Master of Arts

Communication Studies

Exploring Visitors' Emotional Responses at the Immigrant Museum in Denmark

Project Supervisor: David Mathieu

Kübra Bahadir (63125)

Ling Isabelle Lui (69647)

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ABSTRACT

When visitors decide to go to museums, there involves differentiating purposes and motivations. This reveals much more about visitors' personal backgrounds and social relations that play a major role in shaping their identities, which could account for how they make sense of exhibitions and museums, and hence their reactions to these occasions. These reactions also include diverse emotional responses occurred during museum visits, affecting the meaning-making processes and the overall visitor experience. As a result, this research project is carried out with the purpose of exploring the emotional responses of visitors with various backgrounds at the Immigrant Museum in relation to their self-identifications and personal experiences. The study adopts an approach mirroring the think-aloud protocol, namely audio-recorded interviews, which takes visitors along the exhibitions without the presence of interviewers and focuses on visitors' reactions to the visual representations they encounter. The data from the recordings is then analyzed in combination with the autoethnography-inspired texts written by the researchers from the notes taken during the museum visit. In order to examine the two types of data, the project makes use of the theoretical frameworks and concepts of the multidimensional model, emotional anchoring, and of the postmigrant identity theory, identifications and belonging. By scrutinizing the data through the theories and concepts, our findings show that museum visitors' self-perceptions and past experiences are closely connected to their sentimental effects of and attitudes towards the visit. In sum, it is worth noting that emotions are pivotal to the readings of the visitors, and the study of emotions can help researchers understand the effects emotion has on the perceptions of the exhibitions and thus the museum experience.

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Preface: Covid-19

Due to the severe spread of the global pandemic Covid-19, there have been a few factors that have been out of our control as researchers. Several of these factors have resulted in a chain of constraints for the project from the beginning, but also of the design thereof throughout the whole process. With the restrictions that follow the global pandemic, everyone is obligated to wear facemasks in indoor public spaces, including museums. This has had an effect on the methodology of the study, as the project examines the visitors' emotional responses at two sections of the Immigrant Museum, and the possible relation the reactions might have to the visitors' identities. In order to do this, we initially planned to make use of the walk-along method as a form of interview with the participants in combination with observations of the visitors' movements, expressions, paces and eventually conversations throughout the museum. One very specific issue the restrictions pose in the light of Covid-19 is that it would not have been possible to read and observe emotional reactions (e.g. facial expressions) of the visitors in a proper manner due to the use of face masks. Accordingly, the walk-along method would not have been ideal either, as we all have to practice social distancing under the current circumstances, especially when taking into consideration the size of the museum, that it is not in a separate building like "regular" museums. Instead, it is located inside the cultural center of Farum and thus provides limited space when compared to other museums in Denmark. As a result, the project adopts a non-traditional audio-recorded interview method, which will be delved into further in the methodology section. Throughout the process of the study, there was a rise in the number of confirmed cases in Denmark, which resulted in a second lockdown in several municipalities within the country. This included the municipality of Furesø, which is where Farum is and thus where the museum is located. Consequently, we did not have the opportunity to complete the rest of the arranged interviews apart from the two already done before the museum closed down. Thus, to answer our research question and to finish the project, we had to incorporate a contingent method of autoethnography-inspired writings, as we made use of the thorough notes taken at the museum. This is what is deemed a sensible solution for the study, given the unpredictable situations.

Introduction

Museums tend to be a reflection of personal interests in one's leisure time. Depending on the type of museums, it can sometimes be a beneficial way to gain knowledge in (personally) unknown fields or past historical/cultural events. It has also been found that the museum experience can unfold views on the, "complexity of memory, personal drives, group identity, meaning-making process, as well as leisure preferences." (Recupero, Talamo, Triberti and Modesti, 2019). Thus, different purposes for museum visits exist and can exist both separately and concurrently. Do we then go to museums in an attempt to reinforce personal views and drives, to (re)produce meaning-making processes, to (re)construct identities, or is it solely a result of leisure time as aforementioned? As the following sections will dive into, several researches have been done to focus on another aspect/purpose of museum visits - that is, the notion of emotional responses. As a result of the displays presented in museums, visitors generally have expected and unexpected emotional responses, which is why it takes part in the study of audience reception. The emotional responses of visitors can be based on their personal drives for going to the museum and/or their social relations which can play a big part in the construction of identities.

One study that has examined the role of emotion in visitor experiences is Tout-Smith's (2018). According to her study, the emotional features within museum work has not been studied that much, including studies that focus on the emotions that occur as a result of visitor experiences (p. 160). Yet, emotional responses to museums and exhibitions play a vital role in visitor experiences and understandings of the specific phenomenon that is being portrayed. In the study, Tout-Smith explores certain historical events portrayed in a museum through the lens of personal experiences and memories, seeing the past happenings as being subjective. She explains that, "these types of exhibition acknowledge the past that cannot be presented as objectifiable, capable of being teased away from the complex internal emotional lives of its players and their communities, or from the internal worlds of the curators who represent them." (ibid, p. 161). Thus, the comprehension and interpretation of historical and emotional events are dependent on the participating individuals' internal, personal and emotional responses that are provoked through exhibitions, which define the realities of these events and experiences.

This project serves to explore the mentioned subject with the aim of providing more support for the significance of the role of emotions at museums in relation to visitors' identities. Tapping into the issue of emotions at museums, Tout-Smith argues that emotion provides support to the exhibition concept, gives directions to the research processes and the adoption of interpretative approaches, and constructs visitor responses (ibid, p. 160). This implies that emotions play a big part in visitor experiences as well as research work at museums. Furthermore, emotions may be considered one of the major factors facilitating learning processes. Results in her study shows that 84 percent of 191 participants thought being emotionally engaged enabled them to learn new contents, which occurred through personal stories, meaningful objects, emotional imagery, and concise narrative texts that often include original voices (pp. 168-172). This adds academic values to our project intent to bridge the conceptions of personal knowledge and identities, meaning-making, and emotional responses. In addition, the same study implies a strong relation between personal stories and visitors' emotions, as she argues that, "visitors with their own stories might be more receptive to the personal stories of others, and might want to make sense of what they already know" (ibid, p. 171). Departing from that, this study will provide insights into the similarities and differences between the emotions of museum visitors who or whose family have been through similar events, as well as visitors who have not at all experienced anything similar. Conclusively, we would like to find links between visitors' self-identifications and their emotional responses to narratives of Danish immigrants.

This project looks into the decodings of two spots at the permanent exhibitions at the Immigrant Museum (the museum) in order to examine the emotional effects and the (re)construction of identities that are present in the specific visitor experiences. However, in order to study this, it is of great importance to understand the role of museums and heritage in the subject-matter at hand and also what part emotions play in this process. In an attempt to reach this understanding, the literature review of this project will draw on existing studies and sources that deal with this matter in an effort to shed light on the role of heritage and museum, but also the complexness of interpretation processes and communication.

Understanding Emotion

Studying emotions inevitably puts forth a challenge due to the presence of the many definitions of emotions. Referring to relevant literature, researchers can evaluate emotions with discrete emotions theories, which assume, "neural, affective, and cognitive processes differ across specific emotions and that each emotion has particular motivational and regulatory functions" (Izard et al., 2011, p. 44). Izard and colleagues (2011) look at discrete emotions along the positive-negative scale, and put them into two categories – basic emotions and emotion schemas (p. 45). They claim that basic negative emotions can be identified in a person's early development and specifically in prelinguistic infants, and then later developed in accordance with "evolutionarily conserved stimuli" into responses that represent intense challenge or threat (ibid). A basic emotion usually occurs "rapidly, automatically, and nonconsciously"; while an emotion schema, or emotion, "consists of affective processes in interaction with higher-order cognition" (ibid). In terms of intensity, a basic negative emotion is usually activated at a high level of intensity, whereas a negative emotion schema activation can happen across a wide range of intensities (ibid). In this project, we refer to emotions as the emotion schemas, rather than the basic emotions. To do that, "we view emotion feelings as felt experiences we hold that they are always at some level of awareness and potentially accessible and reportable in some way" (ibid). For this study, this also means that emotions of the museum visitors can be understood as felt experiences "reported" through verbalization. Similar to these definitions of emotions and using affects and emotions instead of basic emotions and emotion schemas, Höijer (2010) asserts that affects are "universal, inherent reactions" that come with our birth or shortly after, such as surprise and anger as proposed by psychologist Silvan Tomkins (p. 719). Later, such affects develop into emotions that are connected to cognitive components like personal experiences and situations etc. (ibid). Thus, taking Höijer's differentiation between affects and emotions as reference for our understanding and guidance for the usage of the terms, we see affects as instinctive, while emotions and feelings as experiential and cognitive. Hence, the understandings of feelings and emotions are used interchangeably in the study, while affects are not used.

Regarding the communications of emotions, Sally Planalp (2000) states that aside from non-verbal cues like facial expressions, emotions can be expressed through subtle verbal indicators, including word choice and restricted vocabulary (p. 48). She explains a number of ways of emotional connection, two of which we find particularly relevant for our analysis of

emotions: emotional accuracy and emotional understanding (ibid, pp. 56-61). Emotional accuracy implies that, “Choosing among a range of emotions (joy, anger, sadness, surprise, fear, and disgust, for example) is easier if the choices are few or if some of the alternatives are unlikely”, and there can be more than one correct choice as it is possible to experience multiple emotions at a time (ibid, pp. 56-57). For this project, that would mean that the interviewees can experience a range of emotions at the same time and that the list of emotions provided as aid allows for an easier time for the respondents to pick the “correct” emotions they feel. On the other hand, emotion understanding includes both the understanding of one’s own feelings as well as that of other people’s feelings (ibid, p. 60). It is the talking of emotions to other people that may facilitate modification or negotiation of one’s feelings, or even change those feelings, on top of merely describing them verbally (ibid, pp. 60-61). Furthermore, Planalp suggests that feelings are both personal and collective, that there are, “socialized feelings”, which, “define and guide the moral stances by which we live with one another in society” (ibid, p. 159). Thus, it is noteworthy that the absence of emotions can be interpreted as a meaningful finding in cases where expressions are expected (ibid, p. 48), as an individual's, “level of emotional expressiveness” is influenced by cultural factors, class, gender roles, and etc. (ibid, p. 52).

Literature Review

Heritage and Museum

When it comes to the concept of heritage, there has been a shift in the way that it is understood and being used. Beforehand, heritage was mostly solely linked to material evidence (Martin-Cáceres and Cuenca-López, 2016, p. 300), which is a limiting understanding of the phenomenon in comparison to what it has become to mean. Nowadays, heritage has turned into a concept that is, "broader, more diverse, more richly nuanced and comprehensive, applied with an educational focus to make interesting contributions from an interdisciplinary standpoint […] and based on the links between heritage and identity […] and identity, cultural heritage, landscape and economic development" (ibid).

In Bella Dicks' (2000) article, *'Encoding and Decoding the People: Circuits of Communication at a Local Heritage Museum'*, she expresses her understanding of heritage as a cultural communicative practice. She mentions that critiques of heritage have especially been vociferous in the UK from several diverse perspectives (ibid, p. 62). However, most of these critiques have generally been launched from the perspective which was, "directed at the nostalgia and backward-looking retreatism that the heritage boom allegedly reveals. Such analyses have failed, consequently, fully to register the cultural-communicative aspects of heritage." (ibid). What Dicks means by this is that by focusing on the insufficiency of the heritage museum's "historiographical functions", the critiques neglect how museums in various ways, "mobilize discourses that have particular cultural currency in the late 20th century" (ibid). These are discourses of belonging, place, local identity, environment and most importantly, discourses on the constructs of community and people. In terms of the debates on heritage, they are generally characterized by a deficiency, "of new research into how visitors actually interact with the various genres of exhibition that characterize different heritage centres" (ibid, p. 63). This mirrors a general failure to study how the production of meaning through, "the construction of exhibitions can be linked through to their 'consumption' by actual visitors." (ibid).

Dicks explains that the critical theoretical debates on heritage view heritage text as a simple communication process through which it is an industrialized product that in return produces commodified messages to visitors that are seen to be passive. This is because they have an

understanding of heritage texts that view them as inculcating, "a particular understanding of the past." (ibid). In opposition to this interpretation that are usually, "informed by an underlying and unexamined 'effects model' of communication", Dicks' article implements what she calls a social model of communication which looks into the production's and consumption's cultural, political, and economic practices and contexts, and is drawn from Hall's encoding/decoding theory (ibid). She explains that this framework of communication acknowledges and presents connections between mediations of history (e.g. television) with heritage. As a result of the critiques, Dicks aims to pull out beneficial parallels amongst heritage and other sites of public communication. Although heritage is known to represent an authentic presentation of the past through "live" historical encounters in comparison to television and film, "many of its communicative strategies […] are shared with other visual media." (ibid). Heritage is not different when compared to the other public communication genres. The encoding and decoding of communication are within a discursive realm that categorizes collectivities through, e.g. the construct of community and non-community. Moreover, it is not through heritage texts that an interpretative closure is provided, where the meaning of "the people" that are presented are tied to, "one inflection of community or the other." (ibid, p. 74). This "necessarily contingent" closure is instead achieved through the interactions that the visitors have with the texts (ibid).

Another study also focuses on the importance of turning to the visitors in an attempt to unravel the meaning of heritage communication. In the study, *'Communicating archeological heritage: Strategically connecting the past to the present from community perspectives'*, the researchers explain that archeological heritage communication is usually attentive of, "educating the public by emphasizing scientific knowledge from the perspectives of experts […], often sidelining the perspectives of the local community." (Noor, Jaafar and Balan, 2018, p. 151). Despite this, what is just as essential is the perspective of the local community in terms of delivering humanistic perspectives, "and in connecting the past to the present context." (ibid). What archeological heritage does is that it offers a look into the history and culture of humans, providing insights into the changes in how humans have lived their lives, which contribute to the way we live our lives nowadays (ibid). When archeological heritage is understood, it helps one to make meaning of our current culture and human condition and thus allows people to shape their identity and sense of belonging (ibid). This type of heritage poses challenges in making the past relevant to present-day society. This kind of archeological communication at heritage sites should strive to inspire the interest of people,

"in the archaeological heritage and encourage them to actively engage in the meaning-making process, linking the past to issues and events in the present." (ibid, p. 152). It is also really vital that audiences are encouraged to contemplate and relate the meaning of the past to bigger questions and concerns of contemporary life like the meaning of being human, "and to be a member of a particular society, and to inspire new perspectives or ways of doing things by learning from the past" (ibid).

The researchers explain Laurajane Smith's view on heritage, by explaining that heritage is multilayered, encompassing acts of commemoration and remembrance, simultaneously, "constructing a sense of place." (ibid, p. 153). Even though the values and meanings are communicated by the experts to the public, the host community's views are effective in helping visitors with developing a greater appreciation of heritage. This way, the visitors do not just interpret heritage as an object of the past, "but as a vessel imbued with social and cultural meaning." (ibid). Moreover, the researchers explain the significance of the host community's stories can affect different factors of the connection between the past and present: "Their stories can shed light on the social, emotional and intellectual connection between current generations and archaeological heritage, allowing for a deeper understanding of the social significance of archaeological heritage." (ibid). Mostly heritage is accepted to refer to intangible and tangible natural and cultural elements which have over time been passed down from generation to generation. Heritage's intangibility, "has received considerable attention in light of its cultural, social and spiritual qualities" (ibid, p. 154). Moreover, it has been discussed that interpretation of heritage should be inclusive of values, institutions norms of the local community and of cultural references (ibid). Finally, in the usual Western understanding of heritage, "cultural values are associated with age, monumentality and aesthetics", which has been challenged by Smith (ibid). Smith argues instead that the discourse on heritage should contain, "the construction and regulation of a range of values that emanate from how people make meaning of the heritage in their daily lives." (ibid, pp. 154-155). Once again, the perspectives of the local community of a heritage site can deliver additional insights into how the past is experienced by them and how heritage is comprehended and negotiated in the present (ibid, p. 155).

In terms of the complexness of interpretation processes and communication, Rhiannon Mason delves into this in her chapter, *'Museums, galleries and heritage: Sites of meaning-making and communication'*, in which she explains this matter in relation to museums, galleries and

heritage and why it is utterly important to be aware of this factor. Within these fields, the interpretation processes cannot be seen as linear transmission models in which authors produce the fixed messages that are transferred to a passive audience. Instead, visitors should be viewed as being consumers and users who are involved in these processes actively. Mason also talks about the interpretation of physical spaces and places of sites where heritage is constructed and represented, "along with the differing communication styles, strategies, techniques and heritage resources used, and how these can result in the communication of unintended, as well as intended 'messages'." (Corsane, 2005, p. 221). Unlike the linear transmission models where participants are passive, visitors are active participants in these heritage sites at which they draw on personal experiences and on the specific circumstances that inform their visit. However, even though these visitors may construct personal meanings through the visit, there is still the possibility of, "shaping collective meanings and readings in heritage" (ibid).

Within the sites of museums, heritage, and galleries, communication plays a major part although it can go unnoticed from time to time. This can both be in terms of the architectural aspects and the arrangement of the artefacts/exhibits, from the text panels to the employees visitors encounter, and so on (ibid, p. 222). These are all processes of communication that the visitors engage with. Nonetheless, the communicated message always depends on several factors such as being intended or unintended, explicit or implicit communication, together with the meaning-making processes that the visitors are involved in and contribute with (ibid). However, Mason underlines the fact that in museum studies, there is a lack of attention toward communication theory within heritage contexts, which is why she highlights the importance of communication theory within the three mentioned fields and how it can be applied (ibid). Within the field of heritage studies, interpretation has generally been seen as something that is provided for the visitors, either as something that is done 'to' or done 'for' them. However, communication theory that has been developed within museum studies takes a very different approach according to Mason (ibid). She also refers to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's book that discusses the relationship between communication theory and museums and also clarifies, "how theories and models originally devised for the study of mass communication – radio, television and cinema – have been adapted for museums." (ibid).

Hooper-Greenhill writes about the shift in communication theory and media where the audience are active in the meaning-making processes in all types of media. They are selective and assorted and although it took some time for this understanding to impact the studies on heritage, museums and galleries, there has been a growing acknowledgement of the fact that audiences are not "blank slates" (ibid, p. 223). As a result of these newer perceptions, the mentioned sites are now viewed as being spaces that facilitate communication, interaction, discussion and exchange instead of spaces of dissemination and instruction. In his book, Tony Bennett has also explained this shift, "from a 'monologic' museum of modernity to the 'dialogic' museum of postmodernity" (ibid). This approach to the work of museums is evident in cultural organizations that strive to engage more with the presented indigenous and aboriginal peoples' values, wishes and interest, especially in postcolonial frameworks. Apparently, this is done through, "consultation processes, focus groups, collaboration with communities groups, and visitor evaluation" (ibid).

Mason mentions another study by Fiona McLean and Steve Cooke about the Museum of Scotland in which a diverse range of visitor responses were found on the representations of national identity (ibid, p. 228). When the Scottish visitors were asked about the museum's presentation of Scotland and if there were any specific image of Scotland presented, it was found that, "'there was no clear agreement on what that image was' (2002:114)" (ibid). However, it was also found that the visitors' perceptions of the Museum of Scotland were noticeably affected by whether or not they identified as being Scottish. Despite the fact that the producers of the Museum of Scotland have avoided suggesting that the museum was trying to define Scotland or had "nationalistic overtones", it was clear that a lot of the non-Scot visitors that were interviewed still viewed in this manner (ibid). Mason explains that there are two conundrums about this. The first one is about the scope of possible meanings as mentioned earlier, and how these can vary in accordance with every single individual, "and their own personal, social and physical context of their visit and yet also recognize that people's readings of exhibitions are often shared within certain groups" (ibid). The second puzzle is about how visitors are able to "misread" curators' intentions in a more vivid way. Mason underlines that it is also important to consider the answer to these wonderings from the perspective and point of view of the visitors (ibid). Ergo, to look at the communication process' 'consumption' end and not just from the producers' point of view, "and more broadly in terms of how meanings are constructed within the production process", which was reflected on earlier (ibid). In terms of looking from the visitors' point of view, Hall claims

that any given communication process inevitably depends on individuals having 'conceptual maps' of the world which they share. Mason explains further how the maps "work": "These maps will overlap or fit more closely between members of a similar culture, group, or perhaps those who have shared similar experiences. At the same time, because people's identity is not static [...] the extent of overlap and affiliation can change through a person's life" (ibid). The idea of conceptual maps is practical and beneficial with differentiating between the diverse responses of visitors. Concurrently, it is essential to highlight the fact that, "recent theory has emphasized the multiple, fluid, hybridized and contradictory nature of postmodern identities" (ibid, p. 229). As a result of this, individuals can be a part of more than one community or group at the same time. Moreover, individuals' responses are dependent on, "which affiliation is called to the fore at a given moment." (ibid).

All of the points mentioned above steer away from the idea of simple interpretation processes as linear transmission models with a fixed message that is being delivered to the recipient. Instead, communication is viewed as an on-going process of dialogue and interchange depending on several diverse factors, in which meaning-making processes cannot just be split into production and consumption (ibid, p. 231). In this view, both the producer and consumer (the visitors) are equally consumers of values and meaning and producers of meaning. Mason explains further that as a cyclical process, the process of meaning-making is not as objective/neutral, "but as embedded in the realm of cultural politics and having the power to define, legitimize, enforce, negotiate, claim, or oppose certain meanings" (ibid). As a result, since the field of museums, heritage sites and galleries are a fairly new, multifaceted and challenging area of research, communication within this field is also a difficult and usually unpredictable process since it is dependent on several factors (ibid, p. 234).

Research Question

As mentioned in the introduction, the project at hand studies visitors' readings of two spots within the Immigrant Museum. The aim of doing this is to scrutinize the role of possible emotion-based reactions that the participants may experience during their museum visit, and how these reactions are based on and affect the (re)construction of identities. In order to this, it has been vital to explore the role of museums and heritage and the visitors' interpretation processes and thus how they make meaning of representations present at the museum, as presented in the literature review. Thus, based on the findings and considerations that have been discovered and explained in the introduction and the literature review, the following research question has been composed:

"What are the visitors' emotional responses to the two chosen exhibitions at the Immigrant Museum?"

In order to answer this research question, the following sub-questions have been created:

- *How do heritage sites/museums play a role in the visitors' meaning-making processes and interpretations of exhibitions?*
- *How do the visitors' reactions relate to the visitors' identities?*

Philosophy of Science

In terms of the foundation of the project, it is written from and rooted in the phenomenological approach, as the aim of the project is to study the individual interpretations and emotional responses of the interviewees that have visited the Immigrant Museum. Phenomenology is an approach within social research and is seen to be the quite opposite of positivism, one of the biggest distinctions being the fact that phenomenology does not rely on measurement, statistics etc. Instead, it highlights the importance of interpretation, description, subjectivity and agency (Denscombe, 2010, p. 93). Consequently, it deals heavily with how people subjectively experience life – their perceptions, beliefs and attitudes and most importantly in this case, with people's emotions and feelings. This approach is generally applied to researches with qualitative methodologies, "that place special emphasis on the individual's views and personal experiences." (ibid, p. 94). As a result of these factors, the phenomenological approach is especially well-fitting with the aim and objectives of the project, as the focus is on individual, subjective interpretations and experiences of emotive responses. Phenomenology is known for its interest in, "the basics of social existence" and, "the routine and ordinary features of social life" (ibid, p. 95). Some fundamental phenomena linked with human life experiences can e.g. be identity changes and big life transitions or it can also be the cognizance of being different from others and what that means (ibid).

As aforementioned, the viewpoint of multiple realities is an essential prospect of the phenomenological approach. The social world is considered as being socially constructed in which different groups of people may view things differently than others - multiple and alternative realities, "that vary from situation to situation, culture to culture." (ibid, p. 97). This is a major juxtaposition to positivism within social research as it assumes one, objective reality, whereas phenomenology lives with and commemorate the possibility of numerous realities:

> "Reflecting the fact that the world as experienced by living humans is something that is created through the way they interpret and give meaning to their experiences, phenomenology rejects the notion that there is one universal reality and accepts, instead, that things can be seen in different ways by different people at different times in different circumstances, and that each alternative version needs to be recognized as being valid in its own right." (ibid).

However, an essential point about this needs to be stressed; although multiple realities exist, it is not insinuated that there is the same amount of realities as the number of individuals that

interpret their world uniquely. The reasoning for this is because the social world's interpretations are not solely individual interpretations. Rather, the interpretations of individuals are shared within and between societies, cultures and groups, which is the only possibility of multiple realities that are recognized by phenomenology (ibid).

Methodological Framework

Research Design

With the aim of exploring museum visitors' first-hand emotional reactions in connection with the Immigrant Museum's exhibits, this study adopts a qualitative research method carried out through audio-recorded responses. Two respondents, one of which an ethnic Danish visitor and the other non-ethnic Dane, were involved in the data collection processes. Apart from recruited respondents, the two researchers also contributed to the data collection of this study through what we call in this project "autoethnography-inspired writings", the objectives and procedures of which will be explained below. In terms of participants' backgrounds, the respondents' come from different cultures across nationalities and ethnicities. Furthermore, using a small number of research respondents in a qualitative approach enables a thorough empirical analysis and allows for the inclusion of more interpretative details. Interesting findings about a phenomenon can be told in general terms based on a small number of cases, as each is a representation of the understanding of the culture as adopted by its members (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 141). It is however important to note that, while relevant, these specific cases are not to be taken as the representation of all members of the particular culture or phenomenon.

Autoethnography-inspired Writings

There has been an increased amount of studies adopting autoethnography as a research method for collecting qualitative data. It is when researchers study and write about culture from their individual perspectives, as they explore their inner identities, thoughts, feelings, and experiences, and their outer sphere such as relationships, communities, and cultures (Adams et al., 2016, p. 46). Thus, it is relevant to our project motivations that link to the inner voices and emotions of the self and our relationships with the others, including people and objects. Autoethnographers put themselves in the "field" that could be a place or an occasion that involves cultural encounters, or, it could be, "discursive and relational, constituted or dominated by language and interaction rather than physical space" (ibid, p. 50). Similarly, in this project, our "field" is the museum location, the visitor experiences, and the discussions among ourselves as researchers. By doing writings that are similar to autoethnographies, we can obtain rich data corresponding precisely to our project aim. While autoethnographers use their writings, "to determine how their experiences and stories contribute to, complement,

and contrast with others' experiences and stories" (ibid, p. 49), we adopt the same intention in an attempt to add our voices to and perhaps bridge the gaps in ongoing conversations in the field. Based on Tony Adams' book *Autoethnography* (2016), we are adopting two types of autoethnography styles of writing, namely "Impressionism", focusing on personal/cultural experiences and the narratives of space and place and their effects on the researchers, and "Expressionism", which focuses on the researcher's emotional journeys and the experiences of fieldwork, thereby the changes that come with such experiences. Hence, we have developed our notes on our experiences at the museum as researchers into the autoethnography-inspired writings according to these styles.

Data Collection

Taking into consideration the Covid-19 pandemic situation, instead of face-to-face oral interviews in a designated room, a non-traditional audio-recorded interview method was adopted. Audio recordings of personal feelings and thoughts on participants' mobile devices were the direct products of the interviews. This project's approach is inspired by Mette Bengtsson's (2018) think-aloud protocol (pp. 161-183), which stems from its psychological tradition and is adjusted to the use in the communication field. This method is adopted in Bengtsson's study in combination with a qualitative interview as a way of exploring audience responses, offering a, "concurrent reaction to the text, tying reactions closely to specific text passages", subsequently allowing for the understanding, interpretation, and negotiation processes of the respondents (Bengtsson, 2018, pp. 164). The participants received the interview questions (appendix 1) together with a list of emotion words as aid for their responses and read through them before the start of the visit. Similar to a normal museum visit, respondents could walk through the entire museum at their own pace, and on top of that, they were to, in as much detail as possible, verbally respond to the given questions in relation to what they encountered in the museum, in the form of audio recordings using their own mobile devices. This is to allow respondents to feel more comfortable taking part in the project without being in close contact with the researchers in a confined space. During the visit, the researchers refrained from interfering with the participants, whilst remaining in the vicinity so that technical assistance or enquiries regarding the given questions will be available when necessary. There are two areas where audio responses were required: (1) the exhibition about Turkish guest workers, and (2) two red columns of interactive boxes showcasing facts and traditions across three religions.

The interviews were conducted in English. The interview questions were created partly based on Kim Schrøder's (2000) multidimensional model of reception, involving the "motivation" of the museum visitors and their "comprehension" of the museum narratives, which will be introduced in the theory section. This way the interview questions could help the researchers better interpret and understand the responses, with a focus on the readings and perceptions of the recipients. Not only can Schrøder's model be used to analyze the reception data of audience readings, it can also assist in the process of planning and the design of, "empirical studies of reception." (Schrøder, 2000, p. 234). Thus, the multidimensional model can both be used for the methodological and theoretical framework. In terms of the question type, the questions were designed with open-ended questions that encourage expressions of sentiments where the respondents feel emotionally evoked. A benefit of this design of questions, along with the absence of interviewers, is that interviewees would then have the freedom to explore their personal sphere of feelings and thoughts, to think aloud, and presumably give answers that are not bound by the expectations of the researchers. With a list of emotion words, respondents were offered vocabulary that may assist but should not limit their descriptions of emotional experiences. Inspired by the framework of Silvan Tomkins' affect theory (Shmurak, 2006, pp. 6-7), the emotion words are organized into positive, neutral, and negative categories. Both positive and negative emotional variables are included in the list and not necessarily in their bipolar forms, allowing for all possible dimensions of feelings respondents may have during the visit, instead of being confined to an either/or choice of opposite emotions (Del Chiappa et al., 2014, p. 423).

The Two Spots

The first spot includes three walls of vertical hanging banners of interviews and general information about first generation Turkish guest workers in Denmark, and general descriptions of the life of guest workers/immigrants when they first arrived in the country. There is a black and white photo under each description, and a photo of the interviewee next to each interview banner. On the first wall from the left are the descriptions; on the wall in the middle hang the interviews with Turkish guest workers, and on the right there is an interview with a Turkish guest worker and another with a Danish chef, Theis Brydegaard. Furthermore, the interviews with immigrants mainly involve questions about how they cope with the challenges in terms of food habits they face moving into Denmark.

The second spot consists of two columns of 3 x 5 “boxes” that provide information on three religions across five themes in each column. The three religions are Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, and a total of ten themes include calendars, rules of eating, initiation, holidays, etc. Each box contains an object related to the description, e.g. the Bible in Christianity and the Quran in Islam, and is hidden behind a flip cover with the theme on it, meaning visitors are to lift the covers in order to read and see what is inside.

These two spots were chosen for the qualitative data collection for the study for practical reasons. First, they are each put under a clear theme and thus provide a centralized, clear direction as to what the section is about, as opposed to some other parts of the museum, where the information is scattered around about different immigrant groups and across different topic areas. In addition, we chose the Turkish interviews because it involves more personal stories from a first-person point of view, whilst the second spot about religions presents merely descriptive information with physically interactive tools. Thus, we believe the diversity in exhibition style is helpful in our investigation and comparisons of emotional attachment in response to two primarily different kinds of exhibit perspectives.

Limitations

In terms of the limitations for the project, there have been a few factors that are and have been out of our control as researchers. Most of the limitations for the project has been caused by nationwide restrictions following the spread of Covid-19 as covered in the preface. However, there have been other factors that affected the design and the direction of the project. As aforementioned, the walk-along method was going to be used for the project, wherein we would walk around in the museum alongside the visitors and interview at the same time. The reasons for not using the walk-along method are the practice of social distancing and the fact that the topic of the study can be quite sensitive to some individuals. This is both because of the emotion factor and the topic of immigration, culture and religion. Usually, expressing one’s feelings and emotions can be rather challenging for people – especially when being followed around by interviewers in a museum which we reckon, would only make it more difficult. The same reason goes for the topics that the museum deals with as mentioned above. Thus, it can be relatively uncomfortable and scary to discuss one’s own experiences and opinions. Therefore, we came to the decision that it would be more fitting in our case to change the methodology of our study to our current methodology, that is the audio-recorded interviews. This has then been combined with an autoethnography-inspired

method, as mentioned in the preface. In terms of felt emotions and emotional reactions of the visitors, one could say that that also poses a limitation to some extent. Even though we as researchers have tried to make it easier for the visitors to express their emotions, it is still not an easy task to deal with human emotion, as it usually is not something that is tangible, thus making it almost impossible to "measure" them so to speak. However, as the project is written from a phenomenological approach, the focus is on personal experiences, interpretations and emotions and not from a positivistic approach where one would actually try to measure emotions. Lastly, there have been some other limiting factors for us as a group, as we started out as a group of four people. Since two members of the group disenrolled from the university, we ended up being a group of two, which has limited our resources in terms of manpower and on the amount of research and content that can be included in the project. As the old group members did not leave the group simultaneously, we have also had to change plans such as the design of the project etc., which have resulted in time constraints.

Theories

The Multidimensional Model

One theoretical framework that can be particularly suitable for our chosen approach is the multidimensional model of audience discourse by Kim Schrøder. Not only can Schrøder's model be used to analyze the reception data of audience readings, it can also assist in the process of planning, "empirical studies of reception." (Schrøder, 2000, p. 234). Moreover, it deals with three decoding positions, which is the dominant-hegemonic, the negotiated and the oppositional position (ibid, p. 238).

Theory: towards a multidimensional model

On the contrary to Hall's one-dimensional model that highlights audience's level of agreement of the inscribed meaning of the media text, Schrøder explains that readings by audiences are far more complex and intricate, which is why there is a need for a multidimensional model that take other vital factors into account than Hall's model (Schrøder, 2000, p. 233). Apart from this, Hall's model is also more hypothetical and thus in, "need to be further developed in order to become an adequate tool for empirical research" (ibid, p. 242). In contrast, Schrøder's model constructs a conceptual framework that helps with bringing the focus to the various properties about the media experiences of audiences (ibid). Another major difference between the models is the fact that unlike Hall's model, the multidimensional model looks at the decoding processes and does not focus on the encoding process even though the encoding and decoding are interrelated. Rather, it sees the encoding, "as the 'moment' that produces the media text encountered by the audiences." (ibid). Finally, the model by Hall was created in an effort to clarify class (struggle) and their meaning processes, leaving out several, very relevant and significant social categories like age, gender and ethnicity (ibid, p. 240). The multidimensional model consists of six different dimensions – these dimensions are: **motivation, discrimination, comprehension, position, evaluation and implementation**. However, the dimensions that will be used for this project are motivation and comprehension, as these are the most relevant for the aim of the study at hand. Due to the character limit, the description and analysis of the position dimension can be found in the appendix (appendix 8).

Motivation:

As the name suggests, the motivation dimension deals with whether people are motivated to read the certain media text or not – if not, the process of reception stops immediately (ibid, p. 244). Consequently, motivation deals with the "links of relevance", "between the readers' personal universe and the universe perceived to be presented by the text (and the situation surrounding its consumption)." (ibid, p. 245). Some of these links are centered around one's personal 'interest' in the subject of the message, "innovation" which is, "the experience of gaining new insights provided by the text" (ibid), "reminiscence" that is when one is reminded of experiences or people through the message, "community" is the feeling of belonging in the text and lastly "identification" which is the feeling of attachment of some sorts to a character in the media text (ibid). The dimensions, as well as the motivation dimension can be viewed as a continuum of the readers' degree of involvement, where they can go from weak to strong involvement (ibid).

Comprehension:

The dimension of comprehension is conceptualized within Peirce's theory on sign/social semiotics and thus deals with the fundamental level of sign. This means that it should be able to, "conceptualize the generation of meaning across different types of sign, and to situate meaning in a social content." (ibid). Furthermore, Schrøder explains that the mental image of the sign for the interpretant is a new sign in itself and thus, the chain of semiosis for individuals is unique (ibid). The reason for this is because of the associative networks where signs, "acquire their meaning depend on the unique discursive socialization that each individual has experienced, reflecting the individual collage of such social parameters as class, gender, ethnicity etc. in addition to more coincidental biographical factors" (ibid). As a result of living in communicative relationships, signs' meanings are stabilized because of the works of interpretive communities which makes communication achievable (ibid, pp. 245-246). Thus, comprehension deals with how the encoded media meanings are decoded differently by audience members on the denotative and connotative levels in accordance with both macro-social factors like class and gender, and micro-social/situational relations (ibid, p. 246). Therefore, this dimension should be interpreted as a continuum of decodings, "from complete *divergence from* to complete *correspondence to* either the encoders' intended meanings or the readings produced by other recipients." (ibid, p. 246). In this case, it is the latter.

Emotion as Interpretative Language

As illustrated earlier, when we use the term emotions in this project, we are referring to the emotional reactions that are connected to the cognitive responses dependent on an individual's experiences and the external environment. When we look at a person's reactions, we are looking at the cognitive aspect of the reactions that is interpretative and directs certain emotions (Höijer, 2000, p. 45). In other words, feelings are directed by thoughts and are linked to situations where those feelings are evoked. In order to analyze the emotional responses in the form of first-person descriptions in our study, we turn to "anchoring", one of two mechanisms Höijer (2010) adopts in her analysis on media texts' representations of climate change (p. 719). Derived from the social representations theory, which highlights new phenomena that bring about public debates and ideological struggle, leading to changes in the collective thinking in society, the concept of anchoring shows how visual and verbal representations of an unknown phenomenon is made reference to a, "well-known sphere of earlier social representations" (ibid, p. 718). Höijer (2010) mentions several kinds of anchoring, such as naming, thematic anchoring, or metaphoric anchoring, all of which are employed to facilitate comprehension of a new phenomenon (p. 719). Amongst the different kinds of anchoring, we find thematic anchoring, where, "the new is attached to some basic patterns of cultural thinking…" (ibid), most relevant in this project.

Drawing upon Derek Edwards' (1999) argument that emotion categories are not to be understood as a person's feelings or expressions alone, but that emotions can be analyzed and interpreted as discursive phenomena (p. 279), Höijer (2010) asserts that "emotions are inscribed into, or attached to, or addressed by representations of language and images" (ibid, p. 719). Emotional anchoring, then, refers to the communicative process that links a new phenomenon or idea to more well-known emotions, which in turn allows for the unknown to be known and recognized as a positive or negative feeling (ibid). Höijer gives an example of the use of emotionally loaded metaphors in texts about biotechnology to address the problem of pollution, where the metaphors function to anchor the subject in the "feelings of fear and mortal danger" (ibid, p. 719). While she applies the mechanism to her analysis on media texts (pp. 717–731), this study focuses on the interpretative reactions communicated through the respondents' use of language, that is, emotion words and expressions in respondents' descriptions. Thus, the mechanism is adopted in this project for the analysis on participants' meaning-making processes through emotional anchoring, meaning the way they describe and

rationalize their feelings, instead of focusing on the encoded meaning of the museum materials and their representations. It is perhaps also worth mentioning that, in this project, we are only exploring the "anchors" embedded in language and not photographs due to the form of data we collected.

Identity & Belonging

Postmigrant Identity

In their article about the representation of "Self" and "Other" through artistic materials, Anne Ring Petersen and Sabrina Vitting-Seerup (2019) adopt the term "postmigrant", the initial use of which relates to, "an instrument of critique and self-identification", as they address the individual and collective struggles over identity under postmigration circumstances (p. 140). The idea of "the postmigratory" challenges the structural discrimination and the negative discursive implications on immigration that categorizes "migrants" as the "Other" that is being differentiated from the national "we" (ibid, pp. 140-141). While the concept of identity has been challenged for its implications for fixity and stability, Stuart Hall's argument for using the term 'identification' instead of identity tackles this problem, as the term indicates process and change, and the notion that identity formation and self-perception depends on, "the subject's multiple relationships with others on an intersubjective as well as a collective level" (ibid, p. 145). Postmigrant identity touches upon the ways in which a person or a group is placed in a position by external parties, as well as how individuals position themselves in a certain situation and with respect to the past (ibid, p. 141).

In terms of disidentification, the authors refers to Cuban-American scholar José Esteban Muñoz who speaks of the act of such concept as a strategy that allows, "minoritized subjects to negotiate a hegemonic public sphere that either stigmatizes or punishes those who do not conform to the normative models of citizenship, gender, race, heterosexuality, cultural identity", that it takes over identification (who I am) and counter-identification (who I am not) (ibid, pp. 145-146). Disidentification is about, "recycling and rethinking encoded meaning in order to question and expand the range of possible identifications and the notion of what 'identity' can be" (ibid, p. 146). In the context of postmigrant identity, identification and disidentification are intertwined processes that can be used for negotiating undesired ascribed identities, as, "Individuals may unsettle, for instance, the naturalized category of 'migrants' by simultaneously identifying and disidentifying with 'the migrant', thereby

renegotiating and expanding the connotations of the category without trying to negate the existing ones" (ibid). This allows for the recognition, acceptance and/or rejection of certain identities amid the complications of migrant conditions. Thus, similar to a conventional identity theory, the postmigrant identity theory emphasizes the conceptions of identification and disidentification in a (post)migrant condition, where individuals' identity formation stems from their self-positionings as they identify with others, or distinguish themselves from the "Others" (ibid, p. 142). Regarding how the theory lends itself to the studies of identity and migrant identity in particular, Petersen and Vitting-Seerup (2019) assert that, "[p]ostmigrant thinking contributes to a dynamic understanding of identity and offers deeper insight into the translocal character of contemporary identity formation" (ibid, p. 143). Conclusively, the study shows that an individual's identity is always negotiated and engendered in specific scenarios, arguably including those adopting a transnational lifestyle and sense of belonging (ibid, p. 166).

Belonging and Identifications

On the differences between identity and identification, Eugenia Katartzi (2018) states that, "identification captures how one identifies oneself and others, a process that arguably permeates every sphere of private and public life" (p. 36). It is also "active and processual" and focuses on the "agents" that carry out the act of identifying instead of the substantiating idea of "identity" (ibid). This means that when talking about identification, one is talking about the constantly changing, multifaceted identifying processes that one carries out, rather than merely addressing certain identity or identities one recognizes themselves with (ibid). In terms of belonging, she refers to literature that draws upon its relation to essential social bonds and the feelings of emotional safety, familiarity and comfort, its uncertainty and composition of both a person's emotional investments and their desire for attachments, that is not to be mixed with and reduced to identifications" (ibid, p. 36). She also mentions two dimensions of belonging – the formal and the informal, the former of which indicates, "the rights and duties that stem from citizenship or lack thereof", and the latter refers to, "the lived experiences of inclusion and exclusion" (ibid).

Analysis

In the following sections, an analysis of the data will be conducted using the three dimensions: motivation, comprehension and position from Schrøder's multidimensional model, in order to unfold the complex decoding processes that the participants have of their media readings and experiences at the Immigrant Museum. Moreover, the concepts of emotional anchoring, postmigrant, and belonging and identifications will be used to explore the ways in which the visitors and researchers have reacted emotionally to the two spots at the museum, and to discover possible (re)construction of identities and senses of belonging. As a result of the commonalities found in the responses, the analysis is grouped into two parts, with interviewee 1 and researcher 1 in one group and interviewee 2 and researcher 2 in another.

The Multidimensional Model

The analysis is going to start off with the **motivation** dimension. Interviewee 1 explains and puts into perspective that we live in a modern and high-tech society, where we are bound to mobile devices. As a result, she feels motivated to create interests apart from these and find time for interesting activities, such as going to museums. This is also in relation to the Immigrant Museum, as she finds it interesting because of the topic of nationality (appendix 4). When describing a motivation about the Immigrant Museum, researcher 1 explains the excitement she felt, when she heard about the museum, because she had never heard about it before (appendix 6). This is also related to the link of relevance in the form of personal "interest", because as a non-ethnic Dane with Turkish parents, she feels that there is a lack of representation of her community in Denmark, which is why she looked forward to the visit where she hoped to find this representation (ibid). It is also clear that "identification" takes place. Interviewee 1 explains that arriving in a new country can be rather overwhelming when it is an unknown culture that one arrives to. She respects this and the fact that when arriving to a new country, "you're trying to adjust to their culture, but not all the way" (ibid). Here she identifies herself with the guest workers, relating to the hardships that come along with moving to a new place and thus feeling a type of attachment by empathizing with them.

Apart from this, there have been several examples of "reminiscence" throughout researcher 1's text. In spot 1, researcher 1 is reminded of the fact that she still goes through some of the same struggles as the guest workers, despite the fact that they arrived in Denmark decades

ago. Furthermore, she describes a scenario of systemic racism from middle school that they also ended up talking about during the visit at the museum, which she is reminded of. Researcher 1 explains that during their cooking class, their teacher tried to force all the Muslim kids in the class to eat the chili con carne that they had cooked against their will, despite it not being halal:

> "...she kept on trying to force us to eat it and threatened us with getting the principal to come down to the kitchen. […] The teacher brought another teacher [...] This teacher [...] tried to manipulate us into thinking that halal butchering was equivalent to even more animal cruelty. As we knew this not to be true, they finally got the principle to come down who also threatened us – this time with calling our parents" (appendix 6).

Although she remembers this experience of racism very vividly and as being a horrible memory, the fact that they were able to stand up for themselves at a young age, makes her glad (ibid).

As a history student, interviewee 2 expresses his interest in knowing his own history and culture, as well as the importance of doing so. Thus, we can argue that his motivation of visiting the museum links his personal universe to the perceived universe presented (Schrøder, 2000, pp. 245), in such a way that makes him focus on gaining knowledge about immigrant history and culture in Denmark through the visit. At spot 1, he shows interest in reading about the Turkish immigrants' way of living as a guest worker in Denmark in the 60s and 70s, which, in his words, "gives [me] an insight into something I personally don't know much about, even though I'm [a] history […] and political science student" (appendix 5). This could be a sign of "innovation" as he gains new perceptions from the exhibits. For researcher 2, it is clear that to understand an issue or a culture better is the initial and major motivation for her to visit the museum, while she also seeks "sensational comforts" that would allow her to feel connected to certain situations (appendix 7). This implies her expectations for and self-reflection on visiting museums in general, looking back at her previous experiences and memories related to museum visits. At spot 1, she thinks about the impressions Danes have on immigrants in general, and Asians, Chinese, and Hong Kongers in particular (ibid), which is a reflection of her "identification" as a link of relevance. From the above, it appears that interviewee 1 and both researchers have somewhat of a middle-strong involvement, especially through identifying with the guest workers and reminiscing back to personal and similar struggles or experiences, whilst interviewee 2 might have experienced less intense degree of involvement.

In terms of the dimension of **comprehension**, there seems to be different aspects and factors of the visit that have affected the denotative and connotative decoding of the respondents who generally focus on divergent details. In spot 2, interviewee 1 describes how curious she gets when finding out that there are a lot of similarities and familiarities between the three religions in terms of rituals and points and that they, "do cross over each other." (appendix 4). She elaborates on a distinctive point by indicating that Danish people are not as religious in comparison to other backgrounds and that she feels like, "you are more prone to understand people with the same beliefs or people with different beliefs, but still believe in something" (ibid). Although researcher 1 agrees with the fact that there are a lot of similarities between the religions, she focuses on the texts on a more denotative level. She explains that she finds the texts to be of very basic knowledge and thus very vague, as a quick Google search or a look through Wikipedia could give the same information." (appendix 6). Moreover, she argues that based on her own knowledge of Islam, there was some misinformation and a lack of information, especially with, "fundamental stuff that was missing" in one religion and mentioned in another, although it is, "something that is applicable for both religions" (ibid). In terms of the section on the Turkish guest workers, interviewee 1 and researcher 1 once again detect different aspects of the exhibition. When speaking of spot 1, interviewee 1 explains that, "these exhibitions and portrayals do showcase that we're not all the same." (appendix 4). Moreover, she explains the importance of knowing and understanding others' culture, which she believes that the museum showcases (ibid). In contrast to this, researcher 1 focuses again more on the contents of the text and argues that something she very often noticed was that the texts were lacking context and detail, which she believes is the case in the section of the guest workers (appendix 6). She continues to explain that the interview questions, "were generally based on their religious beliefs in terms of food and alcohol; which did not enlighten the visitor about experiences that were not related to these topics." (ibid). She mentions that the lack of information and context was particularly in terms of the guest workers and their stories and how selection of them and the questions (ibid).

Interviewee 2 interprets the photos of the Turkish immigrants as a reflection of their tough lives, as he further explains, "[it] actually reminds me of [the] prostitutes being brought to Denmark [and] being told that they can get a […] better life, and think they get a job and then […] they have to send money home and pay off their bills and stuff" (appendix 5). This can be considered the respondent's connotative reading of the exhibits that he has taken into account the imaginative "stories" behind the photos and therefore feels sad for the

immigrants for their living conditions. It appears that researcher 2 shares a similar understanding of the photos and claims herself a future immigrant, she expresses concerns about the integration processes into the Danish culture that are seemingly hard (appendix 7). Hence, according to the comprehension framework, we can argue that the readings from both respondents came about with a macro-social effect that connects with the issues of race, culture and social problems, and at the same time micro-social relations that bring respondents to their own social sphere within which their personal experiences and/or memories are kept. At the second spot, interviewee 2 finds it surprising that the number of Muslims in Denmark is much lower than expected: "[…] when you think about what is being talked about in the media […] you have this idea it's way more, but that's only like what, less than five percent of the population" (appendix 5). Here, the respondent receives the denotative meaning of the statistics presented. This reading is then created based on the macro-social factors of the society's media portrayal of the respective population and religion specifically. Researcher 2, on the other hand, receives the information with a positive attitude, as she explains: "I knew about this, but it still fascinates me. I always wondered how similar they are since they stem from the same or similar origins" (appendix 7). This means that her previous knowledge about the religions has affected her reception of the things she reads here. Therefore, when looking at all four decodings, it can be stated that the decodings do not necessarily correspond to nor completely diverge from each other's readings.

Emotional Responses

Recalling the concept of emotional anchoring, Höijer describes this as a communicative process in which an unknown phenomenon becomes well-known in the form of a negative or positive emotion (Höijer, 2010, p. 719). Thus, the choice of words and language that the respondents use to express the emotional descriptions are then 'anchored' in a specific emotion. Due to the space limitation of the project, we are picking out and analyzing only the dominating emotions identified in the transcripts and the researchers' writings (see appendix 8 for more).

Spot 1 (Turkish guest workers)

At the spot about the Turkish guest workers, interviewee 1 explains the hardships of the life of an immigrant in emotions of respect and importance several times through her interpretation of the exhibition. Respect can be defined as: "a feeling of admiration that you

have for someone because of the person's knowledge, skill or achievements" (the Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). The respondent explains the importance of respecting the families and people that go through a lot, when arriving in a new country with a culture that is vastly different from their own. She describes that when the Turkish guest workers drove from Denmark to Germany to buy Turkish groceries, she feels like, "there's a longing for home" and that arriving, "to a new country can be quite overwhelming and not knowing their culture, […] you're trying to adjust to their culture, but not all the way, which I kind of find it as, that's quite respect, that's a lot of respect" (appendix 4). As aforementioned, one's use of feelings is guided by thoughts and is thus connected to settings in which those feelings are evoked. It can then be said that the respondent's use of respect as a positive emotion, is connected to her knowledge on past experiences of struggle that "immigrant" families go through when adapting to a new culture, while trying to maintain one's own culture and background simultaneously. Thus, she is also imagining and empathizing with this struggle of having to balance life between two different sides as an immigrant, which she anchors in the negative emotion of being overwhelmed, which is when there is, "too much to deal with", and/or when one is caused, "to feel sudden strong emotion" (the Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

Since researcher 1 has parents and family that have first-handedly faced several of the experiences and struggles too, her own feelings and use of emotion words are also guided by events, in this case the experiences of her family. Thus, she explains that it was nice to see a representation of the Turkish guest workers' incidents (appendix 6). Since she knows how unpleasant it is to not be represented as a Turkish Dane, her understanding of the exhibition is anchored in happiness and feeling represented through the use of positive emotion words such as representation and nice, wherein nice can be defined as: "pleasant, enjoyable, or satisfactory" (the Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). However, just like the spot on the religions, researcher 1 once again shows feelings of disappointment through her description of the text provided and the lack of information on the curation: "This was especially in terms of the background knowledge of the interviewees, their stories, the selection of these interviewees and the thought processes and reasonings for the asked questions. None of this was provided, which did not help with the issues of (mis)representation that I was dealing with emotionally." (appendix 6). Being disappointed can be defined as: "unhappy or discouraged because your hopes or expectations about something or someone were not satisfied" (the Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). The interpretation of the exhibition especially stems from the

fact that most of the questions are, "based on religious beliefs in terms of food and alcohol, which did not enlighten the visitor about experiences that were not related to these topics." (ibid). Researcher 1's description of this exhibition is based on her existing feelings of (mis)representation of non-ethnic Danes and on her knowledge on other issues that are not based on eating habits, which appears to be an important part of her understanding representation. Thus, this is anchored in feelings of disappointment and lack of representation. Referring back to Höijer (2010), researcher 1's verbal representations of the museum's depiction of the Turkish guest workers are made graspable through the anchoring of the mentioned negative feelings.

Moreover, the feeling of interest is identified in both interviewee 2 and researcher 2's initial responses to the stories of Turkish immigrants in Denmark. Interest is defined as, "the feeling of wanting to give your attention to something or of wanting to be involved with and to discover more about something" (the Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). Whereas the word "interesting" had been used multiple times in both responses, the way the respondents refer to the immigrants also hints at their interest in the topic. For instance, when asked what one would say to the person depicted at the scene, Interviewee 2 answers, "I would like to know how it felt and […] did they think they were being greeted well by the Danish society or […] did they feel they were becoming part of […] Denmark when they moved here?" (appendix 5). This shows that he is curious to know how the immigrants felt and that he would like to learn more about the people who have experienced the migration into Denmark. The researcher also shows interest as she explains that she wants to know, "how one would feel or relate if they have had family members who have had similar experiences or know about these stories" (appendix 7), showing that she wants to dig deeper into the subject. Furthermore, both respondents' use of "they" when addressing the immigrants implies the conception of "we/they", anchoring this cultural thinking in the feeling of interest and wonder. Hence, we can argue that "interest" is expressed as a positive emotion through the verbal representations of the respondents' feelings and thoughts towards the Turkish guest workers. This way the "unknown", the cultural and personal thinking of immigration is made related to the positive/neutral attitude and feelings towards the immigrants in Denmark.

Another emotion anchored in both the interviewee 2 and researcher 2's sets of data is sadness. Sadness is defined as, "unhappy or sorry; showing, feeling, or causing unhappiness or regret" (the Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). According to Höijer's (2000), sadness should be considered a negative feeling connected to a person's past experiences that has made them

feel sad. When Interviewee 2 looks at one of the Turkish interviews, where there is a man who is making food, he expresses sadness: "...they don't look very happy […], to me it's [a] very sad photo, especially when […] they had to... be by himself and... the food was cheap, and he needed to send the money back home" (appendix 5). This description of the exhibits and the application of emotions to the photos reflect the respondent's imagination of the life of an immigrant. This shows that the respondent's impression of immigrants' lives is anchored in the feelings of sadness and loneliness, which are associated with an unpleasant life away from home. Similarly, researcher 2 also addresses the "hard" situations immigrants might have faced whilst connecting her emotions to such scenarios. As she says that, "I feel sad for how much they might have given up trying to make life easier for themselves and the later generations" (appendix 7). Here, she relates the conception of immigration to the feelings of having to give up or lose something for the betterment in the future. Thus, we can argue that the respondents' verbal representations of the imaginatively "hard" migrant conditions are made comprehensible through the anchoring in the negative feelings of sadness, loneliness, hardness, and having lost something.

Spot 2 (Religions)

Within the data from interviewee 1, a few emotions were identified: interesting, respect and important. Apart from these, calming, curious and familiar were also found in relation to the mentioned emotions above. As aforementioned, when interviewee 1 talks about the three religions, she explains that despite of the way that the religions are presented, the rituals are very similar: "...so it's quite interesting to see how these three religions are showcased even though they are different, but they are still similar and familiar" (appendix 4). This description and the use of emotions that the interviewee has on the religions explains her reflections on how they all have commonalities. She also explains that this always makes her more curious and that, "these three biggest religions actually do cross over each other", which makes the other religions that she does not identify with, feel familiar (ibid). Thus, her interpretation of the section on religions and the expressions on emotional words shows that it is anchored in feelings of interest, curiosity and familiarity. As Höijer explains, when looking at a person's reaction that directs emotions, it is the same as the cognitive aspect of interpretative reactions (Höijer, 2000, p. 45). This means that interviewee 1's use of emotion words such as familiarity and interest in rituals and similarities, are guided by thoughts of situations where such feelings are evoked, as she associates the familiarity and similarity

between the religions with her knowledge Christianity, since she identifies herself as a Christian. This will be explained further in the upcoming sections.

In case of researcher 1, there are some other emotions at play. She expresses that the more she engaged with the texts, she found them to be vague, as the texts provided were, "basic knowledge of the religions." (appendix 6). Lastly, she argues that the setup of this exhibition and the information provided seemed to be shallow and impersonal. This makes it harder for her to relate emotionally and she believes that that would change, if, "Real stories from followers of the mentioned religions, something that can make it more "real" and tangible for the visitor" would change that (ibid). Thus, through using negative-loaded emotion words such as vague, impersonal and shallow in order to explain the lack of depth and "character" in the texts on religions, she makes meaning of the exhibition through emotional anchoring and thus rationalizes her feelings, as mentioned in the theory section. As a result of using these emotion words, she is also indirectly expressing feelings of discontentment, which is then anchored in the mentioned negative emotion words. Furthermore, she also expresses this directly when talking about her initial reaction to the museum experience, which did not change much after the visit, because, "even though some of it did [change], I was still left with a feeling of "unfinished business" (appendix 6).

Same as the responses at spot 1, both interviewee 2 and researcher 2 say they were interested in the topic. Besides the repetitive use of the word "interesting" and "fascinating", we can find evidence of this emotional anchor in, e.g interviewee 2's explanation: "I think mostly I'm fascinated that there are so many parallels between the different religions…" (appendix 5). Thus, we can argue that the respondent's reception of the representations of the three religions in this section are anchored in his feelings of interest. Moreover, in researcher 2's response, as she says, "I knew about this, but it still fascinates me" and when she brought up her own religion Catholicism, she also set the same emotion theme to her feelings and attitude towards the topic. Thus, we can "feel" how she feels, especially when she uses personal expressions such as, "I personally find it interesting" (appendix 7). The lack of connectedness has also been expressed in both responses. Connected is defined as the feeling of being, "related to someone or something" (the Cambridge Dictionary, 2020), and the lack of it subsequently implies the feeling of not finding relation to a person or subject. As interviewee 2 says, "I don't really feel connected with the pictures at all. […] It's just like random pictures of book and time, dates..." (appendix 5). This is a direct expression of

“unconnectedness”, as he explicitly says that he does not feel connected, while also explaining that the exhibits are “random” items, meaning that he does not have memories or associations related to these objects. Here, the situation where emotions are evoked can be interpreted as a person’s memories, thus the emotional distancing from the visual elements may imply the lack of emotion. However, as aforementioned, the lack of emotion can still mean something to the study and in this case, it is instead regarded as the lack of a positive emotion (connected) and thus the expression of the opposite (unconnected). Similarly, researcher 2 hints at her indifference in her response: “I do not feel much about these things or new knowledge as it in fact feels pretty far away from me” (appendix 7). It is an expression of not feeling connected, as she explains, it felt “far away” from her. Overall, using the concepts above have explored the ways in which the participants have individually decoded the two exhibitions and how their decodings and interpretations are related to and guided by emotions. These concepts have also hinted at the role of identity and belonging that seems to be connected to the participants’ understanding, view and meaning-making processes of the exhibitions. In the following sections, this role of belonging and identity will be studied further.

Sense of Belonging and Identifications

Identity formation is the process through which a person is put into positions by others, and by themselves in particular situations with reference to the past (Petersen and Vitting-Seerup, 2019, p. 141). The latter is particularly evident in our respondents’ descriptions as they explain their emotions in relation to their cultural backgrounds, experiences, and self-perceptions that influence where they stand as residents in Denmark.

When talking about ethnicity and nationality, interviewee 1 expresses that she identifies herself as an African-Ghanaian woman and says: “However, I am born in Denmark, uhm, so I do identify my- or call myself born in Denmark but uhm, Ghanaian.” (appendix 4). As aforementioned, the formation of identities stem from individuals’ self-positionings, which is dependent on the individual’s, “multiple relationships with others on an intersubjective as well as a collective level” (Pedersen and Vitting-Seerup, 2019, pp. 142, 145). Seemingly, she backs up her identification throughout the audio-recorded interview, in which she appears to differentiate between herself and Danish people. About spot 1, she explains that the exhibition, “highlights what immigrants have gone through and also it shows a different side of… Denmark than what Danish people do expect” (appendix 4). This identification of

Danish people and her self-positioning can also be found in her contemplations of the exhibition on the religions: “I understand better people that have a different religion because not only am I Christian myself, but because, uhm, I’m not a Dane, I... feel like you [...] are more prone to understand people with same beliefs or people with different beliefs. but still believe in something, […] 'cause then they also know where your limits” (ibid). Once again she explains that she is not a Dane, which is an open form of counter-identification, meaning that she explains who she is *not* (Pedersen and Vitting-Seerup, 2019, ibid, pp. 145-146). Moreover, she also identifies herself as being Christian, explaining that it can be easier to understand religious people when being a believer in contrast to people who do not believe. This also fits with the following explanation of identification, seen as, “an active process that focuses on the individuals that identifies themselves or others, and not on, “the substantiating idea of “identity” (Katartzi, 2018, p. 36). Thus, interviewee 1 also identifies Danes alongside herself by indicating that they generally are not that religious. It can also be said that her feeling of similarity and her feeling of being able to resonate with other religious people despite it being people from different religions fit with the understanding of belonging mentioned. Thus, interviewee 1’s senses of belonging in terms of religion and ethnicity/nationality are related to her social bonds and the feelings of familiarity and similarity, which she also portrays in her answers.

The question and struggle of belonging and identity have especially been clear in the answers of researcher 1, who expresses past and present issues of this. As a Muslim with Turkish roots born in Denmark, she explains her, “life-long struggle with phenomena of nationality, belonging and identity.” (appendix 6). She describes this as follows: “Feeling a sense of belonging to both nationalities and cultures often tend to lead to feeling like you have lost the directions to your destination [...] Instead of finding home, you end up in an in-between place” (ibid). Researcher 1’s struggle with feelings of belonging and non-belonging due to her ethnicity and nationality stem from being a second-generation immigrant in Denmark. The term postmigrant is particularly relevant here, as it relates to self-identification and critique in terms of identity issues under postmigration circumstances. Identity formation happens through the ways in which individuals position themselves and how they identify with or differentiate themselves from others and “Others” (Pedersen and Vitting-Seerup, 2019, p. 142). Researcher 1 does this by explaining that despite not being able to fit anywhere, she is both Turkish and Danish, because she was born in Denmark but has Turkish roots. Thus, researcher 1’s struggles of identity and self-perception are related to her

subjective and collective relationships with both nationalities and cultures. In turn, this leads her to feel like she is in-between both, leaving her with feelings of being lost. This can be explained through the informal belonging dimension, which suggests lived experiences of either exclusion or inclusion (Katartzi, 2018, p. 36). As aforementioned, researcher 1 has experienced cases of systemic racism in middle school, which is one of the experiences of exclusion that she has had. Another experience she shares is connected to cases of exclusion on a more collective level, which is in terms of halal food. She explains that there have been several occasions where brands removed the halal stamp from their food although the food was halal, "because they had received complaints about this matter from ethnic-Danes" (appendix 6). She describes her issue with this as follows: "What is bothersome and offensive to a Danish Muslim is the fact that people, including businesses go the extra mile to show that you do not belong in Denmark and do not have a space within the Danish society." Experiences as such depicts the structural discrimination and the negative discourse on immigrants and immigration, where immigrants are put in a duality of the "Other"/the national "we" are what the concept of "postmigratory" challenges (Pedersen and Vitting-Seerup, 2019, pp. 140-141). These experiences of researcher 1 then seem to result in processes of disidentification in which ethnic minorities can, "negotiate a hegemonic public sphere that either stigmatizes or punishes those who do not conform to the normative models" (ibid, pp. 145-146). As researcher 1 has several times experienced this stigmatization, she appears to have trouble with her identifications. Although she sees herself as being a 'Turkish Dane', she explains that ethnic-Danes do not think that she and others like her belong in Denmark. However, as she also says, "I am Turkish, I am Danish, I am neither and I am everything in-between." (appendix 6), she underlines that she still does not choose to conform nor self-position herself to one nationality and culture, although being stigmatized for her non-Danish citizenship, cultural identity and race. Instead, she chooses to increase the range of identifications. By carrying out her multiple identities, she refuses the "one-size-fits-all" understanding of migrant identity.

On the other hand, when asked about his national and ethnic identifications, interviewee 2 gives a straight-forward answer: "I [was] born in Denmark and raised in Denmark, have Danish parents, so I consider myself very Danish" (appendix 5). This is a strong and direct statement of his identity as a Danish citizen and being ethnically "very Danish". As mentioned in the previous section, when he addresses the immigrants in Denmark, he wonders how they felt and were treated in Danish society. This implies the "we/they" concept

and that he might see himself standing with the Danes that "received" the immigrants into the Danes' land. Then, looking at exhibits about celebrating holidays and how it is like to be an immigrant, he says that, "it kinda made me think about all the immigrants from Denmark that went to America, […] I'm actually more connected to [that] one. […] I think because, maybe because I'm [a] historian, [...] I see resemblance to that" (ibid). This shows how strongly he sees himself not only as a Dane, but a Danish historian who knows their history and feels for those Danish emigrants instead of the immigrants that moved to Denmark. When it comes to religions, he also talks about his perception of himself in terms of religion: "Maybe because I'm not such a religious person, it doesn't really give me anything" (ibid). This may again explain why even though he is connected to one of the religions and yet does not feel emotionally connected to the respective section of the museum. In relation to one's sense of belonging, which consists of an individual's emotional investments and their desire for attachments (Katartzi, 2018, p. 36), interviewee 2 expresses it this way: "I feel [going to museums is] like something you need to do to stay informed and know […] where I come from and why my country looks like the way it does" (appendix 5). The way he describes his "duties" and the use of the possessive pronoun "my" can be interpreted as one's sense of belonging and ownership of such belongingness, as he claims his close relations with the things he mentions.

Lastly, researcher 2 has, throughout the text, identified herself as a foreigner just moved to Denmark and started to integrate as a new member of Danish society: "[n]ow that I have got used to living in Denmark and am making an effort to fit into the culture and system, I see the [Immigrant] Museum from a rather different perspective" (appendix 7). This is her internal perspective of the self and a way of saying who she thinks she is. Furthermore, she says that, "it is as if you got a dual identity because you cannot quite figure out how much you want to be indulged in this second culture, and how important it is to keep a part of your original culture where your family and friends are" (ibid). This shows her struggles in finding herself amongst the different cultures she identifies herself with, which can be understood as her transnational identifications, as she will soon become one of the immigrants herself. We can see that she looks at herself as an "Other" who does not belong to the majority group, whilst she reveals her thoughts or worries about what Danes think of immigrants and particularly Asians like herself (ibid). While an individual's identity is always negotiated and engendered in specific scenarios, arguably also those shifting to a transnational lifestyle and sense of belonging (Petersen and Vitting-Seerup, 2019, p. 166), researcher 2's identity struggles

precisely reflect her negotiation and acceptance of the new dual identities. Conclusively, we can see that visitors' self-identifications and cultural backgrounds can to a certain extent account for their reactions in general and emotional responses in particular to the things they encounter at the museum.

Conclusion

When it comes to visiting museums, there generally tends to be divergent intentions and reasons for why visitors decide to go to museums. These reasons usually reveal much more about visitors' personal backgrounds and social relations that play a major role in shaping their identities and thus also how they make meaning of exhibitions and museums. This also sheds light on how the visitor experiences can result in different emotional responses that are affected by the mentioned factors. This project has explored how four visitors with different backgrounds have decoded two exhibition spots at the Immigrant Museum focusing on the three major religions and on Turkish guest workers. More specifically, it has looked into and examined the emotional responses the visitors had to the two exhibitions and how they construct and reconstruct their identities, both prior to and during the visit at the museum. However, in order to study this, it has been necessary to look into the role of heritage museums, sites and exhibitions in an attempt to understand the relation between this field and the interpretation and meaning-making processes and thus emotional responses of the visitors, as mentioned in the literature review.

As the analysis shows, our research findings indicate differentiating emotional reactions of the participants in relation to various factors. At spot 1 (Turkish guest workers), both interviewee 2 and researcher 2 felt interested, whilst interviewee 1 also felt respect, and researcher 1 felt disappointed at the same time. However, all of them connected their reactions to their personal experiences and knowledge, implying that these are some of the major factors affecting a museum visitor's emotional response. At spot 2 (religions), most respondents felt positive about how the three religions are put together for comparisons so that visitors can see the similarities between them. They also felt familiarity when they looked at the religion they have a connection with. The results in general show a relation between the emotional responses of visitors and their knowledge and familiarity with the religions, which also exemplifies the impact of personal interest and experiences on emotional reactions. By comparing the results from the two exhibitions, we can argue that personal narratives that are connected to respondents' lived experiences may evoke more emotional responses than mere descriptions and information.

Furthermore, the respondents' identifications and sense of belonging can be linked to the way they react to the exhibitions and the museum's representations of immigrants and religions in general. This is also the case of the results in terms of Schrøder's multidimensional model,

where the motivation, comprehension, and position of the participants play an impactful role in their readings of and reactions to what is presented to them. Conclusively, we can argue that personal experiences and identities are to a large extent determining the general feelings one has towards a text, a story, a photo etc. Hence, it is important to look at the individuals' background and self-identifications when evaluating emotional responses. Therefore, it is important for researchers to focus on the emotional aspect of the visitors to gain a better understanding of how and why visitors react to the museum materials differently.

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