000) and De Swaan (2001). I argue that the data is indicative of the darkness which ensues as totalitarianism progresses from a movement to a regime as the sequestration of the camps decreases over time. The camps were, in this respect, manifest of evil. As Arendt argued, (1978: 251) evil is like a fungus; it lacks roots and depth and, I add, grows in darkness. Moreover, the architecture and topography of the concentration camps promoted thoughtlessness amongst the civilians by way the normalcy of so many of the camps and the sequestration of the realities which took place therein, drawing on Cohen's concept of denial (2001). I will demonstrate not only that Elias's concept of the 'civilising process' (2000) did not completely break down during the Holocaust but highlight an empirical link between this theory and Bauman's Modernity and the Holocaust (2009). Instead, compartmentalisation (De Swaan, 2015) took place despite a reversal and breakdown in the civilising process, owing to the development from totalitarian movement to regime but it was thoughtlessness which allowed civilians to continue with their ordinary lives. This thoughtlessness was a left-over from the forward movement of the civilising process. Central to the civilising process is the sequestration of behaviours and actions we do not want others to see or think about (Elias, 2000). They continue in private but are otherwise unmentionable. In this way, we are able to psychologically deny that they occur at all. It is this psychological denial and distance which are at the heart of the theses of Elias (2000), Bauman (2009), Cohen (2001) and Arendt's concept of the 'banality of evil' (1983). In the first instance, this link will be shown through the empirical data. Moreover, this chapter challenges Goffman (1991) and Sofsky's (1999) descriptions of the outward appearance of a concentration camp.

The first discussion will be what a concentration camp *looked like* and to challenge the visual descriptions of concentration camps outlined by Goffman (1991) and Sofsky (1999). It will be shown that the concept of a Nazi concentration camp is much more difficult to visually define. Instead, what was legally considered to be a concentration camp for the purposes of reparations in many cases was the epitome of the allegorical 'wolf in sheep's clothing'. This leads to a discussion of the civilising process and sequestration of the camps in light of the data.

What did a concentration camp look like?

Early in the research it was suspected that the architecture of the camps did not fit with the image I had so often seen in films or documentaries. As discussed in Chapter 2, Auschwitz understandably stands as a totem of the Holocaust but all too often photographs of the camps are replicated (Miller, 1992) and distort how we see the realities of the camps. As data was gathered from the *Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos* (Megargee, 2012) this became ever more evident, thus the data was examined more closely to challenge Goffman (1991) and Sofsky (1999) in their descriptions of concentration camps

Examining the two main camps photographed for this study, each camp was surrounded by barbed wire and individual areas further sequestrated behind yet more barbed wire. The camp bunkers, where inmates were tortured (and gassed at Neuengamme), and crematoria, for example, were further separated from the rest of the camp. The hospital barracks at Mittelbau Dora was similarly cordoned off from the rest of the camp, and the SS barracks and administration were located at a distance from the majority of the camps proper. The barriers of the electrified barbed wire encircling the perimeters of the camps, at times of double-thickness where there were a second fence lay beyond the first, the heavy front gates and heavily guarded perimeter would have been 'clear, unmistakable, and insurmountable' (Sofsky, 1999: 60). As per Sofsky's (1999) description of barracks, both Mittelbau Dora (after a period where the inmates were housed in tents and then inside the tunnels) and Neuengamme had wooden barracks in which several thousand prisoners could be crammed into unliveable conditions.

As we see particularly in Portfolio 1 and Graph 2, there were numerous camps located in civilian buildings or factories. Visiting the sub camps of Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme highlighted this still further. Many of the camps located and photographed were extremely challenging to find and identify within their surroundings for their outward appearance matched that of the other buildings around them. In this respect, the architecture of the camps challenged the descriptions set out by Sofsky (1999) and Goffman (1991) in that many were located in civilian buildings and their outward exteriors did not look 'total' and were not particularly unusual. When one examines the timeline in Portfolio 1, for example the difference in architectures is stark. In the earliest incarnations of the concentration camps in Nazi Germany, the majority were located in pre-existing buildings – particularly former prisons.

The main camps, such as Auschwitz, Auschwitz Birkenau, Dachau, Mittelbau Dora or Neuengamme certainly fit the rubric outlined by the likes of Sofsky (1999) and Goffman (1991) but their

descriptions are incomplete in that they neglect so many of the smaller sub camps. Particularly when we view the photographs taken during the fieldwork or Portfolio 1, that their descriptions are incomplete is unmistakable. The locked doors and heavy guard were certainly in action in the smaller sub camps but other physical barriers to social intercourse such as 'high walls, barbed wire, cliffs, water, forests or moors', moats, layers of fencing or guard towers (Goffman, 1991: 16; Sofsky, 1999) were not seen in the data. Moreover, these boundaries to the outside world were not 'clear, unmistakable, and insurmountable' (Sofsky, 1999: 60) for so many of the camps were located in previously used civilian buildings which maintained a facade of normality. So too, Sofsky's argument that concentration camps had row upon row of wooden barracks was seen to be incorrect in large numbers of concentration camps in Germany for so many were located in pre existing buildings.

The concept of a concentration camp may conjure images in our mind of barbed wire, wooden barracks and guard towers but, for the majority of the Nazi era in Germany, these were the exception to the rule. Moreover, gas chambers and crematoria were predominantly reserved for the genocide taking place in the East. When examining Portfolio 2 and Graph 8 we see that gassings took place in Germany (particularly at T4 'euthanasia' centres) but these were infrequent. So too, cremation took place in the most specialised locales. Smaller camps lacked the facilities for immediate mass murder en masse and the disposal of corpses. No sub camps had their own gas chambers and, when examining the data for disposing of human remains, it is evident that very few had the capacity for cremation or mass burial on site. It was noted that one smaller sub camp repurposed an oven on site in a factory to cremate a number of prisoners but this was the exception. Instead, predominantly, the sick and dying were sent back to the main camp to die from their illnesses or be immediately murdered, and then cremated in the main camp crematorium. The purpose built concentration camps, including the ones with the capacity for the sporadic gassing of inmates and cremating their bodies steadily increased in usage, particularly when there was a greater need for slave labour in the armaments industry, clearing up after Allied bombing raids and with the Death Marches bringing prisoners into Germany away from the liberating Soviet forces. This is not to say that the civilians did not know about these smaller camps for they were often in their own villages or within a radius where they might have had sensory knowledge; that is, they might have seen, heard, smelled or even visited the camp themselves with no mediation by way of hearsay, for example.

In a similar vein, the 'total' (Goffman, 1991) nature of the camps was called into question during the research. It was noted in the archival data that the civilians often reported having seen the inmates whilst they were marching between the camp and their place of slave labour, or on the Death

Marches. Certainly they were total in that there was no real freedom within the camps for they controlled every aspect of the inmates' lives, but the physical boundaries were, to a degree, porous in that many inmates regularly left the camp (albeit under heavy armed guard).

The earlier purpose built camps which would fit the image given by the likes of Sofsky and Goffman are few and far between. Moreover, those earlier camps which would fit the description, such as Dachau, developed over time. It was formerly a munitions factory, mothballed after the First World War but it was only in 1937 and 1938 that the camp as one sees in photographs or might see during a visit was constructed. This is not to say that what took place within the confines of the camp even at these early stages was not brutal. Indeed, by May 1933, twelve prisoners had already died under torture or had been driven to suicide (Distel, 2012). Moreover, these earlier camps befitting of the descriptions by Goffman and Sofsky became large and important camps within the system. Dachau, Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald, for example, had numerous sub camps. The explosion in the number of these camps which fit the Sofsky and Goffman's imagery did not appear until the very end of the war. Until this point, many camps were 'hidden' in pre-existing buildings. Even to locate them now is difficult and requires some prior knowledge of where they were and what one is looking for. In re-examining photographs of Bleicherode, Günzerode and Ellrich-Bürgergarten, most noticeably absent are the barbed wire fences and watch towers. Despite these not being in place, prisoners were under heavy guard and escape remained near impossible. Any escape attempts would still have been thwarted by inmates' appearance and demeanour, and the threat against civilians for harbouring escapees. Bleicherode, for example, looked seemingly innocuous from the outside. To visit this former concentration camp it was surprising to find people taking a salsa class there. The existence of the prisoners therein may have been subject to 'total' control of the institution, but externally it could have been any other building. So too, the camp at was difficult to find and only possible because of a small plaque denoting its existence during the Nazi era. Today, it has returned to its original purpose of a barn in a very rural and remote part of Germany.

Particularly when examining Graph 3, the descriptions of Goffman (1991) and Sofsky (1999) are seen to become of more relevance. This owes to the use of the 'umbrella' term of 'total institution'. Rather than analysing for the camps as their own separate entity, they were included with prisons, asylums and military buildings to group them by architecture. Under Goffman's analysis, concentration camps were 'total institutions' by way of their architecture (and the total control they had on the lives of the inmates). Earlier in the research, the architectures of the camps had been broken down into more specific categories where 'total institution' had been applied only to camps which were placed in pre-existing total institutions. When the data was adjusted to group the camps

with the total institutions, the number of camps which fell into the category of total institution by way of architecture climbed dramatically. Similarly, in Graphs 4 and 5, when the data was regrouped to show the number of purpose built and use of pre-existing buildings, a slightly different picture emerged. In Graph 4 with the proportion of camps moving gradually to more purpose built camps, and in Graph 5 showing the moderately equal split, this would suggest that the descriptions by Goffman and Sofsky are accurate.

The descriptions of Sofksy and Goffman are useful insofar as the main concentration camps. One could see many remnants of their features at Mittelbau Dora, Neuengamme, Dachau, Auschwitz or others. Thus I would describe these camps primarily fitting within the descriptions they offer in that so many were placed in pre-existing total institutions such as prisons. Nevertheless, their descriptions are not applicable to all concentration camps, particularly the smaller sub camps. These camps could look like the house next door, the school, the farm, the hotel or the factory. Too many were not out of place in German civilian life. It was the literal concentration of prisoners in appalling conditions, and the appalling treatment of them which made these buildings concentration camps and not necessarily their architecture. These smaller camps were widespread and all too often on the doorsteps of civilians. Moreover they collectively brought about the death of millions and an important part of the concentration camp system, thus they should not be confined to the footnotes of history. These smaller sub camps were, however, the proverbial 'wolves in sheep's clothing'. In future scholarship on the concentration camps and, perhaps, in wider Holocaust education of young people, it would, therefore, be prudent to take into consideration the differences in architecture and how these were perceived by the civilians to draw further attention to the need to think critically of the world around us.

Further drawing attention to smaller camps such as Bleicherode and Günzerode, for example, which did not fit the descriptions of Sofsky and Goffman, the challenge to these descriptions provides the opportunity to consider how such camps might contribute to thoughtlessness. Cohen (2001) argued that one form of distancing is that of 'virtual blindness' in that people *claim* to have seen nothing. If a camp did not look like a camp but rather outwardly looked more like the local inn or farm, this would help civilians not to 'see' the camp on their doorsteps. Cohen also noted how the use of language and euphemisms are imperative in psychological denial and in so doing notes Arendt's 'language rules' (Cohen, 2001: 80). I apply this same concept of a euphemism as employed linguistically, to that employed physically. A building might have the facade of normality and something benign, but inside the reality is far darker. Darkness has arrived when the public voice neither speaks out nor questions their oppressors. The truth is degraded to a 'meaningless triviality'

and swept under the carpet 'under the pretext of upholding old truths' (Arendt, 1979:, ix). By locating camps in outwardly seemingly innocuous buildings, civilians were able *not to think* too deeply about the true realities therein. Instead, they could 'reason' away the camps as still being the buildings they once were.

The Sequestration of Violence and Death

Operation Reinhard camps- the missing data

Attention must first be paid to the 'missing' data from the sample; that is the Operation Reinhard camps – Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec. These were important camps within the system as, located on the Eastern border of Poland, their primary purpose was for mass extermination in the gas chambers, where only limited numbers of prisoners were held for *Sonderkommondo* and for sorting the belongings of the murdered. Elias (2000) takes great pains to establish the peculiarities of German culture and attitudes to violence but the reason for the distance of these horrendous camps so far from German soil (even far beyond the *General Gouvernment* in the annexed area of Poland originally intended for populating by German civilians (Rees, 2005)) is explicable as an extreme form of sequestration.

Certainly, the large Jewish population in the East and the logistics of transporting millions of people into Germany only to murder them played a role. But why then were gassings of Jews in Germany so infrequent, as evidenced in Portfolio 2 and Graph 8? So too, the mass shootings of the Einsatzgruppen and ghettoization took place only in the East. In The Germans , for example, they highlighted the 'fragility of the conscience' prohibiting killing and that it was the two world wars in which the 'sensitivity' to killing, the dying and death 'clearly evaporated quite quickly in the majority of people' (1996: 51). He further argues that the camps were an instrument of concentration of real or imagined enemies away from their ability to resist, a means of terror against the wider population but, not unlike Cohen's (2001) analysis, easily pushed to the back of the minds of those who would witness them. This statement remains empirically unqualified in his work. So too, he makes only brief reference to the camps in The Loneliness of the Dying (2001). The sequestration of behaviours deemed more unacceptable across time, so carefully detailed and discussed in The Civilising Process, was all but ignored in his later work. That the majority of the genocide of European Jewry took place outside of Germany (considering the number of deaths at Auschwitz, the Operation Reinhard camps and at the hands of the Einsatzgruppen) is not discussed by Elias and yet public knowledge and understanding of the genocide taking place in their name is critical.

The civilising process can partially explain why the Operation Reinhard camps were located where they were. Firstly, we may recall how Elias (1996) called attention to the particular perceived Sonderweg of the German people. Not only culturally, with cultural heroes such as Goethe and Beethoven, but racially. Conceptions of white supremacy were nothing new in Europe and had been utilised since the 1700s as a rationale for slavery – to 'civilise' (used here in the normative capacity) the other. Under Hitler, Nazi 'race science' developed as a fusion of 'anthropology, eugenics and social thought' (Mosse, 1978: 77). The ideology of 'race' could be argued to be the epitome of what Foucault later referred to as 'bio-power' (2003). Foucault discussed the social issues of 'race' in his lectures at the Collège de France in 1975-1976, later published as Society Must be Defended (2003). In this, he argues race as a form of power and discusses the materialisation of 'bio-power'. By the end of the eighteenth century, populations was seen politically as a 'living mass' (Forti, 2006: 10; MacMaster, 2004: 49); a single, unified body. Responsibility was assumed for the health of this body including birth, illness, reproduction and death (Foucault, 2003: 244). This resulted in a 'medicine whose main function will now be public hygiene' (Foucault, 2003: 244). To benefit the preservation and healing of life, the state becomes able to stratify the population into subgroups or 'races' (Forti, 2006: 11-12). Nazi 'racial science' argued repeatedly for the health of the Volk (people). The German, Aryan 'body politic' could be infected by resident aliens from within and the body must, therefore, be cleansed of them (Macey, 2009: 201). Jews were labelled as metaphorical parasites, 'poisoning' their host (Otto,1934) and the Germans as a weakening and 'dying people' with a decreasing birth rate, awaiting take-over by a more dominant group (Groß, 1943). Individual Germans had the power to prevent this, they were 'something more' than themselves, 'a drop in the great bloodstream of your people' with a 'duty to pass on what you have received from your parents and ancestors' (Groß, 1943).

Secondly, for all Elias points to a feeling of *Sonderweg* and a warrior nation built from war, killing *en masse* unarmed 'enemies' at point-blank range is completely different to the 'glories' of the battlefield. Himmler's visceral reaction to witnessing an *Einsatzgruppen Aktion* was recalled by Obergruppenführer Von dem Bach-Zelewski who had participated in the mass shootings at the same time as Himmler had visited:

'All the time I observed Himmler, because I wanted to know his true face and hoped he would change his decisions by the harrowing experience. Himmler was extremely nervous, he stood still for a moment, his face was like pale cheese, his eyes wandered, at the moment of the volley he always looked to the ground.' (*Aufbau*, New York, 1946, Vol 12 No 34)

Himmler was, Von dem Bach-Zelewski continued, 'visibly moved'. He further commented that it was he who had lectured Himmler about the psychological damage these *Aktionen* were having on his soldiers. This potential for psychological damage to trained soldiers, as a result of this mass murder coupled with the perceived superiority of the German nation may provide one explanation for the dramatic sequestration of both the *Einsatzgruppen Aktionen* and the Operation Reinhard camps outside of Germany.

Mass murder in Germany

A differentiation must take place between immediate murder and prolonged murder. Immediate murder is taken to mean killings which took place in the gas chambers, by being shot or hung, or by beatings, for example. Prolonged murder is taken to mean that which was brought about by imprisonment in the camps themselves and the conditions therein, including starvation and disease.

Gassings did take place in Germany (particularly with the T4 Aktionen) but were limited in their use within concentration camps. Neuengamme, for example, attempted only a handful of gassings at the site‡. Cremations, however, were not unusual in Germany given the number of deaths which took place within the concentration camps therein, however it was generally centralised at one of the main camps as evidenced in Portfolio 2 and Graph 8. Subsidiary camps of Mittelbau Dora, for example, quickly caused innumerable deaths, but the sick and dead were returned to the main camp (or to nearby Buchenwald – another main camp) for cremation rather than in the subsidiariest. In many cases, subsidiary camps being located in pre-existing buildings such as farms did not possess the capabilities to cremate prisoners and with comparatively few prisoners accommodated there, installing crematoria was not practical. Death and the management of the deceased, therefore, became centralised in specific locations which were largely inaccessible to the prisoners, let alone civilians. Despite that civilians worked alongside Dora inmates in the tunnels at the entrance to the camp, the crematoria were situated towards the back of the camp. To keep such 'dirty business' as the industrial mass slaughter of millions away from these supposedly superior people would, therefore, fit. Germans might have been militant and seen themselves as warriors (although acknowledging that they were not always successful in such pursuits) but to taint them with such barbarity was not ideal. Himmler, for example, noted of the actions of the Einsatzgruppen that a cleaner, less 'barbaric' and psychologically taxing (for the perpetrators, at least) means of mass murder was necessary to preserve the moral purity of his men (Browning, 1995: 81). If the Police Battalion 101 of both Browning (2001) and Goldhagen's (1997) respective studies were 'ordinary' civilians and concern was raised as to their psychological and moral well-being, it follows that

concern would also have been raised for those civilians *not* recruited for direct action in the genocide.

We may further recall that one of Elias' key notes on the civilising process and death is that it has largely moved from the very public to the private sphere (2001) In the main he was speaking of peace-time attitudes to death but does briefly make mention of the concentration camps during the Holocaust in that they show 'the fragility of the conscience that prohibits killing and then insists on the isolation of dying and dead people' (2001: 51). Where death was once incredibly public and the dying would be surrounded by neighbours or even complete strangers, they are now taken to a dedicated institution such as a hospital or hospice for their final days. Such dedicated institutions are often 'total' in their architecture and regime (see Goffman, 2001). They keep such real or imagined contagions (such as death) hidden from sight. Cremation of human remains was, therefore, not just centralised and sequestrated in concentration camps but in *specific* concentration camps.

Even within the camps themselves, attempts to hide and disguise murders were made. In many cases, public and summary executions took place where other prisoners were forced to watch. In others, specific areas were used for torture and execution. The respective 'bunkers' of Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme, for example, were the dedicated spaces for such violence and these were sequestrated from the wider camp. In the Neuengamme bunker, experiments with gassing prisoners also took place‡. This is not to suggest that death was not ever present inside the concentration camps. Prisoners could be summarily executed on a whim or die from malnutrition, exhaustion or disease where they stood. The mystery of death was eroded to a nub but elements of secrecy and mystery remained. Moreover, as was discovered in the original pilot study, in Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme concentration camps, it was the prisoners themselves who overwhelmingly were responsible (under pain of death) to cremate the bodies of the deceased (Burns, 2010). The Sonderkommando would shave the heads of the corpses and remove any valuables hidden inside the orifices, including gold teeth, before burning the corpses in the crematoria ovens^{†‡} (see also Venezia, 2009: 72). This would suggest that the treatment of the dead was largely the role of a specialist 'social' group who were also murdered and replaced regularly, lest they reveal the secrets of their slave labour.

Examining the Graph 8 and Portfolio 2 in light of the theories of Elias (1996, 2000, 2001), Bauman (2009), and De Swaan (2001; 2015), it is evident that there was sequestration of death at the concentration camps. This sequestration was not total as inmates died on the Death Marches, or whilst working as slave labour outside of the camp, but the disposal of human remains was predominantly located in separate spaces. The majority of actions related to death (direct murder

and disposal of bodies) was sequestrated once by way of taking place within the designated spaces of the concentration camps, and sequestrated a second time by way of further physical barriers between the crematoria or camp bunker, for example, and the rest of the camp. Arguably, a third round of sequestration took place by way of the *Sonderkommando* cremating the bodies of the deceased. This supports Bauman's argument that social roles within hierarchies form in a 'division of labour' to implement particular duties (2009: 98-99). Within this context, Bauman argues that the reality of the Holocaust became little more than a word; *Sonderbehandlung*, and was truly sequestrated from the minds of those in the higher ranks of the Nazi bureaucracy (2009: 99) because the most psychologically challenging aspects of death, particularly the disposal of human remains, was conducted by the lowest 'rank' of all – the prisoners, themselves for the day-to-day running of the camp could continue as normal and the guards could try to ignore the realities of the crematoria.

Maintaining the focus on Graph 8 and Portfolio 2, these results must be examined in light of the civilising process. We would expect to find such a sequestration of experience as presented in the data in a 'civilised' world as with society progressing through the civilising process, death has become becomes associated with feelings of repugnance and shame. Thus, they have been pushed 'behind the scenes' of social life. However, the extent of the deaths is challenging to his theory, particularly given it was deliberately caused by the Nazis. The outbreaks of violence, whether direct such as outright murder by way of beatings or shootings, or indirect by way of starvation or appalling conditions which would bring about premature death were far beyond anything Germany had known on German soil. Thus we have simultaneous indications of the civilising process and a decivilising spurt. Elias argued that the civilising process and decivilising process can exist simultaneously in the same society however it is De Swaan's argument of compartmentalisation which may be of use in explaining the results. Compartmentalisation, De Swaan argued, is the 'social arrangement and the psychic defence mechanism par excellence in a dyscivilising society' (2015: 270). Such compartmentalisation is ubiquitous in society with 'spatial isolation and social exclusion' (2001: 271). The camps compartmentalised the majority of the violence and death, and thus the majority of the worst of the decivilised behaviours and actions. Meanwhile, the rest of German society could continue in their usual, 'civilised' way of life. Moreover, there was double compartmentalisation by way of sequestrated crematoria and designated locations for murder within the already sequestrated camps.

Sequestration and the outward appearance of the camps

Here the photographs shown earlier in the chapter of particular interest. Cohen (2001) referred to 'denial' but his concept is applied to a psychological sequestration or distancing from the camps. Faced with horrific realities, distancing ourselves, whether physically or psychologically, from the repercussions of our actions 'achieves more than the suspension of moral inhibition; it quashes the moral significance of the act and thereby pre-empts all conflict between personal standard of moral decency and immorality of the social consequences of the act' (Bauman, 2009: 25). As we can see in the photographs of many of the sub camps, particularly those under the administration of Mittelbau Dora, their outward appearance was surprisingly normal. They were not out of place with the other buildings of the era in their vicinity, to the extent that it was often difficult to locate them. Gross-Werther, for example was located in a former inn, and Gunzerode was located in a barn. It is one thing to see a camp, but as Cohen (2001: 149) notes, how what was seen was interpreted is key. A significant proportion were not the outwardly terrifying buildings that images of Auschwitz-Birkenau evoke. They were benign-looking buildings which had existed for decades, if not centuries before. Moreover, it should also be remembered that a large number of prisons were utilised as 'protective custody' camps, an early incarnation of the concentration camp, to house criminals and those now perceived of criminality under the new Nazi rule. The impact of the label of criminality will be discussed further in the next chapter. Such normality of outward presentation contributed to the psychological sequestration because it literally 'covered up' the realities. Any ambiguity can lead to misinterpretation and cognitive errors in understanding. Cohen used the examples of the murder of Kitty Genovese being mistaken for a lovers' quarrel or Jamie Bulger being lead to his death by two young boys. A child walking in a group with others may have appeared perfectly normal to the other pedestrians in their interpretation of events. Moreover, humans are prone to lying to themselves to make situations easier. Just as we consciously or unconsciously try to ignore the inevitability of death by hiding it behind the scenes of everyday life we lie to ourselves by way of interpretation. A degree of ambiguity makes developing a new interpretation and thus the lie significantly easier. Thus the outward appearance of the camps was a form of psychological sequestration. This does not apply to all the camps for, as we see in Graphs 2, 4 and 5, and Portfolio 1, a significant number of camps were purposely built with starkly different architecture from the surrounding buildings. However, it may apply to the significant proportion which were within pre-existing buildings.

Time and changes in sequestration

In the portfolios, Graphs 1-6 and Graph 8, there is a clear change in the sequestration of violence and death over time. In Portfolio 1, we see a dramatic rise in the number of camps and a dramatic change in their architecture from the use of pre-existing buildings to an increased use of purposely built camps. In Portfolio 2, we see an increasing use of crematoria and the use of mass burials within concentration camps to dispose of the bodies of the deceased. Graph 1 is also particularly noteworthy in that we see a marked increase in the number of civilians with direct, first hand sensory knowledge of the concentration camps. The increasing numbers of civilians with direct sensory knowledge grew from 2.5% in 1941, to 22% by the end of 1943, and to over 30% by January 1945. These percentages directly correlate with the number of camps and facilities for the disposal of corpses as seen in Graph 2. Graph 2, as with Portfolio 1 shows a marked increase in the number of camps, but also the increasing use of purpose built camps. Graph 3 is particularly interesting in that it highlights the slight fluctuations in the proportion of camps which adhered to the architectural style of a 'total institution' (Goffman, 1991) as described above. It is interesting that the fluctuations are so slight for a degree of sequestration appears to have been proportionally maintained in this respect. Graphs 4 and 5 explicate on Graph 2 further, however, as it becomes evident how dramatic the rise in the number of purpose built camps was, as a proportion of the total camps.

These changes are explicable using Eliasian theory and a composite of theories by Arendt. Within the civilising process (or a breakdown in the process) is the concept of time (Elias, 2000). Similarly, the change from a totalitarian movement to a totalitarian regime takes time (Arendt, 1979). Before a complete reversal (if this should happen), the process must first slow. Progressive changes in direction are possible, but these require both the space and time needed for them to enact. Moreover, the changes should also be considered in light of the historical events taking place simultaneously to the development of the concentration camp system. The timelines and graphs are, therefore, discussed in three sections: the 'early' period between 1933 and 1938, the 'middle' period between 1939 and 1942, and the late period between 1943 and 1945, referring back to the indicative timeline of historical events presented earlier.

Gellately (2001) noted the surprising public nature of the early camps where the towns near Dachau and Flossenburg, for example welcomed the respective camp, feeling they would bring them increased trade, tourism and prestige for their important role in the new Nazi Germany. The change in publicity of the camps was noted by Gellately to relate to the Munich Olympics of 1936 and the wider world looking closely at Germany as the new Fascist state. Moreover, a media blackout began to emerge as the nature of the camps changed to one of increasing terror and outright murder. In

this early period, Nazism was still a movement. It had not yet achieved the status of a full regime and was still cementing its power and control over the state.

In the middle phase of the Nazi era, many of the early camps were closed and the population consolidated in new, purpose built camps. These camps later formed the backbone of the concentration camp system, such as Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen. They were vast in landscape and in rural areas which allowed not only for expansion but a higher degree of secrecy. They were, however, within easy enough reach of the cities from which many inmates would come. This period of the camps also sees a greater focus on Jewish inmates. Whereas the early camps housed Communists and other political prisoners, as the Nuremburg Laws took full effect and the anti-Semitism within the Nazi party increased, so too did the Jewish populations of the camps. In so doing, the nature of the camps begins to change from one of extremely violent prison to the extremely murderous concentration camp. By 1942, however, a debate between Albert Speer and Himmler took place as the best way to 'deal with' the Jewish population of the camps and therefore Germany. Himmler wanted the camps to be Judenfrei as soon as possible, and therefore sought to remove all Jews to Poland, for the Final Solution was utmost in his mind. Speer, conversely, argued later that he intended to keep Jews in Germany to be used as forced labour for the war effort. Himmler won the debate and the existing concentration camps in Germany were largely filled with political prisoners, prisoners of war and Polish forced labour. The majority of the Jews were transferred to the camps in the East and liquidated there. The genocide of the Jews, therefore, was largely happening outside Germany proper. The late period sees the zenith of the Nazi regime, the number of concentration camps and civilian population with direct sensory knowledge. It was at this juncture that the threat to Nazi rule was closing in on the State from the Eastern and Western fronts. In late 1944 and 1945, Operation Reinhard camps in the East had long since been evacuated and destroyed - in no small part owing to the uprisings of prisoners there. An even more critical issue, however, was the movement of the Soviets into Poland and approaching Germany. Himmler had already called for an end to the mass murder and a slight improvement in the camps, hoping that the survivors could be traded for his own liberation at the end of the war. Soviets, however, had reached the Auschwitz complex by January 27th 1945, for example, and while they liberated mostly the most sick and close to death, other prisoners deemed capable of the death marches had been evacuated from the camps and back into Germany. This enormous explosion in the number of prisoners within Germany presented a problem of where to hold them. Overcrowding was an omnipresent problem of the camps and conditions were abysmal from the start, but conditions became unimaginably worse with the influx. Moreover, one last-ditch attempt was made in the war effort. Entire cities were razed by the Allies and clean-up crews and bomb-disposal was necessary,

and concentration camp inmates being seen as superfluous were utilised in this dangerous task. 'Camps' were, therefore, established in cities to accommodate this workforce and more civilians would have been theoretically aware of their presence. It should be noted, however, that these final stages of the war were increasingly dangerous for civilians, too. Bombing raids, malnutrition, and the approaching threat of the Soviets amongst many others may have rendered civilians oblivious to others' sufferings.

In this respect, we see evidence of Arendt's assertion (1979) that the power of the state increased over time from a movement to a regime and its power became near-total. The camps represented a form of terror against the local populations and, as we shall find in the following chapter, there was an ever-present risk of being sent to a camp for infractions against the Fascist state. Moreover, they represented terror against the persecuted groups therein as the power of the Nazi state overwhelmed nearby countries and increased numbers of victims. The camps are also indicative of the 'darkness' which accompanies totalitarian regimes. Darkness was the extinguishing of speaking out and questioning, and the 'sweeping under the carpet' of realities. Truth becomes a 'meaningless triviality' (1970:ix). This is, again related to the terror the camps could inflict on the local population but also on their capacity to speak out. In 1941, it was still possible to speak out. The T4 programme was, for example, widely publicly condemned and temporarily halted. By 1944 and 1945, would or could a person necessarily speak out without ultimately ending up in a concentration camp crematoria? Darkness rarely comes instantly. It is less of a switching off of the lights and more of a gradual turning of the dimmer switch. Eyes adjust to the steady change and what was once unthinkable can easily become 'normal'. We can easily adapt to one restriction after another, particularly when we are presented with effective and affective rationales for doing so. We may value our civil liberties, for example, but gradual erosion may one day leave us prisoners. Thus the increasing number of camps reflects the growing erosion of civil liberties and capacity to speak out against the regime.

The increasing number of camps can also be explained as the incarnation of evil. As the darkness drew in ever closer and the potential for speaking out and illuminating the darkness more difficult, so too did the number of camps increase, and their architecture develop into the menacing imagery we envisage today. Arendt initially used the term 'radical evil' and referred to the phenomena as a 'root' (1979). She later changed her analogy to one of a fungus (1978) for roots penetrate deep into the earth whereas fungi lack the depth. The analogy with darkness stands if we use the metaphor of fungi in terms of the concentration camps. Both fungi and the concentration camp system can/could only grow in the darkest of conditions. When public feeling towards the T4 *Aktion* took place,

speaking out was still possible. By the time of the Wannsee Conference in 1942, this was not the case. In the absolute darkness of the final months of the Nazi era and total war, the explosion in the number of camps was possible. Speaking negatively in any respect of the Nazi regime, cowardice or disloyalty to the Fatherland could result in a person being hanged publically as a warning to others.

The change in the number of camps and the number of civilians with direct sensory knowledge can also be examined in light of the civilising process and the breakdown of this process. The Holocaust was, undoubtedly, an horrendous era of history but was it a 'breakdown' in the civilising process? Examining each of the graphs, it would certainly appear that the process stalled for violence and death increased on such a dramatic scale. Moreover, considering the number of individuals with sensory knowledge of the camps, violence became increasingly public. It is interesting to note that even at the peak of the number of camps in Germany and the number of civilians in the vicinity, the percentage of the population could be argued to be moderately low at only 30%. This is not to say that the wider German civilian population were not aware of the concentration camps, particularly considering their earlier publicity. Particularly in north and east Germany as the death marches brought prisoners across into the country, countless more civilians would have been aware of the terrible conditions of the inmates. Instead this figure would suggest that 70% of German civilians could potentially have deluded themselves as to the realities of what was happening *inside* the camps, even at the greatest peak.

The dramatic increase in number of camps (Graph 2) and number of civilians with direct sensory knowledge (Graph 1) is further explicable with Eliasian thinking in that he likened Germany at the end of the war to a wild animal. When cornered, the animal will fight back all the harder. 'Encircled by enemies and driven into a corner...' Nazi Germany was in the death throes yet this '[awakened] the conviction that only absolute ruthlessness [could] save their fading power and glory' (Elias, 1996: 369). Old truths of maintaining an air of civility faded in the desperation of the final months of the war and thus they continued to fight the greatest perceived 'problem' until the very end – however publically and however violently. War was, for Elias, a grave threat to the civilising process and our behaviours. With so many tensions already in play as to how one should behave, war in its inexorable ability to turn the world upside-down and inside-out only adds to these tensions and puts strain on the process. It should, therefore, be noted that the escalation in violence, number of camps in Germany and number of victims began its dramatic incline with the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland, and further at the outbreak of the war and its impact on the process. Moreover, the most radical changes in the number of camps and corresponding civilian population with sensory knowledge increased with the Allied bombing of large cities such as Hamburg, Berlin and Dresden.

It is noteworthy, however, that the number of camps and the number of civilians with sensory knowledge increased, and thus the distance between civilians and victims decreased over the process of the war. Graph 6 should be discounted from the discussion for the different capacities for the disposal of human remains skewed the results to an unusable extent. From the small handful of camps at the beginning of the Nazi era which were *publicised* in the media, the camp system evolved to be in every region of Germany, thus distancing broke down. Bauman's arguments for distancing largely focused on the bureaucratic nature of the distanciation whereby the majority of those directly (or indirectly) involved in the genocide were little more than bureaucrats and were, therefore, afforded the 'moral sleeping pill' of such a distance (2009: 26). Bauman (2009) drew on Milgram (2013) to argue that increased distance increased the propensity for violence or to allow violence to happen. This relates to the data in that, as discussed in light of Arendt, the number of camps developed over time. Had the number of the camps been the same at the beginning of the Nazi era as at the end, one might question whether the population of Germany would have spoken out. Thus the distancing of these early camps helped to create an environment for the camp system to develop, for they were 'over there' and not 'over here' to impact on so many civilians.

In Eliasian thinking, we see both attempts at maintaining the process and the breakdown of the process. The breakdown exists as to the outburst of violence enacted against victimised groups as evidenced by the very existence of the concentration camps, but attempts at maintaining the process are evidenced in the data in that the majority of the violence was conducted within these sequestrated locations. Thus again we see the 'Janus-face' of the civilising process (1996:175) and compartmentalisation of a dyscivilising process as advocated by De Swaan (2001; 2015)

Concluding Remarks

It is easy to judge the Nazi era through a twenty-first century lens, where information about global affairs is readily available at our fingertips. Even that which is intended to remain secret is more easily, readily and anonymously 'leaked'. Whether knowledge of the atrocities at Abu Graibh, Guantanamo Bay, or under ISIS, for example, would be as publicly available without new media including the internet and social media is difficult to ascertain. Moreover, even without the new media generated in the later twentieth and early twenty-first century, media blackouts of realities under a totalitarian state are not uncommon. Even the Allies found evidence and testimony of Auschwitz difficult to believe when they first encountered escapees.

It is clear that particularly in the earliest incarnations of the concentration camp system in Germany, the camps were few in number but highly publicised. At that time, however, they were not part of an organised and systemic killing machine. They were sequestrated in so much as so few of the population had any direct sensory knowledge of them. As the Nazi era progressed and the movement turned into a regime, and with total war, the number of camps increased dramatically. This reflects both the need for slave labour for the armaments industry but also less of a need for sequestration as the implications for defiance became more visceral. Nevertheless, while the number of camps increased, the balance between the purpose built camps and those in previously used buildings began to change. Those camps in more rural areas reflect the purpose built architecture whereas those, even in the bombed out cities, were within previously used buildings and were, therefore, more easily disguised.

The number of camps and the number of people with direct sensory knowledge of the camps reflects the change from a movement to a regime and descent into the darkness of a full totalitarianism. The explosion in the number of camps at the darkest point of the totalitarian regime, that immediately before capitulation when the regime was at its most desperate, is an expression of the radical evil espoused by Arendt (Arendt, 1979). These camps, like the fungi she equated radical evil to, cultivated most rapidly in the greatest darkness. As the darkness progressed, so too did the number of camps.

Most critically, we see clear compartmentalisation of the concentration camps and the actions which took place therein. Life could continue relatively normally for the wider German civilian population, particularly in the earliest period of the Nazi era. The camps were few in number and the country was not at total war. Even within the camps, further compartmentalisation took place whereby acts of direct murder could be further hidden in specialised locales.

Recalling the work of De Swaan (2001; 2015) and his argument for a dyscivilising process and compartmentalisation, the graphs and portfolios appear to support his argument. *Einsatzgruppen Aktionen* of the mass shooting and burial of Jewish victims were taking place in the east in the early 1940s but the graphs depict an increasing degree of compartmentalisation of the violence into specialised locales. In the late period, this may, however, be a result of the need for slave labour within the camps and the increasing number of prisoners from the Death Marches from the east. In the early and middle period of the graphs and timelines, however, we see a compartmentalisation of violence which was otherwise enacted on the streets of Germany such as in the November Pogrom of 1938.

<u>CHAPTER 5 – Qualitative, archival</u> <u>data results</u>

In this chapter, the qualitative, in-depth interviews, correspondence and documents pertaining to the local civilians in the Nordhausen region will be examined in light of the literature previously mentioned. This data was collected from the Mittelbau Dora archive. Where Elias (1996) argued that the Germans had a greater propensity for violence owing to their late state-formation, he does not mention the degree to which Germans were still empathetic towards human suffering. This is explored here through the empathy (Smith, 2002) and sympathy (Darwall 1998) reported in the testimonies. In the first instance, therefore, it must be ascertained that the respondents acknowledged the humanity and felt fellow-feeling towards those in the concentration camps. In the second instance, it must be ascertained that the respondents had negative feelings about the brutalities which were taking place at Mittelbau Dora and the sub camps. In the third instance, it must be ascertained that there was a degree of empathy between the respondents and the camp inmates – that they were able to put themselves in the position of the inmates and see themselves through their eyes. It will, therefore, be shown that the close proximity of those who worked alongside the inmates of the Mittelbau Dora retained a greater sense of identification with the inmates. Where in the previous chapter it was discussed that the physical and psychological sequestration of the concentration camps promoted thoughtlessness, within this chapter it will be shown that the difference in sequestration caused a marked difference in thoughtlessness and the capacities for fellow-feeling (see Smith, 2002 and Darwall, 1998) and mutual identification (Elias, 2000). Where there was little physical and psychological sequestration, there was greater empathy and sympathy, thus greater mutual identification.

A brief history of Mittelbau Dora

Before commencing with the qualitative data, the unusual history of the Mittelbau Dora should be considered. The inception of Mittelbau Dora concentration camp began several hundred kilometres away on the Baltic island of Usedom. The Peenemünde Experimental Centre opened in May 1937 with a staff of more than three hundred and fifty workers. At odds with the Treaty of Versailles, the role of Peenemünde was to design, develop and test rocket artillery – namely the A4, also known as

the V2 – under the leadership of engineer and Nazi Party member, Werner von Braun (Neufeld, 1999: 55).

The V2 was a terrifying weapon for the Allies. So revolutionary was the technology and the weapon that it was a key predecessor to space travel, and its chief engineer would later go on to work for NASA. It needed to have seventeen times the engine power of any other contemporary rocket, fly at five times the speed of sound, and hit targets 300km away (Neufeld, 1999: 73). As well as covering great distances, the V2 was also capable of extreme levels of damage, particularly to the cities of Antwerp and London. Little wonder then that the Allied forces wanted to disrupt production as much as possible.

In the early hours of 18th August 1943, it became undoubtedly clear that the Allies knew about Peenemünde. 'Operation Hydra', a targeted bombing raid of the plant, was only partially successful in the damage caused but indicated a need to move production of the weapons underground where Allied bombing could not affect them. The location chosen was in an unused gypsum mine under the Kohnstein Mountain outside the town of Nordhausen. Since 1936, the mine had been expanded to two large tunnels intersected by smaller tunnels, by the *Wirtschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft* (Economic Research Society) abbreviated to 'WIFO' to store oil and chemical weapons (Wagner, 2011). Initially, the camp was known as 'Dora' and was a sub camp of the infamous camp of Buchenwald; a little over an hour's drive away (Dittrich, 2010).

The demographics of the concentration camp varied throughout the camp's existence. The camp was predominantly male, save a handful of female prisoners in the camp brothel and, during the evacuations from the East, female prisoners located in Mittelbau Dora sub camps†. Many of the prisoners were political prisoners from across Nazi-occupied Europe, amongst them several thousand Jews. Many of these Jewish prisoners wore both a red triangle denoting their status as a political prisoner underneath a yellow triangle denoting them as a Jew, thus creating a Star of David on their uniforms. Hungarian Jews were deported to the camp via Auschwitz and Buchenwald in increasing numbers and there were also Roma and Sinti prisoners and homosexuals (Wagner, 2011).

Initially, inmates lived in tents at the entrance to Tunnel B but quickly they were moved into the tunnels and slept on straw or the bare stone (Neufeld, 2009). Wooden bunks were concurrently constructed in the so-called 'sleeping tunnels' (Wagner, 2011). Their primary task was to complete the tunnels and convert them into a V2 production works. Many of the inmates did not see daylight for months on end and worked in twelve-hour shifts to find limited respite as they ate and slept underground. Conditions were disastrous with many contracting upper-respiratory diseases as a

result of the dust and gases from the tunnelling process. So too, the hygiene facilities resulted in an inordinate number of fatalities from diseases such as dysentery. Toilet facilities (if one could access them) were merely empty petrol barrels (Wagner, 2011). In the more clement months of 1944, the barracks camp was constructed next to the tunnel entrances, and inmates were housed there. Conditions remained appalling, however, with disease, starvation, exhaustion and direct, immediate violence by the SS or the Kapos resulting in huge numbers of fatalities. The number of fatalities at Dora and of the sub camps that a crematorium was constructed at the rear of the main camp, adjacent to the 'hospital' blocks, and the dedicated camp of Boelcke-Kasern was established to put prisoners until they died – with no food or medical attention. It was only in October 1944 that the camp became a 'main' camp in its own right, and not a sub camp of Buchenwald. By this time, numerous sub camps of Dora had been established (Neufeld, 2009).

The already catastrophic conditions were worsened in February 1945 with the sudden and massive influx of inmates from Auschwitz and other camps further east, peaking at 21,000 inmates. With so many prisoners already dead when they arrived, the crematoria could no longer cope and mass burnings took place (Neufeld, 2009). Some sub camps were created for a short time to cope with the increasing number of prisoners, but these were limited in number. Most sub camps, particularly the larger ones of Ellrich-Juliushutte, Harzungen and Rottelberode were built and used for slave labour for the Junkers and armaments industries (Wagner, 2009). The camp of Mittelbau Dora, although only in existence for a comparatively short space of time, became a major influence in the lives of the civilians of the Harz mountains as the sub camps peppered the landscape. The towns and villages, Wagner argues, 'formed islands of civilian life in a dense landscape of concentration camps' (2009: 974). Three thousand German civilians worked alongside the five thousand inmates in the Mittelwerks alone (Wagner, 2011)

In March 1945, the Death March into northern Germany from Mittelbau Dora took place. The route took the remaining prisoners through the Harz mountains to the already horrendously overcrowded Bergen Belsen and then on to Neuengamme. On April 11th, 1945, the camps of Mittelbau Dora and Boelcke-Kaserne were discovered and liberated by the US Army. As well as assisting the living and burying the dead, the army was particularly concerned with recovering as much of the V2 engineering as possible. Allegiances between the United States and the Soviets were under strain and the technology was of critical importance in what would later become the Cold War. A conservative estimate of 20,000 people died at Mittlebau-Dora, including those on the Death March but not including those who died during the transportations from the East to the camp (Neufeld, 2009).

The history of the camp whilst in operation is unusual in its inception as a main camp so late, in 1943. The history after liberation, however, is equally important to consider. After the liberation of the main camp and sub camps, the area in which the camps stood fell to the Soviets. The camp was dismantled, save for the crematoria, and the barracks repurposed in the town of Nordhausen as emergency accommodation for the civilians living there. The demarcation of land between the Federal Republic of Germany (West) and German Democratic Republic (East) had an indelible impact on the sites of the camps, both physically and in memory. The camp of Ellrich-Julliushutte, as Wager (n.d.) notes, was bisected by the demarcation line. That which fell under GDR control was levelled and that which fell under FRG was repopulated by civilians but later neglected and shut down.

As a memorial to the victims of the camp, it was largely through efforts of former inmates that memorial stones were erected. In 1960 the GDR erected a permanent memorial – fifteen years after the inception of the new state and the fall of fascism. This was interpreted by Demps (1988) as an effort for the memorial 'to serve the state doctrine of the GDR'. There was, Wagner (n.d.) argues, 'ritualised antifascism'

Moreover, it was noted by the strong influence the FRG had on the region's citizens, not least because so many escaped, despite extensive restrictions on the media etc (Wagner, n.d.). When one tours the Stadt Museum in Nordhausen even twenty-five years after German reunification, one can sense the profound dissatisfaction in the history of the region during the GDR period. The stark differences in lifestyles and products available to citizens, for example, was presented in a dedicated exhibition as to life in the GDR. In conversation with the hoteliers during fieldwork, we began discussing life in the GDR. The GDR had been very unpopular and the impression given was of bitterness that the border was so close but they had fallen just within the confines of the GDR. Moreover, when the border finally fell, the residents of the Harz region climbed the Brocken mountain, which had formerly been immediately on the border, to celebrate unification and the ability to climb their prized mountain once more.

Examples of civilian testimonies

Presented here are some of the civilian testimonies located within the Mittelbau Dora archives. These testimonies were selected for their detail and breadth of experience and attitude of those living in the vicinity of the main camp and the sub camps and thus to provide a representative sample of the data available. The testimonies were originally in German but in the course of their

translation, native German speakers were asked to clarify particular points to ensure the subtle nuances of the text were understood and translated accurately.

Kurt Moog (P3 BD47)

Kurt Moog is an interesting example of the difficulty in ascribing the label of 'bystander'. Originally living in Frankfurt, he had been privately schooled and had a home tutor.

Herr Moog was very interested in politics. In 1930, he went to Volkspartei meeting, simply to listen to what was being said. He established relationships not with 'Jews' but with 'people' and never considered himself an anti-Semite. He was interned in Osthofen in 1933 for his political dissidence. A decade earlier he had joined the Young German Order. As an outspoken member, he was imprisoned, and subject and witness to mistreatment in so-called 'protective custody' early in the regime. He notes, however, that despite his own sufferings and those of his friends, 'you cannot compare with the concentration camps of the later period'.

Released later that year, he went on to work for military contractors to avoid the army. Aspirations of becoming an engineer in the aviation industry had to be put aside. In so doing, had sensory knowledge of several camps including Mauthausen and Mittelbau Dora as he worked alongside concentration camp inmates. His dissidence was much quieter upon his release but he and his parents remained vehemently opposed to the Nazi rule. 'They knew my attitude,' he said 'they had a similar attitude. They knew that I would not back down'. Indeed, his parents maintained a friendship with local Jews in Frankfurt which, he argued was 'not much more dangerous' for in 1933 and 1934 it was still early in the Nazi regime.

In 1941, Herr Moog worked alongside Mauthausen sub camp prisoners in Vöcklerbruck in Austria. He describes working alongside them as like working alongside 'normal men' who were well fed. He credits himself along with others (using the word 'we') for changing the catering of the prisoners. Moreover, he notes that in his time working there, there were only seven deaths which he argued corresponded with that of the general population. It should, however, be noted that gas-vans were used at this camp (Dürr and Lechner, 2012).

Herr Moog noted that he was 'not popular with National Socialists' but nevertheless was in direct communication with the designer of the A4/V2 weapon, Werhner von Braun and chief Nazi economist, Albert Speer as a result of his position at the camp. He was repeatedly told by Werhner von Braun that the SS did not want him there. Despite his unpopularity, upon beginning work at the

underground Nordhausen plant in March 1944, he was called into a meeting with several important members of the Nazi party, including Albert Speer. Called upon to speak of any hindrances to the production of the V2 weapon, and having been at the site for only two days, he drew attention to the numbers of deaths in the camp in the month of February; 1,700 deaths of the 14,000 total prisoners who were living and working underground. Oberführer Förschner of the SS tried to discredit him, saying 'Herr Ministers, do not listen to this man, he is politically unreliable to the highest degree', recounting Herr Moog's political history. Speer, instead, allegedly listened to Herr Moog's concerns regarding the conditions inside the tunnels. This, he claims, impressed Speer, and significant changes were made to build barracks for the prisoners. In this respect, the movement to slightly more public accommodations was only to serve the war-effort and continue with intensive production of the V2 weapon. That this was 'sensible', Herr Moog describes as an exaggeration, but he did, nevertheless, as a civilian working alongside the prisoners at Mittelbau Dora have an extensive impact on the architecture of the camp. Conditions were still abominable for the inmates but they were no longer accommodated underground at the camp and subject to the ubiquitous dust they had been.

Elizabeth Aldhoven (P3BD82)

Frau Elizabeth Aldhoven (nee Seidel) recalled her devout Christian father's work at Peenemünde and Mittelbau Dora in a letter to the archives at the camp (P3 BD1). She and her family had lived near the Peenemünde site until it was bombed out in 1943. Her father later worked at the Dora camp alongside the prisoners. His perpetual giving of his bread and cigarette rations to the prisoners, born of his strong Christian ethics, were a constant worry to the family as they often nearly resorted to his being court-martialled. Indeed, he was quoted as saying 'If you want these people to work, you must first give them a pair of shoes on their feet and real food!' His alleged kindness to the prisoners, however, resulted in the prisoners helping him at the end of the war, telling him 'Master, take a factory bike and fuck off', to avoid the advancing American troops.

Adolf Kleinger (P3 BD42)

Herr Adolf Kleinger recalled a small sub camp nearby to Mittelbau Dora known as Wolfleben. He had previously worked on the V1 and in aircraft from 1934 but in the winter of 1944, in attempting to avoid conscription to the front, he and his friend Herr Winkelmann received special licenses to work there. Initially, 'we saw nothing but SS guards and when we went to the mountain I first saw the

convicts.' The Kapo, he asserted was also a convict who had previously been convicted of murder. This Kapo drove inmates 'mad' to work and Herr Kleinger witnessed their beatings if they could not. Herr Kleiger and Herr Winkelmann were fearful of being caught but claimed to have thrown bread to the inmates when asked.

Herr Kleinger is one of the few civilian witnesses to recall how the inmates lived. He was privy to the large halls, which he recalls at twenty meters in height and fifty meters in length in which the 'convicts' must sleep and never leave. He was also privy to the maltreatment of inmates, witnessing them leap onto a moving train, regardless of their health and capacity to do so, describing it as a 'misery'. Moreover, he recollects witnessing the execution of three prominent prisoners who had stolen an old drive belt from a piece of machinery to fashion into makeshift shoes. Their punishment for the theft was hanging — witnessed by the inmates and the civilian workers.

Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41)

Herr Wilkers offers an unusual recount of his time at the camp. Under the labour division, he was mandated to go to Nordhausen to work as an engineer on the V2 rockets. His partner, Marga, actively chose to follow him there, not because of any outstanding anti-Semitism or virulent Nazism but to follow him.

While working at the camp, Herr Wilkers was able to speak to prisoners and develop bonds with them in his office. His initial response to the prisoners was a dramatic one. He was shocked by the appearance of two Czech prisoners, the conditions he found them in, and that he would have to work alongside these prisoners that he ordered them to leave at once. "Get out!" I shout with roll in my voice, "out with you! I don't want to see you any longer! Out!" Struck by their 'humble' and 'doglike' obedience, he was aware of his own behaviour immediately. 'Those are people... pitiable people! How could misbehave so, be so intemperate, be so mean?' Immediately softening, Herr Wilkers offered the two Czechs a seat and a cigarette. To avoid detection he locks himself inside his office with them. The conditions are 'terrible' and 'staggering' and the Nazis are not to be trusted.

He notes the ease in which one was able to slip into becoming a bully, but was determined that he would not 'be a slave to work'. He and his fellow civilian workers had no desire to be there; 'compelling' reasons must be given for missing a day's work. The women, many of whom were still very young, he argues, found it incredibly difficult as this was their first time away from home. Christmas was a misery with little joy or celebration amongst the civilian workers. 'Peace on Earth' was a 'direct mockery'. It did, however, give Herr Wilkers the opportunity to speak further with the

prisoners about the real conditions of the camp. 'Surely' it was an 'exaggeration', he argued with one prisoner, that a whole truck full of corpses, sometimes more than one hundred, were taken to the crematoria for incineration. Even working so closely with the prisoners, Herr Wilkers is unable to believe the realities taking place elsewhere in the camp. He and his civilian co-workers, however, place a sentry at the door and lift the spirits of the Czech prisoners they are with by the singing of Christmas carols.

In one of the brief quiet periods in the Dora tunnels, Herr Wilkers was privy to a beating by a Kapo. 'Ice cold runs down my spine' as he watches the Kapo whipping a prisoner with a rope. A civilian coworker turned to him and said "It's terrible when something has to watch, but one has no other option than to keep order."' Such treatment, Herr Wilkers said was 'inhumane' but his co-worker went on to explain that he had seen such beatings before. They were 'none of [his] business' but that if he wanted to, he could help write special orders about the one or two he cared about.

Later, Herr Wilkers overheard the murder of one prisoner by another when a bombing raid turned out the lights in the tunnels. 'The blood freezes in the veins' he described. Given the opportunity, one prisoner had murdered another to steal from him, and thus Herr Wilkers witnessed a corpse with a knife protruding from his chest. This demonstrates the lack of physical sequestration of the inter-inmate violence within the camp but the profound effect the witnessing of this violence had on Herr Wilkers.

In one instance, orders were given from the SS to the civilians that 'as much as we might be touched by the tragic fate of these people, do not be tempted to any trust them. Most of our detainees are criminals who are incarcerated in all civilized countries of the earth.' The foreign prisoners were enemies. Were Jews to 'survive the hell' they would aim to put themselves at the head of the 'newly established Fatherland'. This was met with murmurs and laughter in the meeting room.

When Marga, Herr Wilkers' partner joins him at the Dora camp, he is able to give her a small tour and she meets the Czech prisoner, Moritz, who had told Herr Wilkers more about the camp at Christmas. Marga notes how friendly the two are in that he greeted him 'like an old acquaintance' and Herr Wilkers openly congratulates Moritz on his 'promotion' to foreman and slightly improved living conditions. Upon completion of the tour, Herr Wilkers asked his partner, "Well, Marga, is your curiosity satisfied?". Despite having previously been at Peenemünde, she had not fully understood the realities of the camps. Thoughtfully she replied "You know, the more insight you get, the more contradictory everything is. I think the best thing is not to deal with such matters. We cannot change anything about it." This suggests a degree of flexibility in the sequestration of the concentration

camp from civilians in that Marga was able to visit. Furthermore, with Marga gaining a greater insight into the camp system as a result of her visit, she admits that there is little she can do and thus tries to avoid thinking about the situation too much. Later, however, she was able to leave the Nordhausen region.

Paul Hennicke (P3 BD5)

Herr Hennicke was an engineer and transferred to the Mittelwerks in 1943 as part of the WIFO. Under his 'command', he had eight prisoners. He described his early impressions of the 'zebras' as workshy criminals and murderers and camps were places for the 'dregs of humanity'. This opinion he also ascribed to the wider German population whom, he stated, believed the believed they needed to be protected from the inmates because the propaganda was 'like an opiate'. He quickly realised that they were 'hardworking, polite and grateful' for any assistance they received.

Within the office, Herr Hennicke described himself as 'fatherly' but maintained a gruff appearance when the SS were nearby. This 'sham' alleviated suspicion and he was able to maintain good relations with the SS. One particularly positive relationship with SS-Sturmbannführer, Otto Förschner. Through him, Herr Hennicke claims to have organised better food, civilian clothing and leather footwear for the workers, over their previous striped uniforms and painful wooden clogs.

During his time in the office, Herr Hennicke, with the assistance of his wife was able to bring additional food and medications to the prisoners. Moreover, they were able to 'borrow' prisoners to 'help with household tasks' because he was unable to build a bomb shelter, for example, because of his long hours. He does, however, assert that this was a friendly agreement and the prisoners were even present at birthday celebrations and were allowed increased food rations and better accommodation while 'helping'. Herr Hennicke claims to have shown affection to some of the prisoners and gone to great lengths to help prisoners whenever he could. On one occasion, a prisoner named 'Schorsch' was taken to the hospital blocks at the back of the camp. Taking a cardboard roll used for storing drawings necessary to designs of the weapons and construction of the camp, he filled it with food. Claiming he needed the assistance of the prisoner as there were errors in drawings, he visited with Schorsch. He was so grateful that he cried, kept hold of Hennicke's hand and kissed it. Herr Hennicke found the experience 'difficult and painful' and found himself 'choked in the neck'. He was the only prisoner he claimed to have kissed on the forehead.

On one occasion, the *Obersturmfuhrer* discovered toasted bread in the office. Each prisoner in the office was to be slapped so hard his glasses could fall from his face and break. When Herr Hennicke

claimed the bread to be his, he was aggressively shoved backwards to the floor. This was not the only incidence of violence witnessed and experienced by Herr Hennicke. On another occasion, he witnessed an SS officer striking the backs of legs of prisoners because they had not greeted him correctly. When Herr Hennicke protested that they had been working hard and had not seen him, he was told to 'Shut [his] filthy mouth' and was struck across his lower back, leaving him with pain in his kidney region for days, but for which he could make no complaint.

Herr Hennicke claimed to have assisted a German prisoner who had previously been a civilian worker. The worker, Herr Haack, had been caught helping prisoners and thus became a prisoner in the camp, himself. His wife, however, had no money and his wages were still at the payroll office. Once the worker had developed trust between himself and Hennicke, and politics had been briefly discussed, Herr Hennicke, 'despite fear', went to the payroll office and posted the money to Frau Haack.

Another way in which Herr Hennicke claims to have helped prisoners included making news available to them. He took his lunch wrapped in newspaper which was then passed around by a Kapo. A second key to his office was also fashioned so that the prisoners could sneak in and listen to the radio after hours.

Frau Erika Pasch (P3 BD55)

Frau Pasch described herself as coming from a right-wing family. She was born in 1921 but had two brothers, both over a decade older than herself. Both brothers were involved with the Nazi party from 1928 and this she partly ascribes to the high levels of unemployment at the time. She did well at school and won awards for her scholarship. Her time in the Bund Deutsche Mädel (League of German Girls), the female division of the Hitler Youth was 'forming' and 'decisive'. Positive in her own experiences, she later led groups of young German girls in her own troop. In so doing, she was automatically enrolled in the Nazi party.

She began work for the WIFO in 1943. Although she never states the date she began work at Mittelbau Dora, her description of the camp in these early days is of preparation for production of V2 rockets. Ventilation and drainage within the tunnels, for example, was specifically mentioned. Her appointment as secretary to the director was quite sudden and she had to begin work the following day. It was at this point that Frau Pasch claims to have seen prisoners for the first time.

The term 'Buchenwald' was used in the personnel office but this, she claimed, was the first time she had heard of the place. She believed that this was where the workshy were sent for re-education. This was 'normal' and 'we thought it was good'.

On one occasion, a building engineer requested three hundred prisoners the following day to build a camp at Ilfeld or Harzungen (although she could not remember which camp). When the request was refused because the existing prisoners were sick and too incapacitated to work, the doctor who refused the labour was quickly removed from his post and replaced with someone more 'compliant'. His fate, and that of another 'humane' worker, after dismissal was not reported in Frau Pasch's testimony.

Frau Pasch got along well with her co-workers, including the SS. She thought they were 'pleasant people' and described the black uniforms as 'beautiful'. What one witnessed in the camp was not discussed in her office, although she could not say whether the engineers spoke of their experiences amongst themselves. When one new sewage engineer arrived from Berlin and began to describe the appalling conditions within the tunnels at Mittelbau camp in front of Frau Pasch, he was quickly told to stop by another (presumably male) worker because 'we have a lady among us'.

She described 'some kind of protective shield' which everyone built around themselves because 'we knew that every word can be too much'. When, in 1944, an artist showed her his portfolio of work including a watercolour of the landscape and sketches of the prisoners at work, she 'held [her] breath' and thought 'My God, if someone sees that, in all our secrecy.' Moreover, that her brothers were party members and the Nazi flag always hung outside her house, she deemed, offered her a level of protection. Moreover, she described herself as 'young', 'blue-eyed' and 'naive' during her two years at Mittelbau but that this could not have been maintained with knowledge. She worked late because she was convinced of the Nazi victory, wanted to be a part of the victory and believed that the V2 was a 'miracle weapon'.

Frau Pasch believed the Kapos were 'the worst' and 'worse than the SS'. These she recognised by the green triangle as being 'heavy-duty' criminals. She witnessed the whip of a Kapo when the ashtray in her office was not emptied of used cigarette-butts. When prisoners entered the office, they grabbed at the butts (remembering that cigarettes were an illicit form of camp currency) before being whipped back by their Kapo.

Beyond what she witnessed in the camp, Frau Pasch also witnessed prisoners walking to and from the camp. In the morning and the evening, long trains of the 'emaciated men' were driven through the village in the striped suits and wooden clogs while others were barefoot. In the evening, 'the last ones were usually drawn by a cart carrying the dead and dying'. She recalled that 'the streets were empty then. Everyone was looking for refuge in a house, in order to have to face this sight'. She particularly notes that there were red and green triangles. She further recalled the death march from Mittelbau. These prisoners were being carried because they could no longer walk or were already dead. This, Frau Pasch claimed, was the extent of her involvement because it was forbidden for civilians to have any contact with the inmates. Moreover, Frau Pasch refused to seek refuge in the tunnels of Mittelbau during bombing raids, largely because of the smell. She was, therefore, permitted to ride her bike to the opposite mountain wherein she could seek refuge.

Herr Eisenacher (P3 BD59)

Herr Eisenacher recalled sharing his own food with the prisoner, Robert Lancon. Lancon was the only survivor of seven inmates who worked in the warehouse at Ellrich Julliushutte. The gentleman also describes a friendship growing between the pair. The bond became so strong that the pair met regularly after the war, spending several hours telephoning one another at a time and meeting either in France or Germany. At Lancon's funeral in 1999, Herr Eisenacher and his family were the only Germans present at the quiet, family occasion.

Herr Adolf Hause (P3 BD45)

Herr Adolf Hause describes being a young boy, approximately twelve years of age and living next to Boelcke Kaserne concentration camp. He and his family lived so close to the camp that when the doors to the barracks were open, they could see the living conditions inside and the appalling conditions of the prisoners. Moreover, he could throw food over the fence into the camp from his own home. Those who approached the camp too closely were threatened with weapons but he attributes a degree of permissiveness by the SS to his age because as a young boy he couldn't be taken seriously. Herr Hause and the prisoners communicated with simple hand gestures. For example, the prisoners would indicate that they were hungry and Herr Hause would endeavour to provide additional food for them. In the context of Herr Hause's testimony, 'I will never forget the screams and cries "my bread, my bread."' would suggest a level of pity towards the inmates. He was well aware of their desperation for food and this memory has lingered. He heard shots being fired inside the barracks and was aware of carts taking away dead prisoners at night.

Herr Karl Köhler (P3 BD63)

Herr Köhler worked in carpentry as an apprentice in the building of the Mittelbau and the sub camps. In his childhood, he had played football with local Roma and Sinti children who were 'also only human'. Perhaps worryingly, he describes the first arrivals of inmates in the summer of 1943 when the main camp was established a few months later. His descriptions of the camps are very detailed as a result of his special identification card which allowed him access. He is particularly noteworthy in reference to crematoria and makeshift crematoria.

Herr Köhler had a mixed relationship with the Kapos. Some he noted stole from the other prisoners. Other Kapos were brutal in their beatings. One Kapo he particularly noted was not a hardened criminal but had stolen a few cattle years earlier.

Once a month, he received a special meal from *Organisation Todt*. This mean was three pounds of bread, a kilogram of meat, a box of cigarettes, a bottle of wine and a slice of butter.

He was witness to the *Appellplatz* role-calls and noted that the prisoners were held there until all of the inmates could be accounted for — living or dead. Moreover, he was also a witness to the hangings of prisoners. They were 'defenceless' and this was a very 'bad time'. So too, he was a witness to the conditions of Julliushutte in 1944 which he described as the 'worst' camp. Cats were eaten out of desperation, excrement 'poured out' of the barracks and there were many hundreds of dead. The numbers were so high that a pyre had to be built to cremate the bodies. The pyre burned 'night and day' with a great stench, and the inhabitants of Ellrich were not allowed to open any windows. Herr Köhler describes that people in the Harz region would have seen the prisoners as they went about their daily lives, but nevertheless, speaking about the camps was forbidden. One was not able to even mention Dora.

Specific mention is made of green and red triangles worn by the prisoners. There is also a specific mention of a black prisoner within the camp. This prisoner spoke some German and was thus able to communicate with Herr Köhler. Attempts were also made with the Russian prisoners but he struggled with the Czechs and the Poles. The black prisoner, Herr Köhler believed, was a highly educated man. Within his barracks, he was separate from the other inmates in his own room.

Jürgen Schulze (P3 BD87)

Herr Schulze was only nine years old at the end of the war. His parents owned a guesthouse and farm. His impression of the inmates who came to work at the farm left a 'shocking impression'. The

prisoners were 'frighteningly emaciated' and were freezing in their 'thin convict suits'. At first, he had laughed at the 'zebras' but thinks he must have been 'disturbed' and 'thoughtful' about these 'miserable figures' that were guarded by 'policemen with guns'. They wore 'miserable rags' with their feed wrapped in rags or wearing straw sandals. Some wore cement bags under their rags for additional warmth.

His mother explained that the inmates were criminals, although Herr Schulze did not know if she believed this or not. It was only after the war that he discovered they were inmates of Dora. When his uncle first saw the 'miserable figures' of the inmates, he went home and asked his mother (Herr Schulze's grandmother) to slice bread, butter and sausages, which he hid around the yard for the prisoners to find.

It was known from speeches that if you did not obey, you went to the concentration camps. The realities of these camps, especially as a child was not fully realised by Herr Schulze but what he did witness 'was bad enough for us'.

Further limited contact with the prisoners took place when the Allied bombed Nordhausen. Inmates of Mittelbau and, Herr Schulze presumed, also from Boelke Kaserne, carried out the cleanup work. Adults were not allowed to approach the prisoners but Herr Schulze's mother gave pieces of bread to him and his sister for them to secretly pass to the 'poor creatures'. Other children looked away.

After Mittelbau was liberated in April 1945, Herr Schulze found a pile of newspapers with 'terrible pictures' inside, depicting the appalling state of the prisoners and the gallows on which bodies were hanging which he had previously been unaware of.

Herr Helmut Mund (P3 BD77)

Herr Mund attended school in Nordhausen from 1943. The blue and white striped uniforms of the prisons gave rise to their nickname of 'zebras' amongst Herr Mund and his friends. He also noted the different colours of the triangles worn by the prisoners, that some had an additional letter and others wore a yellow star. Footwear was noted as having no socks and wooden clogs. Guards and Kapos controlled the men – the Kapos wearing black caps and armlets, and much more physically fit than the other prisoners.

Herr Mund and his friends were warned against the prisoners by their teachers and Hitler Youth leaders. They were told the prisoners were criminals and believed as such. Later, they would take part in hunts for missing prisoners. Herr Mund noted numerous escape attempts from the camps,

which only increased as the war came to a close. In one attempt, a woman was killed by an escaped prisoner and the local population were warned of helping any further escapees.

On one occasion, in cold weather when it was still dark, Herr Mund was knocked from his bicycle in full view of the prisoners. They cheered and laughed at his misfortune. Herr Mund was protected by his father but there were, as a result, later threats to send his father to the concentration camp for standing up to the camp guards.

Herr Mund notes some specifics about the camps. For example, by April 1944 that there were over 1,000 prisoners in Mittelbau. He also noted the food supply dwindling over time and the poor condition of the inmates at Harzungen. 'It must have been torture for the prisoners' he said, 'I would observe the hardworking prisoners daily'. Despite witnessing the inmates on a daily basis, his comprehension of the camp itself was vague. He witnessed a bright light emitted from the Mittelbau camp but could not understand what it was. It was only after the liberation of the camp that found he out that it was the result of the crematoria burning bodies.

Frau Irene Dreschaler (P3 BD78)

Frau Dreschaler was born in 1910 and was a nurse at the Boelke-Kasern camp when it held foreign labourers. She described a supervising doctor as a 'brutal man' who would chase off foreign workers when they came to him with a request. After three days of witnessing this, he told him that she would not tolerate such behaviour in her presence. 'These are people who have concerns and are in need'.

She nursed one Dutchman who had been beaten after an accusation of theft but after January 5th, 1945, came into contact with concentration camp inmates she was told had come from Auschwitz. One such inmate she nursed had been beaten over the head and was greatly bloodied. This, she describes, as the worst case she witnessed. She also witnessed inmates moving between camps, accompanied by a policeman.

Frau Brigitte Sander (P3 BD86)

Frau Sander was born in Salze in 1931 with a large extended family living in the area. She would often visit the Kohnstein mountain as a child. In the early period of the Nazi era, she had an uncle

who was imprisoned as a political prisoner. Some prisoners (approximately five) also worked on her family farm and were secretly given extra food by her family.

She would often witness people on wagons stretching out their hands and screaming for help. Her mother would take her and her brother away from the window so they could not see this. The people in the wagons were clothed in sacks. She questioned her mother about the people who responded that she wasn't entirely sure what was happening but that they were being taken to the concentration camp because they were their 'enemies'. Even then, the young Frau Sander would ask what they had done to make the enemies. Frau Sander believed her mother knew more than she would tell her young children but it was too 'terrible for her'. She did, however, recall being shown a film in school which depicted Polish people fighting and shooting at German soldiers.

Often, Frau Sander would see prisoners in the village, marching in a column. She also recounts seeing women prisoners and hearing their wooden clogs rattling. Her mother would drop food in the streets for the passing prisoners to bend and pick up. Some prisoners were beaten when they were caught and Frau Sander notes that her mother would 'have liked to have intervened' but couldn't. Her father would also throw 'bad' fruit from the fruit trees the family grew into the street for the prisoners. The bad fruit was not inedible but was there for the prisoners. It remained dangerous for both the prisoners and those leaving extra food for them as they marched through the village. When one prisoner had a beetroot roll towards him when it fell from a cart, he was almost beaten to death for trying to pick it up. She and her brother had crumbled bread for the prisoners but they kept this a secret from their parents who knew only about the potatoes and fruit they were leaving for the marching inmates.

In the winter, Frau Sander and her friends went sledging on the Kohnstein mountain. They found themselves close to the barbed wire fence and saw prisoners carrying large, white stones, larger than a football. They were so close to the prisoners that they could see how 'stiff and blue' their fingers were, and that their posture was stooped. The children were frightened of what they were seeing. They looked at each other 'with huge eyes', in silence and deathly still so that they might not be seen. Once the SS and the prisoners had passed them, they 'secretly sneaked' down the mountain and swore each other to secrecy that they would never tell what they had seen and where they had been. There were rumours of the camp but talking was dangerous and telling even her parents was too frightening.

Frau Sander's mother spoke to her daughter after the war had ended and declared 'I would have liked to scream.' She had seen the prisoners as people. At the time, secrecy was maintained but her

mother spoke more to her after the war had ended. Moreover, Frau Sander's grandmother often commented on the terrible smell emanating from the camp. Even so, talk amongst the adults was extremely rare.

After the war, Frau Sander found ways to avoid the camp. Whenever there were visits, she would feign sickness to avoid going there. She knew the 'terrible treatment' she had seen there and there were things one could not imagine. She watched some of the films made by the Americans when the camp system was liberated but continued to refuse to visit the camp site herself. She had seen some prisoners 'collapsed' and had seen some who 'cried bitterly'. Others she witnessed being beaten. She claims never to have seen any dead bodies.

She claims that people were afraid during the Nazi era and that she did 'not know what was going on in their heads' but that they did not want to see. She 'was ashamed as a German' and believes others should also be ashamed to be German. While she was told at the time that the inmates were criminals, she recognises that they were not all so and perhaps had been people who spoke out or were in the wrong place and the wrong time.

Herr Helmut Mönnich (P3 BD89)

Herr Mönnich was born in 1930. His earliest memory of the prisoners of Harzungen was their wooden clogs, the sound of the clogs as the prisoners walked and the difficulty they had in walking in them. He recognised that the prisoners could not escape. The inmates were barely able to work because they were 'totally, physically broken' and very emaciated. He witnessed dead inmates being carried through town, draped over a ladder as they were carried back to camp from their work. He describes it as 'cruel' to watch this as someone so young. He saw many types of prisoners of war and foreign workers, also.

On one occasion, Herr Mönnich had occasion to speak to a Kapo. He recognised him as having a green triangle and questioned him about his brutality. The Kapo answered that it was his only chance to get out of the camp alive. He needed to be seen to be 'reliable' in order to save his own life.

Herr Mönnich described Nazism as a 'poison' which shattered Germany and other places in the world – specifically mentioning Holland. He described it not only as a war of weapons but of ideological leadership. He warned that the Nazis looked 'neat', in 'clean uniforms' and seemingly educated but that this was a mask.

Herr Eberhard (P3 BD96)

Herr Eberhard began his apprenticeship on a farm in 1944 in the village of Krimerode, about 4km from Nordhausen. He recalled the prisoners' striped uniforms giving rise to the nickname of 'zebras' and the prisoners being used on construction sites in the area. Although forbidden by his teacher (who was a member of the Nazi party) to speak to the prisoners, in time he came to understand the colour coding of the triangles worn by them. Much of Herr Eberhard's interview thereafter, however, focused on the impact of the American and Soviet soldiers in the local area and there appeared to be a reluctance to speak in detail of the inmates.

Thematic analysis and double coding

When the data was first collected, the testimony was briefly read to ensure it was relevant to the research. This helped eliminate several files which contained testimony by the American troops who liberated the camps and ensured that the focus remained on the civilians. Once the data had been fully translated, however, a more detailed analysis could begin. The key themes of 'sequestration', 'attitudes to the violence – acceptance, approval or otherwise', 'empathy' and 'sympathy' with the prisoners were included in the first instance.

During analysis, the full data was sent to a trusted friend who was familiar with the theories I was exploring, alongside drafts of Chapter 2 so to refresh her memory of the theories. She was asked to pay particular attention to evidence of sympathy, empathy and psychological distancing and to make brief notes of her findings. These findings were then discussed at length by telephone, referring back to each of the testimonies. This proved particularly useful as there were occasions when, despite months of familiarity with the data, a detail had slipped by in my analysis. Moreover, it was noted how disobedient some of the civilians were of the direct orders from the SS to eschew the inmates. Thus, where it was relevant to do so, this was also included and the key themes were expanded. Thus in the following tables, we can see the development of the themes used in the analysis. A small sample of our coding is shown on the following page.

Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41)							
First code	Double code	Agreed theme					
Shocked – shouted at prisoners	Shocked at the state of	Shocked – shouted at prisoners					
 'Pitiable' – recognising humanity 	the prisoners. Realises	 'Pitiable' – recognising humanity 					
He had been 'mean' to them – recognising his	they are just people	He had been 'mean' to them – recognising his					
own behaviour towards the prisoners – empathy	• Couldn't believe what	own behaviour towards the prisoners —					
Didn't want to be there – response to the	the camp was really like	empathy					
violence	– distancing?	Didn't want to be there – response to the					
Singing Christmas Carols – joining in. Empathy?	• 'Inhumane' treatment'	violence					
'Inhumane' treatment – response to the violence	– empathy?	• Singing Christmas Carols – joining in. Empathy.					
Other civilians didn't care – distancing by others	Helping those he cared	Some sympathy?					
Could help those you cared about – sympathy	about – sympathy	• 'Inhumane' treatment – response to the					
Murder – shocked. Response to violence	Shocked at beatings and	violence					
SS ordered civilians not to care – laughter and	murder	 Other civilians didn't care – distancing by others 					
murmurs. Beginnings of empathy?	• Laughter at the Jews as	 Could help those you cared about – sympathy 					
 Moritz – friend – congratulations – sympathy 	enemies	 Murder – shocked. Response to violence 					
	Moritz was his friend –	SS ordered civilians not to care – laughter and					
	sympathy	murmurs. Beginnings of empathy?					
	Marga couldn't believe	 Moritz – friend – congratulations – sympathy 					
	what she saw	 Marga couldn't believe what she saw – 					
		distancing? Denial?					

Table 2 - thematic analysis notes for Herr Wilkers

Frau Erika Pasch (P3 BD55)

First code	Double Code	Agreed theme
Right wing family	Right wing	Right wing family
Saw prisoners on first day. No emotional	Workshy prisoners.	Saw prisoners on first day. No emotional response
response	It was good that they	 No knowledge of Buchenwald – an hour away.
• No knowledge of Buchenwald – an hour away.	were being re-	Secrecy? Distanciation?
Secrecy? Distanciation?	educated.	 Prisoners were 'workshy' and needed re-
 Prisoners were 'workshy' and needed re- 	• Liked the SS –	education. This was 'normal' and 'good'
education. This was 'normal' and 'good'	'pleasant', 'beautiful	 Doctor was dismissed for helping prisoners
 Doctor was dismissed for helping prisoners 	uniforms. Liked	 Liked her co-workers and the SS
 Liked her co-workers and the SS 	them more than	• SS were 'pleasant' and wore 'beautiful' uniforms.
• SS were 'pleasant' and wore 'beautiful' uniforms.	prisoners	Empathy with SS!
Empathy with SS!	Protected because	 She was shielded as a woman- sequestration
 She was shielded - sequestration 	she was a woman -	 Protective shield around civilians – sequestration
• Protective shield around civilians – sequestration	hidden	 Kapos worse than SS – no empathy with prisoners.
 Kapos worse than SS – no empathy with 	Protected as a	Cigarette butt incident – no emotional response –
prisoners.	civilian - hidden	lack of empathy
Cigarette butt incident – no emotional response	Kapos were the	'Emaciated men' no emotional response
 lack of empathy 	worst – no empathy	 Averting eyes – sequestration
'Emaciated men' no emotional response	 Looked away 	

Table 3 - thematic analysis notes for Frau Pasch

Empathy	<u>Sympathy</u>	<u>Distance</u>	Attitudes to	<u>Obedience</u>
			<u>violence</u>	
 Pitiable' – recognising humanity He had been 'mean' to them – recognising his own behaviour towards the prisoners Singing Christmas Carols – joining in. SS ordered civilians not to care. 	 Singing Christmas Carols — joining in. Could help those you cared about SS ordered civilians not to care. Moritz — friend — congratulation s — 	Other civilians didn't care	 Didn't want to be there 'Inhumane' treatment – response to the violence Murder – shocked. 	 Disobeyed orders and was friendly with prisoners Disobeyed orders and helped prisoners

Erika Pasch		No knowledge of		
 Right wing family – lacking in empathy Saw prisoners on first day. No emotional response. No empathy Prisoners were 'workshy' and needed re-education. This was 'normal' and 'good'. No empathy. Liked her co-workers and the SS. No empathy with prisoners. SS were 'pleasant' and wore 'beautiful' uniforms. Empathy with SS! Kapos worse than SS – no empathy with prisoners. Cigarette butt incident – no emotional response – lack of empathy 'Emaciated men' no emotional response 	No evidence of sympathy	Buchenwald – an hour away. Secrecy? Distanciation? She was shielded as a woman Protective shield around civilians Averting eyes	Did not claim to see violence. No response.	Doctor was dismissed for helping prisoners

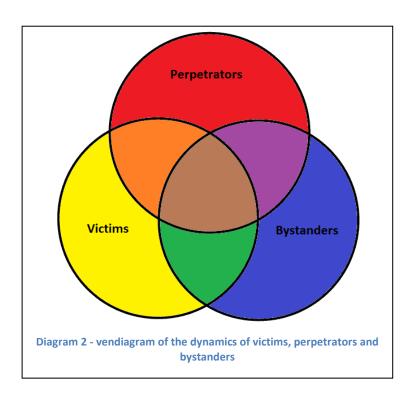
Within this section, the theoretical implications of the data will be discussed. This focuses on the capacity for empathy (Smith, 2002) and sympathy (Darwall, 1998) to examine the capacity for fellow-feeling between inmates and civilians, and thus the degree to which 'mutual identification' (Elias, 2000) was eroded. It will then be shown

In the first instance, however, a discussion on the blurring of the definitions between victims, bystanders and perpetrators must take place. This was imperative for the analysis of the data as it was necessary to ascertain the degree to which a shared experience might have occurred 12.

A return to the problem of bystanders.

In chapter 2, the difficulty of studying bystanders was discussed. If we take the definition of a 'bystander' as 'those members of society who are neither perpetrators nor victims or outside individuals, organisations and nations' (Staub, 1989: 20), the question arises as to how far this could extend. Hilberg (1992) demarcated perpetrators, victims and bystanders but this was an early piece of scholarly research into the Holocaust and much research has since taken place to suggest the lines were far more blurred than he originally set out. Horwitz (1990) and Barnett (1999) noted the blurring of the lines between perpetrators and bystanders in light of the civilian labour and input needed for the concentration camps to operate if only to grow and deliver the meagre inmate rations. Such blurring of these labels might best be described in a ven diagram:

¹² Please note that references pertaining to 'P3 BD' are references to the Mittelbau-Dora archive as of May 2014.



Within the explored testimonies in the Mittelbau Dora archive, many civilians reported having worked alongside or even acting as a foreman or office manager to camp inmates. Herr Moog (P3 BD47) and Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41), for example, were both 'ordinary' civilians but vastly superior in social standing to their inmate subordinates. Herr Wilkers, for example, shouted at and verbally abused the first inmates he met as a result of the shock of meeting them for the first time. Similarly, Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5) maintained a 'gruff' exterior to maintain appearances for the SS. This complication extends even as far as children as Herr Mund (P3 BD77) participated in searching for escaped prisoners during his time in the Hitler Youth. Moreover, one civilian stood trial for his involvement in the Mittelbau Dora camp system, Herr Georg Rickhey, the former general director of the Mittelwerk company but was later acquitted for lack of evidence (Wagner, 2011).

A further complication lies in the distinction between victim and bystander. Herr Moog (P3 BF47) had been interned in an early incarnation of the concentration camps as a political dissident but had since been released and Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5) recounted an experience of being physically attacked by a member of the SS. Moreover, The fathers of Frau Aldhoven (P3 BD1) and Herr Mund (P3 BD77) were threatened with internment in the camps for their dissent and Herr Hennicke was approached for help by an inmate he had previously known as a civilian colleague, but who had been imprisoned for his political dissent.

We may also briefly highlight the status of the Kapos; those prisoners who wore the black (asocial) or green (criminal) triangles and armbands described in the testimonies of Frau Pasch (P3 BD55) and Herr Mund (P3 BD77). Kapos were the prisoner foremen over other prisoners and were repeatedly described in the testimony as brutal towards other prisoners, often more so than their SS guards. Several Kapos who had arrived at Mittelbau Dora from Bergen Belsen were prosecuted for their

crimes at Bergen Belsen, but four Kapos were tried at the Dora-Dachau trials in 1947 (Wagner, 2011). The brutality of the Kapos cannot be diminished, yet revealed within the testimonies, the civilians reveal partial relationships with these men. Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5) brought his lunch to work in newspaper to deliberately pass the paper onto the Kapo for distribution to the inmates; Herr Köhler (P3 BD63) had a mixed relationship with the Kapos but noted some had been convicted and sentenced to the concentration camps for property crimes rather than for their brutality; and Herr Mönnich (P3 BD89), as a precocious teenager, took the time to question a Kapo about his brutality to be answered that it was his way of appearing to conform to keep himself alive.

An understanding of the difficulty in ascribing labels to the civilians and those of whom they spoke of was a necessitous aspect of the research to consider throughout the analysis. The self-presumed label of the author of the testimony and that of those they described may have had a direct impact on the degree to which they were able to empathise or sympathise with the inmates. As a former inmate of the earliest incarnations of the concentration camps, for example, Herr Moog (P3 BD47) would have had a deeper understanding of the circumstances within the camp as he had a shared experience and might thus have been more empathetic or sympathetic. To have been able to speak with and challenge Kapos on their brutality towards inmates and learn of why they had been interned in the camp would also suggest a degree of familiarity to be able to hold such conversations.

Obedience

In light of the difficulties in ascribing labels of solely 'perpetrator' or 'bystander, for example, it is pertinent here to discuss the importance of obedience amongst the civilian testimonies. Recurrent themes within the testimony were attempts to aid the prisoners wherever possible. A degree of scepticism must be taken in that the respondents may be trying to portray themselves in a positive light, but that it is a common theme in nine of the fifteen testimonies above is encouraging. Not all of the respondents reported such behaviour when they could have chosen to present themselves more favourably, and yet did not do so. Attempting to provide more, or better quality food was the strongest recurring theme. Particularly where civilians were not privy to the inner workings of the camp and did not have a relationship with the SS, this disobedience was extremely covert. Herr Hause (P3 BD45) and Frau Sander (P3 BD86) found it much easier to get additional food to the prisoners because they were children and were, therefore, largely overlooked and not taken seriously by the SS. Within the camps, an appearance of conforming was critically important for the safety of the civilian and the inmates. Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5), for example, deliberately changed

how he acted in the presence of the SS to appear gruffer and thus avoid suspicion. Covertly, however, he claimed to have been very active in helping prisoners he knew closely and tried to improve the general camp conditions. He smuggled in additional food, news from the outside world via the newspaper his lunch was wrapped in, and medications. Under the guise of being obedient and ensuring his work was carried out to the letter, he feigned a need to see one of the inmates he was in charge of in the camp hospital block and delivered such food and medications to him¹³.

Herr Moog portrayed his covert disobedience in the presence of Albert Speer as being in the interests of smooth running of the camp – so many were dying and the V2 production plant needed good workers. In this respect, Herr Moog's speaking out actually appealed to the way in which Speer claimed to have believed the use of the slave labour should have been – not to work people to death but to keep them alive to use as slave labourers (Wagner, 2012). Perhaps this is why, despite the SS protestations at Herr Moog's very presence at the camp as a civilian and knowing of his political past, his recommendations were taken on board. Overt disobedience was, however, incredibly dangerous. Frau Aldhoven's (P3 BD1) father was repeatedly threatened with court-martial for trying to help the prisoners including proposing better food and shoes would benefit the prisoners, Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5) was beaten for standing up to an SS guard and defending the inmates under his charge, Herr Mund's (P3 BD77) father was threatened with being taken to the concentration camp when he was outspoken against an SS officer. Moreover, Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5) knew of one former civilian worker who was imprisoned at Mittelbau after being caught helping the prisoners.

Specific acts of disobedience particularly when speaking out against the conditions of the inmates appear most commonly in those testimonies where the civilians were privy to the secrets within the concentration camp. Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5), Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41) and Herr Moog (P3 BD47) and the father of Frau Aldhoven (P3 BD1), for example, worked inside the concentration camp. In correlation with Milgram's findings (2013), therefore, the less sequestration from the suffering there was, the more vocal disobedience took place. Here, then, we begin to see the real importance of the sequestration of violence and death become apparent. The lack of barriers to 'neutralise the moral sense' (Milgram, 2013: 159) and therefore the amount of moral 'strain' (2013: 158) this would put the civilians under, the greater the potential for disobedience.

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¹³ Testimony from survivors of the Nazi concentration camps would suggest this newspaper would serve a dual purpose. In addition to the potential impact on morale, the paper could be worn underneath an inmate's clothing to keep him a little warmer. Were he to be discovered, however, the punishment would have been severe and possibly resulted in his death (see, for example, Hart-Moxon, 2000 and Haas, 1984)

This potential for disobedience we can then begin to consider in light of Arendt's (1983) concept of the 'banality of evil' and the capacity to think. The complication of the camps as an 'open secret' is pertinent to discuss here. The full extent of the sensory knowledge of the local civilians which gave rise to a detailed comprehension of what was taking place within the concentration camps is difficult to ascertain. All those whose testimony was in the Mittelbau archives had seen the prisoners but far fewer had any full understanding of the concentration camp and the full realities of what took place therein. Few of the sub camps are mentioned in the testimony. Of those mentioned, Harzungen, Ellrich-Julliushütte and Boelke Kaserne are the most recurrent but these were also comparatively large camps. Factors which may impact on this 'knowledge' include the length of a conflict, control over the mass media, visibility, geographical spread and proportion of the population involved (Cohen, 2001: 78). The length of time many of the sub camps were open varies, but Mittelbau, Harzugen and Ellrich-Julliushütte were the most longstanding. Boelke-Kaserne is noteworthy in that it was within the town of Nordhausen and used specifically to hold the dying and dead. It is notable that Frau Sander (P3 BD86) witnessed female prisoners, although does not name the camp in which they were held. The Mittelbau complex was primarily for male prisoners but for the camp brothel at the Mittelbau main camp, and Groβ-Werther which accommodated three hundred Jewish women and was open for a little over a fortnight in the spring of 1945, shortly before liberation (USHMM). It is surprising, however, that of the thirty-nine Mittelbau sub camps, so few are directly named. We may, however, recall the confusion as to what a concentration camp looked like discussed in earlier chapters, and consider the impact this would have on the 'knowledge' of the local inhabitants. The geographical spread of the camps is further complicated by the work conducted by the inmates. Not all their slave labour was conducted within the camps. The inmates of Bleicherode camp, for example, performed construction work but were housed in the basement of an inn (Wagner, 2012) and Herr Shulze (P3 BD55) recalled inmates working on his family farm and guesthouse. That the inmates marched daily between their respective camps and the location of the slave labour accounts for the public nature of the inmates but still fails to account for the infrequency of named sub camps by the civilians.

<u>Idealisation of violence, the response to the brutalities within the camps and the 'delicacy of feeling'</u>

We begin to see here a breakdown in the alleged 'preoccupation' and 'obsession' in German anti-Semitism (Goldhagen, 2001: 77) and the ideology that non-Germans could be treated without pity and in the most inhumane possible (Goldhagen, 2001: 175). Many of those civilian bystanders were far from willing and under edicts to work alongside the prisoners of Mittelbau Dora. Where

Goldhagen argues for a choice in the actions of perpetrators to kill, for these bystanders there was no such choice. The local residents of Nordhausen and the vicinity of other sub camps did not ask for a camp to be placed in their locality and neither did many of the civilian workers ask to work at the Nordhausen plant. Their willing assent to participation and that of the appalling conditions in which prisoners were held was far from ubiquitous. Where Goldhagen argued that there was no other motivation which can 'plausibly account' (1997: 416) for the actions of the German people, the civilian workers at Mittelbau Dora were under extreme force to be there.

A further contradiction in the argument of choice, asserted by Goldhagen (1997) is the willingness by which civilians witnessed the beatings and murder of prisoners. Civilians working at the camp were forced to watch some of the executions and were often witness to beatings by Kapos of the inmates. For all of Elias' arguments for a German idealisation of violence in The Germans (1996: 207), there was very little evidence for this within the archival testimonies. This may be unsurprising if we consider that the respondents were likely to want to present themselves favourably and yet there were members of the Nazi party and Hitler Youth among the respondents. There is also no mention of positive sentiments amongst other civilians mentioned within the testimony. Specific accounts of direct violence, such as beatings or executions are largely reported by those with intimate knowledge of the camps. Herr Köhler (P3 BD56), for example, was witness to hangings whilst an apprentice in carpentry at the Mittelbau camp, as did Herr Kleinger (P3 BD42). Similarly, Frau Dreschaler (P3 BD78) was a nurse at the Boelke-Kasern sub camp prior to it holding the most gravely ill inmates from the main camp. She told her supervising doctor that she would not tolerate his barbarity to the patients therein.

These direct acts of violence appear to have been conducted mainly within the confines of the concentration camps. This, whilst also supporting the argument for compartmentalisation as posited by De Swaan (2001), is at odds with the presupposition that if Germany was descending into barbarity, as Elias (1996) would have us believe, a degree of pleasure might be taken by the German public in the violence against the inmates. Instead, any 'mimentic' experience of violence, whereby an individual's emotions are 'transferred' onto the actor (Mennell, 1992: 58; see also Dunning and Elias, 1986: 42) and thus they identify with the actor (Elias, 2000: 170), is an overtly negative one, where the civilians are horrified by the actions taking place. 'Ice cold runs down my spine' Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41) described as he witnessed a whipping by a Kapo, Herr Köhler (P3 BD63) described the hanged inmates as 'defenceless' and Frau Dreschaler (P3 BD78) would not tolerate violence in her presence during her nursing practice.

It is interesting to note the level of 'delicacy of feeling' still evident amongst the civilians. During the analysis of the data, it was immediately clear that the civilians had been deeply uncomfortable with the violence they witnessed, both directly by way of beatings and hangings, for example, and indirectly by way of the conditions, the prisoners were kept in. While some were matter-of-fact in their descriptions of the inmates, others – particularly those who worked alongside the inmates – were more detailed in their responses. Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41), for example, described the feeling of 'ice cold' running down his spine while he witnessed a beating by a Kapo and that his blood 'froze in [his] veins' at witnessing a murder by a Kapo. Herr Hause (P3 BD45) claimed he would 'never forget' the screams and cries he heard coming from the Boelke Kasern camp which he lived next door to, and Herr Schulze(P3 BD87) felt seeing the inmates for the first time left a 'shocking impression' which left him feeling 'disturbed' and 'thoughtful'. Others sought to change the situations the prisoners were in wherever possible – Herr Moog (P3 BD47, Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5) the father of Frau Aldhoven (P3 BD1), and Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41) were in positions to speak to members of the SS and arrange for better living conditions. Again we may consider that it would be in the best interests of the civilians whose testimony is in the archives to provide a good impression of themselves but this is not entirely the case. Frau Pasch (P3 BD55), for example, despite working in administration at the camp, was disgusted by the prisoners witnessed grabbing at cigarette butts from the ashtray in her office, and having to be in the tunnels during air-raids because of the smell. She was otherwise unconcerned about the prisoners.

Even at this late stage in the Nazi era, when the country was in the grips of total war, there remains evidence of this 'delicacy of feeling' described by Elias; the brutalities of the violence and the inhuman conditions the inmates found themselves were 'offensive', and 'shameful' (2000: 108). Furthermore, during more detailed analysis, it became clear that the strongest sentiments of a violation of the 'delicacy of feeling' were in discussion of actions and behaviours inside the camps and more the matter-of-fact descriptions were from those civilians who witnessed the inmates marching but not the concentration camps. Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41) and Herr Köhler, for example, were descriptive of their feelings towards violence, and both worked within the camp system. Similarly, Herr Hause (P3 BD45, who lived immediately adjacent to Boelke Kaserne said he would never forget the screams and cries he heard from within the camp. Herr Hennicke (P3BD5) described visiting his friend, the inmate Schorsch in the infirmary 'difficult and painful'. Frau Dreschaler (P3 BD78), a nurse and perhaps as a result of her profession better able to psychologically cope with the natural functions of the body, nevertheless, stood up to her supervising doctor who she described as a 'brutal man' to prevent brutality in her presence. Herr Köhler was negative in his descriptions of

the excrement 'pouring' out of the barracks at Ellrich-Julliushutte, the great numbers of dead and that cats were eaten in desperation by the starving inmates.

In this way, the spectators continued to 'identify' with the victim rather than the perpetrator, again at odds with the conjecture that barbarity was all-consuming. Furthermore, this also reflects the argument that a solidarity with the victim of a punishment was a product of the time and a change in sympathies and attitudes toward violence and thus maintains a degree of the civilising process as per Elias' (2000) original argument. As we shall see in the following sections, this stems from the empathy and sympathy between civilians and inmates of the camps which thus allowed 'mutual identification' (Elias, 2000) to continue.

Capacity for empathy

As discussed in Chapter 2, empathy is the feeling of 'agreement, coincidence or harmony of sentiments' between individuals (Campbell, 1971: 94). Imagination was central to Smith's philosophy of morals (Evensky, 2005: 34) and empathy is the embodiment of the imagination of the feelings of others (Darwall, 1998: 261). We imagine how another person is feeling when they appear in distress and feel this for, or with them. 'By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him, and thence form some idea of his sensations, and even feel something which, though weaker in degree is not altogether unlike them' (Smith, 2002: 13). Empathy is a key component of the civilising process for it is through empathy that we that we might understand others' feelings, sharing in them, feeling their pain and seeing ourselves in them (Mennell, 2006: 430).

Within the testimonies, there were numerous examples of fellow-feeling as a result of shared experience. As discussed above in the problem with identifying a 'bystander' a shared experience in terms of victimisation was discussed by the likes of Herr Moog (P3 BD47). He had previously been interned in an early incarnation of the concentration camps for political dissidence and had been witness to some of the brutalities in the camps at this early stage. In this way, Herr Moog was not just able to imagine what camp life was like for the inmates but was able to remember his own experiences, giving him a far deeper understanding. Frau Sander (P3 BD86), despite still being a child when she was witness to the brutalities of the Mittelbau Dora camp, also had a personal understanding of the concentration camp inmates. Her uncle had been in a similar position to Herr Moog (P3 BD47), having been imprisoned in an early incarnation of a concentration camp but was later released to the family homestead where Frau Sander (P3 BD86) also lived. So too, Herr

Hennicke (P3 BD5) understood the brutalities of the concentration camp from his own experience after he was shoved and beaten for standing up for the prisoners under his control and understood that he was unable to complain. He was, moreover, able to help an inmate who had previously been a civilian worker alongside Herr Hennicke. He had been imprisoned for helping other prisoners and thus there was a shared experience between him and Herr Hennicke.

Within the testimony of Herr Hause (P3 BD45), there was an interesting example of a communication which required an understanding between him and the inmates of Boelcke Kasern camp. As he lived next to the camp he was able to see the inmates on a daily basis and was able to use a rudimentary sign language to communicate with them. They would 'sign' that they were hungry and Herr Hause would endeavour to provide additional food for them wherever he could. Although he had heard their cries for bread and would have seen the terrible condition the prisoners were in, this special non-verbal communication nevertheless required a degree of imagination and fellow-feeling in order to ensure the message was received.

As civilian workers such as Herr Moog (P3 BD47) were allegedly able to instigate changes within the camp, they were clearly able to recognise the desperate need of the prisoners. In the case of Herr Moog, he is also able to use a degree of empathy with Albert Speer. He appealed to the economist and pragmatist within Speer to reduce the need for repeatedly transporting and training prisoners to work in the tunnels on the A4/V2 weapon which cost valuable time and resources by improving the conditions (although they were still disastrous) so that inmates did not have to live underground in the toxic and dusty conditions.

The descriptions of the inmates used within the testimony were interesting in identifying the capacity for empathy. Frau Aldhoven's father was quoted as saying 'if you want these people to work, you must first give them a pair of shoes on their feet and real food!' (P3 BD1 emphasis added). Of particular interest here is that he referred to the inmates not as workers or inmates but 'people'. He recognised the shared humanity between himself and those inmates he worked alongside. Furthermore, he was able to recognise their basic needs beyond just food but in footwear. Footwear could be the difference between life and death in a concentration camp, and later during the death marches. The wooden clogs worn by prisoners caused immense pain and were difficult to walk in. Survivors of the camps have accredited their survival to leather footwear instead of the clogs (see Hart-Moxon, 2000). As a nurse, Frau Dreschlaler also labelled the inmates as 'people' and recognised that they had concerns and were in need. Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41) also recognised the inmates as people and was able to 'enter into' their feelings and situations by way of empathy to recognise how

his behaviour could be interpreted by others (Smith, 2002: 11). He recognised himself as being 'mean' and how easy it was to become a 'bully'.

Herr Kleinger (P3 BD42) referred to the inmates as 'convicts' and Herr Schulze (P3 BD87) was told by his parents that they were criminals. Herr Mund (P3BD77) was told the same by his teachers and Hitler youth leaders and believed this. Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5) also initially thought the inmates were workshy criminals and murderers, further calling them the 'dregs of humanity'. Frau Pasch (P3 BD55) also labelled the inmates as 'workshy'. Herr Köhler (P3 BD63) described the Roma and Sinti children he had played with as a young boy as 'only human'. Frau Sander (P3 BD86) as only a young child was told by her parents that the inmates were their 'enemies' but she frequently questioned what they had done to make them enemies and saw the inmates as 'people'. The 'enemies' label, however, was not considered in her and her family's behaviour as she reported they often found ways to feed the passing prisoners or those who worked on the family farm. These labels are particularly interesting because they suggest a breadth of labels ascribed to the inmates but not necessarily internalised by the civilians. In survey data collected by the Mittelbau Dora archives in the 1990s (P3 BD81), the label of 'convict' or 'criminal' was used in eighty percent of the responses. As we see from more detailed qualitative testimonies of civilians, such as Herr Kleinger (P3BD42) and Herr Mund (P3 BD77), this was the label the civilians were told to use. Within the testimonies, there was no negative terminology to describe the inmates beyond such labels. Despite the status of the prisoners in light of Nazi policy where Jews were the 'lowest of the low' and treated abominably as such, and prisoners from Holland or Belgium were treated the best, there is no reflection of this in the labelling or treatment by the civilians. Herr Köhler (P3 BD63) noted that the black prisoner was housed in a separate room to the other inmates but does not make any negative or disparaging remarks about the man; indeed he was complimentary of his high education. One noteworthy label applied to the inmates is 'zebras'. This was a recurring theme in thirty-five percent of the surveys and this is further reflected in four of the testimonies. Only Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5) had direct contact with these inmates. Herr Schulze (P3 BD87), Herr Mund (P3 BD77) and Herr Eberhard (P3 BD96) had far less direct contact with the inmates. This term is particularly used amongst those civilians with the least physical contact with the prisoners. Herr Eberhard (P3 BD96), for example, worked on a nearby farm in Krimerode but saw the prisoners marching to and from their slave labour. While not a 'language rule' in Arendt's sense (see Cohen 2001: 80n9), that it was a code name or a lie to make the task of murder more psychologically tenable, the label of 'zebra' is more morally neutral than 'convict'. Attributed by the civilians purely to the striped uniforms worn by the inmates, what is so interesting is the choice of word used colloquially. These were not 'dangerous', 'convicts', 'criminals' or vilified characters who were a threat or contagion to the local populace.

Instead, they were clearly out of place in the Harz mountains, found in herds and 'prey'. The prisoners were clearly different and differentiated, but not to the extent where they were verbally labelled in a strictly negative sense. The most negative labels were reserved for the Kapos who were recognised and labelled as criminals by the civilians. The descriptions of these Kapos is often that they were more brutal than the SS (see P3 BD63 and P3 BD55 and Herr Monich) and in much better physical condition than the other prisoners (Herr Mund, P3 BD77). There was otherwise no distinction in the capacity to empathise with the inmates.

Further to this, there is also the consideration of initial fear upon the first encounter with the inmates. This initial fear did not last as the civilians grew accustomed to the inmates and developed empathy.

Herr Köhler (P3 BD63) also discussed attempts to communicate with prisoners within the camp, despite the language barriers. Herr Mund (P3 BD77) said 'it must have been torture of the prisoners' and in this way, he too was able to 'enter into' the feelings and situations of the prisoners he encountered (Smith, 2002: 11).

Capacity for sympathy

Despite the dangers to both civilians and inmates, relationships did develop between them, and thus so did sympathy. A sympathetic response goes beyond empathy whereby we can imagine how a person feels and put ourselves in their place (Smith, 2002), but in doing so this empathy gives rise to sympathy because we are distressed for another, but also on their behalf (Darwall, 1998). Most importantly in the distinction between empathy and sympathy is that the person we share feelings with matters to us. (Darwall, 1998; Mensius, 1970). Herr Wilkers (P3 BD39-41), for example, who was initially so shocked by the condition of the inmates that he had ordered them to leave him alone, later developed friendships with the prisoners he worked closely with. At Christmas, he sang carols with Czech inmates to lift their spirits. It was noted that he greeted a prisoner 'like an old acquaintance' and congratulated the prisoner on his promotion to foreman. Perhaps most notably is that Herr Wilkers knew the inmate's name. He was more than a prisoner, a nationality or a number; he was a person who warranted the congratulations. Herr Hennicke (P3 BD5) also developed strong bonds with the prisoners around him. Not only did he work alongside the prisoners in his capacity as a civilian worker but these prisoners also entered his home and even participated in family celebrations. As with Herr Wilkers (P3 BD 39-41), Herr Hennicke recounted a prisoner by name and risked his life and liberty to help by taking medicines and food to him in the hospital block of the main camp. There was genuine affection between Herr Hennicke and the inmate, 'Schorsch'. Schorsch had taken him by the hand and kissed it, and Herr Hennicke had kissed him on the forehead. Moreover, he reports feeling 'choked' and found the experience 'difficult and painful'. Again, that he knew the prisoner's name and would go to radical lengths to help him would suggest a depth of feeling. Herr Eisenacher (P3 BD59) also reported a strong friendship between himself and an inmate, Robert, the only one to survive a Kommando of seven in an Ellrich-Julliushutte warehouse, after he had shared food with him. Not only did he know the name of his friend but they stayed in contact long after liberation. They would often talk for hours and met regularly until Robert passed away in 1999 when Eisenacher attended the funeral of his friend. In each of these three examples, the civilian workers cared for and about these particular inmates. These inmates mattered to them.

It is within these testimonies that we may find the greatest evidence of a mutuality in identification. These civilians had the most access to both the camps and the inmates and thus the physical and psychological barriers had been eroded sufficiently that they were able to have sympathy with the inmates.

The impact of the architecture

It is noteworthy within the testimonies how few camps were named despite the civilians living in an area littered with concentration camps. It was the largest three which were mentioned but those hidden within civilian buildings were completely absent from the testimony.

The behaviours which have brought about such sentiments had largely been sequestrated in specialised locales – namely Mittelbau concentration camp and the sub camps thereof. Marching of the inmates between locales certainly took place, whether between camp and place of slave-labour, or on the death marches, but descriptions of beatings and executions are largely described by those civilians who worked inside the camps. Herr Köhler and Herr Mund, for example, describe cremations. In the case of Herr Köhler, bodies were burned in a pyre at Ellrich- Julliushutte because of the large number of bodies. Local residents were not allowed to open their windows at this time in an attempt to hide the smell. Herr Mund did not specifically see the burning of bodies but he saw a bright light emanating from Mittelbau and discovered only after the war that it was a result of the burning bodies and crematoria at the camp. Frau Sander described how her grandmother would comment on the smell from the concentration camp from the next village of Salza, at the bottom of the Kohnstein mountain.

Yet for the evidence of sequestration of violence and death, there is also evidence of this sequestration being incomplete. One of the key notable points in the qualitative testimony of local civilians is that the boundaries of the local concentration camps were fairly porous. Resoundingly, those who report direct violence against the inmates do so from being very near or inside the Mittelbau camp or sub-camps, yet so many did see the inmates. It was, however, the inmates who were visible to the public and not necessarily the camps. There were civilians who had access to the concentration camps in varying degrees, but this was for the purpose of their work. This opens the arena for further research into the 'total' nature of 'total institutions' as identified by Goffman (1991). Certainly, the concentration camp exerted total social control over the inmates in that they could not leave and were at the mercy and whims of their kapos and the SS guards, but they were not completely confined to one location. Under duress and strict supervision, some inmates worked outside the confines of the camp proper. Frau Sander, Herr Schulze and Herr Hennicke had inmates working at their homes, for example.

Psychological sequestration of the concentration camps also appears to have taken place. Herr Wilkers was concerned with reuniting with his lover, Marga; Herr Hennicke celebrated his birthday, Frau Pasch had been active in leading a brigade of the Bund Deutscher Mädel until she was recruited for the WIFO in 1943 and began work at Mittelbau, and the younger civilians such as Herr Schulze, Herr Mund and Frau Sander would have been attending school. In this respect, life continued fairly normally during the Nazi era for these people. Nazism did enter the lives of these civilians on a consistent basis, but a degree of their ordinary lives was permitted to continue. Moreover, this was largely as a result of the choices of the civilians and those around them. Marga, Herr Wilker's lover, for example, said 'I think the best thing is not to deal with such matters. We cannot change anything about it.' Frau Sander's mother actively led her children away from the window early in the existence of the Mittelbau complex so they would not see the inmates, but later the family tried to feed the inmates, and Frau Pasch describes civilians actively 'seeking refuge' in their homes away from the prisoners.

Such evidence supports the argument of compartmentalisation put forward by De Swaan (2001; 2015). Such compartmentalisation was far from 'perfect' where the concentration camps were completely invisible to the masses, but compartmentalisation both physically and psychologically was taking place. Where possible, civilians were either deliberately differentiating between their 'normal' lives without the Holocaust taking place in the background, and their newfound realities, as per Cohen's conjecture of 'out of sight, out of mind' (2001:293), or measures were being taken by the authorities to increase this compartmentalisation and sequestration. For the civilians in the Harz

region, particularly as a result of the number of sub camps and that the workforce building the V2 rockets was comprised of slave labour from the camp alongside the civilian workforce, their lives were certainly impacted by the camps and the violence which took place therein, yet normal life, considering the state of total war, continued as best it could

CHAPTER 6 - Conclusion

This research began in July 2001 when I walked away from the Dachau concentration camp in stunned silence with my class mates. It began with two questions of 'how could this have happened' and 'why did nobody stop it?' More than fifteen years later, perhaps now I could offer my fifteen year old self an answer to those questions. This research, however, deconstructed these larger and vague questions to specifically examine:

- What did a concentration camp look like?
- Were nearby civilians empathetic or sympathetic to the inmates inside the camps?
- Did the architecture and topography allow civilians to ignore and deny what was taking place therein?
- Are changes in architecture and topography apparent, which may further explain civilian empathy (or lack thereof) towards the inmates?

I explicate further on these questions within this chapter. The third question of 'did the architecture and topography allow civilians to ignore and deny what was taking place therein'? is, however, discussed alongside the capacity for empathy, sympathy and mutual identification, and alongside the critique of the visual appearance of concentration camps for this question ties in directly to both.

Further to this, a key aim of the research was to utilise the theories of Arendt (1970; 1978; 1979; 1983), Bauman (2009), Elias (1996; 2000; 2001) and Cohen (2001) to show the concept of thoughtlessness (first advocated by Arendt) runs through each of these theories. Having addressed these questions and the theme of thoughtlessness throughout the theories, I will then discuss further points for research in the future.

What did a concentration camp look like?

The architecture of concentration camps was not always like that seen in films or documentary, thus the architecture of the camps was shown to challenge the descriptions set out by Sofsky (1999) and Goffman (1991) in that many were located in civilian buildings and their outward exteriors did not look 'total' and were not particularly unusual. When one examines the timeline in Portfolio 1, for example the difference in architectures is stark. In the earliest incarnations of the concentration camps in Nazi Germany, the majority were located in pre-existing buildings – particularly former prisons. As discussed in Chapter 2, Auschwitz understandably stands as a totem of the Holocaust but all too often photographs of the camps are replicated and distort how we see the realities of the

camps. Many of the camps were located in pre-existing buildings which created a facade of normalcy, despite the horrors which took place inside. The main camps, such as Auschwitz, Auschwitz Birkenau, Dachau, Mittelbau Dora or Neuengamme certainly fit the rubric outlined by the likes of Sofsky (1999) and Goffman (1991) but their descriptions are incomplete in that they neglect so many of the smaller sub camps. Particularly when we view the photographs taken during the fieldwork or Portfolio 1, that their descriptions are incomplete is unmistakable. The locked doors and heavy guard were certainly in action in the smaller sub camps but other physical barriers to social intercourse such as 'high walls, barbed wire, cliffs, water, forests or moors', moats, layers of fencing or guard towers (Goffman, 1991: 16; Sofsky, 1999) were not seen in the data. Moreover, these boundaries to the outside world were not 'clear, unmistakable, and insurmountable' (Sofsky, 1999: 60) for so many of the camps were located in previously used civilian buildings which maintained a facade of normality. So too, Sofsky's argument that concentration camps had row upon row of wooden barracks was seen to be incorrect in large numbers of concentration camps in Germany.

The concept of a concentration camp may conjure images in our mind of barbed wire, wooden barracks and guard towers but, for the majority of the Nazi era in Germany, these were the exception to the rule. Moreover, gas chambers were predominantly reserved for the genocide taking place in the East. Gassings took place in Germany (particularly at T4 'euthanasia' centres) but these were infrequent. So too, cremation took place in the most specialised locales. The purpose built concentration camps, including the ones with the capacity for gassing inmates and cremating their bodies steadily increased in usage, particularly when there was a greater need for slave labour in the armaments industry, clearing up after Allied bombing raids and with the Death Marches bringing prisoners into Germany away from the liberating Soviet forces. This is not to say that the civilians did not know about these smaller camps for they were often in their own villages or within a radius where they might have had sensory knowledge; that is, they might have seen, heard, smelled or even visited the camp themselves with no mediation by way of hearsay, for example.

In a similar vein, the 'total' (Goffman, 1991) nature of the camps was called into question during the research. It was noted in the archival data that the civilians often reported having seen the inmates whilst they were marching between the camp and their place of slave labour, or on the Death Marches. Certainly they were total in that there was no real freedom within the camps for they controlled every aspect of the inmates' lives, but the physical boundaries were, to a degree, porous in that many inmates regularly left the camp (albeit under heavy armed guard).

The descriptions of Sofksy and Goffman are useful insofar as the main concentration camps. One could see many remnants of their features at Mittelbau Dora, Neuengamme, Dachau, Auschwitz or

others. Their descriptions fall at the sub camps. Thus I would describe these camps primarily fitting within the descriptions they offer in that so many were placed in pre-existing total institutions such as prisons. Nevertheless, concentration camps could also look like the house next door, the school, the farm, the hotel or the factory. Too many were not out of place in German civilian life. It was the literal concentration of prisoners in appalling conditions, and the appalling treatment of them which made these buildings concentration camps and not necessarily their architecture. These smaller camps were widespread and all too often on the doorsteps of civilians. Moreover they collectively brought about the death of millions thus they should not be confined to footnotes. These smaller sub camps were, however, the proverbial 'wolves in sheep's clothing'. In future scholarship on the concentration camps and, perhaps, in wider Holocaust education of young people, it would, therefore, be prudent to take into consideration the differences in architecture and how these were perceived by the civilians to draw further attention to the need to think critically of the world around us.

Were nearby civilians empathetic or sympathetic to the inmates inside the camps

The data revealed a mixed picture pertaining to the empathy and sympathy, and thus mutual identification between civilians and inmates. The social and physical distance created by way of the architecture and topography of the camps had a direct influence on the degree to which empathy and sympathy were lost. The individuals who were in the closest contact with the inmates of the concentration camps were able to maintain their empathic selves because, to some extent mirroring the Milgram (2013) experiments relating to physical distance, they were better able to see and understand the extent of the suffering. Repeatedly within the testimonies, references to the humanity of the inmates was made and the actor's own behaviour was seen through the eyes of the inmates. Moreover, the violence enacted against the prisoners could produce a visceral response.

In several cases, they developed deep and profound friendships with the inmates resulting in sympathy. They cared enough about these individuals to treat them in a friendly manner (a 'crime' which could exact a harsh punishment) and even provide additional food or supplies, or find excuses to temporarily remove them from the camp to 'work' elsewhere. 'Rescue' would have been far too dangerous but these civilians did what they could for their friends. They cared about them and were able to continually care about them because their physical proximity did not permit a psychological compartmentalising (see De Swaan, 2001;2015).

Those with the closest and most prolonged proximity and lesser degrees of sequestration were often involved in activities to aid the inmates in their plight and displayed the greatest degrees of empathy and sympathy. Thus, sequestration and compartmentalisation has a direct influence on the capacity for mutual identification, empathy and sympathy.

Drawing from this point, it was expected that within the civilian testimonies there would be a degree of acceptance or idealisation of violence, particularly amongst those civilians with the greatest degree of sequestration and compartmentalisation from the inmates. The testimonies, however, showed no idealisation or approval of violence. With the exception of one notable right-wing civilian secretary who was particularly friendly with the SS and who thought it was positive that the workshy were sent to concentration camps for 're-education', there was quite an abhorrence to the violence enacted against the victims. Even then, Frau Pasch, the secretary, noted that the Kapos were brutes. It was discussed in Chapter 2 that Goldhagen (1997) had argued that the German population were 'eliminationist' in their anti-Semitism and were 'willing' participants and bystanders to the genocide. This research contradicts his argument. It should, however, be noted that this is a comparatively small sample from one region of Germany. True, Goldhagen based his argument on one select group of individuals but the importance of the anti-Semitism in the country should not be completely dismissed. Interestingly, the ethnicity, race and religion of the inmates was rarely mentioned in the archives. Occasionally, a nationality would be mentioned but the greatest focus was on the Kapos and their designated triangles denoting their elevated status in the camp as the focus for malign as a result of their brutality to the inmates.

Are changes in architecture and topography apparent, which may further explain civilian empathy (or lack thereof) towards the inmates?

This question is challenging to answer using the archival data for Mittelbau Dora opened in 1943 (Wagner, 2012) and was the last main camp to open. Moreover, the civilians may have only had direct sensory knowledge (seeing, hearing smelling or visiting the camp themselves and without hearsay) of the Mittelbau Dora complex. Nevertheless, the stark changes in architecture identified in Chapter 4 provide useful data for a more general argument and the basis for further research into the impact of architecture on empathy and sympathy at other concentration camps.

The Holocaust developed very slowly and gradually. Germany did not awake in January 1933 to the news that Hitler was chancellor and the persecuted groups immediately transported on cattle trucks

to their death. The Nazi death machine progressed, as Arendt argued, from a movement to a regime (1979). When we examine the graphs presented in Chapter 4, we can see a reflection of the power the Nazis held in the number of concentration camps and the number of people who would have had some level of sensory knowledge. That is, the number of people who could have seen, heard, smelled or visited a camp first hand. Had the number of camps at the end of 1944 been extant in 1933, or even a little later, there would have been a public outcry as there was when the full extent of the T4 program was unearthed (Friedlander, 2004). It took time for the Nazis to erode public sentiments and social solidarity – both against the victims and between the remaining civilians and it took time for the full extent of their power to be realised. Under Nazi rule, the terror within a totalitarian regime isolated by 'atomisation'. Free association, the support of friends and family, and moral resistance were destroyed (Schapiro, 1978). The oppression of the totalitarian regime brings about a darkness. This darkness occurs when people no longer speak out or question their oppressors. As Arendt wrote, 'darkness has come when this is extinguished by 'credibility gaps' and 'invisible government,' by speech that does not disclose what is, but sweeps it under the carpet, by exhortations, moral and otherwise, that, under the pretext of upholding old truths, degrade all truth to meaningless triviality' (1970: p. lx). Darkness also gives rise to thoughtlessness, the inability to stop and question oneself as to whether we can live with the moral consequences of our actions (see Arendt, 1971). The dramatic rise in the number of camps and the number of people with sensory knowledge thereof is, again, a reflection of this in that the as the Nazi rule proceeded from a movement to a regime, power increased and the capacity, let alone the desire to speak out diminished. Moreover, by locating camps in outwardly seemingly innocuous buildings, civilians were able not to think too deeply about the true realities therein. They could lie to themselves and others about there being a concentration camp in their town or village.

The dramatic increase the number of concentration camps directly correlates with the number of pockets of decivilised behaviour (see De Swaan, 2001;2015). It is challenging to argue that this indicates decivilised behaviour or the beginnings of a decivilised process for, having examined the testimony of civilians in the vicinity of the Mittelbau Dora complex and noted pockets of empathy, sympathy and mutual identification as well as a continuance of relatively normal life, considering the country was, by then, in a state of total war. Certainly, I would agree that it constitutes a decivilising 'spurt' (Elias, 1991:1) owing to the explosion in the number of camps at the end of the war and the number of civilians who could have had direct sensory knowledge, but I follow De Swaan's argument that this spurt occurred in Germany in specific, specialised and compartmentalised locales. That the majority of the violence and death occurred in specialised locales with attempts to hide or disguise the full realities of the genocide, this could, for a protracted period contribute to the denial of the

civilian population (see Bauman, 2009; Cohen, 2001). The Operation Reinhard camps were far from German soil and crematoria were located in a comparatively small number of camps. It was only in the final six months of the Nazi era that the concentration camps appeared on the doorsteps of many Germans. Even then, only 30% of the population (discounting the men fighting on the Eastern and Western fronts) would have had direct sensory knowledge. In exploring the testimony, however, there does exist a clue towards the *need* for this level of sequestration – that the civilians' testimony revealed a strong negative reaction to the violence within the camps, as discussed in the earlier section. Even in the late stages of the war and after more than a decade of Nazi rule, civilians maintained their sense of shame and repugnance towards violence and death.

Thoughtlessness within the theoretical frameworks

The research has highlighted the key link of thoughtlessness between the theories of Arendt (1970; 1978; 1979; 1983), Bauman (2009), Elias (1996; 2000; 2001) and Cohen (2001). Arendt (1983) argued that it his incapacity to think and converse with his conscience which allowed Eichmann to sign documents sending millions to their deaths. For Bauman too, the Nazi bureaucracy created a physical and psychological distance between many of the perpetrators and the consequences of their actions – that is, the murder of victimised groups. Cohen also argues that individuals were able to lie to themselves and deny the realities of the Holocaust because, in the same vein as Elias (2000), it aroused feelings of guilt, anxiety and other disturbing emotions' (Cohen, 2001:5).

In each of these theories, thoughtlessness can be seen to have a source in physical and psychological sequestration of behaviours deemed socially unacceptable. This is particularly true of Elias who noted behaviours such as performing one's ablutions, for example, took place in a dedicated space within the home (2000), or that death took place within a designated space such as a hospital or hospice (2001), and this sequestration and the behaviours deemed necessary to sequestrate had increased over the course of the civilising process. There is a link with the theories of Bauman (2009), argued by De Swaan (2001; 2015) in that it was the compartmentalisation of violence and death which allowed the Holocaust to take place as it did. This bridges the gap between the alleged breakdown in the civilising process argued by Elias (1996) to have occurred during the Holocaust, and the maintenance of a bureaucratic distancing of the violence (Bauman, 2009). The violence took place but did so in a compartmentalised fashion in designated spaces. In this way, the civilising process did not completely reverse across Germany because the violence enacted against the victimised individuals was conducted in designated spaces. These designated spaces and the bureaucracy enabling them, filter back to the arguments by Arendt (1983) in that Eichmann was able

to thoughtless about his crimes because he was physically and psychologically removed from them *because* of this bureaucracy. We may also consider this in light of Cohen's arguments (2001) in that physical and psychological distance can lead to denial.

Arendt (2003) criticised Milgram (2013) and the theoretical discussions linking their two theories, yet Bauman (2009) was a supporter of both theories and supported these links. In Modernity and the Holocaust (2009) he wrote of the impact of the bureaucratic chain and how this caused a physical and psychological distance between perpetrator and victim, with specific reference to Eichmann. Moreover, he noted that the Milgram experiment had, perhaps, indicated a 'latent Eichmann' in all of us (2009:167). Throughout his discussion of denial, Cohen (2001) was also supportive of these three theories but neglects any discussion of Elias (2000) and the 'civilising process', and Bauman (2009) directly argued against him. De Swaan (2001) began to bridge the gap between Bauman and Elias when he conceptualised the 'dyscivilising process' and yet for all the apparent contradictions, the common denominator is thoughtlessness. It is this concept at the heart of the theories of Arendt (1983), Bauman (2009), Cohen (2001) and Elias (2000) which forms the core of the research. For Elias (2000), over the course of the civilising process more and more behaviours deemed socially unacceptable do not necessarily cease, but are pushed behind the scenes of social life so that we need not think about them. This is also true of death (Elias, 2001) which has similarly been pushed behind the scenes of public life, into specialised institutions such as hospitals and hospices because death upsets our 'delicacy of feeling' (Elias, 2000: 106). For Bauman (2009) and Arendt (1983), the perpetrators of the Holocaust could avoid thinking about the moral consequences of their actions because they were at the other end of a bureaucratic chain and thus were both physically and psychologically sequestrated. In Cohen's theorising (2001), we can avoid or interpret our situation to deny our social reality, or be so distant (physically and psychologically) that we don't need to think. Moreover, the means of promoting thoughtlessness can be manufactured. Whether it is by having a designated space in which to perform our ablutions so that they do not take place publically, or by a carefully designed bureaucracy, the physical and psychological distance between the act and others can be humanly created.

In this way it was easy to hide the concentration camps within small towns and villages. Moreover, the architecture was seen to change towards the purpose built and 'total' architectures we are familiar with as the Nazi era passed from movement to regime (Arendt, 1979) and thus Germany plunged into what Arendt termed 'darkness' (1973). By then, it would have been far too late for the civilians to stop the Nazi movement had they wanted to. The number of concentration camps and thus the number of civilians with sensory knowledge of the camps steadily increased, but exploded

in number after June 1944 when the tide had turned against the Nazi state in the Second World War. Central to the arguments here made is that of the normalcy of the architectures of the concentration camps. The architecture also dramatically changed and the number of concentration camps purposely built to accommodate more prisoners for the war effort, armaments industry and clear-up of bombed out cities increased. There were further increases in the number of camps in Germany by the end of 1944 and early in 1945 as a result of the Allies moving from the East, and the inmates from the camps in Poland were evacuated on the death marches to the camps inside Germany. Photographs of some of the sub camps of Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme further highlight the outward normalcy of the architecture of the concentration camps. We can see further sequestration of the violence and death within the concentration camps in Portfolio 2, in which the means of disposing of corpses can be seen to change over time. This timeline depicts how centralised the facilities for dealing with the disposal of corpses was. It was in the central camps where the majority of the cremations took place after the dead and dying were sent back there for the purpose. It was only in the final months of the war when the number of deaths in concentration camps dramatically increased because of the influx of prisoners who, already emaciated and weak from hunger, exhaustion, exposure and disease entered the camps in Germany, that smaller sub camps began to cremate bodies in open pits of bury the bodies in mass graves. There was some use of municipal facilities but, overwhelmingly, the dead and dying were returned to the main camps from the subsidiaries.

Despite the cremation and mass burial still being largely centralised to the main camps at the end of the Nazi era, it was only here, at the 'darkest' point of Nazi rule, when 'thinking' would have been at its most difficult because of the oppressive regime (Arendt, 1979). In this way, we see a breakdown of the civilising process (Elias, 1996) but also a dyscivilised process (De Swaan, 2001) in that for many of the civilians whose testimony was at Mittelbau Dora camp, life was altered but not dramatically. In the archival testimony, for example, despite seeing inmates regularly, if not every day, the civilians could still maintain a level of normalcy and decorum in their lives away from the inmates. There were even examples of birthday parties and Christmas carols within the testimonies. Life was altered in that they worked with or lived near the inmates and there were frequent bombing raids, but the civilians maintained their lives as best they could under total war conditions. Thus it was not the camps which altered life the most but the war.

The architecture and topography was shown to have promoted thoughtlessness. The architecture and topography of the concentration camps allowed civilians in the vicinity of the concentration camps to cast little thought, if any, towards the camps and the inmates therein because of the

physical and psychological sequestration they afforded. This, in turn, had a direct impact on the degree of empathy and sympathy shown by the civilians in the case study of Mittelbau Dora. It was shown that the greater the physical and psychological distance between civilians and inmates, the lesser the empathic response, thus the architecture and topography *did* have a direct affect on the thoughtlessness of the civilians.

Throughout the research, the common denominator of thoughtlessness has been seen in the theories of Arendt (1970; 1978; 1979; 1983), Bauman (2009), Elias (1996; 2000; 2001) and Cohen (2001). In examining this central concept through empirical research criticisms of the civilising process in that it is too optimistic or sees decivilising behaviour as separate and distinct from the civilising process (see Breuer, 1991) has been addressed. By examining Bauman (2009) and Elias (1996, 2000; 2001) side-by-side and finding their common ground, it has also been possible to empirically examine De Swaan's (2001; 2015) arguments for compartmentalisation in the civilising/decivilising process to show that both can exist simultaneously, thus rebutting Bauman's concerns on the theory. In drawing on such important and respected theories and arguments as those purported by Arendt *et al* I hope to have drawn attention to the significance of thoughtlessness during the Holocaust.

The possible further research stemming from this study

As the research draws to a close, it is important to reflect on the capabilities to extend this research still further. Given the testimony was derived from one concentration camp archive, it would be interesting to expand the research to other concentration camps within Germany to support the generalisability of the research. Additional data from Neuengamme concentration camp was received after fieldwork was completed but not translated and analysed here owing to time constraints and the decision to maintain a homogeneous sample. It would have been beneficial to speak to civilians who had first hand sensory knowledge of the camps although the capacity for this given the age of many potential respondents is prohibiting. Ideally, more personal documents such as letters and diaries pertaining to the Nazi era would have been analysed to negate the risk of changes in memory as a result of time or culture.

It would be interesting to repeat the research by examining Nazi concentration camps in Poland and examining the degree to which the architecture and topographies of the camps impacted on the empathy and sympathy of the local civilians there. It was originally hoped that the architecture and topography of the camps, as a well as an examination of the number of civilians with sensory

knowledge of the camps could be conducted across Nazi occupied countries but, given the already large sample size, this was scaled back. Nevertheless, a comparison between Poland and Germany, the two countries with the most Nazi concentration camps therein would be of interest to explore the key differences, if any, in how the architecture of the camps impacted on the empathy and sympathy. This might also take place with a consideration of the Polish habitus. A further aspect left open to further research is to explore the change in sequestration across time if one accounts for the changing borders of Germany between 1933 and 1945. Would the incorporation of the Sudetenland, Austria and the area controlled by the General Government impact greatly on the degree of sensory knowledge by way of seeing, hearing, smelling or touching a concentration camp, for example? What is the difference in architecture of camps in these areas, and does this differ across time as it appears in Germany. Moreover, was there a difference in how the deceased bodies of inmates were disposed of, and how did this impact on sequestration. It was originally hypothesised at the beginning of this study that the literal physical distance between camps and populations would alter across time. The results, however, are flawed. Taking an average of physical distance across time did not give any useable results. The average increased in the late 1930s and early 1940s, not because of any attempt to sequestrate violence and death more from the civilian population but because of the number and types of camps. Still few in number, camps such as Sachsenhausen which were beginning to experiment with gas and crematoria skew the results. The research could be taken still further to examine the differences between countries in regards to the sequestration of concentration camps, by way of the number of civilians with sensory knowledge, by their exterior architecture and by the facilities for disposing of human remains. Thus there may still be data to examine here

Another piece of research which may be of interest in exploring the themes explored in this study further, would be to examine the scale of T4 involvement. These were omitted from this research because locating the many, hospitals, children's homes, mental health wards and doctors surgeries which may have 'fed' victims to the five T4 centres for murder in Germany would have been too time consuming to undertake alongside the research carried out here. It would certainly be challenging, as would *proving* with qualitative data that the medical professionals within these institutions discussed patients in relation to the 'euthanasia' program. If it was achievable, however, it would further complicate the issue of bystanders and perpetrators for the involvement could be so extensive for the number of medical profession implicated in some way with the T4 programme could stretch to the tens of thousands.

When initially investigating the concentration camps on the Sechste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Bundesentschädigungsgesetzes (6-DVBEG, Bundesministeriums der Justiz 1982), the differences in memorialisation of the different camps was astounding. Often online searches for evidence of a smaller Nazi concentration camp was fruitless. Contacting local tourist boards, historical societies, museums and town councils was also fruitless in that there was often disbelief that a concentration camp had been so nearby. The differences were marked not just by country but by region. Concentration camps in France were difficult to locate prior to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum sharing their geographical coordinates, as there was very little information about them or their location. This has changed since 2011 but was, nevertheless, striking. Similar difficulties were faced with Nazi concentration camps in Italy, the Channel Islands and in the former Yugoslavia. In Germany, it was fortuitous that the memorial museums of Mittelbau Dora and Neuengamme held extensive information on the sub camps, thus they were easier to locate prior to the USHMM coordinates. The differences in larger memorials, and how and why they memorialise the sub camps to the extent they do would be an interesting challenge. This was inspired by the late development of the former Neuengamme concentration camp becoming a museum and memorial, but only in 2006 and as a result of public pressure on the government. Furthermore, there was a difference in memorial culture extending as far as the 'gift shop'. To my great surprise, the memorial and museum at the site of Bergen Belsen sold postcards. I asked the archivist about this, and questioned whether it was appropriate to do so. He informed me that it was a 'tradition' dating back to the displaced persons camp immediately adjacent to the former concentration camp, and the number of British military personnel who had been stationed in Bergen on their military service in the 1950s. This suggestion for further research is also inspired by the film KZ (2006) which explored memory and memorialisation of the concentration camps in Austria. Within the film it a willingness to build over the top of former concentration camps was seen, save a few key architectural details such as gates or even crematoria.

Final remarks

As the study draws to a close, my mind returns to the teenager I once was, who asked such impossibly difficult questions on the most emotionally challenging topics. Having attempted to answer those questions, what is my lasting impression and what do I take away?

It is easy to judge the Nazi era through a twenty-first century lens, where information about global affairs is readily available at our fingertips. Even that which is intended to remain secret is more easily, readily and anonymously 'leaked'. Whether knowledge of the atrocities at Abu Graibh,

Guantanamo Bay, or under ISIS, for example, would be as publicly available without new media including the internet and social media is difficult to ascertain. Moreover, even without the new media generated in the later twentieth and early twenty-first century, media blackouts of realities under a totalitarian state are not uncommon. Even the Allies found evidence and testimony of Auschwitz difficult to believe when they first encountered escapees. Social media may connect us to an extraordinary extent but we should remember that despite the number of 'friends' we have, the multitudes of interdependencies we have does not necessarily mean we will maintain these social bonds. We may be simultaneously 'connected' and 'disconnected'. Indeed, with the distance (both literal and figurative) of social media and the anonymity of the internet, our capacity to be genuinely empathetic or sympathetic may erode. Perhaps there is an argument then for continually challenging ourselves as to whether we are as empathetic as we might be.

One would certainly hope that we have learned and internalised the 'never again' mantra repeated every 27th January to mark the liberation of Auschwitz and Holocaust memorial day and yet genocides have continued to happen since the Holocaust, even in Europe in 1995 with the Bosnian/Serb/Croat genocide. Furthermore, racism, homophobia, transphobia and xenophobia are ever prevalent, particularly in the wake of the global political events of 2016 and yet we still see ourselves as 'civilised' in the normative sense of the word. In the Eliasian sense, however, what became glaringly apparent in conducting the research is the capacity for the greatest evil to be disguised as something completely normal. Perhaps, then, Bauman's (2009) assertion that the civilising process was no protection against the barbarity of the Nazi regime can be considered correct. If we take this one step further, we might consider that the civilising process is, in some respects, dangerous to society and our civil liberties. Not only can we attempt to fool ourselves that we live in a more 'civilised' world with 'civilised' modes of conduct and ever decreasing levels of violence, but we can be fooled as we can fool ourselves into believing that the worst is not happening. Moreover we may consider the title of one of Elias' last works; The Loneliness of the Dying (2001). There is something intrinsically melancholy in this title. In many respects, the civilising process may be positive for our society for we are not subject to the same risk of violence as we would have been in earlier epochs of history, but by pushing so much behind the scenes because of our delicacy of feeling, we may be missing some of the most poignant and important moments in life. In the twenty-first century with the constant access to knowledge of world events updated in real-time, now more than ever it is possible to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with those who would be victimised. We have the benefits of the 'light', in Arendt's metaphor, to find out about the world and speak out about the injustices we see. It is our right, Arendt (1971) argued, to demand such illumination, critique and questioning of the powerful, but we are equally responsible for this

illumination and to keep the potential 'darkness' at bay. We must be asking more questions than ever, and lift the veil on apparent normalcy to ensure evil deeds are not taking place from under our nose.

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