

(His)-story about the Dutch Golden Age



A case study about the interpretations of heritage sites,
related to colonial and slavery events, in Amsterdam

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Summary

An influence of colonial and slavery events in various touristic destinations has been a topic nowadays. Scholars have been researching actual after-effects of colonial past, how it has re-shaped certain destinations tourism industry or the image of destination itself, but most of the research focusses on former colonized countries rather than on former colonizing countries. In this case study I wanted to focus on the city of Amsterdam and see how topics such as the Dutch Golden Age, colonialism and slavery are addressed and depicted in heritage sites. Tour guides are the ones who are presenting various sites in destinations to tourists, their narratives influence the way how tourists and locals perceive the city or country in general. Therefore, the first part of this research focusses on 'free walking' and 'thematic' tours and how they interpreted heritage sites such as the Dam Square, the Royal Palace, the University of Amsterdam heritage sites and a topic about Dutch Golden Age. In order to understand characteristics of heritage, several concepts as heritage and its uses, distinction between heritage, history and past as well as heritage construction were needed to analyse. Another essential concept was interpretation and how through an effective interpretation people can gain more knowledge, change their attitude or even behaviour. In order to see what kind of interpretations visitors gained and if it was a successful interpretation, my second research part focused on six university students, who attended a 'Black heritage tour' – a tour, in which slavery and colonialism are main topics.

Only qualitative data was collected by conducting seven semi-structured interviews with the tour guides. In addition, I participated in their guided tours as an observer. This helped me to understand what is being told during their tour, what places they are visiting, what are audience reactions. Focus group method was used together with six students from Wageningen University. We had one meeting before attending a 'Black heritage tour' and a second meeting afterwards to see what are their experiences and perceptions, what has been changed concerning their knowledge or attitudes. Also, a photo elicitation method was used by all focus group participants. All data was analysed by using both open and axial coding.

The results from the tour guides showed a variety of interpretations, regarding three heritage sites and the Dutch Golden age topic. The tour guides' narratives illustrated the selectivity of their chosen information that depended on audience age, origins and interests. None of the guides excluded colonialism or slavery topics from their narratives, however, it was difficult to 'measure' when it could be said that their narratives were fully involving those stories. The data showed that tour guides' ethnic backgrounds were an influencer on how they told their stories. This was especially noticeable at the 'Black heritage tour', in which the narrative was comprehensively shaped by the guide's ethnic and racial backgrounds.

The results from the focus group meetings with students provided information on how they saw those three heritage sites. The effectiveness of interpretation was combined with a decoding/encoding model, which showed that students, who had a dominant view, through interpretation process were satisfied with the tour, gained sufficient amount of information, were reflecting on given information, perceived tour guide's interpretations and their attitude shifted towards seeing more symbols and evidence about the black presence in the city of Amsterdam. On the contrary, a student, having an oppositional view enjoyed the guided tour less since she did not agree with the tour guide's 'one-sided' story that contained some judgements about Dutch culture and history. This clearly exemplified how she adopted less information and her attitude only changed towards the essence of the tour (looking and noticing more about hidden symbols in the city) rather than about the content of the tour (the black presence in Amsterdam). Finally, a high influence of ethnic background on student's perceptions was found.

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1. Introduction

1.1. The Dutch Golden Age and remembrance of the history of slavery and colonial past

The Dutch Golden Age, which started in 17th century. At one side it has been seen as a period when Dutch trade, science and arts were ranked as top in the world (Wikipedia, 2018). According to Prak (2005), some people signify this period as one of the most important in the Dutch history while such a small and limitedly populated country was able to compete with larger powers and monarchies in the world. It was wondered how such a “small and relatively remote country as the young Republic should nevertheless have been so advanced politically, economically and culturally” (Prak, 2005:2). While some historians highlight the advancement of the Dutch Golden Age, others, conversely point out the other side of that period. Balkenhol (2011) in his research about the emplacement of slavery in monuments, presented abbreviated part of the Dutch history, related to colonial and slavery events. In 1667, the area in the north coast of South America became the first colony of the Netherlands. From then onwards, Dutch were steadily colonizing areas and increasing the produce of sugar, coffee and cocoa in those places. The Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) was mainly responsible for it and expanding colonized areas in the East part of the world. As soon as the need of labour increased, the Dutch West Indian company (WIC) were shipping to the West part of the world and took part in the trans-Atlantic slave trade by placing enslaved Africans in the plantations to work and bring economic benefits to WIC. Two hundred years later, the colonization and slavery ended and formerly enslaved people left Dutch colonies (Balkenhol, 2011).

As in many other countries, whose ‘sensitive’ histories time to time give rise to public debates, the Netherlands also nowadays experience the issues that associate this country with the transatlantic slave trade. Only recently the Dutch government admitted the guilt of what has been negatively done in the Dutch history. For example, in 2002, the Dutch government announced the 1st of July as an annual day to commemorate the Dutch abolition of slavery (Van Boxtel et al., 2015). NiNsee, (Nederlands Instituut voor Slavernijverleden – Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy) every year on 1st of July organize ‘Keti Koti’ festival (‘Keti Koti’ from Surinamese language means “breaking the chains”). During this festival, in one of the parks ‘Oosterpark’ (Amsterdam), there are many theatrical, musical performances to celebrate freedom, equality and solidarity and there are welcomed all people with different cultural backgrounds (Frank, 2013). Another initiative was realized by Dutch men of Afro-Surinamese descents, who unveiled a national slavery monument in Amsterdam, in 2002, with an idea that officially recognized historical metanarratives should reconsider alternative parts of the history since it is perceived that Black Dutch people are excluded from it (Balkenhol, 2011).

During the last ten to fifteen years when colonialism and slavery topics started to be integrated in academic historiography and school history curricula, on the one hand some specialists critically argue that it is more emphasized, in the context of slave trade, the abolition by the Dutch rather than highlighting the role of enslaved people and leaving that story sort of behind (Van Boxtel et al., 2015). On the other hand, in these days the recognition of Dutch connections with their former colonies and slavery trade receive way more attention and it becomes signified by more historians, museologists, journalists, teachers, governors etc., however, the same specialists demand to improve the new

postcolonial historiography of Dutch slavery, because the colonial heritage is still incomplete (Kardux, 2011).

Such a dilemma demands for a more thoughtful exploration between the concepts 'past', which refers to what has happened, 'history' (selective attempts to represent it), and 'heritage' (a latter-day product that is created from history) (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996:30) claimed that there exists a selectivity of the past, while some parts of it are represented, and others simply excluded, therefore "history is to a greater or lesser extent hijacked by one group or another for one purpose or another". The way how we interpret history depends on our "ethnic, racial, national, religious and socioeconomic class backgrounds" (Levy, 2017:161). A guided visitation of certain heritage sites, that reveal alternative stories, can enhance our historical thinking and help to interpret those places. The complicated part is when such heritage sites are related to slavery or colonialism narratives and while these topics are heavily contested, therefore those places could avert from debatable discussions about slavery (Buzinde & Santos, 2009).

1.2. Interpretations of Dutch Golden Age historical narratives during guided tours in Amsterdam

During historical guided tours, all kinds of visitors are able to hear various interpretations from guides. As the history itself is selective, tour guides are also selectively choosing different parts of the history. The selection of the stories that are told to visitors, might depend on a tour guide's personal opinion and taste, his/her previous trainings, directions given by the employer or even by tourism authorities (Cohen, 1985).

There exist numerous guided tours in Amsterdam, during which stories, related to the Netherlands' 17-18th century's history, are told differently. On the one hand, there are some of these companies, who sell guided tours, but do not charge in advance – tour guides' payment depends on visitor's tips. Especially during high season, they have large groups of tourists and give an abstract overview about Amsterdam (the Netherlands in general). Such companies give so called 'Free Walking Tours'. For instance, in some of the companies' promotional advertisements, they announce that a visitor will be able to "discover how freedom and tolerance transformed a simple fisherman's village into the centre of a vast trading empire and understand how these values continue to shape its liberal attitudes today" (Freedom Tours, 2017) or during the tour, visitors will hear about "the city's origin and historical progress including the 'Golden Age' period, the history of the VOC, the unusual coffee shops and the Red Light District" (Free Amsterdam Walking Tour, 2017).

On the other hand, there are these other guided tours companies, who have specialized guided tours about various topics, they usually charge for the tours in advance and mostly have limited amount of customers (from 4 to 6). Such companies could be specified as giving 'Thematic tours'. A promotional advertisement of 'Investors and Explorers in the Golden Age' clearly exemplifies such a thematic tour: "on this 3-hour Dutch Golden Age Tour, we'll join a local historian to explore Amsterdam's canals, following the paths of the long-ago adventurers and merchants who transformed this port into a major European capital. Together, we'll look at how trade, power, and art intersected during the 17th century to produce the so-called Dutch Golden Age" (Context travel, 2017). A promotional information of another thematic tour reveals what kind of stories can be expected to hear during it – "with the help of Dutch government, the East India Company (VOC) was founded and the Dutch Seaborne Empire came to existence. Amsterdam was to be the spider in the web. Due to a relative tolerance in social life

and economic growth, many foreigners (craftsmen, merchants, scientists) came to Amsterdam and contributed to its greatness” (History Trips, 2017). A different focus to tell the stories about Dutch Golden Age has been taken by ‘Black heritage tours’ guides. During that tour, the guide takes people to visit some of the same places, as for example Royal Palace, the New Church or the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). However, the focus of the stories, compared to the ‘Free Walking Tours’ differs. Black Heritage Tour’s promotional information, which informs what to expect to hear during their tour, says that “you will learn about recently revealed ‘Black community’ of men, women and children that lived in Amsterdam as early as the 16th Century alongside the history of the wealthiest merchants who were Directors of the WIC (West India Company) or the VOC (United Dutch East India Company), shareholders or owners of plantations in the Dutch colonies (Black Heritage Tours, 2017). Therefore, it could be argued that there are various guided tour companies that tend to focus and tell stories about Dutch Golden Age differently – either focusing and highlighting successful after-effects of that period in the city of Amsterdam (e.g. 17th century’s ornate Dutch houses) or focusing on e.g. various gable stones with moor heads or symbols of colonial wares (sugar, coffee, tobacco) on Dutch houses, which can represent slavery and colonialism related stories.

1.3. Relevance of the study

There has been done many research, related to colonial or slavery heritage issues. The focus has been two folded – either researching on what historical narratives had been selected and adopted about certain heritage sites, or how tourists experience and what kind of expectations about those heritage sites they have (Wong, 2013).

Some researchers investigated how representations of colonial heritage are influenced and shaped by authorities (Muzaini et al., 2007; Dahles, 2002). In addition to authoritative influence, other researchers focused on the actual representations of dissonant heritage discourse in slavery related heritage sites, what gets mentioned and what’s not, how the audience is reacting to it (Wong, 2013; Worden, 2001; Clark et al., 2011, in Wong, 2013; Amoamo & Thompson, 2010). Actually, quite many of research has been done related to slavery plantation sites (Buzinde and Santos, 2009; Litvin & Brewer, 2008, Seaton, 2001). Indeed, according to Timothy and Boyd (2006), people’s need to perceive a more accurate and balanced historical representations is rising. This issue is a ‘hot topic’ while we are talking about ethnic and racial minorities. Consequently, special interest groups or public organisations try to acknowledge and commemorate the past of less represented groups of people. Slavery plantation houses in USA could be one of the examples, but there are various other places, that encompass slavery or colonialism related stories, however, they are not explicitly told or represented. While visitors are the ones, who are being informed and introduced to certain information, according to Buzinde & Santos (2009), there is still a lack of interests on searching how visitors are actually interacting and reacting to the given information, especially around such heritage sites, as it contains contested history.

Another aspect what has been lacking is that most of the research focus on colonized countries examples and heritage sites in those countries – how it is commemorated and represented (Araujo, 2010; Schramm, 2007). Many researchers focus on post-colonial relationships, and how it affects present times, however, it has been a lack of research on looking at former colonizing countries and how they represent and involve narratives about colonial or slavery times around heritage sites. The actual sites do not necessarily have to be directly related to such contested history, as for example, plantation sites. There are plenty of buildings in former colonizing countries, which can reveal many

connections and interesting stories from slavery and colonial times. For example, Seaton (200), Otele (2012) had done research on how several historical places, related to contested history, are represented and interpreted in England, however, the case of the Netherlands has not been researched yet.

1.4. Problem statement and research questions

This thesis focusses on the guided tours in Amsterdam (the Netherlands) in order to explore what kind of different stories about the Netherlands' history from 17-18th centuries are being told and interpreted. As Buzinde and Santos (2009) claimed, "there are various competing versions in order to explain the stories of certain historic events, however, only desired narratives are selected and represented". Consequently, as the tour guides are selecting and interpreting which parts of history should be told to the visitors, respectively visitors are interpreting that given information with the guide's help or on their own.

As such, this thesis focusses on two research groups. The first group consists of the tour guides, while their role is to enhance visitors understanding of the past, especially when visiting certain heritage sites, which are related to colonialism and slavery events. In addition, they stimulate visitors to ask questions and impel them to interpret those places in their own ways. As it was already presented before, there are different guided tours that are informing about the period of Dutch Golden Age and obviously there are different versions of saying that story and interpreting it.

Another research group consists of university students, who have different ethnic and racial backgrounds, currently study and live in the Netherlands. Taking into account that they all learned about history in different countries, they all have different perspectives towards global history, colonial and slavery times. Since 'Black heritage tours' focus specifically on colonialism and slavery topics, attendance to a such tour might enhance their knowledge and way of thinking about those controversial topics. Especially learning about these topics during guided tour could be seen as a useful tool while students are visiting certain heritage sites on the spot, listen to the stories of the tour guide and are able to see and sense the environment around those places in reality.

Therefore, in order to investigate this process, there are two research questions, related to each research group. Main questions are followed by several sub-questions, which would contribute to this investigation:

- 1) *How are several heritage sites, related to colonial and slavery events, and a topic about the Dutch Golden Age, interpreted and presented by 'free walking' and 'thematic' tour guides in Amsterdam?*
 - How the narratives about several heritage sites and about the Dutch Golden Age topic are shaped?
 - How the information is selected – what gets mentioned during the tours and what gets excluded from the narratives?
 - Based on tour guides' racial and ethnic backgrounds, how their interpretations differed between them?
- 2) *How are several heritage sites, related to colonial and slavery events, and a topic about the Dutch Golden Age, after attending to a 'Black heritage tour' interpreted by university students, based on their racial and ethnic backgrounds?*
 - How effective was the interpretation of heritage sites after attending to 'Black heritage tour'?
 - Based on students' racial and ethnic backgrounds, how their interpretations and experiences differed between them?

1.5. Thesis structure

This thesis is structured in seven chapters, which consequently elaborate on each other in order to answer the research questions. Chapter 1 briefly introduced the context of Dutch Golden Age and how it is depicted nowadays in the Netherlands, more specifically in Amsterdam. A relevance of this study was added, which narrowed into a research problem as well as research questions and sub-questions. Chapter 2 introduces a literature review, where several study cases are presented in order to show representations of colonial and slavery heritage outside the Netherlands. Subsequently, a conceptual model is presented that consist of several concepts such as heritage and its comparison with the history and past. The influence of our ethnic and racial backgrounds on heritage construction and heritage interpretation process are other essential concepts, later on used in analysis. Chapter 3 provides information about qualitative research aspects such as research design, the use of methods, validity, reliability, my own position and limitations of this research. Chapter 4 presents the results of this research project, which were divided into two sections – tour guides' and students' interpretations. Extra sub-sections about selectivity of information and influence of ethnic, racial backgrounds on heritage interpretation are given. Chapter 5 shows the analysis of the results by putting together tour guides' interpretations and comparing to each other. Another section in this analysis chapter shows the students results, based on two focus group meetings as well as an attendance to a 'Black heritage tour'. Chapter 6 provides a discussion, where this thesis results are compared with other publications, further research implications are also given. Chapter 7 concludes this whole case study by answering two research questions, together with several sub-questions.

2. Literature review and conceptual framework

This section shows at first a general literature overview on how certain colonial or slavery heritage sites are represented to tourists in different locations. After this, the following sections introduce several concepts such as uses of heritage, heritage construction, heritage interpretation and its encoding/decoding process. In order to measure the effectiveness of interpretation, four criteria are introduced. All these concepts are used in the conceptual model of this research.

2.1. Representations of colonial and slavery heritage sites

According to Wong (2013:915), in social media or at schools “the phenomena of historical amnesia, selective forgetting and even invention are common” and recently tourism industry is also seen where such phenomena prevail. The challenge for many touristic and heritage sites appears when the goal to represent historical narratives in an accurate and cohesive way are related to the histories of depravity and oppression. The representations of heritage sites that consist of colonialism and slavery metanarratives can exclude the inheritance of those ‘sensitive’ histories (Buzinde & Santos, 2009). Literature review, given below, reveals many study cases which can show that there exists the dissonant heritage discourse while representing colonial/slavery heritage sites.

Some of the examples illustrate how the political and governmental powers influence tour guides or heritage interpreters to spread the information that is provided by the authorities. Muzaini et al., (2007) in their research reveal the study case of historical military Fort Siloso, in Singapore and how the government shape and sell packaged tours, which involve the narratives that are relevant to the government side. The main argument of this research was that the stories, told at that heritage site, avoid contradictory objects and do not refer to such topics as Japanese invasion in Singapore. So that the Japanese tourists will not be upset, the contradicting history is eliminated of their representations of Fort Siloso (Muzaini et al., 2007). A similar example has been described by Dahles (2002), who claimed that Indonesian government trains tour guides in such a way that they would be able to represent their country in a positive way by directing tourists to participate in their selected sites and listen to the information that is politically acceptable and favourable for the government.

Despite the authoritative influence in the representation of colonial/slavery heritage sites, there are several other study cases, which tell us more about the content of heritage places’ metanarratives and demonstrate the selectivity of the history – what can be told and what cannot. Buzinde and Santos (2009) researched about the Hampton Plantation in South Carolina (USA), where the dominant texts highlight the exclusive lives of aristocratic white owners and economic benefits and importance of rice cultivation. Consequently, the visitors of that former slavery site are lead to experience that place in a pleasurable way and such topics as slavery and issues of race are not addressed. The authors assume that such an interpretation is due to the tourist’s expectations, who would not like to face the history of slavery, reality and tragic incidents that had happened during those times. Accordingly, the less accurate presentation at such former slavery sites, where there is a domination of white audience, might reduce the amount of visitors. The selection of dominant narratives has been notified in Wong (2013:920) research, where the researcher stated that “the intangible legacy of the past – the history associated with colonial rule and its events – is sanitized and its exposure reduced to a minimum”. Wong investigated tour guides of Macau (a former colony of Portugal) and their interpretations of colonial heritage sites. During the interviews, it became clear that what kind of topics and facts can be told about visited heritage sites highly depend on the addressed audience. Tour guides to Chinese visitors do not tend to represent the colonial past of Macau, because there is a lack of interest from

visitors side, no willingness to associate their history with colonial times. Conversely, non-Chinese visitors are keen on hearing the colonial history, questioning about contradictory events of the past.

Previous examples showed that heritage interpreters have a careful selection of what, how and to whom the colonial/slavery stories can be told involves the high level of selectivity and ignorance of unpleasant and controversial information that heritage sites encompass. However, few study cases involve the assumptions that heritage sites should create an environment where any kind of tourist could experience it, without focussing on where he or she comes from, what are their intentions, expectations and initial assumptions. Fengqi (2008) researched about the representations and management of Nanjing Massacre Memorial in China, where given information tells stories about Japanese soldiers during Second World War. The representatives of that site documented and exhibited war crimes and atrocities, which were done by Japanese soldiers, despite taking the risk to offend Japanese visitors. Conversely to the Hampton plantation site, mentioned previously, the Kingley plantation in Florida (USA) do not try to avoid contradicting parts of the slavery history, but emphasize and represent the black slaves' lives conditions (Clark et al., 2011, in Wong, 2013).

This literature review reveals several examples that there exists various representations of colonial/slavery heritage sites. About some of them the narratives are reshaped in favour of authorities (either they are politicians or government members) and exclude black pages of history. Some other stories highly depend on to what kind of audience it is told, emphasizing the facts and information that they are more interested in. Lastly, some of the heritage sites do not hesitate to represent debatable parts of the history and leave the freedom for the visitors to make their own assumptions and interpretations. In all the cases, it becomes clear that there are various issues and reasoning why some of heritage sites are represented in one or another way, therefore a more comprehensive analysis of theory is needed to expand knowledge about the essence of heritage, the dissonant part of it and how it can be constructed.

2.2. The meanings and uses of heritage

Few decades ago, the concept 'heritage' had been used to define simply an individual's inheritance, which is obtained in the will of a defunct ancestor (Graham et al., 2016). Nowadays, scholars started to research and expand the scope of existent meanings, attached to the 'heritage', comprehensively. From a simple version when heritage can be perceived as somebody's inheritance, the range of meanings – what heritage is – started encompassing social, political, economic and cultural aspects (Graham et al., 2016).

Traditionally, the classification of heritage involves tangible immovable resources as buildings, rivers, nature reserves etc.; tangible movable resources like items or objects in museums, documents in archives etc.; and intangible recourses, which include various values, rites, customs, cultural festivals, arts etc. (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Merriman (1991, in Timothy & Boyd, 2003) highlighted the positive and negative sides of such a classification. At one hand, heritage encompasses cultures, landscapes, traditions and so on, which are looked after the community's people in order to preserve their need for a sense of identity in the future. Such preservation of our history, culture, languages, traditions and so on, according to Hall and Gay (1996:4) would help to focus on the process of becoming and not being, so more paying attention on "what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves". In such a case, there also exists an intrusion of institutions, whose aim is to preserve and take care of for example natural parks, that the future

generations will be able to visit and experience such places. However, this positive side of values and identity's protection confronts with the negative views of the term 'heritage'. This means that especially in these days, heritage industry 'manipulates' with the heritage itself as it becomes synonymous with the exploitation of the past for the commercial purposes (Merriman, 1991, in Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

Silverman and Ruggles (2007:3) had also identified positive and negative sides of heritage, however, from a different angle than Merriman (1991) did. They claimed that heritage is mostly perceived by people as having a positive value – the need to preserve material and intangible cultures is considered as a 'shared common good', beneficial to everybody and formatting people's strong identities. Notwithstanding, heritage then is also intertwined with identity and territory, which impel individuals and communities to compete with each other. This issue is especially common in indigenous lands or between dominant majorities and ethnic minorities, who are trying to have their own rights towards shared cultural heritage. Consequently, this situation illustrates the negative side of heritage, when it can not only unite, but also divide communities (Silverman & Ruggles, 2007). That the heritage can be territorial, which serves particular groups through communicating narratives of inclusion and exclusion, is also claimed by Ashworth, et al. (2007). They argue that heritage cannot be 'all things to all people', because it involves various groups and individuals, whose interests in shared cultural heritage encompasses their need to express their self-identities. Consequently, inclusion and exclusion appears while those groups are divided between who is dominating and who is a minority (Ashworth, et al., 2007).

Finally, the discussion about heritage and its meanings, from the postmodernist point of view, can be criticized by saying that there is already a perception that heritage is a meaning and consequently a set of meanings attains a full expression. A commemoration and memorialisation could be examples of such perception (Tunbridge et al., 2013). By whom commemorations and memorialisation are done, has been discussed by Smith (2006). In her book *'Uses of heritage'* she argues that the way we think, talk, interpret and perceive heritage is influenced by hegemonic 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' (AHD). Such discourse is based on the knowledge, scientific or aesthetic judgement and power of technical and aesthetic experts, whose most of the works and expertise are behold in monumentality and innate artefacts. Also, regarding the notion that heritage is a meaning, to some extent Smith actually adds that it is more like 'a cultural practice, involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings' (Smith, 2006:11). However, in the presence of AHD, it becomes more difficult to attach alternative interpretations of specific heritage sites, while heritage specialists sort of draw boundaries over alternative heritage values and meanings. Besides, AHD enables visitors to uncritically 'consume heritage' in a passive way, while they are accompanied by experts or representatives of heritage sites, who instruct audience how to perceive certain heritage sites and not necessarily how to be engaged with those sites more actively. Therefore, Smith mentions Subaltern Heritage Discourse (SHD), which suggests that heritage sites should be actively experienced, used and interpreted rather than seeing those sites from afar as never changing entities, whose meanings are static and not negotiated. SHD also highlights the need to involve a community, which would participate in heritage management, interpretation and conservation work (Smith, 2006). In such a case, heritage can empower community, while the significance of heritage is not completely constituted in the objects and sites, but it is signified when such places actually mean something for the visitors (Silverman & Purser, 2012).

2.3. Heritage, history and past

Other essential associations, that emerge while explaining 'heritage' concept, are 'history' and 'past' terms. First of all, a lot of people unconsciously compare heritage with history. Tunbridge, Ashworth and Graham (2013) argued that it is very common that the heterogeneous word 'heritage' becomes easily replaceable with the word 'history' while publishers introduce a case description of an interesting historical event, location or building and by doing so, the meanings of heritage automatically becomes deduced by the reader.

To make a distinction between these two terms, 'history' could be clarified as an accurate recording of the past. 'Heritage' incorporates the past as well, however, it involves many different other aspects like language, culture, identity and locality (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). More importantly, as Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:6) had said is that the 'history is what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on'. This classification indeed highlights that first of all, both history and heritage are selective, biased and cannot be objective but rather subjective (Lowenthal, 1985). It also, as it was mentioned above, involves the exclusion and inclusion of whose story can be told and whose is eliminated. It becomes clear that especially history is the one that is not given, but it is made (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Brett (1996) argued that word 'history' could be perceived even not as a noun, but as a verb. 'We history' (Brett, 1996:4) – such a saying indicates that history is like an activity, we constantly tell to ourselves by trying to explain about where we come from, what we think that we are etc. This kind of story becomes as a form of our self-definition, we constantly construct ourselves through history (Brett, 1996).

By trying to distinguish the concepts of heritage and history, in both cases, actually the 'past' is the one that is manipulated and used by either historians, who are selecting parts of the past that are needed and worth to record, or society, who is 'choosing' what to inherit and pass on for future generations (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). For the historians, the past is like 'a tool' to make a history, and as Barraclough (1955, in Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:6) claimed that although most would agree that history is based on facts, however it 'is strictly speaking not factual at all but a series of accepted judgements'. Speaking about the heritage process, as Walker (1996, in Ashworth et al., 2007) had said, the past is needed to meet our present necessities and aspirations for our contemporary inheritance. 'A discursive construction' with material consequences – that is how Smith (2006:11-13) also had referred to the heritage concept and by this she meant that heritage is like a process by which people use the past in order to inherit contemporary aspects for the future generations. Smith (2006) had highlighted that especially for the marginalized groups the need for a greater inclusion and appreciation of their values and intentions depend on how the past is being used and presented nowadays. As soon as these needs are dissatisfied, the experience of the ignorance of people's history and heritage or the offensive recording of them is called 'heritage dissonance' (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The dissonance exposes when the creation of heritage belongs to somebody, however, consequently someone else becomes disinherited (Graham et al., 2016). How the heritage can be constructed is discussed in the next chapter.

2.4. The construction of heritage

2.4.1. The influence of learnt history and self-identity on heritage construction

From the paragraphs above, it should become clear that history and heritage are both selective, biased and subjective. Society is the one that is perceiving and ‘consuming’ heritage, constantly trying to give a meaning and making sense out of it, therefore, we can state that heritage is culturally and socially constructed (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Moreover, as the certain heritage sites involve various historical narratives and interpretations, history is also a culturally and socially constructed reality (Appleand Christian-Smith, 1991, in Wills, 1996). There are various factors what constitute our historical understanding and thinking – our relatives and family members, media, the environment of where we have grown up and where we continue living, the kind of history lessons were learnt in schools etc. That our past and stories would not become meaningless, our acquired history classes in primary and high schools are highly essential to make it happen.

Despite historical understanding on heritage construction, people’s identities are the other influencers that help us to ‘construct’ heritage. First of all, worth to mention that every individual has multiple identities, which means that people intend to describe themselves in various ways – for example being as a father, a Muslim and a German. Therefore, we tend to identify ourselves based on social, racial, ethnic backgrounds, nationality, religion etc. Secondly, there had been debates, rather identities are discovered (self-potential exists already before its discovery) or constructed (identity did not previously exists and it has been “built” over time). In this thesis I adopt the intention that identities are constructed, which is a very powerful aspect, because it guides us through our decisions, enables to feel affiliate with certain social group and can also imply our behaviour why we are against to opposing ethnic, cultural, national or other groups (Bamberg, M, et al., 2011).

Since there are various types of identities that people encompass, in this thesis I focus on racial and ethnic backgrounds, which are one of the main factors when it comes to the interpretation and construction of heritage (Peck, 2010). The next section shows how understanding of historical events depend on our racial and ethnic identities.

2.4.2. Understanding the relation between histories and racial identities

Several researchers stated how students in schools differently interpret history, and this issue becomes more sensitive and complex when it involves many and different racial groups. Epstein (1998) in her study highlighted the need to include the experiences and perceptions of racial groups while talking about country’s history (in this case – US history). Epstein mentioned that traditional textbook narratives, which are justified by white males’ contribution, require a new and critical perspective in telling the US history, including previously marginalized groups (Epstein, 1998). Especially such complicated topics as slavery, segregation and civil rights are the ones that demand solid, comprehensive and careful interpretations of those historical narratives (Stoddard, 2009). Wills (1996) in his study also contributes to this notion that indeed the history of America is still mainly “white”, where the historical figures and facts are the same. After the investigation about American teachers, who are teaching students about enslaved African Americans during the Civil War, author claimed, that the interviewed and examined teachers expressed their need to expand history curriculum into a multicultural one, that white students or students of colour would be able position and perceive various Americans based on their learnt critical history rather than be depended upon cultural stereotypes and assumptions. Teachers could achieve that by expanding “the narrative of U.S. history,

both by populating traditionally important events with people whose participation has previously been ignored and by including new events that highlight the actions of these previously ignored Americans in our common history” (Will, 1996:384). Another research has been done by An (2009), where she claimed that the understanding of US history for students indeed depend on their racial background (either they are African Americans, European Americans or Hispanics). However, the interesting fact, researched by An, is that African Americans were the racial minorities that of the most importance in Americans history. Therefore, author in her research showed that there is a need for a better inclusion and more studies on diverse Asian racial groups, told about in US history.

Despite our racial background, that divides populations into groups were their various physical, genetically transmitted characteristics exist, our ethnic background in understanding history also matters.

2.4.3. Understanding the relation between histories and ethnic identities

Differently to racial identities, our ethnic identities are formed through both shared cultural values, attitudes, behaviours and group history. Consequently, this formation leads to a personal and social process, when people look not only within themselves, but also the understanding of ethnic identity and search for affinities are acquired within relatives, friends, other community members etc. (Peck, 2010). Several researchers highlighted how our ethnic identities help to understand the history in schools. Seixas (1993) had argued that student’s viewpoint to history is shaped by family experiences. In his research, students’ historical narratives were understood from the perspective of their family histories and experiences. Levstik (2001, in Peck, 2010) researched that ethnic identities of Māori and White students in New Zealand affected their historical understandings and the New Zealand’s global positioning. For example, the Treaty of Waitangi (signed in 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and Māori community, which ended in the British sovereignty over New Zealand) was seen as a fair distribution of land by White students, while the same Treaty by Māori students was perceived “as a struggle over land that was rightfully theirs in the first place” (Levstik, 2001 in Peck 2010:578).

All in all, our historical understanding of heritage sites inevitably relies on our various identities, previous knowledge and acquired history lessons in the schools. Depending on that, we are able to reflect on different historical narratives and interpret them in way that suits the best to us. Since heritage can be seen as multi-layered, meaning that it consists of range of meanings and identities, the interpretation process can be a challenging task (Markwell, et al., 2004). This aspect in more detail is discussed in the next chapter.

2.5. Heritage interpretation

According to Hammitt (1981), the interpretation concept is about a process, when the significance of the visited places are communicated and explained. It can educate, entertain visitors as well as rise the respect and responsibility for a heritage place (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). The aim of the interpretation is to contribute to the experience of a resource or event that visitors would be able to appreciate, understand and look at it from a different point of view. Also, as Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:8) claimed that through the interpretations of the heritage sites, “intangible ideas and feelings such as fantasy, nostalgia, pleasure, pride” should be also communicated and transmitted rather than just the physical aspects of heritage places as e.g. dates, origins, by whom the places are owned etc.

Hodder (1999, in Habu, et al., 2008) in his research studied how archaeologists interpret certain heritage sites, so obviously their expertise and interests differ from heritage studies. However, author mentioned that the essential responsibility for the archaeologists, in terms of interpretation, is also to do it as ethically and morally as possible, facilitating to make heritage sites relevant for various people. Therefore, as the task for archaeologists is to take into account the alternative interpretations, which would include different spatial scales, social and political contexts (Hodder, 1999), the same goal could be for the heritage interpreters – involve the opinions, feelings and interpretations of various stakeholders, who are also a part of shared histories. This leads to the assumption that the interpretations about certain heritage places are not objective and they will always be partly involving various aspects of our social, political and historical lives (Trigger, 1980, in Habu, et al., 2008).

Expanding information about the term ‘heritage interpretation’, there has been various ways of trying to categorize it, for example to personal and non-personal (Ward & Wilkinson, 2006, in Roberts et al., 2014), guided (e.g. guided walks) and non-guided (e.g. brochures, signs, exhibits etc.) (Wearing et al., 2007, in Roberts et al., 2014). According to Munro et al. (2008, in Roberts et al., 2014), through guided interpretation, more interaction is created rather than through text-based signs. However, the interaction depends on how tour guides and their visitors are engaged in the interpretation process.

For the tour guides, interpretation process can impel their visitors to be aware about heritage properties and objects in a more appreciative and understandable way. The assistance of tour guide is useful in order to contribute for the meaning making of the place, emphasizing the significance of it (Timothy & Boyd, 2003), “by offering the opportunity to learn about people’s history and culture” (Inskip, 1991, in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Tour guides are also responsible for selecting what kind of information should be told to tourists that would meet their audience’s interests and expectations and that it would lead to some changes – either their attitude’s or behaviour. Christie and Mason (2003) argued that tour guides should learn how to critique their own knowledge and attitudes to be able to contribute to their visitors’ attitudes or behaviour changes.

For the visitors, tours guide’s interpretation of the heritage site can impel them to ‘consume’ heritage actively – being able to make their own interpretations, ask questions, reflect on given information (Moscardo 1996). Visitors, attending to the guided tours, already come with their previous backgrounds and assumptions, so they are fully capable to signify heritage places on their own. However, a solid assistance of the tour guides might enhance their knowledge, lead to their attitudes or behaviour changes (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

2.5.1. Encoding and decoding heritage interpretations

Taking into account previously described inter-relations between tour guides, visitors and their interpretations, the heritage sites that are visited during guided tours could be perceived as a cultural communicative practice (Dicks, 2000).

It is essential to highlight that various visitors of certain touristic places, during a tour are not just passive recipients of cultural texts. Their appreciation of visited heritage sites partly depend on the texts they read and hear about those places, and this engagement with the preferred text is mostly constructed by heritage interpreters. Consequently, visitors are constructing meanings through those cultural texts (Buzinde & Santos, 2009). Stuart Hall’s (1980) encoding/decoding social model of communication explains how the „audiences consume the connoted dominant meanings and decode them using the encoder’s hegemonic belief that the crafted message ought to be society’s point of view” (Buzinde & Santos, 2009:440). Therefore, the way of how the audiences ‘do’ encoding depends

on dominant readings and Hall (1980) had introduced three different ways on how the visitors interpret those texts – *in a dominant view, a negotiated view or an oppositional view*. The first view encompasses the acceptance of the connoted meanings, recomposes the given message and continues operating within the “dominant code” (Hall 1980:136). The second view involves the audience’s negotiated reading, when individuals recognize and accept the legitimacy of the hegemonic text, however, such audience questions and might contradict to the introduced dominant reading. Lastly, through the oppositional view, audience understand and perceive the readings, but comprehensively are opposite to it, because of their alternative frames of previous knowledge, references, values and experiences.

Generally speaking, the process of encoding and decoding narratives encompasses two-way communication exchange. In the context of this thesis, from the ‘production’ side, the tour guides *encode* their information in order to present to the visitors their accurate, interesting interpretations of visited heritage sites. Accordingly, from the ‘consumption’ side, visitors reflect to the given information, try to *decode* tour guides’ interpretations, and by categorizing and resolving heard or read historical narratives, visitors are able to acknowledge their own experiences and life-worlds (Dicks, 2000).

2.5.2. Assessment of the effectiveness of interpretation

Roberts et al. (2014) in their study case tried to measure which, guided or non-guided, interpretation is more effective in Kruger National Park (South Africa). As in previous chapters, where interpretation has been described, researchers also had gathered similar theoretical information towards interpretation concept – it should enhance visitor’s experiences, broaden visitor’s knowledge, raise awareness about visited places, impel for attitude or behaviour changes (especially when it comes to natural areas) etc. They also stated that in general interpretation during guided tours are more effectively implemented rather than during non-guided tour. Even though Roberts et al. (2014) tried to measure whether either guided or non-guided interpretations were more effective, they developed certain criteria in order to evaluate the effectiveness of given interpretations in general.

They have proposed four criteria:

- *Visitors satisfaction* – that the visitor’s attention would be hold, interpretation during the tour should be enjoyable;
- *Knowledge gain* – finding out how much factual information could be remembered by the visitor, is one of the easiest criteria to measure effectiveness;
- *Attitude change* – effective interpretation might broaden awareness and assist visitors to understand interrelationships between their lives and the sites or events that they observe;
- *Behavioural change* – in a longer term, it is important not only to gain knowledge through interpretation, but impel for visitor’s behaviour change, that they would be encouraged to act in a more appropriate way (this is essential, especially when it comes to natural areas).

This thesis applies Roberts at al. (2014) four criteria in order to assess whether ‘Black heritage tours’ guide’s interpretation for students has been effective or not.

After introducing literature review as well as conceptual framework, in order to answer to this thesis research questions, the conceptual model (Figure 1) includes previously presented concepts as heritage, its interpretation, embodiment of racial and ethnic backgrounds during interpretation process, encoding and decoding heritage interpretations process and assessment of effective heritage interpretation.

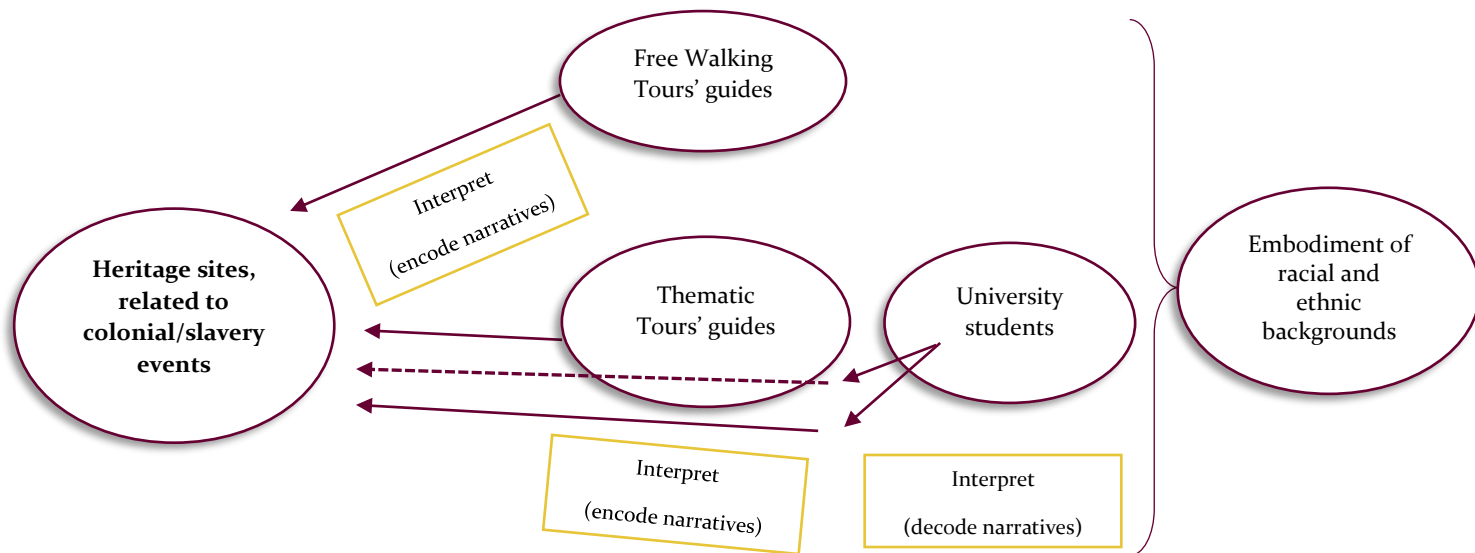


Figure 1. Conceptual model

3. Methodology

A research in an investigative way for researchers requires a full engagement with the world. During this process, our ontological questions about what kind of things exist, and our epistemological questions that are related to the knowledge production or evidence of things in the social world, lead us to investigate this process methodologically. The following sections of this chapter will involve the argumentation of chosen research design, data collection methods, data analysis and an explanation of my own positionality as an investigator in this researcher.

3.1. Research design

*The qualitative case study for this thesis had been chosen because, according to Boeije (2010), it aims to understand and depict social phenomena, including the meanings of people, who are involved in it. Ontologically speaking, in qualitative research the social world is perceived in a meaningful way, therefore the concept as ‘interpretation’ was used in order to understand meaningful acts, things or events and how people perceive them. Consequently, in qualitative research, the investigator tries to get the deeper meanings and significance by recording and analysing people’s experiences, behaviours, feelings etc. Following this, and also taking into account that there is not much research done, related to these thesis topic, an *exploratory approach* is also applied. This means that my aim was to investigate how the heritage, related to colonial and slavery events in Amsterdam, was interpreted by tour guides and students and while most of the research, where the interpretations of colonial/slavery heritage had been done in former colonies, this case study aims for a deeper investigation and knowledge production in the context of a former colonizer (the Netherlands).*

As it is acquired in the epistemological position that in this social world our knowledge is socially constructed and contextually embedded (Buzinde & Santos, 2008), consequently in this research, an *interpretive approach* was also incorporated. Generally speaking, from an investigator perspective, a use of paradigm in research is effective in terms of determining, what is important to pay attention at and what it is not, what is possible and impossible, reasonable and unreasonable etc. Therefore, the implementation of interpretive approach leads to the immersion of people’s interpretations, perceptions, meanings and understandings about certain phenomena. Through various data collection methods, the researcher is able to analyse humans reasoning procedures, social norms, inter-relations with other individuals, natural and social worlds etc. (Mason, 2002). As Blaikie (2000, in Mason, 2002) argued, social reality exist when individuals try to make sense of it by interpreting their actions and giving meanings to it, which are embedded in language.

In the context of this thesis, heritage sites, related to colonial and slavery events, are the main subjects of research. However, it is essential to keep in mind that heritage sites in general can be seen not only as a physical entity, but also as a symbolic and socially constructed entity, that involves the interpretations of words and images of those heritage places. Accordingly, the meanings of people, in terms of characterizing heritage, are fundamentally important to highlight, rather than to state that heritage is simply an artefact in a built environment (Graham et al., 2016).

In order to investigate the perceptions and interpretations about colonial and slavery heritage in Amsterdam, the qualitative research is useful, because despite that is ‘looks for a meaning’, it also uses flexible research methods in order to produce qualitative findings (Boeije, 2010). Therefore, in the next section, the selection of qualitative methods is explained.

3.2. Data collection methods

Using multiple research methods in a qualitative research is essential to produce rich and descriptive data, which are later coded in themes and categories in order to provide qualitative findings (Boeije, 2010). In this case study the methods as interviews, observations, focus group and photo elicitation were used. In addition, qualitative methods were used differently within both sample groups – being the tour guides, from ‘free walking tours’ and ‘thematic tours’ guides, and university students.

3.2.1. Interviews

Qualitative interviewing was the main method, used in this research, because ontologically speaking, “people’s knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions are meaningful properties of the social reality” (Mason, 2002:63). Indeed, the idea behind qualitative interviewing is that “knowledge is constructed rather than straightforwardly excavated” (Masson, 2002:68), which impels a researcher to talk with people interactively, ask questions and listen to them. To be able to do so, this research project made use of *semi-structured interviewing*, facilitating a thoughtful interaction, in which an interviewer can ask additional questions, support and add his/her comment to the discussion rather than simply asking already formulated questions (Masson, 2002). That various spontaneous ideas, thoughts and relevant impressions would not be forgotten (Boeije, 2010), notes during the interviews were taken.

In this research, the interviews were the main source of knowledge production and they were used with two sample groups. The first part of interviews were with the guides, who are leading ‘free walking tours’ and ‘thematic tours’ around Amsterdam (Table 1). All interviews were held in Amsterdam and immediately after their guided tours. Both consent forms and permissions for audio recordings were provided before each interview. On average all interviews took around 20-45 minutes.

Speaking about the interview guide, according to Masson (2002), it can be created as soon as the topics and research questions of thesis are known. Under this logic, interview guide consisted of 16 questions (full interview guide see Appendix 1), which were aimed for understanding the tour guides’ background, to know from where the tour guides get their information sources, how they select it and what is being told during guided tours, to see what is being told specifically about Dutch Golden Age (DGA) as well as what are the audience reactions towards their told stories in their guided tours. In addition, all interviews’ audio recordings were fully transcribed.

Table 1. An overview of tour guides

Tour guides	Category of tour	Theme of the tour	Interview time	Origins	Works as a tour guide for...
Lennart	‘Free walking tour’	-	41:10	Dutch	1,5 years
Zaida	‘Free walking tour’	-	30:00	Partly Dutch and Caribbean	2 years
Tim	‘Free walking tour’	-	29:23	Dutch	3 years
Tizian	‘Free walking tour’	-	26:06	German	around 10 months

Thijs	‘Thematic tour’	Investors and explorers of the Dutch Golden Age	27:30	Dutch, but partly grew up in Curacao	3 years
Michael	‘Thematic tour’	Investors and explorers of the Dutch Golden Age	50:14	American	around 2,5 years
Jennifer	‘Thematic tour’	Slavery heritage in Amsterdam	14:15	Surinamese, but grew up in New York	5 years

3.2.2. Observations

Observations, as a method, are important when there is little known about certain phenomena. An investigator in such case “establishes and sustains a many-sided and relatively long-term relationship with a human association in its natural setting for the purpose of developing a scientific understanding of that association” (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, in Boeijs, 2010:59). Ontologically speaking, during observations the main emphasis relies on people’s interactions, behaviour and how they interpret it or act on them in their ‘naturally occurring’ environment, and not in purposefully constructed surrounding. From an epistemological position, the knowledge in the social world is seen as generated by observing certain phenomena, because “not all knowledge is for example articulable, recountable or constructible as in an interview” (Mason, 2002:85).

In this research, in order to track and see interactions during guided tours as well as specifically research what kind of stories tour guides tell about visited places in Amsterdam, what comments they give, what questions audience ask etc., I followed 7 guided tours (one was not available at that time, but I had an interview with that guide, another tour I could follow, however the guide refused to be recorded). During the attended tours, I mapped out what stops they made and what stories they were telling to their tourists in each stop. A lot of data was collected during actual tours by recording guides’ information about various places, related to different topics (including a theme of my interest – Dutch Golden Age). Therefore, while I was fully engaged in the tour, it was hard to take notes fully, because I was digitally recording most of the information, which has been said by guides. However, the notes were taken after tours, together with gathered information during interviews. While notes were written in a very general way, in data analysis section I did not use them as separate entities but rather as a complement of my insights and experiences from guided tours.

Worth to mention is that majority of my observations were essential to gather in order to analyse ‘free walking tours’, because I did not conduct interviews with tourists in that type of tours, but I tried to interact with the crowd and get the sense of audience reactions, see what kind of questions has been asked by them. During one ‘thematic tour’, whose guide refused to be recorded, the notes were highly essential to involve in the results. It was not possible to obtain actual quotes from the tour guide as well as what the audience was commenting or questioning, therefore the notes that I could make were supplemented with the information from tour guide’s published ‘Slavery heritage guide’ book (Hondius, et al., 2017).

3.2.3. Focus group method

By using focus group as a method, a researcher is enabled to study how various views and perceptions are constructed, expressed, or defended, or even modified about a certain topic (Wibeck et al., 2007).

Therefore, this method can facilitate the dynamics in the group. Another aspect that is relevant for focus method is that during a meeting with participants, there might be that the whole group could influence an individual with e.g. the same point of views as well as an individual, who has e.g. a strong positionality or a lot of knowledge might influence whole group. Vicsek (2007, in Boeije 2010) stated that there is a lack of methods on how to incorporate the impact of the group into analysis. Few things that could be considered to take into account in the analysis are group's levels of agreements, consensus, conflict, censoring and characteristics of the discussion (Boeije, 2010).

Focus method in this thesis was carried out with a group of six international students from Wageningen University. To ensure diversity, participants from different countries were selected, namely Thailand, Kenya, Spain, The Netherlands, Romania and United States. Also, while all attendees are studying in Wageningen University, consequently they are living here for at least half of the year. All participants' names due to confidentiality were changed to other names.

The first meeting took place on the 9th of March (Friday), during which we had a discussion regarding the student's knowledge about on certain places in Amsterdam, colonialism, slavery and the Dutch Golden Age. In addition, we debated on how they learned about it (full interview guide see Appendix 2). The meeting took around 1 hour and 33 minutes and was fully recorded after receiving the participants' consent forms. On the 10th of March (Saturday) participants attended the 'Black Heritage Tour', which took more than 2 hours. Participants were able to hear most of the narratives, related to colonial and slavery times, accordingly it was be easier to hear their perceptions about it, whereas during 'free walking tours', the history of the Netherlands usually is told from various angles and colonialism/slavery topics are either partly included or not. Our second meeting happened on the 12th of March (Monday). It took around 1 hour and 37 minutes and we discussed how the participants experienced the tour, what provided information they already knew and what was new. In addition, we also went more in-depth into what they learned specifically about the Dutch Golden age colonialism, slavery and finally they were asked to comment their photos, which were taken during guided tour. Because one of the participants was not able to join us in reality, we tried to connect her via Skype. However, due to bad connection, she was not able to fully join our meeting, therefore I arranged an individual Skype talk with her after few days, which took around 43 minutes.

3.2.4. Photo elicitation

The last method, used in this research, was photo elicitation. Complementary to the other methods, photo elicitation was applied as a tool with which the participants could express the way how they interpreted and saw certain phenomena visually. For some humans, focusing on the things they see through photographs lenses, it helps to "know the world as it really is for them" (Fyfe & Law, 1988, in Rose, 2007:2). Furthermore, by using this method, it is essential to focus not only on how the photographs were taken, but also how participants are looking at them, how they relate themselves with other things while they were taking those photographs and how they position themselves in already made images (Rose, 2007). More advantages of photo elicitation method are highlighted by Scarles (2010), while she claimed that images taken by participants in research can help to recollect their memories in order to show what kind of experiences they have been through at that moment. Also, it empowers the participant as he or she is able to select what kind of photograph can be taken, by showing their selectivity standard and decision making in terms of what can be involved in the image and what can be omitted (Scarles, 2010).

At the beginning of the first focus group's meeting, participants were introduced to the photo elicitation method and asked to take their own digital cameras or cell phones, which would enable them to take photographs and capture their activities during the 'Back heritage tour'. I tried not to limit participants of this tour with any guidelines since that could lead them to more concentrate on the action of taking pictures and try to reach certain amount of images rather than hearing the stories from the tour guide and experiencing it, I did not strict them with such rules (e.g. ask them to take X amount of pictures or give them specific photo's theme to follow during the tour). I just explained that the cameras were tools for them to memorize their experiences and impressions during guided tour, they should just feel as tourists in Amsterdam city and capture photos that would reveal what they have liked the most during the tour or did not.

On the actual tour day, before starting it, participants were reminded again to use their photo cameras and capture moments that they wanted to memorize. After the tour, I asked them to select five photographs that they thought would express the most of their experiences during the tour and send me those five photographs before the second meeting. Two days after the tour, their photographs were discussed and analysed – each person was asked to present their photos and after each person, I invited another person from the group to comment on his/her group member's taken photos. This helped them to reflect not only on their own experiences, but also on their group members by searching for patterns and reasons why certain photos were taken, what it shows, where they were interested in similar or different stories etc.

Table 2 shows a summary of all methods and at which moments they were applied.

Table 2. A conceptualization of all used research methods

		Type of the research method			
		Qualitative interviews	Observations of	Focus group method	Photo elicitation
Type of the tour	'Free walking tours'	With guides after their tours	Tour guides and visitors	-	-
	'Thematic tours'	With guides after their tours	Tour guides and visitors	-	-
	'Thematic tour' – "Black Heritage Tour"	-	Tour guides and visitors	With participants of the guided tour (before and after the tour)	Used as a tool for participants during the guided tour

3.3. Data Analysis

As soon as the data was gathered and after transcribing all the interviews on paper, adding all the notes from interviews and observations as well as photos of participants, the segmentation of information into parts and reassembling them into a coherent whole was an important task of the data analysis. In this process, *open coding* was applied, while by doing so, the interview transcripts and notes were read, the meaningful parts of the texts were determined and reconsidered either they are relevant for the research. Subsequently, *axial coding* was used in order to group the codes that had been created after open coding. At the end, the text was read once more to check if there were no duplicated codes and if selected parts of the texts define the code. *Inductive codes* were used during this process because I wanted to explore the topic rather than testing an existing theory. So, all codes were created during the process of coding itself, rather than having pre-established codes. Finally, the axial coding ended up in the 'coding scheme' (Boeije, 2010), which helped to answer my research questions and came up with conclusions (full coding schemes see Appendix 3).

In data analysis, the researcher takes an important part, because in the process of knowledge production, the interpretive readings of a researcher takes place, which also shows what is essential from the researcher's perspective to highlight and involve in the coding scheme, and what it is not (Mason, 2002).

This research also involved the data, gathered from visuals, therefore participants' images were grouped and analysed, based on their told experiences, impressions and perceptions. There were no themes given for participants, which would help to group visuals, conversely their images were included in a broad focus group narrative while it revealed easier their experiences and thoughts.

3.4. Positioning

3.4.1. Selecting participants

The research sample was selected through 'purposive sampling'. Instead of focusing on how to replicate participant's different opinions and experiences in a wider population, using this sampling strategy would be useful to obtain a spectrum of different perspective and experiences (Boeije, 2010). Therefore, I did not aim to have a high number of participants, it was more important to have participants who were representing their work (in this case tour guides) or were able and willing to discuss their thoughts and perceptions before and after a guided tour (in this case master students).

In order to have tour guides involved in my research, I emailed 15 companies – the ones that offer either free walking tour guides or their guided tours are related to the Dutch Golden Age topic. In the end, four 'free walking tours' and two 'thematic tours' companies confirmed their participation. Second sample was with students was chosen from Wageningen University, since it is a very international university, with students that have different nationalities. At first I have contacted first year Tourism, Leisure and Environment students. This was done because during our study programme we are taught to look at various issues critically, therefore it was interesting for me to have students, who have different perspectives related to tourism industry. While I did not receive enough of students during first sampling attempt, I shared my invitation with other students from Wageningen University via Facebook. When I received messages from more interested people than I needed, I selected them by comparing their nationalities. In order to have as much diverse group as possible as well as that

there would be at least several countries, whose history is related to colonialism or slavery times, I paid a lot of attention from where they come. At the end, six participants were chosen and involved.

3.4.2. Role of the researcher

The way how the data is generated in the research is far more important than just collecting the information (Mason, 2002). A researcher is enabled to generate data by his/her chosen methods, which means that a researcher is actively constructing knowledge around his/her social world.

Firstly, during my first data collection phase, which was with tour guides, I tried not to bias the research sample as possible in terms of not asking too many questions during their actual tours, which actually lead me to observe how the audience is answering or reacts to what has been told by a tour guide. Secondly, since some parts of my research are related to sensitive topics such as colonialism or slavery, during interviews, I tried to stay objective by not giving my opinion about those topics to tour guides. There was already a 'bias' while collecting data during guided tours, because they knew what my topic was, therefore there was no need for me to impel them to speak about it, they were able to share their thoughts without my opinions.

During the second data phase with a focus group, it was rather hard to stay objective, since the method itself requires a researcher's involvement in discussions. During the whole meeting I tried to possess a role of a moderator, by providing specific questions or topics to the group, asking them to elaborate or comment more on their answers. If they were asking questions to me, I tried to direct it to another person to ask what he/she thinks. In general I tried to ask everyone's opinion and thoughts, because our group was not too big, there was room for everyone to express their ideas. For some of the topics I gave my opinion as well, but it was done in order to receive certain information, which I saw that was missing in my data collection. Probably the hardest part was during the 'Black heritage tour', since first of all, I was not able to record the tour, so I had to take notes of what she was saying as much as possible, then tried to see the dynamics and reactions from the audience, how they interact with each other or with the tour guide. Finally, I was interested to talk with a guide myself, but during a tour essentially this task was lessen, because I knew I will have an interview with the guide afterwards.

3.4.3. Reliability and validity

Reliability in qualitative research mostly outlines the consistency of measures, which means that at the end, by using the same research instruments, it would be possible to replicate the outcomes of the research. Validity is there to assure that your instruments measure what they are supposed to measure. However, during qualitative research, different methods are used, therefore it might be difficult to assure the validity and reliability, but one way – being transparent about research process – could help to assure those concerns (Boeije, 2010).

In this thesis, I used various measures in order to assure the validity. Triangulation is one of the methods – information that was gathered during guided tours and interviews were compared with each other and linked to the information for example from 'Amsterdam slavery heritage guide'. Another method was to spend the time at research site, even after attending the guided tours or during my visits to Amsterdam while it was not for purpose of the research. Since the topic of thesis is 'sensitive' (talking about colonialism and slavery), all the views and thoughts were included in data collection, even contradicting ones. Finally, my own positionality and concerns had been described in the paragraph above, which shows how I saw this research going and what kind of issues I faced.

3.5. Limitations

First of all, one of the limitations that I faced during data collection, was bad weather and low season for guided tours companies. The attendance to tours several times was shortened or extracted because of snowy, rainy weather and a small amount of tourists. This might lead the guides to skip some parts of information or not telling their stories more comprehensively.

Another limitation was that since all tour guides knew in advance what kind of research I am doing, some of them might 'added' some extra information during their tours when they spoke about colonialism or slavery. Some participants were even asked about this issue – either they elaborated on those topics more because they knew my research, or they usually tell the same amount of information, related to those topics, during their tours. However, some of the guides admitted that while I joined their tour, there was slightly extra information given while talking about colonialism or slavery.

Another limitation was the absence of more Dutch students during focus group meetings, since it was hard to generalize one student's opinions and experiences to the whole Dutch society. Moreover, Gabriela was absent during second focus group meeting, and it might have shaped the whole group discussion if she would have been there, especially while her opinion deviated from that of the others.

There were some limitations related to the data collection methods. First of all, the focus group method was very interesting and essential to use, because it showed how much everybody could learn just by sharing their own thoughts and experiences. Since the group comprised of people with different ethnic backgrounds, they had different experiences, but were all able to individually explain themselves and sincerely reflect on each other's thoughts. It was interesting to see how about some of the topics, starting from somebody's thought, the whole discussion developed into a broad narrative while group was adding more and more various ideas. Therefore, it was clear that participants were able to not only answer the questions individually, but also together with the group. However, a use of such method shows that if somebody shares his/her thoughts, it may influence another person's memories or knowledge. It was especially seen when participants were asked to recall some of the information. For example, Paula clearly stated that she likes learning about history as well as her previous job was related to promotion of Amsterdam city, had recalled some of more information and sometimes had more reflections upon certain topics. After sharing her thoughts, group was able to recollect information easier, which might have biased their attitudes.

The individual group members might have biased each other when they were taking the pictures that were used for the photo elicitation method (especially those, who encompassed dominant views). They admitted that sometimes they would even forget taking photos and seeing others would remind them to do so, therefore it shows that our individual choices sometimes depend on the behaviour of the whole group.

In general, while there were two different research groups as well as various research methods involved, due to limited amount of time, I could not elaborate and fully use every method individually in the analysis. Especially focus group and photo elicitation methods could have been incorporated more, while they can reveal way much more information, the dynamics of the group etc.

4. (His)-story about the Dutch Golden Age in heritage sites

The section below reveals what kind of information and interpretations about several heritages sites were given by 'free walking tours' and 'thematic tours' guides.

4.1. The storylines of the 'free walking tours' and 'thematic tours'

Before arranging a tour, guides always have to organize and plan their itinerary, so they have to decide in advance where to stop in the city centre and what kind of stories should be told there. During 4 'free walking tours' that I have attended in Amsterdam, the amount of stops, done by tour guides were on average 10. From all those stops, there were 1 or 2 stops that were planned to talk about the Dutch Golden Age topic. In general, most of the stops were relatively similar in all 'free walking tours', encompassing similar storyline about Amsterdam. Conversely, few 'thematic tours' that I have attended, had a different and specific topics, which were sort of themes of the tours. One of them was related to the explorers and investors of Dutch Golden Age and another one was about slavery heritage in Amsterdam.

Even though guided tours' types vary, either they are for different type of audience, encompass different type of theme, but generally storyline in all guided tours goes around the city of Amsterdam and the Netherlands. Therefore when I have interviewed tour guides and asked what are the main stories and facts that they tell to visitors while introducing the Netherlands or Amsterdam more specifically, guides from 'free walking tours' mainly mentioned that they try to make a general overview of the Netherlands, so shortly overview historical, cultural, daily life aspects of Dutch. Mainly, their storyline is followed by the intention to show how Amsterdam became to be such a liberal and tolerant city towards various issues, including prostitution, drugs legacies, bicycle culture etc. Open-mindedness and business mentality of Dutch people, who always knew how to make money out of various activities, were other aspects, highlighted by guides. From more specific stories, that had been included and told about by the tour guides, were about hidden churches (Begijnhof place), Holocaust or VOC stories.

During 'thematic tours', the focus of the storyline differed. In one tour, which was about explorers and investors of Golden Age, tour guides mainly go in depth talking about Amsterdam's development from even medieval times. They focus on telling stories about Amsterdam's existence, the growth of the city, urban, architectural and structural development of Amsterdam as well as trade relationships, stock market establishment. There were two guides from the same tour company, who I have interviewed, however, their focus also differed between each other. During guided tour that I attended myself, guide was relating his storyline more about Amsterdam's development and discoveries during Golden Age, while another tour guide, who I had only interviewed, but did not have a chance to attend to his tour, seemed as focusing way more on VOC stories, highlighting darker sides of that company:

"...the Dutch started going on these ships to... to bring back the spices... and then you get into... sort of the war stories from that where that East Indian Company have a standing army and they were practically... had all the powers of the state, they could go invade an island and wiped out the entire population <...>." (Michael)

In another 'thematic tour', guide tried to highlight the black presence in Amsterdam – people of African descent, who lived here in the 16th century. Mainly many stories that had been told were related to general or personal stories of black people. Also tour guide claimed that she always tries to highlight "the connections between Dutch East Indies which is really the dominant narrative, which focus so

much on the glory about the East and linking it more to the West Indies. <...> they are intertwined. They counted on each other”.

Taking into account these thesis topic, my main interests in all guided tours that I attended were listening to the stories about the Dutch Golden Age, more specifically about colonialism and slavery topics. Therefore, after the tours, it became clear that there were mainly three places that encompassed topics of my interests. The topic about Dutch Golden Age was mostly elaborated in the Dam Square, then more specifically speaking about Royal Palace, and University of Amsterdam, Humanities Department (East Indies House, VOC headquarters). Consequently, these three places were analysed on how guides from ‘free walking tours’ and ‘thematic tours’ interpreted them. However, one thematic tour that is highly focusing on the slavery topics was partly analysed and combined in the analysis together with other ‘thematic tours’, instead a more detail analysis of its narratives was done in the focus group analysis.

4.2. Interpretations from the tour guides

Interpretations about the Dam Square

The main building that was introduced in the Dam Square by all tour guides to tourists, was a Royal Palace (it will be analysed in the next paragraph). Despite that, few additional facts that guides from ‘free walking tours’ mentioned was the fact that this square is a place where Amsterdam was founded, the tramway lines, that are in between this square, used to be Amstel River, which ran all the way to the direction of Central Station. Only once the National monument in the Dam square was mentioned and explained as being:

“World War II memorial and that is basically there to remember everyone who has ever fallen in the war in the Netherlands.” (Tizian)

Conversely, one of ‘thematic tour’ guides actually focused a lot on National Monument, because first of all, there was a figure, symbolizing African Descent from a working class as well as she highlighted that nobody tells the stories what’s there behind this monument. Consequently, she explained that there are 11 urns behind the memorial, which are full of soil, received from 11 Dutch provinces. However, she complained that there is none of them representing society e.g. from Suriname, who were also fighting for Dutch armies.

Despite this, other ‘thematic tours’ guides focused on completely different buildings than ‘free walking tours’ guides. One guide showed the place, which used to be ‘Exchange gate’, where many things as sugar, coffee, tobacco and nutmeg were produced and brought by VOC Company. Another guide told stories about former scaling house that used to be in one of the corners of Dam Square – it was demolished by King Louis, because it blocked the view from the Royal Palace to the water side. Instead, they built a stock market there, which moved to different place, and still, close by the Dam Square, it exists as the oldest stock market in Amsterdam. The same tour guide, while summarizing the overview about the Dam Square, reflected that:

“I think that’s ugliest square of the Amsterdam. The unity got lost by all these big departments’ stores. But that’s the way it is... So underneath of this ground, there is a lot of history and they kept building on top of it all the time.” (Thijs)

Continuing the part of tour guide's reflections, which are related to the places in Dam Square, a corner house with a symbol of Saint Nicholas was also discussed by some of the tour guides. Because it was the beginning of December, the time before Christmas, one tour guide found it interesting by mentioning the present discussions of 'Black Piet':

"So in Amsterdam, in a large city, people they have demonstrated a lot, they protested a lot. So now, in big cities you don't see black face caricatures anymore, but 7mln. in the Netherlands they are with Zwart Piet they think it's our tradition, we should not abolish this. Also, because... yeaah, who are the people who are protesting against this? Foreigners! Alright? So why we should let our tradition let be ruined by foreign people? Alright? So those are logical debates, but it's very sad, every year in November, in December, people are fighting with each other saying:

- You are racist!
- Yeaah, but you are black! (*pause*) (Lennart)

I observed that the audience was not aware about such discussions in the Netherlands, I could see that they found it very interesting.

For another 'thematic tours' guide, whether it was a December or other month, she mentioned that she always discusses the symbol of Saint Nicholas. The story is explained as the 'Black Piet' was first time illustrated in 1850, in a storybook, which was published by Jan Schenkman, Amsterdam's schoolmaster. Tour guide mentioned that already during those times, there were many debates, possibly connected with Black Piet figure and already then this figure's name was sometimes changed in children books or illustrated not always as black. However, even after years, this debate arised again in 2011.

Interpretations about the Royal Palace

During the 'free walking tours', most of the information about the Royal Palace encompassed historical facts. First of all, tour guides were mainly telling the stories about how the Netherlands became the first modern republic in the 17th century, about the Netherland's involvement in war with Spain and how Napoleon came there, during the French Revolution, united Dutch citizens, established a monarchy and made his brother Louis to be a first Dutch King. Therefore only then the Royal Palace actually became as a Royal Palace, because a new King needed a residency. Before then, this building was used as a municipality of Amsterdam, which for some of the tour guides makes sense why it does not look very impressive:

"It was actually originally built as a Town Hall <...>. Anybody been to London? You saw Buckingham Palace? Anybody been to Paris? ...this looks more like a library compared to all those other European Royal Palaces, right?" (Tizian)

Other stories, related to Royal Palace and told by tour guides, were about the Royal family, which do not live there, but outside of Amsterdam, and while they are called as family of Orange, this explains why a national colour of the Netherlands is orange.

Only once there was told how Royal Palace could be seen:

"At the same time this building stands for the powers of capitalism, as it stands for republican self-confidence, liberal individualism (Lennart)." (*This was said after informing that the Royal Palace was first built during the times when the Netherlands became a first modern republic*).

During 'thematic tours', guides also told the stories about Royal Family or that the Royal Palace was initially built as a town hall and later turned into a palace, however, one tour guide extended his narrative by telling that in this place there was also a court, a prison, a post office – basically many things combined. Moreover, it was highlighted the uniqueness of Royal Palace:

“As Dutch say it is 8th World wonder.” (Thijs)

“And you have to take in mind that building (*pointing at the Royal Palace*) is from late 16th hundreds, this one is from the 19th hundreds (*pointing at the one of buildings close by*). So this is built by steel, and big structures and machines. That one (*pointing at the Royal Palace*) is built mainly by hand. And they bought up the forest cos they knew they had to pile the whole thing and it was an enormous task, a really difficult, cos nobody actually thought that they can build something this big.” (Thijs)

Completely different information, related to Royal Palace, was added by another 'thematic tours' guide. It was mentioned that from 17th century the “Society of Surinam”, which involved many city rulers, was meeting in one of those halls and giving orders as well as making agreements towards Suriname colony. Some of other discussed topics by city rulers were about free trade, the Maroon's rebelling and other military issues. Therefore, despite the facts that Royal Palace could be also indicated as being a former city hall, but after this story it could also called as a former meeting place of the Society of Suriname.

Another difference, compared to the narratives from 'free walking tours', was that many 'thematic tours' guides focused on details and figures on the Royal Palace.

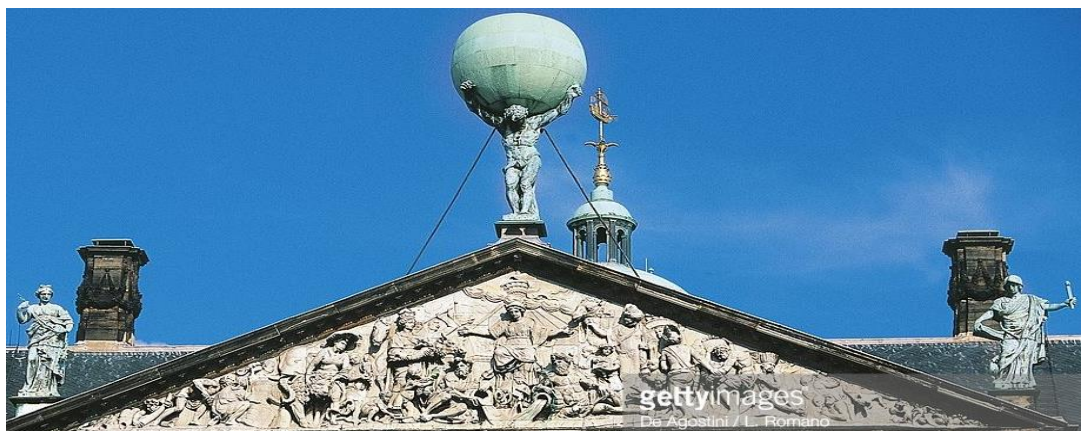


Figure 2. Royal Palace and its figures

Tour guide Thijs have told to his tourists:

“<...> do you see that little ship? It is a reference to their first ships that they built, they were so clever that they could be outsmart the other boats, with their small decks and their easy sails.” (*Telling about the symbolism of little ships*)

“<...> it's really how they felt, cos they were pretty much the world on top of their shoulders.” (*Telling about symbolism of a guy, caring the world Atlas*)

“The lady, were resembles the city, and they are other continents, also as persons, giving their gifts to Amsterdam. Well, of course it didn't go like that...” (*Telling about symbolism of women in the middle*)

“So you can see that there is a person with headdress, so very Mid-Eastern, handing over something and there is Indian even standing for the Americas. <...> and on the left, there we see India and there

is even an elephant in between. Also a lion, behind the elephant, so that all these continents are offering something to Amsterdam.” (*Telling about symbolism of animals*)

Interpretations about the University of Amsterdam, Humanities Department and a topic of Dutch Golden Age.

During ‘free walking tours’, the stories about Dutch Golden Age, colonialism and slavery were mostly told in front or inside in the yard of University of Amsterdam. First of all, all the tour guides had more or less similar intention while introducing that place – mentioning that University of Amsterdam, Humanities Department is a beautiful building, which:

“<...> doesn’t look like such a special one, but it is very special one for the Netherlands and Amsterdam because it’s the headquarters of the VOC.” (Tim)

It was clear, that all of ‘free walking tours’ guides referred the Dutch Golden Age topic to University of Amsterdam building, mentioning either success story of the Netherlands:

“I’m going to explain to you how it came to be that Amsterdam went from a tiny little swampy village to the richest and most powerful city in Europe.” (Zaida)

Or mentioning the negatives after-effects of the Dutch Golden Age:

“It’s the old headquarters of the VOC... <...> And it’s the core of Dutch colonialism.” (Lennart)

“<...> VOC, it was pretty much a monster living created.” (Tizian)

After introducing what kind of topic will be discussed about, most of the tour guides started their stories by telling about the overseas journeys of Dutch and the initial competition with other trading countries:

“The Dutch ships went everywhere of the world in 17th century, they went to Taiwan, they went to China, they went to South Africa, they went to Brazil, West Africa, there was a lot in Indonesia... In the 19th century they called it Dutch India (he meant Indonesia).” (Lennart)

“They made the journeys to the East, to Asia. The Portuguese were the first with these – Vasco de Gama started it, but the Dutch, they also, they did the same story and they more or less took over it if you ask me. <...> on the other side we went to Brasil, few islands in the Caribbean there are still Dutch today.” (Tim)

After that, one of the main stories, mentioned by ‘free walking tours’ guides, was establishment of VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie – Dutch East India Company), which was a first multinational and a stock market. All tour guides in their stories mentioned why this company flourished. First of all, it happened due to their combined forces – Dutch started to ship across the Ocean together.

“<...> instead of going with one, two or three big ships like they did in Spain and Portugal, they started to go in fleets of a hundreds ships. Because they thought if we go with a hundreds ships, we are much stronger. <...> if something goes wrong, like a storm, we can help each other out <...>.” (Zaida)

The second reason why VOC flourished was due financial investments of many citizens into VOC activities, so basically everybody was a part of this company.

“People said you know what? If everybody is able to buy stocks, okay? And then, you can just buy stocks, if the ship doesn’t come back, all the stocks will decrease a little bit in a value and we can spread the risk. So, it’s quite smart... And everybody could invest in 17th century in VOC. So everybody who had money invested in VOC.” (Lennart)

In order to highlight the uniqueness of the way how VOC was administered as a company, one tour guide also mentioned one difference that made VOC superior against others:

“<...> the Spain and Portugal, they had a King and the King would finance these expeditions. But back then we didn’t have a King, we were a Republic. So we didn’t have a sugar daddy to finance these expeditions. So what they did is that they presented their plans to people of Amsterdam, the citizens and everybody could invest. And everybody got their ideas and everybody invested in this company.” (Zaida)

As long as VOC was presented, ‘free walking tours’ guides highlighted the impact and new discoveries of VOC. Mostly they mentioned economic benefits that VOC made and how powerful that company was.

“And for 200 years this company dominated the world seas. And for 200 years Amsterdam was the financial capital of the world. They were really big. So a lot of countries had their trading companies as Spain, Portugal, Belgium, France, you know... The British. But VOC was so big that they owned more ships than all the other trading companies combined and they made a lot of money. <...> So they say that there were worth at some point was the equivalent of today’s 7,3 trillion dollars.” (Zaida)

“So the VOC is kinda the reason why everything around here was possible. <...> in the 17th century, the Dutch were one of the most powerful nations in the world.” (Tizian)

Despite the economic benefits and powerfulness, the second major part of VOC success stories were related to discoveries of new countries. Mentioning about New Amsterdam (now called as New York) was the main fact.

“So they started to go West, instead of going South, maybe if we go West, <...> already after two months they did find. <...> but it didn’t take them very long to realize that it wasn’t Asia, it was America. <...> But they were there anyway, <...> so they said ‘well, we are here anyway, might just start a trading post, make some money out of it’. So they founded a trading post, called it New Amsterdam <...>.” (Zaida)

Interestingly, few tour guides, before introducing about New Amsterdam, asked the audience if they knew how this city is called nowadays, however, none of the tourists, who attended to guided tours, knew what it is.

Lennart: ...they also have been to New Amsterdam. Has anyone of you ever heard about New Amsterdam?

Audience: No (silently).

Lennart: How do we call it today?

Me: New York!

Lennart: New York, yes! First European settlers, who came at the island of Manhattan, were Dutch settlers, did you know that?

Few other mentioned territories, discovered by Dutch, were Tasmania (comes from Abu Tasman, a Dutch man), New Zealand (the state in South of the Netherlands is also called Zeeland), and West coast of Australia.

Despite the positive impact of the VOC, tour guides also mentioned about this company in a more negative way. At first, all of them reflected to that company as:

“It wasn’t only a friendly company, they also enslaved half a million people, <...>.” (Tim)

“The VOC was economical success, but on the humanitarian side was pretty much a disaster. (Tizian)

Later on, all of ‘free walking tours’ guides have referred to either slavery or colonialism stories during Dutch Golden Age. Few of them concentrated their stories more on the Netherlands’ involvement in transatlantic slavery trades:

“Did you know that the Dutch had more than 600 thousands Africans on their colonies. 600 thousands Africans were put on the Dutch boats to the other side of the ocean for a horrible 2 or 3 months, get together in down in the ship. And sometimes it was not enough money, not enough food on the boat. So what they did? They just threw few black people over the borders. Alright? In the water, with the things on their feet’s that they would sink down. Women, children very often because they were the least worth. Alright? So 600 thousands slaves, which is 5% of total Transatlantic slavery trade between 12 and 20 million people who have been brought to the other side of the Atlantic against their will.” (Lennart)

Other guides focused more on the colonial history of the Netherlands, mentioning were they have shipped, what they did in their colonized countries and that all the crimes partly happened because VOC was pretty much an autonomous company, which did not rely on Dutch government...

“All the red points you see – they were colonized by the Dutch. So they were trading a lot with Asia. <...> By the way that’s why South Africa also became a Dutch colony, because they used to have a stop over there and reload the ship with food and things like that.” (Zaida, while telling that story, she was using a map)

“We lost our colonies mostly to England, we made a deal with England about New York. <...> we got Suriname. Suriname back in the day was good for sugar and sugar had a good price in Europe, so it was good deal, but today I would rather have New York being a Dutch city than having Suriname as a country, but it’s all history now, it’s not a colony anymore.” (Tim)

“When a company is completely autonomous, the only goal to make a profit as an army disposal, it’s gonna end in disaster. They pretty much occupied Indonesia at first. <...> So then they invaded Indonesia, they completely colonized it, they were kinda trying to erase that Indonesians are from there... <...> (Tizian)

Finally, the end of the VOC was explained that the Netherlands was attacked by other countries (Germany, England and France), mostly England was blocking the Netherlands in the trading systems, taking over of control in overseas territories. So basically Dutch lost in war against other countries, they were not able to keep their colonies existing, and generally the spices trends in the market at that time has changed, therefore such reasons impelled to the end of Dutch Golden Age.

After telling about Dutch Golden Age journeys, many ‘free walking tours’ guides had an intention to talk about Dutch traces in other countries – almost all of them referred their narratives talking about New York (previously called as New Amsterdam):

“<...> still today, there are a lot of Dutch traces in New York and Dutch are really proud of that, by the way.” (Zaida)

“There are neighbourhoods (in New York) that are called Harlem and Brooklyn, right? Those are the names arrive from Dutch cities Haarlem and Breukelen, alright? Did you know that?” (Lennart)

“Wall Street, where stock market is, you know? Stock market was invented here. Wall Street means Waal Straat, by the way. And Coney Island? Named after Conijne Eylant. That’s how they used to call it, ‘Conijne’ means rabbit. So the Dutch used to call it Rabbit Island.” (Zaida)

Finally, at the very end, in order to summarize the narrative about Dutch Golden Age, all ‘free walking tours’ guides reflected this part of Dutch history. The guides were either concluding their story by saying that probably such controversial history of the Netherlands, when they were once known as one of the most powerful countries but at the same time they colonized other countries and were involved in slavery routes, is not known for everybody:

“Did you know this about the Dutch history? Huhhhh, it’s a cute, little country, near the North Sea, where everybody is stoned all day with such ugly Imperial history.” (Lennart)

Or tour guides tried to make their tourists aware that this controversial history is what made the city of Amsterdam so glorious and beautiful. Therefore, in order to appreciate these picturesque surroundings of Amsterdam, we should not forget where all this comes from:

“<...> so just think one moment about that while you are walking through to this beautiful city that is also funded by black man. <...> I also don’t want to omit this from my whole tour, alright? I just have to tell you.” (Lennart)

“The Golden Age, because we made so much money, but some people like to call it – our bloody age. Because especially the Dutch, they were not friendly. Not at all actually. So there were some people, who say that actually our richness is based on injustice and that our richness is stolen. So yeah, let’s not forget about that part of this history too.” (Zaida)

“So that’s why we have the canals and those beautiful canal houses – all from our Golden Age.” (Tim)

During ‘thematic tours’, guides did not stop in front or in the courtyard of University of Amsterdam. However, they address about the Dutch Golden Age stories in many stops while walking around the city. The following information reveals what kind of stories were heard during one of those ‘thematic tours’, which is related to explorers and investors of the Dutch Golden Age. Another ‘thematic tour’, that is more closely related to slavery topics, will be shortly mentioned at the end of this paragraph. The beginning of telling the narratives about Golden Age was related to the start of trading routes. As in ‘free waling tours’ guides highlighted that Dutch had a financial and knowledge-based capacity to start their trading, during ‘thematic’ tours guides mention it as well, however, they pay more attention in comparing the Netherlands with other trading countries, mostly with Great Britain, or telling the fact that the Netherlands was displaced from global market back then:

“<...> so you have East India Company of British, where mostly there is one stakeholder – the King, and in the Netherlands they said ‘well, we also have to stop competing with each other, because if we get those spices or products, they are gonna be really pricy together and at the moment we both have them, the prices gonna drop, so we work together, cos we have to compete with English.” (Thijs)

“Amsterdam was kicked out pretty much from all alliances – Portuguese, the Spanish, Italians, so they didn’t have maps or charts that they could count on.” (Thijs)

Later on, the narrative was followed by the establishment of VOC. The reasons why it flourished, were also mentioned similarly as in ‘free walking tours’ – due to combined forces of Dutch citizens, who sailed overseas all together and who invested in the company financially. Nevertheless, ‘thematic tours’ guides mentioned other few reasons why VOC was a successful company. First of all, VOC flourished because those who invested in that company – they also cared about it:

“If you would be working for the Dutch version East India company, you were probably invested in your own ship, so you start mapping the shoreline, knowing ‘well, maybe, when I get back, I sell this map’. So of course if you are an owner of your company, so you think so much more.” (Thijs, this was said when Thijs was telling about Australia’s discovery).

Another reason why VOC flourished was due to setting up offices in foreign countries. As tour guide said, this is what it made VOC as a first multinational company:

“But it would take them up to three years, to go and come back. Would be really difficult if something change during their way, to adapt to such a thing. This is also the reason why this is a first multinational, to say, cos they would ended up here (pointing at Indonesia in the map) and they needed orders or somebody to also guide them abroad. And instead of directly owning the country, which they didn’t, especially in India for example, there were already many kings in India, before the British took over, so they really needed to beg, and try and please all these people and they would set up small offices in Africa, in India, in Indonesia, that’s what made them a multinational. <...> it’s not a multinational, because it was in the Netherlands, and maybe in Belgium, no, it’s really because a world-wide network was created only to get a message across, cos it would take them two years.” (Thijs)

Speaking about the positive highlights of VOC, the tour guide mentioned new discoveries of the Dutch – mainly about Australia and Manhattan (in New York), which was reached from Curacao. The story was highly elaborated about the Western Australia’s discovery as well as telling the stories about ship wreck of Batavia. Such information was audience-orientated, while the tourists were from Australia.

So basically, ‘thematic tours’ guide highlighted new discoveries of the Netherlands, a story line was mainly focused on the explorers and investors of the Dutch. Few times tour guide mentioned about Dutch explorer Peter Stuyvesant, who was even compared with James Cook, who “meant a lot into these trading routes. However, he went the Western way, he went to the Carribs <...>.”

While highlighting the negative aspects of VOC, in one ‘thematic tour’, there had been few times when the tour guide referred to colonialism and slavery topics. Regarding slavery topic, it was shortly mentioned in which direction the slaves’ trade was going and there was showed an old picture of the Dam Square, with many diverse people. The characterization of that picture was led by this story:

“And you can see, because of all these people wanting to prosper and also trade, already people from the Mid-East were to be spotted here and it was really something of a trip for people from the countryside to walk here and see people with different skin colour for example. And sometimes they were rather slaves, but they weren’t allowed to have slaves in the Netherlands. However, pretty much everybody was investing in these, well... unfair trading routes.... So you had some free slaves as well, who were either brought here by their country owners to live here as a free man.” (Thijs)

Regarding the stories, related to colonial times, the tour guide mentioned these stories:

“And India, they couldn’t get a monopoly, so like in a game, you want to be the only one and you want to dominate, but in Indonesia they could and that’s of course the black page of the story, is the moment, where you don’t have to pretty much taking out the other things, you just come with your ships and say ‘here is the triangular hierarchy, this is the King, maybe in Indonesia ruling, we’re gonna be stronger than a King’, we’ll just go to him and say ‘you are the only one, who is going to trade with us’.” (Thijs)

„<...> they didn’t have to implement the whole structure like English would do, with sending people, starting colonies. They came for products and then they left. Only in later times, the colonization of the Netherlands took place (pause). So that’s on the route and that’s the ways how from the East the spices came in and we see pepper on this table.” (Thijs)

The narrative about the Dutch Golden Age was ended by telling stories about the attacks of other countries (England, Germany, France), which impelled the bankruptcy of VOC.

Speaking about the Dutch traces nowadays, conversely to ‘free walking tours’, where most of the narratives were about the Dutch traces in New York, in ‘thematic tour’, the guide told more about traces in everyday life – the influence of spices, coffee traditions or the ornaments of traditional Dutch clothing:

“<...> and that’s the ways how from the East the spices came in and we see pepper on this table. People would start speaking in a lot of verbs, concerning spices, because they were so expensive (gave an example of salt). All those phrases were developed after the trades in the Netherlands.” (Thijs)

“And if you’d think of the most traditional clothing in the history of the Netherlands, you think of those ladies with the hats on and they have those aprons, with flower patterns, they didn’t used to be Dutch flowers, they were Indian clothing.” (Thijs)

Another information, which was distinguished by ‘thematic tours’ guide, and not mentioned by ‘free walking tours’ guides, was the existence of WIC company (Dutch West India Company, in Dutch ‘Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie’). Tour guide Thijs explained how this company started their activities:

“And they needed those islands to sail to Brazil or to the Americas or anywhere <...> and Curacao was very dry, and because of the location however, the Dutch traders went to Curacao and from that point they went into the Americas. That’s what started the other, West Indian trading Company mostly.” (Thijs)

In ‘thematic tours’, tour guide made a distinction between VOC and WIC companies, showing in the map directions where they were shipping and trading and mentioning what kind of products WIC shipped:

<...> but what the Dutch did was that they sailed to Indonesia, but they would also pass Africa, and they would pass India, and they decided ‘whah, maybe there is market place for those countries in between’ and the clothing, the textile that they bought from India, they sold in Indonesia and they also brought back into the Netherlands.” (Thijs)

The last concluding insight from ‘thematic tour’ was that there were a lot of comparisons made between the Netherlands and England. This gave an impression that the tour guide tried to sort of show the superiority of Dutch and how their inventions were better than others (especially English) or how English were acting overseas wickedly, which made the image of the Dutch less negative (because there were others (English), who were acting more harmful).

“The brilliant thing they accidentally did was that in order to be faster and the cheapest, they did not only sailed in the same routes as English or Italians, <...>.” (Thijs)

“You got send away Spanish and English and Portuguese and by enforcing it and by building fortresses, they didn’t have to implement the whole structure like English would do, <...>.” (Thijs)

Taking into account other ‘thematic tour’, which is more related to slavery topic, some of the information that has been mentioned was also related to the size of VOC, how big and successful that company was, how many shares it had... Moreover, one of the visited places during that tour was a former WIC headquarters (nowadays it’s a ‘Grand Hotel’ of Amsterdam). WIC was established as a consequent company after VOC. WIC had a monopoly trades in Africa and America continents. Despite other chambers in other The Netherlands cities, Amsterdam had the main chamber of WIC and later on the headquarters were moved to another building in Amsterdam (to Herenmarkt). According to the guide, it is very essential in her narrative to mention both VOC and WIC companies, making a distinction between them, while at the same time they were intertwined.

Finally, after hearing all the stories about the Dutch Golden Age, during ‘free walking tours’ and ‘thematic tours’, there have not been any questions from the audience, regarding this topic. First of all, none of the visitors were asking questions or more clarifications about Dutch Golden Age, colonialism or slavery topics. Secondly, if the tour guides have asked their audience whether they have heard or known about certain facts from that historical period, there were not any answers or reactions.

4.2.1. Influence of ethnic and racial backgrounds on tour guides’ interpretations

An interesting insight was to see how tour guides shape and evolve their narratives regarding their own origins. The majority of them were Dutch, one tour guide was partly Dutch, partly Caribbean. Therefore, she involved this fact into her narrative, making her story a bit more personal:

“And also still today a lot of traces of this colonial history in Amsterdam. So in Amsterdam, you see a lot of different cultures, a lot of different ethnicities, a lot of people from former Dutch colonies live here. For example, myself. So my father is from the Caribbean, Dutch colony. A lot of people from Caribbean they came here study, just like my father did. <...> it’s all part of this history. It’s very interesting when you are a part of this history.”

Another tour guide is Dutch and he grew up in Curacao, consequently he had mentioned that fact:

“<...> and I’m partly from Curacao, which is a part of the Netherlands kingdom, so it’s not part of the Netherlands, but of the kingdom.”

Despite that, by observing all tour guides, it was seen that the way how they tell their narratives were barely shaped taking into account their origins. Except from one tour guide, it was indeed mentioned where they come from, however they did not make many associations with it. A guide from the tour, which is related to slavery heritage, was highly elaborating and putting emphasis from where she comes and what kind of heritage she has. Her narrative was strongly based on the connections she has with her Surinamese ancestors. During the interview, she said:

Jennifer: There was actually Dutch studies department and I took a course in Dutch-Surinamese history, which seemed very random in California, but that was a very important beginning, cos that’s

where my knowledge really increased with the links between Suriname, the Netherlands and US, then Netherlands, then Amsterdam... I really gained a lot of understanding before I even got here.

Me: and when you came here...

Jennifer: I went to a Dutch university and a lot of what I have learned it, just been erased systematically, cos a lot of was left out of the course where they didn't talk about it at all 'wait a minute, I know, I just learned about it, so how you can leave that out?'...

After her studies, she created her tour in order to show the black presence in Amsterdam, and making connections from where she comes was highly seen as well it was clear that she did not have any problem to talk about slavery or colonialism. In general, it was clear to see that especially while talking about colonialism or slavery, tour guides, coming from other countries (America, Germany) were approaching this topic easier without sort of being 'attached' to it than Dutch tour guides.

4.2.2. Selection of information during guided tours

When the tour guides were asked how they select what kind of stories should be told to the visitors, 'free walking tours' guides first of all said that because it is in their script, so some of the information has to be said and there is less room for the interpretation. Despite their script and several conditions as a bad weather or time restrictions, which impel tour guides sometimes to skip certain stories, the selectivity of their told information depends on audience's age or origins. If the group of tourists consists of old people, the information about e.g. drugs stories takes less time in their stories. Conversely, if group consists of younger people, guides tend to shorten historical information about visited places:

"<...> for example, the Jewish history part, <...> in the beginning sometimes I would skip it, because I had a really young group and they were more like interested in funny things." (Zaida)

Related to audience origins, guides mentioned that they like to connect their stories with the origins of their audience:

"<...> if there are 14 people standing before me or all from South Africa, then of course I'm gonna make the reference about it. And I also ask 'do you know something about this'? 'Do you know people, who speak Dutch?' (Lennart)

In general, the interests of visitors in 'free walking tours' were more about cultural, daily life of Amsterdam aspects rather than about the history of the Netherlands. Therefore, tour guides said that while their tours are for broad audience and usually they consists of younger people, they see the tendency not to use too much of historical information in their tours.

"In the beginning it was a lot more history, it's also the first thing you think of. You know, what the story behind this house is or that... and then longer, you know, you see people being bored at those history movies and entertained when it's something from today, from the culture. So with that... the history part got less and less and less. And it's more cultural Amsterdam today tour." (Tim)

"<...> where we stopped with VOC, after one and a half hour, this where people would start being distracted. Especially when I talk a bit more about heavy stuff, they don't really listen anymore, there is no point in boring people." (Tizian)

A clear example of the story which has been left out of the script is about 'Multatuli' sculpture on the Bridge on Singel River (*Multatuli – Eduard Douwes Dekker was sent as a civil servant to Dutch East Indies (nowadays Indonesia)* (see Figure 3). When he came back from it, he criticized Dutch colonial system in his book, wrote about the abuse of indigenous people over there). Few tour guides mentioned that they used to talk about it while being in that place, however, they realized that it is not one of the most important stories to tell:



Figure 3. Multatuli sculpture

“I always used to talk about him, but I’m not doing it anymore, <...>. I was kinda looking at, what are the ones that are kinda least important for the story of the city. And Multatuli was one of the stops that – it’s a nice story, but not that important, so I left that one out.” (Tizian)

Despite this story, all ‘free walking tours’ guides mentioned that there are several topics that are mandatory to talk about and they never skip it, because it’s a part of Amsterdam’s story. They mentioned few of those topics – Second World War, together with Jewish history part, and VOC story:

“The VOC story is told however (*highlighting*), it should be a part of it... it’s why Amsterdam is the city today <...>. <...> it’s impossible that you did a good tour in Amsterdam, but you did not hear the VOC or you did not hear the Second World War. Those are like yeah, the biggest events in history from the city, so it won’t be a complete tour without those subjects, yeah. It has to be told.” (Tim)

According to ‘thematic tours’ guides, they also stated that first of all, some of the information that supposed be told during the their tours is requested from their employer, however, it is really up to them what and how to talk about places in Amsterdam. Therefore, it was clear that ‘thematic tours’ guides have a broad ‘baggage’ of information, but they highly try to relate their information with tourists’ interests:

“<...> by not having a script, you allow the tourists to also sort of say ‘well, I’m interested in this sort of thing, can we talk about that more, because I’m not interested in what you’re talking about’. And that’s perfectly fine, since their time is low during a tour.” (Michael)

Despite tourists’ interests, tour guides also relate many stories with their visitors’ origins. For example, in the guided tour that I attended, despite me, there was only a couple from Australia, therefore tour guide many times involved that country’s history into his narrative:

“Well, if you compare James Cook to Dirk Hartog, to the captain that started mapping Western Australia, the biggest difference is that the sailors from the Netherlands were mostly involved in their own journeys, they didn’t have their task of discovering new land, like Columbus, they were focused on trade...” (Thijs)

In the interview guide Thijs explained the reasoning of saying such information:

Thijs: So, Peter Stuyvesant, being first governor of Manhattan of New Amsterdam, that’s much more interesting for people to hear from United States than it is for people from Australia. So that’s when you alter and brought in Dirk Hartog, which was captain of a ship, sailing to Australia.

Me: so if you know from which countries are the people, do you find any patterns before, what would be interesting for them?

Thijs: Yeah... I actively look for information where people are from to see if I can get characters to match to their history lessons really, cos you wanna know what is their starting level is of course.

In general, despite one guided tour, which specifically focus on slavery heritage, all other tour guides agreed that as much as some of them would like to talk more about Dutch Golden age or colonialism and slavery, they see the tendency that tourists do not come for 'slavery tour, they want to get to know better Amsterdam in a more 'light and entertained' way, rather than hearing depths of the horror that was part of Dutch history.

4.3. Interpretations from the students

The information below shows what kind of discussions have happened during first and second focus group meetings as well as what were experiences and interpretation from audience during 'Black heritage tour'.

During the first focus group meeting, the atmosphere was led by many laughs, jokes and shared thoughts from participants. Even though, most of them saw each other at first time, it felt as they would know each other for a while. At first everybody introduced themselves innocently, but later on, there was not a problem to share each other's thoughts and experiences. Because the day after, we supposed to attend to a 'Black Heritage Tour' (BHT), I have asked participants if they have visited Amsterdam before and either with some company or alone. Some of them had seen Amsterdam, but most of the visited places were popular tourists attractions, some others knew Amsterdam better, however, were not introduced before to alternative version of Amsterdam sightseeing. That is what also motivated all of them to join this research – in order to discover Amsterdam while hearing different stories about this city!

Interpretations about the Dam Square

The tour started in the Dam Square, close to the National Monument. The guide introduced herself as a person, who is from New York, however, her family is Surinamese. Coming to the Netherlands and starting to study here, motivated her to explore the colonial and slavery stories in the Netherlands and search for black presence evidence since she saw the lack of scientific research about those topics. 'There is no black history here, it's only in colonies' – that is what she was hearing in academia. Together with other scholars in cultural heritage and history she conducted many archival records, paintings, pieces of arts and developed this Black Heritage tour. The day before the tour, it was clear that the group was very keen on experiencing that tour and was eager to hear many stories from the guide. On the actual tour day, the excitement was still on. In the beginning, tour guide introduced about the Dam Square, where used to be many trades, the Amstel River was in between the square, which brought many sailors to sell their products there. The guide also showed the 'Exchange gates', from where many traders used to come. The story was followed up by the existence of VOC Company – first multinational, which consisted of 6mln. shares. Later on, the tour guide started to more explicitly analyse the National



Figure 4. Tour guide with students

Monument and figures on it. She highlighted the sculpture, who could be seen as a representative of a working class, African descendent (see Figure 5). This got audience's attention. Almost all of them took the picture of it to memorize such a story:

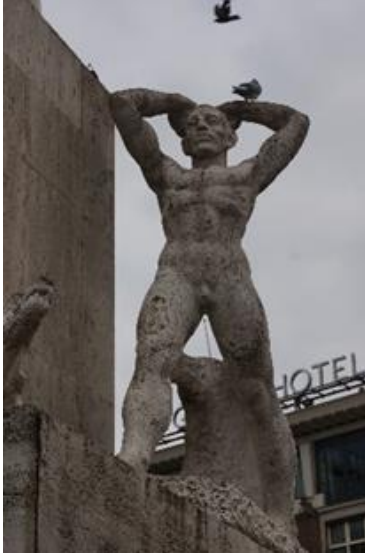


Figure 5. A sculpture on a National Monument

Paula: I took it actually because I've seen that monument by passing a thousand times by now, but I never really looked at the features... of the faces. <...> So then it was quite impressive to see... to see well a black person really depicted there... <...> I took the picture just <...> to show how much you can learn by just looking at the details.

Tom: Like Paula was saying before like, you look more in general but I also don't stop to look at individual, <...>. And this one was really clear as well that he is not a typical Dutch person, or typical white Dutch person, actually...

Laura: everybody had this picture! It's like the first thing that kind of really make everybody realized how like the black present really shown up in the city of Amsterdam, <...> this is the first one like really opening my eyes...

After that, tour guide also told the story about the back of National Monument – she highlighted that not many tour guides are mentioning it. She explained that behind it, there are 11 urns with the soils from 11 provinces of the Netherlands, which were gathered during World War II. A 12th urn later on was added with the soil from the Dutch East Indies, nowadays it's Indonesia. Tour guide's argument was that there should be also one urn for people from Suriname, who were also fighting and helping out Dutch army during the war (in order to have more evidence, she showed some of the pictures with Suriname soldiers). When I talked with my focus group after the tour, most of participants liked the stories, which were not known for them, however during a talk with Gabriela after the tour, she mentioned particular story about the soils at the back of National Monument was kind of start, when she realized that tour guide's story is a bit more nuanced: "And of course it's not nice that there is not one for the West Indies there, you know, which is completely understandable, but then when she spoke about it, she was saying that 'yeah everyone always tries to defend themselves and trying to make prisons etc.', so being very judgemental about that, and sort of about the Dutch in general while I'm sure that there is not only people from Suriname protesting about the fact that there is not one of these stones, that there is surely Dutch people that don't liking it, but might not be as outspoken about it".

I also observed that during the tour and already from the beginning, Gabriela started to be dis-attached from the tour guide by not asking questions or giving her opinion as the only Dutch participant in the group.

So for example a story about Sinterklaas, told by the tour guide, did not surprise Gabriela. A guide pointed out where is the gable stone of Saint Nicholas in the Dam Square (see Figure 6) and mentioned that Zwarte Piet was first time illustrated in a storybook, in 1850's. The book was published by a teacher Jan Schenkman. Her narrative was later on followed by mentioning about current debates and protests related to racism. Going one day back, when I have asked focus group how they could describe Sinterklaas



Figure 6. Gable stone with Saint Nicholas

tradition, the whole discussion was followed by lots of laughs and jokes. At first whole group humorously was guessing why he comes from Spain, and Tom claimed that in Spain they never hear about such tradition. As a controversy, Paula mentioned that in Romania they also have similar celebration, which includes Saint Nicholas, is celebrated on the same day and with putting candies to shoes, however without Black Piet. Many participants were not aware about that, were thinking that this celebration was phenomenally Dutch. Laura, who comes from Thailand, never celebrates Christmas since in their country Buddhism exists, however, she was ironically concerned and surprised that Sinterklaas is not the same as Santa Claus as well as why bad children are taken to Spain. While here in the Netherlands it's pretty cold, Spain looks like a great destination to go for! Angela, coming from Kenya, haven't heard about such tradition since she went to USA, where are many African/American descendants, so "they are so like angry about like Sinterklaas, they will have like strong emotions and I started to think 'maybe I should also have strong emotions?'" Eva, who comes from USA, mentioned her grandmother, who comes from the Netherlands, and that she celebrated Sinterklaas years ago, but she was pretty much against such discussions and protests, her grandmother perceived this celebration as a tradition. Gabriela, who lives in the Netherlands, shared her childhood memories while growing up and celebrating Sinterklaas together with her family. Also, mentioned that "we as Dutch learn that the black comes from the chimney, so that's why as a kid you also don't identify it with black people, because... because it's of the chimney". It was clear, that during whole discussion, all participants were sincerely sharing their thoughts about this tradition and relating their thoughts with their friends and families or with the countries that they come from. Most of them had mixed feeling about Sinterklaas and came up with some deep insights towards this tradition:

Angela: I came back, I just came back around the Sinterklaas time and my boyfriend is like 'yeaaah, people try to change that, is out of control', and I'm like 'I don't think so', maybe if they say they don't like it, because it's their history, maybe we should listen'... and that was a bit... I had mixed feelings about it.

Gabriela: (*mentioning before that black colour for faces is related to the fact that Piet comes from the chimney*). So yeah, maybe that's why initially I haven't really thought about it either when people started pointing it out, I was the same like your reaction (*pointing to Angela*), 'well, if people dislike it, I can completely understand, so then we should change it', like I don't protests myself or anything but I definitely see the point now, yeah...

Paula: I don't... yeah, over tradition, you know. In the end, yeah... if it's hurting the certain group of people, then why would you amend that tradition? Doesn't mean you stop to celebrating it, it's just making some amendments to assure that it's equal, and not hurting anyone.

Laura: <...> I mean this like 2018, everything has been changing anyway, if you really want this Sinterklaas to be stay there, maybe just a modify a little bit, it's fine, because nothing stays the same way as like 100 years ago <...>.

After the tour, when participants were asked again, how they would describe this tradition, some of them remembered that it was invented by a teacher, that Black Piet started to be discussed after many public shows, in general this debate is very recent, since around 50's. Tom didn't know that initially Sinterklaas was a protector of the kids. Angela memorized this story and discussions around it in one of her taken photos, which was commented as: "I thought 'oh, there is no black Piet!' <...> I think this building was made maybe in 15th hundreds or something, that's what she said - 600 years ago... so I thought maybe 600 years ago, then there was no Zwarte Piet if this is Sinterklaas. So yeah, at some point, they... Zwarte Piet came in". Mentioning the fact that there is no Black Piet in the gable stone of Saint Nicholas was knew for Eva, who after Angela's comment just realized that indeed Black Piet

is not depicted there. Finally, for Gabriela Sinterklaas story was again seen as nuanced narrative, which was very shaped by tour guide. She claimed that “I think we had an interesting and balanced discussion in the focus group the day before, and she could only shed light on one side: namely it be very racist etc.” This was again another example that Gabriela was not in favour hearing only one side of story from the tour guide.

After several narratives, told about the National Monument and Sinterklaas, tour guide focused on Royal Palace building.

Interpretations about the Royal Palace

Going back to the day before the tour, I have asked my focus group how they could describe Royal Palace. Paula, who was working before with destination management in Amsterdam, known about the insides of the palace, as being very dark and marble. She also mentioned about the sculpture of Atlas, on top of the building, as being a god, the one that is keeping the earth together. Many other participants focused more on the surroundings around Royal Palace – that it’s a place, where many people protest, many events happen, people do tricks there. Despite that, few people even did not realize that this building is a Royal Palace – they have passed it several times, but were not aware about it. In general, the majority of group could not mention any historical facts or details about Royal Palace.

During the tour, guide told us stories that Royal Palace was designed in 1648 as a Town Hall. From the 17th century there used to be a meeting point for ‘the society of Surinam’, where many rulers discussed issues about free trade, the Maroon rebels and military issues. Also, tour guide analysed the back side of the Royal Palace (see Figure 7), which is also not usually discussed in other tours. She explained what many figures as lions, elephants, City Virgin, who received treasure from Europe, Africa, Asia and America and other figures could mean. That was information that some of the participants from focus group liked it and consequently memorized it in a picture.



Figure 7. The back of the Royal Palace



Figure 8. Atlas symbol on Royal Palace

Tom: here I took only the Atlas there (see Figure 8), because it’s really kind of a powerful image on... yeah also a bit of imperialism or how we, nation can hold the world on our shoulders <...>.

Paula: yeaah, no, because I think I mentioned Atlas on Friday, but I think I didn’t think of it the way tour guide presented. I think I thought of it more like... that it represents not that the Dutch on the world, or any idea in that direction, but more like... yeah it was not my former impression of it, not that of domination and that the world is ours, but more like the heaviness of the world.

Laura: it was yeah as some of you mentioned before, like I didn't know that this Atlas represent about the Dutch kind of empower or really like take the centre of the world like that... <...> all details are really interesting, because at first when she mentioned like tigers, and elephants, I was like 'wow, exactly!' it is really interesting how they're trying to put all the world here and Atlas over here.

After the tour, when I asked participants how they could describe the Royal Palace now, Tom remembered that initially this building was built as a town hall, which only later was turned to Royal Palace as well as that there used to be a '*waag*' (weighting scales) in front of the Royal Palace. A fact that Napoleon's brother Louis lived there and that "this was also where the society of Suriname was... like the people that owned Suriname were also in this building? Am I remembering wrong?" was also stated by Paula (Laura and Angela were surprised how much detail Paula remembered), but it was not confirmed by other group members, which was probably not remembered by them. Angela could remember that there used to be a river in between the Dam Square, the church on aside, but she still couldn't recall whole stories what has been told about Royal Palace. For Gabriela was interesting to realize "how much of Amsterdam and the city centre and Dutch culture is around trade". So for her the place was seen as a centre of trade. However, the interpretations of symbols behind the Royal Palace were discussable for her – "if I would have had time, I would have looked that up myself again afterwards to see whether it was actually true, or why it was only... a part of the whole Asia represented by one camel... I thought that was a little bit strange..."

Interpretations about the Dutch Golden Age

As we continued walking during Black heritage tour, the guide was focusing on many gable stones that depict the black presence in Amsterdam or are related to Dutch Golden Age. Going from one street, to another, among many tourists and locals, it was like an eye-opener, when tour guide was showing 'look up, here', 'look up, there'... and she pointed out to the symbols or figures that you would not see without specifically indicating them. But coming back the day before, I was curious to know what my focus group knows in general about Dutch Golden Age. It was remembered that it happened in the 17th century, VOC Company and trades were highly associated with this period. Tom claimed that during that time, Dutch were smarter than Spanish in terms of investing and 'building more values'. To the question if they learn at school something about Netherland's and their Golden Age for example Angela, from Kenya, mentioned that she learned about it, however "it was in a greater context, about African context. And the only thing learned about the Dutch was that they refused to leave South Africa (*laughing*). <...> and yeah, they came to land, selling the people to US, so that's the history we learn." Laura in Thailand learned about "the group of Dutch and that they were missionaries, they did pretty good business, but then essentially like French, British, a lot of like western group... and we also tried to keep all of them away, because also during the colonization, there was many countries like took over time, and we like only one country in South East Asia didn't been colonized... cos our Royal Family they did really good job making friends with Russians." Paula added to this notion that in her country, Romania, she "hear much more about the British, the French, and the Netherlands is just like tinie-vinie country there... you don't really hear much about it, except for tulips and cheese (*laughing*)..." Gabriela mentioned that in the Netherlands "it's definitely one of the topics you got in history class, <...> but it's funny, cos we don't really learn anything about, well not much about the French, or the UK. <...> like I think the focus is definitely on our own country. What you just mentioned (*meant about Angela*), learning about your own country first, and then about the continent, I don't really recognize that context <...>".

Since Dutch Golden Age topic is also related to the topics of colonialism and slavery, I also asked my group, what they know about it. Regarding colonialism topic, Eva from USA told us a little bit about one of the Native American tribes – Cherokee Nation and what their situation nowadays after colonial times is. Angela, coming from Kenya shared with us how colonialism topic is still recent in her country. She referred to the political issues in Kenya that are related to ownership of the land, because some people, who had land during colonial times did not receive it back after colonization was over – it all went to the government. Angela also mentioned that her parents were born during the time of Kenya's colonization and stories about it she hears from them – “my dad is very quiet about it, just says ‘let's focus on the future’, trying to bring the peace. Yeah but my mom keeps talking about ‘oooh the days how she had to work for many hours and so many things’, so if you say you are tired, she is like ‘you are tired?? I used to work for no money, and blablabla, just for food’. Then you cannot be tired”. As a controversy, Laura from Thailand told us that her country in South Asia remained one of those, which was not colonized by any Western country. She sees colonization negatively while there were also some of Westerners coming and trying to change their culture, or make their country Christian and not Buddhist. The influence of colonial past is even seen nowadays, while for example Laura mentioned a conflict between Thailand and Cambodia around heritage site – Preah Vihear Temple. The question was about who owns that site?, so “eventually there were like French people in the UNESCO, and they obviously were on Cambodian side, it's like we have nothing to do with them... <...> so that's why we are kind of yeah, we are losing”. Laura was not only one who reflected that relationships from the colonial past are still present. Tom shared his thoughts: “colonization is something that started like 500 years ago and I think it hasn't finished in a sense like explicitly apparently now are countries that are independent, but you can see in structures of power and everything that still people ruling are somehow related to the colonialism, colonized past, like... in many European country they have resources from e.g. African countries, the people who owned those resources in Africa of course related to the colonialist past”. Despite talking about modern slavery, Tom also claimed that during his school times, there was not much focus on how much blood was there, giving more details about humans, who lived during those times. It is only mentioned that Spain colonized South America and that's it. Paula added to this discussion that even though Romania has not many connections with colonialism, however, she said “we learn, that was the moment when the great discoveries were taken, at least that's how it's presented <...> as a really really (*highlighting*) very important moment in progress of humanity. But it's not much talked about... what happened to the people that were already in those places were supposedly discovered”. At the end Gabriela shared during her school times she remembers talking also about the negative sides of colonialism, especially from Indonesia's side, however she sees that it's not a current debate in the society.

When participants were asked what they know about slavery, Laura told us that they also used to have slaves in Thailand years ago and explained the system of their society, which used to also include slaves. For Angela slavery topic is not very common in Kenya, since slave trades were happening more in the West. This topic does not receive much attention in for example schools, colonialism affected more people in her country, but when she visited USA, saw different situation “all these people were talking about it almost every day. Then I start thinking ‘of my god’ after just being ignorant like the whole of my life... so that's big dis-attachment with slave trade.” Eva, who is from USA, consequently explained how it affected her country, what slaves' conditions were and how this still affects politics. Gabriela from the Netherlands mentioned that used to talk about African slaves at schools, but it was not much in detail (or at least she cannot remember it much). Other associations arise for her are related to modern slavery in clothes, electronics industries... Paula shared that in Romania slavery topic is very far, since they did not have any involvement in slavery trades. Only associations she made was with gypsies, who are discriminated and mentioned that some of them also used to be like slaves.

Finally Tom admitted that was very hard to remember any information, related to slavery, the only fact he remembers is when slavery was abolished. However, few years ago he learned that also the local people were benefiting from slavery trades in their own countries – “I always thought that these colonist countries were evil motherfuckers, who would go, grab people on the coast, put them on boat, in ships and take them somewhere else to work, but... last year, or two years ago, I was in Benin, which is South West Africa <...> and there I visited like the palace of the King of Dahomey Kingdom, something like a precursor of Benin country. And I found there was a canon from Dordrecht... <...> so this canon was traded, so the Dutch were trading in this region and the King of this land, he gave 42 people in exchange of this canon”.

With such participant’s knowledge background, we continued exploring Amsterdam while the guide was highlighting Dutch Golden Age traces by pointing out to various gable stones. There she was telling about Cornelis Tromp, who was as a commander in 17th century of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces (see Figure 9). From one of his journeys, a young African boy was brought here to Amsterdam (*his name is unknown*).



Figure 9. A gable stone with Tromp and his black servant

For some participants, it was an interesting story, which was recorded in one of their taken photos.

Angela: I took this picture to show the black boy (*laughing*). Yeaah, with the... his master... because it’s very easy to miss him. He has the same colour as the clothes, so I just took it maybe to show my friends <...>.

Paula: I think honestly if we didn’t have explanations of tour guide, I would have thought ‘yeah, a helper or something like that...’

Tom: its’ like colourful picture but it’s also, I think it’s one of the most representative of all the ones that we saw. And how it was, what you were saying before (*meant to Eva*)... I think how they were using maybe black people or slaves as a measure of statues, how they would show ‘look, what I have!’, so this means I’m rich and powerful, because I have slaves or people, who are belonging some sense <...>.

Another story, told by tour guide, was about Ethiopian Eunuch (see Figure 10). The gable stone reveals the story from the Bible, where the Apostle Phillip was baptized as an Ethiopian Chamberlain. He is represented with a golden collar, which does not mean that was enslaved. It rather shows how the bible was justifying slavery. Such story also took attention from some of the audience:



Figure 10. Gable stone of Ethiopian Eunuch

Paula: the first impression because of the colour, that’s also really... suggestive that he has been a slave <...>. But then her explanation of it that the swans mean purity, and that he was a Christian and he was not enslaved... quite interesting.

Angela: she gave the story that the bible this ACT8. V37.38, talks about converting the people, who are not... converted. So that what was used and nowadays I feel like in my country Kenya people are really really really religious, they are not about questioning that... they are not able to deal with something that is not religious. They are actually Christians. So I thought that was a good initiative... not like initiative, like good eye-opening information, considering the rest now don't even go to the church anymore.

Eva: I have a background, yeah I come from the Christian background <...>. And that's just kind of disgusted me, like why, why we are using you know beautiful image of the water, and swans like new life, with you know... trying to justify slavery, it's like... it's pretty terrible.

These previously shown photos were taken by at least half of participants, so could be seen as mostly liked photographs. Despite that, there were other interesting stories, however, recorded by less participants.



Figure 11. Gable stone with a black tree and oranges

Angela: Oh this one was cruel (*laughting*) (*see Figure 11*). Yeah, so anyway, I saw the dots... actually it's a tree, black tree with orange things, so for me orange means Netherlands and this is maybe not nice joke that people say that Netherlands was built from the backs of the black people, from selling them and all that drama... (*laughting*) So that's why I took this picture, that orange is on the black tree.

Eva: (*see Figure 12*) the design, seemed very grand of course... you know it's so showy... and yeah to me it really screams like wealth, like influence, like the fact that it's so detail so it's really prominent. So to have people in there... yeah, to have slaves in image <...> they are next to the product and they are just being as decoration in addition...



Figure 12. Gable stone with moors holding tobacco leaves

Another story, told by tour guide, was perceived differently by few participants. While Eva heard the story about famous 3 crosses (see Figure 13), she mentioned "I haven't heard said that it's a symbol for the Red Light district before, but of course that makes sense. But I also learned from the tour guide that three crosses mean like father, son, holy spirit, I've never heard that before". As a controversy, Gabriela, who is a local in Amsterdam, disagreed with tour guide's interpretation "<...> everyone I think knows the three crosses from Amsterdam and I think this was again something from her perspective... she said 'oh yeah, everyone connects it to Red Light district', but... no! Like in Amsterdam we connect it to Amsterdam, not to the Red Light District..."

During the tour and while talking after it with Gabriela, it was clear that she was slightly dis-attached from the guide's stories already from the beginning. Also it could be seen in her taken photos, which are all different, despite one, which reveals debates about Sinterklaas.



Figure 13. A figure with 3 X's.

For example, a story about Petrus Camper, who was a Dutch scientist – he gained a lot of attention due to his work, in which he used black people, who lived in the Netherlands, as objects for scientific research. In 1758 a young Angolan boy was dissected in the lecture theatre of the 'De Waag' in the New Market (see Figure 14). Through his research, Camper tried to show that under the skin everybody is equal, there are 'no difference between the races'. After the tour Gabriela reflected: "I really liked this story actually, cos it made me to visualize and feel that particular time a bit better and it was easier to... make me sympathize with the situation... <...> Also because I see this building very often and I never knew of its history. The thing that I remember

most is the story about the autopsies being done on both 'black' and 'white' people to see if there were any differences."

There were more shared thoughts when other participants after the tour were asked what they learned about Dutch Golden Age as well as about colonial and slavery topics. Tom mentioned that now he would consider more to involve slavery context while speaking about Dutch Golden Age, because before he said that "if someone has asked about the Golden Age before, I would relate with ships and trade in general, and... although I knew that slavery was there, I would had never mentioned it. Like right away. And maybe now I have it a bit of present". In general, many participants could remember several details as for example about Ghana, which was also a trading point back then (*mentioned by Gabriela and Angela*), the Rembrandt's neighbourhood, where these used to live African descendants (*mentioned by Eva*). But in general participants rather became more aware and got a better understanding how such history is present in the city of Amsterdam, that there is more than a glory of the Dutch Golden Age as well as that not only Dutch were involved in their trades:

Paula: I think it's not all about... glory. To me I think it's more, apart from the historical information, I think it's a lot of morality story, I would say, in the sense that... you know just look beyond what's under your nose so to say (*laughing*).

Angela: <...> I felt like there were more than the Dutch in the Golden Age, for everything to happen, <...> they needed somebody from insight, maybe get people... you know, trade, whatever, it's just didn't happen on their own.

Interpretations about the University of Amsterdam, Humanities Department

As soon as we reached the building of University of Amsterdam, the guide first of all, told the stories about the symbol with 3 X's (the narrative about it was explained above). Because it was Saturday, we could not enter the court yard of this building. Consequently, tour guide did not elaborate much on the narrative about that Humanities Department as being a former VOC headquarters. Assumingly, that was also the reason why participants of focus group could not distinguish this building afterwards.

When during our first focus meeting participants were asked to describe University of Amsterdam, half of them didn't say anything, so they did not have any associations with this building. Gabriela and Eva told the stories related to their relatives or friends, who study or studied there. Paula mentioned



Figure 14. Lecture theatre of 'De Waag' in the New Market.

that this is the oldest university, focusing on humanities studies. The same task – to describe University of Amsterdam – was given after the tour. During that time, some of participants were again not able to remember any of guide's stories or were even confused which actually this building is.

Tom: <...> (*while commenting University of Amsterdam's, Humanities Department*) so I think this was the West Indies company building from the right to the end...

Me: west or East?

Laura: east, cos the West one is with becoming a hotel...

Tom: aaah okay okay, thanks! (*laughting*)

Laura captured even a photograph with a different meaning associated with this building (see Figure 15): “the moment I took the picture I was like ‘I didn’t know that this is East Indies company before’ and when I took, I also feel like none of those people have clue... that’s why, because you just cycling there, you’re walking there, you’re tourists or you’re local Dutch, I just feel how many percentage of people really know that it’s East Indies <...>”.



Figure 15. University of Amsterdam, Humanities Department

It looked like this building for Laura was seen in broader context, taking into account the context of current society. There were others for whom not specifically this building, former VOC headquarters, but former WIC headquarters, which is nowadays a ‘Grand Hotel’, gave different insights and led them to associate colonial and slavery times from the past with present times:

Paula: <...> it’s kind of funny, because that hotel is Grand Hotel, is one of the most expensive hotels in Amsterdam, like one night there probably costs what you earn for two months, so it’s really one of the most expensive hotels in Amsterdam, and it’s also like they are built on this idea – glory, you know (*laughter*) so I thought ‘hmmm, this is kind of funny, because it’s perpetuating the same story all over again’, you know... so yeah of course we’re living now hundreds of years further away in time, but you’re saying the same story!!

Audience agreed and laughed at the same time

Tom: I also thought a bit like, I remember when I was looking at the fountain and I was thinking in the end it’s also gonna be just white guys, coming in and out of this place, rich people, which is exactly how it was hundreds of years ago and nothing has changed, so this is also what I’ve been linking to what I said on Friday, like actually colonialism officially has finished but you still see, that’s coming nowadays very clearly

Audience agreed!!!

Tom: so it’s not straight away colonialism, it’s not called colonialism, but you can see all the similarities...

4.3.1. Reactions and questions from students about a tour and a guide

Our guided tour finished in the Dam Square, where it all began. Participants after few hours of exploring Amsterdam headed home to relax and ‘digest’ what had been told. After two days, we

gathered again to discuss our experiences and impressions of the tour. All participants were present, except Gabriela who tried to join us via Skype. When they were asked how it was the tour for them, many mentioned that it was very insightful, and a lot of information was very new for them. The focus and the topic of the tour guide was unusual as well it was very useful to hear her interpretations and explanations about certain places and buildings. Participants realized that there is a lot to learn just looking at the buildings. Laura even shared that “next time I’m going to Amsterdam, I’m just going to look at all the buildings (*together with audience they laughed*). Soon Gabriela joined discussion, however with a different perspective towards her experiences – “I liked the tour, but I felt that, which is to some extent obvious, but we were getting a very framed version of the story while pretending that it was sort of a neutral story. And that annoyed me a little bit, and therefore I didn’t like the tour as maybe I would to. <...> at the beginning she was already mentioning that this was scientific... but then I think if you do something like that, if all your information is based on academic research, then I think some of the things you should say a little bit more nuanced”. She also gave few examples why she felt like that, which were related to Sinterklaas story, told by a tour guide or how Dutch education does not teach children certain things. Unfortunately, but the connection was not sufficient enough to have Gabriela in our discussion. After her comment, the whole group reflected upon what has been said. They indeed agreed that what they have heard is a one, very strong and extreme side of story, however, while you are going to such a tour – Black heritage tour – you can expect to hear such story from the tour guide. “If you would say that she should be balanced, then everything else should be balanced” (*said Paula*). The group also understood why Gabriela might felt differently, since she grew up and had been raised here. When I have contacted Gabriela to hear her perceptions, she told me that “I think if you do that, then you should always like part of academic research that there’s different stories, you know... like to one story different sides of the story, that’s what I mean. <...> yeah she didn’t give us the details, so I didn’t fully sort of trust her and I felt that something she was saying, weren’t completely true or her own interpretation, which is... okay (?), but then I think it’s good to acknowledge that it’s your own interpretation. <...> and I felt already a little bit distanced, so I didn’t even feel like discussing that and saying ‘ohh, well I’m Dutch, I’ve been in Dutch school, and I did actually get some of that thought, but you didn’t take that into account’, so I already felt a little bit... disconnected. <...> I was pretty biased throughout the whole tour and that also made me... adopt less information, <...>. Another aspect that was disliked by Gabriela was the fact that the tour guide is originally from US, but she used in her stories a lot of connections with Surinamese heritage: “it feels like ‘ohh, someone from... not here, someone also not from Suriname but someone from US is judging Dutch people, like coming here’, and I guess that does feel a little different when you’re Dutch, because you feel like... attacked... not really, that sounds very exaggerated, but it feels like the story is about you for most of the time, about your country and all these things, so I guess it does feel differently indeed”. So despite that there were some interesting stories, learned by Gabriela as well as she liked that the tour guide was using paintings to tell about the history, but in general she could hardly follow tour guide’s narrative due to previously mentioned reasons.

Taking into account the questions from audience, in general there were not that many. There were asked to clarify several details, as well as some participants had small discussion during the tour (stories related to Spain or Ghana), but in total few people mentioned that sometimes it was hard to focus on what has been told, “because she talks a lot, and I was like ‘it’s too much a bit of heavy information’, I’m just gonna take pictures of random things (*laughing*)” (*told by Laura*).

5. Data analysis

After gathering all results, this chapter analyses the data in three ways. The first section reveals information on how tour guides interpreted and 'encoded' their narratives to their audience during guided tours. Consequently, the second part shows how students interpreted and 'decoded' narratives, told by a tour guide before and after the tour. Their views were grouped into two types – in a dominant view and an oppositional view (no evidence was found for negotiated views). The possession of a students' certain view influenced how effective the interpretation from the tour guide was. Interpretation was assessed under 3 criteria (behavioural change was not possible to measure) – visitor's satisfaction, knowledge gain and attitude change.

5.1. Tour guides' interpretations

After fieldwork, it became clear that interpretations about certain heritage sites during 'free walking tours' and 'thematic tours' varied depending on tour guides' topic (or essence of the tour) and audience. First of all, since 'free walking tours' were oriented to a large group of tourists as well as their aim of the tour was to give a general overview about Amsterdam (the Netherlands in general), their main storylines were based on stories to show the open-minded and tolerant Amsterdam. Tour guides made sure that they address several historical topics, such as the Holocaust, prohibition of Catholicism and Golden Age period. However, since the time, spent on representing those topics was more or less similar, it was clear that they did not try to distinguish specific topic, showing their preference or highlighting certain theme – either it would be about Holocaust, prohibition of Catholicism or Golden Age period. Secondly, after attending to all tours, even though all four companies were different, it was easy to notice that the topics were similar in most of them. For example, one thing was obvious in all companies that the stories about Dutch Golden Age were told in front or inside of the courtyard of University of Amsterdam.

Compared to 'free walking tours', where most of the stories are based on the employer's script, 'thematic tours' guides had approximate scripts, but all their narratives depended on their own research, knowledge, audience questions, reactions and interests. Consequently it is hard to generalize their narratives. Tour guides even themselves acknowledged that there is no single tour to be done the same, but one thing was clear that they produce a way more detail and descriptive narrative about Dutch Golden Age than 'free walking tours' guides as well as that they represent this topic throughout the whole tour.

Interpretations of the Dam Square

For 'free walking tours' guides, Dam Square was/is usually more seen as a meeting or starting/ending point of the tour. Also, for 'free walking tours' this square was seen and introduced as a place where Amsterdam started, consequently their narratives developed much more on establishment and development of this city by giving a very abbreviated history of Amsterdam. Moreover, they barely focused on other buildings (despite Royal Palace), that are on the Dam Square.

'Thematic tours' guides, as a controversy, highlighted and focused on many more statues or buildings in the Dam Square. For example, showing were used to be 'scaling house' in the middle of the square, 'exchange gates', through which many traders used to come to Amsterdam, gable stone of Saint Nicholas, which revealed many current discussions about Black Piet, working class, African man's figure on the National Monument, which is very hardly noticeable or even a fact that behind this

monument there are 12 urns with soils from the World War II. These examples clearly show that 'thematic tours' guides highlight the tangible historical value in the Dam Square, while their most of the stories were about various buildings within the Dam Square. Also tour guides' stories were supplemented by showing many old photographs how the Dam Square used to look like and where certain buildings used to be.

Interpretations of the Royal Palace

'Free walking tours' guides presented this place through many historical facts. Their main topics were about the Netherlands as becoming first modern republic in 17th century, the 80 years' war with Spain, Napoleon's coming to the Netherlands, who made his brother Louis to be the first King, existence of Royal family and what were the functions of Royal Palace. After hearing the stories about Royal Palace during 'free walking tours', it became clear that the chosen narratives for tourists were rather objective, without any interpretation, for example without telling what the symbolic meaning of that place is. In general, this building was represented and interpreted as one entity, it was more seen as there was a need just to inform about that place at a basic level. Why 'free walking tours' guides inform about visited places in Amsterdam in less interpretative way could be explained taking into account the information from the interviews with them. They acknowledged that fully historical and factual story could be seen boring for the tourists. In order to fulfil audience interests, 'free walking tours' guides narratives are shaped in giving less historical and more cultural information.

'Thematic tours' guides had a more diverse and detail narrative. For example, adding a story that in Royal Palace there used to gather 'Society of Suriname', where many rulers were discussing issues related to Suriname colony, Maroon's rebelling or military issues, it gives already a different perception how this place could be seen. Also, most of the tour guides interpreted and focused on various items and figures on the top of the Royal Palace – what they could symbolize and mean. In general 'thematic tours' guides were noticing some of the details that you would hardly see without pointing it out. The message that they tried to forward was that this building could be seen as a symbol of Dutch progressiveness and out smartness in 17th century, having 'the world on their shoulders'. Compared to 'free walking tours', where the Royal Palace was seen as one entity, 'thematic tours' focused and interpreted many symbols on that building, which impelled them to give a meaning to this place. Also, many 'free walking tour' guides talk about this building in front, 'thematic tours' guides were speaking about the Royal Palace also from behind it, so it already makes you to see this place from a different angle – there are many other things to see.

Interpretations of the University of Amsterdam, Humanities Department (VOC headquarters)

By *'free walking tours' guides*, University of Amsterdam was the place (either in front or inside), where all of them represented topic about the Dutch Golden Age. Most of their narratives started with Dutch overseas journeys. At first glance, such information about how Dutch ships were sailing to the other countries, sounds rather 'innocent'. The stories indeed represent the beginning of the Dutch Golden Age as a starting point of trading for the Dutch with other trading countries. The tour guides also refer to such journeys as *'we went there'*, making an impression that this was a great period for discovering countries, travelling and making economic relationships with them. However, if we look closer, mostly mentioned countries in the beginning of their stories are South Africa, West Africa, Indonesia, Caribbean etc., which are also known as they were being colonized by the Dutch or involved in slavery routes. Therefore, not mentioning those countries as former colonies of the Dutch, made the

beginning of the Dutch Golden Age story more related to discoveries and travelling overseas period rather than implementing negative sides of story.

Later on, VOC was presented and what were the benefits of this company for the Netherlands – mostly economical (how big the company was and how much money it brought to the country). Another benefit, which was elaborated also a lot, was new territories of the Dutch – New Amsterdam (now called New York), Tasmania, New Zealand, West coast of Australia. Despite that, all of the ‘free walking tours’ guides highlighted and referred to the negative sides of the Dutch Golden Age – colonialism or slavery. They gave information how many people were enslaved and what had happened with them, which territories were colonized by the Dutch (giving examples of Indonesia, Suriname, South Africa). After mentioning the reasons why VOC collapsed, tour guides mentioned about Dutch traces from those times. Mostly they highlighted New York’s neighbourhoods and why they are called as Haarlem, Brooklyn, or other places as Wall Street and Coney Island. Despite speaking about New York at most, almost none of the tour guides have mentioned about the Dutch traces in other countries and there were not drawn any connections with the Netherlands’ former colonies. At the beginning ‘free walking tours’ guides mention many countries where Dutch have travelled to, what places have been discovered by them. However, in their stories, ‘free walking tour’ guides only mention about the Dutch traces from the place which had been discovered by them (New York City), but not from the places, which were their former colonies. This draws to the conclusion that tour guides did not elaborate on the Dutch connections with their former colonies.

The end of the narratives, told by ‘free walking tours’ guides, were summarized by all of them. They were saying that probably such controversial history of the Netherlands, when they were once known as one of the most powerful countries but at the same time they colonized other countries and were involved in slavery routes, is not known for everybody. Others tried to make their tourists aware that this controversial history is what made the city of Amsterdam so glorious and beautiful. Therefore, in order to appreciate these picturesque surroundings of Amsterdam, we should not forget where all of this comes from. It was clear that ‘free walking tours’ guides tried to critically reflect on their told stories, by covering both sides of the story – successful and harmful ones. None of them eliminated colonial or slavery parts of the history and tried to make people aware about different perspectives. However, since most of the tour guides acknowledged that their role is more seen as a storyteller, entertainer or a host of the city, the narrative about Dutch Golden Age was more shaped around exploring of new territories, so giving this sort of new adventures and discoveries feeling. This was especially clear while hearing stories about Dutch traces in their discovered places and drawing connections with it and not going into much in depth about the oppressions and harmful moments during Golden Age.

‘Thematic tours’ guides told the narratives, related to Dutch Golden Age, not only in front of the University of Amsterdam (some of them did not even visit it), but throughout their whole tour. Since ‘thematic tours’ differed between each other, first of all, the tour about explorers and investors during Golden Age is analysed. Second type of ‘thematic tour’, related to slavery topic, is more analysed in chapter of student’s interpretations.

The whole story was followed by explaining trading routes of the Dutch and the reasons why it started. The Netherlands was compared for several times with Great Britain, by mentioning positive and negative sides of this country. Such information, while comparing the Netherlands with Great Britain, made an impression that Dutch did not have another choice not to trade, and in order to stay in a global market, they had to travel overseas to make profits and compete with their opponents. Later on, the narrative was developed by mentioning the reasons why VOC flourished – due to investment

of many citizens and setting up offices overseas. Tour guides' given information was presented in a way that it gives this impression that all these journeys to countries abroad were simply done due to business purposes. It is rather an interesting way of saying that Dutch had to beg and please people in Africa, India or Indonesia, who would work in offices and would help them out to set up a *world-wide network*. Therefore, again, by mentioning the fact that establishment of VOC offices abroad was done in order to spread the message across the ocean, makes it look as everything was done in order to help the business growing. The facts about repressions and unfair trades in those countries has not been mentioned by 'thematic tours' guides. While speaking about other positive aspects of VOC, it was mentioned new discoveries of Australia and New York (assumingly, these discoveries were only mentioned while the audience was Australian). From the negative side, it was mentioned several stories related to colonialism and slavery by for example showing the map with the directions of trade routes, mentioning about brought spices from abroad or the fact that Dutch had their colonies, which one time was even compared to '*monopoly game*'. Taking into account that this particular guided tour about investors and explorers of the Dutch Golden Age takes at least 2 hours, the amount of information about slavery and colonialism times was rather limited. Such information indeed has been mentioned and included in the tour's guide narrative, however, in a sort of 'delicate and innocent way'. While talking about colonialism related stories, the tour guide chose again a delicate way of explaining how occupation of the territories worked out in those days. He compared colonialism with '*monopoly game*', which sort of takes away this horrifying feeling while talking about that kind of history, and makes it rather playful. In general, as well as about the slavery topic, in-depth stories, related to colonialism, were not specifically introduced. The fact that it had happened was mentioned indeed, however, elaboration on that topic was very limited. Instead of saying how the system of colonies was working, how people were treated in colonies, what were the amounts of people, who were brought from e.g. Indonesia to the Netherlands etc., the story was more addressed to the trades of spices (pepper specifically) or other products. The narrative of the 'thematic' tour guide was finished with the collapse of VOC.

Speaking about the Dutch traces, conversely to 'free walking tours', where most of them focused on traces in New York, during this 'thematic tour', the guide more focused on traces in everyday life – the influence of spices (pepper, salt), coffee traditions or the ornaments of traditional Dutch clothing. Another aspect, highlighted during this 'thematic tour', also including 'thematic tour', which is related to slavery heritage, was trying to distinguish and make a clear separation between VOC and WIC companies. Generally speaking, it is very rare to separate the activities, which had been done by VOC and WIC. Mostly the narratives, related to Dutch Golden Age involve VOC Company, and many activities that are done by WIC Company, are also generalized and put under the VOC company name. Only during one tour we visited a former WIC headquarters (nowadays known as a 'Grand Hotel' of Amsterdam), which also impels to make an assumption that the Dutch Golden Age colonial stories are more associated with VOC company, rather than with WIC.

Finally, during the 'thematic tour', which was about explorers and investors, it was hard to record any critical reflections, which had been done by tour guides. After giving so much detail and in depth information about the Dutch Golden Age, the guide did not make any summary of the tour, which was hard to see what kind of messages was tried to send. It was more seen as the tour guide, who was presenting and interpreting various stories, pointing out to many different, minor and interesting details, spread the information among their audience, however, the moral was not clear, so assumingly the audience had to make it on their own.

Table 3. Encoding the interpretations of heritage sites by the tour guides

	Free walking tours	Thematic tours
<i>Storylines of the tours</i>	Focus on general overview of Amsterdam; the story about Dutch Golden Age is told in one place (inside or outside of University of Amsterdam)	Focus on their specific topic; talk about Dutch Golden Age related stories throughout whole tour
<i>Dam Square</i>	Seen as a meeting point and as a one entity; stories are related to the development of Amsterdam; the narratives encompass abbreviated history of Amsterdam or the Netherlands	Seen as a place with different places involved; stories are related to various present buildings and statues as well as showing former buildings in the Dam Square through old photographs of it – highlight tangible historical value of Dam Square
<i>Royal Palace</i>	Seen as one entity; representation about Royal Palace in front of the building; related stories were about Netherlands' being first modern republic, 80 years' war, Napoleon's arrival, Royal Family and functional part of this building; given information was rather factual, no interpretation about the symbolic meaning of it.	Seen as a building with many symbols on the top of it, representation about Royal Palace is not only in front, but also behind the building; related stories were about the functions of the building, Royal Family, 'Society of Suriname'; the symbolic meaning was about Dutch progressiveness and out smartness in 17 th century, having 'the world on their shoulders'.
<i>University of Amsterdam</i>	Stories about Golden Age were told only in front or inside of this building; narrative shaped as 'we went there', stories involved establishment of VOC, reasons why it flourished, benefits of the company, colonial and slavery parts of the story, Dutch traces outside the Netherlands, related to discovered countries (New York) and not colonized ones; the narrative was shaped as new discoveries and adventures period; the end of the stories included critical reflections upon such history (pointing out successful and harmful sides).	Stories about Golden Age were told throughout whole tour; narratives involved comparison with Great Britain, a need to set up a <i>world-wide network</i> , establishment of VOC, reasons why it flourished, benefits of the company, colonial and slavery parts of the story, Dutch traces in everyday life; made distinctions between VOC and WIC companies; comparing colonialism with 'monopoly game'; not clear moral of the story, consequently leaving audience to reflect and interpret on their own, discovering good and bad parts of the story.

Influence of ethnic and racial backgrounds on tour guides' interpretations

Speaking about the tour guides' origins, analysed data showed that it influences their positionality and the way of telling their stories to audience. Even though, either guides were Dutch, or partly Dutch, or not Dutch, it did not feel as they involved strong positionality or their opinion in their narratives (except one tour guide). They were trying to stay objective, not supporting positive or negative sides of Dutch history. Also, even mentioning that for example the guide was partly Dutch and Caribbean,

or Dutch, but grew up in Curacao, it did not feel as they were making a lot of connections with those other countries (Caribs and Curacao). I observed that their origins were mentioned in order just to mention it. In general, the stories, told by Dutch and non-Dutch tour guides about Dutch Golden Age, looked like as said in a more discrete way. Indeed, none of them did not want to eliminate discussable parts of Dutch history (colonialism and slavery), however, it was seen as telling about those stories were in a more factual way. But it was clear to see that tour guides, who were not Dutch, but German or American, they were sort of not connected with the Dutch Golden Age history, since they are from other countries, they could inform and represent that history without being attached to it.

On the other hand, a very strong positionality was clear to see in 'Black heritage tour', where the tour guide based a lot of her interpretations and stories on connections with her Surinamese ancestors. Tour guide mentioned that she grew up in USA, has Surinamese heritage as well as she has black skin colour helped her to shape her narrative and sort of prove what could be told and what not about 'black history'. Also, by not being a Dutch citizen and talking about black presence in Amsterdam helped her to be dis-attached with negative associations with controversial history of the Dutch and impelled her narrative to flow with more judgements and strong arguments.

In the conclusion, it was seen that ethnic or racial backgrounds for most of the tour guides did not play an essential role since they were telling stories related to more general history of the Netherlands and not going too much in depth about colonialism or slavery. As a controversy, for a tour guide, whose racial background as being a black person and ethnic background as being an American/Surinamese person helped her to justify her narrative by showing the black presence in Amsterdam.

Selectivity of information during guided tours

That the selectivity of information exists in tour guide's interpretations was found out during guided tours and interviews with them. First of all, especially 'free walking tours' guides have already written scripts, that are created by their employer, so it impels them to follow and tell certain stories, without improvising and interpreting much on their own. Some of the stories, that have to be presented from the script, mostly involved at least several influential events in the Netherlands history (including negatively perceived ones as VOC, Holocaust or Second World War II). However, some of the other stories had been incorporated in the scrip for the commercial purposes – to promote certain places e.g. cheese shop by telling stories about cheese culture but at the same time informing tourists to visit that shop.

Secondly, major influencer while selecting what kind of stories should be told to tourists, depends on the audience's age or origins. Less history is told to younger people while older audience hears less jokes. Having people from different countries also allows guides to relate stories with tourists' home countries, which at the end connects them more to the Netherlands in general. Despite age and origins factors, audience interests are major influence for the tour guides what kind of stories are told to their tourists. An examples is the Multatuli sculpture, which was eliminated from the script, admittedly by few tour guides, because it was not highly interesting for people while visiting Amsterdam. This shows that the tour guides refrain from telling certain stories not because it is related to controversial history as colonialism or slavery, but because the audience is in general not that interested in hearing about it. With the 'thematic tours' is a bit different since they are very specified around a certain topic, their tourists are mostly interested in the historical part of their tour and during 'free walking tours', audience is seeking more for an entertainment, more cultural information rather historical.

5.2. Students' interpretations

Decoding interpretations – dominant and oppositional views of students

It was found that the majority of the group encompassed dominant view, which was seen as the group perceived all information from the tour guide, took it as for granted and did not question it or reject it. This could be explained as most of the information, told by the tour guide, was new for the group, therefore they accepted the given interpretation. Moreover, some of the stops during guided tour involved discussable parts of the history and since the tour guide was given one side of the story as well as it was led by some of the judgements and criticisms, related to Dutch culture, the majority of the group perceived it without any opposition, because all of them come from different countries, despite the Netherlands. They noticed that the story was indeed nuanced, one sided, extreme version, however, they did not reject it as they expected to hear like that. In summary, the majority of the group had a dominant view, because most of the information was new for them, they come from different countries so they are not attached to discussable parts of the Dutch history as slavery and colonialism, therefore they could accept tour guide's interpretation.

On the contrary, Gabriela, coming from the Netherlands, mainly encompassed an oppositional view – she understood tour guide's interpretation, but because of her other previous knowledge, values and convictions, she was opposed to that information. In such case it was clear to see that Gabriela, who grew up and was raised in the Netherlands, had a different perspective towards tour guide's interpretations, since as I have mentioned, tour guide gave a nuanced story, with some judgements about the Dutch history and culture. Although she learned some new information, but because she had an opposite view from the beginning already, it was seen as Gabriela remembered less information than others as well as her focus during the tour was on different monuments and buildings rather than others. Such dilemma was noticed by other group members too – they expected that Gabriela's view would be different than theirs, since she comes from the Netherlands. So this shows that participant's perceptions depended on their origins and ethnic backgrounds. However, while they all come from different countries and their experiences varied per country, it was hard to see strict patterns or divisions between countries as being e.g. formerly colonized, former colonizers or neutral. The differences between different participant's ethnic backgrounds was more seen during actual tour. Therefore, since most of the members come from other countries than the Netherlands, they accepted tour guide's information and Gabriela, who has been living here, had a more oppositional view point about most of the information she heard. Such phenomenon can also illustrate the division between foreigners and a local.

Besides, it was interesting to see that Gabriela's oppositional view was based on the argument that tour guide tried to make and prove her interpretation scientifically, using many academic research, but if a tour guide wanted to do that, she should have mentioned both sides of the story. Gabriela after the tour also added that the tour guide "didn't give us the details, so I didn't fully sort of trust her and I felt that something she was saying, weren't completely true or her own interpretation, which is... okay (?), but then I think it's good to acknowledge that it's your own interpretation". However, for the tour guide an attempt to use academic research in her tour was done on purpose. Because there is so little information about connections between Dutch and slavery histories, using scientific data was kind of a safe choice in case some other people would disagree with that. So she tried to make her narrative actually not one sided or nuanced, but encompassing various layers. However, in her case this meant to involve as much as possible the slavery history, which has been forgotten and not involved in academia or Dutch history. The tour guide told me during the interview "I developed an advice report together with scholars and historians, cultural heritage professionals to help me make

sure that I develop the narrative that was archival based. <...> so I didn't do that alone, and I was very deliberate, cos I knew it could have been challenged by the dominant culture that 'ohhh, you are telling, you know, too much of the slavery or whatever', so I wanted to make sure that is based on good research." In summary, this shows that for both Gabriela and a tour guide a use of academic research, incorporated in the narrative, was seen differently – a tour guide wanted to prove her story about the black presence in the Netherlands and make it less questionable, since her all information was archival base, but for Gabriela this approach looked oppositional, because she was missing the other part of the story, so hearing not only about the black history of the Netherlands.

From here onwards, focus group analysis is divided into two groups – participants who have dominant and oppositional views.

Interpretations of the Dam Square

There are various symbols, monuments and buildings in the Dam Square, however students' focus was on few places – a gable stone of the Sinterklaas and on the National Monument.

Before the 'Black heritage tour', during first focus group meeting participants were sharing their thoughts and knowledge about the Sinterklaas tradition, and all of it was highly related to the countries they come from – if they have heard about this tradition in their home country, what they think about it etc. Also, since most of them have been living here in the Netherlands at least for a bit and have heard the discussions about Black Piet, most of them reflected on it as this tradition should not be static, but flexible if there are certain groups of people, who are against this.

After the tour, the majority of the group, encompassing dominant view, was able to recollect some of the information what has been told by the guide – the origins of this tradition, the reasons of it etc., consequently this shows that the group gained new knowledge to some extent. However, there were no such discussions as during our first meeting about this tradition – the group memorized some of the information, but did not reflect on it, which does not provide an information that participants attitude's had changed towards this tradition, neither for those, who encompass dominant or oppositional views.

Lastly, the National Monument and a focus on the figure of the African descendent was interesting for participants, encompassing dominant view. Most of them had memorized it in one of their photographs and commented as they would never recognize it without showing and explaining about it. That was already the beginning when participants started to realize that there is so much to learn just from singular figures on integral sculptures. Moreover, they were interested in hearing stories about 11 urns behind the National monument, which was also now known for them. However, Gabriela, who had a oppositional view did not perceive this information more as interesting, but rather judgemental, since she missed hearing about the voices of those Dutch citizens, who also would like to have a 12th urn on the National Monument for the Surinamese people.

Interpretations of the Royal Palace

Before the 'Black heritage tour', some of the participants recalled several details about the Royal Palace's interior, the area around it, especially the square in front of the building, but some of the members did not even know that this was a Royal Palace – had seen it, but did not notice that it is this building.

After the tour, participants were able to recall some of the information, related to its history, trades or functionality of the Royal Palace as well as about other buildings or artefacts that used to be in front of the Royal Palace. However, in terms of reflecting upon the given interpretations from the tour guide, the opinions differed. Participants, who had a dominant view, especially liked the back side of the Royal Palace and saw it as a representation of Dutch glory. They accepted given interpretation as many symbols shows how Dutch saw themselves back in the days – that the world is on their shoulders – and did not question about it. Those symbols were like powerful evidence on how differently it could be seen. For example, Paula had a different view how the symbol of Atlas could be interpreted, however after the tour the perception about it had changed. That was not the case for Gabriela, who had an oppositional view. First of all, the stories did not leave a big impression for her, therefore she could not recall much of the information, except about having an impression that Royal Palace could be seen as a point for trades in the city. In general, she reflected that Dutch are highly related to trades, even nowadays. Despite that, other information was questionable, for example the symbols at the back side of the Royal Palace. Gabriela did not take it for granted, saw that information more as tour guide's interpretation and even mentioned that if she would have time, she could have checked it if it's really true.

Interpretations of the University of Amsterdam

Before the 'Black heritage tour', the only associations with the University of Amsterdam for some of the participants was related to their friends or relatives. Some of others did not know anything about it, despite that it's one of the oldest universities.

After the tour, participants either with dominant or oppositional views, still could not recall much of the information about this building, not relating it e.g. to VOC. Also, some of them were confused either this was East or West Indies house, which shows that the tour guide did not comprehensively highlight the differences between these companies. Therefore, the University of Amsterdam (former VOC) did not leave a memorable impression for most of the participants. The visit to the former WIC headquarters, nowadays a 'Grand Hotel', was more memorable. It was interesting to see how Paula shared her impressions about the glory of this hotel and how it could be seen that even nowadays it perpetuates similar story as many years ago. The majority of the group added upon this notion, reflecting about this glorified history and even making connections with modern slavery, happening nowadays. This was an interesting example to see how the group connected and evolved their similar thoughts, which ended up in a critical reflection about the past and present times.

Interpretations of the Dutch Golden Age topic

Before the 'Black heritage tour', participants about the Dutch Golden Age could remember some of the information, generally related to trades. Learning about this topic in high schools was also limited – some of the participants learned more about the other countries colonial times than the Netherlands, in general they could not recall much of the information. In general, many stories were related to participant's home countries. The similar phenomenon was during our talk about colonialism. All participants were keen on sharing their thoughts and experiences from their countries, what was the situation during colonial times, mentioning e.g. about some of the local tribes in their country or even about their own relatives, who experienced that, what kind after-effects of colonialism are seen even nowadays. It was interesting to see that the whole process of sharing experiences developed over discussion, participants were adding to each other's thoughts, for example if somebody told about

local tribes in their home country, a person talking afterwards, continued developing talking from the similar perspective, however, from his/her home country's context. Other reflections that the group made was that most of them missed the humanitarian part of the story while learning about colonialism (including slavery topic) – not just learning that it had happened, but also what happened to people. Sharing thoughts about slavery topic was a similar process – they only connected this topic to their home countries – either the countries were involved in slave trade or no, how it affected current situation etc. All in all, the process of sharing knowledge and perceptions about Dutch Golden Age, colonialism and slavery was inclusive activity for everyone, building up on each other's thoughts.

After the tour, the views could be divided again into the dominant and oppositional views. First of all, both groups learned some new information, related to trades, or knowing more about specific places in Amsterdam, however, there was not much factual or specific information that participants could recall – whole tour gave them more as a broaden understanding rather than gaining a lot of specific facts or stories. A group with dominant view in general after the tour were more aware and considered to incorporate slavery context into the Dutch Golden Age topic. It was seen as they received tour guide's interpretation as an alternative version of telling about Dutch Golden Age, recognizing more the context of colonialism and slavery in it as well as noticing how the black presence is still visible even nowadays, in the city of Amsterdam. They were intrigued and questioning why back in the days some of the citizens liked to put black people symbols on their houses... Such reflections were not heard from Gabriela, who had a more oppositional view. First of all, her focus was on different subjects, so while most of the group memorized e.g. some of the gable stones related to glorified stories, her focus was more on the basic stories, related to Dutch culture or history – for example about the architecture on the buildings, 'De Waag' theatre or 3X's symbol, with which interpretation from the tour guide she also disagreed. Therefore, since her focus was different, there were not any reflections, related to the Dutch Golden Age period per se. Also, while she highlighted that she liked our first focus group meeting, where we shared our knowledge and perceptions about various topics, assumingly, she accepted more that kind of information, hearing from other participants and telling different stories, rather than hearing about such topics from the tour guide.

Table 4. The assessment of the effectiveness of tour guide's interpretations (+ means positive; - means negative)

Criteria	Dam Square		Royal Palace		University of Amsterdam		Dutch Golden Age topic	
	Dominant view	Oppositional view	Dominant view	Oppositional view	Dominant view	Oppositional view	Dominant view	Oppositional view
Visitors satisfaction								
Knowledge gain	+	+	+	+/-	-	-	+	+/-
Attitude change	+/-	-	+	-	+/-	-	+	-
Behavioural change								

Summary of the effectiveness of the tour guide's interpretation

- *Visitors' satisfaction* (this criteria is not mentioned in the Table 4 above, because students' satisfactions were not evaluated per every visited heritage site individually, rather it was evaluated as an overall impression of the whole tour). For the majority of the group, encompassing the dominant view, the tour left an impression as it was interesting to walk outside in Amsterdam, listening to different stories and seeing examples of black presence in the city. A tour guide's guidance helped them to see the city in a different way. Also, all participants enjoyed exploring Amsterdam together with the group, while they had a chance to meet and know each other already before (during first focus group meeting). That was also the case for Gabriela, encompassing oppositional view. After all analysis, it looks more clear as she enjoyed first focus group meeting more, where we had an interactive discussion, including everybody's thoughts and perceptions, rather than attending to 'Black heritage tour'. A lack of interaction with the group as well as a one-sided story from the tour guide during the tour limited her satisfaction of the whole tour.
- *Knowledge gain*. Comparing participant's knowledge about certain heritage sites before and after the tour, it was clear that that indeed they had learned several specific new facts and stories, were able to recognize some of the places (those who did not recognize them before), but in general the amount of such information was rather limited. They got a better impression about Dutch Golden history or black presence in Amsterdam, but had a hard time to recall much information. This could be explained that the topic and the tour itself was new for all participants as well as the tour guide was telling a lot of information, sometimes even very fast or very detailed, therefore the amount of information was very high. Also, for Gabriela, who already from the beginning started to be dis-attached from the tour guide while seeing her one sided story, with some of the judgements about Dutch culture, made her adopt less information, remember and focus on the opposite subjects than the whole group would do. Moreover, during our first focus group meeting, sharing each other's knowledge about colonialism or slavery topics from their home countries broadened participant's knowledge since they had a better chance to hear the stories in reality from each member. The diversity of thoughts and experiences expanded their point of view.
- *Attitude change*. For all participants, the guided tour helped them to discover Amsterdam city in a different way, opened their eyes and made them notice how much there is just to learn from the houses and small figures on them. As participants admitted, after that tour they would be more looking up to the buildings in the cities rather than just looking down or on the eye level, because there is way much more different history, hidden in the streets of the city. Indeed the guidance is essential in order to point out and highlight these things, but also it matters what kind of stories and interpretations those symbols or buildings encompass. Therefore, in such case the attitude's change towards Dutch Golden Age, colonialism and slavery topics differed for participants. The majority of group, accepting tour guide's interpretations reflected that after the tour they could see more evidence of the black presence in Amsterdam, see much more glory depicted on some of the buildings and in general while speaking about Dutch Golden Age, would involve the context of colonialism and slavery more. Also, the group was able to critically look at those topics by connecting past and present times – relating past slavery with modern slavery. Slavery nowadays has a different meaning, but participants were seeing connections with the memorials that they saw in Amsterdam city. However, such reflections were done by participants on their own, because the tour guide did not mention

anything about modern slavery. Besides, an interesting insight was that the group had a way more productive and interesting discussion about Black Piet during their first focus group meeting rather than during the second one, which makes it wonder whether the interpretation from the tour guide towards attitude change, content-wise, was successful.

For Gabriela, encompassing oppositional view, there were not seen other attitude's change, except the one that seeing how many symbols and signs are hidden in the city of Amsterdam. It was more that she had learned some of the information (although rather limitedly), but she did not reflect about the black presence in Amsterdam or made connections of the heard stories about Dutch Golden Age – so attitude changed towards the essence of the tour (looking and noticing more about hidden symbols in the city) rather than about the content of the tour (the black presence in Amsterdam).

- *Behavioural change.* Because this criterion involves long term measurements, it is not possible to see how participant's behaviour after attending the tour has changed. Therefore, this criterion was not incorporated in the analysis.

6. Discussion

This section compares previously analysed results with other publications by academia. Further implications in scholarly debates and recommendations for future research are given.

In this thesis, the main objective was to explore and analyse how certain heritage sites were interpreted and perceived. First of all, in order to be able to focus on those heritage sites, the conceptualizations of what heritage is and what are its characteristics, were needed to be introduced in theory. Ashworth, et al., (2007) stated that heritage can be territorial, serving particular groups through communicating narratives of inclusion and exclusion. In general, heritage cannot be 'all things to all people', because it involves various groups and individuals, whose interests in shared cultural heritage encompasses their need to express their self-identities. The results of this thesis showed that the narrative of Dutch history during all guided tours include controversial parts of colonialism and slavery, it is not excluded from tour guide's stories since in all guided tours was possible to hear various stories, related to those topics. However, the complicated part is to actually 'measure' that inclusion and exclusion. To what extent guides should talk about those topics that we could see either they include alternative stories to grand narrative of Dutch history? If the tour guide told visitors that the Netherlands used to have colonies in several continents, however, his narrative is full of stories about Dutch traces in New York, not for example in Indonesia – is that exclusion or inclusion? After this analysis, I found the notion to specify that heritage consists of inclusion and exclusion of different narratives rather difficult, since it is very hard to judge and draw the lines when we can say that interpreter includes or excludes certain stories.

Another aspect that is essential to take into account while we discuss about heritage, is the discourses of how we think, talk and perceive certain heritage sites. According to Smith (2006), heritage interpretations can be influenced by 'Authorized heritage discourse' (AHD) or 'Subaltern heritage discourse' (SHD). The results of this thesis illustrate that during all guided tours there is an influence of AHD. Actually, the existence of AHD sounds rather radical, which can be used especially in less democratic countries where tour guide's narratives are shaped by governments and technical, aesthetic experts, however, in the context of Amsterdam, it is not constrained by authorities, but it is possible to see the patterns (and tour guides admitted themselves during interviews) that most of their narratives are relatively based upon scientific research or at least historic books, magazines, media. Although there are plenty of 'free walking tours' companies, even their narratives have similar storylines. Especially for 'Black heritage tours' guide, a use of scientific data, archival information helps to justify her stories, leaving less doubts about validation of her stories since it was highlighted that whole information is based on scientific research.

Despite admitting that there is an influence of AHD in tour guides heritage interpretations, it would be difficult to agree on Smith's (2006) notion that in the presence of AHD on heritage sites, it is difficult to attach alternative meanings of it. The examples of 'Black heritage tour' stories can truly show that there are various alternative stories, that could be told to tourists, however they are not necessarily included in 'free walking tour' guide's narratives, since their type of tours is different – focusing on abbreviated historical and more cultural information. Therefore, heritage sites in Amsterdam should not be seen as static and not negotiated, however, the alternative stories would not be heard in every type of tour, especially 'free walking tours'.

One of heritage characteristics – being selective and subjective – has been noted by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), Lowenthal (1985). The results of this thesis also showed that what kind of sites are visited and what kind of stories are told about them are selected by the tour guides (or their employers). Depending on audience age or origins, tour guides chose what would be interesting for

their tourists to hear about. A story about Multatuli sculpture, which was eliminated from few tour guide's scripts, because they did not see it as significant enough to mention about it, is a great example. Besides, the selectivity of information, while talking about colonialism and slavery, during most of the guided tours was not because tour guides would not like to talk about it or would be restricted to mention about it, but because their audience interests and needs were not the same – hearing more entertaining stories, rather than about depravity of Dutch history.

Moving forward to the discussions of heritage and its construction, Bamberg et al. (2011), stated that our identity is a very powerful aspect in giving meaning to heritage, since it enables us to feel affiliate with certain social group and can also imply our behaviour why we are against to opposing ethnic, cultural, national or other groups. In this study case I focused on two identities – racial or ethnic – however, only existence of ethnic identities was seen and evident. Despite most of the tour guides, a guide from 'Black heritage tours' clearly used her Surinamese/American identity to justify her stories and give judgements about Dutch history, while she is not from here. Taking into account focus group (students) results, mainly the existence of their identities clarified how they saw heritage sites, whether they were attached/dis-attached with it or were they opposed or not with the interpretations. Gabriela, one of the students, encompassed oppositional view during the tour, because she felt that as a Dutch citizen, she heard from a tour guide a very nuanced and one-sided story about her country's history and culture.

Talking about heritage interpretation concept, it seems that tour guides and tourists' interpretations of heritage sites in Amsterdam, related to colonial and slavery events, has not been a subject of previous research yet, especially, when interpretation of colonial and slavery heritage includes encoding/decoding process. Only few study cases (Buzinde and Santos, 2009) showed that process of e.g. audience decoding texts of Hampton Plantation in South Carolina (USA). In their case study, respondents, who had dominant and oppositional views constructed meanings about that place in different ways, which was partly similar in my research. Students, who had a dominant view took it for granted tour guide's interpretation and draw upon the conclusion as the tour guide gave – seeing more symbols of the Dutch glory in Amsterdam city where the black presence is not introduced comprehensively. However, a possession of oppositional view for a Dutch student did not impel to make any reflections or interpretations upon the topic, only being against the interpretation of the tour guide. This leads to another issue, when it was tried to measure how effective the interpretation during 'Black heritage tour' for students was, because there is not much research done as well by implementing the same criteria as Roberts et al. (2014) did – researching interpretation's effectiveness. Since Roberts et al. (2014) research was based on quantitative data, it is hard to compare this thesis qualitative results with other data. It could be agreed that guided interpretation for students was partly successful, however there is a need for a deeper investigation what are the 'measures' or characteristics, which would indicate interpretation effectiveness within those 4 criteria.

Another implication, which might be helpful for future research is to combine both encoding/decoding model (Hall 1980), together with assessment of effectiveness (Roberts et al., 2014). This case study showed that incorporating both models helped to analyse data in a relational way. It was seen that what type of view (either dominant or oppositional ones) was contained by students, it also showed how effective the interpretation from a tour guide was for them.

Finally, it was relatively hard to find study cases, where interpretations about certain heritage sites would be in former colonizing country such as the Netherlands. Most of the research has been done in former colonized countries where those heritage sites are directly connected with colonial history,

there should be a deeper investigation on searching how tourists, locals and tour guides see certain sites in former colonizing country.

7. Conclusions

In this research it was tried to explore how three heritage sites as Dam Square, the Royal Palace, the University of Amsterdam and a topic about the Dutch Golden Age were interpreted by 'free walking' and 'thematic' tour guides.

RQ: How the narratives about those specific heritage sites and about the Dutch Golden Age topic are shaped?

The analysis of the results showed that there are various stories included in tour guides narratives (for whole analysis see Table 3), however, there are several differences on how they decoded and shaped their narratives. 'Free walking tours' guides in most of the heritage sites told abbreviated history of the Netherlands, focused on buildings as one entities, not explaining about symbolic meanings of sites. Mostly approached topic about Dutch Golden Age was in front of University of Amsterdam. While telling stories about it, tour guides narratives were shaped as highlighting new discoveries and adventures period, mentioning Dutch traces in the Netherlands' discovered countries rather than former colonies. At the end it was clear that topics about colonialism and slavery were mentioned by all of them and followed by some of tour guides' critical reflections.

'Thematic tours' elaborated about Dutch Golden Age throughout whole tour. In general, their narratives were very detailed, they paid a lot more attention to places that are not existing anymore (showing their appearance in old photographs), symbols on the buildings, which were later followed by interpretations on how those certain heritage sites could be seen. By doing so, it should have helped visitors to easier make sense out of their visited places. Besides, it was clear that tour guides approached controversial parts of history as colonialism and slavery, they also clearly distinguished VOC and WIC companies, however, guided tour which topic was about 'Explorers of the Dutch Golden Age', had rather limited amount of information about colonialism and slavery. On the contrary, guided tour, related to black heritage topic, was highly elaborating about the black presence in Amsterdam and tour guide's story was seen as one-sided and 'extreme' one by some of the research participants.

RQ: How the information is selected – what gets mentioned during the tours and what gets excluded from the narratives?

That the selection of stories exists was discovered throughout all tours. It was clear that tour guides, regarding their audience age, origins and interests were choosing what should be told to tourists and what not. A clear example was given by several tour guides, mentioning that Multatuli sculpture story was eliminated from their script since it was less significant to tell about.

During all tours neither colonialism or slavery topics were excluded from grand narratives of tour guides, however, it is rather difficult to 'measure' to what extent those topics were highly involved in their stories. Indeed, none of the tour guides ignored mentioning about it, however, it still remains unclear when we can say that a tour guide fully elaborated and involved talking about colonialism and slavery and when not.

RQ: Based on tour guides' racial, ethnic backgrounds and previous knowledge, how their interpretations differed between them?

It was barely find any racial background influences, but more that ethnic background played a role during interpretation process. Tour guides, who are from the Netherlands tried to stay objective by not judging what has happened in the past. Those who were not from here, were easier approaching colonialism and slavery topics by not being attached to the place. Several tour guides, who were partly

Dutch, partly from former colonized countries did not elaborate much on their connections with latter country. Finally, a very strong positionality of her ethnic and racial backgrounds was seen in 'Black heritage tours' guide. While not being from the Netherlands, she was easier making judgements about Dutch history and culture.

The second part of the research was together with university students. Two focus group meetings were arranged in order to see what their experiences, perceptions and interpretations about Dam Square, the Royal Palace and the University of Amsterdam heritage sites in Amsterdam, related to colonial, slavery events, and a topic about the Dutch Golden Age were.

RQ: How effective was the interpretation of heritage sites after attending to 'Black heritage tour'?

A more comprehensive and detailed analysis was given in the results section on how students encoded tour guide's interpretations about three heritage sites during 'Black heritage tour'. At the end, it was seen that the group was divided into two groups – those, who had a dominant view towards interpretations, and an oppositional view, which was contained by one student. Such a differentiation helped to see clearer patterns on how interpretations, based on three criteria, were effective for students:

- *Visitors' satisfaction.* Students, encompassing dominant view enjoyed the tour since they had a chance to hear alternative and interesting stories about Amsterdam, could experience and sense the environment in reality. It was also enjoyable because they did within a small group, where they already met each other one day before. On the contrary, a student, who had oppositional view, enjoyed meeting new people while exploring Amsterdam, however, she did not see guided tour as interactive as she expected to as well as the approach from the tour guide while telling her stories was inappropriate for her. It imposed her a slight dis-attachment from whole group.
- *Knowledge gain.* After the tour, it was clear to see that students had learned some of new information about Amsterdam, were able to easier recognize certain sites, however, that information was rather limited. This could be explained that the topic and the tour itself was new for all participants as well as the tour guide was telling a lot of information, sometimes even very fast or very detailed. For a student, having oppositional view, the reasoning of adopting less information could be seen differently – since she saw the tour guide's one-sided story, which was sometimes followed by some judgements about Dutch culture, the student focused instead on other objects and remembered less information.
- *Attitude change.* All students admitted that after the tour they were impressed how much it could be told and learned just by looking at details and symbols on buildings in Amsterdam, how much hidden history there is. However, since it was interpreted by 'Black heritage tour' guide, the perceptions towards it varied. Students with dominant view, accepted tour guide's interpretations, reflected that after the tour they could see more evidence of the black presence in Amsterdam, see much more glory depicted on some of the buildings and in general while speaking about Dutch Golden Age, would involve the context of colonialism and slavery more. Also, they drew reflections upon present and 'modern' slavery. On the contrary, the student with the oppositional view did not seem to have a changed attitude towards the topic of slavery. Her attitude changed towards the essence of the tour (looking and noticing more about hidden symbols in the city) rather than about the content of the tour (the black presence in Amsterdam).

RQ: Based on students' racial and ethnic backgrounds, how their knowledge experiences differed between them?

It was not found much of evidence how student's racial backgrounds influenced their perceptions and interpretations, however, their ethnic background made a large influence. Students, who were from foreign countries, had a similar way of thinking while evaluating and analysing whole tour, could easier take into account tour guide's given information whereas a student from the Netherlands had a much more different perception, since she grew up and was raised here, therefore, towards some of judgemental information she remained sceptical and oppositional.

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Appendix 1. Interview guide with the tour guides

The aim of interview questions	Interview questions
To get to know better tour guide's background	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Where do you come from originally? 2) For how long you work as a tour guide? 3) How you chose to be as a tour guide? What were the reasons? 4) What is the most exciting about your job? 5) What are the challenges that you face during your job? 6) How you would describe your role in guiding a tour?
To get to know from where the tour guides get their information sources, how they select it and what is being told	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7) Speaking more specifically about the information you are telling to tourists, from where you get all information? 8) How you select what kind of stories should be told to your visitors of the tour? 9) Are there any methods or different ways that you use in order to tell your stories in interactive, interesting way and that visitors would remember your told information? What are they? 10) How information about the Netherlands (Amsterdam) differs from the one that you previously knew and the information that you learned for your tour guiding job? 11) What are the stories and facts that you tell to visitors while introducing the Netherlands (Amsterdam more specifically)?
To find out what is being told specifically about Dutch Golden Age (DGA)?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12) <i>(Before asking, shortly explain that these thesis project is related to the DGA context)</i> What are the main facts and stories when you are telling about Dutch Golden Age (DGA)? 13) Taking into account DGA context, to what extent you are telling stories that are related to colonialism, slavery events and the Netherlands' involvement in it? 14) Do you find any challenges talking about colonialism and slavery times during your tour?
To see what are the audience reactions towards their told stories in their guided tours	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15) What are people's reactions, what kind of questions they mostly ask while talking about DGA? 16) Speaking more specifically about the audience per se, what are the differences of telling your stories to different

	nationalities people? E.g. how it differs if you speak about DGA to Dutch and non-Dutch visitors?
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Appendix 2. Interview guide with the focus group

First meeting.

- The aim of questions – to get to know what they already know about the Netherlands and specific sightseeing places in Amsterdam city.
 - 1) Who knows something about Royal Palace in Dam Square? Who could describe that place?
 - 2) Who knows something about the University of Amsterdam?
 - 3) Who knows something about Dutch Golden Age? What are the facts or stories that you know?
 - 4) Who knows something about Sinterklaas tradition in Dutch society? What are your opinions about it?
- The aim of questions – to get to know more specifically from where and what they know about Dutch Golden Age, slavery and colonialism topics.
 - 5) Speaking a bit more specifically and taking into account this project context, since we all come from different countries, who could share what you have heard about colonialism in general? *(try to ask every person in order to see what they know about that topic in each country)*
 - 6) What you have heard about slavery in general? *(try to ask every person in order to see what they know about that topic in each country)*
 - 7) Have you heard something about the Netherlands' involvement in slavery routes or colonial systems? What do you know?
 - 8) From where you have learned about these previously discussed topics?
 - 9) *If there are changes between previously learned information (from high school, media, friends and relatives etc.) discuss the differences and similarities.*

The end of first focus group meeting.

Second meeting.

- The aim of questions – to get to know whether they were satisfied with the tour, what kind of information about Dutch Golden age, colonialism and slavery was unknown and known.
 - 1) First of all, how was the tour for everyone?
 - 2) What kind of information did you already know before this tour?

3) What kind of information was new for you, what did you hear during the tour that you didn't know before?

- The aim of questions/tasks (analysis of photo elicitation method) – to get to know how they experienced the tour, what were their insights, perceptions during whole tour etc.?

During this time, I will ask everybody individually to comment and elaborate on their take photographs from guided tour. Ask why did they take them, what it shows, what it means for them? What others think about it?

- To get to know what specifically they learned about Dutch Golden Age, colonialism and slavery topics and several heritage sites?

4) *(If nobody will mention in previous questions, where I ask what they have learned something new about Dutch Golden Age, colonialism and slavery, then ask this specific question)*

Could you specify, what did you learn during the tour?

(What have you heard new about Dutch Golden Age? / Colonialism? / Slavery?)

- 5) After the tour, who could describe me Royal Palace in Dam Square? What do you know about that place more?
- 6) Who could describe me now University of Amsterdam?
- 7) Who could describe me Sinterklaas tradition of Dutch?
- 8) Finally, how the process of learning about colonialism, slavery topics was different in this tour rather the learning about it in schools?

Appendix 3. Coddling schemes of the attendance to guided tours

Free Walking Tours

Lennart	Out of 11 stops of the tour, the total stops amount, related to the topic: 2 In 1 stop the guide mentioned about spices, trades and storage houses and in the 2 nd stop talked about University of Amsterdam, VOC and slavery.
Zaida	Out of 9 stops of the tour, the total stops amount, related to the topic: 1 There was only one stop at University of Amsterdam that the guide told about VOC, their trading routes, former colonies etc.
Tim	Out of 9 stops of the tour, the total stops amount, related to the topic: 2 In 1 stop the guide mentioned about spices, trades and storage houses and in the 2nd stop talked about University of Amsterdam and VOC voyages.
Tizian	Out of 12 stops of the tour, the total stops amount, related to the topic: 1 There was only one stop at University of Amsterdam that the guide told about VOC, their trading routes, former colonies etc.

Dam Square

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
The whole Dam Square	Historical facts about the origins of Amsterdam	Tizian: right here is the Dam Square, the biggest and most important square in Amsterdam or it used to be. <...> So this is also where Amsterdam was founded. Amsterdam was founded around the year 12 hundred <...> (<i>Tizian told the legend of two fishermen and how Amsterdam was founded</i>).
Corner house Saint Nicholas	The discussion of Black Pietie	Lennart: So in Amsterdam, in a large city, people they have demonstrated a lot, they protested a lot. So now, in big cities you don't see black face caricatures anymore, but 7mln. in the Netherlands they are with Zwart Pietie they think it's our tradition, we should not abolish this. Also, because... yeaah, who are the people who are protesting against this? Foreigners! Alright? So why we should let our tradition let be ruined by foreign people? Alright? So those are logical debates, but it's very sad, every year in November, in December, people are fighting with each other saying... –You are racist! – Yeaah, but you are black! (pause)
The tramway street	Historical facts of Amstel River	Zaida: <...> Amstel River. It used to go over there, run over there, they made a street out of it, you cannot see clearly now... But it used to run all the way in that direction to the Central Station, where used to be a harbour. Tim: you see this is not a very straight road. This is because originally these tram rails that we are looking at, it's the Amstel River, alright? <...> Amstel River came from there and it went to the Ocean where we have now a Central station and they made a Dam on this river. This is also where the name comes from 'Amstelrdam',

National Monument	The purpose of National Monument	Tizian: <...> welcome to the Dam Square as we have you here nowadays, over there we have this nice (???), like statue, that is the World War II memorial and that is basically there to remember everyone who has ever fallen in the war in the Netherlands.
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New Church

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
The facts of New church	The status of New Church	Tizian: <...> and that is a New Church. Don't be fooled by the name, that's actually second oldest building in Amsterdam and the second oldest church, <...>.
	The materials of New Church	Tizian: If you look at the general kind of construction, you can see the change of material from the actual building and the base of the tower... and if you look at the Royal Palace, you can see that they used the left over materials for the base.
The stories of New Church connected with Royal Palace stories	The competition between these 2 buildings	<p>Tim: <...> our Town Hall, that's the biggest building of old Amsterdam. This is New Church which was still that day the biggest building in the city. Amsterdam, the mayors wanted to build this big town hall, <...> but the priest in that day, <...> he said 'house of God should be the biggest one in town. <...> But the mayors, they really wanted their town hall, so they had a deal with the church and they said 'alright, we gonna build this town hall, but with the money that comes from the project, we gonna make you a church tower, <...> but then while they were making it, it became a little bit more expensive as expected, it took a little bit longer as expected, so when it was finished, they said, 'alright, we don't have the money this year, but if everything goes as planned, we'll fix the church tower for you next year'. <...> And then next year... next year... <...> But it has been 360 years by now... not likely, not likely...</p> <p>Tizian: <...> but yeah... that church would not be happy when I call the Royal Palace as the star of the square, because the Royal Palace back then was built as a town hall, these guys they were Calvinist,<...> so when these guys came along and they took the glamour away, they said 'that's not how it works, we are the ones who represent God, we are the ones who should have the biggest, most beautiful building on the biggest square in Amsterdam'. So after some negotiations, the town hall said 'alright, you guys can build a big big tower so that everybody who comes to Amsterdam, can really see that right away as a symbol of god'. So they were okay with that, but as you can see, there is not really a big tower.</p>

Royal Palace

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Historical facts of the Netherlands related to Royal Palace	The Netherlands - first modern republic	Lennart: In the 17th century <...> We were first modern republic and now we are one of the last countries in Europe with this medieval backward institutional monarchy. Sound like a bit going back in time, right?
	The Netherlands involvement in war with Spain	Lennart: The Netherlands used to be a part of Spain. Did you know that? Tizian: this Palace was built in the 17th century, in 1648 and it was built after Dutch beat the Spaniards in the Eighty years war.
	Louis Napoleon - first Dutch King	Lennart: We became a monarchy when Napoleon came. Alright? Napoleon was conquering all of Europe, including the Netherlands. That's why the Netherlands was the mess. Why was the Netherlands a mess? Because there was a French Revolution, but there was also the Dutch Revolution. <...> So Napoleon came here, he saw that okay... that's it, I need a political unity here, I'm going to make a Kingdom of Holland. Okay... And my little brother is going to be a King. So Louis Napoleon was the first Dutch King. French man... Zaida: So King Louis was a really nice guy, he did a lot of effort to integrate in Dutch culture, he learned the language, he even changed his name from Louis to Lodewijk <...>. <i>(Zaida told the story how Louis mixed instead of saying 'dames en heren, ik ben uw Koning', he ended up saying 'dames en heren, ik ben uw konijn', which means 'ladies and gentlemen, I am your rabbit').</i> <...> And he was well accepted by the Dutch people and that's why he managed to change a lot, like house numbers, he built a lot of libraries, universities, last names, things like that. Tizian: And it didn't become a Royal Palace until 1808, and that was when French came to Amsterdam. So the French took the city over here and the Dutch they didn't really resisted too much, they just gave the city to the French and then Napoleon was ruling at that time and he forgot to give his little brother Louis a birthday present so he just gave him Amsterdam. <...> <i>(Louis)</i> kinda got himself a Dutch wife, he changed his name to Lodewijk, which is the most Dutch name there is, and he actually learnt some Dutch. And he also made this his Royal Palace. <i>(Tizian also told the story about mixture of phrases by rather saying 'ladies and gentlemen, I am your rabbit').</i>
	First Royal family - Orange family, the Netherlands became constitutional monarchy	Lennart: <...> in 1813 when Napoleon left <...> the Dutch political elite said <...> we need political unity now more than ever. And we are going to ask Orange family if they want to be our Kings and Queens. <...> The William Orange is our founding father <...> Then... We had a constitutional monarchy with our parliament <...>.

		<p>Zaida: But he didn't rule for a long, only 4 years, then he got into fight with his brother Napoleon and he was kicked out. And then we became a Republic again. <...> There you see pictures of our King and Queen and King's mother and you see some part of tulips. Well, now you know why, because they are still our King, our descendants of William of Orange. <...> that's why, our national colour is orange.</p> <p>Zaida: Well, our Royal Family do not live in Royal Palace, they live outside of Amsterdam.</p>
	The symbolic meaning of Royal Palace	Lennart: At the same time this building stands for the powers of capitalism, as it stands for republican self-confidence, liberal individualism.
	Comparisons with other Royal Palaces	Tizian: Anybody been to London? You saw Buckingham Palace? Anybody been to Paris? ...this looks more like a library compared to all those other European Royal Palaces, right?
	Untold/interesting facts related to Royal Palace history	Lennart: In 1848 he was a King William II and he gave all his powers away, alright? <...> What actually happened was that five years ago my professors found out that William II gave his all powers away as a gift because he was blackmailed by the Dutch political elite, because he was a homosexual and he had homosexual affairs and novels in all over Europe. So you can understand if that would come up to public in 1848, it would have meant the end of a monarchy that only existed for 30 years.
The reasons of building Royal Palace	A need of municipality, later – a need of palace for a King	<p>Zaida: And another reason it doesn't really look like a Palace is because it wasn't built as a Palace. It used to be our city hall. But it was turned into a Palace in 1806 when Napoleon took over the country and handed it over to this brother Louis, and Louis became King.</p> <p>Tim: That's because Ludewijk Napoleon, the guy from the painting, he took it as a town hall and he started living here and when he left the house of Orange, the Royal family, they took it and nowadays they still own it.</p> <p>Tizian: It was actually originally built as a Town Hall and that's why it looks kinda more like a library.</p>
	To show up the pride of being the first modern republic	Lennart: In 1684 the Netherlands became the first modern republic of Europe. Alright? So the merchants... the merchants, they were the bastards in the Netherlands. They built this, they said you know what? We need a Town hall, an impressive Town hall to show that we are the merchant class, we are the bastards of the Netherlands. <..> we can govern ourselves.
	Tour guide's recommendations to visit Royal Palace	Tim: I think it's worth it... there is a big map of the world inside, so as far as I was exploring back in the days, so Australia is on the map, but New Zealand is not yet on the map, because no one's ever seen it. And the South America,

		Brazil or Argentina is in it, but Chile or countries on the other side, they are not in the map, cos no one ever seen it, alright?
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The Bridge on Singel River (the oldest bridge in Amsterdam)

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
The outcomes of Netherlands trading times	The Dutch houses around the Bridge on Singel River used as storage houses	<p>Lennart: These are not only living houses, these are also old storage houses from 17th century. <...> (<i>the goods</i>) they were brought in smaller boats and then all the goods were stored here, in these houses. Look upstairs!</p> <p>Tim: you see those beautiful canal houses from Golden Age Amsterdam... <...> You store it up (<i>the pepper</i>) in these house and you sell it in small amounts for a longer period, so you get a better price for it, alright? And that's why Amsterdam is full of these canal houses, designed as storage houses.</p> <p>Tizian at this stop gave to everybody maps to see how Amsterdam looks in the map, explained how the parts of the city are distributed (old city, canals district etc.). Pointed to the smallest house close by. Explained the taxation of the houses, how the houses are leaning or falling, that they have hooks on their roofs... Tizian also told said how the city was built and structured. Mentioned that these canals got the UNESCO World Heritage nomination.</p>
	The trading goods, brought to Netherlands	<p>Lennart: The epiphany for me, because I thought potatoes is the most Dutch food ever, alright... but it came from South America apparently. Aaaa, sugar from Caribbean, spices from Indonesia. There were all brought with larger ships to the open sea behind the Central Station, there wasn't there yet of course in.</p> <p>Tim: Amsterdam was a sailor's city and these boats, they made big journeys across South Africa to Asia and from there they brought expensive spices back to Europe, mostly to Amsterdam.</p>
Multatuli sculpture	-	<i>None of the tour guides have mentioned anything about the sculpture. The sculpture represents Eduard Douwes Dekker, (1820-1887), who was posted as a civil servant in the Dutch East Indies. In his novel he critized the Dutch colonial rule and described the abuse of indigenous people (Hondius et al., 2017).</i>

University of Amsterdam (East Indies House, VOC headquarters)

Tour guide	Time duration of talk about University of Amsterdam	The location of the stop	Used visuals
Lennart	06:05	In front of the University of Amsterdam, across the canal	None
Zaida	12:30	In the courtyard of University of Amsterdam	Used a map of trading routes and former colonies
Tim	04:29	In front of the University of Amsterdam, across the canal	Used a map of VOC colonized countries and their trips
Tizian	04:00	In front of the University of Amsterdam, across the canal	None

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Introducing University of Amsterdam		<p>Lennart: Now I'm going to tell something about this beautiful building here. <...> It is, now a University of Amsterdam, Humanities Department. <...> But... It's the old headquarters of the VOC... <...> It's East Indian Company. Alright? And it's the core of Dutch colonialism.</p> <p>Zaida: It's what some people call – the success story of Amsterdam. In the next stop I'm going to explain to you how it came to be that Amsterdam went from a tiny little swampy village to the richest and most powerful city in Europe.</p> <p>Tim: The next story, it's gonna be about this building on the opposite side of the water. It doesn't look like such a special one, but it is very special one for the Netherlands and Amsterdam because it's the headquarters of the VOC.</p> <p>Tizian: Also, we have over here this building. That is the VOC that is the Dutch East Indian Company. Anybody ever heard about that? I know you had, probably, a little bit (<i>pointing at me</i>)</p>
	Competition with other trading countries in global market	Zaida: So in the late 15th hundreds Spain was already colonizing parts of South America and Portugal was already colonizing parts of Asia. But the Dutch were still only trading with other countries in Europe and they really felt that they are missing out on a lot of money.
The starting situation of trades in global market	The countries where Dutch ships went	Lennart: The Dutch ships went everywhere of the world in 17th century, they went to Taiwan, they went to China, they went to South Africa, they went to Brazil, West Africa, there was a lot in Indonesia... In the 19th century they called it Dutch India (<i>he meant Indonesia</i>).

		<p>Tim: They made the journeys to the East, to Asia. The Portuguese were the first with these – Vasco de Gama started it, but the Dutch, they also, they did the same story and they more or less took over it if you ask me. <...> On the other side we went to Brasil, few islands in the Caribbean there are still Dutch today.</p>
VOC – first multinational and stock market	It flourished due to combined forces – Dutch started to ship across the Ocean together	<p>Zaida: So the first thing they changed was that instead of going with one, two or three big ships like they did in Spain and Portugal, they started to go in fleets of a hundreds ships. Because they thought if we go with a hundreds ships, we are much stronger. <...> If something goes wrong, like a storm, we can help each other out. <...></p> <p>Tizian: But before that, if you were rich and you wanted to make more money, the way they did was buy a ship and with that ship you went all over the world, you traded for spices and all that... and then you came back here. However, that was really risky, <...>. And if your boat went down, that was pretty much a financial disaster. So what the Dutch government back then decided was instead of kinda everybody going by themselves, they are gonna centralize the trade. And they created the VOC, it was pretty much a monster living created.</p> <p>Tizian: Also, it was extremely successful because yeah... they centralized the ships trade and what they said that instead of everybody taking a one ship to some place, we all go together.</p>
	It flourished due to financial investments of many citizens into VOC activities	<p>Lennart: <...> going to the other side of the world in 1602 is really risky and really expensive. <...> Half of the ships did not come back because of piracy, diseases on boards, storms... So, people said you know what? If everybody is able to buy stocks, okay? And then, you can just buy stocks, if the ship doesn't come back, all the stocks will decrease a little bit in a value and we can spread the risk. So, it's quite smart... And everybody could invest in 17th century in VOC. So everybody who had money invested in VOC.</p> <p>Zaida: The second thing is that instead of each merchant, putting all of his goods in his own ship, they would divide everything over all the ships to spread the risk (<i>Zaida explained about the spread of the risks with more examples</i>). <...> The third thing was that the Spain and Portugal, they had a King and the King would finance these expeditions. But back then we didn't have a King, we were a Republic. So we didn't have a sugar daddy to finance these expeditions. So what they did is that they presented their plans to people of Amsterdam, the citizens and everybody could invest. And everybody got their ideas and everybody invested in this company.</p>

Investors and explorers of the Dutch Golden Age	Peter van Stuyvesant	<p>Lennart: Peter van Stuyvesant, who was the governor of New Amsterdam, <...> he was notorious slave trader in Curacao, in one of the Dutch colonies, in Latin America, and he became the governor of New Amsterdam <...>. He hated Jewish people, he said there are inferior race... <...> What happened, Peter van Stuyvesant, he got a letter from VOC, they said – Peter, you are gonna allow those people to settle down there. Why? Because 30% of the stock was owned by Jewish people, who were living here, in this neighbourhood. You understand? ... So Peter van Stuyvesant was forced to be nice to Jewish people because he was dependent on their money. Alright? So this is really how we like to define Dutch tolerance, because we are merchants, we go everywhere around the world... because we depend on each other's money.</p>
Highlighting the impact and new discoveries of VOC	Economic benefits	<p>Zaida: And for 200 years this company dominated the world seas. And for 200 years Amsterdam was the financial capital of the world. They were really big. So a lot of countries had their trading companies as Spain, Portugal, Belgium, France, you know... The British. But VOC was so big that they owned more ships than all the other trading companies combined and they made a lot of money. <...> So they say that there were worth at some point was the equivalent of today's 7,3 trillion dollars.</p> <p>Tim: Finally they went bankrupt and to give you an idea the size from this company... with the bankruptcy with this one multinational, the whole country went bankrupted with it. So that's tells something about the power that this company had, alright? ...</p> <p>Tim: They got the spices mostly from Prussia, India, Indonesia, that's the Dutch colony, South Africa was the Dutch colony <...>.</p>
	The general impact of the VOC in the Netherlands and the world	<p>Tim: But it's united Dutch East Indian Company – company that made Amsterdam and the Netherlands so very very rich.</p> <p>Tizian: So the VOC is kinda the reason why everything around here was possible.</p> <p>Tizian: They even beat the Brits and the Portuguese at that point, so in the 17th century, the Dutch were one of the most powerful nations in the world.</p>
	Exploring new territories – New Amsterdam (New York)	<p>Lennart: ...they also have been to New Amsterdam. Has anyone of you ever heard about New Amsterdam?</p> <p>Audience: No (silently).</p> <p>Lennart: How do we call it today?</p> <p>Me: New York!</p>

		<p>Lennart: New York, yes! First European settlers, who came at the island of Manhattan, were Dutch settlers, did you know that?</p> <p>Zaida: So they were having a meeting, right here in this building about finding a short cut to Asia. <...> So they hired a British captain, named Henry Hudson to lead the expedition, <...> So they started to go West, instead of going South, maybe if we go West, <...> already after two months they did find. <...> but it didn't take them very long to realize that it wasn't Asia, it was America. <...> But they were there anyway, <...> so they said 'well, we are here anyway, might just start a trading post, make some money out of it'. So they founded a trading post, called it New Amsterdam <...>.</p> <p>Tim: on top of that we had New Amsterdam. And New Amsterdam nowadays you know as....? You know how it's called New Amsterdam?</p>
	Exploring new territories - Australia	<p>Tim: <...> they discovered Australia as the first one. Hope you knew this from the history books... <i>(Tim was approaching to few tourists, who were born as English and now living in Australia, however it was clear that they didn't hear about it before)</i> <...> Now, they didn't keep those countries unfortunately, because they thought 'well, it's not really valuable....' They landed in the North West side of Australia, but it was a very swampy area where nothing really happened, and they said 'well, this is not valuable stop'. So they left...</p>
	Other discovered territories – Tasmania, New Zealand	<p>Tim: Tasmania also come from Abu Tasman, a Dutch man, and they discovered New Zealand, the state in South of the Netherlands is also called Zeeland.</p>
Highlighting the opposite aspects of VOC	The Netherlands involvement in Transatlantic slavery	<p>Lennart: Did you know that the Dutch had more than 600 thousands Africans on their colonies. 600 thousands Africans were put on the Dutch boats to the other side of the ocean for a horrible 2 or 3 months, get together in down in the ship. And sometimes it was not enough money, not enough food on the boat. So what they did they do? They just threw few black people over the borders. Alright? In the water, with the things on their feet's that they would sink down. Women, children very often because they were the least worth. Alright? So 600 thousands slaves, which is 5% of total Transatlantic slavery trade between 12 and 20 million people who have been brought to the other side of the Atlantic against their will.</p> <p>Tim: But it wasn't only a friendly company, they also enslaved half a million people, the guns and the ships were</p>

		<p>more expensive than the ships themselves, so slavery and piracy were also a big part of their trade.</p> <p>Tizian: export and import slaves, they ran their markets there (<i>saying this pretty silently, was hard to hear</i>), and they were extremely extremely successful in doing that.</p>
	Repressions in Indonesia and its independence in 1949	<p>Lennart: Did you know that the Dutch India – Indonesia – only became independent in 1949, after World War II? After World War II, <...> The Netherlands was just liberated from Germans and then they sent the boats to Indonesia where they wanted to repress independence movements. Alright? So the Dutch killed more than 10 thousand people there too.</p>
	Dutch colonization	<p>Zaida: All the red points you see – they were colonized by the Dutch. So they were trading a lot with Asia. So just imagine, okay... Going to Asia from Amsterdam by boat... so you start here (<i>point at the map</i>), all the way there, then you have to go down, down, down, down, down.... Pass South Africa and then up, up, up, up. So it's a long journey, each time would take 2 years to get back. By the way that's why South Africa also became a Dutch colony, because they used to have a stop over there and reload the ship with food and things like that.</p> <p>Tim: We lost our colonies mostly to England, we made a deal with England about New York. We left out of New York without any troubles, we said 'alright, we go'... and then because of that, we got Suriname. Suriname back in the day was good for sugar and sugar had a good price in Europe, so it was good deal, but today I would rather have New York being a Dutch city than having Suriname as a country, but it's all history now, it's not a colony anymore.</p> <p>Tizian: The VOC was economical success, but on the humanitarian side was pretty much a disaster. Because what they basically did was that they created this company and it was pretty much an autonomous company. So they did not have to answer to the Dutch government technically, especially when they started ships going to Indonesia and those places. <....> When a company is completely autonomous, the only goal to make a profit as an army disposal, it's gonna end in disaster. They pretty much occupied Indonesia at first. <...> So then they invaded Indonesia, they completely colonized it, they were kinda trying to erase that Indonesians are from there... <...></p>
	VOC was self-governed company that ruled on its own	<p>Tizian: The VOC was economical success, but on the humanitarian side was pretty much a disaster. Because what they basically did was that they created this company and it was pretty much an autonomous company. So they did not have to answer to the Dutch government</p>

		<p>technically, especially when they started ships going to Indonesia and those places. <...> So effectively, they governed themselves and they had a lot of money and they had an army on their disposal. When a government has that, it is already pretty bad you know, a lot of deaths happened</p>
The collapse of VOC (the end of the Dutch Golden Age)	The attack of other countries and collapse of VOC	<p>Tim: Now – because of the monopoly on the specimen prices from that day, we had a lot of wars, especially with England. And in 1672, the third English war, Germany, England and France attacked us together, to get rid of the VOC Company. We couldn't win this war against three countries at the same time. England made a blockade in front of our door, no ships in and out and from that day it went down with VOC.</p> <p>Tizian: And the Brits then came to control over those territories, because the Dutch were mostly busy keeping their monopolies in Indonesia.</p>
	The spices trends has changed in the market	<p>Tizian: The biggest reason why it went bankrupt back then was because they were mostly focus on people in the monopoly there and they didn't realize that, kinda the taste in Europe was changing. So most of the stuff they got from pepper, or spices like that... but then in the late 18th century, the taste kind of started changing from these spices to sugar and sugar was more found in the Americas.</p>
Dutch traces in other countries	Dutch traces in New Amsterdam – New York	<p>Lennart: there are neighbourhoods (in New York) that are called Harlem and Brooklyn, right? Those are the names arrive from Dutch cities Haarlem and Breukelen, alright? Did you know that?</p> <p>Zaida: So New York actually used to be New Amsterdam and still today, there are a lot of Dutch traces in New York and Dutch are really proud of that, by the way. So do you know the neighbourhood Harlem? So for example Harlem comes from Haarlem. Haarlem is a Dutch city, so it was named after the Dutch city Haarlem. Or Brooklyn, neighbourhood Brooklyn? It's named after the city Breukelen. Wall Street, where stock market is, you know? Stock market was invented here. Wall Street means Waal Straat, by the way. And Coney Island? Named after Conijne Eylant. That's how they used to call it, 'Conijne' means rabbit. So the Dutch used to call it Rabbit Island.</p> <p>Tim: You still have a lot of names in New York that come from the neighbourhood Amsterdam, for instance, Harlem comes from Haarlem, a town just out of Amsterdam, Brooklyn comes from Breukelen, also a village close by... and Wall Street, a financial centre in New York used to be the city wall from the harbour from this company.</p>

		Tim: Tasmania also come from Abu Tasman, a Dutch man, and they discovered New Zeeland, the state in South of the Netherlands is also called Zeeland.
	Dutch traces in South Africa and Suriname	Tim: And still in South Africa and Suriname they speak in Dutch. In South Africa you have Afrikaans, which is very similar to Dutch.
	Traces in everyday life	Zaida: And as soon as they got the maps, they immediately went to India to get pepper, because back then pepper was the most expensive spice there was. Still today we have a saying that when something is really expensive, you call it 'pepperly expensive' (peperduur we say in Dutch).
Tour guides' reflection on Dutch Golden Age	Critical reflection on Dutch Golden Age history and comparison of that period with nowadays	<p>Lennart: Therefore, Amsterdam has always been very tolerant and very multicultural. Alright? That is of course the nice story that we want to tell to ourselves. Alright? Because you don't have to tap yourself on your back that you let Jewish people in. –Ohh, I'm such a good person, I'm not a real Anti-Semite because I liked the money of Jewish people. Alright? (<i>taking into account the story of Peter van Stuyvesant</i>)</p> <p>Lennart: Sooo, did you know this? Did you know this about the Dutch history? Huhhhh, it's a cute, little country, near the North Sea, where everybody is stoned all day with such ugly Imperial history.</p> <p>Lennart: So I just wanted tell you that VOC is really at the heart of the Amsterdam wealth, so just think one moment about that while you are walking through to this beautiful city that is also funded by black man. Alright? And I don't want you to feel guilty for your whole vacation that you are here. Aaaah, it's so bad but I also don't want to omit this from my whole tour, alright? I just have to tell you.</p> <p>Zaida: The Golden Age, because we made so much money, but some people like to call it – our bloody age. Because especially the Dutch, they were not friendly. Not at all actually. So there were some people, who say that actually our richness is based on injustice and that our richness is stolen. So yeah, let's not forget about that part of this history too.</p> <p>Tim: So that's why we have the canals and those beautiful canal houses – all from our Golden Age.</p> <p>Tizian: So they were extremely successful with that and there was a lot of people who became very rich mostly because of the trading and they were able to build this beautiful city here. So yeah, this city, a lot of these houses are made in the 17th century, that was the time when VOC was successful.</p>

	Personal information related to the Dutch Golden Age times	<p>Zaida: And also still today a lot of traces of this colonial history in Amsterdam. So in Amsterdam, you see a lot of different cultures, a lot of different ethnicities, a lot of people from former Dutch colonies live here. For example, myself. So my father is from the Caribbean, Dutch colony. A lot of people from Caribbean they came here study, just like my father did. <...> it's all part of this history. It's very interesting when you are a part of this history.</p>
The audience interests in stories of VOC	The questions from audience regarding VOC stories	<p>Lennart: But... It's the old headquarters of the VOC, as anyone of you heard about this VOC? Audience: VOC? Lennart: VOC. It's 'Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie'.</p> <p>Lennart: they also have been to New Amsterdam. Has anyone of you ever heard about New Amsterdam? Audience: No (<i>silently</i>).</p> <p>Tim: You know how it's called New Amsterdam? <i>(Tourists remained silent)</i> Me: New York! Tim: New York, exactly! Tourist: Really? Tim: New York used to be a harbour from Amsterdam.</p> <p>Lennart: And then I'm not even talking about people, whose money was not relevant for the status. What do you think I'm talking about? <i>(Pause. No reaction from audience)</i></p> <p>Lennart: Are there any questions about Dutch colonialism? No? No? Let's go over there.</p> <p>Zaida: Because when at some point the profit came, it didn't go to one King, but it went to the entire city, to everybody who had invested. So who knows about which company I'm talking about? Somebody from audience: Dutch Indies Company. Zaida: Yesss. The Dutch East Indian trading company.</p> <p>Tim: Does anyone know the VOC company? Does it ring the bell? No? <i>(Tourists did not say anything, they do not know about this company)</i></p> <p>Tim: Any questions about this part? Did you know about this, Netherlands and this history? <i>(Tourists remained silent, they have not heard about it)</i></p>

The Old Church

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Stories about the Old Church		Zaida: But don't you think it's a little bit strange, having a church in the middle of the Red-light district. <...> ...we used to have a really big harbour in this city, and with harbours... comes sailors. And with sailors... comes prostitution. So this neighbourhood has always been a neighbourhood with some bars, and women, and these sailors, after having spent months and months and months on the ocean, without seeing any women, they would stumble upon this neighbourhood, walk around thinking... party time!

Thematic Tours

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Historical facts of the Netherlands	First stock market (borrowed from Antwerp)	<p>Thijs: But that stock market that was something that they borrowed from Antwerp and they built one here as well, but the new things what they added in Amsterdam was that you could not only invest in something physical, one object, but also in a part of the object. They started to work with obligations.</p> <p>Me: So the stock market already started before the Dutch Golden Age?</p> <p>Thijs: Yes, and it started in Antwerp, but they didn't have obligations.</p>
	Netherlands – first modern Republic	<p>Thijs: There wasn't an emperor, who took over the Netherlands, which made it pretty much the first Republic, more less more democratic nation.</p>
	First Royal family – Orange family, the Netherlands became constitutional monarchy	<p>Thijs: French introduced the kingdom, a principle, so first Napoleon asked his brother to be a king of the Netherlands, and after couple of years he felt, he wasn't doing a great job, 'actually he was doing a great job' (<i>saying it silently and sneakily</i>), but we don't say today it anymore, cos we are not proud of this part of the history, he took over himself, cos his brother was actually in favour of a lot of investments in the Netherlands, <...>. And only after the battle of Waterloo, for example, the Netherlands became their own Kingdom.</p>
	Royal Orange family	<p>Thijs: One certain family stayed around long enough to take all these waves and that was the German royal family, or related family of Orange. And nephew of nephew of nephew....</p>

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Amsterdam's development	Urban development	<p>Thijs: <...> they had so many troubles with expending their city because of their swampy surroundings. All the buildings we built here, including a city wall... so the territory expanded.</p> <p><i>Thijs explained the development of the canals one more time.</i></p> <p><i>Thijs continues talking about the streets, lowering bridges, setting up the roads for cyclers.</i></p>
	Architectural development	<p>Thijs said that the carpenters weren't much like architects, so they pretty much copied each other, after ideal home. Usual people needed functional houses. He explained the use of the hook on the roof of the houses.</p>

		<p>Me: Is the style of the buildings, did it come from somewhere or... ?</p> <p>Thijs: because there were only carpenters, there was no grant architectural design that we know today. It was basically thinking in classical way of building houses in other cities and because of the available materials. All arrives from functionality.</p> <p>Michael: So I do tours that sort of mix history, urban planning and the growth of the city. I do want an entire tour about the growth of the city, so we start in the medieval city centre, we go to the canal ring and see the growth in the 17th century, then we leave the canal ring and we're going to the 19th century buildings that are built, and then we take a tram through the city and then we go further out into the 20th century apartments buildings, that are built in 1920's. <...> telling them about the expansion of the city from this small, sort of village, a thousand years ago to the city that is today.</p>
	Structural development	<p>Thijs: <...> If you look up, the gables are in sections, which helps to keep water out of the bricks. Cargo helped to store more stuff in the attic, because there was a lot of space.</p> <p>Thijs: <...> The water level often people say, the water stairs – for the rising of the water, but the water level was already maintained by the dikes. The reason is that the more stairs you have, the more rich you are and later the fashion was different, because it took a lot of space.</p> <p><i>Thijs explained about the piles positioning and said that if you would turn upside down whole Amsterdam, you get a needles cushion, because all those buildings have piles in pretty much all the corners.</i></p> <p><i>We were entering one of the neighbourhoods, where the word of it means 'pumping away water'. Here used to be pumps, or mills, or anything mechanical to get rid of the water.</i></p>
	Import and export with other countries	<p>Thijs: <...> people needed to build houses that were based on pilings, and pilings, all that wood didn't come from the Netherlands, but it came from mostly Scandinavia and they were bringing it themselves. <...> So first trading started by importing grain, for growing population and wood, for pilings and buildings.</p>
	The advancement of Dutch and different way of dealing with taxes	<p>Thijs: <...> Sweden, together with Denmark, they controlled pretty much all the ocean over there, <...> they just checked the deck, and if their deck was big, then they thought that they probably have a lot of cargo.</p> <p>People from Amsterdam thought that's a good way of taxation, so they were making ships in a shape of drop. So the deck sizes was very small, really round-shape, so they needed less troops and they could import more wood. So</p>

		<p>they could build more ships, more people were could buy them. Even the Czar of Russian came to the Netherlands before the Golden Age to learn about those ships building, because this is where all the engineering went on.</p> <p><i>Thijs mentioned a fact that for Amsterdammers it was not fair to taxate due to windows size or amount of them, because then you could put them in aside of the house, so they taxate curtains – if you are wealthy, you can buy nice fabrics, so you receive a lot of money from tax.</i></p>
	The influence of Protestantism on Dutch culture	<p>Thijs: Being protestant or being very Dutch often meant being safe on the money, not wasting them.</p> <p>Thijs: So all these merchants are living in the protestant church, they often wear black not because they were poor, they can't afford any other clothes, but because they wanted to show that they are thinkers and they wanted to show that they are believers in after life, so in heaven. So they said 'I might be very rich, but I'm aware of my religion and I won't spend all my money now'.</p>

Dutch Golden Age topic

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
The start of the trades	Due to the economic, privity and material capacities	<p>Thijs: So you have merchants, you have knowledge, you have money, that's the moment when they after the British example developed a trading company <...>.</p> <p>Thijs: So they started to build their own ships, which were easier to sail, and they needed new ways into the spice islands over here. I mentioned the trade in slaves, which would be West and this would be East.</p>
Competition with other trading countries in global market	Comparison with other countries in terms of trading modes	<p>Thijs: <...> so you have East India Company of British, where mostly there is one stakeholder – the King, and in the Netherlands they said 'well, we also have to stop competing with each other, because if we get those spices or products, they are gonna be really pricy together and at the moment we both have them, the prices gonna drop, so we work together, cos we have to compete with English.</p> <p>Thijs: You got send away Spanish and English and Portuguese and by enforcing it and by building fortresses, they didn't have to implement the whole structure like English would do, <...>.</p>
	The Netherlands was displaced from global market	<p>Thijs: Amsterdam was kicked out pretty much from all alliances – Portuguese, the Spanish, Italians, so they didn't have maps or charts that they could count on.</p>

VOC – first multinational company	Due to set up of offices in foreign countries	<p>Thijs: But it would take them up to three years, to go and come back. Would be really difficult if something change during their way, to adapt to such a thing. This is also the reason why this is a first multinational, to say, cos they would ended up here (<i>pointing into Indonesia</i>) and they needed orders or somebody to also guide them abroad. And instead of directly owning the country, which they didn't, especially in India for example, there were already many kings in India, before the British took over, so they really needed to beg, and try and please all these people and they would set up small offices in Africa, in India, in Indonesia, that's what made them a multinational.</p> <p>It's not a multinational, because it was in the Netherlands, and maybe in Belgium, no, it's really because a world-wide network was created only to get a message across, cos it would take them two years.</p>
	It flourished due to combined forces – Dutch started to ship across the Ocean together	<p>Thijs: And if you invest in the East India trading company you could not only bet on one horse, but there would be 10 ships sailing, and if one sinks, there will be still maybe 9 ships returning, and it would be a guaranteed profit, so everybody wanted to invest, cos they were working together.</p>
	It flourished due to financial investments of many citizens into VOC activities	<p>Thijs: So if you have a bit of money, you could always go to stock market in Dam Square and invest for example in West or East India companies, which always made profit.</p>
	It flourished because those who invested in VOC – they also cared about it	<p>Thijs: If you would be working for the Dutch version East India company, you were probably invested in your own ship, so you star mapping the shoreline, knowing 'well, maybe, when I get back, I sell this map'. So of course if you are an owner of your company, so you think so much more.</p> <p>Thijs: And you know what they could do with those orphanages? They took care of the kids really well, and it said 'well, what a good (???). Well, they thought so too. They were black, and they said 'I look after my fellow, Amsterdam citizen, I will go to heaven'. But next to it, they also made sure when they turned 16 that they could sail in those ships after East Indian Company. So they actually trained their own staff.</p>
Investors and explorers of the Dutch Golden Age	Peter Stuyvesant	<p>Thijs: So James Cook was the man with the mission, but Peter Stuyvesant, the pirate sculpture that we've seen, he was also really a figure, which meant a lot into these trading routes. However, he went the Western way, he went to the Carribs <...>.</p> <p>Thijs: The parts of Curacao and other islands, they were by this man, Peter Stuyvesant, conquered on Spanish.</p>
Highlighting the new	Exploring new territories and	<p>Thijs: The brilliant thing they accidentally did was that in order to be faster and the cheapest, they did not only sailed</p>

discoveries of VOC	routes (Australia and Manhattan)	<p>in the same routes as English or Italians, but they tried to discover new ones. And the blue stripes in this map the wind directions. <...> One guy didn't follow the same route, and said he used Roaring Foursies, so captain Brower was the first one to use it, so instead of following shoreline, just navigate where the stars are. So their discovered route saved them 2 months.</p> <p><i>Thijs mentioned also the ship wreck of Batavia, when the ship didn't turn.</i></p> <p>Thijs: But it also hit the coastline of Western Australia and their cargo, and captain in 1616 accidentally missed his turn due to storm... if you would be working for English East India Company – they would be mad at you of course for delaying or sinking the ship, but nothing really happen. If you would be working for the Dutch version East India company, you were probably invested in your own ship, so you start mapping the shoreline, knowing 'well, maybe, when I get back, I sell this map'. So of course if you are an owner of your company, so you think so much more. So the shipwrecks as Batavia, they said 'well, it happens'... That's what made this profit grow further and further.</p> <p>Thijs: And the island of Manhattan was also reached from Curacao <...>.</p>
Highlighting the opposite aspects of VOC	The Netherlands involvement in Transatlantic slavery	<p><i>Thijs showed the old map of market place, where the Dam Square with the diverse crowd is.</i></p> <p>Thijs: And you can see, because of all these people wanting to prosper and also trade, already people from the Mid-East were to be spotted here and it was really something of a trip for people from the countryside to walk here and see people with different skin colour for example. And sometimes they were rather slaves, but they weren't allowed to have slaves in the Netherlands. However, pretty much everybody was investing in these, well... unfair trading routes.... So you had some free slaves as well, who were either brought here by their country owners to live here as a free man.</p> <p>Thijs: So they started to build their own ships, which were easier to sail, and they needed new ways into the spice islands over here. I mentioned the trade in slaves, which would be West and this would be East.</p>
	Dutch colonization	<p>Thijs: And India, they couldn't get a monopoly, so like in a game, you want to be the only one and you want to dominate, but in Indonesia they could and that's of course the black page of the story, is the moment, where you don't have to pretty much taking out the other things, you just come with your ships and say 'here is the triangular hierarchy, this is the King, maybe in Indonesia ruling, we're gonna be stronger than a King', we'll just go to him and say 'you are the only one, who is going to trade with us'.</p>

		<p>Thijs: <...> they didn't have to implement the whole structure like English would do, with sending people, starting colonies. They came for products and then they left. Only in later times, the colonization of the Netherlands took place (<i>pause</i>). So that's on the route and that's the ways how from the East the spices came in and we see pepper on this table.</p>
	VOC was self-governed company that ruled on its own	<p>Thijs: The state wasn't running, no, it was the companies and they were investing in the state together.</p>
WIC company existence	The start of WIC	<p>Thijs: And they needed those islands to sail to Brasil or to the Americas or anywhere <...> and Curacao was very dry, and because of the location however, the Dutch traders went to Curacao and from that point they went into the Americas. That's what started the other, West Indian trading Company mostly.</p>
	Trading routes of WIC	<p>Thijs: <...> so if you have your mission and your only mission is to get tea from Boston, you wouldn't automatically think of bringing something else, to trade on, but what the Dutch did was that they sailed to Indonesia, but they would also pass Africa, and they would pass India, and they decided 'whah, maybe there is market place for those countries in between' and the clothing, the textile that they bought from India, they sold in Indonesia and they also brought back into the Netherlands.</p>
The end of the Dutch Golden Age	The attack of other countries and collapse of VOC	<p>Thijs: So having so many people, so many countries, being pretty insulted by the growth and the power of this new Republic, they took action. <...> so in 1672, France with royal Roman Empire and England together attacked the Netherlands, with a land army marching in, conquering a lot of cities... the Netherlands pretty much didn't know what to do, because they were drowned in the water. They invested by these companies all the time in their boats, but on land... <...> it was the end of the Golden Age.</p> <p>Thijs: Even the most powerful company, the East Indian Company got difficulties to help its existence, cos the state of the Netherlands couldn't help their security demands.</p>
Dutch traces in other countries	Former colonies – sovereign countries nowadays	<p>Thijs: <...> and I'm partly from Curacao, which is a part of the Netherlands kingdom, so it's not part of the Netherlands, but of the kingdom.</p> <p>Tourist: So the Netherlands still have the overseas lands?</p> <p>Thijs: No. Aaaaam (<i>thinking</i>). It's a sovereign country and they share a board, so they share fences together, <...>.</p>
	Traces in everyday life	<p>Thijs: So that's on the route and that's the ways how from the East the spices came in and we see pepper on this table. People would start speaking in a lot of verbs, concerning spices, because they were so expensive (<i>gave an example of</i></p>

		<p>salt). All those phrases were developed after the trades in the Netherlands.</p> <p>Thijs: And if you'd think of the most traditional clothing in the history of the Netherlands, you think of those ladies with the hats on and they have those aprons, with flower patterns, they didn't used to be Dutch flowers, they were Indian clothing.</p> <p>Thijs: If you were a merchant in the Golden Age, <....> you could also go to Coffee bars, where pretty much all the traders came in and the merchants were discussing what to do or where to invest in. And this thing was really the society's thing with a nice brew of coffee, you could find out where to invest in. The coffee became so important to the Netherlands, cos those Indonesian islands offered more coffee than they did tea. <...> then you have coffee which could be shipped out from Indonesia as well, and marijuana or opium came from Asia and also came into circulation here.</p>
Tour guides' reflections on Dutch Golden Age	Personal information related to the Dutch Golden Age times	<p>Thijs: he went to the Carribs and I'm partly from Curacao, which is a part of the Netherlands kingdom, so it's not part of the Netherlands, but of the kingdom.</p>

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Audience orientated information	The given information related to Australian history	<p>Thijs: <...> cos... you know James Cook, you know the British Rye (??), but the Netherlands are whole different story...</p> <p>Thijs: But it also hit the coastline of Western Australia and their cargo, and captain in 1616 accidentally missed his turn due to storm...</p> <p>Thijs: Well, if you compare James Cook to Dirk Hartog, to the captain that started mapping Western Australia, the biggest difference is that the sailors from the Netherlands were mostly involved in their own journeys, they didn't have their task of discovering new land, like Columbus, they were focused on trade</p> <p>Thijs: And Australia, only the Western part of Australia is on it, discovered by Dirk Hartog. And afterwards they didn't alter it anymore (<i>meaning about the map at Royal Palace</i>).</p>
The audience reactions towards stories of VOC	Most of the audience questions were more related to the global situation of the	<p><i>Tourists asked about the Belgium part, which was explained that it was added to the Netherlands by English, because Belgium was not the part of the French regime.</i></p> <p><i>The tourist asked to explain how in the google maps the Amsterdam looks like, the exact canals and the city walls.</i></p>

	Netherlands or the other countries placement in the broad picture	<p>Thijs: Carribs and I'm partly from Curacao, which is a part of the Netherlands kingdom, so it's not part of the Netherlands, but of the kingdom. A bit like Canada is with .</p> <p>Tourist: So the Netherlands still have the overseas lands?</p> <p>Thijs: No. Aaaaam (<i>thinking</i>). It's a sovereign country <...>.</p>
Used methods to supplement the stories of the tour guide	Visuals (digital maps and pictures)	<p>Thijs: <...> which started in Hapsbourgian times, which started here (<i>points in the map</i>).</p> <p><i>Thijs showed the old map of market place, where the Dam Square now with the diverse crowd is.</i></p> <p><i>The tourist asked to explain how in the google maps the Amsterdam looks like <...></i></p> <p>Thijs: I wanted to explain to you that we had two trading maps (<i>Thijs had a detailed map of whole world with trading routes</i>)</p>

Royal Palace

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Historical facts of the Netherlands related to Royal Palace	The reasons of building Royal Palace (a need of municipality and as a way to show up, later – a need of palace for a King)	<p>Thijs: That is nowadays a palace of the King, but it was never built as a palace, it was built as municipality building, the government building of Amsterdam. It was built pretty much in the end of the Golden Age and it became so wealthy through those trades.</p> <p>Thijs: <...> so coming up to the 17 hundreds, the Dutch and especially people living in Amsterdam, they became so arrogant of their positions that they created the biggest building in Europe at that time.</p> <p>Thijs: <...> new King (<i>Louis</i>), he needed a place to live, his residence. It was only one building in the main city that was up to his standards – the municipality building. <...> The only addition that the new King, the first King pretty much of the Netherlands, is altered this his place in the Dam. It's the balcony.</p>
	The former and present occupation of Royal Palace	<p>Thijs: So in that building the mayor was working, there was also a court...</p> <p>Thijs: Because it was the prison, it was the court, it was the post office, it was everything combined.</p> <p>Thijs: even thought it was their municipality building, they thought 'if we want to remain influential, we have to offer this to the new King'. So instead of taking it back into their municipality building, <...> they said 'okay, new King of the Netherlands, here you go, please reside here', <...>.</p>

	The uniqueness of Royal Palace	<p>Thijs: As Dutch say it is 8th World wonder.</p> <p>Thijs: And you have to take in mind that building (<i>pointing at the Royal Palace</i>) is from late 16th hundreds, this one is from the 19th hundreds (<i>pointing at the building close by</i>). So this is built by steel, and big structures and machines. That one (<i>pointing at the Royal Palace</i>) is built mainly by hand. And they bought up the forest cos they knew they had to pile the whole thing and it was an enormous task, a really difficult, cos nobody actually thought that they can build something this big.</p>
The symbolism on Royal Palace	Little ships	Thijs: <...> do you see that little ship? It is a reference to their first ships that they built, they were so clever that they could be outsmart the other boats, with their small decks and their easy sails.
	The guy, caring the world Atlas	Thijs: <...> it's really how they felt, cos they were pretty much the world on top of their shoulders.
	The woman in the middle	Thijs: The lady, were resembles the city, and they are other continents, also as persons, giving their gifts to Amsterdam. Well, of course it didn't go like that...
	The animals, symbolizing Mid-East and Americas	Thijs: So you can see that there is a person with headdress, so very Mid-Eastern, handing over something and there is Indian even standing for the Americas. <...> and on the left, there we see India and there is even an elephant in between. Also a Lion, behind the elephant, so that all these continents are offering something to Amsterdam.
	The crowns on the chimneys	Thijs: And then the chimneys and the corners are crowned with the Prussian crown again. So it's not the Royal crown, but it's the Prussian crown of Maximillian I.
The places around the Royal Palace (at the Dam Square)	Former scaling house	Thijs: and that building would be the weighting scale house, the one he showed you on the painting. Well, he thought it was an awful, standing on the way from his palace to the water. So he had it demolished and the whole function of this marker square was lost.
	Former stock market	Thijs: So it (<i>scaling house</i>) moved to another square, and the stock market used to be there on that corner, then it moved to the back, then aside, and now it still is. So that's the oldest stock market still here.
	Tour guide's reflection on Dam Square	Thijs: well, I think that's ugliest square of the Amsterdam. The unity got lost by all these big departments' stores. But that's the way it is... So underneath of this ground, there is a lot of history and they kept building on top of it all the time.

Appendix 4. Coddling schemes from the interviews

Free Walking Tours

1) Where do you come from originally?

Lennart from 'Free Walking Tours Amsterdam'. Tour happened on 1st of December. The amount of participants in his guided tour – 13 Interview time – 41:10	Lennart: I was born in Amersfoort, <...> And moved here, five and a half years ago when I wanted to study history here (<i>meant Amsterdam</i>).
Zaida from 'Freedom Walking tour'. Tour happened on 11 th of December. The amount of participants in her guided tour – 16 Interview time – 30:00	Zaida: <...> I was born in Groningen, in the North of the Netherlands. <...> My father comes from the Caribbean and my mother is Dutch so she is also from Groningen.
Tim from 'Free Walking Tours Amsterdam'. Tour happened on 10 th of January. The amount of participants in his guided tour – 6 Interview time – 29:23	Tim: I'm from Hardewijk. <...> it's 8 years, I live in Amsterdam now.
Tizian from '360 Amsterdam Tours'. Tour happened on 15 th of January. The amount of participants in his guided tour – 20 Interview time – 26:06	Tizian: I'm from Berlin, Germany.

2) For how long you work as a tour guide?

Lennart: One year and a half now.
Zaida: 2 years. Neringa: Have there been any breaks in between? Zaida: Yeah, so it's usually what I do in the summer. <...> So usually it's seasonal.
Tim: for 3 years in a row.
Tizian: I started in March, 2017. So about 10 months now.

3) How you chose to be as a tour guide? What were the reasons?

Code	Text fragment
For students due to financial benefits and working as a part-time	Lennart: I needed money. I've heard it paid well. It paid well (<i>assuring the fact more strongly</i>). Tizian: Cos I'm a student mostly and secondary this is my job, beside next to the studies, and like other jobs, I could work in office, or work in a bar...
Due to tour guide's personality	Lennart: I knew I've had humour, I like to be at the centre of attention, but I know I can be a good story teller.
Due to other friends	Zaida: actually it was because of friend of mine, she is a tour guide and I went on her tour just to see what it was... and I really liked it.
Due to the conditions of job	Zaida: I work outside... And with people...

	Tizian: I get to talk about Amsterdam, which is really cool, and I get to be outside all the time, <...> I get to talk with people <...>.
Due to search of job	<p>Tim: I applied to few companies in Amsterdam to be a tour guide, but they resigned me, <...> So then I was thinking 'wow, this is ridiculous, I'm a Dutch man, I wanna give tours here about my city and then I can't do that'... sooo then I started to work for myself, I thought I'll do it myself.</p> <p>Tizian: so I was looking for a job, online, and I didn't even know what I wanna to do, <...> then I saw a post in a Facebook group via my boss, and she was looking for tour guides and then I looked at it and then I thought 'why not, just give it a try'.</p>
Due to the knowingness of the history	<p>Lennart: I know a lot about history. (<i>Lennart is also a history student in University of Amsterdam</i>).</p> <p>Zaida: <...> and tell about the history of Amsterdam, which I find fascinating.</p>

4) What is the most exciting about your job?

Code	Text fragment
Spontaneity at work	Lennart: <...> making jokes with new people. <...> these spontaneous moments that you have with people. When you make new jokes, you know... that's it.
Sharing the knowledge with other people and making them aware about it	Zaida: That I can dive into history and teach people about history. I can share my knowledge about Amsterdam and make people more aware about certain things and change their perception of where they are...
Working with people	<p>Tim: that you meet all the cultures and you see all the different cultures. <...> I'm really a news junkie, you meet all the people from all those countries and they all have their own habits... and yeah, to know this, and discover this and the history of those countries, why the people are like that, I think that's makes it most interesting for me.</p> <p>Tizian: I would say, getting to meet people. Cos I'm very outgoing person, I love talking, to chatting with people, and most of the time the people that come to my tours are also very open people and I love talking to them, meeting with them.</p>
The freedom for telling the stories	Tizian: for example at the bike stop, I usually tell another story about this lawyer, all the cars that get into the canals... but I forgot about it. But you know the good thing is that nobody knows what I'm talking about so nobody knows that I forgot it. That's what I also like it being a tour guide – even if I would forget I stop, nobody would know, right? Or usually I talk about the stop, where we did by the Amstel River, I talk about the prison that it was just before there. I forgot about that today too...

5) What are the challenges that you face during your job?

Code	Text fragment
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Emotionally and physically hard job	<p>Lennart: It's pretty tough. It's pretty intense, you have to make everyone happy. <...> After working for two days, I don't want to talk to other people anymore, because I'm so tired, I hate everyone...</p> <p>Tim: <...> you always have to perform very well, so there is always some pressure, you have to do a good job, you know if it's bad weather, if you drink too much the day before or you are not feeling so good or you sick or what so over, when you are starting a tour, it has to be a good performance and you have to entertain people, <...>.</p> <p>Tizian: in the beginning, it took quite some time to get to know the script. So I think it took me about 2 or 3 weeks to learn the script, cos it is a lot that you have to learn. And then you always have to study about today, about the things that are changing, you have to read quite a bit just to know...</p>
Becomes a routine	<p>Tim: the negative side I think is sometimes you get a routine, so every time you tell the same story and you are making the same spot... <...> you are mostly working alone. So you say 'hi' to everyone, 'where you're from, what you're doing, where you going, where you staying' and after 2 hours you say 'bye' again and then you are going for the next group again.</p>
Less respect from the tourists and a lack of interests in guided tour	<p>Lennart: Because people are talking through my... When I'm speaking, people are speaking, when I'm speaking, so then you just have to say – come on...</p> <p>Zaida: Sometimes you have people in the group and for some reason they don't really wanna be there. And then I'm like 'why you are here?' <...> Because it's negative energy and then I really try to grab them, so I pay more attention to them... <...> it's difficult to see if you really have the feeling people are gonna be really miserable during the tour and maybe it's better for them not come, you know...</p>
Amsterdam is a busy city, locals are unsatisfied	<p>Lennart: Amsterdam is very busy <...> sometimes locals are not happy with tourists. They say – get out of the way or something like that.</p> <p>Tim: Also a challenge is to be on a good side with the locals, with the government and with the people who are living in the neighbourhood. That's I think a big issue for me especially... yeah, you sometimes get negative reactions from the neighbourhood, <...>.</p>
Bad weather	<p>Zaida: <...> well, bad weather (<i>laugther</i>). Yeah, bad weather can be pretty intense. <...> So sometimes I even say to people 'just don't do it, okay?' and you are gonna thank me later'.</p> <p>Tim: the challenges... yeah, the weather would be one.</p> <p>Tizian: <...> then obviously living in Amsterdam, the weather is a huge challenge because I do work outside like today and it's not the nicest to be outside for 2 hours, when it rains,</p>
Low season – small groups	<p>Tim: <...> it's low season, it's raining, it's small groups, if you have small groups, like we just had, 6 people, then yeah... well, you don't really feel as much needed. Like if you do a tour for 10 people or 20 people, you are really have a feeling that you've done more or something... <...> cos yeah,</p>

	if you don't have enough people, you don't make so much money and... (thinking)...
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6) How you would describe your role in guiding a tour?

Code	Text fragment
A story teller	<p>Lennart: You have to understand, I just tell about it, <...> you are also just a story teller, alright? So you are not also focus on your audience, but on yourself...</p> <p>Tizian: <...> like for the miracle of the Amsterdam, I try to tell a story and I wanna make it a bit more alive, so that people are listening and kinda drawing the story. And the miracle of Amsterdam is one of those stories that... if you hear it from another guy, you would hear completely different story.</p>
Informant	<p>Tim: yeah I think it's half entertaining, half informing. So people wanna be entertained as well, but they wanna know they city, they wanna discover, they wanna know the stories, but they also wanna know where to go, what to do, <...>.</p> <p>Tizian: <...> my role is telling people where they are, giving them tips, <...>.</p>
Entertainer	<p>Lennart: I'm an entertainer, comedian... I'm a friend. I try to be very personal always, <...></p> <p>Tim: yeah I think it's half entertaining, half informing. <...> maybe it's more entertainment than informing. If I would tell a true, fact story about the history and the origin of Amsterdam, I won't get the appreciation, or... yeah, it would be a boring story. If it's too much history about all the countries that conquered or challenged the Netherlands, which kings, which were in which times and all that kind of stuff, that won't make the tour very interesting.</p>
A host of the city	<p>Lennart: you are welcoming people to Amsterdam, you are showing them around in your city so... be a good guest of honour. Be a good host.</p>
Make tourists aware about the city of Amsterdam	<p>Lennart: I say to them at the end that indeed if you walk through Amsterdam, realize that this story of this beautiful city cannot be seen loose from this history of slavery and colonialism. So realize that when you are walking everywhere once or twice. That's what I say. And I feel that indeed as my duty as a tour guide and I also include that.</p> <p>Zaida: <...> they think like 'uuuh, smoking a joint, uuh uhh' you know... and then I would like to talk about it and say, maybe teach them or maybe broaden their awareness a little bit, open their mind maybe a little bit...</p>
Being responsible for tourists and the locals of Amsterdam	<p>Zaida: I feel responsible for my fellow citizens and there is a lot of frustration and irritation by the amount of tourists in Amsterdam. So I really try to teach them to walk on the aside walks, don't be on the</p>

	<p>way, behave... you know. Sometimes I even feel guilty being a guide, working in the touristic sector, because it's such a hazard almost.</p> <p>Me: yeah, I guess, because you also live here, so you also face it...</p> <p>Zaida: yeah, exactly. And it's really annoying (<i>laughter</i>).</p> <p>Tizian: <...> especially in Amsterdam I always have to watch out that nobody gets hit by bikes, well everybody is adult themselves, but if something happens, I'm kinda responsible for it.</p>
Being like a parent or baby-sitter	<p>Zaida: <...> and people who are on holidays, they don't think anymore, especially when they are on the tour, they just like follow, <...> so with crossing the streets or they don't look anymore, <...>.</p> <p>Tizian: I'm kinda a bit like a baby-sitter. I don't wanna say baby-sitter but responsible for them. It's really cool cos they would listen to you, <...>.</p>

- 7) Speaking more specifically about the information you are telling to tourists, from where you get all information?

Code	Text fragment
The script given by the employer	<p>Lennart: Originally, Tim, he is my boss, he wrote the thing for me, which it was his own tour. And then he told me some stuff...</p> <p>Zaida: so we get the script and it's like 20 pages with all the stops and the story. So it's Sergio's (<i>her boss</i>) script, actually. So we have to learn the script and we do an audition and then he says 'okay'. And then we turn the script in our own version. So every stop has certain topics that has to come out, but you can decide how you tell it, you have to find your own way. <...> I think I have few stops that people don't do, <...> So I think the basis is the same, we all go to the Dam, we all start there and maybe there are few different rounds...</p> <p>Tizian: most information I get from the script that we have in the beginning, so we have one script that kinda tells you where we should go and it gives you all the information about the places.</p> <p>Me: and do you know, probably your boss, from where they got the information for the script?</p> <p>Tizian: yeah, it was Maartje, she was in the office. She's the one who made the script, I think. Honestly, I'm not sure, probably first of all, experience, she's obviously been within industry for a long time so she knows a lot. And then I'll guess there were books and Internet, and just general research.</p>
Historic books and magazines	<p>Lennart: And, you know what interesting is that if you would walk the same tour with me one year and a half, would be completely different tour. <...> the story I told about VOC that really had to evolve, because... yeah, at the beginning, what is interesting to tell about it? And then I started to read books about Amsterdam. There</p>

	<p>are two great books, one is Russel Suart, the other one is (the name in Dutch of the book), a short history of Amsterdam. So I read those books, also because I knew already few things that Tim told me and just wanted some confirmation. <...> And I took a magazine for monthly that tells about the history of Amsterdam.</p> <p>Zaida: <...> so I read a lot as well about history and I really wanna know what I'm saying, you know...</p> <p>Tim: Geert Mak, a Dutch writer, wrote a good book about Amsterdam, a small history about Amsterdam...</p> <p>Tizian: But that's basically just the surface level informations, so you do also wanna reads some books, I read a couple books about Amsterdam city just to get more basic understanding of the history in general.</p>
Documentaries	<p>Zaida: <...> watch documentaries</p> <p>Tim: I watched a lot of documentaries. A lot of documentaries about the Golden Age, about Amsterdam in particular...</p> <p>Tizian: <...> then especially with VOC as well there were some Youtube videos I was looking at in internet, there is also some information there.</p>
Common knowledge	Lennart: But lot of things are common knowledge.
Checking the institutions related to the tour guide's information or other guided tours companies	<p>Lennart: About the rule of Red light district, he went into the Prostitution information centre, he asked about it, he asked the Government, <...></p> <p>Me: and you made the script yourself? <i>(I asked this because Tim is the owner of his guided tour company).</i></p> <p>Tim: yes, yes. I also walked other tours in the beginning, see what story they are telling, I also applied at these companies... so the route and the ideas from other tour companies, like a mixture, from the stories I knew, I've heard, I've learned...</p>
The evolvment of the stories due other tour guides stories	<p>Lennart: And my other tour guides, they also have great stories about Amsterdam...</p> <p>Tim: but it's 3 years already now, so in those 3 years I got a lot of new guides, they got new input and so the tour developed in time.</p>
The evolvment of the stories due to other tourists stories	Lennart: <...> remember the story I told about Peter van Stuyvesant? Peter van Stuyvesant, who wanted to get Jewish people out from his colony, New Amsterdam, was told to me by man from New York who was Jewish. He told that to me, in the tour. So I learn stuff as well.

8) How you select what kind of stories should be told to your visitors of the tour?

Code	Text fragment
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<p>The stories that supposed to be told are in the script</p>	<p>Lennart: Nooo, actually a lot of stories, I tell often the same stories, <...></p> <p>Zaida: well, mostly because it's in my script (<i>laughter</i>).</p> <p>Tizian: so, I'm one of the ones that actually still a bit closer to the script in general. My general route is what the script suggests.</p>
<p>Related to the various aspects of audience, stories are chosen due to audience's age</p>	<p>Lennart: If I have a lot of old people standing there in front of me I'm not making so much drugs jokes. Not because they wouldn't approve, but it's just because it's different kind of humour.</p> <p>Lennart: University of Amsterdam, we went there today, right. Sometimes I skip that because it's very busy, or because I think yeah, there are old people, they don't care much about student life. Or, yeah... I don't have very cool story about University of Amsterdam, there like the story about VOC better.</p> <p>Zaida: for example, the Jewish history part, <...> in the beginning sometimes I would skip it, because I had a really young group and they were more like interested in funny things. So you try to tune a little bit in with the crowd you have.</p> <p>Zaida: yeah, totally, shape it. So with younger people I make a coffee shop part little bit more detailed or something, or I tell a bit of my own experiences as well,</p>
<p>Related to the various aspects of audience, stories are chosen due to audience's origins</p>	<p>Lennart: <...> if there are 14 people standing before me or all from South Africa, then of course I'm gonna make the reference about it. And I also ask 'do you know something about this?' 'Do you know people, who speak Dutch?'.</p> <p>Lennart: One time there was a girl for Suriname, last week, so I also tried to connect with her as 'do you know what I'm talking about?', alright, and when I talked about Zwarte Piet. And she was not of African heritage, but of Javanese, <...> You know, I try to make it alive by seeing if there are actual people from places that I'm talking about.</p> <p>Zaida: <...> so if there are lot of Jewish people, I make the Jewish story really big, <...>.</p>
<p>Stories chosen due tourists' interests (less history more culture)</p>	<p>Tim: Sometimes... I skip you know some stories, <...> In the beginning it was a lot more history, it's also the first thing you think of. You know, what the story behind this house is or that... and then longer, you know, you see people being bored at those history movies and entertained when it's something from today, from the culture. So with that... the history part got less and less and less. And it's more cultural Amsterdam today tour. <...> If they would love the history, I would tell the history. If they would love the things that you see it today, then yeah... then I would tell that.</p> <p>Tim: you know sometimes I have outgoing party, <...> then they wanna go to the Red Light district, and they come from the countryside, they don't wanna hear VOC story. <...> Sometimes you</p>

	<p>have a very very rarely, you have a business trip, and then I tell you tell the Dutch audience from a business, then I tell the VOC story.</p> <p>Tizian: But I have cut out different stops over my tour. <...> I always noticed that people get a... and about where we stopped with VOC, after one and a half hour, this where people would start being distracted. Especially when I talk a bit more about heavy stuff, they don't really listen anymore, there is no point in boring people.</p> <p>Tizian: Or, for example I always used to talk about one of the first stops by the white bridge, there is a statue about... Multatuli. And I always used to talk about him, but I'm not doing it anymore, because even without talking him, I'm still always around two hours. And I think even I know he is an important figure, from there he is not that important and for the story that I'm telling, is not that important. <...> So... I was kinda looking at, what are the ones that are kinda least important for the story of the city. And Multatuli was one of the stops that – it's a nice story, but not that important, so I left that one out. (IN CASE THERE IS ALSO ZAIDA'S QUOTE ABOUT MULTATULI DOWN BELOW)</p> <p>Tizian: And I always try not to speak too much about it, because in my opinion, if I get too much into history, people get very distracted and very bored, but that's also... some people like it, some people don't. I once got the Trip Advisor review for 3 stars and she said 'yeah, the group seemed to really like it, but in my opinion there was not enough of history'. And then sometimes I see people, especially when I get to the VOC, after one and a half hours, and just start talking a bit about the history, often times... today wasn't like that, but often times, I see half of the group just kind of closing off (???), that they are really bored, that they don't care.</p> <p><...> I like the history and all that, but I'm not that interested in to be honest. I like about more the modern stuff and what's going on in the city. So I do like to dive into it, but I don't wanna do it too much, which is also why some people don't like my tours, but you can't never really make it right for everybody <...>.</p> <p>Tizian: It's really the questions about the history are not much. And it's also why I feel like people are not that interested into history, so that's also one of the reasons why I keep it down in history, because if I would notice that people ask me questions about it always, then I would try to talk about it more, but it's not the case.</p>
Dependence on tourists questions and knowledge level	<p>Lennart: As in Dutch also went to Sri Lanka, they also imported people from Sri Lanka and India to Suriname when slavery was abolished. You also want to talk about that. Actually I do, but I also know that my audience knows nothing about this. Alright, so I just try to tell it, a little bit on easy level.</p> <p>Zaida: sometimes you have a group and they ask a lot of questions. <...> they were in the Red light and they asking questions and questions and then it takes really long.</p>

Due to time restrictions, some stories are shorten or eliminated	<p>Lennart: It also has to do with time, because sometimes I go to museum, which closes at 5. And if I'm too late, then I don't go there.</p> <p>Zaida: I have like time limit, you know. Then I think 'well, yeah, I'm not gonna do this or... yeah'.</p>
Dependence on bad weather	<p>Zaida: So the story... so today I didn't tell you about the bikes. That everybody has a bikes and that a lot of bikes end up in the water, and today I was like 'it doesn't really matter'. What if it's nice weather, we have a stop somewhere at the canal and then I tell about the bikes, because maybe people also wanna ride a bike, <...> but now... yeah, with this weather, with these conditions, you know... It's better maybe to make a tour a little bit shorter, and I only picked up the stops that really mean something, you know, that are really important to the history, then yeah, something simple like a bike..</p>
Some historical parts have to mentioned compulsory	<p>Lennart: In the beginning it was a little bit awkward sometimes, but now I just say 'no, this is a history, I'm just a messenger'. <...> I want to talk as adult about this, I'm not gonna skip this. I'm just gonna inform people about this. What would be worse if I would not tell something about it.</p> <p>Zaida: for example, the Jewish history part, there were times that I didn't tell it, I'll never gonna do that, I'm now always telling it, because I think it's important that it has to be told. <...> But some things you cannot skip, so that's why I thought 'okay, Jewish history actually is not something I can skip, Dutch East Indian trading company I always tell...'</p> <p>Tim: But there are some exceptions. The VOC story is told however (<i>highlighting</i>), it should be a part of it... it's why Amsterdam is the city today and Second World War is also someone you can't skip out of the tour. So those two have to be in the tour. <...> it's impossible that you did a good tour in Amsterdam, but you did not hear the VOC or you did not hear the Second World War. Those are like the... yeah, the biggest events in history from the city, so it won't be a complete tour without those subjects, yeah. It has to be told.</p> <p>Tizian: <...> I think pretty much all the other stops I do are pretty vital for the Amsterdam – the Beginjhof I have to go there, so I have to go to the Amsterdam museum, the bikes, I have to talk about the bikes, the VOC obviously very important, the Red Light District I have to talk about, <...>.</p>
Contradictory history	<p>Lennart: to be honest, I know that like maybe one or two stories, that I tell, are actually a little bit... historians would disagree. But it's just a nice story about Amsterdam.</p> <p>Me: which ones?</p> <p>Lennart: About the three X's. Remember that one? That's an urban myth. It is known that the three X's, it's not that they are not the stands for the disasters that Amsterdam suffered from. That's an Apocrypha.</p>

	<p>Lennart: there is a story <...> that Napoleon came here and that he forced everyone to have official surnames. <...> Just to mock Napoleon and therefore people are now called Naaktgeboren which means ‘hi, I was born naked’. And I know that it’s not true, but I know that Napoleon came here and that he intensified bureaucracy.</p> <p><...> what I want to say is all history of contradiction. Alright? So then I tell that... But for the rest, everything I have it’s true.</p>
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- 9) Are there any methods or different ways that you use in order to tell your stories in interactive, interesting way and that visitors would remember your told information? What are they?

Code	Text fragment
Use of jokes	<p>Lennart: Well, interaction is just making jokes with people very often. So... the funniest things are always the Red-light District, you saw that at the end, right. ‘Who has been here before?’ And then there is one guy, pointing him out, and he gets on the spot, and he has to tell everything about the prostitutes he has, he should have visited here, <...></p> <p>Tizian: And I always like to laugh, so and I think laughing is the best way to always grab people’s attention, so I always try to make some jokes and lighten the mood as well... so yeah, I try to go through humour as well.</p>
Use of visuals	<p>Me: <...> and also that you used photos... and those photos are not like, let’s say that you can easily find in Google.</p> <p>Zaida: hmmm, yeah of course! That also helps when you visualise it, <...>.</p> <p>Tim: So the images, they make it more alive. Cos then you see it...</p>
Intonations, silences	<p>Zaida: <...> asking questions is good. Also having some silences in the right moments, you know... <...> it’s just the way of intonation, so you talk and when you say something heavy, you just wait a little bit, but it’s really subtle with those little things.</p> <p>Tim: For example, in the Second World War story, you take some pause, some breaks in the story, so people can... when you take some pause, some breaks in the story, then people have some time to land your words, so that’s a method, that you a) in this way you dramatize it a little bit and you yeah... you don’t just easily, fastly talk over it, <...></p> <p>Tim: VOC... (<i>thinking</i>)... it’s the trading company, and not everybody knows this, so I try to... first of all, I ask who knows the VOC, <...>.</p>
Tour’s guide engagement with story	<p>Zaida: <...> the most important thing is that you have to really like what you are doing. So if you are engaged in your own story, you take people with you.</p>

Tour guide's engagement with the group	Zaida: <...> the group energy within the people themselves is also very important. That's why I do like an introduction, you know... and sometimes all people, they mingle together and then it really becomes an experience, <...> you just hanging out with people you don't know and just met them. That's really nice!
Relating tourists' origins to the stories that tour guide tells	<p>Lennart: Or if there are people from New York? I say 'New Amsterdam, have you heard about that?' Or someone from South Africa, is like 'Do you still speak a little bit of Dutch?'</p> <p>Me: So you also relate to the origins, where the people are coming from?</p> <p>Lennart: Yeah... yeah. Especially when I talk about Dutch global history.</p> <p>Tim: Also, you use some other countries in it. So for example, the VOC story I tell in which countries the VOC has been, because a lot of times you have some people that are from those countries, so if their countries in the story, they are more glued to the story.</p>

10) How information about the Netherlands (Amsterdam) differs from the one that you previously knew and the information that you learned for your tour guiding job?

Code	Text fragment
The knowledge has expanded and focus has changed	<p>Lennart: I learned so much when I did this job. Because I learned so much about Amsterdam. <...> I knew something about it, but I did not grow up here. <...> So it differs that I went to focus more on local history of Amsterdam.</p> <p>Zaida: everything I had to learn in my script, I already have learned before, but a lot of it was gone, <...> or not really gone, or I didn't really fully understood what it was (<i>thinking</i>).</p> <p>Tim: <...> first of all, the history from the country, it was told to me before, but it's kinda a complicated history, you know who ruled when, by what rules and why was it like that and now, I still don't know everything but I know a lot more than before. <...> before I was just not busy with that. It was just, yeah somewhere there or there. You know, you see a movie, you knew from mid schools, but not... yeah.</p> <p>Tizian: <...> to be honest, I didn't know much about the Netherlands at all, because I mean, I think it's actually the exact opposite with Germany and the Netherlands, because in Germany, you don't learn much about the Netherlands at school or anything at all, but the Dutch, they know quite a lot about Germany. I mean a lot of Dutch people learn German and learn some things bout German history, but in Germany, no one even thinks, except from the West, the West is close to the Netherlands, nobody learns Dutch and the Dutch are not really a part of history, that we have at school. So the history that we</p>

	have at school is mostly focus about Germany or Germaniar, some of the states, the French revolution and that kind of stuff... but honestly the Netherlands, there is not that much information on it.
The unknown facts about the existence of Begijnhof and religions (Catholicism and Protestantism)	<p>Lennart: So I knew nothing about the Begijnhof, you remember the Begijnhof, the Dutch community? Or Catholicism. Catholicism was banned in Amsterdam. <...> about Protestantism, about Reformation, about hidden churches...</p> <p>Tim: <...> the difference between Protestants and Catholicism. Which was odd, you know... I didn't know that before, but now I know.</p>
The unknown facts about New Church	Lennart: the New Church has supposed to have a tower as well, alright? I didn't tell that in my tour, but yeah... the New Church supposed to have a tower, but Amsterdam's government, they put all the money in the Town Hall. There was a Town Hall and they didn't want to that religion will be larger than the merchant class.
The unknown facts about Jewish District	Lennart: Yeah, the Jewish area, I knew that a lot of Jewish people were deported here, but about Amsterdam people stealing all their stuff, I knew something about that... But when you start reading about, it really gives you the details.
The unknown facts about prostitution in Amsterdam	<p>Lennart: Or about prostitution. I knew nothing about that. How.... Nothing. I knew nothing about how much it cost or if they would do that voluntarily so that is also why you watch those documentaries about Red-light District.</p> <p>Zaida: And yeah, about the Red light district, I never come there as a citizen, I never come to the Red light district. Now I'm there every day almost...</p>
The unknown facts about Amstel River	Zaida: <...> like the Amstel river – only natural water way, I didn't know that...
The unknown facts about the first King and Royal family	Zaida: <...> or that our first King, was King Louis. I don't know how it is now, but I'm not sure if they teach that in school. We were always taught that William the Orange was the first King. Yeah, and that was like 'ohhh, really?' maybe I learned this, probably I did somewhere, but it was like... became more clear. And also about the role of the Royal Family. That's also something I didn't really know. It's like... yeah, actually they didn't even live in the Netherlands anymore and they were being paid for not being here by the French to keep out some trouble makers 'here is some money, you have a castle to stay over there', you know... they got a lot of money. And that was the tax money Dutch people paid. So they went back to them and then at some point William of Orange with his family said 'yeah, it's not enough, we want more', but that would have meant the Dutch had to pay more tax money.
The unknown facts about VOC company (for the German guide)	Tizian: <...> first of all, learning about this VOC was pretty cool, because I kinda heard that Dutch back in the day were super powered once, but I never knew when, how, where, why, how they did that... especially, because obviously what happened back then (???) also horrible things.
The unknown facts about the power of the	Tizian: I think is really interesting how the Dutch were able to give that many autonomies back in the day or how they were able to be successful all over the world, especially compared to Germany for

Netherlands during the Golden Age times	example, that is way bigger and that never was really in trade... so I thought that was really interesting.
The unknown facts about the age of Amsterdam	Tizian: And then just the age of the city is really cool. The age of Amsterdam. All the buildings or a lot of buildings here are 400 years old or even older, which is really cool. And actually I didn't know about that either, I didn't know that it was that old, <...>.
Realization that others also do not know much	Tim: <...> I never realized that other cultures especially... they don't know so much about the Netherlands, or even religion, or culture. For example, I think I explained this time as well, but not everybody knows the difference between Protestants and Catholicism.

11) What are the stories and facts that you tell to visitors while introducing the Netherlands (Amsterdam more specifically)?

Code	Text fragment
Liberal and tolerant Amsterdam	<p>Lennart: I always make sure that they understand the ambiguous character of tolerance. Alright... That nothing actually is forbidden here. <...> And I also like to tell about because it relates to ambiguous culture of tolerance in the Netherlands.</p> <p>Zaida: And that's why the tolerance thing, what I'm saying at the beginning, comes about, <...> like, we have to accept certain things to do business, or to make money...</p> <p>Tim: I want to show is that Amsterdam or the Netherlands that it's very liberal country. That you... yeah, you have a lot of choices here. Because, you saw today some demonstrations are possible here, the Red Light District, the drug stories all possible in our very liberal country.</p>
Open-mindedness of Dutch people	Zaida: Also about these examples of how we deal with things like prostitution... or drugs, or things like that. So also the open mindedness of it, <...> I'm proud of it actually and I would like to talk about, <...>.
The rich and powerful Amsterdam	<p>Zaida: I think the most important one is how Amsterdam became so rich. That it's a young city, but managed to be one of the most powerful city in Europe. <...> So that Amsterdam always had really business mentality and always new way to exploit (<i>pause</i>) to exploit things, you know (<i>laughter</i>)...</p> <p>Me: meaning?</p> <p>Zaida: well, ahhh, everything, actually (<i>laughter</i>). It was like 'ohh, we can make money out of this', 'we can make money out of that', 'oh, we can make money out of this'. That's always was what they were doing. Always. <...> I think they were pretty good at that. Without any morals. <...> when you wanna make money, morals can be quite flexible, you know (<i>laughter</i>).</p>
Merchant class of Amsterdam	Lennart: All idea of merchant class is been, the bourgeoisie is always been... make sure they understand.
Begijnhof in Amsterdam (stories about hidden churches)	Tizian: <...> importance of Begijnhof. I think it's a really cool part of the city, cos many people also don't know about it actually, so when they come in, they are pretty surprised, <...>.

Holocaust story	Lennart: The Holocaust story that they understand...
VOC stories	Lennart: The VOC as well. VOC and Holocaust, I never skip that. Tizian: And the VOC is also an important part, <...>.
Bicycles, prostitution and drugs stories	Lennart: And the bicycle jokes are fun, everybody wants to know about that. The drugs... just how does it work? Tizian: <...> the Red Light District is very vital to Amsterdam, the city itself.
General facts about the city	Tizian: <...> how, when the city was founded, how, even though we don't know actually how. And then talking a bit about the canals and the houses, how they can be, why they are like as important.

12) What are the main facts and stories when you are telling about Dutch Golden Age (DGA)?

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
General information about Dutch Golden Age	-	Tizian: so basically, when it began, how long it lasted, what happened when the sailors that came in, why it happened <...>.
Highlighting the impact and new discoveries of VOC	The progressiveness of Dutch and the impact of Dutch Golden Age	Lennart: Well, I tell about how important it was for our nation. Because it was, for the Netherlands really the Golden Age. Zaida: <...> the Dutch were really smart in putting up their strategies. So they looked at other countries and they tried their way and then found out 'hey, this is not working'. <...> how they found the way of collecting money and being able to do those expeditions. So this was like kind of a... yeah, progressive way of doing business. Tim: that the Netherlands was also a big player in the world, back in the day. So not only England and Spain, but also the Netherlands participated in the colonizing of that time.
	Economic benefits	Lennart: It was where the start of the first global economy of the word. It is actually the foundation of the Dutch rich men of today. So, that is why everyone knows Holland everywhere all over the world. Tizian: <...> and I kinda give an impression what it was like, and what is the consequence of the Golden Age. So I mean the city Amsterdam that we have nowadays is the product of the Golden Age.

	VOC – trading company	<p>Lennart: So I make sure that everyone knows that it was all about trades, first instance, that all these houses, all these beautiful houses were storage houses, <...>.</p> <p>Zaida: <...>they managed to create actually the first multinational, you know... cooperation – the Dutch East Indian trading company. And the stock market, <...>.</p> <p>Zaida: But I think in my tour is mainly about the success story, but I always try to... yeah, tell the other side as well.</p> <p>Tim: about the Golden Age? So, I tell that Amsterdam was made because of our history with VOC <...> that Amsterdam is such a rich city because of the VOC Company. VOC... <i>(thinking)</i>... it's the trading company,</p>
	Trading spices and storage houses	<p>Tim: we took the spices from Asia and we had them stored them in the houses, that's why you have all the lovely canal houses, they are all storage houses from the old days.</p>
	Politics	<p>Lennart: And I tell something about the politics, about William of Orange and the like, but not too much, because it's just boring. I tell about huge powers of capitalism. Then it was that. That it challenged Catholicism. Catholic, the Spanish Power...</p>
Highlighting the opposite aspects of VOC	The Netherlands involvement in Transatlantic slavery	<p>Lennart: And later on, I tell specific story about the darker sides of history. <...> for 5 or 10 minutes where I tell about the Dutch ships, who went to New Amsterdam, who brought slaves there, that they brought slaves to Suriname, that they killed people in Indonesia... That there were robbers...</p> <p>Zaida: I don't think they are really facts, I think they are more like.... A global narrative, what happened. <...> But it's not really facts, more that... global, about what the situation was. But it's not really facts, more that... global, about what the situation was. How... that they were cruel, that they were biggest slave traders, that they stole actually everything, you know... <i>(laughter)</i>. Aaaah, those things. But I'm not really specific in... like facts.</p>

<p>Tour guides' reflection on Dutch Golden Age</p>	<p>Critical reflection on Dutch Golden Age history and comparison of that period with nowadays</p>	<p>Lennart: Cos, actually I think, I hate the metaphor that it's a black page, everyone says it's a dark page of our history books. But it's just a bad metaphor, because slavery is on every page. Alright? Look all pages of slavery, but slavery is connected with the whole history of the Netherlands as it is colonialism.</p> <p>Me: To be sure, why it is wrong to say that it's a dark page of history?</p> <p>Lennart: Because it's a bad metaphor. Because it suggests that all the other pages are without slavery, but it's just not. History is too complex for that. <...> Dutch history, especially history of the Golden Age, everything is connected with colonialism and slavery. Everything... It's about, because we are such a trading nation, or trading nation means that you are dependent on your merchant contacts all over the world, including the force of that merchandise.</p> <p>Lennart: I say to them at the end that indeed if you walk through Amsterdam, realize that this story of this beautiful city cannot be seen loose from this history of slavery and colonialism. So realize that when you are walking everywhere once or twice. That's what I say. And I feel that indeed as my duty as a tour guide and I also include that. <...> Yeah... if really people skip the whole part about slavery and colonialism, that's really something that is... <...> And that's something that people should ashamed themselves for it as their tour guide.</p> <p>Lennart: Actually I try to also to make sure that today is 2017 and we are now above it and we can talk about it. So we don't have to be nervous again because of this. We can just talk about this that this happened. That's clear, there's nothing to discuss. It's just happened and you are just telling it.</p> <p>Zaida: I really felt sometimes, because sometimes people can be a little bit naïve or people cannot be aware about how things became the way they are. And I think history</p>
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		<p>helps make people aware about, what's going on today, how history works today...</p> <p>Tizian: No, because it's mostly facts that I'm telling. It's not really, I'm not giving my opinion, so most of the time people just take it and except it. But they never really tell me their opinions on it.</p> <p>Tizian: For example, for the VOC there is not that much room for the interpretation, so you just kinda say how it is, but for other stops, <...> As long as you kind of objective about it... <...> I feel like as long as you kind of point that out, it's fine, and as long as you stick to the facts, I don't see a big problem talking about that at all.</p>
	Tour guide's reflection towards Sinterklaas narrative	<p>Lennart: So first I thought what's going on, but then I thought 'alright, this is really racist, this has everything to do with colonial history and like the thing that so many people in the Netherlands support Zwarte Pietes makes me think about Dutch education system. Alright, because this comes from the all fact that nobody knows, that people don't have idea, they know about slavery but there's never been told really deep penetrated stories about it so that they could grasp the horror of it. So, yeah, it makes me worried about the whole country.</p>
		<p>Zaida: And maybe... that's a good idea, by the way. That you know, they traded in so many slaves... I can do that too, I don't do that now.</p>

- 13) Taking into account DGA context, to what extent you are telling stories that are related to colonialism, slavery events and the Netherlands' involvement in it?

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
With VOC related stories	VOC company in general	<p>Tizian: so I talk about the VOC, how it happened, what kind of was going on, why it happened and when it ended. <...> at the end I tell the story about the sailors. And about how they kinda acted in Amsterdam, the sailors and the prostitution, that was going on.</p>

	The existence of slavery during Dutch Golden Age	<p>Lennart: I just say 600 thousand slaves and tell where all the Dutch went. <...> And like today I told about that people were thrown off the boat because there was not enough of food... Those details that make it rich enough. Those details make it show the horror of the things Dutch people did.</p> <p>Tim: I don't tell too much about the slavery. So I tell that the VOC wasn't only a friendly company, they also enslaved half a million people, the guns and the ships were more expensive than the ships, so piracy, slavery, those were also incomes from their trade. And it wasn't always fair trade, well not always... it wasn't just fair trade.</p> <p>Tizian: And slavery hasn't been really an issue for, especially in Europe, <...>. As long as you kind of objective about it... I always you know say, from the humanitarian standpoint, it's not okay with it obviously, from the economical standpoint very profitable, but from the humanitarian standpoint it was a disaster.</p>
	Colonialism of the Netherlands	<p>Lennart: And I tell colonialism is mostly crimes against humanity.</p> <p>Lennart: And I tell some details like Peter van Stuyvesant, because it's a great story.</p>
	Multatuli sculpture	<p>Zaida: I also worked for another company and there was a different round that we walked. And we also walked in the Jordaan, then I also had to talk about Multatuli and that was my favourite part. Because I quoted his books and you really saw sometimes people getting uncomfortable by the story, but I really felt that yeah.... That it got through people, <...> and that they were thinking about it <...></p> <p>Me: What you were telling about it, what kind of story?</p> <p>Zaida: Yeah, so it was about his life and that he went to Indonesia to work as an office clerk and when he was there, he was so shocked about the way the Dutch treated locals. That he decided to confront his superiors with it and of course they didn't like it so he was fired, sent back to Holland. And when he got here, he decided to write a book about it, because he thought that</p>

		<p>everybody should know what the colonial system was all about. And... he wanted to make people aware that the richness that we have here is actually stolen and is based on injustice. And that what his book was about...</p> <p>Tizian: Or, for example I always used to talk about one of the first stops by the white bridge, there is a statue about... Multatuli. And I always used to talk about him, but I'm not doing it anymore, because even without talking him, I'm still always around two hours. And I think even I know he is an important figure, from there he is not that important and for the story that I'm telling, is not that important.</p>
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14) Do you find any challenges talking about colonialism and slavery times during your tour?

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Talking about colonialism and slavery is not a challenge	Because everything is a past history	<p>Lennart: Should we not tell it because maybe it will be awkward of the Jewish people in the group, or because there are African people... ? No. So I'm gonna tell it, <...></p> <p>Tim: Tim: aaaah (<i>thinking</i>)... no. No, I think for a lot of people it's already past history.</p> <p>Tizian: I try to tell some stories... so obviously for some places, you just have to say how it is. For example, for the VOC there is not that much room for the interpretation, so you just kinda say how it is, but for other stops, <...>.</p> <p>Tizian: hmmm (<i>thinking</i>) not too much. I think nowadays it's pretty easy to talk about it, because we're quite disconnected to it. And slavery hasn't been really an issue for, especially in Europe, it hasn't been an issue for few over hundred years. I think it would be more difficult in the states, with all the attention to it at the moment, but I think here it's not really a problem at all.</p>

		<p>Tizian: As long as you kind of objective about it... <...> I feel like as long as you kind of point that out, it's fine, and as long as you stick to the facts, I don't see a big problem talking about that at all. I've never got a negative feedback about that part.</p>
Talking about colonialism and slavery is a challenge	Related to the tourists origins	<p>Lennart: Sometimes it's a little bit awkward when I have black people in my tour. Then I feel like 'oh my god, am I giving too much eye contact or not enough eye contact? You know... do they see that I'm ignoring them or that I'm looking at them. I don't want to look at them all time, you know... because, slavery... black person, you know. I don't want to do that.</p>
	Finding a way of saying both sides of the history and not forgetting it	<p>Lennart: <...> only thing that I fear is that I forget someone. You know that I forget that they had been to South Africa, or Brazil.</p> <p>Zaida: Aaaaam... (<i>thinking</i>) well... In this tour... let me see... (<i>thinking</i>). Yeah, highlighting both sides of it. Aaaaam... (<i>thinking</i>).</p> <p>Tizian: I think it's difficult to find a right balance between talking about the history, but not talking too much, cos you really don't wanna bore the people.</p>
	It can make people uncomfortable	<p>Zaida: Also, because I think people become uncomfortable. So I try to highlight it, but I don't try to totally bring them down. So that's a challenge of giving appropriate amount of information. So you make people aware of something without totally messing up their afternoon, you know (<i>laughter</i>).</p> <p>Me:... don't make them feel guilty... (<i>laughter</i>)</p> <p>Zaida: guilty... or just horrified by humankind, you know...</p> <p>Tim: <...> you can also make mistakes like my colleague made not long ago, so you shouldn't be proud about what happened during the colonization... it's a... yeaah, slavery was really a good time for us and a bad times for the people that lived in those countries. So some of them, they still feel anger on what happened to them through colonization times.</p> <p>Me: what happened with that guide?</p>

		<p>Tim: aaaa, well, some people were offended by... my guide was proud about our history with VOC 'we ruled the world, we were in Indonesia, the sun never went down in the Dutch empire, because everywhere you had Dutch colonies. And we were small country, but in the world a big conquer' and that kind of stories... which is true in a case. But it's not something to be proud of.</p> <p>Me: and as you have mentioned, there were some comments in Trip Advisor, of those who were offended about that?</p> <p>Tim: yes... so the people, they hear the stories, and they were thinking 'my grandparents, my grand grand grand parents from the 16th century, they were colonized by your country, and now you are proud of that'. It's not good. So then they told to everyone 'the tour is really nice, but the tour guide was offensive'...</p>
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15) What are people's reactions, what kind of questions they mostly ask while talking about DGA?

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Tourists do not deny to hear about slavery or colonialism		<p>Lennart: Quite positive, actually. I've never had that someone says 'don't tell this', <...></p> <p>Zaida: So, nobody says to me like 'I feel uncomfortable, because you are telling this story about our ancestors', <...>.</p> <p>Lennart: once I had this girl from Israel, how does this feel to you, this story afterwards? She said 'yaaaah, I'm used to it. I think it's not awkward for me, maybe for other people.</p>
Surprised reactions towards Sinterklaas narrative		<p>Lennart: And people not always understand me, but when I explain that white people paint themselves as black people with red lips and earrings and afro wigs... then I see all the faces, like 'who does that?' 'Who does that?' And then they understand what we are actually doing with Zwarte Piete. So, I only tell that because now it's a Sinterklaas time, but I really liked it, so maybe I'm gonna include it in other tours as well.</p>

Specific questions or concerns from tourists	Related to the trades routes	Lennart: Did the Dutch also went to Zanzibar as once asked me. Which was not true and I told about the Arabic slave trade in Zanzibar.
	Related to the VOC company	<p>Zaida: <...> some people they didn't even know what the world was of the Dutch and colonial history, how big they were, some people don't know at all... some people they haven't even heard about Dutch East Indian trading company, which is also logic I think.</p> <p>Neringa: Yeah, for me was too, I didn't know about it...</p> <p>Zaida: yeaah, and for us is like 'you didn't know that?' (<i>laughter</i>)</p> <p>Tizian: Most of the time, when I talk about VOC, it's a first time they hear about VOC. So when I give them a basic overview, they already know way more than before.</p> <p>Tizian: <...> mostly just clarifications about when exactly it started, when it ended or why it ended... <...> Maybe a bit about the sailors and how the sailors came to Amsterdam, but in general... not much.</p>
	Related to colonies of the Netherlands	Lennart: if the Netherlands still has colonies?
A lack of questions from the tourists for the tour guides	Due to tourist's lack of awareness about colonialism and slavery	<p>Lennart: They never ask 'did you know about this'? And mostly they say 'no, I have no idea'. So that fact that did they not know about it, also makes them not asking critical questions about it, because they don't have any idea that it happened.</p> <p>Zaida: No, actually they ask not a lot of questions. <...> it's kind of interesting that in some stops, there are a lot of questions, and in some stops there are no questions. So, yeah... Dutch East Indian trading part stop – not a lot of questions. Not a lot of questions, no. <...> prostitution, coffee shops – a lot of questions, but when it gets serious, there are not a lot of questions. <...> actually I cannot really remember one question. That's how less people question (<i>laughter</i>) (<i>pause</i>).</p> <p>Tim: hardly... yeah, hardly any. They never ask... no. mostly they don't know anything about it, so <i>when they don't know anything about it, they don't dare to ask any questions about it, because they don't want to look stupid before the group.</i></p>

		<p>Tim: <...> you'd be surprised on how less, how little people know from their history.</p> <p>Tizian: the questions they ask...? About the history, there is hardly ever any questions. Because most people that come here, they have no idea, just as I came here... <...> I generally get more on what to do in Amsterdam, where to eat... or just general questions about where we are, about houses. But in history generally – not many questions.</p> <p>Tizian: <...> and they don't really know much about it. So when I tell them about it, everything is new.</p>
	Tourists do not come for slavery tour	<p>Lennart: But I don't want to give it to tour where I talk about 2 hours about colonialism. I just want to give a tour about Amsterdam...</p> <p>Lennart: I don't get so many questions about that, actually. And that's maybe also that they don't come for a slavery tour, you know, they come for Amsterdam. Maybe for them it's just aside note.</p> <p>Zaida: A tour is also for entertainment, it's kinda light... so in this tour I don't go really into the depth of the horror that was part of that history.</p> <p>Tizian: And then sometimes I see people, especially when I get to the VOC, after one and a half hours, and just start talking a bit about the history, often times... today wasn't like that, but often times, I see half of the group just kind of closing off (???), that they are really bored, that they don't care.</p> <p>Tizian: But other than that, I don't talk that much about the Golden Age. I kind of give an overview, but I don't dive into it a lot, no.</p>

- 16) Speaking more specifically about the audience per se, what are the differences of telling your stories to different nationalities people? E.g. how it differs if you speak about DGA to Dutch and non-Dutch visitors?

Code	Text fragment
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General environment in the group	<p>Zaida: But it's more like you see how people, yeah... tune out a little bit, or can be like 'mhm mhm mhm (<i>nodding</i>) or yeah... just body language.</p>
	<p>Tim: <...> mostly you have small conversations about people who come from that country, that there is still some VOC in that country.</p> <p>Me: do you remember from which countries were they from?</p> <p>Tim: India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Africa...</p> <p>Tizian: <...> on my tours in general, it's mostly Europeans, Americans and Australians, and South Americans sometimes too.</p>
Audience reactions or questions from United States	<p>Lennart: <...> and sometimes I ask if there are people from America in my group, who are black, then I ask them afterwards, 'did you know this about the Netherlands?' Then the whole question is implicit, like 'did you know, maybe your ancestors were enslaved by Dutch people?'. I don't have to ask that, you know... I know they think about that.</p> <p>Lennart: There was once a woman, she was also of American, and she also had African heritage, she told me like 'where were all the slaves in Amsterdam?' And I had to explain to her that there were no plantations slavery in Amsterdam, in the Netherlands. There are just few hundreds Africans in Amsterdam the whole between 16th hundreds and 19th hundreds.</p> <p><...> Americans indeed they ask me questions about slavery in the Netherlands. Or I've seen that they are interested in this topic very often.</p> <p>Lennart: What I found once is that when I spoke about the slavery, I saw few guys from New York, who were really shaking their hands like that's really... they really reacted to it in a... inappropriate way as in 'oh my god this is really bad', because they were already used to all those tourists about slavery at home, of course.</p>
Audience reactions or questions from Indonesia	<p>Lennart: so if there are Indonesians standing in front of me, then I try to connect with them like 'you probably know about this', that's something what I say...</p> <p>Me: And what are their reactions?</p> <p>Lennart: Yeah... they say yeah, we know about this. They see VOC buildings in Indonesia as well</p> <p>Me: And for example when you were talking about the sculpture (<i>I meant Multatuli sculpture</i>), were people asking any questions? Wondering about something?</p> <p>Zaida: Mostly people were silent, actually, but it's funny, because you see different reactions with different people. So if people are from Asia or Indonesia, or... that you know, their ancestors were victims of this. You can see like 'mhmmm...' (<i>nodding</i>). And sometimes you see people even feel guilty if they are more part of the other side of that history, you know... or just, yeah... it's interesting.</p>

	<p>Tim: <...> if they come from Indonesia, they mostly are really excited that I know that Indonesia was a colony, because they come from Indonesia and they know that I'm a Dutch man, they know that the Dutch man were in Indonesia, so they are really excited about that fact. <...> Indonesians are excited that their grandparents have been... they know Dutch.</p> <p>Tizian: I would imagine that if they were Indonesians, I do sometimes get them, when they hear about it, what the colonization of Indonesia and all that... first of all, they probably know about it already, and they probably would feel a bit differently than other people, <...></p>
Audience reactions or questions from other European countries	<p>Lennart: If people are from somewhere else as from Germany or England, I just also tell about this in the Netherlands, <...>.</p> <p>Zaida: And sometimes I feel like if I tell my story that for people, from European countries that can be sometimes uncomfortable. And they don't want to be associated with it.</p>
Audience reactions or questions from South American countries	<p>Zaida: if you see people that are from Suriname, or from African countries, or from.... Yeah... countries like that, you really see that they think 'yesss, you are talking about it. It's good'.</p> <p>Tim: But... the countries that we colonized are mainly Indonesia, yeah of course a lot more, South Africa, Suriname and Suriname people, they are never on my tour. <...> Suriname people – I just don't have them, because I think that they feel as local here, cos they are Dutch, they speak Dutch, their parents are Dutch, they always know Dutch people, so they are not really the tourists as the Brazilians, or as the Indians...</p>
Audience reactions or questions from African countries	<p>Lennart: <...> very often there is a group that everyone is white or Asian, there are one or two or three black persons. So I never had a black majority in my group.</p> <p>Lennart: <...> if there are people from Africa or they are of African heritage, then I make sure that I make some eye contact with them, because I don't want to ignore them but I also don't want to be looking at them all the time, then I'm just conscious of this history in those people.</p> <p>Zaida: <...> if you see people that are from Suriname, or from African countries, or from.... Yeah... countries like that, you really see that they think 'yesss, you are talking about it. It's good'. You really feel that they are agreeing with you and that what's being told, <...>.</p> <p>Tim: South Africa especially, cos they speak Afrikaans. So then you can speak a little bit Dutch with them. So those people ask more about the VOC, but other just don't know about it.</p>

<p>Audience reactions or questions from The Netherlands</p>	<p>Me: Do you have any Dutch visitors in your tour?</p> <p>Lennart: Rarely.</p> <p>Me: Do you catch their reactions when you talk about it?</p> <p>Lennart: Actually, I'm hesitant to tell about Zwarte Piet because I know that a lot of Dutch people approve it. Aaaaah, that's not true. I know that people, who were in my tour, very often they want to know something about it, very often they are little bit educated so they know that Zwarte Piet is super racist. It is more that Dutch people, like... we know about VOC history, then I try to tell some history about Peter van Stuyvesant, then it's maybe very interesting, because it's very detailed. Everybody in the Netherlands knows that we have been in Indonesia, but I make sure they know the number of slaves. Alright, that's what I make sure about that there were 600 thousand slaves, then I ask them sometimes 'did you know?'. </p> <p>Me: and the Dutch people? I don't know if you do have them a lot...</p> <p>Zaida: No, I don't have a lot of Dutch people. No...</p> <p>Me: but how they react?</p> <p>Zaida: I think they know (<i>laughter</i>). They just know. But I haven't had a lot of Dutch people, maybe like 5 Dutch people...</p> <p>Tim: I hardly have any Dutch, yeah. So if I would have a Dutch audience, I would go very much more in depth about the VOC history and then I would go more in depth and tell I would tell more about how the trades went in that day, where the stock market comes from and why, yeah... why New York such a lot of cultures in one city in Amsterdam as well... Well, just way more different, way more deep into the details. Yeah, because... yeah, they already know a lot, so it's more interesting to make a deeper topic around that.</p>
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Thematic Tours

1) Where do you come from originally?

Thijs from 'Context Travel'. Tour happened on 7 th of January. The amount of participants in his guided tour – 13. Interview time – 27:30	Thijs: I'm from the North of the Netherlands, but I grew up in Curacao, so in the Caribbean.
Michael from 'Context Travel'. <i>I did not attend to his tour, only had an interview with him.</i> Interview time – 50:14	Michael: Michael: originally I'm from the United States. I lived in Washington DC before moving here. Me: for how long you live here? Michael: 7 years now... <...> I came here to do a Phd in history and finished that... <...> it was about colonial history in Indonesia, the focus of it.

2) For how long you work as a tour guide?

Thijs: 3 years, but it's only part time, so I do it once a month. It's not my occupation, it's additional. <...>
Michael: I think... around two and a half years now.
Me: and how often you have the tours?
Michael: it all depends on the season... in high season, in the summer I can do 1 per week and sometimes I do just once per month. <...> but in the summer... 2 to 4 a month, <...>.

3) How you chose to be as a tour guide? What were the reasons?

Code	Text fragment
Was asked due to his educational background	Thijs: Through my studies for heritage, they asked me if I could develop a tour for Amsterdam. Me: So everything is developed by you? Thijs: No, no. It's partly developed by me, together with other docents.
Due to search of job	Michael: I was just initially looking for something to make some cash on the side, <...>.

4) What is the most exciting about your job?

Code	Text fragment
Educated tourists and small groups	Thijs: <...> that's mostly the type of audience that you get, cos it's really interested and often well lectured people that lead a walk with me, and cos in small groups, you really get to know people, <...>. Michael: I don't know if I would have become a tour guide if not for a types of tourists the 'Context travel' does. I don't think I would have been drowned into big 20-30 people tours when you are carrying an umbrella and walking around like that... I really enjoy the small groups that

	Context tours with 2 or 3 people, just having a conversation, talking about the history of the city...
Sharing the knowledge with other people and making them aware about it	Thijs: <...> but for me it's nice to work as a docent cos I'm already interested in this history and I kind of share it with people, <...>.
Working with people and	<p>Michael: <...> just to talk with people about the city that I live and talk about its history and talk about all that... so really getting these connections with people and having conversations with them that's what draws me to specific side.</p> <p>Michael: <...> a lot of depends on the people that you giving tours too. <...> when I have a person, who is really engaged and wants to keep talking and asking questions to me and getting me thinking and even in pushing me, that's the most exciting thing, that you can really get in conversations. And sometimes we'll just stop for a cup of coffee in the middle of the tour and it's a 3 hours walking tour, but maybe we take an hour break just to sit and talk. <...> those small connections that you get from being a tour guide, that's what I find exciting, <...></p> <p>Michael: East Indian house <...> it's the university library now. <...> going to the courtyard there is one of my favourite places in the city. It is also usually a little bit quiet, cos you're on the busy road and you kind of sneak into the courtyard and have a little bit of place to talk to people... and have this you know a little bit of this open space, less crowds, and you can bring them into the... and say 'come in into the courtyard and let's talk here'.</p>
The freedom for telling the stories	Michael: The tour might be one that gears discussing the Golden Age, history, but we end up just sitting in café and talking about the city in general <...>.

5) What are the challenges that you face during your job?

Code	Text fragment
To sense what kind of knowledge level tourists have	Thijs: It's really difficult to know what type of history somebody has been schooled upon. So for example if you come from Australia, like the people that were in our tour now, they have a very accumulative perspective to things. Well, often a lot of people come from Americas and they have mainly United States view on world history and within 3 hours you not only need tell about your subject, but you also need to guess and find out what's their level on topic.
Tourists' lack of interests in a guided tour	<p>Michael: There is the ones where they almost seem like they would be better in a large group, cos they don't say much and you're kinda trying to get things out of them, bit more into it, and they don't seem so engaged...</p> <p>Michael: <...> where you feel like you're giving it your all, and you're trying to get something acrossed people, you're trying to keep them excited and engaged with the city around them, and you're giving a background about something, you're telling a piece of history and... you get no response... and you really have to keep trying to find what it is</p>

	that... what sparks their interests and keep them excited, and keep them wanting and not being bored.
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6) How you would describe your role in guiding a tour?

Code	Text fragment
A leader	Thijs: <...> you are... the leader in where you wanna go,
Interpreter	Thijs: <...> you are having a constant interview on which you know the topic, but you want to find out what they know and what they want to know. And then you want to interpret that into the information that you have, which includes the tour that signed up for.
Educator	<p>Thijs: so speaking of Peter Stuyvesant is very easy for people for the Americans to talk about, but I see it as my role also to re-inform them of how he was also responsible for incredible slavery trade route and that he was very tolerant. He wasn't only the first governor or a great conquer or good captain, he also had a black page to him. And it did cost of course prosperity within the Netherlands. But you gotta relate those to each other.</p> <p>Michael: <...> the educational role of it and you're trying to teach them something without a becoming too teacher alike, too top-down, too much that you are the authority figure or something... and you really wanna keep it fresh and exciting for them, and joyful for them while also teaching them something.</p>
'Translator' of the Dutch culture	Michael: <...> since... I'm American and most of people are Americans, and you're kind of this translator in a way, not a linguistic translator, but sort of translating yeaah, what I means to live in both places and sometimes I have people coming from the areas in the US that I used to live in and you can talk about that and then you make those connections to here, so you're... sort of drawing these connections, translating the culture to them.
A host of the city	Michael: often times it's introducing a person to a city or country and a culture and sometimes they are just getting of the plane, they've only been here for a few hours and you're completely giving them around of the city and then your role becomes really sort of host or welcome to the city and introducing it.

7) Speaking more specifically about the information you are telling to tourists, from where you get all information?

Code	Text fragment
Personal perspective	<p>Thijs: So you have basic works on the development of Amsterdam and Golden Age kind of books that I use, but then I also add slavery heritage guide of Amsterdam. Well, I think it's really interesting for me to add as well... I grew up in Curacao and I'm very in touch with these overseas activities, but a lot of people aren't...</p> <p>Me: last question – how you see yourself as an American talking about the Dutch history?</p>

	<p>Michael: (<i>thinking</i>) maybe in the beginning, I mean before even doing tours... that it might felt strange, especially I was doing Dutch Indonesian history and I'm not Dutch or Indonesian or have any background from the Netherlands or Indonesia. But it's just interesting and I'm doing it as my work, but... now I don't feel that, in that way and especially on the tours, it's just what I do, so I don't feel like disconnected from it and could not talk about it or anything...</p>
Own research	<p>Michael: <...> from my own research background and pointing things out that I have studied or written about or have read over the years, especially when it comes to... the Indonesian history, then it's just... it's coming from my sort of own background and I still doing, you know that sort of research on the other half of my life.</p>
Attendance to conferences	<p>Michael: back in November I was speaking and went to a 2-day symposium of the history of the VOC, Dutch East Indian Company... <...> So that was sort of my historical research and that side of my life, but while watching other historians, give their talks about their research on the topic, then I'm also thinking 'of that would be... you know, I can talk about that when we go by the East Indian House', cos stop into the courtyard of the East Indian House during my tour and that's where I give most of the discussion about East Indian Companies, <...>. So, during that symposium I'm thinking of my own research, but I was also thinking how it can be useful for tourists.</p>
An outline for a basic route	<p>Michael: there is no script. There is... maybe... there is a light outline for the sort of walk we suppose to... or I don't wanna say supposed to take, but... there is an outline for what you cover, <...>.</p>
Historical books and publications	<p>Thijs: I use... well, mostly... classical books, Dutch publications on history. And, yeah... well, I could just name a couple of writers, but I think it's more interesting to tell that I try to do different perspectives. So you have basic works on the development of Amsterdam and Golden Age kind of books that I use, but then I also add slavery heritage guide of Amsterdam.</p> <p>Michael: it's 'A millennium of Amsterdam' (<i>'Spatial history of a Marvellous City, written by Fred Feddes</i>), sort of a city planning history, urban planning history of Amsterdam over the past thousand years. <...> And I'm still reading things for tourists as well, and when I read Dutch history, I'm thinking about it from my own research, but I'm also thinking how I can turn this for the tourists.</p>
The evolvement of the stories due to other tourists stories	<p>Thijs: and then there is a lot of fun facts which you also get from people, walking along your tour, so they say 'ey, but I know this on the subject', and you find out, you look up...</p> <p>Thijs: Well, sometimes the construction history is interesting when somebody walks along which compares it to other cities, for example, then you say 'oooh, well, oooh, as you say...'.</p> <p>Michael: <...> someone may ask a question and then you think 'oh, that's really good, I'll look that up when I get home and try find something else'. And the next tour that I give gets to hear that story that the response that I found... so it also sometimes has to do with... what a previous tour wanted to know, what the previous tour was</p>

	interested in and then you try on the next people and you growth up from there, and see what people, yeah like I said, what people are seemed to be interested in... what makes them very excited.
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8) How you select what kind of stories should be told to your visitors of the tour?

Code	Text fragment
	Thijs: Yeah, but for facts mainly use books and within the development of framework, I try to use the objects on a walk as the leading development.
It was requested by the employer	<p>Thijs: The stories had been communicated with the tour operator, so 'Context travel'. So.... Of course they wanted to have a Golden Age kind of development on the canals and then I chose characters like Peter Stuyvesant, like Henrik Krizer (??) to balance this <...>.</p> <p>Michael: So there is certain things that 'Context' said 'here is what you are going to see and where you are going to talk about some of the history you gonna get', but it's still really up to on the each person, just see the real specifics of where you can go.</p>
	Thijs: I think it's important, if you take a figure, even though it's well known, to explain why some of those figures within the Netherlands are less important or why their key role has now been taken over by different historical figures.
The script is the base – tour guide's decide themselves what to say	Michael: <...> that's up to each tour guide, and same with the script, or it's not even a script, but just what you say, and you end up... writing, well I never sat down and wrote the script, but you end up going over sort of things. So not having a script but knowing what you're about to say about this building, because it's what you say every time. <...> by not having a script, you allow the tourists to also sort of say 'well, I'm interested in this sort of thing, can we talk about that more, because I'm not interested in what you're talking about'. And that's perfectly fine, since their time is low during a tour.
Related to the various aspects of audience, stories are chosen due to audience's origins	<p>Thijs: So, Peter Stuyvesant, being first governor of Manhattan of New Amsterdam, that's much more interesting for people to hear from United States than it is for people from Australia. So that's when you alter and brought in Dirk Hartog, which was captain of a ship, sailing to Australia.</p> <p>Me: so if you know from which countries are the people, do you find any patterns before, what would be interesting for them?</p> <p>Thijs: Yeah... I actively look for information where people are from to see if I can get characters to match to their history lessons really, cos you wanna know what is their starting level is of course.</p> <p>Michael: <...> and since the majority of groups coming through Context are also coming from the US, they like talking about that and saying 'oh, what it's like moving here from US?' and then we talk about just those sort of things of everyday life here.</p>
Stories chosen due tourists' interests	Michael: I kind of, I know the rhythm of it, I know what we're going to see, and I have a few different sort of side trips mapped down in my

	<p>head, and I think ‘oh, if they like this, we can go down this alley, where we can go here...’ <...>.</p> <p>Michael: I’ve also sort of evolved the tour, because you start figuring out after a while – what works, what doesn’t work, what places really interests people and where people get the most excited, what can be skipped... so from the first tour I’ve done 2 and a half years ago to now, even if it’s the same tour – it’s changed.</p> <p>Michael: <...> someone may ask a question and then you think ‘oh, that’s really good, I’ll look that up when I get home and try find something else’. And the next tour that I give gets to hear that story that the response that I found... so it also sometimes has to do with... what a previous tour wanted to know, what the previous tour was interested in and then you try on the next people and you growth up from there, and see what people, yeah like I said, what people are seemed to be interested in... what makes them very excited.</p>
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- 9) Are there any methods or different ways that you use in order to tell your stories in interactive, interesting way and that visitors would remember your told information?
What are they?

Code	Text fragment
Summarizing, highlighting key points and making distinctions	<p>Thijs: yeah I’m also a teacher so, in the beginning you map out the walk that you gonna make and you define the subject so we spoke on architecture, but we also spoke on politics and development of Amsterdam. So with those three subjects you kinda end up with a summary of the Golden Age.</p> <p>Me: so you do this summary and the beginning or...?</p> <p>Thijs: Several times in between. So you do it in the beginning to have a starting point of what you gonna say and then I’ve done it where we were within the canals, having a small coffee break for example, what did we talk about and what we are going to talk about. And then we’ve done it when we were at the Amsterdam Museum, kind of... what caused the end <...>.</p> <p>Thijs: Well, if we speak about Eastern Indian Company, we think of Dutch example, but for people from UK or the overseas parts of the United Kingdom within the common wealth, they all think about the British example. So you really gonna make that distinction when leading a tour, otherwise they just won’t grasp your concept.</p> <p>Me: Do you experience that a lot, such a mixture?</p> <p>Thijs: No, I make it clear in the beginning of the tour often... But yeah, I do see people understanding the story better by making that distinction.</p>
Asking questions	<p>Michael: (<i>under the context of Dutch Golden Age</i>) start with the companies, that’s sort of the main beginning point in asking what people know about them. I always try to see what people, whether they heard about the company before and then they can recall it...</p>

Use of visuals (maps, pictures from books)	<p>Michael: <...> so a lot of the course that we take is through using this map and I say how we can walk around this area, essentially using this map to guide us and point out the buildings that are still there and we'd walk down this street and we'd come up with this and now we gonna turn around here and we can still use this, you know... 500 year old map as our way around.</p> <p>Michael: I try to use visuals as much as possible, like the book that I showed you and then images from the book... images that I have on my phone that I show to people based on where we're standing. <...> I have like real pictures, like this <...> I show, when we are standing at this spot for instance, this was built in the 19th century and it's just countryside out here, but then in the 1920's, they got the entire neighbourhood here, so if you... you can stand at this spot and see this entire new neighbourhood by some distance. And you see kind of where the old buildings end, and where new ones begin. You can see the line right there... so I bring this photo and sometimes people hold this photo you know in front of it and take a photo with their phone to get an image line that...</p>
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10) How information about the Netherlands (Amsterdam) differs from the one that you previously knew and the information that you learned for your tour guiding job?

Code	Text fragment
The sources of information	Thijs: but it all has to do with information that you are using and not only looking at Wikipedia but using developed works on the existence of Amsterdam.
	<p>Me: but were there any changes or surprises when you learned history in high school and when you learned for your work and get into more depths of the history?</p> <p>Thijs: Yeah. Well the difference in world history is something you really learn. The different background that people have, but also in different countries, the narrative of world history is soooo different from for example Dutch world history. And that's really what you find out.</p> <p>Thijs: I do however discovered that the narrative is often something that they find an eye opener, cos they haven't heard another narrative than they had at school, where the domination of for example the British fleet is always depicted, but they hardly speak on the activities of the Dutch merchant's fleet.</p>
The knowledge has expanded and focus has changed	Michael: <...> I would say that being a tour guide has changed a lot of my knowledge of the city in the Netherlands. It has expanded my interests of the city...
The unknown facts about VOC company (for the American guide)	Michael: especially in the city centre just... how connected that colonial history with the history of the companies that East and West Indian companies were to the growth of the city, building of it, and how without slavery or what Eastern Indian company did in

	Indonesia... these canals wouldn't be built or these mansions on the canals wouldn't be built here... and how... just how much it pours through almost everything that you see in the city.
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- 11) What are the stories and facts that you tell to visitors while introducing the Netherlands (Amsterdam more specifically)?

Code	Text fragment
The foundation of Amsterdam and the growth of the city	<p>Thijs: is about the existence of the Netherlands as a Republic, why did it start <...>.</p> <p>Michael: And then the New Markt, that building, I always kind of show the growth of the city and beyond that, <...>.</p>
Trades	<p>Thijs: <...> and then focused on Amsterdam and its trades relationships, how did it come that Amsterdam became stock market and what factors were there for people to come here and also prosper as much as they did, which we can see in paintings.</p> <p>Michael: ...the Dutch started going on these ships to... to bring back the spices... and then you get into... sort of the war stories from that where that East Indian Company have a standing army and they were practically... had all the powers of the state, they could go invade an island and wiped out the entire population <...>.</p>
The start of the Dutch Golden Age	<p>Michael: I... try to talk about the situation before the Golden Age get it set up for the history of the Netherlands under Spanish control. The political situation, then... get into the history of the 80 years' war and then trying to give them political and religious background for what's going on... the protestant information.. there is a spice trade that (???) ran out from Portuguese and Spanish, the Spanish are in control, but then Spanish are Catholics but Dutch are Protestants, so here is where it's the setting up for this period, what made kind of jump off...</p>
Nowadays traces from Dutch Golden Age	<p>Michael: Then spices it's not made in the way it is, it's something like... specula's and if it's you know... that sort of Sinterklaas time period when you're giving and see if people are eating specula's, then you kind of getting into how those little traces are still found today...</p>
The stock market	<p>Michael: because in other tours that I also do, we walk by the current stock market and then I talk about the role of stock market and these companies, down the street where the current stock market it is, where the 17th century stock market was <...> why is it there, why they come up with the stock market in the first place, the role of investors and the availability of shares in the East Indian Company.</p> <p>Michael: Always go to the East Indian headquarters. That's pretty much a guarantee... <...> to the West Indian house, on Herenmarkt (street name).</p>
Begijnhof in Amsterdam (stories about hidden churches)	<p>Michael: <...> it's part of the religious history of the city, I would always go to the Begijnhof. That's where... whatever tour I do, has to go there, because people always really enjoy seeing that and that gives into Protestants and Catholics divide... <...> I always take them to at least on the churches that has been built in the 17th century, one of the</p>

	protestant churches, the Oude Kerk or Western Kerk or South Kerk, try to if we can go into Western Kerk,
VOC stories	Michael: the role of the VOC is not entirely wiping out... you know, almost half of population, but (???) getting in to the dark side of the history that there is a slave trade, not only the Transatlantic trade with the West Indian company from Africa to the Caribbean but you have this (???) trans-Indian and slave trade from the Indonesia to South Africa to India... <...> or I want to be an undercurrent, that's like... it's there, it's not on the surface, but always underneath that and that's what I want to get across, while talking about...

12) What are the main facts and stories when you are telling about Dutch Golden Age (DGA)?

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Merchant's trades and VOC company		Thijs: It's focus mainly on merchant trade and making the distinction between a King, sending out order of investments or expansion and in case of the Republic of the Netherlands, it was mostly companies, starting this economic boom.
	The arts and culture during thattime	Michael: <...> growth of arts and culture that you see in 17 th century... Rembrandts and all those Golden Age painters. <...> people are... having painting being made by the all these same Golden Age painters, so that sort of interplay between arts and culture and colonial history and everything, sort of coming up together at the same time.
	VOC – trading company	Michael: start with the companies, <...> I connect with stock market and shares of the company. So I always do that. With the East Indian Company, I always try to bring in the spice trade and... (<i>thinking</i>) with the West Indian Company – the slave trade... <...> Dutch fighting of the Spanish to take control over the spice trade and that the money that comes in, the money was coming in at the top but also a bit lower because of people investing in it, so there is all money floating in and that money can be turned around <...>.
Tour guides' reflection on Dutch Golden Age	Critical reflection on Dutch Golden Age history and comparison of that period with nowadays	Thijs: <...> cos I don't actively ask on their knowledge of the slavery as I mention slavery as part of the wealth for Amsterdam and the Netherlands, but I don't.... often I try to explain where the wealth comes from, instead of giving kind of lesson upon the differences between slavery and for example

		<p>Indonesia, compared to Suriname or the Americas... so that's something., I don't have clear references for, we don't... they don't ask it and I mention it in a different way in order to give the correct information on slavery, I make it factual and I attach it to the Golden Age nor I give mine judgement on the issue. In my opinion, that's... I think that's quite nice if you would ask 'what you think of slavery' or 'if I come across it the remains of it'... 'Yes, of course' and then we get into discussion on that. But it's a second level of interview, it's less direct. I think that's where the debate currently, especially within tours is located, so you won't have a direct slavery conversation as you are to speak of the Golden Age and the money coming from it, yet you identify – that's where it came from.</p> <p>Michael: yeah, I make sure to do that every tour basically. <...> I try to make sure that that is on their mind as well. That it is connected to it, that you wouldn't see the beautiful canals and those houses if not for this other side of the history (???). An important aspect of that history to take people and allowing for the Dutch Golden Age to take place (???)</p>
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- 13) Taking into account DGA context, to what extent you are telling stories that are related to colonialism, slavery events and the Netherlands' involvement in it?

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
	Suppression of the Dutch	Thijs: Well, I always speak on the way that spices are possessed or obtained, I should say. And especially when I explain the monopoly, which often people know from the game, then I explain that monopolies aren't something you receive suddenly, it's mostly suppression that comes into play.
With VOC related stories	The existence of slavery during Dutch Golden Age	Thijs: I mean the moment you see the gable stone with a Tabaco sack above the door, it's a direct referral to Suriname plantations... so there is not much questions to be asked, specifically on whether slavery happened at all or a thing such as... cos it's very clear in the narrative – that's where wealth came from partly. And even with the spice trades, it's slavery not directly but indirectly caused

		<p>by monopolization of the Netherlands, their companies... yeah.</p> <p>Michael: yeah, I make sure to do that every tour basically. <...> I try to make sure that that is on their mind as well. That it is connected to it, that you wouldn't see the beautiful canals and those houses if not for this other side of the history (???). An important aspect of that history to take people and allowing for the Dutch Golden Age to take place (???)</p>
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14) Do you find any challenges talking about colonialism and slavery times during your tour?

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
		<p>Thijs: Well, I'm white, I'm male, so... you gotta understand that you are... the big product of the ways that the world is unequal. I find that very challenging, for example... but... well, I always speak of the black pages, so for example if taking character Peter Stuyvesant, it's really important to also explain not only his expansion drifts or the ways that he conquered, but also his intolerance to people that weren't protestant for example...</p>
		<p>Michael: sometimes people can... not ignore it but just you know... not be that interested in it and kind of take it a natural sort of thing – that happened. So it depends on the response.</p> <p>Me: sorry, I did not understand it...</p> <p>Michael: that I don't have any trouble discussing it, but sometimes the response from the people is not... I don't know if they feel the connections as much as I'm trying to get across maybe... maybe they are just sort of overlooking as it's pretty easy to do... that you can get forget how much of it existed and forget, think about the overplay. So sometimes you get to talk to them about it, but I'm not sure if it always getting... it's not always what they are interested in.</p>

15) What are people's reactions, what kind of questions they mostly ask while talking about DGA?

Code	Sub-code	Text fragment
Tourists surprised about Dutch nation's size and impact in the world back then		Thijs: Mostly they are really surprised the size of the nation compared to their expansion drift during this period. And I always have to explain, well if you compare the amount of people, living in the Netherlands at that time, then it was actually pretty big. Nowadays it's a smaller number, compared to other nations than it was back then, but still it's quite surprising how much influence they had in the world at that stage.
Tourists ask about general information related to the Golden Age		Thijs: well, it's all concerned with the Golden Age, so it's on architecture, it's on politics, who were the people involved in the decision making and then I explain the Board of Trustees or these both companies and the ways that the Netherlands government handed over their power for these companies to conquer, etc.
Little questions about slavery or colonialism		<p>Thijs: (<i>thinking</i>) well.... I... think very little, compared to the questions in general because in Amsterdam you see the houses, and you know it's been built with these activities and I try to include that within the talk.</p> <p>Michael: But I had other people who really into talking about the Indonesian history and planning and what my research is in... and getting through the entire, sometimes they say 'oh can you give us a quick ran down of the Indonesian history, from... when the Dutch arrived to independence of Indonesia'. And I do that as quickly as possible <...>.</p>
Specific questions or concerns from tourists	Related to colonies of the Netherlands	Michael: <...> but... some people, they do wanna know, then you talk about the impact that has on society today and you know... Suriname didn't get independence in the 1975 and there have been waves of migration from Indonesia, from Suriname you know... this is still what the Netherlands can look like today, all based on what happened back then...
	Tourists do not come for slavery tour	Thijs: So you do actually find out their opinions on a lot of things, but I don't want to start a discussion on values of slavery as within 3 hours there is so much to cover that I think it's better to factualize that it happened instead of starting a discussion, whether people think it happened.

		<p>Michael: <...> there is times where it's just not what they wanna focus on and you know they just came to Amsterdam and they wanna ask questions about... more of the city and what to do... or about the pretty buildings that they are seeing and hitting them with all these other side of things it isn't always what's first on their mind... so a lot of it has to do with where they are at on their trip to Amsterdam, <...>. <...> when the tour mainly is going to talk about the Golden Age and maybe they wanna just think about the buildings or something...</p> <p>Michael: yeah... I wouldn't say that. Most people don't focus on it honestly as much as I will discuss it, they'll maybe half the time just wanna move on from it, I think. <...> yeah, it's one of those things when you are just get told it a bit and then you don't have too many questions... <...> I don't know if it has to do with... it being a heavy subject, but maybe you don't wanna be having it on the fun tour... or you know maybe you are first day on vacation in the country and I don't think people are always open to... you know, sort of depressing and dark topics despite them being realistic, it's not the first thing they might wanna discuss.</p> <p>Michael: 'Investors and explorers' tour through 'Context' is pretty much the only historical tour that gets you through the canal ring and the Jordaan and that... so, you don't have to be really interested in that topic, but you just probably wanna see the Amsterdam and those sites and you just sign up for that tour...</p>
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- 16) Speaking more specifically about the audience per se, what are the differences of telling your stories to different nationalities people? E.g. how it differs if you speak about DGA to Dutch and non-Dutch visitors?

Code	Text fragment
Audience reactions or questions from Australia	Thijs: <...> for people from Australia would be mainly which direction and what the trading routes were. Often they know half

	of it, so they know either the West or the East part of it and then they find out that's both.
Audience reactions or questions from United States	<p>Thijs: And then mostly from Americas and they are very aware of plantations since United States, well as its nation... a civil war was based upon them.</p> <p>Michael: yeah, 90% or more, had been Americans. <...> you know sometimes people want a Dutch guide but I think a lot of times Americans come and they do feel comfortable that I'm a local guide and I've lived in Amsterdam for 7 years and I know about the city, but I'm also familiar with what they'll been talking about. They say 'ohh, I'm from such and such county', and I know what they are talking about...</p> <p>Michael: I think, they're... sometimes they are interested in seeing how the similarities and differences between American slavery history are... I have had questions about that.</p> <p>Me: the differences?</p> <p>Michael: and the similarities... you know, when we talk about the triangle trade of slaves to the Americas, and how the Dutch were doing that exact same thing, the trade, that's the same... that the Netherlands abolished slavery at the same time as the Americans had the Civil war, so when the slavery was abolished in the Americas. So it's not that they have stopped it decades earlier or anything either... you know, Americans might have this perception of slavery is this... as an unique to America thing, because it's kind of the effects of it are still being felt, it's still pretty natural part of the American history and still today... so I kind of tell them that the same thing was going on in Europe, that it was taking place not in the Netherlands but in the colonies, and it was you know the way how they would set up it differently over, so that Dutch would do the same thing but not set up in the same exact place but in slave colonies. That was the main difference of that. And the money was just floating back here... but yeah, I think they come in with their own baggage of American history and not sure how to them grab all with Dutch history on top of that, when you start talking about that, I don't know if that's the problem...</p>
Audience reactions or questions from Indonesia (South Asia)	<p>Michael: I had a few... I had a couple who was coming from the Philippines so they were obviously interested in South East Asian history and so we could then talk about... the connection of history between Indonesia and Philippines. And you know, the Dutch were fighting the Spanish 400 years ago in that area... so you then go into that... a bit more of that.</p>
Audience reactions or questions from other European countries	<p>Thijs: It's mostly people from Western countries that follow 'Context tours'.</p>