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The power of space: The biopolitics of custody and care at the Lloyd Hotel, Amsterdam

Claudio Minca *, Chin-Ee Ong

A B S T R A C T

This paper examines the relationship between space and violence through a biopolitical enquiry of custody and care at Amsterdam's Lloyd Hotel. The Lloyd Hotel began as a corporate established transhipment hotel serving transatlantic voyages. It was subsequently transformed into an emergency refugee camp and an improvised prison and juvenile detention centre. An iconic building which had functioned in both specific and broader networks of violence, the building is today a sophisticated heritage accommoda-tion. We trace and analyse the ways in which the spatial arrangements of the historic hotel have facilitated, often concurrently, conditions of custody and care, and protection and control in its key historical moments. We address questions regarding the putative 'agency' of specific spatial designs and architectures in 're-taining' the socio-spatial elements of violence perpetrated in the past. Specifically, we suggest that the original and adapted spatialities of the hotel were often the source of unintended violence, abuse and transgression, signalling the 'power of space' in terms of agency over the subjected 'guests'. In analysing a single micro-site and its broader spatialities, we seek to contribute to a relational conceptualization of violence sensitive and attuned to the complex histories and geographical scales that have bound and still bind this unique Amsterdam place of hospitality and custody.

Introduction

The Lloyd Hotel, in Amsterdam, is a unique site of culture and state-of-the-art hospitality. Located along the city's waterfront, it hosts a 'cultural centre' and features rooms ranked from one-to-five-stars. Common spaces open to the outside public are used to facilitate access and social interaction. The hotel is of particular interest for its complicated histories of being a space for migrant transit, a refugee camp, a prison, a youth detention centre, and, finally, an international hub for cosmopolitan tourists. We investigate the Lloyd Hotel as a 'camp' – that is, as a modern institution and as a spatial biopolitical technology, a spatial formation for the 'management of bodies' that incorporates functions of custody and care, protection (for/from the inmates/tourists) and control, and that characterizes many authoritarian regimes and contemporary democracies. (see Minca, 2015: 1) Accordingly, we examine the relationship between space and violence, focussing on the contributions made by the Hotel's spatial arrangements to the often-simultaneous production of conditions of custody *and* care, as well as of protection *and* control.

Geographers have recently analysed violence by looking in particular at its links to space and place (Springer, 2009, 2012; Tyner, 2009; Tyner, Alvarez, & Colucci, 2012), but also to questions of scale (Springer, 2014) and to biopolitics in totalitarian regimes (see Tyner, 2012; also Giaccaria & Minca 2011a; 2011b; Minca, 2007). Colonial culture (cf. Mbembe, 2003) and neoliberal accumulation of (bio)capital (Springer, 2012 but also Hardt & Negri, 2000; Harvey, 2007) have also been studied to illustrate the workings of violence, conceptualized as a social and political category not limited to its physical manifestations. Tyner and Inwood's (2014: 11) inquiry into the difficulties in categorizing violence and their critique of the distinction between structural and direct violence are of particular use here, especially their claim that we must "acknowledge that sociospatial relations transform . . . and if we acknowledge that 'violence' is relational, it follows that 'violence' will likewise trans-form over time and space". Geographers have also shown how violence should be understood not as a thing, event, or aftermath, but rather as an unfolding process, entangled within existing social conditions and spatial structures (Springer, 2011, 2012; Tyner & Inwood, 2014). If violence is to be understood as being necessarily relational and embedded within power relations, this implies a

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geographical understanding. Violence is always place-based, always implicated within space, a geography that crucially determines how it affects those subjected to violence. It is impor-tant then to recognize that some spaces may actually be more apt at producing and allowing for explicit forms of violence, sometimes even being planned to facilitate the enactment of violence.

In contributing to the burgeoning literature that interrogates the 'dialectics' (Tyner & Inwood, 2014) between the underlying conditions of violence and the actual process of violence, rather than simply the aftermath of violence (Springer, 2011), we tap into two geographic fields of enquiry. The first focuses on *the camp as a spatial political technology* (see Diken & Laustsen, 2004, Gregory 2006; Ek, 2006; Netz, 2004; also Gilroy, 2004, 2007;Minca, 2005, 2015), where violence operates according to specific topographical coordinates often associated with custody *and* care. The second is the recent work on *carceral geographies*, which theorises the spatial regimes operating in detention centres (see in particular Moran, 2012, 2013, 2015; Moran, Piacentini, & Pallot, 2012; also Philo, 2012). As part of a broader project focused on the 'carceral geographies of leisure' and the 'spatialities of the camp' that we have developed (Felder et al., 2014; Ong et al., 2014a), the discussion on the Lloyd Hotel presented here thus intends to address some general questions about the putative 'agency' of certain material (camp) geographies in 'retaining' the socio-spatial qualities (and difficult memories) of past violence perpetrated within and, at times, thanks to their spatial arrangements. In particular, we are interested in the workings and reinterpretations of the material geographies that allow former spaces of leisure to become spaces of imprisonment. Specifically, we examine how carceral spaces often become converted into sites of leisure and tourism (for an analysis of the 'dark tourism' characterizing some of these sites see Lennon & Foley, 2000; MacDonald, 2006; Malm, 2013; Strange & Kempa, 2003).[1] Collectively, these two fields of enquiry provide insights into how spatial technologies and violent disciplinary practices are mutually constitutive. This paper thus seeks to unpack the underlying conditions and constitutive processes of violence, which have heretofore been understudied (Fig. 1).

Recent studies have looked at historical buildings converted into hotels, where the focus has been on the production of heritage by the hospitality industry (Chang, 1997; Chang & Teo, 2009; Chhabra, 2010; McIntosh & Siggs, 2005; Rogerson, 2010). We analyse this transformation in relation to the Lloyd Hotel elsewhere (Ong et al., 2014b). Here we aim to speak to carceral geography in particular examining the (inherent) carceral qualities of some spatialities and how these may indeed become attractive sites for leisure activities (Swensen, 2012) (See Fig. 2). We also indirectly engage with the emerging corpus of work on the specific links between tourist hospitality and incarceration (Strange & Kempa, 2003; Ugelvik, 2012), hospitality and refuge (Darling, 2010; Fregonese, 2012; Gibson, 2006; Mountz, 2011; Ramadan, 2008; van der Horst, 2004) and more broadly on critical hospitality studies which interrogate the relationship between hospitality, power and control (Craggs, 2012; Goh, 2010; Lynch, German Molz, McIntosh, Lugosi, & Lashley, 2011; McNeill, 2008; Ong et al., 2014a, 2014b; Felder et al., 2014). We suggest that conversions of places designed for tourist hospitality into carceral sites and vice versa – of which the Lloyd Hotel is one revealing example – have a more general significance for anyone interested in the explicit and implicit links between violence and space.

We thus start by asking whether some spatialities – in their material sense, and in terms of their related capacity of regulating mobility – have agency in promoting or at least facilitating violence and control. If so, how does one explain the current and frequent transition of some of these spatial arrangements from carceral to leisure functions and back? What kind of agency can be assigned or recognized to 'the spatial' in prisons and hotels – these two modern institutions? Since both institutions (detention/camps and leisure/hotels) are concerned with operations of 'custody' and 'care' (sometimes in the form of hospitality, other times in expressions of control, and often both at the same time), are custody and care inherently the source of potentially violent spatialities (see Craggs, 2012; Lynch et al., 2011)? Custody and care have been and often remain driving forces of the concentration camp and of deportation, but they are also part of more subtle strategies of social engineering and control (in geography, see Minca, 2015; also, Carter-White, 2013). These features may also be the driving force of some tourist experiences (Minca, 2009), and indeed of the welfare state more generally (Da Roit & Sabatinelli, 2013; Pavolini & Ranci, 2008). Tourist 'camps' and former prison 'camps' are thus sites where we wish to investigate the following question: is there a deeper and unexamined relationship between camp spatialities of tourism and imprisonment that make them easily convertible for either use?

Inspired by the above-mentioned debates, we use the case of the Lloyd Hotel to reflect on such presumed connections between violence and space, custody and care, protection and bodily segregation, tourism and imprisonment. Despite (or perhaps because of) the multiple shifts of function from hotel to prison to hotel again, we argue that the spatial arrangements of the Lloyd Hotel may have

Fig. 1. Main entrance of the Lloyd Hotel and Cultural Embassy.

Fig. 2. The hotel and 'cultural embassy' as gastronomical and leisure space.

retained their vocation to promote custody and care owing to the ability to 'discipline through space' (Foucault, 1995; Goffman, 1961). After a brief introduction to the question of custody and care in relation to biopolitics, we analyse the Lloyd Hotel as a 'camp' and, according to its most recent transformations, a sophisticated heritage accommodation. We then reflect on the question of violence in relation to the stratification of the carceral geographies of this unique site, and to their re-interpretation via the realization of an experimental cosmopolitan cultural hub. We conclude with a few general considerations on space and violence through an examination of how contemporary carceral geographies in many cases seem to share the spatial arrangements and the disciplining effects that often regulate many tourist sites (Gibson, 2003; Hassin, 2006; Swensen, 2012).

Camps, prisons, hotels: custody/hospitality

As noted above, recent debates on carceral geographies have analysed in detail the question of violence as perpetrated in certain spaces, often in the name of protection and custody (for example, at Post-9/11 airports and border crossings, see Adey, 2009; Vaughan-Williams, 2009). Largely drawing from a broadly speak-ing Foucauldian approach to the micro geographies of power and violence, but also on more recent interventions on the spaces of ex-ception in relation to sovereign power from Giorgio Agamben, this literature is rapidly expanding its range of topics and its theoreti-cal implications (Diken & Laustsen, 2004, 2005; Minca, 2005, 2006, 2007; Muller, 2004, 2008; Springer, 2009, 2012; Tyner, 2012). We focus here on the question of biopolitical custody and care as mani-fested in spaces that have been alternatively used as camps of detention and leisure.

In his *Homo Sacer* trilogy Agamben famously returns to Foucault's reference to biopolitics to explain the production of sovereign power via a strategically politicised qualification of life, something characterizing the governmentality machine of past totalitarian regimes, but also of contemporary democracies in managing the wellbeing of their respective populations (Agamben, 1998, 2002; see, also Philo, 2001, 2005). Agamben, in proposing his highly influential theory of modern sovereign power, focuses on the 'nomos of the camp' – that is, a reading of the camp as a paradigmatic space of exception. While we discuss the broader geographies of the camp elsewhere in detail (Minca, 2015), Agamben's specific speculations on the question of custody and care in relation to the camp are of great relevance for our present argument, and in particular his emphasis on the fact that the archipelago of camps established by the Nazis in Germany before the war was original-ly justified in the name of custody and protection of the inmates (2002; also Giaccaria and Minca 2011a, 2011b). From secluded spaces realized to 'protect' the disabled (Evans, 2004), to 'retraining camps' for political adversaries and/or 'trouble-makers', the spatial logic of detention was often described as driven by issues of custody and care – for the German population and its overall health and wellbeing but also, ironically, for the inmates themselves (see Fritzsche, 2008).

The archipelago of Nazi camps is only one case among many in which people have been disciplined, willingly or not, via the logic of secluded and highly regulated spaces marked by a disturbing relationship between care and control, custody and violence. 'Guantanamo' has been presented by the military as a site not only where the country is protected from its inmates, but also where the inmates are managed in order to protect them from committing, for example, suicide – forced feeding being a disturbing case of care for their lives (Oguz & Miles, 2005). Many refugee camps, while born out of the intention to help their guests, have all too often become disciplinary institutions where violence was perpetrated in the name of the protection of the 'population' involved (Guiraudon & Lahav, 2000; Lynch et al., 2011; Moran, 2012, 2013; Muller, 2008; Felder et al., 2014; Philo, 2012). Forms of collective care (of the body politic) are indeed at the basis of many other interventions leading towards the creation of specific carceral institutions, including those conceived to retain passengers with no clear identity at international airports (Adey, 2009; Hall, Timothy, & Duval, 2004), but also people affected by a specific disease during an epidemic (see Wilder-Smith, 2006). Again, custody and care operate there, hand in hand, in the form of explicit or implicit carceral geographies (Johnson & Lubin, 2013; Novick & Remmlinger, 1978; Reed & Lyne, 2000; Risen & Golden, 2006). What makes things even more complicated when dealing with this issue is that the welfare state of many advanced democracies seems to be somewhat driven by a similar logic, while often struggling to define the borders between the care and the custody of individuals and that of the collective body politic (see Adey, 2009; Moran et al., 2012).

However, while the carceral effects of these spatial interventions realized in the name of disciplined forms of custody and care may be experienced by most of us sooner or later along our respective biographical trajectory (i.e. at border crossings see Vaughan-Williams, 2008, 2009; Wood, 1994), they nonethe-less tend to be rather selective in terms of who must be protected and in the name of whom, or what. The discipline of the movement of bodies according to certain categories and not others is another important element to be considered here, notably because many of the contemporary secluded camp spatialities are based on the self-discipline of subjects often will-ingly offering or even asking to be taken care of (Bochaton and Lefebvre, 2009; Nyiri, 2009). This is the case of many tourist 'camps' and, generally, many tourist mono-functional enclaves (Diken & Laustsen, 2004; Edensor, 2000, 2001; Minca, 2011; Wood, 1994). The interplay between the hard-core topographies regulating these secluded spaces, and the topologies of transgression of those same regulations, have been also the object of scholarly attention, from work on the topographies/topologies of Auschwitz (Giaccaria & Minca, 2011a), to work on early holiday camps (see Cross, 1989; Spode, 2004).

In light of this body of literature, our investigation of the Lloyd Hotel is inspired by a set of related questions. First, what do tourism and imprisonment really share at the Lloyd Hotel? Second, do its 'camp' spatial arrangements, incorporating principles of (self)discipline, retain a legacy of the violence perpetrated within those walls, even when converted into a cutting-edge tourist hub? Third, has the memory of this violence simply been erased by its new leisure use or, instead, are there permanencies in the contemporary spatial arrangements also somehow driven by principles of custody and care? Finally, how do the broader geographies in which such institutions are embedded contribute to the disciplining and the mobility of bodies – of the tourist body, the tourism worker body, but also, in similar and somewhat disturbing ways, the inmate body, the guards and the operators?

Methodologically, we have drawn on analysis of archival materials and other historical sources and on fieldwork consisting of in-depth interviews with key personnel and participant observa-tion in the hotel. Specifically, two sets of 'official' archival sources were used: an unbounded collection of letters and reports written by the commander of the refugee camp titled *Zorg voor de vluchtelingen uit Duitsland* [Care for Refugees from Germany] and *Archief van de directeur van het huis van bewaring aan de Oostelijke Handelskade/"het Lloyd Hotel"* [Archive of the director of detention center Lloyd Hotel at the Oostelijke Handelskade/"the Lloyd Hotel"]. We have also consulted less official historical sources in forms of biographies to provide a more on-the-ground and 'bottom-up' perspective of historical conditions. In particular, we used 1926–28 *Ik was verpleegster aan boord van het SS Gelria en het SS Orania* (Aerent and van Deel-Van Heerde, 1929) (auto)biography of a shipboard

nurse working for the Royal Dutch Lloyd shipping company, *Saluerhoff*: *Een biografie* (Hazeu, 1995) a biography for shipboard physician Saluerhoff and Dora: The Coffin Ship (Brasz, 1993) to shed light on conditions on the nodes of the shipping route. A histori-cal documentary titled 'Port of Amsterdam 1925' (Municipality of the City of Amsterdam, 1925) in Amsterdam City Archives was accessed to help contextualize the ways in which passengers were received and sorted while entering the hotel and to illustrate how the hotel was used.

In-depth interviews were conducted with Anne Lubbers (a recognized key historian and observer of the site), Ton Mars (former prison worker), Suzanne Oxenaar (initiator and current artistic director of the revamped Lloyd Hotel), and Nathalie de Vries (architect in charge of renovating the hotel). The interview with Lubbers was also used to help validate our interpretations of historical sources, particularly the material presented in the historical documentary. Lubbers's (2004) book on the history of the Lloyd Hotel was used for the same purpose. Interviews with Ton Mars were aimed at understanding the building and its spatial settings during the time when it functioned as a juvenile detention centre. The views and narratives of Suzanne Oxenaar and Nathalie De Vries enabled us to understand the discourses shaping the restoration and renovation of the building and the operation of the building as an arts, cultur-al and hospitality venue. We also analysed textual material posted on the hotel's official website to explore whether (or not) the reworked spatial design of the contemporary building still incorporated the signs of past violence. In particular during three 'Open Days' between 2012 and 2013, we conducted participant observations of the guided tours and of the 'heritage presentation'. We also led guided tours and delivered lectures on the hotel's histories to students staying at the Lloyd. In addition, twenty short interviews were conducted with fellow visitors (12) and with students (8) guided. Notes were written at the end of the day of fieldwork and analysed thematically.

We now turn to our exploration of the Lloyd Hotel, being particularly attentive to the geographies of custody and care that transverse the historical trajectory of this Amsterdam experimental institution. More specifically, we discuss its spatial arrangements and design by relating them to the above-described conceptualizations of the camp and to its intended and unintended uses at particular moments in history. For the sake of our argument, we find it useful to discuss these different uses chronologically, beginning with the building's time as a transhipment hotel – a camp of sorts – through its adaptation as an 'emergency' refugee camp, its conversion into a detention centre and, finally, the present hotel and cultural embassy (again, an inclusive/exclusive leisure camp in the midst of the redeveloped Amsterdam docklands as we explain later). We do so by emphasizing the interplay between freedom and control, together with the ambiguity of 'caring' when it comes to carceral spaces, but also to some difficult heritage sites converted into tourist attraction or stylish accommodation. We finally highlight how the intention to provide care and 'custody' to contemporary tourists through the creation of an inspiring and innovative cultural space unwittingly resulted in a camp-like atmosphere for some of the guests staying in the hotel.

Transhipment hotel (1921-36): mobility and care/control

Located along the gentrified Eastern Docklands of Amsterdam, the Lloyd Hotel was first constructed in 1918 as a building dedicated to hosting fee-paying migrants travelling with the shipping company Royal Dutch Lloyd (Combé, 2008; Lubbers, 2004). Often of Eastern European origins, these migrants were bound for Argentina to be employed in fields and plantations. Originally known as the South America Line ("Zuid Amerika Lijn"), the company in 1910 shifted to 'shipping people' when its animal live export trade from Argentina was threatened by an outbreak of foot and mouth disease. The rebranded Royal Dutch Lloyd's mobil-ity of its passengers was centred around two key spatialities: the hotel building itself and the passenger liners (Dutch National Archives, Meeting Minutes of Royal Dutch Lloyd, 1916-17). These, however, were implicated in the broader geopolitics con-cerning the routing of the migratory journey between points of origins in Eastern Europe, where violence perpetrated on some resi-dents was the main reason for migrating, and the destination in Argentina, where immigrants were exposed to other forms of vi-olence by local authorities and employers (Deltas, Sicotte, & Tomczak, 2004).

The desire to make profit through the 'protection' of the passengers actually arriving in Amsterdam led to the construction of the Lloyd Hotel, able to host 300 migrants, but with an emergency capacity of 600 (Dutch National Archives, Meeting Minutes of Royal Dutch Lloyd, 1916-17). It was part of an underlying rationale aimed at caring for and stewarding passenger-migrants through calculated mobility controls and through intentional isolation from disease and epidemics that might have compromised their health onboard and on arrival and, accordingly, their productivity in the fields and worksites in Argentina and Brazil (Dutch National Archives, Meeting Minutes of Royal Dutch Lloyd, 1916-17). The construction of a transhipment hotel thus represented a considerable competitive advantage as the company was then able to fully control the mobility of the passengers, subject them to rigorous health checks and ensure continued operations in time of an epidemic (Dutch National Archives, Meeting Minutes of Royal Dutch Lloyd, 1916-17). The hotel then soon became part of the caring and custodial biopolitical machinery put in place by the company as part of its broader geopolitical ramifications. Located at the "Oostelijke Handelskade", between Amsterdam's central train station's shunting yards and the sea, it was designed to 'capture' the migrants swiftly:

> The migrants arriving at Amsterdam central station were intercepted by an agent of the Lloyd Hotel. From there they were placed in another carriage which crossed the many shunting yards between the station and the "Royal Dutch Lloyd's" docks in order to stop right in front of the hotel.
>
> Historian Anne Lubbers, interview 5/7/2012.

Once the migrants alighted from the trains, they were directed to form rows outside the disinfection facility named "Ontsmettings Gebouw", a smaller building connected to the Lloyd via a sheltered walkway, and subjected to inspection by a medical team before they could enter the Hotel (Municipality of the City of Amsterdam, 1925). Those found ill were sent to the sick ward via a passageway on the right of the entrance from the disinfection chamber, while 'healthy' migrants took the left turn into the main halls where they had access to warm showers and hot meals. This spatial design allowed for 'infected' migrants to be channelled into the building with minimal contact with 'uninfected' ones (Municipality of the City of Amsterdam, 1925) and is a part of the 'dialectics' perpetuating violence through suppressive immigration procedures and sorting exercises via quarantine (see Tyner & Inwood, 2014).

Isolation and containment of profitable but vulnerable passenger-migrants was enforced within the Hotel's spaces as well and demonstrates the violence of corporate management of those mobile bodies (Springer, 2012). Passenger-migrants typically stayed at the Hotel for two to five days and left when the liners en route to Buenos Aires were ready. To minimize their need to leave the building, the 'camp'-Hotel had a recreational hall, several shops, a currency-exchange office and a foreign administration office. Strolls on the docks were allowed yet always conducted under the watchful and

attentive escort of Russian-speaking employees of the Hotel. Such tactics of passenger-migrant custody and care were geared towards providing productive labour power at the destination, in recognition that such strategies would only work if the subjects were sufficiently healthy and 'protected'.

While during the time at the Lloyd Hotel the migrants indeed appeared to be relatively comfortable, their travelling time to destination was less so, since the spatial design of the Royal Dutch's liners allowed or even facilitated a degree of hostility and brutality against them. A different stage of custody and care was implemented once they were 'on board'. After further medical checks and quarantine, they were normally assigned the least comfort-able spaces: according to an undated newspaper article reporting on the RDL vessel *Gelria*, they were provided very basic food, and meal times were short and tightly regimented (Aerent & van Deel-Van Heerde,1929). These spatial conditions exposed them not only to illness, but also to constant harassment (Hazeu, 1995) and were part of those disciplinary mechanisms which Moran (2015:71) has termed 'disciplined mobility'.

Since the exploitative arrangements of the 'camp'-liners helped inflict a range of physical brutality (deprived of bed and other furniture, bad food, extremely cramped environment) and psychological/emotional violence (dark spaces, denied access to facilities and a lack of respect), we argue that the Lloyd Hotel, despite providing a far better accommodation, at the same time was the pivot of a transnational geography of mobility based on forms of discipline combining care and control, hospitality and intensive biopolitical inspection – the entry point of a network of custodial care, for the sake of the shipping company's exploitation of the need for protection and escape of increasing numbers of vulnerable subjects exposed to persecution.

Refugee camp (1938-41): custody/care

When converted in 1938 into an improvised camp for Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany persecuted by Hitler's regime, the Lloyd Hotel provided spatial arrangements that facilitated new forms of custody and care established both within and outside the 'camp'. Inside, young and skilled men were requested to contribute to keep the hotel in good order, while younger women helped in laundering (Dutch National Archive, 1939). There were several doctors amongst the refugees who supported the Dutch nurse in her caretaking of the sick. Refugees were allowed to go out on trips, for visa applications, medical checks and training courses, but stringent regulations of their whereabouts and curfews applied. These trips ought to be strictly non-leisure in nature. The desire to care for and steward the refugees thus extended into a sophisticated monitoring of their movements, based on a dedicated system of leave cards and elaborate reporting to the Camp Commander who attempted to extend his custodial gaze beyond the confines of the actual 'camp'. The refugees were also allowed and encouraged to take enrichment courses and continue schooling. For the children schools were sought in Amsterdam, while all the refugees could attend English courses in preparation for their aspired new life overseas. The lives of these refugees were implicated in broader transnational connections as well, with some of them allowed to stay outside the camp if they had the financial means or Dutch relatives willing to host them. This was also regulated through constant reporting to the Camp Commander. However, refugees wanted to get as far away from Germany as possible, and applied for visa to, amongst others, the United States since in the Netherlands there were little opportunities for integration (Bakker, 2008;Lubbers, 2004; Ong et al., 2014a, 2014b). Violence, constituted through the accumulation of fear and frustration, took centre-stage in and through the Lloyd Hotel which had served as a centre for Jews wishing to depart:

> Flip Cohen too remembers very well leaving. He was with another group of Halutzim in Beverwijk . . . "On Saturday, I ordered some taxis. We went with the whole group. That evening, I was home for a just little while". My mother said, "Are you leaving today?" We said: "See you in Eretz Israel"
>
> I took my backpack and left. Apart from my younger brother Samuel, I never saw them again. I came back to the Netherlands in 1945 as a soldier with the Jewish Brigade. I found Samuel in the Portuguese-Israelite hospital. He was just back from Bergen Belsen. All the others had been murdered."
>
> Brasz, 1993: no pagination.

Eventually, the Lloyd Hotel and other decentralized and improvised camps were closed down as the Dutch government sought to consolidate the refugees in more centralized locations, such as Camp Westerbork, when it became clear in October 1939 that they would not gain entry into other countries. Those remaining in Westerbork were ultimately transported to even more brutal and 'concentrated' camps, including Auschwitz (see Felder et al., 2014).

Prison (1941-63): topographies/topologies of violence

The Lloyd Hotel was first improvised as a detention facility during the famous February 1941 Amsterdam strike against the Nazi occupation (Lubbers, 2004). In the war period such improvisation persisted, as the Dutch prison system did not have enough carceral spaces and had to resort to renting vacated buildings for this purpose (North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954). As such, the Lloyd Hotel was converted into a sort of warehouse for people. Since the building was only rented, it turned into a prison facility with no fundamental changes in its structure, showcasing spatial arrangements that somehow facilitated violence – a former institution conceived for *hospitality and custody*, all too easily converted into a site of *detention and custody* (Fig. 3).

According to the Annual Report of the director of detention center Lloyd Hotel (North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954), a key document detailing prison policy implementations and official observations, there were seven halls in which over 360 men were housed. This spatial design, inherited from the building's transhipment hotel past, entailed a mixing of all kinds of suspects, detainees and criminals, and immediately created difficulties in terms of custody and care of the prisoners, giving space to episodes of physical violence. In the words of prison warden Hogendijk, this mixing of seasoned and new 'criminals' within the residential halls and dormitories should have been prevented:

> Most of them come from "dark" Amsterdam: the level of these detainees is generally very low. Yet there are people who are of a higher level who have been in contact with the criminal court for the first time, usually related to petty crime, black market activities etc. . . . It goes without saying that such a community can have a disastrous effect on these people because they do not take-in much good around them. It is therefore agreed upon – with the judge of instruction – that such offenders should be detained in "the house of detention 1". This is however not always possible because of the (lack of) available space in Amsterdam.
>
> North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954: no pagination.

Violence and aggression were thus somehow encouraged by many first time offenders living alongside seasoned ones. In addition to the large residential halls, dormitories and courtyard, the task of monitoring the inmates was made more difficult by the fact

Fig. 3. A photo of a prison cell in Lloyd Hotel.

that the toilets could only be accessed from the outside and could not be monitored by the guards positioned in the halls. According to the then director, these spatial arrangements led to much 'conspiracies and violations' ranging from bullying to breaking the law:

> Sometimes they try to draw the attention of the guards on duty by a gathering at some place in the hall, while the others do something illegal at another spot. Some prisoners, who stand out [sic] are often bullied and the mentally challenged are often tricked and made fun of. The ones who are willing to work are influenced or coerced to reject work.
>
> North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954.

The weakening of the guards' gaze by a non-panoptical spatial design facilitated intra-inmate violence, the topographies of the prison-hotel transgressed by the topologies of violence operated by its unwilling guests. As much as the prison management allowed, the 'mentally-challenged' were sent to a different prison, often at 'Detention Centre 1':

> Mentally challenged are . . . transferred there, if there is enough space. This happens also with persons who are bullying and intimidating an entire hall of inmates, and those who have a very bad influence on the group.
>
> North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954.

However, due to the severe shortage of space, this was often impossible. So too was a clear profiling of inmates and prisoners:

> Selection of prisoners by character, youth or recurrence (as in repeated crimes) or for other reasons is not possible. One can make a very basic selection - but the next day or at least within a few days, everything is hopelessly mixed-up again. This is because of the many mutations and transfers between prisons, releases and the new incoming prisoners. Movements of 100 persons per week or more are not uncommon.
>
> North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954.

This inability to keep track of and provide individualized care and guidance to some more vulnerable inmates stemmed from their close proximity to their fellow inmates and the (sometimes misplaced) trusts amongst them. Internal spatial design also created challenges with detaining suspects yet to undergo or undergoing trials at the time, due to the lack of separation and isolation:

> This institution has also the disadvantage that the handling of criminal cases can be very difficult if several suspects are enclosed in the same building and unwanted contact needs to be avoided from a juridical perspective. The suspects are placed in different rooms, but contact is still not always prevented, e.g. during their time outdoor to get some fresh air, even if they are in different places . . . such circumstances clearly made the process of criminal cases more difficult.
>
> North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954.

Paid work was seen by the prison management as a form of custody and care – money to buy things and keep boredom away:

> A very unfavourable factor is that 'the prisoners' cannot be forced to work. If sufficient work is available it provides distraction, idleness is the devil's ear pillow. But sufficient work is not always present either. We made some effort by asking around in the private sector for small jobs. We have had some success and therefore have many halls in which the prisoners can continue to work . . .
>
> North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954.

Yet the supply of paid work was inconsistent and infrequent.

Despite the existence of a tinge of a caring and pastoral approach in the general strategy undertaken by the prison management, surveillance, discipline and punishment were still the cornerstone of prison and inmate management in the Lloyd Hotel at that time:

> The monitoring of these large communities demands a lot from our staff: one must always watch and be actively prepared for anything, because conspiracy formation for escape is always possible. When they are sent to the dormitories, when food is distributed and when they are going outside to get some fresh air, always quite a few guards are present for *a display of power*, but also to prevent or suppress any irregularities. Obviously in this community punishment needs to be frequent and severe. Light sentences have virtually no influence, they have respect *only for a "proper" disciplinary punishment:* at *minor punishments they laugh.*
>
> North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954, emphasis added.

The desire to stamp out imagined or real conspiracies for prison escapes fomented a harsh disciplinary regime within the carceral spatialities of the Lloyd Hotel. Whether it was the intended visibility of the guards as a projection of power or the actual need to

suppress 'irregularities' – fighting between inmates, escapes or other forms of transgressions – control in the form of implied or manifested violence had become central in the Lloyd Hotel. This demonstrates that the inadequacies of the hotel as a space of detention increased violence – a typical case of indirect spatial violence.

Perspectives changed in the later days of the Lloyd Hotel's career as a regular prison camp. In 1954, its spatial design was indeed deemed by new director Rossel (first name unrecorded) as being adequate as a permanent detention facility, so long as the offenders were carefully selected and a more caring and pastoral/counselling approach undertaken by prison staff. Rossel downplayed the necessity of isolating walls and highlighted the need for better profiling and counselling while promoting a form of inmate pedagogy to discourage violence.

> In compiling this report, two factors need to be taken into account. Firstly, that the writer hereto is, since May 1, 1954, assigned as director of this detention centre and secondly that he, in contrast to the prevailing opinion of his predecessor and many others perhaps, considers this institution (building) very well suited for use as a permanent prison, provided that a sound internal selection of the delinquents is applied. [. . .] The main purpose is the treatment of the so-called "short-term prisoners". The regime of these prisoners must be daunting but also humane, the penalty to be served in a comprehensive community. Not an easy task, especially when we take into account that an institution must encompass an environment in which the socially derailed man is granted the opportunity to (re-)become socially adaptive, a social individual.
>
> North-Holland Archive, 1947/1954.

From 1954 onwards this new 'pedagogy' was to replace the more violent disciplinary regime Director Rossel's predecessor had enforced, by implementing various forms of self-disciplining, custody and care matched by a more benign philosophy of 'correction and control' and facilitated, in the words of the Director Rossel, by the very spatial design of the building. The new Director's goals of inmate reformation was to be achieved via the combined workings of the adapted but more hospitable spatial environment (compared to regular purpose-built prisons) containing large halls and non-panoptical layout and self-regulation on the part of counselled or inspired inmates.

Juvenile detention centre (1963-89): correction/control

Until the 1960's, juvenile delinquents in the Netherlands were accommodated in regular prisons. For the research committee advising the prison department, this was not a good practice and new solutions ought to be found. Accordingly, the Lloyd Hotel was identified for "the immediate and temporary but responsible accommodation for those whose destinies are not yet set" (Dutch Parliament Document 4141 (1955-56) cited in Lubbers, 2004: 139). The age of the juvenile detainees (all males) varied between 11 and 19 years.

Lubbers (2004: 143) reports how bio-psychological profiling was used as a category to classify and group the inmates, instead of the severity of crimes committed. As soon as new young men arrived, they were interviewed by the evaluating teams, usually in the presence of a psychologist, after which an assessment was made about which group they could best fit. The inmates were thus divided into: those considered 'retarded'; the 'strong and extrovert' ones; those with a 'reasonable intellect'; and the remaining ones. This meant that a boy expelled by his family because of behavioural problems could be grouped with detainees who had committed murder (Lubbers, 2004). Often, the arrival of new inmates created tension in the groups. Many new juvenile detainees negotiated this issue by drawing on their putative 'violent social capital' – the more severe and brutal the crime was, the more respect and authority a detainee gained at the Lloyd Hotel. In the words of detainee 'G.L.':

> I had an instinct to recognise survivors and their social codes. I recognised the wannabes immediately. My (criminal) background brings me status at the Lloyd Hotel. It was a pleasant adventure. You survive there if you have a good story to tell and the right posture. Our story had been published in the papers so I could use that. If you were there because you stole a bike or a coat, that didn't make an impression.
>
> in Lubbers, 2004: 151.

Indeed, a violent criminal past helped individuals to gain reputation in the eyes of the other boys and, paradoxically, of the detention centre personnel too. According to our interviews with former prison worker Ton Mars (Interview, 19/09/2013), the design of the spaces of detention arguably encouraged bullying, aggression and violence. Although the inmates slept in individual cells inside large halls, these cells did not have proper ceilings but were only covered by iron nettings. Sometimes the inmates would collect their urine and excreta and throw these through the nettings and over to the cells of others (Lubbers, 2004 and Ton Mars Interview, 19/09/2013). During the day, the detainees would attend workshops, where they learnt construction skills and related work. They also did basic assembling production work. At such workshops, however, the dark environment, close proximity and poor supervision in the cramped work-room often fomented violence (Ton Mars Interview, 19/09/2013). Poor physical conditions of detention facilities are found in existing studies to correspond to higher incidences of serious violence (see, Bierie, 2012; also Davidson-Arad, 2005; Griffin & Hepburn, 2013 on institutional control and inmate violence). There was also an isolation chamber which inflicted much psychological and physical harm:

> One morning I arrive at work and immediately hear the high voice of Bertus calling from the isolation chambers. The porter said to me, can you go to the isolation chambers, your boy Bertus is there and is asking for you? I opened the door and there he was, the huge Bertus crying in the corner in only his trousers. I sat down next to him and asked him: 'why are you here'? He told me: 'I was wrong yesterday sir, I needed to go to my cell but I refused. Then I started fighting with the guards and was sent to the isolation chamber. But I am so hungry sir and they did not give me anything'. I was really shocked by the isolation cell episode, I think those cells are inhumane.
>
> Griffin & Hepburn, 2013

There was a substantial lack of privacy and control over the application of punishments was non-existent. Inmates often reported violence by the personnel and long isolation as well as the constant monitoring (Lubbers, 2004: 56). Overall, the environment was harsh and brutal and consequently a lot of the Lloyd Hotel's juvenile detainees tried to escape. This in turn increased other forms of violence (punishment for trying, prolongation of the detention period, etc . . .). (Ton Mars Interview, 19/09/2013).

The building, in this period as well, functioned in a diversified but still persistent combination of custody and care of its unwilling guests. Custody expressed in terms of control, harsh discipline as well as violence perpetrated by the guards. Care manifested in

the preoccupation with the training of the inmates and with their protection from the violence generated by other inmates, facilitated by the blind corners of the building and the tight and promiscuous proximity imposed by the internal spatial arrangements. However, the stronger emphasis placed on the pedagogic function of such a 'camp' of the later phase seems to nicely fit the original design of the building, an institution indeed aimed at managing its various 'guests' via a different mix of custodial and caring interventions.

The Lloyd Hotel, today: culture/leisure

In 1997, the first plan to re-use and adapt the historic Lloyd Hotel – back then an ageing and poorly maintained building, abandoned since 1989 – into a state-of-the-art cultural space with both community and commercial interests, was mooted by initiators Suzanne Oxenaar, Otto Nan and Liesbeth Mijnlieff. The inspiring and innovative cultural heritage institution that the management of the now rebranded 'Lloyd Hotel and Cultural Embassy' envisioned is described as follows:

> Guests have free access to the restaurant, bar and library containing arts books. Also the events and exhibitions are accessible free of charge. Through its arts, design, food, books, lectures, workshops, concerts and experiments, the Cultural Embassy represents the cutting-edge culture of Amsterdam and the international culture of its guests. It is informative and open, all set-up to unlock the building and its content for you as a visitor. We are also curious about your stories and are more than willing to pass them through to other interested visitors. In the hotel, all announcements can be found at the reception desk. Outside the hotel, you can follow us via Facebook or through our mailing list.
>
> Lloyd Hotel, 2013.

The building is now conceived as a spatially, socially and economically accessible cultural hub and heritage accommodation consisting of a cultural venue (see http://www.lloydhotel.com/) and a hotel space made up of variously priced rooms (the 'one-star-to-five-star' concept). In 1996, a new plan founded on principles of adaptive re-use of historic buildings was drafted for the whole Amsterdam's Eastern Docklands (Combé, 2008). The promoters of the re-adaptation of the Lloyd Hotel decided that it was important to somehow overcome its painful and violent histories, but without entirely neglecting them. As such, the restoration and conservation work had strategically focused on bringing the Lloyd back to mainly its migrant hotel's past:

> So my question to the architect was to go back to the structure as a hotel for migrants. I did not want to leave anything in the structure of the prison period, and I wanted the architects to escape from that history in a visual way.
>
> Oxenaar, Interview 16/3/2012.

Such a selection of narratives required material manipulation and spatial re-arrangements. In addition to 'freeing' space by removing some floors and ceilings, creating multiple mezzanine floors and cutting part of the roof to let more natural light in, emphasis was placed on the preservation of the façade and the corridors, which better reflected the building's migrant and transhipment past (Fig. 4). All the prison doors, cells and bars were removed. However, in line with contemporary approaches to heritage conservation, a gallery was created in one of the corridors to showcase the fuller scope of the Hotel's histories and artworks were created from some of the prison's material remnants (Fig. 5).

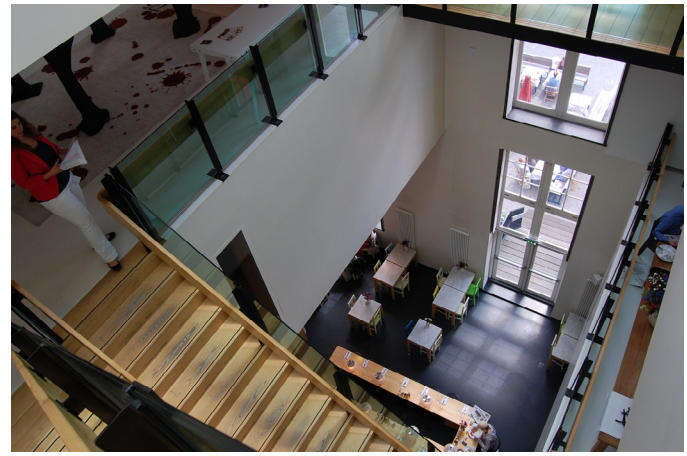

Fig. 4. Freeing up the space of the building by removing ceilings and creating mezzanine floors.

This aspect was very much related to the architects' interpretation of how the general public might receive the violent histories associated with the newly conceived Hotel. In the words of the architect who helped restore and revamp the Lloyd Hotel:

> We thought it would be very shoddy to conserve a prison cell, that would maybe be something funny when it really had been designed as a prison (for example in the cases of Prison Hotel Oostereiland, Hoorn; or, the Arresthuis, Roermond), but here, where people of the resistance and 14-years-old children had been held prisoners, that is not funny.
>
> de Vries, Interview 12/9/2013.

Initiators and architects indeed felt that the juvenile detention centre and the Jewish refugee camp were at the origin of histories too controversial to be packaged for cultural or even 'dark' tourism, as being done at other former Dutch prisons (De Zeen, 2013). On the 'Open Days', the hotel typically showcases a screening of a historical documentary in its conference room (Fig. 6). The documentary projects and narrates the history of the building through its various phases but privileges descriptions of restoration and renovation works conducted to realize its current form. Attendees of the Open Days typically include hotel guests and 'heritage tourists' visiting

Fig. 5. Showcase created from prison doors.

Fig. 6. 'I did some serious thinking here' – Screening of a documentary featuring the various historical phases of the hotel on an Open Day. Here, a former inmate recounts his past.

the now gentrified Eastern Docklands of Amsterdam. The Eastern Docklands is an area that, in addition to shipping productive bodies to South America, historically dealt with the shipping of goods to the Dutch East Indies. Although very rich in information, the documentary screening typically did not attract a large audience. Many left before each screening made its halfway mark and many entered mid-way too. As such, what the transient audience took in of the Hotel's violent histories was, as understood from our interviews with such visitors, in most cases, fragmented and incomplete:

> This place seems to have a very rich history . . . that's why they are showing this documentary right? However, I cannot stay on to watch this in full. It seems like a really slow one and will probably take very long. No? But at least I know it used to be a prison and it changed into something later on.
>
> Diana, USA visitor, 6/10/2013.

Some viewers found footages showing how former inmates reflected on their prison period somehow disturbing:

> This reminded me about the sad things in life – of freedom being taken away from some people. I don't like this.
>
> Andy, British visitor, 13/10/2013.

However, for those who did not stay long during the screening, the historical footages and the other historical objects on display (Fig. 7) have been perceived as a mix of cultural images – interesting but perhaps overall irrelevant to their experience of the place.

The guided tours led by Lloyd Hotel management staff were instead better attended, usually with groups of a dozen visitors. The tours comprised of walks through the main areas of the building, including the corridors, rooms of various price rating, the library, the conference rooms and, on special days (such as the Amsterdam Tower Day), one of the fragile towers on top of the building. During such tours, the guides attempt to give an overview of the Hotel's history, but almost always focussing on its time as a transhipment hotel, and often neglecting its other more violent histories. In one of the observed tours, the prison and refugee eras were completely omitted, while special emphasis was placed on the various unique and 'hip' designer rooms available, an array of fascinating state-of-the-art accommodations. In the most expensive rooms, materially as well as discursively, the violent pasts of the Lloyd Hotel were accordingly removed and sidelined in favour of a mainstream narrative and practice of caring for the weary and disenchanted modern tourist.

This, however, was not the case in the more basic one-star rooms and the adjacent corridors, where some elements of the hotel's darker pasts have been preserved. Guests staying in these budget rooms have reported in the interviews that such spaces approximated to landscapes of fear for the retention of the original green and white tiles used since the hotel was first established (see Fig. 8):

> We (Chloe and her roommate, Miko) find the rooms scary. The tiles are very old. There are stains and marks on the old green tiles. Maybe it is because we watched too many horror films but the old marks and stains reminded us of bloodstains at murder scenes.
>
> Chloe, Japanese visitor, 15/11/2013.

This is coupled with the lavish use of old furnishings and provision of room illumination via old table lamps hooked onto the walls favouring a dark gloomy atmosphere. While not perceiving any sense of actual violence, some guests expressed a sense of unease experienced when staying in the hotel. Interviews with curator and current artistic director Suzanne Oxenaar (14/05/2013) also yielded some 'imaginative' paranormal and ghost sightings reported to the hotel management.

Our examination of the hotel indeed revealed the complications emerging in the management of any possible re-interpretation of such a difficult legacy, in a 'camp' that has hosted, witnessed and often times facilitated care and protection, but also custody and violence. Apparently, negative feelings related to the hotel's pasts were prompted in some cases, despite a backdrop of modern installations and amenities matched by friendly and efficient hospitality and state-of-the-art cultural tourism services. Has violence been somehow retained by the deeper material spatialities of the hotel, with its disturbing camp legacy re-emerging in certain sites and conditions? Or, again, has this kind of space, originally intended to operate custody and care, maintained a certain self-disciplining power on its 'guests'?

Biopolitics, custody and care at the Lloyd Hotel: concluding remarks

The Lloyd Hotel, in its long and intriguing historical trajectory, has been used as a site of hospitality for deprived migrants from Eastern Europe, a refugee camp for persecuted Jews, a prison and a juvenile detention centre during the post-war period, and finally, again, a (heritage) hotel. In this article we have attempted to unravel the thread that connects these different periods, particularly in relation to the ongoing 'camp' spatialities. A key question guiding our investigation was: what can we learn from the Lloyd Hotel in terms of the relationship between enclave tourist sites and carceral spaces, and of the violence exercised during its past uses?

The first element that comes through in all of these stages of the building's use is a clear functional focus on the custody and care (and often control) of its occupants, regardless of their status as migrants, refugees, prisoners, or most recently, tourists. The second aspect is the role played by the material spatialities of this unique institution in forging and governing the provision of these three very elements: care, custody, and control. On numerous occasions we encountered reports on how the spatial arrangements of the building facilitated or, alternatively, problematized specific forms of interactions amongst the guests, and between them and the building's staff. Some of these adapted spatialities became the source of

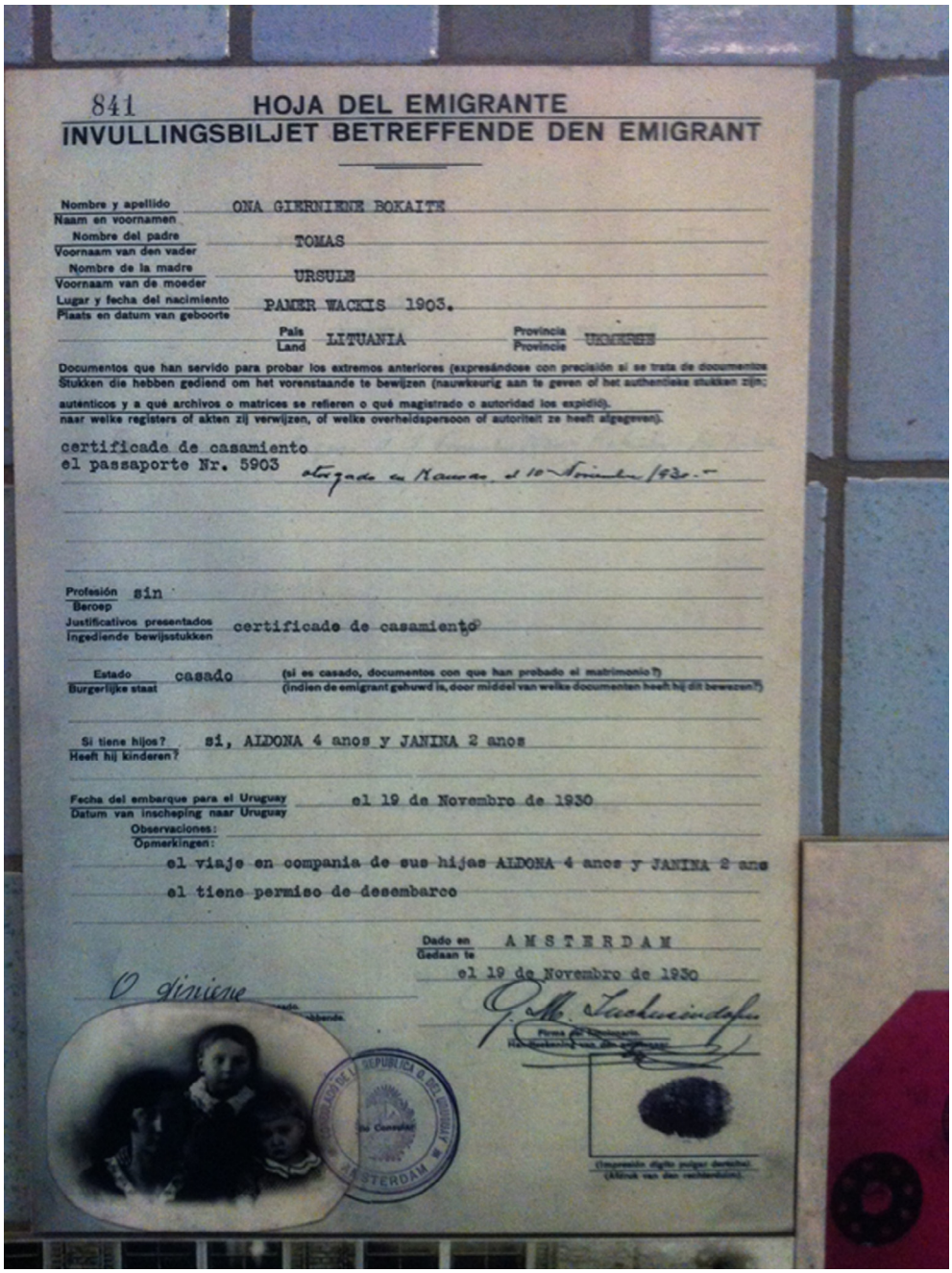

Fig. 7. Historical objects on display in the hotel's stairway. Here, a travel document of a Lithuanian passenger-migrant is on show.

unintended violence, abuse, and transgression, marking the 'power of space' in terms of agency over the subjected 'guests'. Arguably, some of these considerations still apply to the present use of the hotel as a cultural cosmopolitan hub and an interactive space of memory.

The third set of considerations concerns a degree of continuity in the biopolitical approach to the management of the building-as-a-camp: from the initial custody and control of migrants and refugees, to the carceral topographies of the prison periods, to the care and silent management of the tourist and of the broader public visiting the 'public spaces' of the hotel. There appears to be a degree of continuity in the emphasis placed on the mobilization of the 'hosted' bodies, regardless of the overreaching motivations guiding these interventions. For example, the present heritage hotel, beyond monitoring its diverse, class-related, features of hospitality, is also very attentive at governing the social interactions taking place in the common spaces (especially during the Open Days), often hosting encounters between clients, visiting tourists and local residents of different age and social origin. This third point raises important questions regarding our more general speculations about 'the biopolitical' in the relationship between carceral and tourist secluded spaces. For example, is the biopolitical embedded in some specific camp spatialities what makes the transition between leisure and detention, custody and care, much smoother than one would expect? Or, more generally, what do the spatialities of some contemporary tourist enclaves have in common with those framing carceral institutions that may facilitate the transit from one use to the other, like the case here studied seems to suggest? Furthermore, is tourism, and the conversion of disciplining institutions into tourist 'camps', an important phenomenon to consider to better understand the

Fig. 8. Stains on original old green tiles: a 'dark' presence for some guests.

relational concept of violence and space/place? Is tourism a fundamentally disciplining field, and if so, what are tourist enclaves telling us about the self-disciplining qualities of certain spatial arrangements? Is perhaps self-disciplining what connects spaces of imprisonment to those of leisure?

After studying the Lloyd Hotel, perhaps some answers to these compelling questions may be tentatively advanced, to hopefully stimulate further discussion and more empirical work on this topic. As noted above, the Lloyd Hotel is engaging with a difficult heritage, and its present governance is facing the crucial question of how memories of a violent past can be reinterpreted and re-adapted to new, perhaps even reconciliatory, uses and leisure experiences. The Lloyd is also, and has always been since its inception, an experimental laboratory for the management of bodies, of bodies' mobility, protection and control – bodies to be contained by the disciplinary framework making this 'camp' work in its subsequent phases. The building has been designed according to specifically conceived topographies of containment and movement, something resembling the internal geographies of many carceral spaces *and* many leisure camps. Its re-enacted memories, and the emotional and ghostly geographies (see Matless, 2008; Pile, 2010) that they seem to engage with are perhaps testimony of the power of 'the topographical' in institutions of this type, especially when produced to make the management of people's movement, custody and care possible. However, the Lloyd's histories also reveal endless examples of how some of its topographies of control were transgressed, sometimes producing spaces of partial and temporary resistance, others allowing for violent and unsanctioned behaviour against the most vulnerable.

Finally, what the Lloyd Hotel shows is that 'camps', and all the secluded carceral spatialities of this kind, should always be considered in light of their entanglements with the broader networks of power and geography that make those institutions work (see Springer, 2009). The Hotel was implicated in the grand geographies of the shipping company that created it in the first place, and then in Europe's violent geographies of the Jewish diaspora and the Holocaust, followed by its role in the selected geographies of the postwar Dutch detention system, finally becoming a hot spot of the new global geographies of tourism, embedded within the destination 'Amsterdam' and its cultural life in important ways, but also being integrated in the most recent waterfront redevelopments.

The relationship between space, violence and the camp is certainly more complex than how we have discussed it here using this rather unique experimental site of 'custody and care' (Lynch et al., 2011; Tyner & Inwood, 2014). Nonetheless, we would like to suggest that a geographical approach to a relational conceptualization of violence should also possibly engage with the rather subtle lesson coming from sites like this one, where custody and refuge have somehow smoothly been replaced by detention and sophisticated leisure. These transitions left their mark, and how this mark was incorporated in the new uses has been a key object of our enquiry, since it implicates questions of memory and history, care and control, and indeed, space, place and violence.

While walking along those corridors during a recent visit, after having engaged the rather intimidating entrance, turning several corners within the fascinating and gloomy building, visiting the museum preserving selected samples of past lives spent among those walls, we were caught by a sharp sense of unease. The uneasy feeling would not disappear even after having enjoyed the enticing contemporary atmosphere of the Hotel's restaurant. The disquiet had to do with the immaterial feeling of having walked through a site loaded with pain and dramatic biographies, a feeling somehow 'released' by the very materialities of the building, by the power of its spatial arrangements that have facilitated the exercise of so much power and control on multitudes of migrants, refugees, inmates (see Anderson, 2014; Bondi, 2005). Despite all attempts to translate them into history and heritage, these spectral geographies continue to haunt the Lloyd Hotel. This represents a tricky issue for the curators and the architects of the new Lloyd Hotel and Culture Embassy, and for all those implicated in operations of this kind: how is it possible to respect and acknowledge past painful memories marking certain sites, while converting them into different kinds of places without neglecting their difficult pasts? Are the original camp spatialities, the overall design of the building as a place of discipline and control, necessarily retained in some indefinable but effective way? A key question, we trust, for all those managing the heritage of former disciplinary institutions and appropriating their own histories; but also a dilemma for those studying and visiting them.

Conflict of interest

We wish to confirm that there are no known conflicts of interest associated with this publication and there has been no significant financial support for this work that could have influenced its outcome.

We confirm that the manuscript has been read and approved by all named authors and that there are no other persons who satisfied the criteria for authorship but are not listed. We further confirm that the order of authors listed in the manuscript has been approved by all of us.

We confirm that we have given due consideration to the protection of intellectual property associated with this work and that there are no impediments to publication, including the timing of publication, with respect to intellectual property. In so doing we confirm that we have followed the regulations of our institutions concerning intellectual property.

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Endnotes

[1]There are other cases of leisure spaces carved out of carceral ones. For examples, a fully functioning prison in Kauserslautern was transformed into a modern guest house and renamed The Alcatraz Hotel (Malm, 2013), a Slovenian POW camp operated by occupying forces in WWII, and later by the communist regime, is now a youth hostel with cells and bars retained, and a Helsinki prison expanded by Tsar Alexander III is now a Best Western (Karmin, 2013).

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