Memory of the Macabre

Exploring the Impact of Remembrance Practices on Audiences in Dutch National Memorial Centres of World War II

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the impact of the chosen modes of remembering at Dutch National Memorial Centers of the Second World War on their audiences. As there is relatively little known about the dark tourism experience, including the role of negative emotions, and how these are induced, it is important to gain more insight into the relationship between modes of remembering and visitors' emotional outcomes and adopted sentiments in war memorial sites. This research is particularly relevant within the current socio-political landscape, where populist and nationalist movements are effectively challenging the official European cosmopolitan narrative of transnational reconciliation and post-war peace and prosperity. Memorial museums play a crucial role in shaping collective memory and national identity, as they enforce a curated version of history told through different approaches to remembering: the antagonistic, cosmopolitan, and agonistic, each reflecting different sentiments. Where antagonism fosters division, cosmopolitanism promotes global solidarity, while agonism incorporates diverse perspectives for a nuanced historical understanding.

The preferred modes of remembering at the three Dutch National Remembrance Centers were identified through expert interviews, while visitor book analysis determined the accompanying emotions and sentiments. All three centers predominantly employ an agonistic approach to memory, with the Oranjehotel uniquely exhibiting clear cosmopolitan sentiments. Considering the dominant presence of the 'current situation' sentiment, all three memorial centers were successful in reaching their goal of linking past events to contemporary issues by highlighting the futility of freedom under oppression and the importance of the rule of law. The agonistic mode of remembering stands out for its ability to provoke critical reflection among visitors by providing a nuanced portrayal of historical events, allowing visitors to interpret past experiences from a new perspective. The outcome of the minimal but notable presence of nationalist sentiments at the Oranjehotel illustrated how the cosmopolitan mode of remembering, might aid the rise of nationalistic sentiments. This thesis therefore recommends the European Union to consider enforcing an agonistic approach to collective remembering, as this approach presents historical events in a more balanced and nuanced manner, encouraging

visitors to critically reflect without promoting any particular ideological agenda, an approach necessary within the current socio-political context.

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"It is human nature to seek progress and improvement. The downside is that similar mistakes, dressed in a different guise, are not quickly recognized. We want to be better, but we do not learn. The sad truth of human existence."

"Het is de aard van de mens om te zoeken naar vooruitgang en verbetering. Het nadeel daarin is dat gelijke fouten zich in een ander jasje gekleed niet snel genoeg herkend worden. We willen beter, maar we leren niet. De trieste waarheid van het menselijke bestaan"
(Anonymous, March 24, 2024, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel).

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1. Introduction

June 6, 2024, 9 PM. The first exit poll for the Dutch European Parliament elections is made public. Its verdict? 7 seats for the radical right-wing populist party PVV (*Partij Voor de Vrijheid*)[1], an enormous increase of 6 seats compared to their 1 in 2019 (NOS, 2024, June 6). Eventually finishing second largest with 6 seats, the PVV, joined by the German AfD (*Alternative für Deutschland*)[2], also finishing second largest, and Marine Le Pen's *Rassemblement National*[3], France's undeniable winner, represent a growing and distinct radical right-wing sound sweeping all over Europe (NOS, 2024).

Interestingly though, we Dutch have long considered ourselves to be the image of tolerance, free from serious nationalism, and more accepting than other nations, a sentiment controversially displaying our own sense of superiority (Oostveen, 2024). This perceived supremacy is illustrated by the significant support for the PVV in both the European Parliament elections and the national elections of 2023, where Geert Wilders secured 37 seats with its "our own people first" agenda. Despite our tolerant self-image, the majority of the PVV voters were motivated by this anti-immigration sentiment and a desire to reclaim the Netherlands for natively Dutch people. Ironically, typical Dutch nationalism manifests as a denial of its own existence (Oostveen, 2024).

To understand the seemingly sudden rise of Dutch nationalism, one must go back to the late 19th century, when the surge of Dutch nationality emerged. This period of romantic nationalism was characterized by a selective and glorified view of history, erasing the darker aspects of the Dutch colonial past. The erection of controversial statues, such as that of Jan Pieterszoon Coen, officer of the VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie[4]), and two-term governor-general of the Dutch East Indies, reflect this. Many such statues were established between 1860 and 1925, promoting the idea of "That VOC mentality"[5] as quoted by previous Prime Minister (2002–2010) Jan-Peter Balkenende. Despite some critical voices, the dominant sentiment during this period was one of national pride and superiority (Oostveen, 2024).

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[1] Party for Freedom.
[2] Alternative for Germany.
[3] National Rally.
[4] Dutch East India Company.
[5] Complete quote: *"Laten we blij zijn met elkaar! Laten wij optimistisch zijn! Laten we zeggen: Nederland kan het weer! Die VOC-mentaliteit, over grenzen heen kijken, dynamiek! Toch?"; Handling I* 2006/07, nr 6. Pagina 272-294 (September 28, 2006).

This nostalgic, romanticized idea of Dutch identity continues to influence contemporary Dutch society, fostering significant political and social changes over the past two decades. Due to the 9/11 attacks and the influence of leading right-wing figures such as Pim Fortuyn, who gained prominence by condemning the Islam, radical right voting has increased. The current support for radical right-wing parties is therefore not a sudden impulse but rather the result of an increased offering of populist parties and the normalization of controversial right-wing sentiments in popular media. The success of the radical right lies in its simple, convincing narrative of nationalism, combining xenophobia with anti-intellectualism and anti-elitism (Oostveen, 2024).

Populist and nationalist movements are seemingly more and more effective in challenging the official EU narrative of transnational reconciliation, and post-war peace and prosperity by exploiting the heritage of war and violence to promote traditional and confrontational notions of collective identity (UNREST – HOME, n.d.). The instrumentalization of the collective memory of the Second World War can lead to dangerous outcomes, already noticeable in the deterioration of social cohesion and the escalation of ethnic tensions. While remembering past suffering is crucial for supporting and acknowledging the experiences of survivors, it now has the risk of becoming self-indulgent and futile when significant social resources are used to offer symbolic restitution to victims long gone (UNREST – WAR MUSEUMS, n.d.).

The remembrance of conflicts such as the Second World War is increasingly facilitated by museums and memorials, as they are able to present a curated version of history that reflects societal values and perspectives (Radonić, 2020). By combining memory and emotions, museums play a central role in shaping collective memory and national identity (Arnold-de Simine, 2013; Weaver et al., 2018; Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2021). Interestingly, research shows that the predominant mode of remembering adopted by museums has a notable relationship with visitors' emotional outcomes and adopted sentiments (Frew, 2018; Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016). The three distinct approaches to remembering, antagonistic, cosmopolitan, and agonistic as defined by Cento Bull and Hansen (2016) each promote a distinct sentiment, achieved by a specific mechanism supported with explicit emotional states. This relationship will further be explored in the theoretical framework of this thesis.

With the ability of the museum to shape collective memory and national identity by promoting certain sentiments and emotional outcomes, arises the question whether museums are successful in eliciting the type of reactions they wish to promote with their chosen approach

of remembering. It is important to consider what impact museum representations have on their visitors, as the museum has the power to influence societal perspectives, both positively or negatively (Ang, 2017; Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016). For dark tourism museums, museums representing death, disasters, and atrocities, this is particularly interesting, as it is challenging to balance the national context with an inclusive and non-selective way of remembering. As Smith (1998) illustrates: *"[it] is so deeply imbedded in human activity and memory that despite the horrors and destruction, the memorabilia of warfare and allied products.., probably constitutes the largest single category of tourist attractions in the world"* (Smith, 1998, p. 205).

While the study of emotions in dark tourism has expanded in recent years, it remains in its early stages and predominantly focuses on positive emotions (Hosany et al, 2020; Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021). Consequently, relatively little is known about the actual dark tourism experience, including the role of negative emotions, how emotions are elicited in general, and its subsequent effects on visitors (Weaver et al., 2018; Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021). It is important to gain more insight into the relationship between modes of remembering and visitors' emotional outcomes and adopted sentiments in Dutch war memorial sites considering the shift in the broader (European) political context. A change of dominant approach of remembering might be warranted, switching from a cosmopolitan approach of remembering to an agonistic mode as proposed by Cento Bull & Hansen (2016). A change for which this thesis can potentially provide further scientific backing. These theoretical concepts will be expanded upon in the theoretical framework.

To explore the relationship between visitors' emotional outcomes and coinciding sentiments and the dominant mode of remembering adopted by Dutch National War Memorial Centers, this thesis will distinguish three different types of approaches: antagonistic, cosmopolitan, and agonistic (Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021). Drawing upon these premises, the following research question is proposed:

> *RQ: What is the emotional and sentimental impact of the chosen mode of remembrance of the Second World War in Dutch National Memorial Centers on its audiences?*

To guide the analysis, several sub-questions are proposed, all designed to help answer the main research question underpinning this study.

> *SQ 1: What is the chosen mode of remembering in Dutch National Memorial Centers?*

SQ 2: What are the dominant emotions and sentiments that arise in visitors of the Dutch National Memorial Centers?

SQ 3: Are the Dutch National Memorial centers successful in eliciting the desired impact through their chosen method of remembering?

To answer the main research question and accompanying sub-questions, this thesis has taken a qualitative mixed-methods approach. Considering the research will be performed by analyzing both the supply and demand side of the Dutch National War Memorial sites, two different approaches were required. The existing literature provided important reference points in identifying major themes, which were explored through interviews with museum professionals who possess the necessary background and experience to talk about the museum's exhibition and programming, triangulating interview data with evidence from discourse analysis in the form of visitor books and other user-generated content within the museum to gain understanding about the elicited emotions and subsequent sentiments elicited by the museums on their audiences.

This paper is organized as follows. The following chapter will introduce the theoretical framework on which this thesis' premises are based, detailing the main themes related to memory politics, the role of memorial museums, the significance of emotions in museums' exhibitions and programming, and the modes of remembering. It will identify and clarify the main themes related to memory politics, emotions, and modes of remembering, ultimately providing the rationale behind the chosen case studies. These themes will provide the conceptual framework used to guide the methodology and analysis. The methodology chapter outlines and justifies the research design, data sample, and processes for operationalization and data analysis. It also addresses the reliability and validity of the methods used and concludes with ethical considerations. The results chapter will present the study's findings. Finally, the discussion chapter will reflect on the study's limitations, while the conclusion will synthesize and summarize the key findings and suggest directions for future research.

The motivation for this thesis stems from my personal connection to the Oranjehotel, as my mother works there, my fascination with the evolving national and international political landscape, and my interest in the museum as an institution. I am therefore glad that this thesis allows me to bring these interests together into a single research focus.

2. Theoretic framework

Drawing on theoretical insights from the studies of memory politics, collective memory, identity, dark heritage sites, emotions, and modes of remembering, this chapter aims to introduce, link, and briefly explain key concepts on which this study is based. In doing so, it aims to develop a theoretical framework that will give the foundation for the methodological choices and that will guide the analytical process.

2.1. Memory politics

Within cultural studies, the focus on memory has grown significantly in the past decade. Memory research investigates how our memories influence our actions, serving both as a tool and a potential source of manipulation. Considering its multidisciplinary nature, memory studies provide insights into the interconnectedness of cultural, social, and political studies, shedding light on crucial concepts and occurrences across these domains (Assman, 2009).

2.1.1. Memory, history, myth and identity

Before exploring the practical use of memory as a political tool, it is first important to understand memory and its related concepts. Memory operates in two dimensions; individual and collective. Individual memory encompasses unique personal experiences and recollections, and its related emotions and perceptions, which shape a person's identity, decisions, and social connections (Assman, 2009). Collective memory extends beyond first-hand experiences, shaping social and cultural practices through shared memories, experiences, and knowledge. By preserving the collective memories within a society through storytelling, monuments, or other forms of cultural expression, a group identity forms, fostering connections and a sense of belonging to the larger group (Assman, 2009).

Some scholars argue that individual and collective memory are inherently interconnected, a view shared by this study. Maurice Halbwachs asserts that remembering is a social practice, with individual memories influenced by the collective, stating that: *"One might say that the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories"* (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 40; Misztal, 2010). Individual memory is thus embedded within collective contexts, shaped by social factors such as language, rituals, and commemoration practices, reflecting the interconnectedness between personal and collective memory (Weaver et al., 2018).

It is important to understand that memory is not equal to history, as it transcends historical fact. Where history aims to be objective and provide critical analysis, memory interprets the past through collective myth (Weaver et al., 2018). Roland Barthes (1973) explains that myths transform complex issues into simple, seemingly self-evident truths. Myths serve to answer existential questions, justify social systems, and narrate the consequences of following or breaking societal rules by offering clear narratives that are easy to accept. By stripping away the complexities, myths provide a comforting but superficial understanding of the world, influencing how people perceive and interact with reality. Collective memory, in turn, draws on myths to serve as an authority to validate social structures and construct narratives that reflect shared beliefs and values (Barthes, 1973). The blend of myth and historical facts, often referred to as mythistory, therefore contributes to the formation and preservation of collective memory by providing narratives that represent a community's cultural values and beliefs (Rusu, 2013).

Memory can therefore be considered the primary medium through which meanings and identities take shape. Identity can be understood as the continuous attempt to formulate a sense of Self, essentially trying to understand and place oneSelf and the Other within the context of society and history (Berenskötter, 2023). Heidegger's (1927) concept of 'temporality of being,' refers to the idea that our identity, understanding of ourselves, and our existence is shaped by a notion of time. A temporality involving our present being, our past experiences, future possibilities, and our anticipation of the future (Gillespie, 1989; Berenskötter, 2023). Considering the flexibility of social narratives, memory is not fixed and can be altered, manipulated, and disputed by experiences and interactions with others, affecting how history is interpreted and how identity is formed (Berenskötter, 2023).

The flexibility of identity allows for various actors to engage in the politics of memory, re-interpreting the past to shape collective identity across cognitive, normative, and emotional dimensions (Berenskötter, 2023; Mälksoo, 2023). Cognitively, memory reflects on past experiences to offer an understanding of our origins and identity. Normatively, it allows us to learn from past experiences, establishing shared norms and behaviours, and creating a sense of Self and the Other within our social environment (Mälksoo, 2023). Emotionally, memory fosters 'affective communities,' a community that is distinguished by a collectively understood form of feeling and unified through shared patterns of emotional meaning and understanding (Hutchison, 2018).

2.1.2. Politicization of memory

While memory was once seen as a minor aspect of international relations, its significance in today's political landscape is growing increasingly (Berenskötter, 2023). Politicians often draw on collective narratives of the past to mobilize memory and remembrance as an instrument to back their political agendas, often in relation to the acquisition, preservation, or extension of power (Verovšek, 2016). However, memory is not only instrumentalized by states or political parties but also by a range of actors that operate beyond governmental control, including museums and NGOs. Historical narratives can be instrumentalized through persuasion, strategic manipulation, securitization, or even the weaponization of collective memory to justify present actions (Verovšek, 2016; Mälksoo, 2023). While a reflective approach acknowledges both the good and bad in both oneSelf and the Other, establishing mnemonical security, which aims at making certain historical remembrances secure by delegitimizing or outright criminalizing others, intentionally disregards or downplays unpleasant or unsettling interpretations of the past (Mälksoo, 2023; Mälksoo, 2015).

Collective memory, with its selective representations and interpretations, is therefore deeply intertwined with politics all over history (Mälksoo, 2023). The emergence of the nation-state in the late Middle Ages, peaking in the 19th and early 20th centuries, solidified the role of memory in legitimizing national identity. As Pierre Nora notes, *"history was holy because the nation was holy"* (1996, p. 5), with memory supporting nationalist ideology, granting legitimacy to the nation (Hösle et al., 2019). However, after the Second World War, there was a deliberate effort to dismantle the nationalist ideology that contributed to the war's atrocities, partially through the student revolts of the 1960s, the rise of anti-colonial movements, and the resurfacing of suppressed national concerns after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989. These social movements challenged accepted narratives and renewed interest in wartime actions, demonstrating the enduring relevance of the Second World War within collective memory (Verovšek, 2016; Reynolds, 2001). This shift led to a separation of the state from the nation, diminishing the nationalist role of memory. Instead, memory began to be framed within contexts of democracy and transnational justice, enforced by institutions such as the European Union (Misztal, 2010; Milošević & Trošt, 2021).

2.1.3. Transnational memory politics

The European Union emerged from Europe's darkest hour, established to end centuries of conflicts among European citizens, with a mission to ensure peace in post-war 1945's Europe. This narrative shift from war to peace signifies that the European Union is built on

memory, promoting a borderless European memory and a collective sense of "who we are," to serve as a safeguard against repeating historical conflicts and as a form of restorative justice (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009). Contrary to the nationalist perspective that relies on continuity with the past to legitimize the nation-state, the European Union promotes reconciliation and a shared view of history, a collective memory created and upheld by its member states (Milošević & Trošt, 2021; Levy & Sznaider, 2006).)

Collective European memory is closely related to cosmopolitan memory, a concept that will be explored in greater depth later in this thesis. In the European context, cosmopolitan memory fosters universal solidarity and a broader sense of identity by promoting global values and mutual understanding amongst people of different cultures, races, religions, or classes, while also overcoming national loyalties and reshaping the history of others (Misztal, 2010). The Holocaust can be seen as an example, which now symbolizes international solidarity and humanitarian concern globally. Its growing significance has contributed to a universal moral understanding that might help prevent future genocides (Alexander, 2002).

2.1.4. The Self over and against the Other

Addressing mass human rights abuses through a standardized framework of moral remembrance, policies, and practice can have its downsides (Mälksoo, 2023). Considering collective memory can be seen as the foundation of both personal and group identity, it relates to social phenomena such as ethnicity, nationalism, and cultural identity, which all build on a shared understanding of the Self versus the Other (Verovšek, 2016). Global standards for remembering past atrocities can destabilize post-conflict societies, with shared principles such as 'facing the past,' 'a duty to remember,' and 'justice for victims,' inadvertently strengthening ethnic homogenization, essentialisation, and group polarization (Mälksoo, 2023; David, 2020).

The implementation of global remembrance norms varies significantly among states, as state-sponsored memorialization is unavoidably filtered through a state's specific needs. States with contested histories may resist these universal norms, instead using memorialization to support nationalist narratives, strengthening nationalist sentiments by emphasizing ties to nationality, ethnicity, or religion. Especially when externally imposed, memory can provoke a backlash, reinforcing nationalist structures and undermining efforts of reconciliation. Governments might adopt human rights memorials to meet international expectations while subtly advancing their own nationalist agendas. Additionally, interpreting local histories through global narratives can marginalize local experiences of victimhood and valor, further reinforcing nationalist sentiments (David, 2020).

Nationalistic movements seek continuity with the past by using history and memory to legitimize themselves and strengthen group cohesion (Milošević & Trošt, 2021). However, not all practices of nationalism should be considered problematic. Nationalism can be seen as a layered phenomenon. Patriotism, the first step of nationalism, involves a commitment to one's country without seeking to distinguish oneself from others. Chauvinism, the second step, emphasizes national identity and can lead to a belief in national superiority. Nativism, the third and threatening step, views internal minorities as threats to national homogeneity. Nativism targets internal 'enemies,' often immigrants, who are seen as incompatible with national identity (Oostveen, 2024) Central to these movements are the concepts of 'invented traditions' and 'imagined communities,' which link history to contemporary identity (Milošević & Trošt, 2021). Nationalistic movements often feature charismatic leaders who galvanize the movement, shape collective memory, and redefine the audience's collective self-understanding (Jenne et al., 2021).

2.2. Memory within the museum

Museums play a central role in shaping collective memory and national identity, presenting curated versions of history that reflect societal values and perspectives (Radonić, 2020). National museums often symbolize national identity, portraying a specific historical narrative that reflects contemporary national values. In contrast, counter-museums exist to challenge such dominant narratives. This duality demonstrates that museums are in fact not neutral spaces of knowledge transfer, as they do not simply depict what actually happened. Instead, they reflect cultural patterns and mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, defining relationships between different social, ethnic, and religious in and out-groups (Radonić, 2023).

Museums foster collective memory through public engagement, reinforcing shared identity while relying on visitor participation to maintain their relevance. This relationship between sites and people explains the strong link between political power and commemorative architecture (Heath-Kelly, 2023).

2.2.1 Memorial museums as a power tool

Memorial museums combine historical information with commemorative elements and differ from traditional memorials, which (often quite literally) aim to set a specific version of history in stone, by providing an interpretation, contextualization, and critique of said history. As living memory of events such as the Second World War fades, sites associated with modern military conflict, mass violence, and atrocities have become increasingly significant mediums

for connecting past and present and represent a growing desire to add both a moral framework and contextual explanations to historical events (Clarke et al., 2017; Radonić, 2023). The rising trend of musealization in the late twentieth century is related to the rapid progress of human society, creating institutions to preserve artifacts and structures from an otherwise forgotten past (Jaeger, 2020). Museums connect past and present and facilitate future progress by shaping national memory culture, where societies attempt to manage their identities positively, even when confronted with dark history (Clarke et al., 2017).

Memorial museums handling dark heritage enhance a state's soft power, which is the procurement of preferred outcomes through attraction rather than coercion or payment, by utilizing place branding, cultural diplomacy, and state-level memorial diplomacy (Nye, 2022; Clarke et al., 2017). Place branding is a marketing strategy used to enhance a location's appeal to attract investment, tourists, and customers. It can be applied at local, regional, or national levels and involves various stakeholders, including governments and non-state actors. Unlike commercial product branding, place branding is managed by multiple actors with different interests, and without a single controlling authority. Cultural diplomacy showcases cultural products to foreign audiences, fostering positive perceptions of a nation, often through networks of autonomous, state-funded institutions. Finally, state-level diplomacy uses (dark) heritage to draw international attention, framing positive images of the state through symbolic visits and rituals that reflect the nature of the relationship between states (Clarke et al., 2017).

The increasing focus on memory in Western societies is often criticized as a reaction to fears of social amnesia, where the abundance of memory is seen as a response to its perceived fragility. Critics like Pierre Nora (1998) argue that the current obsession with memory reflects a reaction to rapid historical change, with sites of memory (*lieux de memoire*) serving as an artificial substitute for real environments of memory (*milieux de memoire*), recreating traditions through museums and memorials. This practice calls for an important need to distinguish genuine memories from inauthentic fakes, such as false, implanted, mediated, or nostalgic memories, which may have constructed a dubious representation of reality (Arnold-de Simine, 2013).

2.2.2. Approaches to remembering

Memory museums play a crucial role in reconstructing and reconciling post-conflict societies, by influencing national identity and societal values either enabling or disabling reconciliation (Siad, 2020). Cento Bull and Hansen (2016) distinguish between three modes of remembering that museums representing bloody conflicts and wars can employ: the

antagonistic, the cosmopolitan, and the agonistic, each promoting and encouraging different sentiments.

2.2.2.1. Antagonistic

In European history, antagonistic memory is linked to the 'first modernity,' traditionally preferred in post-conflict museums and heritage sites, as they promote nationalistic narratives by presenting cohesive national stories and exclusionary views of citizenship and belonging. This mode of remembering remains relevant in the 'second' or 'liquid' modernity of today, as people still seek community and clear boundaries separating us (ourSelf) and them (Other) as a way to feel secure (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016). Antagonistic memory emphasizes conflict, division, and rigid group boundaries, using myth to simplify complex historical narratives into dichotomies of good versus evil, fostering a sense of collective identity based on opposition and oppression (Kasianov, 2022). This mode highlights 'us versus them' dynamics, demonizing the Other, and promoting selective remembering and forgetting. Emotions play a key role, reinforcing a sense of belonging to a particular community by emphasizing the suffering inflicted by 'evil' enemies, generating passionate feelings, and fostering a readiness to oppose perceived threats (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016).

This mode is commonly used by nationalist or populist movements to mobilize collective memories for political purposes, instrumentalizing memory politics to justify wars or resist aggressors (Kasianov, 2022). Modern nationalist movements have built on preceding nationalist narratives by creating new ethnic identities and presenting them as ancient, revitalizing old national ideas in contemporary contexts. Right-wing populists often criticize mainstream 'politically correct' histories, claiming these histories are disconnected from ordinary people's values and memories (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016).

2.2.2.2. Cosmopolitan

As previously mentioned, the cosmopolitan mode is characteristic of the contemporary era, marked by the emergence of the European Union and its focus on transnational belonging, universal values, human rights, and interconnectedness (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016). Cosmopolitan memory emerged from Holocaust remembrance practices and global shifts in dealing with past violence and guilt, becoming the dominant mode of remembering within the broader human rights discourse in the 1990s (Arnold-de Simine, 2013). This approach encourages nations to confront both glorious and violent pasts, and focuses on victimhood, moving away from heroic narratives (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016). The cosmopolitan approach

is adopted by museums to foster empathy, curiosity, and critical thinking (Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021).

Cosmopolitan memory encourages countries to embrace open borders and humanitarianism influences national narratives to promote shared transnational connections, and an increased recognition of the Other, and underscores the importance of learning from historical experiences to prevent future atrocities. However, a cosmopolitan approach potential to de-politicize history by downplaying socio-political passions and complex power dynamics within conflicts (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016). This approach can oversimplify history by framing events in abstract moral terms of 'good' versus 'evil,' rather than acknowledging specific victims and perpetrators. Consequently, it may hinder a nuanced understanding of conflicts and divisions among involved groups. Although it seeks to promote dialogue and empathy with the Other, its heavy emphasis on compassion over other emotions may restrict open dialogue by failing to fully incorporate the perspectives of perpetrators as legitimate subjects (Levy & Sznaider, 2002).

2.2.2.3. Agonistic

While cosmopolitanism endorses a borderless, global world in its ideal form, the recent trend of antagonistic nationalism inevitably established boundaries, increasingly enforcing the separation of ourSelf and the Other (Ang, 2017; Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016). In order to overcome this fundamental friction between cosmopolitanism and antagonism, Cento Bull and Hansen (2016) propose an agonistic mode of remembering. It acknowledges the complexities of historical narratives, the presence of conflicting interpretations, and the importance of engaging with diverse voices and viewpoints in the construction of collective memory. The agonistic mode encourages a reflexive multi-perspective approach, and repoliticizes and recontextualizes history by revealing the social and political conditions that enabled mass violence and turned individuals into perpetrators, victims, and bystanders. By incorporating human and social emotions, agonistic memory promotes critical reflection and self-examination, addressing the roles of individuals and collectives in historical contexts (Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021; Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016).

The agonistic mode builds on cosmopolitan memory by exposing the socially constructed nature of collective memory and includes the suffering of both the Self and the Other. It seeks to reveal the socio-political struggles of the past to reconstruct historical contexts in a way that addresses the roles of individuals and collectives, fostering a deeper and more nuanced understanding of history (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016).

The following table (table 1.) provides an overview of the previously described defining characteristics of the antagonistic, cosmopolitan, and agonistic.

Table 1.

The defining characteristics of the three modes of remembering (Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2020).

	Antagonistic Mode	Cosmopolitan Mode	Agonistic Mode
Nature of Conflict	Good vs. evil Good and evil as moral categories Us= good Them= evil	Good vs. evil Good and evil as abstract categories Democracy/HR =good Totalitarianism = evil	Nature of conflict and violence depend on social circumstances, context, and agency
Perpetrator/victim Perspectives	The perpetrator perspective presented as victim Us= victims Them= perpetrators	Emphasis on victims' perspective on all sides	Learning from the memories/perspectives of victims, perpetrators and third party witnesses
Historical Context	Manipulated, historical events turned into myths	Transcended, universalized	Remembering historical context and socio-political struggles

2.3. The Importance of emotions in memory construction

The emotional impact of museums on visitors is closely linked to the dominant mode of remembering (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016). Visiting sites associated with tragedy or conflict, such as war memorials or areas affected by natural disasters, often evokes profound emotions, fostering a deeper connection and understanding of said historical events (Weaver et al., 2018). Emotions play a crucial role in shaping individual and collective identities, underscoring their significance beyond mere subjective experiences (Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021).

2.3.1. Dark tourism

Dark tourism is a growing trend in contemporary society, which involves traveling to destinations associated with death, suffering, and the macabre, ranging from theatrical attractions like the Amsterdam Dungeon to historically significant sites such as Auschwitz (Stone, 2006; Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021). Stone (2006) introduced the concept of the 'dark tourism spectrum' to categorize these destinations based on their connection to death and the intensity of emotions they elicit (Table 1.). This spectrum ranges from 'lighter' attractions, catering to a fascination with death, to 'darker' sites that embody death itself due to their authentic locations, temporal proximity, and historical significance, making them potent locations for emotional engagement (Stone, 2006; Miles, 2002).

It is important to acknowledge the profound emotional and political significance of all dark heritage sites. As Seaton (1999) emphasizes, the development of dark tourism experiences is influenced not only by consumer demand and marketing strategies but also by broader shifts in the political and cultural landscape. Consequently, the perceived darkness of a site can fluctuate over time due to factors like emerging wars, acts of terrorism, or regime changes, as well as evolving forms of representation that shape collective memory and societal perspectives (Stone, 2006).

Image 1.

A dark tourism spectrum with defining characteristics (Stone, 2006).
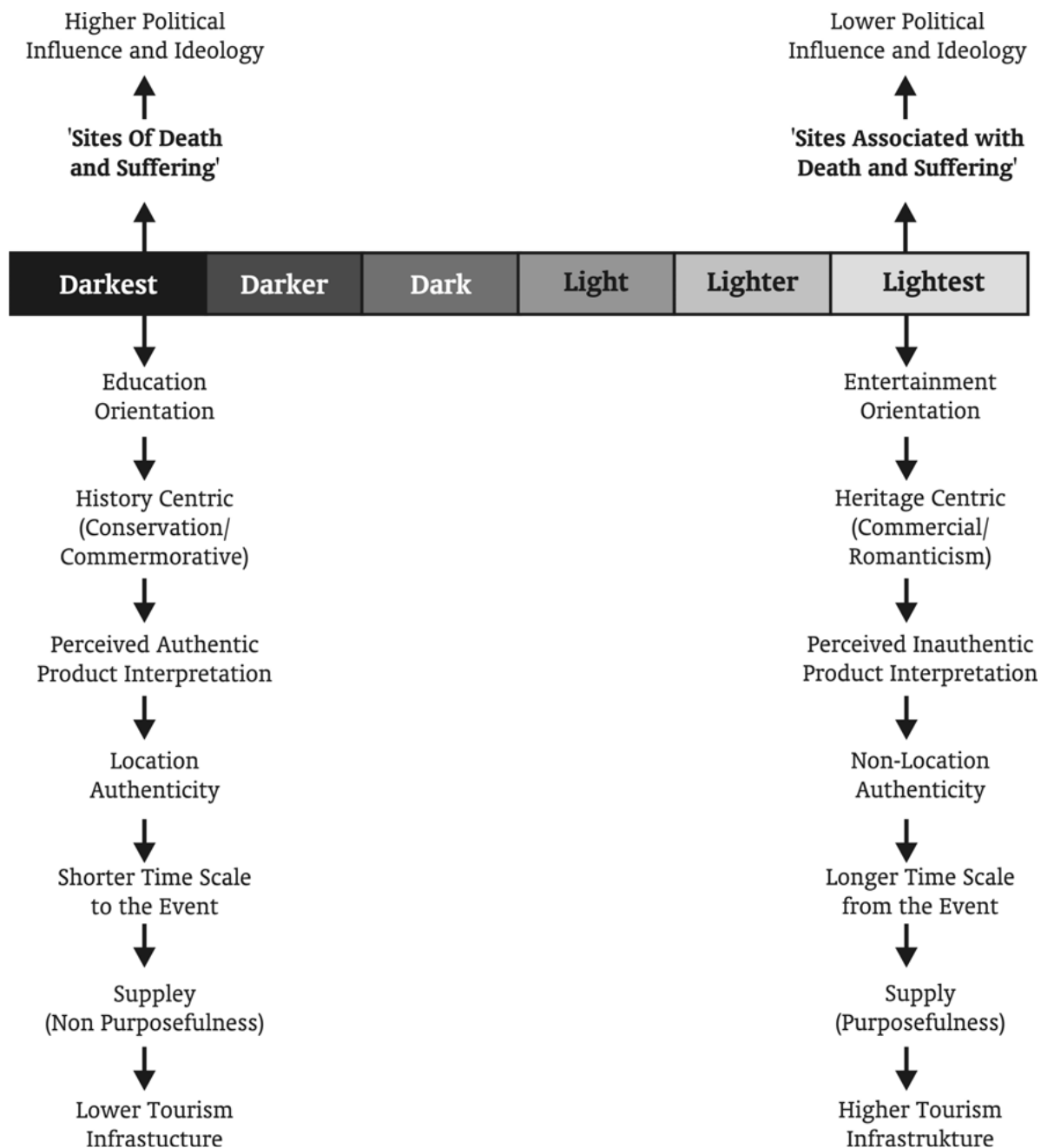
2.3.2. Severity of Emotions

Dark tourism sites, particularly those categorized as 'darker,' have a tendency to evoke powerful emotional responses and are often deliberately designed to do so (Weaver et al., 2018; Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2021). Traditional leisure and recreation literature often emphasizes positive emotional experiences in tourism and views negative emotions as detrimental to overall visitor satisfaction (Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2021; Oren et al., 2021). However, in the context of dark tourism, where visitors actively seek out experiences that elicit painful emotions, negative

feelings can contradictorily enhance the overall visitor experience, rather than detract from it (Hede & Hall, 2012; Oren et al., 2021).

Sigala and Steriopoulos (2021) extend Stone's (2006) dark tourism spectrum framework to highlight the crucial role of visitor emotions in shaping their experiences. This expanded spectrum, as depicted in Image 2., categorizes dark tourism experiences based on the intensity of emotions they provoke. Consequently, emotions vary significantly among visitors at dark attractions which can be attributed to the nuanced distinctions within the different shades of darkness. These emotions are influenced by various factors, including the severity of human suffering associated with the site, the recency of the dark event, and the personal connection visitors feel to the event (Pizam et al., 2023).

Image 2.

An extended dark tourism experience spectrum based on the visitors' emotional engagement (Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2021).
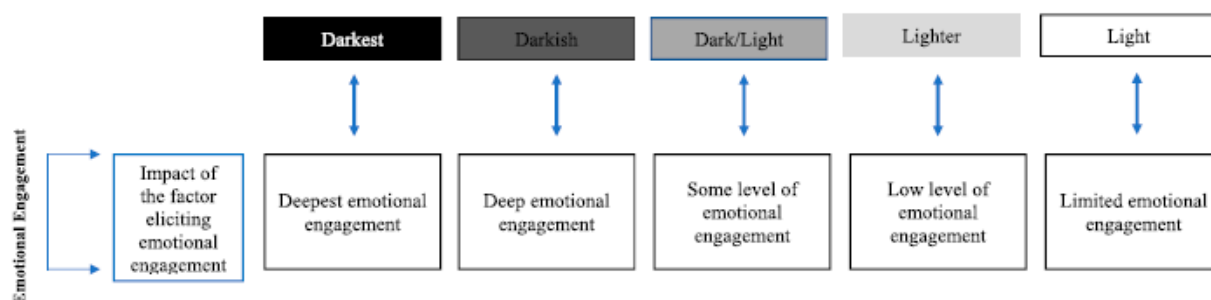
2.3.2.1 Degree of severity of the dark event.

The severity of a dark event significantly influences the emotions it elicits (Pizam et al., 2023). Events characterized by a high fatality rate, large number of deaths, fame or infamy of involved individuals, or a substantial historical impact tend to evoke more intense emotional responses from visitors (Lacina, 2006; Stone, 2010). For example, authentic and darker attractions like concentration camps often evoke emotions such as disgust, shock, compassion, and sadness, whereas sites related to dark events may elicit feelings of hope, national identity, compassion, and a willingness to help (Pizam et al., 2023).

2.3.2.2 Degree of recency of the dark event.

The recency of dark events also significantly influences emotional reactions at tourism sites. According to the primacy-recency theory, people remember information better when it is presented at the beginning or at the end of an interaction, more easily forgetting information presented in the middle (Crano, 1977). In a dark tourism context, recency refers to the number

of years since a dark event occurred. Recent dark events, still vivid in memory, typically evoke stronger emotional reactions, whereas tourists visiting ancient dark tourism sites are often more engaged in processes of meaning-making and identity formation. Studies on Holocaust memorials illustrate this phenomenon, showing that the closer in time the event, the more intense the emotional response of tourists visiting the attraction is likely to be (Pizam et al., 2023).

2.3.2.3 Sharing of common heritage with the dark event.

Personal connections, whether familial or national, are pivotal in amplifying emotional reactions to dark events (Winter, 2012). Visitors who perceive a site as part of their personal or familial heritage often experience deeper emotional engagement, as they seek out meaningful connections to their past (Pizam et al., 2023). For example, individuals with close familial ties to the Great War (1914–1918) demonstrate increased interest and stronger emotional responses when visiting related dark tourism sites (Winter, 2012). So, the stronger a visitor's connection to a dark attraction, the more intense their emotional reaction is likely to be (Pizam et al., 2023).

2.3.4. Case studies

For this thesis, the Dutch National Memorial Centers – Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught, and Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort,– were selected as case studies.[6] These centers receive institutional subsidies from the Dutch Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Sport, indicating their pivotal role in shaping the collective memory of the Second World War in the Netherlands (Ministerie Van Financiën - Rijksoverheid, n.d.). This state sponsorship underscores their alignment with the European Union's commitment to remembering the war's atrocities, combating distortion, denial, and trivialization of historical facts, and promoting transnational rights (EUROPEAN EDUCATION AND CULTURE EXECUTIVE AGENCY (EACEA), 2024).

These centers are not only vital in preserving collective memory but also reflect on ongoing debates about national identity and memory. Theoretical analysis indicates that antagonistic neo-nationalism is pushing new directions for collective memory and the European narrative, albeit one aimed at undermining the European project. In this context, the Dutch National Memorial Centers stand between cosmopolitan ideals and neo-nationalistic sentiments, potentially already revealing an agonistic mode of remembering that acts as a mediator between these perspectives (UNREST – HOME, n.d.).

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[6] The individual case studies will be introduced further in the methodological framework.

The Dutch National Memorial Centers fall into the darkest category of the dark tourism spectrum identified by Stone (2006). Their educational focus, commitment to conservation and commemoration, and site-specific authenticity, combined with the severity and recency of the events they memorialize, makes them particularly effective in evoking strong emotional responses. Given the research's aim to analyze emotional engagement and the sentiments elicited through specific modes of remembering, it is important to select sites where emotional engagement is particularly pronounced. The Dutch National Memorial Centers, with their significant emotional and political significance, therefore offer a valuable context for exploring the research question of this thesis.

4. Methodology

This chapter will introduce and explain the rationale behind the chosen methodological framework. First, it explains why the chosen methodological framework is best suited for this study. Then, it will discuss the data sample, what it includes, and how it was collected. This will be followed by details on the operationalization and the data analysis. Finally, it addresses the validity and reliability of the methods used, concluding with ethical considerations.

4.1. Research design

To accommodate the research question most effectively, a qualitative mixed-methods approach was chosen, dividing the research into two parts: supply (Dutch National Memorial Centres) and demand (audience).

Part I gathers information from the Dutch National Remembrance Centres regarding their preferred mode of remembering, the considerations guiding their approach, the emotions they aim to evoke through their exhibitions and programming, and the perceived impact on all affected groups.

Part II assesses the actual impact of these methods within the centres' exhibitions and programming, focusing on the emotions and sentiments they evoke in audiences, particularly considering survivors, veterans, and descendants of those who were directly affected by the memorial site.

4.1.1. Part I: Semi-structured interviews

To investigate the preferred modes of remembrance at the Dutch National Remembrance Centres, semi-structured interviews were used. This method is particularly well-suited for understanding complex designs due to its flexibility, allowing researchers to explore emerging topics and adapt questions based on the insights provided by interviewees (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004). Unlike structured interviews, semi-structured interviews permit a dynamic interaction, which helps in grasping the nuanced approaches each centre uses (Priyadarshini, 2020).

Given my limited expertise in museum exhibitions and programming, the identification of the modes of remembering was determined through expert interviews. Meuser and Nagel (2009) describe the expert interview as a qualitative method that is based on a topical guide and focuses on the expert's specialized knowledge in a particular field. This approach is crucial

when exploring the interviewees' experiences and perspectives to develop a deeper understanding of the complex researched phenomenon (Döringer, 2021).

4.1.2. Part II: Visitor book analysis

Specifically for the research aim of this thesis, the analysis of visitor books as compared to other research methods offers several advantages. Unlike methods where researchers might unintentionally influence participants' responses, visitor book analysis avoids this error as researchers only engage with the comments after they have been made (Skulskiy, 2019). Additionally, the anonymous aspect of the comment cards is an effective method for uncovering potentially controversial ideologies. They equally foster discussion as authors often write in response to previous notes, consider potential readers, and are influenced by their perceptions of social and political situations in their countries (Skulskiy, 2019). Visitor books are additionally beneficial for studying emotions, as they provide explicit expressions of visitor sentiments that interviews or focus groups might miss (Macdonald, 2005; Skulskiy, 2019).

However, this approach does have some limitations, such as the lack of background information about the authors and potential sampling bias, as only motivated visitors contribute (Macdonald, 2005) This sample bias is exacerbated by museum interference in comment cards (not in the visitor books), as certain comments were selectively retained while others were discarded. Unreadable cards were equally discarded. Despite these drawbacks, visitor books offer a substantial volume of data, providing significant insights into visitor engagement with museum exhibits and their programming (Chen, 2012).

4.2 Data sample

Out of the five Dutch National Memorial Centres, only three were selected as case studies: the Oranjehotel, camp Vught, and camp Amersfoort. The Oranjehotel functioned as a Nazi prison in Scheveningen during the Second World War. Over 25,000 people were imprisoned here between 1940 and 1945, arrested for actions perceived to be violations by the German occupiers (Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel, n.d.). Camp Vught, or *Konzentrationslager Herzogenbusch*, was the only SS concentration camp outside of Nazi Germany and the annexed territories during the Second World War (Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught., n.d.). During its functioning 1,5 years, 32,000 people were imprisoned here, of which 30,000 were Dutch (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024). Kamp Amersfoort functioned as a penal camp for political prisoners, a gathering transit camp for forced laborers, and a Holocaust camp for Jews. The camp imprisoned 47.000 during the war

(Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024). After the war, all three locations served as internment sites for perpetrators and those suspected of Nazi collaboration. This chapter of history is particularly interesting, as the treatment of these collaborators mirrored the treatment of prisoners during the Second World War, an occurrence that happens when the roles of prisoners and guards are suddenly reversed (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024). Camp Vught is even considered to have been one of the largest internment camps after the war and remained so until 1949 (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024).

Due to its lack of locational authenticity and unique focus on the shared history of the Netherlands and Indonesia, the Indonesian Remembrance Centre was deliberately excluded from the data sample. The complex and longstanding relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands necessitated a distinct operational approach, and although the exclusion was not taken lightly because of the consistent underappreciation of said history, it was necessary to maintain methodological consistency (Van Reybrouck, 2022). Additionally, camp Westerbork lacked visitor records, and while using online review platforms such as TripAdvisor was considered, it was eventually rejected due to two concerns. First, visitor books offer greater honesty and openness, as they allow anonymous feedback (Isaac & Budryte-Ausiejiene, 2015). Second, emotions are most intense during and immediately after the visit. Positioned within the exhibition, visitor books thus serve as powerful communicative tools (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024; Skulskiy, 2019).

The visitor books of all three sites can be accessed after the exhibition. Extra comment cards were included for camp Vught and the Oranjehotel, which were situated right after the tour of the outside pavilion, and the prison complex respectively. For camp Vught and the Oranjehotel, comments from 2019 onwards were used, as that was the year camp Vught realized the current exhibition and the year that the Oranjehotel opened (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024; Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024). For camp Amersfoort, comments from 2021 onwards were considered, as that is when the visitor book began.

4.3. Operationalization and data analysis

4.3.1. Part I: Semi-structured interviews

Based on the theoretical framework, an interview guide was put together to turn the most relevant concepts into questions and sub-questions (Appendix A.; Appendix B.). The

interview guide is structured into three parts; motivation, memory, and impact, to determine the affected nationalities, present mode of remembering, emotions, and impact of the site. Afterward, the interviews were transcribed and analysed using ATLAS.ti. A hybrid process of inductive and deductive thematic analysis was used to interpret collected the data, integrating data-driven codes with theory-driven ones (Appendix C.).

4.3.2. Part II: Visitor book analysis

Visitor comments were analysed in four dimensions: nationality/language (Dutch, German, English, and other), emotional states (love, joy, surprise, hate, sadness, and fear), relation to the site (general public, survivors of the site, and descendants of those survivors), and sentiment (hostility to the 'other,' nationalism, empathy for the 'other,' discomfort, critical reflection, and current situation). The analysis of visitor comments initially started on Lucidchart but was later transitioned to PowerPoint due to storage limitations on the Lucidchart platform.

4.3.2.1. Nationality.

Commenter nationality was determined by identifying the used language. If an English comment indicated to be of German or Dutch origin, it was categorized accordingly, hence the need for the 'English' and 'Other' category. The 'Dutch' and 'German' categories were identified with the Dutch context of the Second World War in mind, as most victims were Dutch, while the aggressor was German. While I acknowledge that a multitude of nationalities were imprisoned in the researched memorial sites, it is beyond the scope of this research to identify, translate, and analyse comments from all visitors because of a language barrier and time constraints (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024; Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024; Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024).

4.3.2.1. Emotional state.

To identify the emotional states displayed in the visitor comments, Shaver et al.'s (1987) framework was used (Table 2.). This typology was chosen for its comprehensive range of descriptive emotions and its relevance to the emotional context of the research, specifically in the case of dark tourism studies and the Second World War (Hede & Hall, 2012). Given that the framework is posed within the English language, Dutch and German comments were first translated into English to identify and code emotions according to Shaver's (1987) framework. The translation process was performed either by me, as I am fluent in Dutch, am proficient in English, and have a basic reading proficiency in German, or by asking Google Translate or ChatGTP to aid in translating the sentences.

Table 2.

Basic categories of emotions framework (Shaver et al., 1987).

	Primary emotions	Secondary emotions	Tertiary emotions
Positive Emotions	Love	Affection	Adoration, affection, love, fondness, liking, attraction, caring, tenderness, compassion, sentimentality
		Lust	Arousal, desire, lust, passion, infatuation
		Longing	Longing
	Joy	Cheerfulness	Amusement, bliss, cheerfulness, gaiety, glee, jolliness, joviality, joy, delight, enjoyment, gladness, happiness, jubilation, elation, satisfaction, ecstasy, euphoria
		Zest	Enthusiasm, zeal, zest, excitement, thrill, exhilaration
		Contentment	Contentment, pleasure
		Pride	Pride, triumph
		Optimism	Eagerness, hope, optimism
		Enthrallment	Enthrallment, rapture
		Relief	Relief
	Surprise	Surprise	Amazement, surprise, astonishment
Negative Emotions	Anger	Irritation	Aggravation, irritation, agitation, annoyance, grouchiness, grumpiness
		Exasperation	Exasperation, frustration
		Rage	Anger, rage, outrage, fury, wrath, hostility, ferocity, bitterness, hate, loathing, scorn, spite, vengefulness, dislike, resentment

	Disgust	Disgust, revulsion, contempt
	Envy	Envy, jealousy
	Torment	Torment
Sadness	Suffering	Agony, suffering, hurt, anguish
	Sadness	Depression, despair, hopelessness, gloom, glumness, sadness, unhappiness, grief, sorrow, woe, misery, melancholy
	Disappointment	Dismay, disappointment, displeasure
	Shame	Guilt, shame, regret, remorse
	Neglect	Alienation, isolation, neglect, loneliness, rejection, homesickness, defeat, dejection, insecurity, embarrassment, humiliation, insult
	Sympathy	Pity, sympathy
Fear	Horror	Alarm, shock, fear, fright, horror, terror, panic, hysteria, mortification
	Nervousness	Anxiety, nervousness, tenseness, uneasiness, apprehension, worry, distress, dread

4.3.2.2. Relation to the site

To categorize commenters as members of the general public, site survivors, or descendants of survivors, comments were scanned for phrases like *"to my [relative]."* Comments mentioning connections to other sites considered within this research were not categorized as survivor-related, as it is the relation to the site that contributes significantly to the severity of the elicited emotion (Pizam et al., 2023). This decision further stems from the study's focus on the emotional impact of the specific site's mode of remembering rather than the broader memory of the Second World War.

4.3.2.2. Sentiment

Cento Bull & De Angeli (2021) identified the dominant sentiments, the related mechanisms, and the associated emotional states present within the different modes of remembering (Table 3). This identification will be adopted by this thesis.

Table 3.

Modes of remembering to emotional states (Cento Bull, & De Angeli, 2021).

Modes of remembering	Antagonism	Cosmopolitan	Agonism
Sentiment	Promotes hostility and nationalism	Promotes empathy for the 'other'	Promotes discomfort and critical reflection
Mechanism	Encourages adversarial contrapositions	Depoliticises and decontextualises	Facilitates understanding of different perspectives
Emotional states	Anger	Compassion	Hope

Hostility will be identified when comments show an intense dislike or overt opposition rooted in animosity or aversion (Poorani & Arulsamy, 2018). Brubaker's (1996) definition of nationalism as a set of nation-oriented idioms, practices, and possibilities set in cultural and political life, further guides the analysis (Bonikowski & DiMaggio, 2016). Empathy enables an understanding and resonation with others' emotions, with the 'other' being 'Germans' for the Dutch nationality and 'Dutch' for the German nationality (Riess, 2017). Discomfort is characterized by unpleasant negative feelings or a state of tension (Ashkenazy & DeKeyser Ganz, 2019). Only when we view experiences from a new perspective, and articulate and analyse beliefs and experiences, can we speak about critical reflection (Robinson, 2021). An extra sentiment analyses comments responding to the current situation, as this was mentioned as a goal by all museum professionals (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024; Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024; Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024). Examples of the identified sentiments are shown in Table 4.

Table 4.

Examples of identified sentiments.

Sentiment	Hostility	Nationalism	Empathy for the 'other'
Example	*"Fuck Nazis."[7]*	*"So much respect and love for all those who were locked up here. They upheld the Orange spirit until the very last minute. O.B. (Orange at the top)"[8]*	*"My condolences to the people who lived through this terrible time."[9]*
Sentiment	Discomfort	Critical reflection	Relation to now
Example	*"An oppressive feeling as a German here. hoping that the current war will end quickly. Thanks for the great museum."[10]*	*"This story must be told to all generations. Again and again!!! Though, what would I have done in those times? And you?"[11]*	*"Humans learn little from the past. Now again, another uncertain time in the world."[12]*

4.5. Reliability and validity

To assess the validity of the methodology, four levels of analysis are essential: face, content, criterion-related, and construct validity (Hecker & Violato, 2009). Face validity ensures that the research instruments are appropriate for their intended purpose, which is met through the careful selection of the two data collection methods used in this thesis. Content validity, the accuracy of an instrument in measuring its intended scope, is achieved by basing the operationalization and analysis on established frameworks and theoretical concepts that

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[7] (Dutch general public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel).

[8] Translation of: *"Zoveel respect en liefde voor alle mensen die hier gezeten hebben. Tot op de laatste minuut het oranje gevoel hooghielden. O.B. (Oranje Boven)"* (Dutch general public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel).

[9] Translation of: *"Mein mitgefühl an die menschen die diese schreckliche Zeit durchlebt haben"* (German general public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel).

[10] Translation of: *"Ein beklemmendes gefühl als deutsche hier. in der hoffnung dass der aktuele krieg schnell endet. Danke fur das tolle museum"* (German general public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel).

[11] Translation of: *"Dit verhaal mag aan alle generaties verteld worden. Steeds maar weer!!! Maar ja, wat zou ik doen in die tijd? En U?"* (Dutch general public, Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort).

[12] Translation of: *"De mens leert weinig van het verleden. Nu ook weer een onzekere tijd in de wereld"* (Dutch general public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel).

align with the thesis's objectives (Hecker & Violato, 2009). Criterion-related validity is ensured by comparing findings with previous studies, enhancing the credibility of the research outcomes by basing the research on notable studies and frameworks presented by Stone (2006), Shaver et al. (1987), and Cento & Hansen (2016), enhancing the reliability of the research outcomes (Hecker & Violato, 2009). Construct validity, concerning the correctness of the research process, is upheld by considering ethical implications, maintaining a professional approach, and utilizing diverse data sources (Hecker & Violato, 2009).

Additionally, reliability is maintained through consistent data collection and analysis methods, using a pre-established interview guide and clear coding guidelines, and by employing established frameworks and clear operationalized concepts to support this study's reproducibility (Hecker & Violato, 2009).

4.6. Research ethics

Considering the sensitive nature of the topic of this thesis, some key ethical principles were considered to ensure respectful and responsible research. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, who were fully informed about the study's purpose and procedures, and could withdraw at any time, all documented in the distributed consent forms. When analysing the data, the emotional nature and sensitivity of the subject matter was considered to prevent distress, particularly regarding the experiences of survivors and their descendants. Cultural sensitivity was integral to this thesis, particularly given the complex historical context of the Second World War and the varied roles of the researched parties which was achieved by respecting diverse perspectives and backgrounds. Finally, transparency and honesty in reporting were ensured by accurately presenting findings and acknowledging limitations, thus upholding the integrity and reliability of the research

5. Findings

This chapter delves into the findings of the research. First, it will examine the approaches to remembering and the key considerations taken in designing the exhibition for the Oranjehotel, camp Vught, and camp Amersfoort. Next, it will discuss and compare the emotional responses and sentiments evoked by each memorial center, revealing distinct patterns in how emotions are experienced and expressed at these sites. Finally, the key findings, implications, and recommendations will be discussed.

5.1. Approaches to remembering

5.1.1. Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel.

Serving as a bridge between the past and the present, the emotions experienced by its prisoners are considered to be the central theme of the exhibition at the Oranjehotel. The emotions including fear, pain, and uncertainty, but also hope and solidarity are incorporated in the exhibition narrative. By highlighting the universal nature of these experienced feelings, the Oranjehotel serves to connect historical events and contemporary visitors, ensuring that the exhibition resonates deeply in the hopes of leaving a lasting impact (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024).

The Oranjehotel focusses its exhibition around the collective experience of its 25,000 prisoners, avoiding the glorification of individual heroes. By employing this cosmopolitan approach, the Oranjehotel honours all who suffered, including those who died without families to remember them. Personal stories are collected from diaries and letters, underscoring the collective narrative. In honouring the collective experiences, the Oranjehotel avoids the narrative of heroism and villainy, a dichotomy it deliberately and most prominently attempts to avoid (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024).

While the primary focus of the exhibition is the experiences of the prisoners during the war, the Oranjehotel also shines a light on the post-war period from 1945 to 1950. Rather than exploring the prison's interment function, which is mentioned very briefly, this section highlights the establishment of global institutions such as the United Nations and NATO and their part in promoting transnational reconciliation and international cooperation. This cosmopolitan perspective allows the Oranjehotel to link past events to broader themes of international cooperation and the prevention of future conflicts. This approach, however, might bypass the critical reflection of the internment function of the Oranjehotel central to the agonistic perspective (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024).

The Oranjehotel does aim to encourage critical thinking by demonstrating the fragility of freedom. The exhibition confronts visitors with the ease with which trivial actions could lead to severe consequences under the Nazi regime, emphasizing the regime's lack of rule of law. With this portrayal, the Oranjehotel hopes to provoke reflection on the current state of personal freedoms and the ongoing importance of preserving the rule of law. This reflection on the current situation was stated as one of the main goals of the Oranjehotel (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024).

It was questioned, however, whether this approach might foster hostility towards the Other, as it seemingly encourages adversarial contrapositions, an approach in line with the antagonistic mode of remembering. Conversely, it was explained that the Oranjehotel avoids such sentiments by adopting an agonistic approach by portraying the nuanced, often grey areas of the historical context. For example, the exhibition differentiates between 'Nazis' and 'Germans,' and acknowledges the existence of both good and cruel guards. In highlighting the multifaceted nature of human behaviour and historical events, the Oranjehotel intends to promote a thoughtful and reflective engagement with history in its contemporary visitors (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024).

5.1.2. Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught

Similar to the Oranjehotel, camp Vught aims to provoke thoughtful reflection among its visitors by encouraging a spectrum of emotions and responses, ranging from empathy and sympathy to anger and indignation, without dictating how visitors should feel. By presenting the diverse experiences of prisoners, collaborators, German citizens, and Moluccans together through universal themes including arrival, departure, hope, despair, and resilience, camp Vught attempts to deeply move its visitors, encouraging them to think critically about the complexities of history and their implications for the present and future (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024).

The exhibition's central theme is in line with an agonistic approach, emphasizing the importance of context. Recognizing the societal changes and the increasing need for context to understand the events of the Second World War within the new generation, the exhibition at camp Vught starts with an introductory film that provides essential context of the historical conditions that allowed the Nazi regime to thrive. This need is further demonstrated by the special attention to personal stories and objects within the exhibition, illustrating the increased appreciation of war heritage. By focusing on historical context through war heritage, camp

Vught offers its visitors crucial background information, connecting the specific events at camp Vught to broader historical themes (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024).

Further agonistic considerations are present in the multiperspective approach of the museum's exhibition. This perspective fosters critical thinking and encourages visitors to contemplate the moral complexities faced by individuals within the camp, whether prisoners or guards, and individuals outside the camp. By highlighting the difficult circumstances under which decisions were made, camp Vught emphasizes the morally grey areas behind choice. By illustrating that choices are rarely purely good or entirely bad, the exhibition avoids a binary black-and-white view of victims and perpetrators, acknowledging the roles of both 'good Germans' and 'bad Dutch' within the camp's historical narrative. By recognizing diverse perspectives and themes such as moral courage, camp Vught attempts to foster important dialogue about moral dilemmas, recognizing that moral actions are not confined by nationality, but rather by the circumstances and choices individuals faced (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024).

5.1.3. Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort

Contrary to the Oranjehotel and camp Vught, the dominant consideration in the programming of camp Amersfoort is fact rather than emotion when presenting the past to its contemporary visitor. Furthermore, as the focus shifts from the needs and experiences of the first generation to consider the trauma of the second generation, the museum's approach has equally evolved to addressing the descendants of both perpetrators and victims. In doing so, camp Amersfoort adopts a multiperspective approach, recognizing all experiences as valid. An example was given of the son of a notorious NSB doctor who was interned and severely abused as a child in the internment camp after the war. For camp Amersfoort, it is crucial to create a space where all individuals are able to interpret their family's war history without judgment (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024).

The fixed museum exhibition of Kamp Amersfoort is designed to underscore the diversity of prisoner experiences, a focus that has been central to the exhibition since last January. The main element of the exhibition consists of ten pillars each representing a distinct group of prisoners held at the site. Complementing these pillars are ten biographies featuring three perpetrators, six prisoners, and one helper. Notably, the exhibition does not shy away from addressing the presence of perpetrators among victims, contextualizing their actions within a broader historical framework, and explaining the choices they made without condoning their deeds (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024).

By fostering an understanding of diverse perspectives, Camp Amersfoort adopts an agonistic approach that prioritizes a nuanced comprehension over a simplistic good-versus-evil narrative. This perspective, influenced by historian Chris van der Heijden, emphasizes the complexities and moral ambiguities of historical events, moving away from the binary black-and-white view as presented by Loe de Jong. This approach encourages visitors to engage with the grey areas of history, fostering a deeper and more critical reflection on the past (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024).

While the exhibition primarily focuses on the story of the camp during the Second World War, the camp's role as an internment camp in the period after the war is fairly well addressed in the introductory film. The museum plans to dedicate the annual rotating exhibition in 2026 to the internment camp, demonstrating the shift in attitude towards the war. The current rotating exhibition, which delves into the experiences of Dutch forced laborers and their harsh treatment by the Dutch public after the war, exemplifies this shift. This exhibition encourages critical reflection and discomfort among Dutch audiences, reinforcing the agonistic notion that history is not merely a matter of black and white (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024).

5.2. Thematic analysis

Before delving deeper into the emotions and sentiments expressed by German and Dutch audiences in visitor comments, it is important to note that the most prevalent category across all memorial centres is 'none.' This indicates that most visitors either did not explicitly express emotions or their experiences did not evoke strong emotional responses. While this is a notable aspect of the data, the focus of this thesis is on the emotions and sentiments that were explicitly expressed. Therefore, the subsequent analysis will concentrate solely on these expressed emotions and sentiments.

5.2.1. Composition

Table 5.

Composition nationality Oranjehotel.

Nationality	N	%
Dutch	909	69
General public	826 (91%)	-
Family	82 (9%)	-
Survivor	1 (0%)	-
German	93	7
English	202	15
Other	119	9
Total	1.323	100

Table 6.

Composition nationality Vught.

Nationality	N	%
Dutch	1.379	82
General public	1.352 (98%)	-
Family	27 (2%)	-
Survivor	0 (0%)	-
German	16	1
English	184	11
Other	106	6
Total	1.685	100

Table 7.

Composition nationality Amersfoort.

Nationality		N	%
Dutch		683	90
	General public	601 (88%)	-
	Family	82 (12%)	-
	Survivor	0 (0%)	-
German		2	0
English		60	8
Other		16	2
Total		761	100

The three tables (Table 5., Table 6., Table 7.) outline the composition of visitor comments analysed from the Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught, and Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort. It is interesting to note that the Oranjehotel shows the most diversity, having the highest percentages of Germans (7%), English (15%), and other nationalities (9%). It is assumed that the increased foreign population stems from the site's central location in the Hague, the second most popular destination for German tourists after Amsterdam (NBTC, 2018).

A second interesting occurrence is the notable percentage of Dutch family members (12%) present at camp Amersfoort, which can be explained by its focus on research and family of survivors (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024).

For the German nationality, there were no comments from either family or survivors of the site. Considering most incarcerated where of Dutch nationality and visiting a place where you are considered to be on the wrong side of history is understandably difficult, this seems logical.

5.2.2. German emotions

Table 8.

Emotions German Oranjehotel.

Relation	Emotion	N	% (N = 93)
General Public	None	66	71
	Love	2	2
	Joy	6	6
	Surprise	0	0
	Hate	1	1
	Sadness	12	13
	Fear	8	9
Family	-	0	0
Survivor	-	0	0
Total		93	102*

*Extra percentage is caused by the presence of multiple sentiments in one comment

Table 9.

Emotions German Vught.

Relation	Emotion	N	% (N = 16)
General Public	None	10	63
	Love	5	31
	Joy	1	6
	Surprise	0	0
	Hate	0	0
	Sadness	0	0
	Fear	1	6
Family	-	0	0
Survivor	-	0	0
Total			106*

*Extra percentage is caused by the presence of multiple sentiments in one comment

Table 10.

Emotions German Amersfoort.

Relation	Emotion	N	% (N = 2)
General Public	None	2	100
Family	-	0	0
Survivor	-	0	0
Total			100

The three tables (Table 8., Table 9., Table 10.) highlight the emotional responses encountered in the German visitor comments of the Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel, Nationaal Kamp Vught, and Nationaal Kamp Amersfoort. Amersfoort's minimal data suggests no emotional reporting, and as only the Oranjehotel has a considerable amount of data, it exhibits the most emotional diversity among its 93 comments, with the highest percentage representing sadness (13%). An example that resembles this emotion: *"Very moving, interesting, and at the same time sad, that this is part of European history"* (German general public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel). [13]

Interestingly, Vught's 16 comments prominently feature love (31%), with no reports of sadness, suggesting a more positive sentiment compared to the Oranjehotel. While most German comments in the Oranjehotel comment on the history of the place, the German comments in camp Vught mainly expressed their adoration of the museum and their efforts in representing their history, as illustrated in the following comment: *"I will never forget how beautiful and rich in history/stories it was. Many thanks to this museum. I think it is good that you get an insight into a concentration camp here"* (German general public, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught).[14]

This difference potentially occurs because the Oranjehotel exhibition focuses on the hardships of prisoners under the Nazi regime. While Kamp Vught most definitely also addresses these hardships, it further acknowledges that moral actions are not confined by nationality but

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[13] Translation of: *"Sehr berührend, interessant und zugleich traurig, dass dies Teil der Europäischen Geschichte ist."*

[14] Translation of: *"Ich werde es nie vergessen wie schön und geschichtenreich es war. Vielen Dank an dieses Museum. Ich finde es gut dass man hier einen Einblick in ein Konzentrationslager gibt."*

are rather shaped by the circumstances and choices that individuals faced (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024; Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024).

5.2.3. German sentiments

Table 11.

Sentiment German Oranjehotel.

Relation	Sentiment	N	Related Emotion	N	% (N = 93)
General Public	None	81	-	-	87
	Hostility	0	-	-	0
	Nationalism	0	-	-	0
	Empathy	7			8
			None	2 (29%)	-
			Fear	2 (29%)	-
			Sadness	2 (29%)	-
			Love	1 (14%)	-
	Discomfort	2			2
			Sadness	2 (100%)	-
	Critical reflection	1			1
			None	1 (100%)	-
	Current situation	3			3
			None	2 (67%)	-
			Sadness	1 (33%)	-
Family	-	0	-	-	0
Survivor	-	0	-	-	0
Total		93			101*

*Extra percentage is caused by the presence of multiple sentiments in one comment

Table 12.

Sentiment German Vught.

Relation	Sentiment	N	Related Emotion	N	% (N = 93)
General Public	None	15	-	-	94
	Current situation	1			6
			Joy	1 (100%)	-
Family	-	0	-	-	0
Survivor	-	0	-	-	0
Total		16			100

Table 13.

Sentiment German Amersfoort.

Relation	Sentiment	N	Related Emotion	N	% (N = 2)
General Public	None	1	-	-	50
	Current situation	1	-	-	50
Family	-	0	-	-	0
Survivor	-	0	-	-	0
Total					100

The three tables (Table 11., Table 12., Table 13.) highlight the sentiment expressed in the German visitor comments of the Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught, and Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort. In the Oranjehotel, the sentiment is diverse, with most individuals expressing empathy. An example that resembles this sentiment: *"I am incredibly touched by the strength, courage and perseverance of the inmates"* (German general public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel). [15]

However present in all three centres, the sentiment related to the current situation was the only expressed sentiment in camp Vught and camp Amersfoort, with an example: *"I wish*

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[15] Translation of: *"Ich bin unheimlich berührt von der Kraft, den Mut und den Durch halte vermögen der Insassen."*

for all wars in the world to stop. I hope that what we are currently experiencing everywhere in the world will end soon" (German general public, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught).[16]

While all centres successfully encouraged visitors to reflect on the current situation, the emotion of hope, related to 'joy' as expressed in the comment of camp Vught, aligns with agonistic remembrance, an approach prevalent in the museum's programming (Camp Vught, personal communication May, 17, 2024). Additionally, the prevalent cosmopolitan elements of the Oranjehotel's exhibition promote empathy for the Other (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024).

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[16] Tanslation of: *"Ich wünsche das alle Kriege auf der Welt aufhören. Das was wir zurzeit erleben überall auf der Welt in Kürze endet."*

5.2.4. Dutch emotions

Table 14.

Emotions Dutch Oranjehotel.

Relation	Emotion	N	% (N = 909)
General Public (N = 826)	None	516	57 (62%)
	Love	59	6 (7%)
	Joy	71	8 (9%)
	Surprise	0	0 (0%)
	Hate	13	1 (2%)
	Sadness	114	13 (14%)
	Fear	69	8 (8%)
Family (N = 82)	None	46	5 (56%)
	Love	5	1 (6%)
	Joy	15	2 (18%)
	Surprise	0	0 (0%)
	Hate	1	0 (1%)
	Sadness	14	2 (17%)
	Fear	3	0 (4%)
Survivor (N = 1)	Joy	1	0 (100%)
Total		909	103*

*Extra percentage is caused by the presence of multiple sentiments in one comment

Table 15.

Emotions Dutch Vught.

Relation	Emotion	N	% (N = 1.379)
General Public (N = 1.352)	None	819	59 (61%)
	Love	136	10 (10%)
	Joy	61	4 (5%)
	Surprise	0	0 (0%)
	Hate	39	3 (3%)
	Sadness	216	16 (16%)
	Fear	132	10 (10%)
Family (N = 27)	None	12	1 (44%)
	Love	11	1 (41%)
	Joy	2	0 (7%)
	Surprise	0	0 (0%)
	Hate	0	0 (0%)
	Sadness	2	0 (7%)
	Fear	4	0 (15%)
Survivor	-	0	0 (0%)
Total			104*

*Extra percentage is caused by the presence of multiple sentiments in one comment

Table 16.

Emotions Dutch Amersfoort.

Relation	Emotion	N	% (N = 683)
General Public (N = 601)	None	469	67 (78%)
	Love	10	1 (2%)
	Joy	26	4 (4%)
	Surprise	0	0 (0%)
	Hate	5	1 (1%)
	Sadness	50	7 (8%)
	Fear	46	7 (8%)
Family (N = 82)	None	48	7 (59%)
	Love	1	0 (1%)
	Joy	16	2 (20%)
	Surprise	0	0 (0%)
	Hate	0	0 (0%)
	Sadness	15	2 (18%)
	Fear	4	1 (5%)
Survivor	-	0	0 (0%)
Total			99*

* Lost percentage accounts for small N

The three tables (Table 14., Table 15., Table 16.) highlight the emotional responses encountered in the Dutch visitor comments of the Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught, and Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort. While sadness remains the most pronounced emotion expressed within the general public, family members of site survivors equally experience high amounts of love or joy among sadness.

While joy is the most dominant emotion in the comments of family members in Amersfoort (20%), the distinction in emotional responses between the general public and the family of survivors, as well as the one survivor himself, is perfectly illustrated at the Oranjehotel. Among the general public, sadness is the most pronounced emotion (14%),

whereas the family of survivors expresses joy (18%) and sadness (17%) almost equally, and the sole survivor expresses only joy (100%). This difference in emotional responses highlights the contrasting focus of the comments, as sadness is primarily related to the presented history, while joy is often expressed when survivors discover information about relatives or when the survivor expresses happiness at having survived. This is illustrated by the following comments: *"It is very impressive, especially sad to hear the stories"* (Dutch general public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel), *"Nice to have seen this and to have found something from C. Terpstra"* (Dutch family, Nationaal monument Oranjehotel), and *"Hello, I am returning here after being imprisoned for 5 months in 1945, and I am glad that I can live to tell about it"* (Dutch survivor, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel). [17]

Overall, camp Vught exhibits the most diverse emotional responses, but stands out for its higher expression of love (11%) compared to the Oranjehotel (7%) and camp Amersfoort (1%). Especially within the family comments, where love accounts for 41 % of the expressed emotions. Something that was noted during the analysis was the increased expression of visual emotions, such as hearts or smiley faces, in the comments of camp Vught compared to those from the Oranjehotel and Kamp Amersfoort (Image 3.).

Image 3.
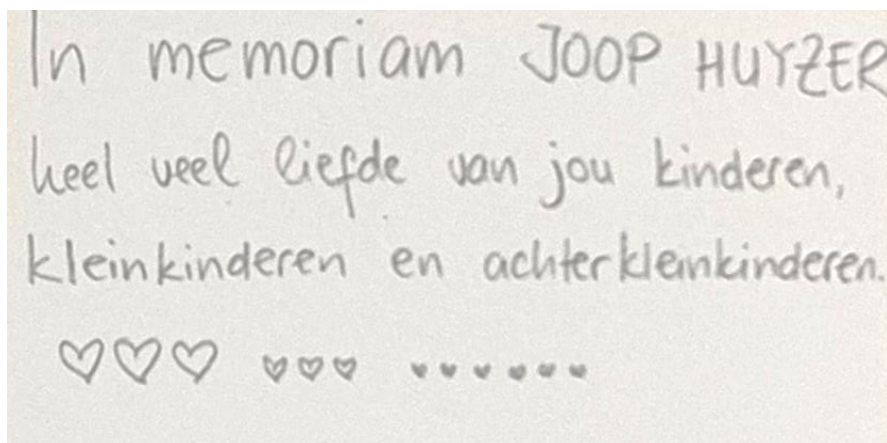
"In memory of Joop Huyzer. Much love from your children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Thank you very much for this opportunity" (Dutch family, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught).

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[17] Translation of: *"Het is erg indrukwekkend, vooral verdrietig om de verhalen te horen."; "Mooi om gezien te hebben en van C. Terpstra wat gevonden te hebben."; "Hallo, hierbij kom ik hier terug na 5 maanden 1945 gevangen gezeten en ben blij dat ik het kan navertellen."*

The different emotional landscapes of the Dutch National Memorial Centres reveal distinct patterns. Camp Vught elicits a broader range of strong emotions, including higher levels of love, sadness, and fear, suggesting deeper and more varied emotional connections. This aligns with the museum's intention to provoke thoughtful reflection among its visitors by encouraging a spectrum of emotions and responses, without dictating how visitors should feel (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024). The Oranjehotel shows a significant presence of sadness and joy within its diverse population, while Amersfoort again stands out for its high 'none' response. This indicates a more neutral or less engaged emotional reaction, possibly due to its factual approach to the museum's exhibitions and programming (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024). This comparison underscores the varying emotional significance these sites hold for different individuals and groups, influenced by the chosen mode of remembrance within this historical context.

5.2.5. Dutch sentiments

Table 16.

Sentiment Dutch Oranjehotel.

Relation	Sentiment	N	With Emotion	N	% (N = 909)
General Public (N = 826)	None	754	-	-	83 (91%)
	Hostility	2			0 (0%)
			Hate	2 (100%)	-
	Nationalism	11			1 (1%)
			Love	2 (18%)	-
			Joy	1 (9%)	-
	Empathy	1			0 (0%)
			Love	1 (100%)	-
			Sadness	1 (100%)	-
	Discomfort	0	-	-	0 (0%)
	Critical reflection	1	-	-	0 (0%)
	Current situation	59			6 (7%)
			Love	3 (5 %)	-
			Joy	4 (7%)	-
			Hate	7 (12 %)	-
			Sadness	31 (53 %)	-
			Fear	5 (8%)	-
Family (N = 82)	None	80	-	-	9 (98%)
	Current situation	2			0 (2%)
			Sadness	2 (100%)	-
Survivor (N = 1)	-	0	-	-	0 (100%)
Total					99*

* Lost percentage accounts for the categories with extremely small N

Table 17.

Sentiment Dutch Vught.

Relation	Sentiment	N	With Emotion	N	% (N = 1.379)
General Public (N = 1.352)	None	1207	-	-	88 (89%)
	Hostility	3			0 (0%)
			Hate	3 (100%)	-
	Nationalism	1	-	-	0 (0%)
	Empathy	0	-	-	0 (0%)
	Discomfort	6	-	-	0 (0%)
			Joy	1 (17%)	-
			Fear	1 (17%)	-
	Critical reflection	3			0 (0%)
			Love	2 (67%)	-
			Fear	1 (33%)	-
	Current situation	132			10 (10%)
			Love	6 (5%)	-
			Joy	18 (14%)	-
			Hate	16 (12%)	-
			Sadness	59 (45%)	-
			Fear	10 (8%)	-
Family (N = 27)	None	27	-	-	2 (100%)
Survivor	-	0	-	-	0 (100%)
Total					100

Table 18.

Sentiment Dutch Amersfoort.

Relation	Sentiment	N	With Emotion	N	% (N = 683)
General Public (N = 601)	None	561	-	-	82 (93%)
	Hostility	0	-	-	0 (0%)
	Nationalism	0	-	-	0 (0%)
	Empathy	0	-	-	0 (0%)
	Discomfort	1	-	-	0 (0%)
	Critical reflection	4	-	-	1 (1%)
	Current situation	35	-	-	5 (6%)
			Joy	6 (17%)	-
			Hate	2 (6%)	-
			Sadness	13 (37%)	-
			Fear	8 (23%)	-
Family (N = 82)	None	79	-	-	12 (96%)
	Current situation	3			0 (4%)
			Joy	1 (33%)	-
			Sadness	2 (67%)	-
			Fear	1 (33%)	-
Survivor	-	0	-	-	0 (100%)
Total					100

The three tables (Table 16., Table 17., Table 18.) highlight the emotional responses encountered in the Dutch visitor comments of the Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught, and Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort.

Most notably, all three centres successfully achieved their goal of fostering consideration of the current situation among visitors, as this sentiment is the most expressed at all three sites. The dominant emotion accompanying this sentiment is sadness, reflecting a profound emotional connection between historical events and contemporary issues. At the Oranjehotel, 53% of responses from the general public and 100% from family members express

sadness in relation to the current situation. Similarly, at Vught, 45% of the general public express sadness, while at Amersfoort, 37% of the general public and 67% of family members do the same. An example of this that occurred very often: *"Unfortunately, history repeats itself. People learn nothing from the past"* (Dutch general public, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught).[18]

Amersfoort stands out for its ability to provoke critical reflection among its visitors. Although a very small portion (1%) of the general public engages in this sentiment, it is notably higher than at the other sites. The presence of critical reflection indicates that the dominant agonistic and factual approach to remembering present in the exhibitions of camp Amersfoort, effectively stimulates thoughtful consideration, prompting visitors to think critically about historical events and their implications.

The sentiment of nationalism, though minimal, is present in visitor comments at the Oranjehotel. 1% of the general public expresses nationalism, a sentiment associated with the antagonistic approach to remembering, which the Oranjehotel most deliberately attempts to avoid (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024). Most nationalist sentiments were not accompanied by emotions, as the majority represent Dutch idioms, rather than thoughtfully written comments. Such as: *"Orange will prevail!"* (Dutch general Public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel).[19]

The sentiments that were linked to the emotions love (18%) and joy (9%), highlight how certain narratives can evoke feelings of national pride or identity. This could be tied to stories of resistance in the exhibition where visitors feel a sense of pride in the nation's historical resilience or unity during times of oppression. For example: *"Very impressive. Especially how these people gave their lives for their homeland. The respect for their deeds will always live on in human awareness. They will always remain in our thoughts!"* (Dutch general Public, Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel).[20]

This sentiment might have arisen due to the cosmopolitan elements present in the Oranjehotel exhibition. In contrast, Kamp Vught and Kamp Amersfoort exhibit no easily identifiable cosmopolitan elements and lack nationalistic elements.

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[18] Translation of: *"Helaas, de geschiedenis herhaalt zich. Mensen leren niets van het verleden."*
[19] Translation of: *"Oranje Zal Overwinnen!"*
[20] Translation of: *"Zeer indrukwekkend. Zeker hoe deze mensen hun leven hebben gegeven voor hun vaderland. Het respect zal altijd voor hun daden doorleven in het menselijk besef. Ze zullen altijd in onze gedachten blijven!"*

5.3. Key takeaways

The exhibitions at the Nationaal Monument Oranjehotel, Nationaal Monument Kamp Vught, and Nationaal Monument Kamp Amersfoort each offer unique perspectives on collective memory, identity, and ideal remembrance practices of the Second World War within their exhibitions. The Oranjehotel combines a focus on universal emotions and the fragility of freedom with a nuanced portrayal of historical events, blending cosmopolitan sentiments with an agonistic approach to remembering (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024). Camp Vught adopts a multiperspective view that acknowledges the moral ambiguities of choice, contextualizing historical events to foster critical thinking among its visitors. This approach illustrates the dominant agonistic method of remembering (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024). Camp Amersfoort emphasizes historical context, balancing factual accuracy with empathy, and avoiding oversimplification in its portrayal of the Second World War, illustrating the museum's agonistic approach to remembering (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024).

While the dominant emotion across all groups and memorial sites is 'none,' indicating minimal emotional reaction, it is interesting to see how differently the positive and negative emotions are expressed. Negative emotions primarily stem from a reaction to the traumatic stories of the past, while positive emotions are most often directed towards the museums and their programming. Additionally, expressions of love for the imprisoned demonstrate solidarity with the past. The presence of this intricate emotional landscape indicates the complexity of visitors' experiences in dark heritage sites.

Given that the sentiment of 'current situation' appears in visitor comments across all three sites, it can be concluded that the memorials succeed in their mission of linking past events to contemporary issues by effectively highlighting the futility of freedom under oppression and the importance of the rule of law (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024; Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024; Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024). Especially camp Amersfoort, which stands out for its ability to provoke critical reflection among its visitors. This sentiment is reflected in comments that express thoughtful engagement with historical events and a reflection on their broader implications. This emphasis on critical reflection is integral to camp Amersfoort's programming, which represents an agnostic approach and a nuanced portrayal of historical events allowing its visitors to successfully view past experiences from a new perspective (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024).

In the Oranjehotel however, nationalism emerges as a sentiment expressed by visitors, a sentiment the memorial site hoped to avoid. While minimal, this sentiment highlights the importance of historical narratives in shaping collective memory and perceptions of national identity. This again can be linked to the exhibition's programming, which, while adopting an agonistic approach, also emphasizes transnational and cosmopolitan narratives, which might have unintentionally evoked feelings of national pride (Oranjehotel, personal communication, May 14, 2024).

5.3.1 Implications

The dominant sentiments expressed by visitors to the exhibitions at the researched memorial sites hold significant implications for the universal practices a dark heritage museum should consider in their programming and exhibition planning. First, as theorized by Cento Bull & Hansen (2016), an agnostic approach emphasizing critical reflection as it encourages visitors to engage with historical narratives in a thoughtful and analytical way. This can lead to a deeper understanding of different perspectives and ethical dilemmas faced by individuals in the past, while simultaneously highlighting the broader implications of historical events for the present and future (Cento Bull, & De Angeli, 2021).

The presence of nationalism in the response to the cosmopolitan mode of remembering raises concerns about the potential for its oversimplified, de-contextualized, and de-politicized interpretations of history to foster feelings of national pride (Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021). While nationalism can foster harmless feelings of national identity, they may also lead to biased or one-sided interpretations of historical events, repositioning the Other as threats to national homogeneity (Oostveen, 2024). It is therefore essential for museums to contextualize nationalist sentiments within a broader understanding of historical complexities to encourage visitors to critically examine the presented narratives (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016).

Furthermore, the expression of nationalism through idioms instead of thought out comments suggests a superficial engagement with the theme. This highlights the importance of critical engagement with historical narratives and the museum's responsibility in revealing the broader impact of nationalist sentiments. By promoting thoughtful reflection and representing multiple perspectives, museums can foster a deeper and more nuanced understanding of history, ultimately contributing to greater social awareness and understanding (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016).

5.3.2. Recommendations

To enhance the effectiveness of the preferred mode of remembering in realizing the intended impact of memorial sites, several recommendations should be considered. First, it is crucial for memorial sites to re-politicize and re-contextualize historical narratives, focusing on the grey aspects of history and the ambiguity behind moral choices. By offering a complete overview of history, rather than a curated perspective, visitors can gain a deeper understanding of the complexities and nuances of the events that occurred. This recommendation aligns with the theoretical concept of agonistic memory, which emphasizes the importance of a multiperspective, complete, and contextualized representation of history, ensuring that the narrative does not become oversimplified or biased, but rather fosters a well-rounded understanding among its audiences (Cento Bull & Hansen, 2016; Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021).

To realize such approaches, state sponsorship for museums tasked with keeping the memory of the Second World War alive, should expand beyond the period from 1940 to 1945, to also include the post-war functions of the memorial sites. Expanding the focus to include the post war period will provide visitors with a more nuanced understanding of the site's significance and the events that transpired there. As highlighted in the interviews with museum experts, there is no black and white version of history, as there where 'good' Germans, and 'bad' Dutch (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024). By recognizing a wider range of perspectives, museums can stimulate meaningful dialogue about moral complexities, showing that ethical behavior is influenced by circumstance and individual choice rather than by nationality. This approach helps memorial sites foster a more inclusive and nuanced view of the past (Camp Vught, personal communication, May 17, 2024).

As first-generation trauma evolves into second, third, or even fourth-generation trauma, societal attitudes towards the war and historical memory equally transforms (Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021). Memorial sites must reflect these generational shifts in their programming and exhibitions to ensure that the experiences and perspectives of each generation are accurately understood and represented. Addressing the presence of perpetrators among stories of victims, simultaneously contextualizing and explaining their actions within a broader historical framework aligns well with contemporary attitudes, as the implementation of such perspectives in the exhibitions of camp Amersfoort has seen no conflict so far (Camp Amersfoort, personal communication, May 3, 2024).

Further considering the changing attitudes in contemporary society, the increase of the radical right sentiment in Europe should be met with a reconsideration of the preferred mode of remembering adopted by the European Union. Currently favouring a cosmopolitan approach, the European Union should consider enforcing an agonistic approach to collective remembering (Misztal, 2010). While cosmopolitan memory fosters collective identity, and promotes international cooperation and understanding, it may inadvertently foster nationalistic sentiments, a narrative especially relevant within the radical-right context. An agnostic approach presents historical events in a more balanced and nuanced manner, encouraging visitors to critically reflect without promoting any particular ideological agenda, an approach necessary within the current socio-political context (Cento Bull & De Angeli, 2021).

6. Discussion

While this research provides valuable insights, it is essential to acknowledge its limitations. First and foremost, this study faced challenges in translating emotional descriptors due my lack of proficiency in German. While I am sufficiently fluent in both English and Dutch, the translation of German sources proved to be considerably difficult, mainly considering the lack of readability of certain sources. Consequently, this led to the exclusion of some German comments, potentially impacting the accuracy of the findings. Additionally, the sensitivity of language and its embeddedness in social practices as indicated by the plethora of studies done on the classifications of emotions, and the extensive number of emotions categorized in the model introduced by Shaver et al. (1987) might have caused misidentification of certain emotions.

Second, it needs to be acknowledged that the lack of dates on most of the visitor comments prevented the construction of an accurate timeline. While the expert interviews did allow an insight in the timeline of the exhibitions and programming of the museum, it was often impossible to determine to which specific museum approach the visitor was commenting. Considering the visitor books, and presumably most other visitor comments analyzed were very recent, and the permanent exhibition of museums often last around 5 years, this limitation will probably not influence the data of the Oranjehotel and Kamp Vught significantly. For Kamp Amersfoort however, this limitation needs to be considered as their permanent exhibition changed in January of this year.

Third, the difference between intent en actual implementation needs to be recognized. Especially in addressing sensitive subjects, where museums might strive to present these topics with nuance, respect, and historical accuracy, seeking to provide a space for reflection and learning, actual implementation can diverge due to various constraints such as social and political context and correctness, institutional policies, and the challenge of balancing multiple perspectives. For example, the risk of offending the public can result in self-censorship or compromised interpretations. Considering the intent is used to determine the museums' approaches to remembering, this might give a skewed view. In future research, the methodology used by the UNREST project (n.d.) should be considered, where multiple researchers conduct a detailed analysis of the museum exhibitions and discuss their individual findings to best determine the used approaches to remembering present, as a way to compliment the expert interviews.

Finally, the nature and history of the Oranjehotel as compared to camp Amersfoort and camp Vught should be considered when analyzing the present nationalist sentiments. The Oranjehotel, originally an *Untersuchungsgefängnis* (investigative prison), primarily held resistance fighters deemed dangerous by the German occupiers. Its nickname, 'Oranjehotel,' honored these imprisoned resistance fighters starting from the start of the German occupation. Consequently, the Oranjehotel has a much larger historical association with the resistance compared to camp Vught and camp Amersfoort (Mulock Houwer, n.d.). This legacy is still deeply embedded in its DNA and remains prevalent today, potentially instilling a sense of nationalism in visitors even before they even enter the museum.

Furthermore, as previously mentioned, most nationalistic comments featured the idioms *"Oranje zal Overwinnnen,"* or *"Oranje Boven."* These sentiments might stem from word association rather than from reactions to the exhibition's programming. Word association is a psychological phenomenon where a stimulus word evokes a response word based on their semantic relationship. In this case, the prominence of *"Oranje"* in *"Oranjehotel"* might trigger these familiar nationalistic responses, reflecting a cognitive link rather than a deliberate commentary on the exhibitions (Prihatini, 2020).

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this research aimed to explore the impact of the chosen mode of remembering present in the Dutch National Memorial Centers of the Second World War on its audiences. Specifically, it first determined the preferred modes of remembering employed by these memorial centers, the dominant emotions and sentiments expressed by their visitors, and the extent to which these centers successfully evoke the intended reactions through their approach to remembering.

Within the current socio-political landscape, populist and nationalist movements are effectively challenging the official European cosmopolitan narrative of transnational reconciliation and post war peace and prosperity. Contemporary memory practices allow nationalist movements to exploit the heritage of the Second World War to promote traditional, confrontational notions of collective identity, leading to the deterioration of social cohesion and the escalation of ethnic tensions. In shaping collective memory and national identity, museums play a central role, as they represent a State's soft power by enforcing a curated version of history that reflects desired societal values and perspectives. Theory identifies three different modes of remembering, antagonistic, cosmopolitan, agonistic all reflecting different sentiments. Where antagonism fosters division, cosmopolitanism promotes global solidarity, while agonism incorporates diverse perspectives for a nuanced historical understanding. Engaging with sites of tragedy influencing societal perspectives and identities, which underscores the emotional and political significance of these chosen modes of remembering in the museums programming.

The preferred modes of remembering at the three Dutch National Remembrance Centers were identified through expert interviews, while visitor book analysis determined the accompanying emotions and sentiments. While the reliance on visitor comments is insightful, it is inherently subjective and may not capture the full scope of visitor experiences and interpretations. Future research might therefore benefit to include a questionnaire or visitor interviews to supplement the visitor book analysis. By measuring the emotional outcomes to the exhibition directly and through a predetermined set of questions, future research might determine the specific element of the exhibition that warranted a certain emotion.

The findings indicate that all three centers predominantly employ an agonistic approach to memory, with the Oranjehotel uniquely exhibiting clear cosmopolitan sentiments. Initial analysis of the visitor comments showed that sadness was the most prevalent emotion among

the Dutch general public at all three sites and among the German general public at the Oranjehotel. Conversely, the German visitors at camp Vught mainly experienced feelings of love. Interestingly, Dutch families of survivors expressed a mix of love and joy alongside sadness, reflecting the complex interpretations of history as negative emotions were primarily expressed as a response to traumatic stories of the past, whereas positive emotions often reflected adoration for family members, or were directed towards the museums and their efforts.

Considering the dominant presence of the 'current situation' sentiment, all three memorial centers were successful in reaching their goal of linking past events to contemporary issues by effectively highlighting the futility of freedom under oppression and the importance of the rule of law. Camp Amersfoort was particularly successful in reaching their intended impact, as the museum was able to encourage its visitors to engage in critical reflection, a practice supported by its dominant agnostic mode of remembering. The outcome of the minimal but notable presence of nationalist sentiments among the visitors of the Oranjehotel however, shows the misalignment of intended impact and actual impact within the museum's programming. This outcome indicates the need to reconsider the cosmopolitan mode of remembering, both nationally and within a wider European context, instead shifting towards an agonistic approach. While emotional and reflective engagement is crucial, the museum must increasingly consider contextualizing and balancing historical narratives to prevent the rise of nationalistic sentiments.

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Appendix A.

Interview Guide

<u>Motivatie</u>

1. Kun u uzelf, het herinneringscentrum en haar missie introduceren?

- Kun u vertellen welke verschillende groepen en/of nationaliteiten een belangrijke rol hebben gespeeld in de geschiedenis van het centrum?
- Worden al deze groepen gerepresenteerd in het herinneringscentrum, hoe, en waarom sommige groepen wel en andere niet?

2. Hoe beïnvloedt de missie van het herinneringscentrum het curatieproces?

- Kunt u een voorbeeld geven van een tentoonstelling of een deel van een tentoonstelling die in het bijzonder aansluit bij de missie van het herinneringscentrum en hoe deze tentoonstelling is vormgegeven?

3. Wat zijn de belangrijkste factoren die worden meegenomen in het plannen en ontwerpen van een tentoonstelling om ervoor te zorgen dat deze aansluit bij de eerder genoemde verschillende groepen?

- Merkt u dat het museum rekening moet houden met verschillende perspectieven van de geschiedenis? En hoe balanceert het museum deze tegenstrijdige ervaringen in de geschiedenis van het centrum?

<u>Geheugen</u>

1. Kunt u de manier van herinneren in het centrum omschrijven en de keuze voor deze insteek toelichten?

- Kunt u specifieke historische, culturele of maatschappelijke factoren noemen die dit besluitvormingsproces hebben beïnvloed?
- Welke invloed heeft dit op de inhoud?

2. In mijn mail heb ik de verschillende manieren van herinneren vanuit de theorie omschreven, de antagonistische, cosmopolistische en agonistische manier. Als we kijken naar 'de ander,' vind u dat het centrum eerder de tegenstellingen tussen vriend en vijand en goed en kwaad benadrukt, empathie en compassie voor de 'ander' bevordert door zich te concentreren op collectief menselijk lijden, of zich juist richt op het in context plaatsen van de gebeurtenissen

door de historische politieke omstandigheden en processen te beschrijven die individuen tot daders, slachtoffers en omstanders hebben gemaakt?

- Kunt u dit uitleggen?

3. Emoties spelen een belangrijke rol bij het verbinden van bezoekers met de ervaringen van de getroffenen van de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Welke emoties wil het centrum oproepen?

- Kunt u voorbeelden geven van elementen van een tentoonstelling of bepaalde keuzes in het vertellen van verhalen die zijn ontworpen om deze emotionele reacties uit te lokken?

4. Herdenkingscentra eren de herinneringen van degenen die de Tweede Wereldoorlog hebben meegemaakt en informeren tegelijkertijd toekomstige generaties over de impact ervan. Hoe balanceert het herinneringscentrum respectvolle herinnering met het misschien kritisch kijken naar wat er gebeurd is?

- Hoe integreert het centrum de verschillende en misschien tegenstrijdige perspectieven van de verschillende groepen die een rol hebben gespeeld in de geschiedenis van het centrum terwijl het respectvol blijft naar al deze groepen, en is dit überhaupt mogelijk?
- Heeft het museum zijn aanpak gewijzigd of is van plan dat te veranderen nu dat het trauma van de eerste generatie plaatsmaakt door trauma van de tweede generatie?

<u>Invloed</u>

1. Hoe effectief brengt het centrum zijn missie over op bezoekers?

- Gelooft u dat het centrum erin slaagt de gewenste emoties op te roepen bij het publiek?
- Hoe ervaart u de impact van het centrum op overlevenden, veteranen en familie van degenen die de oorlog rechtstreeks hebben meegemaakt?

2. Kunt u, rekening houdend met andere nationale herdenkingscentra en oorlogsmonumenten, de best-practices identificeren waarvan u denkt dat het centrum zou kunnen leren?

- Hoe zou het implementeren van zulke strategieën de missie van het museum beter overbrengen?

3. Zijn er gebieden waarop het centrum volgens u tekortschiet in herdenken?

- Zo ja, welke specifieke aspecten zouden volgens u verbeterd kunnen worden om de missie van het centrum beter te vervullen?

4. Wilt u nog iets toevoegen?

Appendix B.

Translated Interview Guide

<u>Motivation</u>

1. Can you introduce yourself, the museum, and its mission?

- Can you identify the diverse groups and nationalities that played a significant role in the site's history?
- Does the museum acknowledge all varied perspectives of these groups within its exhibits and programming, and how?

2. How does the museum's mission statement influence the curation process for exhibitions?

- Can you provide an example of an exhibition or part of an exhibition that particularly aligns with the museum's mission and how it was conceptualized?

3. What key factors do you consider when planning and designing an exhibition to ensure it resonates with diverse audiences?

- How do you balance the different and conflicting perspectives of history present in the diverse audience groups of the museum?

<u>Memory</u>

1. What considerations guided the selection of the museum's approach to remembering, and how would you describe this approach?

- Could you discuss any specific historical, cultural, or community factors that influenced this decision-making process?
- How does this influence the content?

2. Would you say the museum emphasizes the contradictions between friend and enemy and good and evil, promotes empathy and compassion for the 'other' by focusing on collective human suffering, or focuses on putting the events into context by describing the past political conditions and historical processes that turned individuals into perpetrators, victims, and bystanders? (antagonistic, cosmopolitan, agonistic)

- Elaborate?

3. Emotions play a significant role in connecting visitors with the experiences of those affected by the Second World War. Which emotions does the museum aim to evoke?

- Can you provide examples of exhibition elements or storytelling techniques designed to elicit these emotional responses?

4. Remembrance centres both honour the memories of those who lived through the Second World War and educate future generations about its impact. How does the museum balance the need for respectful remembrance with the examination of historical events?

- How does the museum incorporate the multiple perspectives of history while practicing respectful remembrance, and is this even possible?
- Did the museum change its approach or intends to change its approach now that first-generation trauma is being replaced by second-generation trauma?

Impact

1. How effectively does the centre convey its mission to visitors?

- Do you believe the centre succeeds in evoking the desired emotions within its audiences?
- How do you perceive the impact of the centre on survivors, veterans, and descendants of those who directly experienced the war?

2. Considering other national memorial centres and war memorials, can you identify any notable best practices that you believe the centre could learn from or implement?

- How might adopting such practices enhance the effectiveness of the centre's remembrance efforts?

3. Are there any areas where you feel the centre may fall short in its approach to remembrance?

- If so, what specific aspects do you believe could be improved upon to better fulfil the centre's mission and honour the memory of those affected by the war?

4. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix C.

Codebook

Code group	Code	Definition	In vivo description
Exhibition planning	Emotions	The role of emotions in the exhibition	"En toen op een gegeven moment, toen ik er veel over las, toen dacht ik ja, weet je, die angst die zij hebben gevoeld, de gevangenen hier. De pijn, de onzekerheid, maar ook de samenhorigheid. Het zijn allemaal aspecten die wij nu nog kennen en nog ervaren. In groepen en in wat dan ook. Dus toen dacht ik, hebbes, dat is wat ons uitgangspunt wordt."
	Exhibition implementation	Descriptions of the design of the exhibition.	"Het interneringskamp komt bijvoorbeeld een vrij goed aanbod in de introductiefilm."
	Exhibition considerations	Considerations that are taken into account when designing the exhibition.	"We kijken naar feiten en omstandigheden. En laten de emoties, bij het reconstrueren van verhalen enzo, moeten we even buiten zetten."
Impact	Desired exhibition impact	The impact the museums intend to achieve with their museum design.	"En we willen dus informeren, we willen laten beleven eigenlijk de plek zelf. En we willen bewustmaken."
	Actual exhibition impact	The impact the museums to achieve with their museum design, as noticed in their visitors.	"Wat wij ook merken bij onze bezoekers die daar echt wel door gegrepen worden. Ook kinderen die hier nog komen die raken

			echt onder de indruk van de plek die ze bezoeken, zeg maar."
	Area of improvement	What the museum should improve in their exhibitions and programming.	"Ik zou veel meer mensen willen hebben. Ook iemand die op de namendatabase zou zitten. Dat je meer onderwijs zou kunnen betrekken."
	Best practices (Other)	Best practices present in the other Dutch National Memorial Centres	"En ik zeg bijvoorbeeld het Oranjehotel. Je hebt zo'n buiten faciliteit vanaf het begin bedacht, waar je een soort van in de open lucht een soort van aula hebt. Dat vind ik heel slim."
	Best practices (Self)	Best practices present in the museum.	"Ja, het is behapbaar. Het is niet helemaal volgestouwd. Je hoeft geen keuze te maken. Je kan alles bekijken. En dat is uiteindelijk ons voordeel geworden."
	Positive reactions	Positive reactions the museum got from their visitors.	"Uit die reacties die je straks onder andere in dat bezoekersboek ook zult zien. Ja, die zijn positief. We krijgen echt in zwaar overwegende mate positieve reacties."
Important perspective/ attitudes	Grey area	Ambiguities and complexities of the museum history.	"Maar het betekent dus ook dat we hier ook daders hebben gehad, bewakers. Die bijvoorbeeld aantoonbaar niet overtuigd nationaal Socialist waren. Maar echt dachten voor het avontuur of voor het betere eten. Die keuze maakten. Ik

		praat hun dader niet goed. Never, nooit, niet. No way. Maar het is wel belangrijk om te beseffen. Dus juist die grijs tinten. Kom ik weer terug bij Chris van der Heijden. In afwijking een beetje van Loe de Jong. Je bent goed of je bent fout. Dat doen wij in dit museum niet."
Multiperspective	How multiple perspectives are present in the exhibition.	Dit is een tentoonstelling voor daders. Dus dan wil je het echt over collaborateurs gaan hebben. En nou ja, dus ook al inderdaad dat perspectief van daders.
Perspective shift	Shift in perspectives related to the war history of the museum.	"We zijn ons dus veel bewuster geworden, ook door dat verscheiden van de tijd en het wegvallen van de eerste generaties, hoe belangrijk die plekken zijn."
Trauma shift	Considerations in relation to first generation trauma and second generation trauma.	"Met emoties, heel veel waarde daarop. Maar nu ook met de gevangenen, Bijna alle gevangenen zijn overleden. Dan krijg je dus eigenlijk een iets ander, iets gewijzigd verhaal bij nabestaanden. Zowel van daders als van slachtoffers."
War attitude	Attitude to the war and war memorabilia.	"We zijn ons dus veel bewuster geworden, ook door dat verscheiden van de tijd en het wegvallen van de eerste

			generaties, hoe belangrijk die plekken zijn,"
Modes of remembering	Agonistic	Exhibition implementations/ considerations that are in line with the agonistic approach to remembering as described in the thesis.	"We gaan heel erg vaak in op context, keuzes die gemaakt werden. We praten niks goed."
	Antagonistic	Exhibition implementations/ considerations that are in line with the antagonistic approach to remembering as described in the thesis.	"De verwondering over waarom dat je gevangen gezet wordt. En je vrijheid werd ontnomen."
	Cosmopolitan	Exhibition implementations/ considerations that are in line with the cosmopolitan approach to remembering as described in the thesis.	"De oprichting van de Verenigde Nazi's, de NAVO en alle overlegorganen die er ontstonden. Eigenlijk dat de oorlog toch in die zin heeft gehad. Dat de vrede zolang bewaard is gebleven."
Museum	Affected groups	The affected groups in the history of the memorial site.	"Die staat hier nu een jaar lang waarin dus de 36 nationaliteiten buiten de Nederlandse in kamp Vught voorbij komen."

Conflict groups	Conflict or no conflict between these different affected groups in the history of the memorial site.	"…die was helemaal emotioneel en er klopte helemaal niks van. En we hadden van alles en het was helemaal van onrecht en verkeerd weergegeven en noem maar op."
Museum history	The history of the memorial site and the history of the site as a memorial centre.	De stichting bestaat vanaf 2000. Vanaf 2004 is er een herinneringscentrum gebouwd. Daar was je net boven, dat is het huidige museumcafé. 2021 is het grote ondergrondse museum geopend.
Museum mission	Why the museum exists.	"En hier wordt dus de herinnering in het leven gehouden aan het leed en de persoonlijke verhalen van 47.000 gevangenen."