

Generations

Intergenerational differences in the consumption of Dutch Second World War heritage



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Master thesis

Abstract

This thesis answers the question of how different generations consume war heritage in the Netherlands. Sufficient academic research has been done on why Dutch nationals visit war heritage, indicating that curiosity is a strong motivator for visitation. However, this sparks the question if generations differ from one another, making it the central theme in this thesis. Using a quantitative approach, questionnaires were digitally distributed across social media platforms Facebook and Instagram. Three cases were analysed in-depth, the Anne Frank Huis in Amsterdam, former transit camp Westerbork, and the American Cemetery in the town of Margraten. The results are based on 195 responses and show that curiosity remains the strongest motivator in all generations. Moreover, the share of school/study excursions is increasing with each younger generation. Furthermore, Generation X usually visits war heritage with their children, while Generation Y usually reverses that by going with their parents. The following conclusions can be drawn: curiosity remains the strongest motivator throughout the generations, while education is becoming an increasingly more important motivator in younger generations. The relationship between parents/caretakers and children influences the differences in outcomes between Generation X and Generation Y in relation to the question with whom they visit heritage. Future research could revolve around the question why the Anne Frank Huis receives so little visits from Dutch nationals, as respondents have indicated certain leads that would be interesting to research.

Contents

Abstract	p. 2
1. Introduction	p. 4
2. Theoretical framework	p. 5
2.1 Hypothesis	p. 9
3. Methodology	p. 9
3.1 Questionnaire	p. 9
3.2 Data collection	p. 9
3.3 Location selection	p. 11
3.3.1 Anne Frank Huis	p. 12
3.3.2 Margraten: American Cemetery	p. 12
3.3.3 Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork	p. 13
3.4 Data analysis	p. 14
3.5 Ethical considerations	p. 15
4. Results	p. 16
4.1 Image of the war	p. 17
4.2 Statements	p. 17
4.3 Visiting heritage	p. 19
4.4 Reason(s) to visit	p. 21
4.5 Visiting with whom?	P. 22
4.6 4 & 5 Mei	p. 23
5. Conclusions	p. 24
5.1 Discussion	p. 25
6. References	p. 27
7. Appendices	p. 32
7.1 Appendix A	p. 32
7.2 Appendix B	p. 39
7.3 Appendix C	p. 39

1. Introduction

September, 30th, 1938, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain standing outside Number 10 Downing Street, proclaimed the following: “*My good friends, for a second time in our history, a British Prime Minister has returned from Germany bringing peace with honour. I believe it is peace for our time. Go home and get a nice quiet sleep*” (Salter, 2019). Chamberlain, however, was wrong, even sacrificing Czechoslovakian Sudetenland to Nazi-Germany could not stop the outbreak of the Second World War. By September 1939, the British Empire and French Republic were at war with Nazi-Germany (Holmes, 2013). After the fall of Poland, little to no fighting occurred for six months, which was dubbed the ‘phoney war’. During this period, the Netherlands remained optimistic on maintaining neutrality. This policy had saved the Netherlands from the horrors of the Great War (1914-1918) and the fate of Belgium that was turned into a battlefield (Willmott, 2008). Requiring a new surprise manoeuvre, and the wish to unite all Germanic peoples, Germany attacked the Low Countries in May 1940. Neutrality was no longer possible for the Netherlands. Soon the entire world was engulfed in one of the bloodiest conflicts in human history (Holmes, 2013).

Throughout the war, tourism continued in some ways. US journalist William Shirer wrote that German soldiers acted as tourists while in Paris, taking pictures at famous sites (Gordon, 2018). However, tourism relating to the war itself, picked up after the victory in Europe (1945). This post-war heritage tourism has had many names throughout the years. Some scholars dub it battlefield tourism, while others prefer dark tourism or thanatourism (Yeneroglu Kutbay & Aykac, 2016; Seaton, 1996). A more inclusive term is war heritage tourism, focusing on the visits to historically significant places relating to conflicts. Among these places are remains of, for example, bunkers of the Atlantic Wall, but also re-enactments or memorials (Gordon, 2018; Yeneroglu Kutbay & Aykac, 2016). In the Netherlands significant places can easily be found. Margraten war cemetery, Kamp Westerbork, Anne Frank House, and the Grebbeberg area among them. One could, therefore, argue that one does not need to leave the Netherlands to experience the Second World War. These war heritage sites often have an educational or remembrance purpose. For example, the Stichting Anne Frank, owners of the Anne Frank Museum in Amsterdam have developed educational material for schools (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020c). By learning from these materials, students (*scholieren in Dutch*) can gain new insights into the Second World War in general, and more specifically into the Holocaust, in order to make them aware that society should never allow the events to happen again.

An interest into visiting sites linked to death, destruction, and other dark connotations is generally referred to as dark tourism (Light, 2017). However, dark tourism is an umbrella concept that includes various subfields referring to specific interests, such as the paranormal or war (Light, 2017). The latter subfield was named thanatourism by Seaton (1996), having derived it from Thanos (Θάνατος) meaning death in Greek. Since the 1990’s dark tourism, including the subfield of thanatourism has gained significance in academic discourse (Light, 2017). A large body of literature exists, for example, on war tourism relating to the Gallipoli campaign (*January 1915-January 1916*) (McKay, 2018; Ozer et al, 2012, Yeneroglu Kutbay & Aykac, 2016). This heroic campaign ended in a defeat for the allies, with 60,000 Australians and 17,000 New Zealanders losing their lives (Willmott, 2018). These studies often focus on the experiences of Australians and New Zealanders and their relation to maintain war heritage and the spirit of their history. Studies in a Dutch academic context, however, are less prominent (Nawijn & Fricke, 2015; Isaac et al., 2019; Isaac and Çakmak, 2014). These case studies, often focusing on concentration camps, research visitors’ motivations and emotional responses. In these studies the population is often treated as one body, without internal differences. Therefore, research on (*possible*) differences in generations is understudied. The aim of this paper is to cover this knowledge gap and provide an insight into generational trends in relation to war heritage tourism. Moreover, this paper provides a further insight into (*possible*) generational differences in not only visitors’ motivation but also in how they perceive Dutch war heritage tourism. Therefore,

the following research question will be answered: *What are the differences between Generations in consuming war heritage in the Netherlands?* To answer this question, the following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. *How often do generations visit war heritage in the Netherlands?*
2. *Why do generations visit war heritage sites in the Netherlands*
3. *How do generations value material and immaterial war heritage in the Netherlands?*

These questions will be answered through a quantitative approach, using digitally distributed questionnaires.

2. Theoretical framework

(War) heritage tourism can be traced back to the ancient world, where people undertook pilgrimages to locations with historical and/or religious meanings (Collins-Kreiner, 2016). Foley and Lennon (2000) argue that dark tourism is a relatively new field of tourism. Seaton (1996), however, argued that interest into battlefields is a far older notion. According to Seaton (1996) the battle of Waterloo, 1815, showed that public interest into historical sites of death and destruction was on the rise. Furthermore, Seaton argued that people who visited this battlefield afterwards, were dominated by the motivation to gaze into 'a world of conflicts' (Seaton, 1996). His findings and those of fellow scholars lead to the introduction of dark tourism in academic discourse (Foley and Lennon, 2000; Seaton, 1996; Light, 2017). Nonetheless, a definite conceptualisation is yet to reach consensus. Moreover, throughout the years, dark tourism has been 'reinvented' and adapted to fill specific gaps in relation to forms of dark tourism, such as morbid tourism, atomic tourism, and holidays in hell (Miles, 2014; Ozer et al, 2012; Light, 2017). All these different notions trace back to the idea of dark tourism, first coined by Foley and Lennon (2000) as "*the experience of presenting and absorbing sites of death and destruction.*" That being said, dark tourism is often seen as an umbrella term, including tourism relating to suffering, misdemeanour, and death (Light, 2017).

Therefore, while closely related, the term thanatourism is often described in heritage tourism studies (Light, 2017). This more specific term might be more suited, opposed to dark tourism, as it is described as the travel to a particular place, fully or partially driven by the wish to engage with death in a physical or figurative manner (Gordon, 2018; Yeneroglu Kutbay & Aykac, 2016; Seaton 1996; Light, 2017). Seaton (1996) divides thanatourism into five categories. The first category is the desire to witness public enactments of decease, such as executions during the French revolution or gladiator fights in ancient Rome. The second category, relevant in the context of Second World War tourism, are the sites of mass death, e.g. Auschwitz-Birkenau and the beaches of Normandy (Seaton, 1999). The third category consists of memorials such as cenotaphs and graves, e.g. the Margraten and the Normandy American cemetery and memorial. Material evidence displayed in museums are a fourth category. The fifth and last category are re-enactments or simulations of death. Although re-enactments were originally of religious origin, such as the Passion, nowadays war re-enactments are found from all over time, such as the Dutch war of independence in Bourtagne and the American civil war (Seaton, 1999; VisitGroningen, 2020). Even though complex concepts as thanatourism were quick to be defined, the question of why tourists took part in thanatourism was still wide open (Light, 2017).

Early studies on dark tourism and thanatourism argued that dark tourists were interested in death (Seaton, 1996; Light, 2017). However, the second decade of dark tourism research, 2006-2016, found that other motives were stronger (Light, 2017). In empirical research done during this period three motivators were identified as strongest (Light, 2017). Unlike previously thought, an interest in death was not identified as a strong motivator. However, a desire for education, general curiosity,

and heritage (either self or national) were shown to be strong motivators in thanatourism (Light, 2017; Ashworth, 2004). The latter motivation is connected to the national spirit, often observed in Australian and New Zealand cases (Ozer et al., 2012; Slade, 2003; Packer et al., 2019). Key experiences and stories from the first world war defined the history of these *then* young nations (Slade, 2003; Packer et al., 2019). Academic scholars agree that nationalism is a motivator for Australians and New Zealanders to visit places like Gallipoli. Especially around ANZAC Day (April 25th), thousands of tourists visit these 'sacred' locations each year (Ozer et al., 2012; Slade, 2003; Packer et al., 2019). Slade (2003) found that in heritage motivation two 'phases' can be identified. Firstly, veterans of the war visit places to honour their fallen comrades. Secondly, descendants, albeit it together with veterans, visit the battlefields (Slade, 2003; Seates, 2008).

Seaton (1996) conceptualised the motivation of dark tourists as a wish to experience actual or symbolic death. However, it has to be noted that until the 2010's empirical studies on visitors' motivations were lacking (Light, 2017). Moreover, Isaac et al (2019) also identified this knowledge gap. One of the earlier researchers, Caroline Winter, connected dark tourists' motivations back to pilgrimage (2006; 2011). She argues that overseas commonwealth graves, accessible after a long journey, are similar to historic pilgrimages. Even more, it is argued that that a fusion of family and national history plays a significant role in motivations (Winter, 2011). This fusion, she argues applies to the 'then' young countries of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. This argument is supported by studies on motivations of the ANZAC countries in Gallipoli, Turkey (Ozer et al., 2012; Slade, 2003; Packer et al., 2019). Nonetheless, she also notes that not every visitor has a pilgrimage view, therefore, she hinted at the existence of other motivations within the field of dark tourism (Winter, 2011). After a decade of research, many other motivations were identified (Light, 2017; Dunckley, 2007; Isaac et al., 2019). Slade (2003) argues that the first dark tourists of World War II, the veterans, went to commemorate their fallen comrades. However, one could argue that an underlying motivation was to cope with traumatic experiences from said war (Hunt & Robbins, 2001). That being said, thanatourism is not only about veterans. Large scale studies by Dunckley (2007), Ryan (2007), and Isaac et al. (2019) found a large variety of visitors and motivations. Among these motivations were the discovery of heritage, education, remembrance (pilgrimage), and thrill seeking. Biran et al. (2011) created four overarching motivational factors: see it to believe it, learning & understanding (educational), famous death tourist attractions, and emotional heritage experience. While Australian and New Zealand thanatourists are mainly motivated by heritage, studies found that Dutch thanatourists differ in motivation. Studies on the motivational behaviour of Dutch residents to visit concentration camps, including Westerbork, Netherlands, found that the main motivators were education, curiosity, and understanding (Nawijn & Fricke, 2015; Isaac et al., 2019; Isaac and Çakmak, 2014). These findings confirm those of previous studies in international context, that education (*understanding*) and curiosity are strong motivators in thanatourism (Light, 2017; Ashworth, 2004). Considering this, it would mean that thanatourism and heritage tourism in general are not too dissimilar, in motivational terms, as both show education (*understanding*) as a strong motivator (Light, 2017).

To play into this educational motivator, thanatouristic locations, brand themselves to gain a competitive advantage over other destinations (Nolan, 2014). Kotler et al. (1996) argue that branding has three steps, one of which is reaching the target-audience. An example of this can be seen when visiting the website of the Anne Frank House (Annefrank.org) which offers three choices: plan a visit to the museum, read about Anne Frank's story, or learn about the educational methods it has developed for students and teachers worldwide (Anne Frank Stichting 2020a; 2020b; 2020c). More former sites of death and destruction have made a transition towards a site for educational purposes. Auschwitz-Birkenau and Westerbork are examples of former death and transit-camps that are now museums. Moreover, these sites often offer spots for remembrance (Auschwitz, 2020; Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020b). On the other hand, there are cemeteries. These

cemeteries are not created for educational purpose per se, and have a larger role in remembrance (ABMC, 2020). The adaptation to new roles is a response to a more developed tourist gaze in thanatourism. John Urry (1992) conceptualised the tourist gaze as a collection of expectations that tourists have when visiting a (heritage) tourism site. Moreover, he argued that the tourist gaze works both ways. Tourists have certain pre-set expectations, while locals and tour operators alike reinvent the places to fit in with this tourist gaze (Urry, 1992; 1996). This does provide the danger of turning places of death into attractions (Ozer et al., 2012; Beech, 2000; Foley & Lennon, 2000). To avoid becoming a tourist attraction solely, education and remembrance markers are developed to define the heritage sites. Moreover, they help to create an understanding of what has happened at the site (Auschwitz, 2020; Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020b; ABMC, 2020). As such, these developments connect back to the aforementioned visitors' motivations (Nawijn & Fricke, 2015; Isaac et al., 2019; Isaac and Çakmak, 2014).

As mentioned before, studies on generational trends in visitors' motivations seem lacking. As such one has to determine to which generation people alive belong. At the moment, the most used divisions in generation are: the Silent Generation (*before 1946*), Baby Boomers (1946-1964), Generation X. (1965-1979), Generation Y. (*most commonly referred to as Millennials; 1980-1996*), and Generation Z. (1997-present) (Stern, 2002; Robinson & Schänzel, 2019). generations are often distinguished by birth year, but more importantly are life-changing historical events (Robinson & Schänzel, 2019). Each key life event adds to the experience of a cohort. Moreover, these experiences influence the trends of overall cohorts (Robinson & Schänzel, 2019). Of interest is the relative similarity between the Silent Generation and Generation Z. (*to a lesser extent Millennials*). While Dutch members of Generation Z. have, in general, not experienced war first hand, no earlier generation has since birth been so exposed to war, terrorism, and tragedy on a daily basis as Generation Z. This is a result of technological advancements: television, internet, and social media (Robinson & Schänzel, 2019). While it is argued that the Second World War remains a sensitive topic (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020e), one can assume that Generation Z. has sufficient knowledge at a young age to experience and interpret heritage tourism.

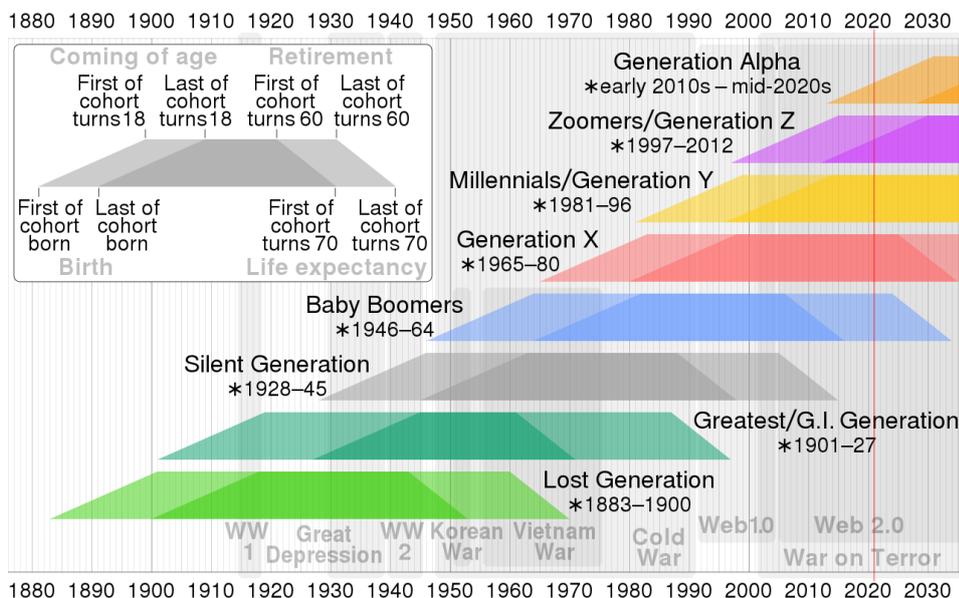


Figure 1: Timeline of generations in the Western world. (Cmglee, 2021)

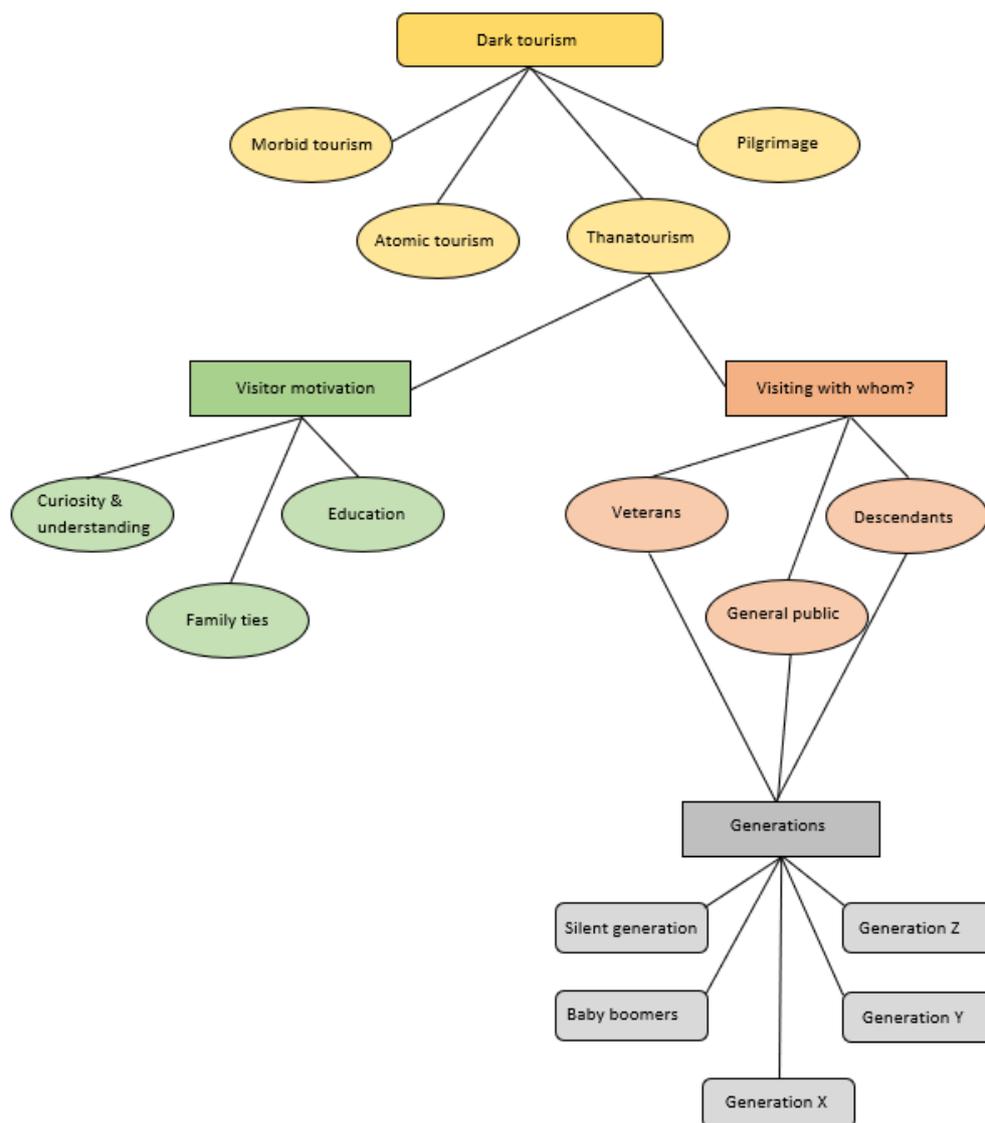


Figure 2: Conceptual model. (Author, 2021)

As can be seen in the conceptual model dark tourism can be divided into many sub-forms of dark tourism, amongst them thanatourism (Miles, 2014; Ozer et al, 2012; Light, 2017). Within thanatourism certain motivations have been identified that strongly influence people in visiting thanatouristic heritage sites. Researchers have identified three important motivations curiosity and understanding, education, and family ties (Nawijn & Fricke, 2015; Isaac et al., 2019; Isaac and Çakmak, 2014; Winter, 2011). Although little research has been done on who visits war heritage it did become clear that this process started with veterans and was followed by descendants as was seen in the Gallipoli study (Ozer et al., 2012; Slade, 2003). Furthermore, it is a logical assumption to include the general public as visitors as well. These groups can be divided into five generations, the Silent Generation, Baby boomers, Generation X, Generation Y (Millennials), and Generation Z (Robinson & Schänzel, 2019). Since the Greatest Generation has most likely died out, and with Generation Alpha being a maximum of eight years old, these generations are irrelevant to this study.

2.1 Hypothesis

Given that little to no research exist on the differences between generations on consuming (war) heritage, one could conclude that either no differences exist between generations or the differences are of insignificant importance to the academic world. That being said, it is expected that the Silent Generation, Baby Boomers and Generation X will have a more negative opinion on the statements on the way Generation Y and Generation Z view the remembrance day and liberation day, May 4 respectively 5 . Furthermore, it would be likely that visits with educational institutions will be more frequent in younger generation opposed to older generations, given the increased level of mobility and possible higher funding for out of the classroom teaching.

3. Methodology

A quantitative research approach is deemed best suited for this type of research. According to Punch (2014) a quantitative method is preferred and exquisitely suited for comparing groups. Given this research is on (possible) differences between generations, the generations act as the groups that are being compared. Furthermore, other research in the field of dark tourism has also used quantitative research strategies (Nawijn & Fricke, 2015; Isaac et al, 2019; Light, 2017). Another key aspect of quantitative study is representativeness, which is strived for in this study (Hay, 2016). The selected population for this study are Dutch nationals. Firstly, there are various advantages of using questionnaires for this quantitative approach. First of all, a questionnaire can be easily digitally distributed on social media platforms. Furthermore, they offer standardisation, which enables a faster and more comprehensible analysis and visualisation. Secondly, a case-study approach is used in this research. This allows to in-depth analyse locations connected to war heritage. Furthermore, with more than 4,000 sites (Nationaal Comité 4&5 Mei, 2021), not including museums, one has to select specific cases to study in order to secure comprehensibility.

3.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire (*See Appendix A*) contains 31 questions divided over 5 elements: oorlogsbeeld, oorlogsgeschiedenis, monumenten & musea, 4 & 5 mei, and demographic questions. As the target population are Dutch nationals, the questionnaire was written and distributed in Dutch only. The first element 'oorlogsbeeld' was included to gain an oversight of general knowledge and possible trends of Dutch nationals in relation to the Second World War. Secondly, the element 'oorlogsgeschiedenis' was included to gain an image of how Dutch nationals look at war history in general. Thirdly, as the main focus of the questionnaire the element 'monuments and musea' in which three musea/monuments were featured. Furthermore, the festivities of the 4th and 5th of May were featured as a separate element. Both the American cemetery in Margraten as well as Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork organise special events around these days. Therefore, one could argue that they are linked. Moreover, it is a tradition to deliver flowers at local war memorials. The last element contains demographic questions. Due to digital distribution the questionnaire was uploaded through GoogleForms, making it possible to share through QR-codes or direct links on the internet.

3.2 Data collection

The questionnaire was digitally distributed on three social media platforms: Facebook, WhatsApp & Instagram. It is worth noting that currently Tiktok attracts a high number of users, who are predominantly part of Generation Z. It would, therefore, be a suitable location to approach respondents from Generation Z. That being said, the nature of Tiktok, sharing videos, is not a suitable digital distribution method as links are harder to share. Furthermore, a pre-existing Tiktok network is required in order to reach possible respondents. The questionnaire was shared on Facebook by the researcher and family-members of the researchers. This made it possible to access several different networks, through which the questionnaire was shared. Furthermore, each age group within the family members would most likely attract a different generation as largest share of respondents. Moreover, the link could be shared on Facebook throughout the Netherlands. For Instagram usage the questionnaire was duplicated with a new link. Although not required for digital distribution, the use of separate questionnaire links is suitable to determine the success of Instagram distribution for further research. Furthermore, participants were asked to share the link within their community.

With digital distribution through social networks a number of aspects have to be highlighted. First of all, one has to keep current social media trends in mind. It is known that Generation Z is far less active on Facebook than the other generations, being drawn to 'newer' social media applications as Instagram, Snapchat, and Tiktok (the Manifest, 2019). Moreover, the share of gen Z. users on Youtube far exceeds that of other generations (the Manifest, 2019). Furthermore, the same could be said, to an extent, for Millennials and their relation with Facebook. In recent years, the share of Generation X and older generations has increased while active millennial usage has decreased in favour of 'newer' social media (the Manifest, 2019). Therefore, it is very likely that a majority of respondents will be Generation X or older. Another trend is the male to female ratio on social media. Stern et al. (2016) argue that 71% of social media users are female, while Financesonline (2019) adds that on Facebook 57% of the users are male (this figure differs per country). That being said, women have more Facebook friends and create more posts (Quicksprout, 2014) hinting at more active usage among the female audience. Thirdly, a network bias exists when doing non-probability sampling. As the questionnaire is shared within social networks consisting of friends and family. Thus, the survey will be shared within a specific network and most likely region of the country, leading to possible bias (Alesi & Martin, 2010; Ball, 2019). Moreover, a lack in elderly Facebook and Instagram users could result in under representativity (Ball, 2019). Lastly, online surveys are known for low response rates (Moore & Varghese, 2019), therefore, the questionnaire will be distributed twice and on multiple social media platforms.

In addition to social media, the questionnaire was shared by the researcher in WhatsApp groups. The questionnaire was shared in groups containing students, thus attracting millennial respondents. As previously mentioned, Facebook usage under Millennials is declining, and as such other ways had to be identified to attract possible respondents (The Manifest, 2019). Moreover, a pre-existing relationship with possible respondents might result in them being more willing to fill out the questionnaire. Furthermore, most students have had experience with research themselves and know the importance of data collection.

3.3 Case selection

The war in the Netherlands has resulted in many locations being connected to the war: memorials, museums, cemeteries, and battlefields. The selection of suitable cases was based on number of visitors, type of site, and location. A long list of suitable locations was created based on yearly visitors.

Possible site	Type of site	Visitors (Yearly)	Purpose of site	Location in NL	Selected
Grebbeberg Museum	Battlefield	unknown	Education	Grebbeberg, Utrecht	
Overloon Museum & Memorial	(close to a) battlefield	132,400	Education	Overloon, Noord-Brabant	
Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork	Transit camp	172,500	Education & remembrance	Westerbork, Drenthe	
Nationaal Militair Museum	Built Museum (no location connected to the war)	500,000	Education	Soesterberg, Utrecht	
Margraten: American Cemetery	Cemetery	250,000	Remembrance	Margraten, Limburg	
Anne Frank Huis	House	1,250,000	Education	Amsterdam, Noord Holland	
Kazematten Museum: Kornwerderzand	Battlefield/bunker	17,000	Education	Kornwerderzand, Friesland	

Table **αλφ**: Long list of possible research sites, with basic characteristics (NOS, 2019; Gelderlander, 2020; RtvDrenthe, 2016; Harlingercourant, 2018; Volkskrant, 2018; Stichting Adoptiegraven Margraten, 2020).

In order to shorten this long list of potential cases, inclusion and exclusion criteria were used. First of all, each site should have fulfilled a different role during the war (*type of site*). Moreover, it is preferred that the sites are distributed across the Netherlands, as such they better represent war heritage as a whole. The most important inclusion criterium was the number of yearly visitors. Based on these criteria, the following sites were considered: Anne Frank Huis, American war cemetery at Margraten, the Nationaal Militair Museum, and Herdenkingscentrum Westerbork. The exclusion criterion that was used was that the site needed to have a single focus on WWII. This excluded the Nationaal Militair Museum (*NMM*) as this is dedicated to all wars the Netherlands fought. Although Kamp Westerbork has had different purposes in the past, e.g. a refugee centre, its connection to WWII remains ever strong as a former transit camp. As such, the main focus of the Herinneringscentrum is on its role in WWII (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a). It must be noted that the yearly visitor numbers reflects all visitors, not just Dutch ones. Whereas more than a million visitors visit the Anne Frank Huis each year, the museum has made it known that attracting Dutch visitors is difficult for them (Nos, 2019). Furthermore, they believe that only 10% of the visitors are from the Netherlands (Nos, 2019).

3.3.1 Anne Frank Huis

In 1929 the Jewish-German Anne Frank was born in Germany (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020b). Living in Amsterdam during the start of the war, she and her family went into hiding in 1942, in the building behind the original building on the canal (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020b; Anne Frank Stichting, 2020d). Their residence is in Dutch named 'een achterhuis'. Two years later on August 4th, 1944 the Frank family and others were arrested and deported to concentration camps (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020b; Anne Frank Stichting, 2020d). Only Otto Frank, Anne's father returned from the concentration camps (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020d). It is believed that Anne Frank was killed in February 1945 (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020d). During her years in hiding, she kept a diary of her experiences. This diary forms her legacy and brought her fame. As a result, the house of Anne Frank became a museum attracting more than a million visitors each year from across the world (Quote, 2016).

The Anne Frank museum is located on the Westermarkt 20, the address next to the Anne Frank huis itself, located on the Prinsengracht 263 in Amsterdam (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020e). The museum is operated by the Stichting Anne Frank. The museum was opened in 1960, and per Otto Frank's request the 'achterhuis' remained empty. Moreover, Otto Frank provided help in creating the collection of the Frank family, which is on display in the museum. The most important piece of the museum is the diary of Anne Frank, which is on permanent display (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020a). To protect the collection, visitors are not allowed to take photographs within the museum (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020e).

The museum is also accessible virtually, making it possible to visit the museum from your own home anywhere in the world (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020e). The museum itself has a minimum age restriction of 10 years, due to the sensitive topic. Furthermore, parents are advised to evaluate whether their children, even above 10, are ready for this sensitive topic before visiting (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020e).

Although, Anne Frank's story speaks to everyone's imagination, one could argue that teenagers connect to Anne Frank and her story easier as they are contemporaries. To further support the study of knowledge of teenagers, the Stichting Anne Frank has provided a variety of education materials. These educational materials range from elementary up to grammar school and certain forms of higher education (Dutch education system: basisschool, vmbo, havo/vwo, mbo & pabo) (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020c). Furthermore, the charity provides training and webinars for teachers, and operates touring exhibitions that bring the story of Anne Frank and wider World War II history to students (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020c). Moreover, adapted educational tours at the museum itself are also available to schools (Anne Frank Stichting, 2020c). As such, one can conclude that the Anne Frank huis has an important educational focus.

3.3.2 Margraten: American Cemetery

In the south of Limburg, close to the German and Belgian borders, one can find the American cemetery in proximity of the town of Margraten. During the latter years of the Second World War, around 18,500 deceased soldiers were buried here (Stichting Adoptiegraven Margraten, 2020). When the site was opened for visitors in 1960, between 8,289 and 8,301 graves remained, all belonging to American soldiers (ABMC, 2020; ABMC, 2019; Stichting Adoptiegraven Margraten, 2020). The graves that were removed belonged mainly to Commonwealth and German soldiers who were relocated to sites belonging to their respective countries. The Margraten cemetery is the only American war cemetery in the Netherlands, and is the fourth largest overseas US cemetery (ABMC, 2019). Moreover, it is the second biggest war cemetery in the Netherlands, after the German cemetery at Ysselsteyn (Nationaal Comité 4&5 Mei, 2020).

The Margraten cemetery is maintained by the ABMC, American Battle Monuments Commission, and spans 65.5 acres (ABMC, 2020). Since its opening to the public in 1960 the number of visitors has increased to around 250,000 each year (Stichting Adoptiegraven Margraten, 2020).

Technically, the cemetery can be divided into two elements, the memorial and the graveyard itself. When one enters the acreage, one will stand in front of a tranquil pond with the memorial tower in the background. This is a view that is similar to that of the Washington monument & Lincoln memorial reflecting pool in Washington D.C. On both sides of the pond, murals are inscribed with 1,722 names of MIA's (ABMC, 2020). Moreover, the mural on the left tells the story of American/Allied operations in the area during the war. The second element is the graveyard, with fields filled with white crosses and stars of David (ABMC, 2019). According to the ABMC, all US states are represented including the district of Columbia. Moreover, 41 pairs of brothers are buried together on site (ABMC, 2019).

The cemetery is part of the wider Liberation Route which spans more sites across the Western Front (Liberation Route, 2020). Furthermore, the tourism board of (*south*) Limburg, 'Visit Zuid Limburg' promotes the cemetery as a must-see while in Limburg (Visit Zuid Limburg, 2020). Nonetheless, the uniqueness of the cemetery is the special connection it has to the Dutch inhabitants of Margraten and beyond. Individuals are able to adopt a grave, an idea first sparked in February, 1945 (Stichting Adoptiegraven Margraten, 2020). While this adoption does not mean that individuals have to maintain the graves, it is asked of them that they visit the grave regularly and leave flowers. The possibility of adoption remains to date and is in hands of the Stichting Adoptie Graven (Stichting Adoptiegraven Margraten, 2020).

3.3.3 Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork

Kamp Westerbork has a conflicted history as well, bar it being longer and more complex than the Anne Frank huis. In the 1930s Jews started fleeing Germany after anti-Semitic sentiments intensified. To cope with this influx of refugees the Netherlands government built Kamp Westerbork. However, after the Netherlands was invaded in 1940 the Nazi SS-organisation became owners of Kamp Westerbork (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a). Under German rule, the camp continued to work as a (Jewish) village (read: *internment camp*), with its own schools, shops and even a hospital (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a). However, Kamp Westerbork got another purpose as well. It became a transit camp for the deportation of Jews to the death camps of Sobibor and Auschwitz-Birkenau (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a). Between July 1942 and September 1944 107,000 people, mainly Jews, were deported. Only 5,000 survived (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a). Kamp Westerbork was liberated by Canadian troops on April 12th 1945 (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a). After the war, the camp served for three years as an internment camp for Nazi's and collaborators. Consecutively, it served for a year as a military training camp for the war in the Dutch East Indies (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a).

Between 1950 and 1971, the camp was repurposed to serve as a repatriation camp for mainly Indonesians from the Maluku Islands (*Molukken*). During this period most of the land and barracks were inhabited. As Indonesians relocated throughout the Netherlands, the remaining empty barracks were sold to farmers (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a). At the same time, interest to turn the place into a place of remembrance and museum had slowly risen. It was not until 1983 that the Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork was opened by Queen Beatrix (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a). As only few original buildings were left, it was decided in the 1990's to begin a symbolic reconstruction of the site. In 1992 it was re-opened

(Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020a). In 2016, the museum argued it had to expand again in order to suitably host the increasing number of yearly visitors (170,000 by then) (RtvDrenthe, 2016).

Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, like Stichting Anne Frank, has developed educative programmes with the aim of giving victims a voice. Furthermore, it is a partner of *the Landelijk Steunpunt WOII-Heden*, which provides guest speakers to schools (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020b). The museum hosts several temporary exhibitions as well as a permanent exhibition (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020c). Furthermore, the terrain of Kamp Westerbork contains reconstructed barracks, boxcars (which were used to transfer victims), and a monument dedicated to the victims of Kamp Westerbork during World War II (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork, 2020c).

3.4 Data analysis

After data collection the obtained data have to be reworked in order to be effectively used in statistical analysis in SPSS (statistical software). To effectively use the nominal responses of questions 1, 3, 4, and 5, they had to be standardised. For question one (*“What is the first word that comes to mind when you read ‘the Second World War?’”*) this is of particular interest as a wide variety of answers have been recorded (see Appendix B, table ηα). However, one can aggregate these answers into a small number of topics. Answers such as Joden, Vervolging, Auschwitz, and Jodenvervolging have all been aggregated under the topic Holocaust. This helps to create a clearer and more comprehensible image of words/topics that people associate with the Second World War. Moreover, standardisation is required for question four where variations of the same name were given Churchill and Winston Churchill, e.g.). Furthermore, question five asks respondents to name the country that provided most towards the allied victory. Although this question only asks for one country, various respondents have answered two or more countries. It was decided that only the first country named would be used, as the question was singular (*which country provided the most...*). This does result in loss of data, that being said, it is logical to assume that individuals would write down the first country that came to mind in order. Thus, the first country named, was the first country that came to mind.

The analysis was begun with a descriptive inspection of the sample and its representativeness as a sample of the Dutch population. Secondly, for questions 1, 3, 4, and 5 frequency tables were created in order to have an image of what the respondents know of the Second World War. Furthermore, a frequency table in which respondents were asked whether they are familiar with the sites from the longlist will be obtained in SPSS. This frequency table also serves as acknowledgement that the current locations (*Anne Frank Huis, Margraten American Cemetery, and Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork*), ergo the most familiar locations, have been selected correctly as the cases.

The responses were divided into five generational groups, the Silent Generation, Baby boomers, Generation X, Generation Y, and Generation Z. Groups that are equal or fewer than thirty cases were excluded from the crosstabulations and statistical tests. Using crosstabulations, Pearson chi-square tests were used to uncover possible differences in the distribution between generations. Significant outcomes indicate that generations behave differently in their consumption of war heritage in relation to the frequency of visits, reason(s) to visit and the companionship during their visit. Using the crosstabs the exact difference in behaviour was analysed.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The three most important ethical aspects in research are informed consent, anonymity, and protection/confidentiality (Punch, 2014). In doing research, the participant (qualitative) or respondent (quantitative) has the right to be informed on the topic, handling of data, and contact information of the researcher. The latter in case they wish to be removed from the study. Moreover, informed consent gives respondents the possibility to make a well-considered decision on whether to participate in the research (Hay, 2016; Punch, 2014). Furthermore, an online questionnaire also gives respondents the possibility to read through the questions before answering. Secondly, a high level of anonymity has to be ensured. While personal identification markers are asked, e.g. age, gender, nationality, and postal code. Although, it is hard to distinguish specific individuals from the obtained data, in theory it could be possible. Therefore, the results will be anonymised. Moreover, the data to be used in the results section will be generalised to a generational cohort level. As such, one could argue that sufficient anonymity is ensured in the final results (Punch, 2014).

It is important to underline the layer of protection used in relation to the obtained data by the research. While Google Forms provides an easy-to-use platform for distributing and filling out questionnaires, it is vulnerable. As with each online data collection method it is vulnerable to hacking. As such a variety of actions have been taken by the research to limit this possibility. First of all, the access for the obtained data in Google Forms is behind a password protected Google account. Secondly, as only limited personal information is asked in the questionnaire, as such the chance of tracing information back to specific individuals is extremely limited. Moreover, key identity markers such as E-mail addresses and names are not asked as part of the study. These actions taken by the researcher limit the potential severity of a possible leak through external factors on Google Forms. After data collection, the obtained data was uploaded to an excel file, stored on a USB-drive. This drive, which is the offline copy of the data stored in Google Forms is secured in a small vault at the researchers home. This copy is in turn used for the data analysis and statistical tests in SPSS. Given the fact that SPSS is available outside the University, through the university desktop, the researcher can work from home. Nonetheless, during brief periods of absence the researcher will lock the opened data behind a password on the computer.

4. Results

Between November 9th and November 21st, 2020, 206 responses were recorded with Google Forms. These responses included six cases of non-Dutch nationals, two non-responses on nationality and three exact duplicate entries, except for the time stamps on the forms that were just a few minutes apart. The non-Dutch nationals were excluded as Dutch nationals are the subject of this study. The three non-responses were also excluded as one could not conclude they were Dutch nationals. After cleaning-up the data 195 valid cases were recorded which were entered into SPSS. The youngest respondent was 13 years old, while the oldest respondent was 85 years old. The mean age in the sample was 46 years. Of the participants 59% was female, 41% male. One participant chose not to disclose their gender, while another ticked the 'other' box. The different generations were represented as follows: the Silent Generation (9); Baby Boomers (54); Generation X (56); Generation Y/Millennials (70); and Generation Z (5).

N=195	Min	Max	Mean	
Age*	13	85	46	
Gender	Male	Female	Other	
	80	114	1	
Silent Generation	Baby Boomers	Generation X	Generation Y	Generation Z
9	54	56	70	5

Table **βηα**: Descriptive Statistics. (Author, 2021)

*One respondent chose not to disclose their age and cannot be placed in a generation as such.

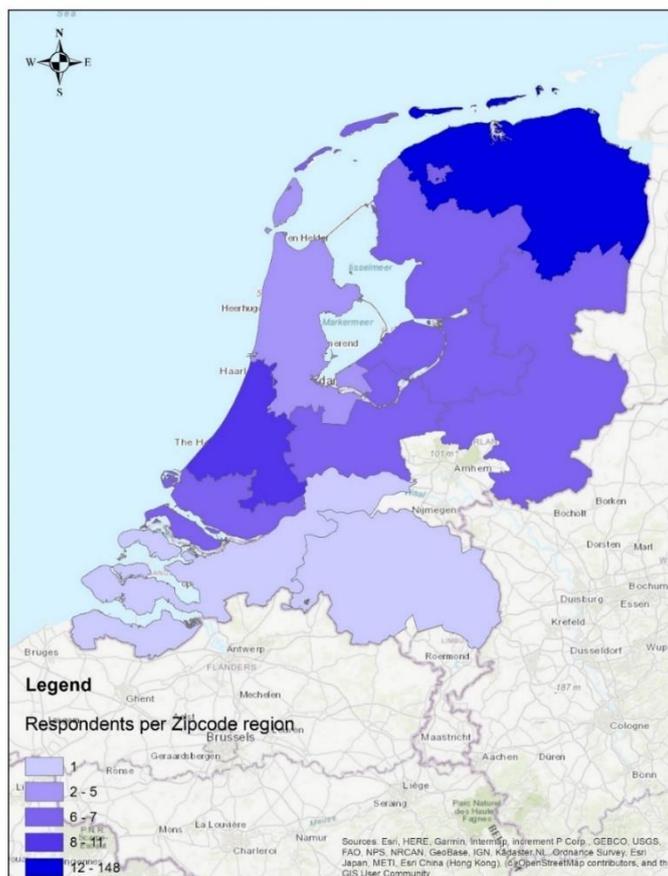


Figure 3: Respondents per zip code region of the Netherlands (Author, 2021).

4.1 Image of the war

In order to gain insight into people's interest and knowledge of the Second World War a number of questions were asked on the topic. Firstly, respondents were asked to give the first word that came to mind when thinking of 'Tweede Wereldoorlog (Second World War)'. A variety of answers were given which were computed back into categories (e.g Holocaust, Emotions, and Family ties; see *Appendix B for all categories*). The majority of answers fitted a category. The *Holocaust* category was the largest, with 68 responses, followed by *Germany* (23), *Emotions* (21), *Persons* (19), and the *Netherlands and occupation* (17), and less represented categories. As such one could argue that the Holocaust is the most thought of category imagined through words as Jodenvervolging, deportatie, and gaskamers. A majority of respondents answered that the war started in 1939 (110) or 1940 (68). 1939 is the generally accepted year as the outbreak/start of World War II with the invasion of Poland. 1940 is the year the Netherlands were invaded and is often used in Dutch remembrance activities, shorted to '40-'45. When it comes to which countries the Netherlands fought against, almost all respondents answered Germany. Often in a combination with Japan and/or Italy. A number of respondents answered the Netherlands/NSB, several allied countries or 'the Netherlands didn't fight/capitulation/fought only four days'. Fourthly, unsurprisingly Adolf Hitler (156) was the most named person of World War II, with only Anne Frank (16) and Winston Churchill (10) receiving more than 2 responses (see *appendix C, table κρητη*).

In reply to the question: 'According to you which country did the most for the allied victory?' 193 responses were recorded, with some respondents writing down multiple countries (see *appendix C, table ιθακες*). As the question was singular, only the first country mentioned was taken into consideration. Four countries were named the most, *United States of America* (65), *Canada* (52), *United Kingdom* (39), and *the Soviet Union* (24). The high number of respondents answering Canada might be surprising, however they can be explained by the fact that parts of the Northern and Eastern Netherlands were liberated by Canadian forces (Barnouw, 2005; von Hebel, 2015).

To summarise, Dutch nationals have a generally good knowledge of the Second World War. Most respondents are similar in their line of thinking regarding question 2, 3, and 4. Of interest is the ratio of 1939 and 1940 explained by national heritage committees such as '40-'45 and the recurrence of Canada as mentioned country that provided most towards the allied victory. On the one hand, it is interesting to note that Anne Frank was not mentioned often while the Anne Frank huis is situated in the Netherlands, perhaps hinting at the possibility that the name Adolf Hitler is more connected to the Second World War in general compared to Anne Frank's name connecting more to the Holocaust. Therefore, it is interesting to look whether respondents have visited the Anne Frank Huis in Amsterdam. On the other hand, Anne Frank was named more often than British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and American General Dwight Eisenhower. One could also describe this as surprising due to the prominent roles they played during the war.

4.2 Statements

Respondents were asked to express their opinion on five statements (see *appendix A & C*) ranging from 'completely disagree', 'disagree', 'do not disagree, but do not agree either', 'agree', and 'completely agree'. Firstly, respondents were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: 'War monuments are important for the continuation of Dutch military history'. A majority agrees with this statement. Interestingly, both Baby Boomers and Generation X are more likely to favour completely agree over agree in comparison with Millennials. Around a third of the

respondents disagreed with the 2nd statement: *'Youth(s) do not show enough interest in World War II'*. A majority of respondents kept a neutral view on the matter, while a fifth agreed with the statement. Looking at the generations, Generations X and Y agreed slightly more with the statement. Only six respondents completely agreed, with half of them belonging to the Silent Generation. Thirdly, respondents were asked on how they viewed the distance between their home and a war monument. One tenth of the respondents completely disagreed with the statement that war heritage was hard to find in their vicinity. Half of the respondents disagreed, while a fifth remained neutral in their opinion. One in seven respondents agreed with the statement. Therefore, one can argue that people enjoy easy access to war heritage sites in their vicinity.



Figure 4: Location of war memorials in the Netherlands (Sjoerd de Vos, 2014).

Almost half of the respondents disagree with the statement that the Second World War received too little attention in schools. Just over a fifth agrees that the Second World War is receiving too little attention in school curriculum. Between generations one can find little difference, Baby Boomers and Generation X'ers seem to agree slightly more with the statement as opposed to Millennials, but this is not a statistically significant difference ($p=0.24$). Respondents were also asked to rate the following statement: *'I visit a monument at least once per year.'* A statistical test ran for Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Generation Y is insignificant with a p-value of 0.474. As such one has to conclude that there is no difference between the different generations when it comes to visiting a monument at least once a year.

4.3 Visiting Heritage

Respondents were asked whether they were familiar with the sites on the longlist (*see table γαμμα*) of considered heritage sites. Most participants were familiar with the three selected sites: the Anne Frank Huis, Margraten: American Cemetery, and Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork. It has to be noted that these figures do not indicate that the participant has visited these sites.



Figure 5: Location of longlisted museums in the Netherlands (Author, 2021).

Anne Frank Huis	Museum Overloon	Margraten American Cemetery	Kamp Westerbork	Museum Grebbeberg	Kazematten Museum Kornwerderzand	Nationaal Militair Museum
170	48	107	184	84	55	60

Table γαμμα: Familiarity with heritage sites (Author, 2021).

Furthermore, respondents were requested to go into more details on three museum/sites: the Anne Frank Huis, Margraten American Cemetery, and Kamp Westerbork. Firstly, participants were asked how often they had visited each site (*see appendix C, tables θητα, ιωτα, and kappa*). Although, most people are familiar with the Anne Frank Huis, more than half of the respondents had never visited it. This is not surprising as the museum’s director had previously said they encounter difficulties attracting more domestic tourists, who currently account for a mere tenth of the 1.3 million yearly visitors (NOS, 2019). The Margraten American Cemetery in Limburg also experiences difficulties in attracting tourists from the Northern Netherlands. Two thirds of the respondents from the Northern Netherlands had not visited the cemetery, and neither had around half of the respondents from the West of the Netherlands. Resulting in the cemetery having an even higher number of non-visitors, around two thirds. In contrast, just over a quarter of respondents have not visited Kamp Westerbork, with a third having visited Westerbork once, another third has recorded two or three visits. Interestingly, one in twenty respondents has even visited Westerbork four times or more. For the Anne Frank Huis and Kamp Westerbork there are no significant relations between the zipcode of respondents and whether respondents have visited the site ($p = 0.116$ for the Anne Frank Huis & $p = 0.910$ for Kamp Westerbork). For the Margraten, however, there is a relation ($p = 0.009$), as such one can argue that visits to the Margraten are dependent on their region of residence.

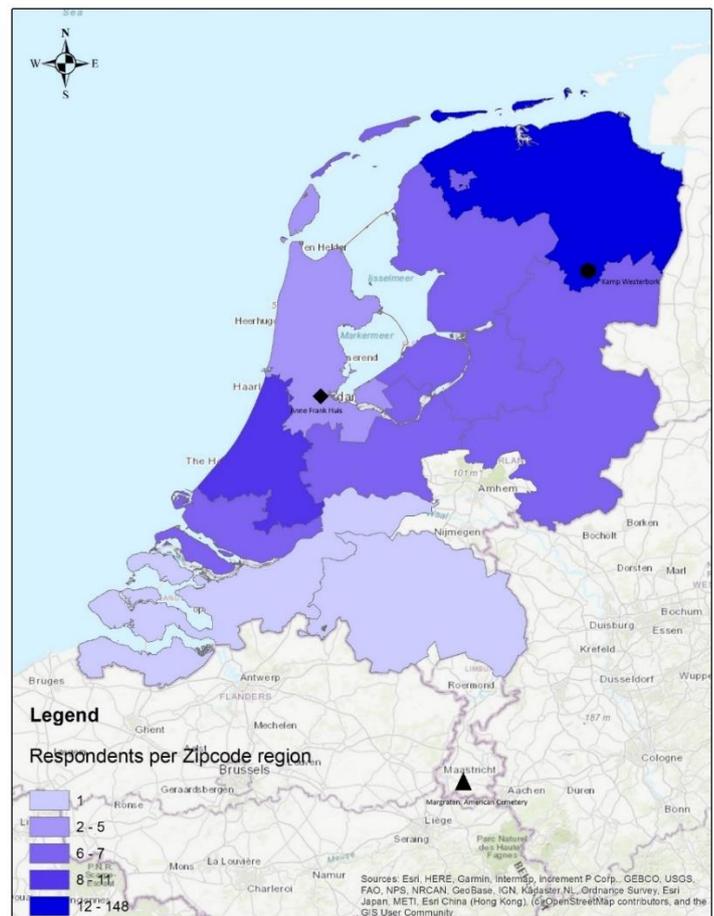


Figure 6: Respondents per zipcode region in relation to the Anne Frank Huis, Kamp Westerbork, and Margraten American Cemetery (Author, 2021).

At first glance, dividing the population into the assigned generational groups does not seem to result in any interesting correlation between visitation of museums and other generations. The first test was run for the statement: I visit a war monument or museum at least once a year (domestic and/or foreign), based on the generations. Due to the under representativeness of the Silent Generation and Generation Z respondents, the decision was made not to include these generations in the chi-

square tests. To uncover whether there are differences between generations, a Pearson chi-square test was run for each site as can be seen in table $\delta\epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha$. Both the test for the Margraten as well as Westerbork came back insignificant thus meaning that there are no differences between generations. However, the test for the Anne Frank Huis was significant, with a p-value of 0.045. Therefore, one can argue that there is a difference between generations in visitations to the Anne Frank Huis. This difference in distribution can be found in the responses for one-time visits and no visits to the museum. When it comes to not having visited the Anne Frank Huis, the share of Baby Boomers and Millennials is around 5% higher than that of Generation X (see Appendix C; figure 9). On the other hand, Generation X'ers have visited the Anne Frank huis more when it comes to one-time visits. Four out of ten Generation X'ers have visited the Anne Frank Huis once, while Baby Boomers come in at a third, and Millennials slightly lower at three out of ten.

Rows	Columns	P-value	Significant?
I visit a war monument or museum at least once a year (domestic and/or foreign).	Generations**	0.474	
Visit to the Anne Frank Huis	Generations**	0.045	
Visit to Margraten: American Cemetery	Generations**	0.098	
Visit to Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork	Generations**	0.236	

Table $\delta\epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha$: Chi-square tests

**The generations do not include the Silent Generation and Generation Z due to under representativeness.

4.4 Reason(s) to visit

As discussed in the literature review, there is a variety of reasons for people to visit heritage sites (Light, 2017; Biran et al., 2011). A majority of respondents visit a site because they were interested in (military) history. This applied to all three sites that were surveyed: Anne Frank Huis: 77 respondents; Margraten: 55; Westerbork: 93). From these figures it seems that individuals are curious and interested in learning more of what happened during the Second World War. This supports and is supported by similar findings by Nawijn & Fricke (2015), Isaac et al. (2019), and Biran et al. (2011). Moreover, the education motivation does not only cover intrinsic interest but also planned visits to heritage sites organised through school/study activities. Not including the options 'do not know' and 'not available', one in seven respondents had visited the Anne Frank huis with their educational institution, one in eight of the Margraten respondents, and a quarter of the Kamp Westerbork respondents had visited the site with their school or study. Moreover, a few people noted multiple reasons, due to either multiple visits to a site or a mandatory school trip where individuals also had another intrinsic motivation to go. In total only 5 respondents argued that they had visited war heritage due to a family member with a war-past.

When looking at the different generations, 'school or study excursions', which is a sub-motivation of the education motivation is striking. Apparently, in the past school and study trips did not go to these war heritage sites. While none of the Silent Generation ticked this box in the survey, and only a small number of Baby Boomers, the number increased significantly with Generations X and Y (figure 7). The increasing number of school/study excursions to relatively far away heritage sites could be explained by the increasing mobility of Dutch school children, also as part of their curriculum.

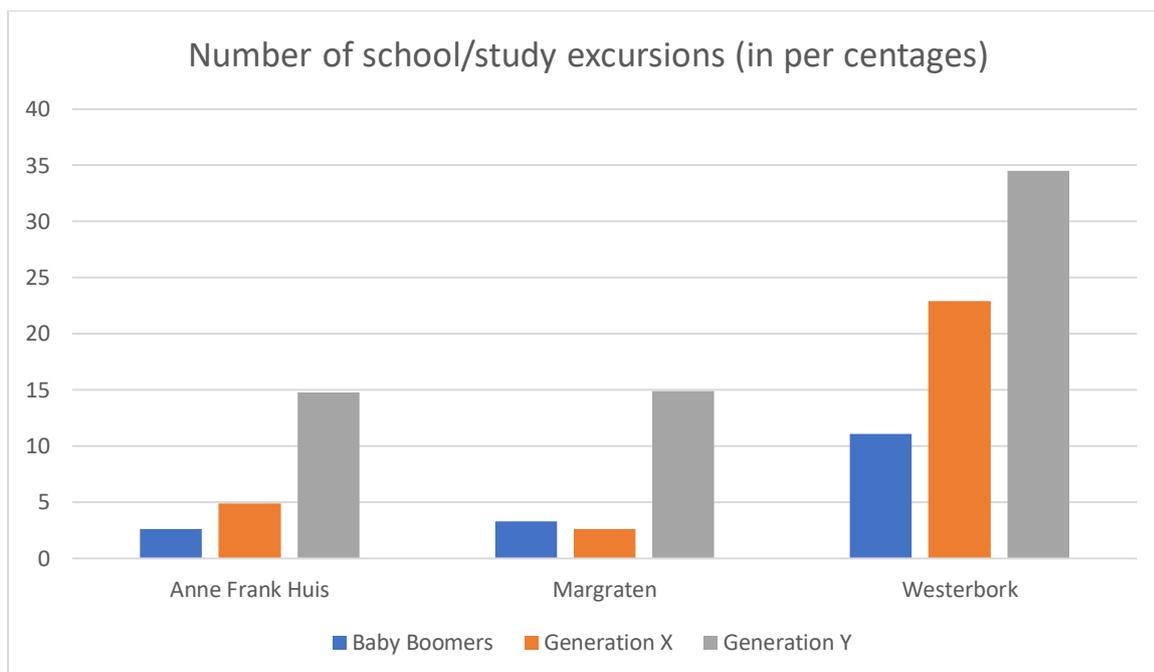


Figure 7: the number of school/study excursions to heritage sites (Author; 2021)

Half of the Kamp Westerbork respondents that had a school/study motivation belong to Generation Y, while Generation X accounted to roughly a third.

Table εψιλον shows that the χ^2 -test for differences between generations was only significant for the reasons to visit the Anne Frank Huis. Unlike Baby Boomers and Generation X, Millennials have more often visited the Anne Frank Huis as part of an educational trip (see appendix C, table λαμβδα). Also, Millennials have visited the Anne Frank Huis less.

Rows	Columns	Null hypothesis	p-value	Significant?
Reason to visit (Anne Frank Huis)	Generations**	In the population, there is no difference in distribution between the groups.	0.045	Significant?
Reason to visit (Margraten: American Cemetery)	Generations**	In the population, there is no difference in distribution between the groups.	0.098	Significant?
Reason to visit (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork)	Generations**	In the population, there is no difference in distribution between the groups.	0.236	Significant?

Table εψιλον: Chi-square tests; only valid responses included.

To summarise, few differences were found between the generations. Worth noting is the recurrence of the educational sub-reason school/study excursion in Generation X and Y opposed to the Silent Generation and Baby Boomers. Due to the low response from Generation Z, few statements can be made, especially whether the above trend continues in Generation Z. Further research would have to be done on this group specifically to understand more about their behaviour and motivations.

4.5 Visiting with whom?

Generally research on with whom (dark) tourists are visiting war heritage sites is lacking. Slade (2003) argued that the first dark tourists were veterans visiting former battlefields they fought on. While fewer and fewer veterans are alive, heritage tourism continues to grow. Auschwitz recorded 2.1 million visitors in 2018 from around the globe (DW, 2019). This raises the question with whom people visit war heritage sites. From the recorded responses it becomes clear that there are five recurring answers to that question. These are friends, partner(s), parents/caretakers, (my) children, and school/study (see appendix C). In order to uncover whether there was any difference between generations on with whom they visited war heritage, χ^2 -tests were run again. This time, all three tests gave significant results, which means that differences between generations exists for all three cases. Generation X has more often visited heritage sites with their children, while Generation Y has not. They, in turn, were taken by their parents to the sites (tables ξ , \omicron μικρον, and π ; appendix C). Moreover, Generation Y has far more often visited war heritage as part of the educational curriculum.

Rows	Columns	Null hypothesis	p-value	Significant?
Visited with whom (Anne Frank Huis)	Generations**	In the population, there is no difference in distribution between the groups.	0.000	
Visited with whom (Margraten: American Cemetery)	Generations**	In the population, there is no difference in distribution between the groups.	0.001	
Visited with whom (Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork)	Generations**	In the population, there is no difference in distribution between the groups.	0.000	

Table ζ ηα: Chi-square tests

4.6 4 & 5 Mei

The days of May 4th and 5th (4 & 5 Mei) are not physical representations of (war) heritage. They are however, closely related to war heritage as a day of mourning (4 Mei) and a day of celebration (5 Mei: Bevrijdingsdag). Therefore, respondents were given six statements that they had to rate from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Firstly, participants were asked to rate the following statement: 'May 4th and 5th are characteristics of Dutch culture'. A majority of respondents agreed that May 4th and 5th are characteristic for Dutch culture. Moreover, within this majority, half of the respondents completely agree.

An important part of the day of remembrance (May 4th) are the two minutes of silence held for victims of the Second World War to the present. In general, people believe it is important to observe two minutes of silence on May 4th. Only one in twenty disagrees with the statement. Furthermore, respondents were asked whether they would observe the two minutes of silence on May 4th if they would be abroad. About 80% (strongly) agreed. In order to see how immaterial heritage, such as 4 & 5 mei, relate to material heritage, such as a monument, we included in the survey the statement: 'on May 4th, I am at a war/resistance monument in the evening'. Around a quarter of respondents agree with this statement, while three out of ten have a neutral opinion. Almost half of the respondents indicated that they disagree. Worth noting is the difference between Baby Boomers and Generation X opposed to Generation Y. One can observe that for both the Baby Boomer Generation and

Generation X a quarter of the respondents agree, while this is only one in twenty Millennials. Millennials are less likely to observe the two minutes of silence at a monument.

On May 5th, liberation day, festivals are organised to celebrate liberation from the Nazi occupation (traditionally) and liberty in general (nowadays). Participants were asked to rate two statements relating to these festivals, known as 'bevrijdingsfeesten'. More than three quarter of the respondents disagreed with the following statement: 'Liberation festivals should not be part of 4 & 5 Mei' (see appendix C, table ωμεγα & αθηνη). Around one in twenty respondents agreed with the statement. This means that a vast majority of people believe that liberation festivals should be part of 4 & 5 mei. Notably, a majority of those who believe the festivals should not be part of May 5th were participants belonging to the Baby Boomer Generation.

A second statement was given on liberation festivals that read: 'Youths care more about liberation festivals than remembrance'. A third of respondents remained neutral, while half of the respondents agreed with the statement. Of interest here is how youth (the majority of Generation Y) rate their own generation. Six out of ten Millennials agree with the given statement, while only one in seven disagrees. On the other hand, less than half of the Baby Boomers and Generation X'ers agree with the statement. One could, therefore, argue that while a majority believes liberation festivals should be part of 4 & 5 mei, especially Millennials believe that the youth do care more about liberation festivals compared to remembrance. Given the under representation of Generation Z, and the young age of respondents within this generation, it is important to note that one cannot conclude anything about this generation.

5. Conclusions

This thesis revolves around the question of what the differences between generations are in consuming war heritage in the Netherlands. Studies on the reason why people visit war heritage do hint at the possibility of differences between generations (Slade, 2003; Biran et al., 2011).

The most differences in generational behaviour were found in relation to with whom people visit war heritage. Interesting are the opposites found between Generation X and Millennials, Generation X was found to have more often visited war heritage with their children, while Millennials argued that they had more often visited war heritage with their parents. One can argue that this would be due to the fact that most Millennials do not have children yet, as the first Millennials were born in 1980, that would make them around 41 years old to date. A second trend found in Millennials was that more Millennials have visited war heritage as part of an educational curriculum. As such, one should argue that Millennials and Generation X'ers behave differently to the question with whom they consume war heritage.

Generally speaking, around half of the Dutch nationals visit a war heritage site at least once a year, both domestically and foreign. However, there are a couple of factors influencing these visits and which site is visited. Furthermore, the image of a site is important. The Anne Frank Huis, perhaps the most well-known Dutch war heritage in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, is relatively under visited by Dutch nationals. This supports the concerns made by the museum director in 2019 (Nos, 2019). Dutch nationals from the Northern Netherlands argued that the queues are too long, the Anne Frank Huis is too far away, and that it is too crowded. Interestingly, the Anne Frank Huis also showed that individuals from Generation X behave differently opposed to Baby Boomers and Millennials. Generation X'ers have more often visited the Anne Frank Huis compared to the other generations.

When it comes to the reason to visit a specific site, the literature is quite clear. One can distinguish famous death attractions or must see/visit, family ties/emotional heritage experience, education, and curiosity (Nawijn & Fricke, 2015; Isaac et al., 2019; Biran et al., 2011; Slade, 2003). The latter two is combined by Biran et al. (2011) as learning and understanding in their studies, however, in this paper both factors were considered their own. Firstly, only five respondents had visited a location due to family ties. Therefore, one can argue that family-history does not play a big role in Dutch motivations. The opposite was observed in Australian and New-Zealand studies (Winter, 2011; Ozer et al., 2012; Slade, 2003; Packer et al., 2019). Secondly, the majority of Dutch nationals visit war heritage due to an interest in (war) history (curiosity), which is also argued by Isaac et al. (2019) to be an important factor in their study on Dutch motivations to visit war heritage. Interestingly, the location of the individual plays a role Nawijn and Fricke's (2015) educational motivator, as it was found that educational trips to Westerbork, the closest heritage site questioned for the majority of the respondents, was visited far more compared to the Anne Frank Huis and Margraten: American Cemetery. Once again, generations were found to behave differently when it comes to the Anne Frank Huis. This study found that Millennials have more often visited the Anne Frank Huis for an education trip compared to both Baby Boomers and Generation X'ers.

To conclude, this study found that there are differences between generations on how they consume war heritage in the Netherlands. The most striking differences were found between Generation X and Generation Y, also known as Millennials. The differences were based on the reasoning behind visiting a site, but more importantly the question with whom people visit these sites. Throughout generations one can see that educational trips take up a larger share of reasons to visit a certain site. Furthermore, Generation X, as parents, take Generation Y, the children, to heritage sites. Generation Y, on the other hand, does not take children to heritage sites yet. Due to them either not having children yet, or having infants too young to experience war heritage. Due to under representation of both the Silent Generation and Generation Z further research on these two generations would be interesting in order to determine whether there are certain trends. For example, a continuation of a stronger educational motivation as seen in Millennials or similar findings as in Millennials in relation to who took Generation Z to war heritage sites.

5.1 Discussion

Meaning

As discussed in the theoretical framework, research on differences between generations are lacking. Though this study adds to the knowledge gap that there are differences between generations, one can argue that these differences are minimal. Especially, when looking at thanatourism on a bigger scale. That being said, looking at the studies conducted by Biran, Isaac, Nawijn and others one could argue that research into different generations would not be interesting. However, understanding how younger generation consume war heritage could provide an insight into the future of war heritage consumption.

Moreover, without looking at differences in generation, the results are mainly in line with Nawijn and Fricke (2015), Biran et al. (2011), and Isaac et al. (2019). They, too, found that the strongest motivator for visiting war heritage is interest into (war) history, by Biran dubbed curiosity. Education was also named a strong motivator by previously mentioned researchers, likewise, it was found in this study to be the second strongest motivator for visitors. Unlike Slade (2003) and Seates (2008) and studies by Ozer et al. (2012) and Packer et al. (2019) on the Gallipoli campaign, this study did not find that family ties were important factors for Dutch nationals.

Furthermore, the results are, mostly, in line with the hypothesis. The hypothesis was that little research exist on differences between generations, thus one could conclude that these differences either are non-existent or are of insignificant importance to the academic world. The results did show that generations differ from one another one certain traits, such as with whom they visit war heritage. However, one could argue that the few differences that were found are of little importance to wider research on thanatourism. However, unlike the expectation that the Silent Generation, Baby Boomers and Generation X would have a more negative opinion on how Generation Y and Generation Z would view May 4th and 5th, it was shown that Generation Y has a more ‘negative’ opinion on their own behaviour. They argued that they believe that Generation Y and Generation Z care more about the liberation festivals during May 5th, than remembrance on May 4th. Lastly, given the increased mobility and possibility of more funding for extra-curricular activities, one could assume that education visits would increase over time. Given the results, one could only say this is half true. There was an increase in education trips in Generation Y, however, since Generation Z was under represented one cannot say with certainty if this develops into a trend.

Over representation

This study focused on the Dutch population of the Netherlands, that being said, no respondents had their place of residence in large parts of Limburg and the urban agglomeration of Nijmegen-Arnhem, while the Northern Netherlands were over represented with 148 respondents. It is logical to assume that if a substantial number of people from Limburg were added as respondents that visitations to the American Cemetery in Margraten, Limburg, would also increase. Furthermore, the conclusions would be stronger if representation was equal for all areas, per centage wise. The under representation of the Limburg area is especially a shame since the American Cemetery in Margraten is visited more than the transit camp found in Westerbork.

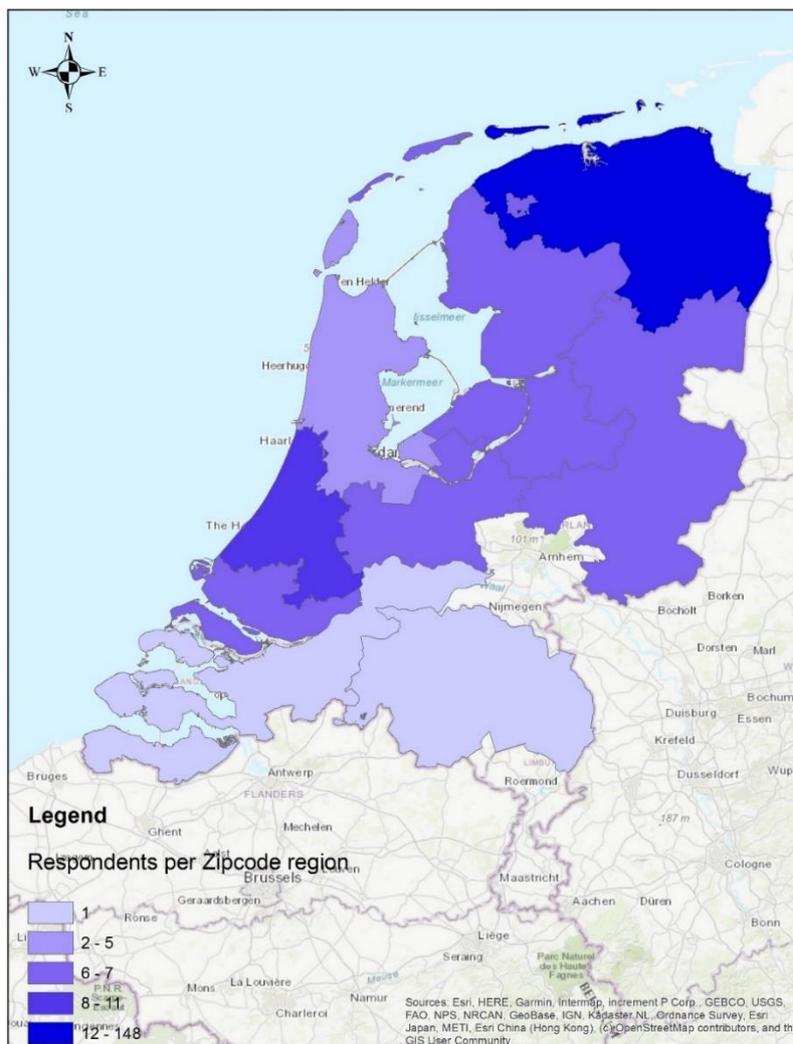


Figure 8: Respondents per zip code region of the Netherlands (Author, 2021).

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11). Kunt u aangeven of u bekend bent met deze oorlogsmonumenten en musea? (Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- Grebbeberg Museum
- Overloon Museum & Memorial
- Kamp Westerbork
- Nationaal Militair Museum
- Margraten: American Cemetery
- Anne Frankhuis
- Kazematten Museum: Kornwerderzand

Vervolgens wil ik graag drie musea en monumenten uitlichten.

Anne Frank Huis

12). Hoe vaak heeft u dit museum bezocht in de afgelopen tien jaar?

- Nooit
- 1 keer
- 2 tot 3 keer
- 4 of meer keer

13). Wat was de reden voor uw bezoek?

- Interesse in (oorlogs)geschiedenis
- Familieleden met een oorlogsgeschiedenis
- School/studie-excursie
- Weet niet
- Anders, namelijk...

14). Met wie heeft u dit museum bezocht?

- Alleen
- Met vrienden
- Met partner
- Met (mijn) ouders/verzorgers
- Met (mijn) kinderen

Met school/studie

Anders, namelijk...

Margraten American Cemetery

15). Hoe vaak heeft u dit museum bezocht in de afgelopen tien jaar?

Nooit

1 keer

2 tot 3 keer

4 of meer keer

16). Wat was de reden voor uw bezoek?

Interesse in (oorlogs)geschiedenis

Familieleden met een oorlogsgeschiedenis

School/studie-excursie

Weet niet

Anders, namelijk...

17). Met wie heeft u dit museum bezocht?

Alleen

Met vrienden

Met partner

Met (mijn) ouders/verzorgers

Met (mijn) kinderen

Met school/studie

Anders, namelijk...

Kamp Westerbork

18). Hoe vaak heeft u dit museum bezocht in de afgelopen tien jaar?

Nooit

1 keer

2 tot 3 keer

4 of meer keer

19). Wat was de reden voor uw bezoek?

Interesse in (oorlogs)geschiedenis

Familieleden met een oorlogsgeschiedenis

School/studie-excursie

Weet niet

Anders, namelijk...

20). Met wie heeft u dit museum bezocht?

Alleen

Met vrienden

Met partner

Met (mijn) ouders/verzorgers

Met (mijn) kinderen

Met school/studie

Anders, namelijk...

21). Wat is u het meest bijgebleven van uw bezoeken aan oorlogsmonumenten of musea?

4 & 5 Mei: De volgende stellingen gaan over 4 & 5 Mei. Kunt u aangeven in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende stellingen?

22). 4 & 5 Mei zijn kenmerkend voor de Nederlandse cultuur.

Helemaal mee oneens

helemaal mee eens

1

2

3

4

5

23). Ik ben ook in het buitenland stil tijdens 4 Mei om 20.00 uur.

Helemaal mee oneens

helemaal mee eens

30). Wat zijn de 4-cijfers van uw postcode (kenletters hoeven niet)?

31). Wat is uw nationaliteit?

Nederlands

Westers

Niet Westers

Tot slot wil ik u enorm bedanken voor het invullen van deze enquête voor mijn scriptie. Mocht u opmerkingen en/of vragen hebben, kunt u contact opnemen via: d.puister@student.rug.nl

7.2 Appendix B: Category list

Category	concepts
Holocaust	Joden; Jodenvervolging; Joden vervolging; Jodenvervolgingen; De Jodenvervolging; Jodenhaat; Holocaust; Genocide; Gaskamers; Concentratiekamp; Concentratiekampen; Auschwitz; Vervolging; Rassenhaat; Vermoorden van de Joden; Mensen in concentratiekampen; Jodenmoord; Der Untermensch; Deportatie; Jodenmoord; Rassendiscriminatie
Nederland en de bezetting	NSB; Bezetting; '40-'45; Honger; Hongerwinter; Verzet; Het verzet; Onderdrukking; Bombardement op Rotterdam; Groningen; Nooit weer
Persons	Hitler; Adolf Hitler; Anne Frank
Emotions	Treurnis; Leed; Verdriet; Angst; Ellende; Verschrikkelijk; Verdriet; Vreselijk; Erg; Gruwelijk; Miserie; Verschrikkelijke jaren; Vreselijke tijd; Wat een vreselijke jaren
Germany	Nazi; Nazi's; Nazism; Nationalisme; Moffen; Duitsers; Heil Hitler
Family ties	Opa; Vader; Verhalen van mijn vader; De verhalen van mijn ouders; Is mijn vader geboren
Victims	Teveel doden; Overledenen; Moord; Slachtoffers; Dood; Massa vernietiging; Vernietiging; Vernieling
War	Soldaten; Tweede Wereldoorlog; Propaganda; Oorlog; Wapens; Geweld
Other	Ongelijkheid; Geschiedenis; Interessant; Armoede; Verleden Tijd; Chaos

Table ηα: List of concepts making up each category.

7.3 Appendix C - Tables

Generation	Not visited	Once	2-3 times	4 or more
Silent Generation	77.8%	22.2%	-	-
Baby Boomers	57.4%	33.3%	9.3%	-
Generation X	51.8%	41.0%	7.1%	-
Generation Y	57.1%	30.0%	11.4%	1.4%
Generation Z	40.0%	60.0%	-	-

Table θηα: Number of visits to the Anne Frank Huis (N=195).

Generation	Not visited	Once	2-3 times	4 or more
Silent Generation	50.0%	37.5%	12.5%	-
Baby Boomers	69.2%	23.1%	7.7%	-
Generation X	60.0%	29.1%	7.3%	3.6%
Generation Y	69.1%	26.5%	4.4%	-
Generation Z	60.0%	40.0%	-	-

Table ιωα: Number of visits to the Margraten American Cemetery (N=188).

Generation	Not visited	Once	2-3 times	4 or more
Silent Generation	22.2%	22.2%	33.3%	22.2%
Baby Boomers	24.5%	41.5%	28.3%	5.7%
Generation X	26.8%	33.9%	32.1%	7.1%
Generation Y	32.4%	32.4%	32.4%	2.9%
Generation Z	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	-

Table kappa: Number of visits to Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork (N=191).

Generation	Interest in (military) history	Family member with war past	School/study excursion	Do not know	N/A	Other	Combination
Silent Generation	14.3%	-	-	71.4%	14.3%	-	-
Baby Boomers	61.5%	-	2.6%	10.3%	25.6%	-	-
Generation X	68.3%	2.4%	4.9%	12.2%	9.8%	2.4%	-
Generation Y	42.6%	-	14.8%	5.6%	35.2%	-	1.9%
Generation Z	33.3%	-	66.7%	-	-	-	-
Total	53.5%	0.7%	9.0%	11.8%	23.6%	0.7%	0.7%

Table lambda: Reason to visit to Anne Frank Huis (N=144)

Generation	Interest in (military) history	Family member with war past	School/study excursion	Do not know	N/A	Other	Combination
Silent Generation	28.6%	-	-	57.1%	-	14.3%	-
Baby Boomers	40.0%	-	3.3%	16.7%	33.3%	3.3%	3.3%
Generation X	63.2%	2.6%	2.6%	7.9%	21.1%	2.6%	-
Generation Y	34.0%	-	14.9%	19.1%	31.9%	-	-
Generation Z	33.3%	-	-	-	33.3%	33.3%	-
Total	44.0%	0.8%	7.2%	16.8%	27.2%	3.2%	0.8%

Table mu: Reason to visit Margraten American Cemetery (N=125)

Generation	Interest in (military) history	Family member with war past	School/study excursion	Do not know	N/A	Other	Combination
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Silent Generation	57.1%	-	-	14.3%	-	28.6%	-
Baby Boomers	68.8%	-	11.1%	6.7%	8.9%	4.4%	-
Generation X	60.4%	4.2%	22.9%	2.1%	4.2%	6.3%	-
Generation Y	45.5%	1.8%	34.5%	5.4%	9.1%	3.6%	-
Generation Z	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	58.5%	1.9%	22.0%	5.0%	6.9%	5.7%	-

Table vu: Reason to visit Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork (N=159)

Generati on	Alon e	With frien ds	With partn er	With (my) parents/careta kers	With (my) childr en	With school/st udy	Not viste d	Combination/o ther
Silent Generati on	-	16.7 %	16.7 %	-	-	-	66.7 %	-
Baby Boomers	-	13.5 %	32.4 %	-	10.8%	5.4%	29.7 %	8.1%
Generati on X	2.6%	15.4 %	20.5 %	5.1%	20.5%	10.3%	12.8 %	12.8%
Generati on Y	-	11.1 %	3.7%	24.1%	1.9%	9.3%	38.9 %	11.1%
Generati on Z	-	-	-	33.3%	-	66.7%	-	-
Total	0.07 %	12.9 %	16.5 %	11.5%	9.4%	9.4%	29.5 %	10.1%

Table xi: Visited the Anne Frank Huis with whom (N=139)

Generati on	Alon e	With frien ds	With partn er	With (my) parents/careta kers	With (my) childr en	With school/stu dy	Not viste d	Combination/o ther
Silent Generati on	-	14.3 %	42.9%	-	14.3%	-	28.6 %	-
Baby Boomers	-	18.5 %	33.3%	-	-	3.7%	37.0 %	7.4%
Generati on X	5.9 %	8.8%	32.4%	3.0%	20.6%	5.9%	17.6 %	5.9%
Generati on Y	6.7 %	6.7%	6.7%	11.1%	4.4%	20.0%	42.2 %	2.2%
Generati on Z	-	-	-	6.7%	-	-	33.3 %	-
Total	4.3 %	10.3 %	22.4%	6.9%	8.6%	10.3%	32.8 %	4.3%

Table omkron: Visited the Margraten American Cemetery with whom (N=116)

Generati on	Alone	With friends	With partner	With (my) parents/caretakers	With (my) children	With school/study	Not visited	Combination/other
Silent Generation	-	12.5%	62.5%	-	-	-	12.5%	12.5%
Baby Boomers	9.1%	13.6%	38.6%	-	13.6%	6.8%	11.4%	6.8%
Generati on X	-	8.5%	23.4%	2.1%	29.8%	14.9%	4.3%	17.0%
Generati on Y	1.8%	18.2%	3.6%	18.2%	1.8%	34.5%	10.9%	10.9%
Generati on Z	-	-	-	75%	-	-	-	25%
Total	3.2%	13.3%	22.2%	8.9%	13.3%	18.4%	8.9%	12.0%

Table π: Visited Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork with whom (N=158)

Statements: 1 = completely disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neither agree, nor disagree; 4 = agree; 5 = Completely agree

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	-	22.2%	33.3%	11.1%	33.3%
Baby Boomers	-	25.9%	53.7%	18.5%	1.9%
Generation X	1.8%	28.6%	39.3%	26.8%	3.6%
Generation Y	4.3%	31.4%	40.0%	24.3%	-
Generation Z	-	-	60.0%	40.0%	-
Total	2.1%	27.8%	43.8%	23.2%	3.1%

Table ρ: Jongeren tonen te weinig interesse in de Tweede Wereldoorlog (N=194)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	-	-	-	62.5%	37.5%
Baby Boomers	3.7%	3.7%	3.7%	27.8%	61.1%
Generation X	8.9%	3.7%	3.7%	30.4%	53.6%
Generation Y	2.9%	1.8%	5.4%	50.7%	34.8%
Generation Z	-	8.7%	2.9%	40.0%	40.0%
Total	4.7%	4.7%	4.2%	38.5%	47.9%

Table σ: Oorlogsmonumenten zijn belangrijk voor de overlevering van de Nederlandse oorlogsgeschiedenis (N=192)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	-	55.6%	22.2%	22.2%	-

Baby Boomers	16.7%	61.1%	13.0%	7.4%	1.9%
Generation X	10.7%	53.6%	19.6%	14.3%	1.8%
Generation Y	11.4%	47.1%	22.9%	15.7%	2.9%
Generation Z	20.0%	60.0%	-	20.0%	-
Total	12.4%	53.6%	18.6%	13.4%	2.1%

Table τ : Oorlogsmonumenten zijn lastig te vinden in mijn omgeving (N=194)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	11.1%	-	66.7%	11.1%	11.1%
Baby Boomers	3.7%	35.2%	37.0%	18.5%	5.6%
Generation X	5.4%	28.6%	41.1%	19.6%	5.4%
Generation Y	21.4%	38.6%	22.9%	15.7%	1.4%
Generation Z	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	-	-
Total	11.9%	32.5%	34.5%	17.0%	4.1%

Table υ : Op school wordt er te weinig aandacht besteed aan 'Nederland tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog' (N=194)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	11.1%	44.4%	11.1%	33.3%	-
Baby Boomers	13.2%	28.3%	15.1%	30.2%	13.2%
Generation X	8.9%	21.4%	23.2%	37.5%	8.9%
Generation Y	10.0%	37.1%	10.0%	32.9%	10.0%
Generation Z	-	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%
Total	10.4%	30.0%	15.5%	33.7%	10.4%

Table ϕ : Ik bezoek zeker 1 keer per jaar een oorlogsmonument of museum (binnen- & buitenland) (N=193)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	11.1%	11.1%	-	66.7%	11.1%
Baby Boomers	1.9%	3.7%	5.6%	35.2%	53.7%
Generation X	3.6%	5.4%	1.8%	26.8%	62.5%
Generation Y	-	4.3%	11.4%	44.3%	40.0%
Generation Z	-	-	-	80.0%	20.0%
Total	2.1%	4.6%	6.2%	38.7%	48.5%

Table χ : 4 & 5 Mei zijn kenmerkend voor de Nederlandse cultuur (N=194)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	11.1%	11.1%	22.2%	22.2%	33.3%

Baby Boomers	1.9%	9.3%	11.1%	44.4%	33.3%
Generation X	1.8%	1.8%	16.1%	25.0%	55.4%
Generation Y	1.4%	7.1%	8.6%	27.1%	55.7%
Generation Z	-	-	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%
Total	2.1%	6.2%	12.4%	30.9%	48.5%

Table ψ: Ik ben ook in het buitenland stil tijdens 4 Mei om 20.00 uur (N=194)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	33.3%	44.4%	22.2%	-	-
Baby Boomers	31.5%	46.3%	11.1%	7.4%	3.7%
Generation X	30.4%	57.1%	8.9%	3.6%	-
Generation Y	37.1%	57.1%	4.3%	-	1.4%
Generation Z	80.0%	20.0%	-	-	-
Total	34.5%	52.6%	8.3%	3.1%	1.5%

Table ωμεγα: Bevrijdingsfeesten horen geen onderdeel te zijn van 4 & 5 Mei (N=194)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	-	11.1%	55.6%	11.1%	22.2%
Baby Boomers	-	7.5%	49.1%	35.8%	7.5%
Generation X	1.8%	17.9%	35.7%	33.9%	10.7%
Generation Y	1.4%	14.3%	24.3%	41.1%	18.6%
Generation Z	-	40.0%	-	60.0%	-
Total	1.0%	14.0%	35.2%	36.8%	13.0%

Table αθηνη: Jongeren geven meer om de bevrijdingsfeesten dan de herdenkingen (N=193)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	11.1%	-	-	22.2%	66.7%
Baby Boomers	-	1.9%	7.5%	32.1%	58.5%
Generation X	1.8%	3.6%	1.8%	25.0%	67.9%
Generation Y	-	4.3%	5.7%	25.7%	64.3%
Generation Z	-	-	-	20.0%	80.0%
Total	1.0%	3.1%	4.7%	26.9%	64.2%

Table σπαρτα: Ik vind het belangrijk om 2 minuten stil te zijn tijdens 4 Mei (N=193)

Generation	1	2	3	4	5
Silent Generation	25.0%	12.5%	25.0%	12.5%	25.0%
Baby Boomers	9.3%	27.8%	27.8%	25.9%	9.3%
Generation X	12.5%	19.6%	39.3%	25.0%	3.6%
Generation Y	24.6%	39.1%	26.1%	4.3%	5.8%
Generation Z	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	-
Total	17.2%	28.6%	30.2%	17.2%	6.8%

The Netherlands	1	3.1%	98.4%
Scotland	1	0.5%	99.0%
Poland	1	0.5%	99.5%
Germany	1	0.5%	100.0%

Table ιθακης: To you, which country provided most to the Allied victory in the Second World War? (N=193)

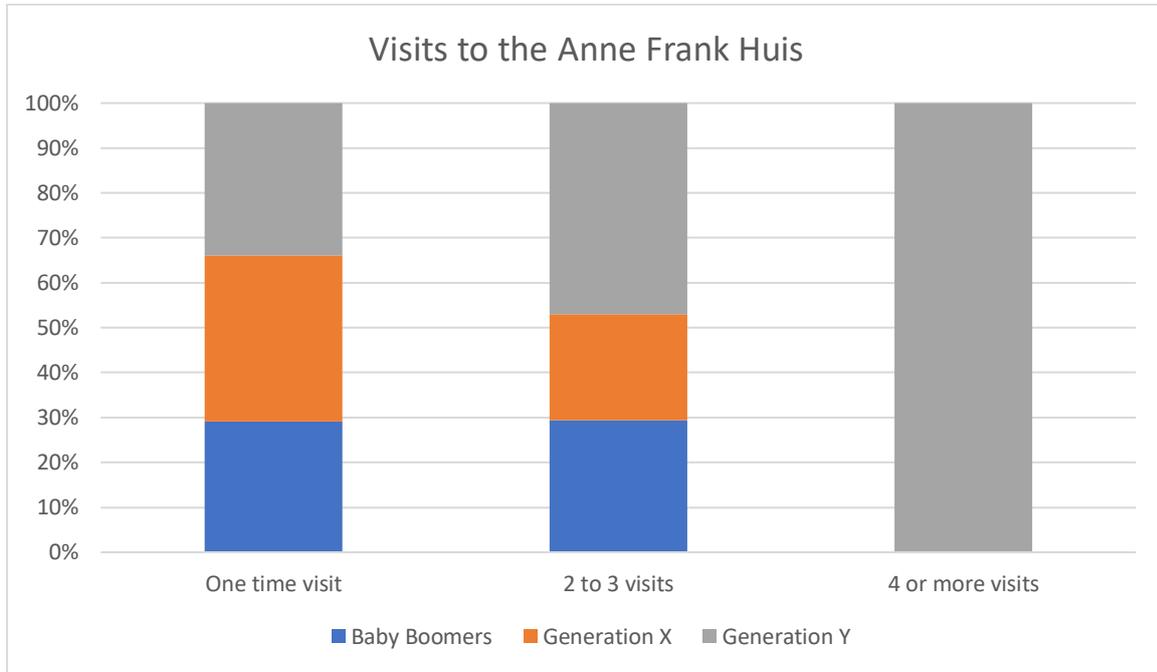


Figure 9: Visits to the Anne Frank Huis, not including non-visits (Author, 2021).