

Universitat de Lleida

**Trauma Narratives and the 9/11 Memorial & Museum: An Exhibit Analysis
of the Risk of Re-Traumatization Based on SAMHSA's 6 Principles of
Trauma-Informed Care**

Alba Martin Bafalluy

Tutor: Emma Domínguez Rué

25/ 05/ 20203



Note. Mayerson, K. (2007). *9-11* [Painting]. Whitney
Museum of American Art

ABSTRACTE:

La recerca present investiga l'impacte del 9/11 Memorial & Museum en visitants traumatitzats a través de les lents de les narratives del trauma i dels 6 Principis de l'atenció informada en el trauma desenvolupat per SAMHSA. Aquesta recerca es realitza mitjançant un qüestionari elaborat per l'investigador a partir dels 6 Principis on s'analitza cada exposició que conté el museu. L'objectiu d'aquesta investigació, és determinar si el 9/11 Memorial & Museum retraumatitza o cura els visitants de l'anterior o actual trauma relacionat amb els atacs terroristes que es van produir l'11 de setembre de 2001. La conclusió assolida estableix algunes exposicions com retraumatitzants i altres que ajuden en el procés de curació del trauma. Tanmateix, s'ha detectat que l'exposició més important per la formació d'una narració traumàtica, l'Exposició Històrica, no compleix els 6 principis establerts per SAMHSA d'atenció informada sobre el trauma. Per aquest motiu, es determina que el museu no necessàriament retraumatitza els visitants, però tampoc els ajuda a curar el seu anterior o actual trauma seguint una narrativa.

ABSTRACTO:

La presente investigación indaga en el impacto del 9/11 Memorial & Museum en los visitantes traumatizados a través de la lente de las narrativas del trauma, y los 6 Principios de la atención informada sobre el trauma establecido por SAMHSA. La investigación se lleva a cabo mediante un cuestionario desarrollado por el investigador, basado en los 6 Principios utilizados para analizar las exposiciones del museo. El objetivo de esta investigación es determinar si el 9/11 Memorial & Museum re-traumatiza o cura a los visitantes del actual o anterior trauma relacionado con los ataques terroristas que ocurrieron el 11 de septiembre de 2001. La conclusión lograda establece que el museo contiene algunas exhibiciones que re-traumatizan y algunas que pueden ayudar en el proceso de curación del visitante. Sin embargo, se establece que la exhibición más importante para la formación de una narrativa del trauma, la Exhibición Histórica, no cumple con los 6 Principios de la atención informada sobre el trauma implantado por SAMHSA. Por esta razón, se determina que el museo no necesariamente vuelve a traumatizar a los visitantes, pero tampoco ayuda a sanar su anterior o actual trauma siguiendo una narrativa.

ABSTRACT:

The present research investigates the impact of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum on traumatized visitors through the lens of trauma narratives and SAMHSA's 6 Principles of Trauma-Informed Care. The research is carried out by a questionnaire developed by the researcher based on the 6 Principles where each exhibit of the museum is analyzed. The goal of this research is to determine if the 9/11 Memorial & Museum re-traumatizes or heals visitors from current or previous trauma related to the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001. The conclusion reached is that the museum has some exhibits that retraumatize and some that may help in the healing process. However, the most important exhibit for the formation of a trauma narrative, the Historical Exhibit, was found not to accomplish the 6 SAMHSA Principles of Trauma-Informed Approach. For this reason, it is determined that the museum does not necessarily retraumatize visitors, but it does not help visitors to heal their previous or current trauma if following a trauma narrative.

Key Words: Trauma narratives, 9/11 Memorial & Museum, re-traumatization, 6 Principles of Trauma -Informed Care, grief, mourning, museum studies, exhibit analysis, Historical Exhibit.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

INTRODUCTION:6

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND:9

The 9/11 Memorial & Museum and its construction:.....9

Structure of the museum:.....11

Mourning and Grief at the Museum:13

Trauma Narratives:14

METHODOLOGY:18

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:23

Safety:.....23

Trustworthiness and Transparency:.....25

Peer Support:.....26

Collaboration and Mutuality:28

Empowerment, Voice and Choice:29

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:31

CONCLUSION:35

REFERENCES:38

ANNEX 1:43

ANNEX 2:47

ANNEX 4:54

ANNEX 5:58

ANNEX 6:61

ANNEX 7:66

ANNEX 8:69

ANNEX 9:73

Annex 9.1: The Events of the Day73

Annex 9.2: Before 9/11:78

Annex 9.3: After 9/11:.....81

ANNEX 10:86

ANNEX 11:90

INTRODUCTION:

In September 2001, the United States of America suffered one of the biggest losses in history. Four hijacked planes, departing from different airports, had the objective of shaking the whole country by committing terrorist attacks targeting different historical buildings of America, which symbolized the power of the nation; The Twin Towers in New York City, the Pentagon building in Arlington, Virginia, and the United Airlines Flight 93 that “had turned off its original flight path to San Francisco and veered sharply southwest toward Washington D.C. It lost elevation over Shanksville, Pennsylvania” (Weber, 2008, p.139), where it crashed. On the day of the events, the terrorist attacks “would inflict many more casualties than 2,977 victims” (Burke, 2011, n.p.) being one of the biggest loss of civilians in American history.

After the events of the day, the total devastated area in New York City, more known as “Ground Zero”, started a recovery process at the same time as the first responders were looking for survivors. After the extraction of all the debris and the finalization of the search and rescue task by the emergency responders, the construction of a museum and a memorial was starting to be considered. The new memorial place was constructed with the intention of being a “commemorative site as both physical and emotional” (Arad, 2012, as stated in Micieli-Voutsinas, 2016, p. 93). Actually, the 9/11 Memorial & Museum webpage defines “Ground Zero” as follows: a place “located at the World Trade Center in New York City, the 9/11 Memorial & Museum tells the story of 9/11 through media, narratives, and a collection of monumental and authentic artifacts, presenting visitors with personal stories of loss, recovery, and hope.” (n.p.).

The attacks had a huge impact, not only in the United States of America, but also around the world. A common mourning the day after the attacks was seen at “Ground Zero” and around the world for the lives that were lost. As Doss (2008) states, memorials created after the events, are somehow ‘spontaneous’ as they are a creation of “sudden and unexpected events of tragic and traumatic death” (p. 8). Thus, the same author states that such memorials as the 9/11 Memorial & Museum are places that are “highly orchestrated and self-conscious performances of mourning, rituals of public lamentation aimed at expressing, codifying, and ultimately managing grief” (p. 8). In line with this idea, for visitors going through a museum that involves a traumatic experience, it “is a moving, powerful and sometimes overwhelming experience” (Sodaro, 2018, p. 155). The impact of “Ground Zero” as well as other memorials and museums involving tragedy, “have as a key function documentation of past violence so that it cannot be denied or forgotten” (Sodaro, 2018, p. 156).

As a consequence of mourning, grief and the witnessing of such terrible events, people got traumatized by the events that happened that September 11, 2001, creating in many people feelings of uncertainty, loss of identity, pain, etc. However, the role of trauma narratives in the process of healing from a traumatic situation is important. According to Chatterjee, Vreeland & Noble (2009), trauma narratives are used “to assist with counseling on issues of illness, death, loss and mourning, and to help restore dignity, respect and sense of identity [...] (which may be accomplished) by providing springboard for reminiscing and the telling of life stories” (p. 164).

Trauma narratives are a technique used by psychologists that helps the patient create a story of the traumatic situation by following a chronological order to make sense of the events that they went through. According to Schauer, Elbert & Neuner (2011) it

“enables individuals to establish a coherent autobiographical narrative of their most significant experiences. The narration (of the traumatic event) contextualizes life events that were highly reminders, threat-related cues, lose their dominance over the person’s experience of emotions, physiological responses, cognitive patterns, and relationships to self and others in the present” (p. 309).

In order to create a narrative with the aid of audio-visual content, as well as other personal narratives or objects from the victims, survivors, and witnesses of the events, visitors to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum may use the trauma narrative technique while observing the exhibits that present the events surrounding the terrorist attacks in chronological order.

The goal of this study is to determine whether the 9/11 Memorial & Museum is a location where visitors may follow a trauma narrative to advance in their healing, or if the exhibits and venues are likely to retraumatize visitors. To examine the museum’s exhibits in depth, this research used SAMHSA’s 6 Principles of a Trauma-Informed Approach that will be discussed later in this paper. The central question that this research aims to answer is; do trauma narratives portrayed in the 9/11 Memorial & Museum retraumatize or heal visitors?

In order to investigate the research question, a theoretical background was formed based on previous research on the subject, including the construction of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum, the structure of the museum, how mourning and grief are portrayed, and how the tool of trauma narratives used by psychologists is present in some exhibits. Based on this theoretical background, a questionnaire was developed using the 6 Principles of a Trauma-Informed Approach established by SAMHSA. The questionnaire is used to analyze all of the exhibits according to the principles to establish if they are

healing to visitors or if they are likely to re-traumatize visitors. The results of the questionnaire will be analyzed to determine if the museum re-traumatizes or heals visitors with current or previous trauma in regards to the events happening on September 11, 2001.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND:

The 9/11 Memorial & Museum and its construction:

On September 11, 2001, the American nation suffered from a series of terrorist attacks led by the terrorist organization, based in Afghanistan, named al-Qaeda¹. Four planes were hijacked with the intention of crashing into important symbols of power in the United States of America. Two of the planes crashed into the World Trade Center in New York City, the third into the Pentagon, and the fourth crashed in a field in Arlington, Virginia, near Washington D.C. Almost 3000 people died in the attacks that disturbed the nation and the whole world, which suffered a “terror spectacle that was the most extravagant strike on US targets in its history and the first foreign attack on the continental US since the war of 1812” (Kellner, 2004, p.43). In the wake of the events, America suffered from post-traumatic consequences that “contributed to overall sentiments of insecurity, paranoia, and nostalgia for ‘safer times’” (Micieli-Voutsinas, 2016, p.94). Following the events, 15 weeks after the attack, “return to normality and business/ economy were the dominant categories in newspaper articles focused on the rebirth of the World Trade Center” (Opatow, Shemtob and Sweeney, 2018, p.18).

The city’s aim to re-build the 16-acre space that occupied the former World Trade Center complex was to honor and commemorate the victims and the thousands of lives lost in the terrorist attacks. The process of restoration of the Lower Manhattan area had to involve a series of values and symbolic inspirations, and most importantly “it needed to embody American values and speak to the world about America’s resilience in the face of mass murder” (Sagalyn, 2016, p. xi).

Nevertheless, the city officials had a previous plan for the rebuilding of “Ground Zero”² stated in the 2002 memorial service where George Pataki, the then governor of New York State, and Mayor Giuliani “framed the process by imbuing the so called ‘footprints’ of the Twin Towers” (Simko, 2020, p.62). Following that event, according to Simko (2020), important efforts were made to reconceptualize the vision of the World Trade Center around its commitment to preserving the

¹ al-Qaeda: A network of Islamic fundamentalist groups, founded in 1988 and associated with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. The name comes from Arabic, meaning literally ‘the base’. (Oxford Reference).

² Ground Zero: The place where the World Trade Center stood in New York City before it was destroyed in an attack on 11 September, 2001. (Cambridge Dictionary).

significance of the footprints where once stood the two towers (p. 62). Taking into consideration the importance of New York's economic power, "The rebuilding of the 'Ground Zero' was fraught with strategic consequence" (Sagalyn, 2016, p. xi), with the aim to represent and assure the importance of the city as global and powerful, and emphasizing the significance of the area as being one of the largest economic powers of the American nation. According to Sturken (2004), this represents a more hopeful and optimistic view about the future. However, the process of re-building a sacred place led to some controversies as "an effective memorial to the victims of a cataclysmic event is extremely difficult to design" (Knight, 2005, p.1)

There were also discussions about the process of reconstruction of the area, most of the re-design proposals were seen as "an almost obsessive desire to fill it up, to imagine it as something other than it is, a wound in the cityscape" (Sturken, 2004, p.320). Yet, the main message of the reconstruction, according to the architects Elisabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio (2001), was not to fill up the space but to leave it empty, saying, "Let's not build something that would mend the skyline, it is more powerful to leave it void" (p.81). As Sturken (2004) states in her article, the debate to reassemble the area became a dispute between making it an elitist and populist place with aesthetics versus a place for mourning. For this reason, many architects "were accused of subjecting a sacred site to an architectural 'beauty contest'" (p. 320).

Debates were had and discussed further about the design of the new World Trade Center. The creation of a new corporation established by the then Mayor and the Governor of New York State, named Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC), set a world contest in "which over 5,000 entries were submitted from around the world" (Struken, 2004, p.322). Michael Arad and Peter Walker were the winners of the architect contest to reconstruct the damaged area in 2004 and turn it into a memorial. In line with the idea of the architects Elisabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio, Arad's design of the memorial, "Reflecting Absence", consisted of a

"design that features twin waterfall pools surrounded by bronze parapets that list the names of the victims of the 9/11 attacks and the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. The pools are set within a plaza where more than 400 swamp with oak trees grow" (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d.).

In the process of the design, Arad reminisced on memories when the towers stood together and aimed to articulate a vision as "voids never filling up where the surface of the water was *ripped apart*" (Arad, 2012 as cited in Micieli-Voutsinas, 2016, italics mine, p.93).

Following the events of the 19th and 20th century, including the Holocaust or the Apartheid, terrorist attacks and wars around the world, “dominant modes of memorialization relied heavily on monumentality” (Micieli-Voutsinas, 2016, p.94) wanting to keep the memory with monuments in the place where the events happened. However, in recent times, architects and designers have started to change methodologies where “affective heritage has become a commonplace in post- modern memorial architecture” (Micieli-Voutsinas, 2016, p.94). The 9/11 Memorial and Museum is an example of this new methodology of building memorials, as it contains the aforementioned affective heritage and which is applied in the construction of the museum. These new techniques not only aim to build a memorial, but to also construct a museum where didactic practices can be done as well as a way of preserving and remembering this ‘affective heritage’.

This affective heritage, as Micieli-Voutsinas (2016) describes, is the outcome of an evolution in modern commemorative aesthetic values, using official terminology and authoritative narratives less to create and maintain meaning at memorial sites (p.98). The 9/11 Memorial & Museum is a case in point in the way it followed the concept of modern memorial museums by being “constructed of individual memories” (Sodaro, 2018, p.143).

Structure of the museum:

Inaugurated on the 13th of March, 2006, the same day as the memorial, the 9/11 Museum was part of the revitalization of “Ground Zero” in hand with the *Reflecting Absence* architectural work by Michael Arad. Built underneath the footprints of the Twin Towers, the museum was designed by the New York based architect Davis Brody Bond, who was “driven by four principles: memory, authenticity, scale and emotion” (Keegan, 2014, n.p). In the same way as the memorial, the museum had to go through a very careful and calculated process of design, considering and preserving “the collective body of knowledge and expectations about how to remember a traumatic past” (Sodaro, 2018, p.143). In line with this, the principle idea that the museum is trying to portray, according to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage (n.d.), is to present visitors with personal experiences of grief, healing, and hope through video, narratives, and a collection of enormous and genuine items (n.p.).

The outline of the museum was designed to drive people through a journey of memory, starting from the morning before the attacks happened, and ending with the aftermath of the horrific events, after the towers collapsed and the smoke cloud raised from the footprints of the towers and spread through the surroundings of the area. The entry of the museum, located in the Memorial Plaza, is the beginning

of an emotional journey for visitors. Immediately upon entry visitors are greeted with airport – style security, an immediate reminder of the heightened state of fear and security that America has been in since the attacks. Past the entry, visitors are taken to the to the “archeological remains of the building” (Whittenburg, 2021, p.39) where they experience their first contact with beams in real scale, once used to make the towers stand. These beams are enclosed by glass, created by the Norwegian architect firm Snøhetta. They evoke an idea of imagery that “seems typical of the sleek, industrial concrete and steel ‘architecture of memory’.” (Sodaro, 2018, p.144). Afterwards, visitors are taken to the 11,000 square foot space under the footprints of the World Trade Center (see Annex 11, Figure 13), providing the “first official portion of the museum, which is a long hallway dedicated to photographs of the two towers before they were decimated” (Whittenburg, 2021, p.39).

The impactful art exhibitions demonstrate to visitors the importance and historical context of the events, as well as the traumatic experiences that survivors and victims lived and still struggle with today. The exhibit is divided into three parts where visitors are exposed to the chronological explanation of the historical event with the visual support of images and objects that belong to actual victims of the attacks, and “serve as historical markers and entry points into the story” (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d. n.p.). Visitors first face the impact of the Historical Exhibit named ‘September 11, 2001’ starting with the portrayal of the chronological order of the events beginning “with a huge photograph of the Twin Towers on the morning of September 11” (Sodaro, 2018, p.144). The narrative of the exhibition “tells the story of 9/11, using artifacts, images, first-person testimony, and archival audio and video recordings” (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d. n.p.).

Following the aforementioned display, visitors enter the narrative of the historical events that happened before 9/11 in the World Trade Center, which includes the explanation of the construction of the Twin Towers, followed by the terrorist bombing attack happening on the 26th of February of 1993 in the World Trade Center parking garage by al-Qaeda, as a result of being “symbolic targets [...] of global capitalism in the heart of the New York financial district” (Kellner, 2004, p.41), and occurring in that moment as a response of “an emerging radical Islamist ideology” (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d. n.p.).

After this, visitors proceed to an area of the exhibit where they are shown the effects of the events that occurred on that day named “After 9/11”. Visitors are submerged in the immediate consequences of the events and their aftermath. Painted walls, pictures of missing people, fireman, police and volunteers working together in the search for missing civilians, and the process of reconstruction of the area are all part of this exhibit. As Micieli-Voutsinas (2016) states, after the witnessing of this

particular display, “the visitor is relentlessly propelled into a succession of post 9/11 emotions: anger, loss, sadness, grief and revenge” (p.102). The previously mentioned emotions, more concretely regarding loss, sadness and fear, are continually felt in the Memorial Exhibit named after the Latin name, *In-Memoriam*.

In-Memoriam is the title of the exhibit of the museum where “2,983 portrait photographs surround visitors as they enter to the gallery” (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d. n.p.) honoring the victims whose lives were cut short in the two terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center, in Arlington, Virginia and Shanksville, Pennsylvania. In hand with the vast picture-based mural, personal objects belonging to the victims are also displayed to the visitors, creating narratives on how those innocent people “who were simply going on about their daily routines when suddenly they were taken by an act of extreme violence” (Sodaro, 2018, p.154). This space is a deviation from the rest of the museum because of its purpose as a traditional memorial area. However, in contrast to a traditional memorial, it has a more personal feel by displaying faces and personal items of the victims.

All the exhibits formerly mentioned, the *In-Memoriam* space in particular, delineate the museum as a place of mourning. In line with this, “visitors are encouraged to feel absences and sense presences at the memorial and museum, the trauma of 9/11 is no longer confined to the space and time of the past; rather, it exists presently through newly unfolding emotional and material registries” (Micieli-Voutsinas, 2016, p.93) seen during the trajectory of exhibits in the museum. In this way, it can be seen that it is following a traumatic story through its exhibits, also known as trauma narratives, with the display of affective heritage formed by all the objects that the museum contains, and that previously shared a traumatic story, altogether with the structure and the meaning that this sacred place has.

Mourning and Grief at the Museum:

The concepts of mourning and grief are adjacent to the essence of the museum and its purpose of physical place where victims, survivors, and visitors can remember their beloved ones or grieve the devastating events. The concept of grief can be understood, according to Neimeyer, Prigerson and Davies (2002), as a particular human experience that can be either natural or an artificial way of mourning, and can be experienced alongside with the modifications in individual and social identity that come along with the death of a family member or a larger group of people. Having provided the previous definition, “grief is private, an internal emotion and mourning is an external social behavior

(both) increasingly challenged today (because of) the widespread presence of temporary memorials” (Doss, 2008, p.19, parenthesis mine)

However, in memorial places such as the National September 11 Memorial & Museum, difficulties may appear in the distinction of these two concepts. Doss (2008) explains that since they include both obviously visible displays of sadness and performative rituals of grieving, these memorials actually challenge presumptive divisions between grief and mourning, even though Freud (1917) states in his studies that mourning is an essential process for people experiencing grief to overcome it and make it part of their lives. Indeed, a study observes that “many presume that ‘memorials’ recall only the past death or tragic events, and provide places to mourn, while “monuments” remain essentially celebratory markers of triumphs and heroic individuals.” (Young, 1994, p.3). Nevertheless, in the case of “Ground Zero”, more specifically the museum, it contains certain exhibitions where one can see these “heroic individuals” that saved a lot of lives that day. Yet, as the same study states, the “same objects can perform both functions, as there may be nothing intrinsic to historical markers that makes them either a monument or a memorial” (Young, 1994, p.3). In relation with the previous statement, it may be claimed that memorials and monuments go hand in hand, as they do in the 9/11 Memorial & Museum. According to Paliewicz and Hasian (2016) it honors melancholy and evokes loss and grief, as well as sadness, by presenting its visitors a theme of destruction, by showing destroyed objects recovered from “Ground Zero”, that is connected to the victims of the terrorist attack, and that attempts to create a ‘narrative’ to explain the stories of the victims as well as the historic event.

Trauma Narratives:

In many museums, these items are presented so as to tell a story of the traumatic events. These could be understood as a ‘trauma narrative’. According to Marin & Shkerli (2019), trauma narratives are a psychological strategy used by therapists to treat victims of traumatic experiences or events in which the patient is asked to write or explain the story or narrative of the traumatic event. People who experienced trauma have different responses to those that experienced loss as “those associated with trauma frequently take form of fragmented or dissociated images sensations and emotions (such as) the spilling of blood, the smell of burning flesh and sense of horror and helplessness” (Neimeyer, Prigerson & Davies, 2002, p. 240).

People who previously experienced trauma “frequently remark that they are not the same people that they were before they were traumatized” (Bal, Crewe & Spitzer, 1999, p. 39). The traumatic events

make the subjects feel like they have an inner wound creating “unknowable voids, unassimilable to the psyche” (Caruth 1995, as cited in Micieli-Voutsinas, 2016, p. 93). The same authors state that these voids have a permanent effect on the victim’s mind and the traumatic event becomes something that exists not only in the past but in the present as well (p. 93). Caruth (1995), referencing psychologist Sigmund Freud, states how the lives of people suffering trauma have changed, with them repetitively reproducing the traumatic images without the patient’s control (p. 93).

After the terrorist attack at the World Trade Center, a great amount of psychologist and mental health professionals had to give psychological support and help to the survivors, as well as to the residents near the “Ground Zero” or even citizens from New York and the United States of the America. Events as they were happening in New York City could also be seen at the same time in other countries worldwide due to technological advances such as video recording, internet, and live television, so these “witnesses did not just learn about a completed horror after it had happened, they watched it unfold” (Muller, 2017, p.180). Indeed, some studies found out that “The proportion (of trauma) was higher among those who had had prolonged exposure to television coverage of the attacks on the Twin Towers” (W.R Schelenger et al. 2002, as cited in Fassin & Rechtman, 2009, p.1): that is why the events can not only be understood as individual trauma but as a collective one.

The concept of collective trauma can be defined as “psychological reactions to a traumatic event that affect an entire society” (Hirschberger, 2018, n.p.). The same author also states that collective trauma can change everything about a society - from TV shows, movies, the media, or even how Americans or people around the world now face bad news and seemingly inescapable situations that are out of their control (n.p.). This process of redefining and recontextualizing the world or the culture can “shape the cultural mechanisms for remembering and interpreting experience” (Muller, 2017, p. 1). This is why this cultural trauma, this collective memory, acts as a manual for subsequent generations to teach them how to recognize danger and properly deal with it (Hirschberger, 2018 n.p.).

In this instance, the 9/11 Memorial & Museum and the trauma narratives presented in its displays, serve as the aforementioned instructions on how to assist others in recognizing this danger, as well as how these survivors or victims may be able to cope with their inner trauma with the use of psychological techniques employed in the treatment of using trauma narratives. This therapy can be described as “a type of exposure in which (patients) are encouraged to gradually increase contact with details of the trauma” (Frank, Last, AlRabiah et al, 2021, p. 2). The person going through therapy attempts to comprehend the incident, accomplished through the process of storytelling. If the therapy is successful, it has an important impact on the patient as it “reduces the negative sequelae associated

with untreated trauma symptoms, including suicidal thoughts and behaviors” (Frank, Last, AlRabiah *et al*, 2021, p.2). Yet, the good use of the psychological strategy of trauma narratives, for the highest likelihood of success, should be done by applying the therapeutic method at an early stage after the experienced trauma. This time period represents a crucial point for the procedure as the emotions and events must be in a chronological order, helping the patient organize the threatening and complex traumatic events.

The aforementioned cultural trauma did not just affect one individual but a whole society, thus the National 9/11 Memorial & Museum contains those narratives that involve a whole society by offering visitors from all around the world the storytelling of the events in a chronological way, gradually exposing the facts and the objects in regards to its level of traumatic elements as “ it allows for a narrative that is relatively simple to tell in a museum: a compelling plot line that follows a clear chronology and is moved along by innocent victims, brave heroes, and evil perpetrators” (Sodaro, 2018, p.157). Thus, “these grounds help visitors and survivors cope with collective trauma and personal mourning” (Paliewicz & Hasian, 2016, p.140). In contrast, some psychologists are not keen on the usage of trauma narratives as a tool to heal trauma, not because it wouldn’t effectively work, but because it may, in some cases, seem to retraumatize the patient due to the exposure to those elements that were the perpetrators of the traumatic event (Frank, Last, AlRabiah *et al*, 2021). In the 9/11 Museum, the materials that form the different exhibits contain didactic material “such as victim testimonies, audio recordings of the attack, and remnants of trauma (which may) traumatize visitors through stimulation, thus inviting identifications through shared experience”. (Whittenburg, 2021, p. ii, parenthesis mine).

Yet, this trauma stimulation may help trauma patients go through the psychological strategy of trauma narratives on their own by following the gradual storytelling of the museum, as well as their shared experience with other museum visitors which could lead to a sense of community and collective healing. A study by Marin & Shkreli (2019) states the efficacy of trauma narratives as a helpful tool for traumatized patients, as their stories portrayed try to not focus on negative feelings and self-doubt, making the process effective for healing the patient. The study found that patients who wrote trauma narratives with a more positive outlook and self-image had better results in therapy than those that wrote narratives that focused on self-doubt and victimization. Connected to the museum, it can be said that in this way, the exhibits may contain different effective ways in the process of healing trauma depending on how close to the actual traumatic event people are.

In line with the aforementioned idea, a research conducted by Albright, Duggan & Epstein (2008) state that some of the narratives that trauma survivors share during the healing process struggle to have coherence and order, which hinders the healing process. However, if the narratives are more accurately analyzed by exposing them to the chronological order of the facts, the survivors' narratives make sense to them and can narrate a more accurate story that will aid in the patient's recovery from the trauma breach that did not heal. In this way, the trauma narrative depicted in the memorial and the museum can assist trauma patients in making sense of their experiences and in developing an accurate narrative that will subsequently aid them in their healing process by providing a clearer understanding of the circumstances that led to the trauma.

METHODOLOGY:

The main purpose for this research is to determine if trauma narratives in the 9/11 Memorial & Museum retraumatize or heal visitors having previous traumatic experiences in regards to the terrorist attacks of the 11th of September, 2001. The examination of the museum will be based on a qualitative analysis of the narratives exposed in the exhibits. Multiple ways of free choosing are available for visitors to travel through the museum. Because of this, several different paths are established, such as tour guides, self-guided tours, volunteer guides etc. For this research, the order of the exhibits will be taken from the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App, developed by the museum as a visitors' self-tour audio guide to help them follow a more accurate narrative and explanation of the exhibits. According to Galindo (2013) the app created by the Museum "provides its users with a walking tour around the World Trade Center (WTC), (and) firsthand accounts from witnesses presented via audio" (p, 264). The same author also states that the app "will try to navigate the historical, political, and spatial complexities of contemporary American and global history; (also) the app will try to articulate a new vision for museum, memorials and the act of memorializing." (p, 265)

Simonton (2003) states that although the majority of psychological researches include the quantitative examination of current research participants, psychologists periodically examine historical figures or events. The qualitative analysis is based on "an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models without rash quantification" (Mayring, 2000, n.p.). The qualitative analysis of each of the exhibits at the museum will be based on the 6 Guiding Principles to a Trauma Informed Approach created by the Center for Preparedness and Response (CPR) a linked center from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), in collaboration with SAMHSA's³ National Center for Trauma-Informed Care (NCTIC). The aforementioned centers created and oversaw a new training program on the importance of trauma-informed treatment during public health emergencies for CPR staff.

The use of the Trauma- Informed Approach is specifically chosen as it

"realized the widespread impact of trauma and understands potential paths for recovery (as well as) recognizes the symptoms of trauma in clients, families, staff, and others involved

³ SAMHSA: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration

with the system; and responds by fully integrating knowledge about trauma into policies, procedures, and practices, and seeks to actively resist re-traumatization” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 8).

The methodology used in this paper will be based on the previously mentioned 6 Guiding Principles to a Trauma- Informed Approach by SAMHSA, which are the following; 1. Safety, 2. Trustworthiness and Transparency, 3. Peer Support, 4. Collaboration and Mutuality, 5. Empowerment, Voice and Choice, and, 6. Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues. These principles were analyzed for this research and adapted to be used specifically in the field of museum studies as well as the questions used for the questionnaire, which were created to determine the strength of each exhibit in regards to each of the principles defined by SAMHSA as follows:

Safety refers to how the institution, personnel, and other team members help patients, whether they are children or adults, to feel secure in their environment. The organization's and the staff's objectives are to provide a physically secure environment for the patients as well as interpersonal interactions that foster a sense of security. The establishment of a secure environment for people suffering or who had suffered trauma has to portray a sense of “command over the environment (which) includes the ability to recognize stressors and then respond to these with measures of self-care” (Arel, 2018, p.21). Therefore, visitors need to be provided with spaces where they have control over things and decide whether or not to face those inputs that may trigger stress on them. Additionally, they need to be provided with spaces where self-care practices can be applied if necessary. This involves the creation or existence of calmed spaces where traumatized visitors can destress after the impact of a traumatizing exhibit.

This concept can be applied in the study of museums, especially the ones containing trauma narratives such as the National 9/11 Memorial & Museum, the Holocaust museum, the Apartheid museum etc. The staff of these types of museums would provide a secure place for visitors who have experienced trauma in the past so they may approach the story of the traumatizing incident without feeling in danger, either mentally or physically. Concerning the analysis of the museum in regards to safety, questions as such could be asked to establish if the exhibit or the museum contain a safe setting for a previously traumatized visitor. As suggested by Huan, Flatow, et. al, (2014), “How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (p. 14). Further questions developed by the researcher include: Is the audio media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient

time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation?

The second guiding principle is Trustworthiness and Transparency, which is defined by Huan, Flatow, et. al, (2014), as business activities with the primary goal of keeping customers and family informed by upholding credibility and fostering relationships (p. 11). In the field of museum studies, this approach would be used by the organization to make the visitors feel exposed to verified and transparent information about the traumatic events. The aforementioned verified information would be exhibited by being transparent about sources of information. The organization has to make sure that they are presenting unbiased facts about the events in such a way that people will have trust in the presented information. Visitors who have gone through a traumatic experience, according to Albright, Duggan & Epstein (2008), can find it difficult to make sense of the events, since this traumatic experience “grasps of a coherent story” (p, 400) making the patient feel they are not in control of the situation and thus increasing feelings of insecurity, uneasiness and anxiety. The need of a clear, coherent, verified and transparent narrative is crucial for the visitors to feel they will make sense of the events. In order to do so, questions can be asked on whether the exhibit portrays this trustworthiness or not, such as, does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? Are the objects, audio, media and texts real?

Another guiding principal is Peer Support, characterized by Huan, Flatow, et. al, (2014), as a mutually supportive relationship between those who have experienced trauma through establishing hope, encouraging teamwork, and utilizing their experiences to aid in rehabilitation and healing (p. 11). Taking the aforementioned concept within the field of museum studies, it can be applied in the portrayal of personal objects, photographs, testimonies or other survivors’ stories in the exhibits shown at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum, as well as the support from volunteer docents. According to The Arna Bontemps Museum Webpage (2022), in the United States, a docent is a tour guide who works in a museum, historical site, zoo, or park, and who is frequently free for the visitors to use. In the case of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum, these docents “provide interpretative service to visitors through short talks at key artifacts through the museum that tell the history of 9/11 and the original World Trade Center” (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d. n.p.). A docent’s work may be helpful for traumatized visitors to have support through the museum tour as well as a better understanding of the exhibits. Those exhibits are going to be analyzed with the following questions; Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the museum? Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent?

The 4th principal according to SAMHSA's Trauma-Informed Approach is Collaboration and Mutuality, which according to Huan, Flatow, et. al, (2014), refers to the importance of showing that healing occurs in relationships and in the meaningful exchange of authority and decision-making, and that gives emphasis on the partnering and the leveling of authority differences between staff and costumers, as well as among organizational staff (p.11). By concentrating on the collective construction of displays and narratives, this principle may be used in museum studies. Visitors should be able to view the numerous informational sources, and their importance to emphasize personal and first-hand recollections of occurrences. The following queries will be used to assess and see how this principal would be used in the analysis of the exhibits: Does the museum contain external sources of information in its exhibits? Do the exhibits of the museum show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives?

The guiding principal of Empowerment, Voice and Choice is, as Huan, Flatow, et. al, (2014) states, the collective of the company and its clients that are made up of people with acknowledged abilities and experiences (p.11). The organization encourages a belief in healing and promoting the recovery from trauma among communities, clients, employees, etc. The organization must be mindful of the resilience of trauma and how it can be a connecting factor in the lives of those who manage the organization, as well as those who deliver its services, and those who seek support and aid. In order for this concept to be effective, the organization must recognize the significance of power dynamics and the ways in which customers' historical voice and choice have been diminished by setting a plan of action that will help support their healing process (p.11). Although the need of organizational support to help staff feel comfortable, as well as the clients who are getting treatment, the organization must have trained employees who will serve as recovery facilitators (p.11). Making visitors feel like they are a part of the organization and that they are represented in the museum's trauma narrative would be one way to apply this concept in the field of museum studies. Visitors must therefore feel free to express their opinions about the museum's work by providing candid feedback to docents or other staff members and by engaging in discussions about it. The possibly used questions to state if the exhibits of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum fulfill this principal are the following: Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind?

The last principal of the Trauma-Informed Approach is related to Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues. As stated by Huan, Flatow, et. al, (2014), by incorporating key determinants like tradition links, policies, and protocols that are attentive and fulfill the cultural needs of those served, and also recognizing and addressing this historical trauma, the institution has the responsibility of assimilating

and providing access to previous cultural biases and prejudices (p.11). To do so, in museums containing trauma narratives, this aforementioned principle should be applied by making visitors from all ethnicities, cultures, races, minority collectives, etc. feel they are part of the narrative of the events and that they can also be part of historical events that involved a whole world. Questions as such could be used to see if exhibits follow this Trauma-Informed Approach: Does the exhibit represents different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of a historical moment?

The previously mentioned approaches will be applied to the analysis of the exhibits of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum. Each question will be asked of the individual exhibits, and their structure and content will be analyzed according to the 6 Trauma-Informed Approach Principles by SAMHSA.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

The section that follows is based on the results obtained in each exhibit, and detailed in the annexes, according to the principles explained in the methodology. The data in this study seek to interpret the strengths and weaknesses of each exhibit based on the 6 SAMHSA Principles. The answers to the questions in the questionnaire are compared to the ideal exhibit based on the 6 Principles. Exhibits found close to these ideals and exhibits found not to be meeting these criteria are analyzed to determine how well the museum does at providing Trauma-Informed Care to its visitors.

Safety:

Exhibits were analyzed for safety using the following questions: “How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14), Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation?

These questions imply that the ideal exhibit would have a quiet environment with plenty of room for visitors to relax or take care of themselves, without loud or intrusive background noise, a sizable area where crowded spaces can be avoided, a quiet environment that encourages visitors to take their time and reflect on the exhibits, and the option to skip it if they choose not to see it.

The exhibits found to be close to this ideal are; The Slurry Wall (see Annex 2), which contains a calmed environment and a wide space to walk, and it is linked to the significance of how the it saved a lot of lives (see Annex 2, Figure 2). “It stood strong during the fall of the Towers and even after, thereby protecting lower Manhattan from flooding” (Fraley, 2016, p. 82). Along with this exhibit, the “Survivors’ Stairs” (see Annex 4) are a similar object in the sense of portraying how they saved many lives of people exiting the World Trade Center during the attacks, thus producing a sense of safety for the visitors. In addition to these exhibits, The Memorial Hall (see Annex 5), The Tribute Walk (see Annex 7), Memorial Hall Large Artifacts (see Annex 8), and The Last Column (see Annex 10), are located in wider spaces where the objects are also widely displayed. Visitors can freely move without getting stuck in overcrowded small spaces, and benches are included in the Memorial Hall, Memorial Hall Large Artifacts and The Last Column (see Annex 10, Figure 12), where visitors can sit and practice self-care if needed. The audio narrative is silent and slow in each one, there are no background sounds, and viewers have the option to skip the exhibit if they want.

On the other hand, some exhibits were found to not be safe enough for visitors suffering or who have suffered trauma as a consequence of the 9/11 events. The exhibits included are 8:30 A. M. (see Annex 1), Before and After (see Annex 3), *In-Memoriam* (see Annex 6), and the Historical Exhibit (see Annex 9). These exhibits are set in small spaces, some of them enclosed, containing a lot of objects where visitors usually get stuck when reading or observing them (see Annex 1, Figure 1). However, the *In-Memoriam* exhibit and the Historical Exhibit can be avoided by visitors, since they are set in separated enclosed spaces, in the 8:30 A.M. Exhibit and in Before and After, visitors have no other option but to go through them, thus it can create a sense of anxiety and visitors feel forced to enter or go through those spaces (see Annex 11, Figure 13).

The Before and After Exhibit is not set in an enclosed space, but it's set in the descending ramp to the Memorial Hall and sticking out of the wall (Annex 3, Figure 3). It does not contain very harmful materials for the visitor, but it's likely to create a crowded space, where visitors have to back up almost touching the railing, creating a sense of unsafety. The 8:30 A.M, and Historical exhibit include background noises such as voices talking at the same time, videos and voices of people witnessing and experiencing the events at the time they were happening, overlapping audio media that may create for visitors a sense of unsafety and uncertainty about the things that are happening, as well as an overwhelming ambient. In contrast, the *In-Memoriam* Exhibit is a very calmed and silenced space, where the audios are explained in a calmed and paused voice. Although there is just one exit available for visitors, the space is a tiny, confined room where visitors must confront and look at several faces and items, making it difficult to walk through, and harder to exit the exhibit in case of breakdown (see Annex 6, Figure 7).

However, the Historical Exhibit contains four “emotional exits; ways that people can essentially exit and go into a safe neutral zone which is the envelope that surrounds the Historical Exhibition” (Barton, 2014, 1:20). Even though the Historical Exhibit can be avoided, it's the one that includes the most precise narrative of the events, as well as the display of the artifacts that justify and are part of the trauma narratives of the 9/11 terrorist attacks (see Annex 9).

Since the museum offers visitors safe options and spaces, such as wide spaces, benches to sit on, tissues, stories and objects of hope, and emotional spaces in case of breakdown, the results on whether the museum promotes a sense of safety may be 50%. The Historical Exhibit and *In-Memoriam* are among the most distressing displays. Although those spaces have warnings about potentially harmful content and upsetting images, the overall size of the display of artifacts, the possibility of crowded spaces, and the space itself do not provide traumatized visitors a sense of security.

As it is mentioned in the theoretical background section, trauma narratives help visitors “telling the story of the trauma(s), an individual (or family) impacted by trauma can gain a sense of mastery over the traumatic event” (Kiser, Baumgardner, Dorado, 2010, p. 9). The fact of going through the story may help the traumatized visitor to make sense of the events as well as to heal some of their trauma. However, in this case, the exposure of the storyline may be overwhelming for visitors as well as it includes harmful images, video and objects for sensitive audiences, specially the Historical Exhibition that is the one that includes the most precise narrative, though it may be too harmful for the traumatized visitors (see Annex 9).

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

The following inquiries were used to assess the Trustworthiness and Transparency of the exhibits; Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? Are the objects, audio, media and texts real?

These inquiries imply that the perfect display would include trustworthy primary sources that provide evidence of the facts of the events. The museum must have appropriately cited all of the artifacts, pictures, audiovisuals, and exhibits, indicating whether they are original or reproductions. Additionally, the museum must be able to present those narratives and artifacts objectively, so that visitors can experience a narrative that is factual, true, and exposes information and artifacts in their veridic context.

As a result of the questionnaire, it can be shown that all of the exhibit's artifacts, audiovisual materials, and factual information are accurate and properly cited as “all accountings must be considered as reliable sources of historical information” (Fraley, 2016, p. 54). The label copies explain all the information of the objects properly citing the authors or the owners of the object. However, the 8:30 A.M. exhibit may have missed some citation. Even though the audio indicates the country of origin of the person speaking, it does not give a clear citation of who the individual speaking is (see Annex 1). In contrast, there are exhibits, such as the Slurry Wall and *In-Memoriám* where survivors’ information and testimony, as well as personal narratives, are cited and exhibited to the visitor (see Annexes 2 and 6).

Most of the exhibits contain unbiased information that states and explains the objects, the events, and the narratives as they happened. However, in the *In-Memoriám* Exhibit, all of the pictures and objects, as well as the narrations, were contributions from the family members of the victims, so it can be

considered to have a more biased information, and, as every piece of information in all the exhibits of the museum, is curated by the museum staff and the organization as a private entity (see Annex 6).

Applying this study and connecting it to SAMHSA'S 6 Principles and trauma narratives, we can say that dependability and trustworthiness are crucial in developing a trauma narrative to aid traumatized visitors in making sense of the incident and giving the event and the narrative more credibility. Some studies previously mentioned that “traumatized people often come to services with a history of being unable to depend on others, to be loyal, supportive, nurturing or responsible” (Alexander, 2013 as cited in Levenson, 2020, p.6). The 9/11 Memorial & Museum's exhibits all make clear claims about reliability and openness, which can encourage traumatized visitors to have more faith in the events' history. By offering “personal power, relief from emotional pain or protection” (Levenson, 2020, p.6) and with the use of photographs, artifacts, audio-visual content, and stories from survivors, witnesses, or victims of the incident, the entity forms a trust link between traumatized visitors and confirms the facts as they happened.

Peer Support:

In the principle established by SAMHSA of Peer Support and for its analysis in the exhibits, the following two questions have been asked; Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent?

For visitors with previous trauma from the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the SAMHSA technique of “Peer Support contributes to the sense making processes and identity construction in the aftermath of a traumatic experience” (van de Ven, 2020, p. 1835). The same study also found that “meeting people with a similar traumatic experience appeared to be of major importance to the cocreation of identity in the aftermath of trauma” (p. 1835). To put this principle into practice, the museum needs staff, docents, or psychologists who can give peer assistance to visitors who have experienced trauma in the past. For it, every exhibit has been looked at to determine if it offers visitors docents who have training in peer support, or if it has any other alternative forms of media or peer help in the event that docents are not available.

In all the exhibits from the museum, it was found that there are no docents permanently stationed for traumatized visitors in need of one. Thus, the 8:30 AM exhibit has advantage, since it is established near reception, where visitors can ask for a docent or volunteer to guide them through the museum and the exhibits (see Annex 1). In the Memorial Hall some museum staff were also stationed to provide information to the visitors, as well as to watch out for their security and that of the museum

(see Annex 5). The presence of museum staff was also found in the core exhibits of *In-Memoriam* and the Historical Exhibit. The results stated that they were also watching out for the security of the exhibit as well as the visitors, some of them also provide tissues to the visitors in case they are needed, as well as the guidance through the “emotional exits” in the case of the Historical Exhibit (see Annexes 6 and 9).

In the case of the absence of a docent, visitors can download the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App and have a narrator explaining each of the exhibits, as well as the participation of some witnesses in the explanation of the artifacts or the exhibit itself. However, this cannot replace a real person docent.

To find out more information about the peer support offering in the 9/11 Memorial & Museum, an email has been sent to the museum to ask about the presence of docents in different exhibits or if they provide alternatives to it. Kerry Pfaff, Assistant Manager of Interpretative Programs and Docent Programs at the September 11 Memorial & Museum, emailed me back replying to my request. She stated that the entity “does not have any of their volunteers or docents stationed in a specific area with the intention of providing psychological support. Our docents are trained as educators to tell the stories of the artifacts inside the Museum to give visitors a better understanding of the events of 9/11” (K. Pfaff, personal communication, April 30, 2023). Moreover,

“The September 11th Memorial and Museum reconciled the different personal and institutional narratives by enacting a docent protocol to foreground the artifacts and institutional story, and then allowing docents to include personal embellishment to their comfort.” (Svkdik, 2019, p. 28).

In line with this idea and as the 9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage (n.d.) states, some of the docents that the museum offers to the visitors are volunteers who have been survivors of the World Trade Center attacks in 1993 and 2001 (n.p.). They explain the story of the artifacts and the exhibit as well as personal stories of the days of the events that they went through to the visitors, offering the aforementioned peer support to other victims by sharing their stories.

It can be said that the museum does well in offering peer support to visitors who require those services. Though, it has to be taken into consideration that the museum does not offer professional psychologists trained to conduct the peer support practice in the exhibits, yet, it provides them docents who have been survivors of the attacks and that can provide and share personal stories of the events to the visitors. However, those docents sometimes “reported the difficulty in balancing their own traumatic personal experiences with the institutional narrative” (Rauch, 2018 as cited in Svkdik, 2019,

p.28). However, even if the museum offers the aforementioned service, there is no presence of docents or psychologists in core exhibits such as the Historical Exhibit where traumatized visitors may need more assistance.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

On each display, the following questions have been posed in order to evaluate the mutuality and collaboration that the museum depicts: Does the exhibit contain external sources of information? Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives?

According to Pemberton and Loeb (2020) “Collaboration and mutuality can be accomplished with an approach of partnering with survivors in shared decision making in their treatment” (p. 9). For this reason, the museum must include outside sources of data belonging to relatives, survivors, witnesses or victims, in this case, of the terrorist attacks on 9/11, as well as a balanced level of power in the narratives between those and the entity.

After observing the exhibits through the questionnaire, it was found out that all of those containing external sources of information such as audio-media, objects, pictures and videos, as well as personal narratives, may show an equal level of power between the entity and the museum. Even though they are not fundamentally altered from their original sources, all of the information that is presented in the exhibits is carefully chosen and polished by the museum. As a result, the museum decides which narratives to display and which ones not. Nevertheless, some exhibits showed a higher level of personal narratives, even if it was curated by the museum curators. These exhibits center more on personal objects, narratives, pictures etc. rather than the historical narrative. For example, in the *In-Memoriam* and Tribute Walk exhibits, the personal objects and narratives prevail rather than the historical, as the exhibits are composed of personal objects, pictures etc. in connection with the event, but don't explain the events of the day within a timeline (see Annexes 6 and 7, Figures 7 and 9). People can write their own stories and messages, which will then be displayed next to the Slurry Wall without being first curated or checked out by museum staff, in one area of the exhibit, which has been discovered to be the only one containing external sources that had not been curated by the museum (see Annex 2).

The results show that the museum works well in terms collaboration and mutuality. The majority of the artifacts at the museum represent a part of the stories of those who observed, survived, or were victims of terrorist attacks, as well as others who worked together after the tragedies with empathy and solidarity (see Annex 9.3). However, it should be noted that all of the objects, audio, and video

media were previously curated by the museum; as a result, it is up to them to decide which objects or personal narratives they display in the exhibits. This gives the museum a slight advantage over the individual stories that are on display.

In the case of this principle within trauma narratives, it is stated that “everyone has a role to play in a trauma-informed approach, and that healing happens in shared decision-making experiences” (Collin-Vézina, et.al. 2020, p. 176). The museum does an excellent job of displaying personal narratives and relating them to the history of the events, which helps the visitors connect with the personal trauma narratives displayed in the exhibits, share stories, and create a space that promotes a sense of collaboration among the entity and personal narratives to explain the events in a precise and trustworthy way.

Empowerment, Voice and Choice:

In order to analyze the SAMSHA Principle of Empowerment, Voice and Choice, the subsequent inquiries have been made: Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind?

This principle is established in order to give power to the visitors and the personal narratives of the museum and to be aware of how resilient trauma is and how it may connect those who govern the organization with those who provide its services, as well as with people who want support and assistance. For this, the museum needs to make the visitors believe they are a part of the institution and that they are represented in the trauma narrative of the museum. If the museum does not provide this to its visitors, according to Fouseki (2010) frustration may be caused as a result of lack of involvement, rewarding and benefits from the community members (survivors, visitors, witnesses...) because of the museum’s actions (p.186). For this not to happen, and make the principle work properly, the museum must provide “a collaborative, supportive, and strong therapeutic alliance, (so) the (visitor) can be empowered and able to use these strengths” (Sommers- Flanigan & Sommers-Flanigan, 2018, as cited in Pemberton and Loeb, 2020, p. 9).

The results after the analysis of the exhibits with the questions provided show that most of the exhibits do not contain interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions. However, a part of the Slurry Wall Exhibit is the only one containing both interactive screens where visitors can state their own stories as well as it being partly developed with those personal narratives of visitors (see Annex 2, Figure 2). The other exhibit fully developed with the voice of the victims or their families is *In-*

Memoriam, where narratives and objects from the victims are displayed and explained by their family members (see Annex 6, Figure 8). Even though it contains a screen where visitors can navigate to learn more about the victims, the opinions and personal narratives of visitors can't be stated (see Annex 6, Figure 7). The same happens with the Last Column Exhibit, which also has interactive screens to learn more about each of the stories portrayed in the column but has no other interactive displays where visitors can state their opinions, though its fully developed with personal narratives (see Annex 10, Figure 12). For the rest of the exhibits, there are no interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions and the exhibits were partly developed with the voice of the victims and survivors. They contain personal objects and stories from those victims, however, all this information has also been curated and selected by the museum as well as the mixture of information between personal narratives and historical facts. It was also found that the only exhibit not containing any interactive materials or voices and narratives from the victims and survivors is the Memorial Hall exhibit (see Annex 5, Figure 6).

The aforementioned results state that the museum does not do very well on the principle of Empowerment, Voice and Choice. This is due to the fact that most of the exhibits do not contain interactive elements where traumatized visitors feel the power to share and state their opinions and stories and not be silenced from their traumatic experience. However, it is true that most of the exhibits are developed with the voices of victims and survivors, yet, most of this information is previously curated by the museum as well as the introduction of historical information of the events stated by the facts as they happened. This is narrated by the museum in a way where they can decide what to tell or not, giving more empowerment to the historical narrative that slightly decreases the power of the personal narrative.

The trauma narrative for visitors needs to be higher in the display of personal voices from the victims and survivors as well as the availability for them to know their voice is heard and that it's up to their choice whether to share the narratives or not. Moreover, traumatized visitors, victims and survivors have more power among the institutional narratives, (which can be manipulated) and state their personal veridic stories by narrating the facts they experienced and as they happened without any filters. According to Pemberton and Loeb, (2020) this enhances more self-esteem for them by being able to share their personal stories among historical narratives that can be manipulated, and this is a crucial factor in the development of traumatized visitors to gain more empowerment, voice and choice (p. 10).

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

For the principle of Culture, Historical and Gender Issues, the exhibits have been examined using the following queries: Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment?

The aforementioned questions suggest that the museum “should ensure that their interactions with educators and administrators are sensitive to a range of human diversity elements” (Harper & Neubauer, 2021, p. 21) The museum must include exhibits representing those minorities, as well as other cultures, races, by making them part of the historical moment and the narratives showcased to the visitors. For this to be accomplished, according to the previous authors, “the organizational unit, administrators and educators need to reject past cultural stereotypes and biases and offer access to culturally responsive education and services” (p. 21). In line with this idea, the museum must “address the importance of incorporating an inclusive environment that respects, honors, and embrace diversity” (Pemberton and Loeb, 2020, p. 10).

The analysis of this principle in the different exhibits of the museum shows that the 8:30 A.M., Slurry Wall, Survivors’ Stairs, *In-Memoriam*, and the Historical Exhibit contain different degrees of representation from different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives. The 8:30 A.M. exhibit contains the image of the map of the world with different messages typed from people around the globe reacting to the terrorist attacks. The written messages are typed in different languages as well as the audio, giving representation to different cultures and ethnicities around the world (see Annex 1). The Slurry Wall contains an interactive board where visitors can type their messages (see Annex 2). Since a lot of visitors from different countries visit the museum, it contains messages from people around the world in different languages. In the case of the Survivors’ Stairs, a picture from the label copy is the one that gives a slight representation of people from different ethnicities and races, since it portrays and includes those minorities and demonstrates to visitors that people from all around the world worked at the World Trade Center (see Annex 4, Figure 5). In the *In-Memoriam* exhibit, visitors are encountered with a huge mural of all the pictures from the people that died at the World Trade Center and, as previously mentioned, belonging from different parts of the world (see Annex 6, Figure 7). The showcase of the pictures lets the visitor see the representation of all the ethnicities, races, cultures and minorities, and that they are part of historical events. Last, in the Historical Exhibit, different cultures, races and ethnicities are also partially displayed to the visitors. Along with the Slurry Wall, this exhibit portrays the faces of different ethnicities and cultures, however it does not specifically address the different ethnicities in the exhibit (see Annex 9).

The exhibits also partially include minorities as being part of an historical moment, but the museum does not specifically highlight them except for one. In the Historical exhibit, there is one exhibit named Before 9/11 where the exhibit partially represents different cultures and races, with the display of pictures and objects of different survivors and victims' that were from different cultures, races and ethnicities (see Annex 9.2). It also shows the terrorists as members of the Arabic race and belonging to the Muslim religion, thus they were also classified as being part of a collective named al-Qaeda. Also, it includes minorities, however it has been denounced by an interfaith committee saying that it portrays all Muslims as being collectively responsible for the actions of the terrorists (Gudaitis & Breyer, 2014).

These results state that the museum does not do very well with representing different cultures, races and ethnicities. It is true that in some exhibits it does, and visitors can see people belonging to those: however, the museum does not go in depth in stating those different cultures and races. It makes the museum feel it's more part of American history rather than an event that shook the whole world and that killed so many people from different countries.

Within regard to trauma narratives related to the cultural, historical and gender issues, it can be seen that "the concept of trauma has equally spread into other domains such as history and cultural theory, where it serves as an interpretative pattern for mental, social and cultural processes linked with the experience of violence and loss on a collective level" (Kopf, 2010, p. 46). It is crucial that the museum includes these cultural narratives from other races, cultures, and ethnicities as part of the historical event because if it only contains individual narratives or from one particular race or ethnicity, it will not be effective for the trauma healing process among those who come from those various cultural backgrounds.

To summarize, according to the results and the discussion above mentioned, the museum addresses the principles of Trustworthiness and Transparency, Peer Support, Collaboration and Mutuality well, and addresses the principles of Empowerment, Voice and Choice, and Cultural Historical and Gender Issues poorly. The museum does certain actions that are detrimental and some that are positive in the Safety principle.

It might be argued that the museum is in some way balanced as a result of this and the evidence offered in this study. The 9/11 Memorial & Museum can be utilized by traumatized visitors to develop a story of the events in order to help their process of healing from the traumatic event, according to the study's focus on trauma narratives. The Historical Exhibit is the one with the most chronological

timeline of the terrorist attacks and the aftermath, along with more specific objects to support the narrative, in comparison to the rest of the museum's main exhibits. For this reason, visitors with a previous trauma need address that exhibit to follow a more exact and specific timeline of the day of the events and the aftermath.

In line with the previous idea, if visitors want to follow a very specific trauma narrative that aids the healing process as psychologists state, visitors should follow and experience the Historical Exhibit. In terms of how the museum does with trauma informed care in the exhibit, as the results state, it does well in some parts of the principle of safety, such as the inclusion of the “Emotional Exits”, and the fact that it can be avoided if visitors don’t want to experience the exhibit. However, it contains sensitive material and objects, as well as background noises and overlapping sounds that may create a sense of unsafety and an overwhelming ambient when processing the information of the exhibit (see Annexes 9.1, 9.2, 9.3). In terms of Trustworthiness and Transparency, the exhibit does well by citing and providing trustful evidence that helps make sense of the timeline of the events (see Annexes 9.1, 9.2, 9.3). In the Peer Support principle, even if the exhibit contains museum staff for possible questions or queries, the museum does not offer volunteers or staff prepared to attend someone suffering a breakdown or suffering trauma (see Annexes 9.1, 9.2, 9.3). With Collaboration and Mutuality, the Historical Exhibit does as the others, as throughout the museum many objects contained in the exhibits are from victims, family or survivors of the terrorist attacks, contributing to the narrative of the story. In terms of Empowerment, Voice and Choice, the results demonstrated that the exhibit does not give enough spaces or provide opportunities for visitors to state their own opinion and voice about the events (see Annexes 9.1, 9.2, 9.3). In the Historical Exhibit, visitors do not have any electronic devices, support, or spaces to state personal narratives, thus leaving the entity to have more power among what narratives they decide to expose, always supervised by a museum curator (see Annexes 9.1, 9.2, 9.3). In the principle of Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues, the Historical Exhibit does not play a role model of it. Even if the exhibits displayed in it, and also in the museum, contain different degrees of representation from different cultures, they do not specifically mention the culture they represent as well as, if they did, from what minorities they come from (see Annexes 9.1, 9.2, 9.3). However, the Historical Exhibit in particular, within the Before 9/11 exhibit, has been found to have some representation of different races and religions such as the Muslim religion, and the collective named al-Qaeda (see Annex 9.2). However, it has been found that in one of the videos from the exhibit that talks about al-Qaeda and how their religion led to the attacks of the world trade center, the media does “not explicitly state the difference between al-Qaeda and Muslims, and furthermore only discusses Islam in the context of terrorism” (Otterman, 2014 as stated in Stewart,

1988, p.79). Therefore, it was found that the museum is somehow presenting all Muslims as being jointly accountable for the terrorists' actions. Moreover, leading back to the Safety principle, visitors may also have the feeling of unsafety as they are exposed to a video of the explanation of how al-Qaeda was formed and what purpose they had (see Annex 9.2). Additionally, “this task (of watching the video) requests the emotional and intellectual strength of the museum audience and present the difficulty of balancing emotions and education in museums of difficult stories” (Stewart, 1988, p.79).

CONCLUSION:

As seen in the previous section, the museum as a whole does well with some of the 6 principles and poorly with some others, making it difficult to come to a definitive conclusion about the museum in general. Thus, it can be stated that the museum does not necessarily retraumatize visitors, but also fails to provide the resources to heal them. Indeed, if visitors are coming to the museum in the hope of forming a trauma narrative, visitors have to go through the Historical Exhibit where the most precise trauma narrative of the events of the day is encountered. However, as stated before, the exhibit may retraumatize visitors for its content, audio-media and other factors that influence the visitor's emotions and demonstrate the lack of trauma -informed planning and design in the purpose of healing. With this, it can be said that this exhibit containing the most of the trauma narrative is not prepared for the process of healing previously traumatized visitors within the technique of trauma narratives.

Throughout the research some limitations presented themselves. Since the museum is located in New York City and the research took place in Lleida, Spain, it was harder to get first-hand information from the museum or do further in person research there. Additionally, as the museum holds very private and sensitive items, particularly in the Historical Exhibit, it is strictly forbidden to use cameras or video recorders there. It was therefore more difficult to gather information, as well as images and audio media that may induce trauma, resulting in a less in-depth investigation of the objects in this analysis.

Moreover, since the museum states on their webpage, the 9/11 Memorial & Museum "in addition to the institution's wide-ranging efforts in the areas of exhibitions, collections stewardship, education and commemoration, (they) conduct and facilitate scholarly research on a range of topics related to the 9/11 and its legacy" (n.d. n.p.). However, even if they support the providing of information to researchers, it is stated that "due to the high demand volume of applications, however, (they) are unable to accommodate all the requests" (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d. n.p.). Some research inquiries have been sent to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum for this research. However, due to the previously mentioned high demand of inquiries, some of the requests, such as the request for the interviewing employees for the purpose of getting more information on people's reactions towards the museum, got delayed up to a point that the research had to adapt to this situation.

Since it was not possible to speak with every museum visitor about their feelings and traumatic experiences after their visit, this research was not conducted using quantitative results based on the personal experience of museum visitors. It is difficult to determine whether or not the museum

traumatizes visitors given that each visitor's experience may vary during the tour. For this research, survey for visitors could have been conducted to be answered after the visit to the museum. Apart from being a location where people can get to know more about the terrorist attacks and the following event, as well as American history, the museum is still a place of mourning and grief where families go to remember their beloved ones who died on that day. Due to this fact, the 9/11 Memorial & Museum is careful on what research is conducted in the area inside and surrounding the museum to not disrupt the grief of the families as well as to always keep some information confidential to the museum, the visitors and the family members. For this reason, it may have not been possible, even if part of the research took place in New York City, for surveys to take place at the museum. Also, before doing research in a place as such, the request for it must be sent to the museum and the institution has to approve the intentions of research at the place. Since it is a sacred place where people died and family members still grief and mourn there, researchers must be careful on what they ask or aim to see or write about, meaning that any research on sensitive subjects such as trauma narratives, may not be possible *in-situ*.

This research aims to help and inform visitors with previous or current trauma about the 9/11 Memorial & Museum and its relationship to trauma and the process of trauma narratives. Moreover, it aims to reach further studies and projects regarding the construction of a traumatic museum and how to adapt it for traumatized visitors according to the SAMHSA's 6 Principles of Trauma-Informed Approach. Further research for this topic could, for instance, interview visitors who visit the museum with the purpose of following a trauma narrative *in-situ* to heal their traumatic experience as well as interview psychologists on the practice of trauma narratives and how this could apply to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum. Another topic for further research could be delving into the reaction of minorities who were part of the 9/11 events and how the museum portrays them to see whether it should include more of those stories. Last but not least, further research could consist of the comparison of the trauma narratives at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum to other museums that contain other trauma narratives or revolve around a traumatic event in history such as the Holocaust Museums, Apartheid Museums, Black History Museums and more.

The topic of traumatic events is difficult for museums to handle. A balance must be found between portraying the events as they happened and creating an environment that will not retraumatize visitors. As seen at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum, a museum can achieve some of the aspects of the Trauma- Informed Approach; however museums in the future should strive to take into consideration each of the 6 Principles in order to create a more healing environment for traumatized visitors.

For example, 9/11 Memorial & Museum attempts to portray an accurate depiction of the events that occurred on the terrorist attacks. This considers the principle of Trustworthiness and Transparency by forming a very accurate timeline of the events of the day. However, the way in which the events and exhibits are displayed could be improved by not displaying audios out loud, spreading the exhibit in a wider space, having more nuance when discussing minorities such as Muslims or any other minor collectives, etc.

What this research hopes to achieve is that further museum constructions related to a traumatic event involving designers, psychologists, museum staff and architects will consider the importance of the museum as a place of mourning and healing, and will therefore take into account the 6 Principles established by SAMSHA.

REFERENCES:

- 9/11 Memorial & Museum Staff. (n.d.). *Image of the 8:30 AM exhibit at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum*. [Photograph]. 9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage. <https://www.911memorial.org/connect/blog/stories-hope-good-connects-us>
- 9/11 Memorial & Museum (2017). *The Survivors' Stairs Exhibit*. [Photograph]. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/911memorial/photos/a.196699939025/10155871143064026/>
- 9/11 Memorial & Museum (n.d.). *Tribute Walk Exhibit*. [Photograph]. 9/11 Memorial & Museum Ticket Webpage. <https://www.memorial-911-museum-tickets.com/911-museum-artifacts/>
- Albright, K. J., Duggan, C. H., & Epstein, M. J. (2008). Analyzing trauma narratives: Introducing the Narrative Form Index and Matrix. *Rehabilitation psychology*, 53(3), 400.
- Amidon, T. R., Williams, E. A., Lipsey, T., Callahan, R., Nuckols, G., & Rice, S. (2018). Sensors and gizmos and data, oh my: informing firefighters' personal protective equipment. *Communication Design Quarterly Review*, 5(4), 15-30.
- Arel, S. (2018). The power of place: Trauma recovery and memorialization. *Stellenbosch Theological Journal*, 4(2), 15-32.
- Arna Bontemps Museum (2022). *Volunteer as a museum docent*. Arna Bontemps Museum Webpage. <https://www.arnabontempsmuseum.com/volunteer-as-a-museum-docent/>
- Bal, M., Crewe, J. V., & Spitzer, L. (Eds.). (1999). *Acts of memory: Cultural recall in the present*. Upne. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
- Balestrino, A. (2020). Dramatic History/Historical Drama. Staging 9/11 as Aristotelian Tragedy. *Iperstoria*, (15).
- Barton, J. [9/11 Memorial & Museum]. (2013, August). *The Last Column: A Symbol of Resilience*. [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4-heOLpMq3M>
- Barton, J. [WIRED]. (2014, May). *What Remains- The 9/11 Museum- Wired*. [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3HC4FSDw2u0>
- Burke, J. (2012). *The 9/11 Wars*. Allen Lane.

- Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Ground Zero. In *Cambridge Dictionary Online*. Retrieved 21 May. 2023, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ground-zero>.
- Chatterjee, H., Vreeland, S., & Noble, G. (2009). Museopathy: Exploring the healing potential of handling museum objects. *museum and society*, 7(3), 164-177.
- Christie, B. (n.d.). *3D Plans of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum*. [Digital Design]. Wired Webpage. <https://www.wired.com/2014/05/911-museum-3/>
- Collin-Vézina, D., Brend, D., & Beeman, I. (2020). When it counts the most: Trauma-informed care and the COVID-19 global pandemic. *Developmental Child Welfare*, 2(3), 172-179.
- Conte, L., Graham-Felsen, J., & Trienens, A. (2020). The Slurry Wall: Past, Present, and Future. *Studies in Conservation*, 65(sup1), P44-P50.
- Diller, E., & Scofidio, R. (2001). To Rebuild or Not: Architects Respond. *New York Times Magazine*. September 23, p. 81.
- Doss, E. (2008). *The emotional life of contemporary public memorials: Towards a theory of temporary memorials*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Fassin, D., & Rechtman, R. (2009). *The empire of trauma: An inquiry into the condition of victimhood*. Princeton University Press.
- Fouseki, K. (2010). 'Community voices, curatorial choices': community consultation for the 1807 exhibitions. *museum and society*, 8(3), 180-192.
- Fraley, J. A. (2016). *9/11 memorials: Contested Memory, Competing Narratives, and Healing*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <https://ir.library.louisville.edu/etd/2449/>
- Frank, H.E., Last, B.S., AlRabiah, R. *et al.* Understanding therapists' perceived determinants of trauma narrative use. *Implement Sci Commun* 2, 131 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s43058-021-00231-9>
- Freud, S. (1917). Mourning and melancholia. *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*, 14(1914–1916), 237-258.
- Galindo, A. S. (2013). Mobile Media After 9/11: The September 11 Memorial & Museum App. In *The Mobile Story* (pp. 263-275). Routledge.

- Greenwald, A. [CBS News]. (2013, April). *The 9/11 Museum: Curating memories of terror and tragedy*. [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=loSobg8r3PU>.
- Gudaitis, P. & Breyer, C. (2014). [Letter to National September 11 Memorial & Museum, regarding concerns over film “The Rise of al-Qaeda”]. Retrieved from <https://interfaithcenter.org/letter-to-national-september-11-memorial-museum-regarding/>
- Harper, G. W., & Neubauer, L. C. (2021). Teaching during a pandemic: A model for trauma-informed education and administration. *Pedagogy in health promotion*, 7(1), 14-24.
- Hirschberger, G. (2018). Collective trauma and the social construction of meaning. *Frontiers in psychology*, 9, 1441.
- Hrsg, I. C. O. M. O. S. (2008). United States of America: The 11 Most Endangered Historic Places in the United States. *Heritage at Risk*, 165-170.
- Huang, L. N., Flatow, R., Biggs, T., Afayee, S., Smith, K., Clark, T., & Blake, M. (2014). SAMHSA's Concept of Trauma and Guidance for a Trauma-Informed Approach.
- Keegan, E. (n.d.). National September 11 Memorial Museum. *Architect Magazine*. https://www.architectmagazine.com/awards/annual-design-review/national-september-11-memorial-museum_o
- Kellner, D. (2004). 9/11, spectacles of terror, and media manipulation: A critique of Jihadist and Bush media politics. *Critical discourse studies*, 1(1), 41-64.
- Kiser, L. J., Baumgardner, B., & Dorado, J. (2010). Who are we, but for the stories we tell: Family stories and healing. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 2(3), 243.
- Knight, C. (2005). Concrete, yet not. *Los Angeles Times*, 25.
- Kopf, M. (2010). Trauma, narrative and the art of witnessing. *Slavery in art and literature: Approaches to trauma, memory and visibility*, 41-58.
- Lee, S. J. (n.d.). *Inner chamber at the In-Memorial Exhibit*. [Photograph]. 9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage. <https://www.911memorial.org/visit/museum/exhibitions/in-memorial>
- Levenson, J. (2020). Translating trauma-informed principles into social work practice. *Social Work*, 65(3), 288-298.

- Marin, K. A., & Shkreli, A. (2019). An examination of trauma narratives: Narrative rumination, self-reflection, and identity in young adulthood. *Journal of adolescence*, 76, 139-151.
- Mayerson, K. (2007). *9-11* [Painting]. Whitney Museum of American Art. <https://whitney.org/collection/works/38492>
- Mayring, P. (2000, June). Qualitative content analysis forum qualitative sozialforschung. In *Forum: qualitative social research* (Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 2).
- Micieli-Voutsinas, J. (2016). An absent presence: Affective heritage at the national September 11th memorial & museum. *Emotion, Space and Society*, 24, 93-104.
- Muller. (2017). *September 11, 2001 as a Cultural Trauma: A Case Study through Popular Culture*. Springer International Publishing.
- Neimeyer, R. A., Prigerson, H. G., & Davies, B. (2002). Mourning and meaning. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 46(2), 235-251.
- Opotow, S., & Shemtob, Z. B. (Eds.). (2018). *New York After 9/11*. Empire State Editions.
- Oxford Reference (n.d.). al-Qaeda. In *Oxford Reference*. Retrieved 21 May. 2023, from <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095405587>.
- Paliewicz, N. S., & Hasian Jr, M. (2016). Mourning absences, melancholic commemoration, and the contested public memories of the National September 11 Memorial and Museum. *Western Journal of Communication*, 80(2), 140-162.
- Pemberton, J. V., & Loeb, T. B. (2020). Impact of sexual and interpersonal violence and trauma on women: Trauma-informed practice and feminist theory. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*, 32(1-2).
- Sagalyn, L. B. (2016). *Power at ground zero: politics, money, and the remaking of Lower Manhattan*. Oxford University Press.
- Schauer, M., Neuner, F., & Elbert, T. (2011). Narrative exposure therapy.
- Simko, C. (2020). Marking time in memorials and museums of terror: Temporality and cultural trauma. *Sociological Theory*, 38(1), 51-77.

- Simonton, D. K. (2003). Qualitative and quantitative analyses of historical data. *Annual review of psychology*, 54(1), 617-640.
- Sodaro, A. (2018). 6. The National September 11 Memorial Museum: “To Bear Solemn Witness. In *Exhibiting Atrocity* (pp. 138-161). Rutgers University Press.
- Stewart, E. (1988). Where Were You on That Day? A Critical Analysis of the National September 11 Memorial Museum. *History*, 23(1), 79.
- Sturken, M. (2004). The aesthetics of absence: Rebuilding ground zero. *American ethnologist*, 31(3), 311-325.
- Svgdik, D. T. (2019). *If This Was Just a Museum: Employee Emotional Wellbeing at Trauma Site Museums* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Washington. <https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/handle/1773/43845>
- van de Ven, P. (2020). The journey of sensemaking and identity construction in the aftermath of trauma: Peer support as a vehicle for coconstruction. *Journal of community psychology*, 48(6), 1825-1839.
- Weber, C. (2008). Popular visual language as global communication: the remediation of United Airlines Flight 93. *Review of International Studies*, 34(S1), 137-153.
- Whittenburg, Caroline L. (2021). *Terrorism, Trauma, and Memory: Constructing National Identity at The 9/11 Museum and The Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum*. MSU Graduate Theses. 3602. <https://bearworks.missouristate.edu/theses/3602>
- Winters, D. (n.d.). *Part of the In-Memoriam Exhibit*. [Photograph]. 9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage. <https://www.911memorial.org/visit/museum/exhibitions/in-memoriam>
- Young, J. E. (1994). *The texture of memory: Holocaust memorials and meaning*. Yale University Press.

ANNEX 1:

Exhibit 1: 8:30 AM:

The first exhibit visitors encounter when they first descend to the footprints where the twin towers once stood, is entitled September 11, 2001. In it, as Sodaro (2018, p.148) states, visitors will encounter a timeline that follows the events from that day minute by minute. As opposed to one with a broader perspective of years, visitors can follow how the events precisely happened that day “from the time the first plane hit the north tower at 8:46 a.m. until the north tower collapsed at 10:28 a.m.” (Sodaro, 2018, p.148). The first image visitors find themselves looking at, is a big photograph of the Twin Towers Skyline taken only a few minutes before the first plane crashed into the North Tower. Visitors may also view a large map showing the path the aircraft took on the day they crashed in the Towers, the Pentagon and in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, followed by the pictures of these planes colliding. The images quickly transport viewers to the day's more chaotic and disastrous moments, as well as the exposure to a powerful audio of citizens from across the world discussing the terrorist assault combined with a screen showing quotes in the shape of a world map.



Figure 1: Image of the 8:30 AM exhibit at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum. Note. Docent explaining visitors about the 8:30 A.M. exhibit at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum. Retrieved from *9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage by the 9/11 Memorial & Museum Staff*. (<https://www.911memorial.org/connect/blog/stories-hope-good-connects-us>.) Accessed 20/04/2023.

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): The physical environment can create a sense of unease in the visitors. When they come down from the entrance to the start of the exhibit, visitors face a large hall with reception desks where staff attend people looking for information or any other queries. Since this is the only starting point of the exhibit, visitors are forced to enter a narrow space, looking like a ‘tunnel’ where they face the moments before and when the attacks were happening. Between the semi-chaos of the reception area with many people speaking to staff and downloading their audio tour apps, and the jarring experience of being launched into the minute by minute timeline, visitors may feel a sense of anxiety in this area.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? When visitors reach the first audio-interaction of the exhibit, they find themselves facing a dark tunnel, with a big image of the shape of the world map formed by the words of the audios playing in the exhibit. There, people from different countries talk about their own experiences when hearing the news about the terrorist attacks. The audio recordings of these different voices are chaotic since visitors may find difficult to distinguish the beginning and the end of the audio- media, as well as the chaotic sense it can cause as the words create a sense of coming towards visitors as they play. However, since almost everyone who enters the museum has experienced 9/11 before, they are relatable to visitors.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? The first space of the exhibit feels rushed, since visitors have to face the crowded area with people starting the museum tour as well as trying to read the label copy. After that, visitors encounter the previously mentioned dark tunnel, which produces a comparable frantic environment and unease as the actual day of the events. Because of the exhibit's atmosphere, a traumatized visitor can be transported back to the day of the events.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? Visitors who are feeling overwhelmed must deal with the packed entrance, other visitors who are attempting to read the label copy, as well as the dark tunnel with the disorganized sounds and video. The exhibit does not offer any interactive features or alternate paths.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it?

The visual media indicates the statement the audio is saying as well as the nation it originates from, albeit there isn't a clear citation of the individual speaking on it.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way?

Yes, it just goes through a factual storytelling of the events in a chronological order.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Even though they are not directly cited from any source in this exhibit, the audios and the media express factual events of the day of the terrorist attacks, and the media portrayed, specifically the recorded voices and pictures are primary sources of people experiencing the events as they go.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? In the case of this exhibit, since it's near the reception area where all the staff members are concentrated, people who need docents have easy access of proximity to those.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent? In the case of this exhibit, there is a portion of the audio guide app where the exhibit is explained by a virtual guide.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information on its exhibits?

This exhibit contains museum generated information and primary source audio recordings.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? The same level of importance is given to the generated information by the museum as well as the external audio recordings retrieved from different people around the world.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? This exhibit does not contain any interactive element where visitors can state their opinion or use their voice.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? Audio recordings of eyewitnesses to the terrorist attacks from around the world were used in the development of one section of the display.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority groups? One part of the exhibit represents different people from different countries experiencing the same event at the same time, as well as the audio and explanation of it with different languages.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of a historical moment? This exhibit has voices and text in several languages from across the world, thus it features eyewitnesses of all cultures, races, and ethnicities describing the horror they were feeling.

ANNEX 2:

Exhibit 2: Slurry Wall:

The second exhibit visitors will face is the impactful Slurry Wall. The Slurry Wall “formed the perimeter of the massive trench designed to keep water from the Hudson River from filling that hole” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.). The wall is a very symbolic artifact from the construction of the original towers that is still preserved and honored in the museum. Its construction was based of “bentonite slurry, that is dense enough to keep out groundwater and also prevents the wall to trench (an earthen wall) from collapsing” (Conte, Graham-Felsen & Trienens, 2020, p. 45). The main aim of the Slurry Wall exhibit, according to the same authors, is to encourage public knowledge of the wall's history, significance, and role in establishing guidelines for its preservation and reaffirming the wall's cultural relevance (p. 46). In the Foundation Hall where the Slurry Wall stands, visitors also have the option to participate and write in an interactive screen their own opinions and messages in regards to the events.



Figure 2. The Slurry Wall. Note. Image of the Slurry Wall taken from the Foundation Hall. (own photo).

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): It is likely that the physical environment of the exhibit encourages a sense of safety, since people standing in front of the wall will learn that the wall itself saved a lot of lives when the two terrorist attacks happened at the World Trade Center, preventing other floods around the area such as the subway and other underground places. Since visitors are coming from a more "traumatic" exhibit and then facing the Slurry Wall, it creates this sense of hope and life-saving, which may result in a sense of de-escalation for the visitors and staff.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? In the physical exhibit, there is no presence of audio or other media. However, if visitors download the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App, the audio narrated by Robert De Niro could create a sense of hope and safety. The audio voice is calmed, there is only one person speaking without any background noises or any other audios overlapping which could create a sense of uneasiness. The speaker describes the object that inspires optimism by outlining how the Slurry Wall's persistence in the face of the September 11 attacks inspired people to band together and believe that things can get better, and that “we can all withstand the worst by coming together to bring out the best in our communities and in each other” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.) just like what the Slurry Wall did that day.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? The exhibit is established in different parts of the museum, as the Slurry Wall is a big object that occupies a large part of the museum. However, the audio tour and the label copy are established in a balcony where visitors are starting to descend into the footprints of the Towers and towards other exhibits. The balcony is a wide space where visitors can contemplate the Slurry Wall and other exhibits from a higher view point. Visitors don't have a sensation of claustrophobia or being rushed by audios or other media since they have plenty of room to wander about and think about the other exhibits they will soon be seeing. Instead, the quiet music and spacious setting give visitors a chance to relax and take a moment to think about the greatness of the Slurry Wall.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation?

The exhibit's open layout provides audiences the freedom to decide what they want to see and what they don't, as well as the freedom to express their own opinions and ideas.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it?

There are no quotes from outside sources in the museum-written label content. The actor Robert De Niro is used as the narrator of the exhibit description in the audio recording included in the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? Yes, it explains the history and construction of the Slurry Wall as it happened.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? The object is real, since it's the real fragment of the Slurry Wall under the basement of the North Tower. The texts and the audio were created by the museum.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? There are no docents standing by the exhibit available for traumatized visitors.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent?

In the case of this exhibit, there is a portion of the audio guide app where the exhibit is explained by a virtual guide.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information on its exhibits? The exhibit contains interactive material where people can write their own personal stories and opinions.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? Visitors can write notes or share their own personal tales on screens at the exhibit along the corridor. These comments or stories will thereafter be shown next to the Slurry Wall.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? The exhibit contains interactive screens where visitors can write their own messages and that later will be displayed in a part of the Slurry Wall.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? It was not, it was created by the museum: thus, a part of it is created by personal narratives of the visitors.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? No, it does not, since it talks about the construction of an object made by architects, but everyone can give their personal account in the interactive screens.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? It does not highlight any minorities, but on the interactive screens, anyone can provide their own story or opinion.

ANNEX 3:

Exhibit 3: Before and After:

The display shows two images of the Towers, one from before the strikes and one from after. Visitors see pictures of the Twin Towers as they stood together in the morning and as they dispersed smoke and fell apart a few hours later after being struck by two planes. The images are set by creating an angle of perspective. Visitors begin gradually seeing how the sun is rising and shining on the buildings, after which there is a dark interval between the images that gives the impression of a blackout, until visitors begin to notice the image of the smoke and eventually the already-collapsed towers.



Figure 3. Before and After Exhibit. Note. Picture of a visitor observing the Before and After exhibit from the front. (owned photo).

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): The pictures emerging from the wall take up more room from the descending route that visitors are taking, giving the impression that the images are coming towards the visitor. The images showed are from a large scale, so visitors who want to

stop and look and then both have to back up a little bit, almost touching the edge of the pathway creating a sense of not having enough space. Since the image shows the towers standing before collapsing, it depicts an escalation event rather than a de-escalation.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? The exhibit does not contain any physical audio; however, it contains one if visitors are following the app museum guide. The audio there is calmed and paused and it doesn't last long. The exhibit's media, in this case two photos, might give visitors the impression that they are in danger because they show the buildings standing in the first picture before showing how they are erased from the city's skyline. Additionally, the smoke in the image of the collapsed towers gives off a sense of war or catastrophe, possibly making the visitor feel uneasy.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? Visitors can find it difficult to remain there for an extended period of time due to the exhibit's projection from the wall and invasion of the walkway. Visitors don't feel the need to remain for very long as the audio is brief and there are no label copies to read.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? Since the exhibit is not established in the middle of the pathway, visitors can choose to not stand there and move on to other exhibits.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? The label copy shows the title of the image as well as the photographer who took it. The audio recording of the app is created by the 9/11 Memorial & Museum.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? Yes, it shows real images of the day the events happened.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? There are no docents available near the exhibit.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent? In the case of this exhibit, there is a portion of the audio guide app where the exhibit is explained by a virtual guide.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information on its exhibits? Yes, it contains pictures taken by someone who is not part of the museum. Though, they are curated and selected by the Museum.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? Between the app and the pictures, it centers the experiences of people who witnessed the attacks firsthand.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? The exhibit doesn't have any interactive or any other elements where visitors can rate the exhibit or state their opinions.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? The exhibit was developed with two images taken by a victim of 9/11 as he witnessed the events live. However, they are curated and selected by the Museum.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? It does not, it only shows pictures of a structural monument

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? It does not include any ethnicity.

ANNEX 4:

Exhibit 4: Survivor's stairs:

This exhibit presents the "Survivors' Stairs" in their actual form. Those were more concretely named as "The Vesey Street Stairs" and they "served as an escape route for hundreds of people fleeing the chaos and devastation at the site" (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.). The significance of these stairs is very important as well as its value since "It is the only surviving above-ground remnant of the original World Trade Center, and a vivid and haunting reminder of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks" (Hrsg, 2008, p.170). Visitors can descend to the museum hall adjacent to the survivor stairs, simulating the ascent that survivors underwent the day of the terrorist attacks.

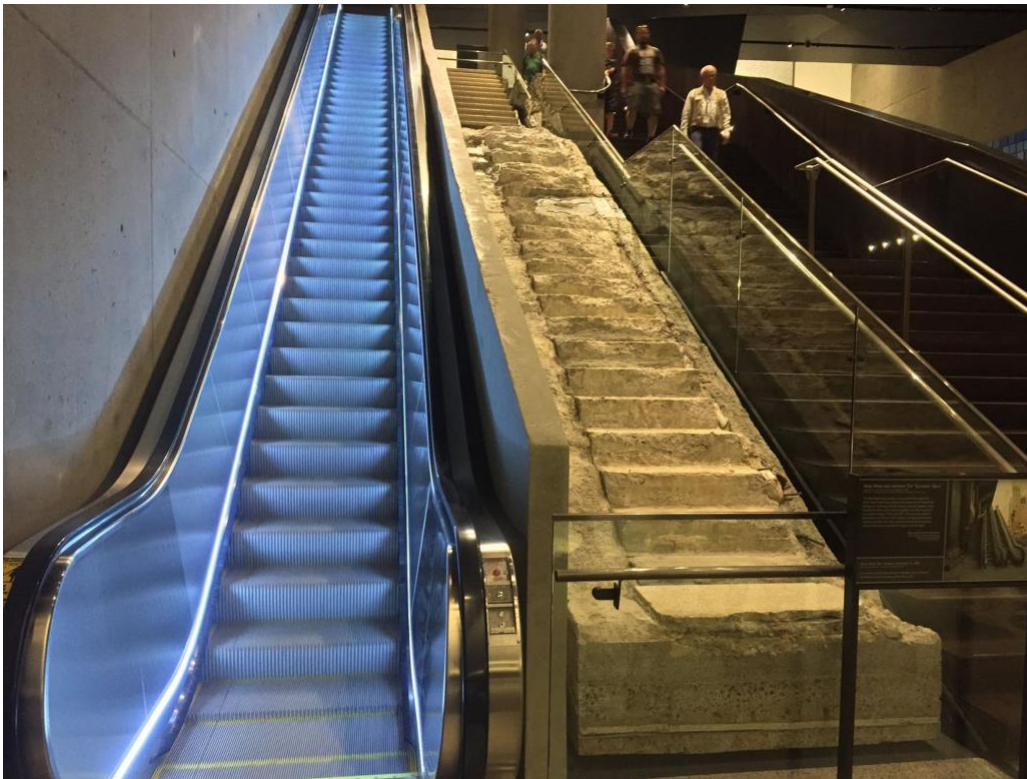


Figure 4. The Survivors' Stairs Exhibit. Note. Picture taken from the Memorial Hall on the ruins of the Survivors' Stairs. Retrieved from the *9/11 Memorial & Museum Verified Facebook Page*.. (<https://www.facebook.com/911memorial/photos/a.196699939025/10155871143064026/>). Accessed; 23/04/2023

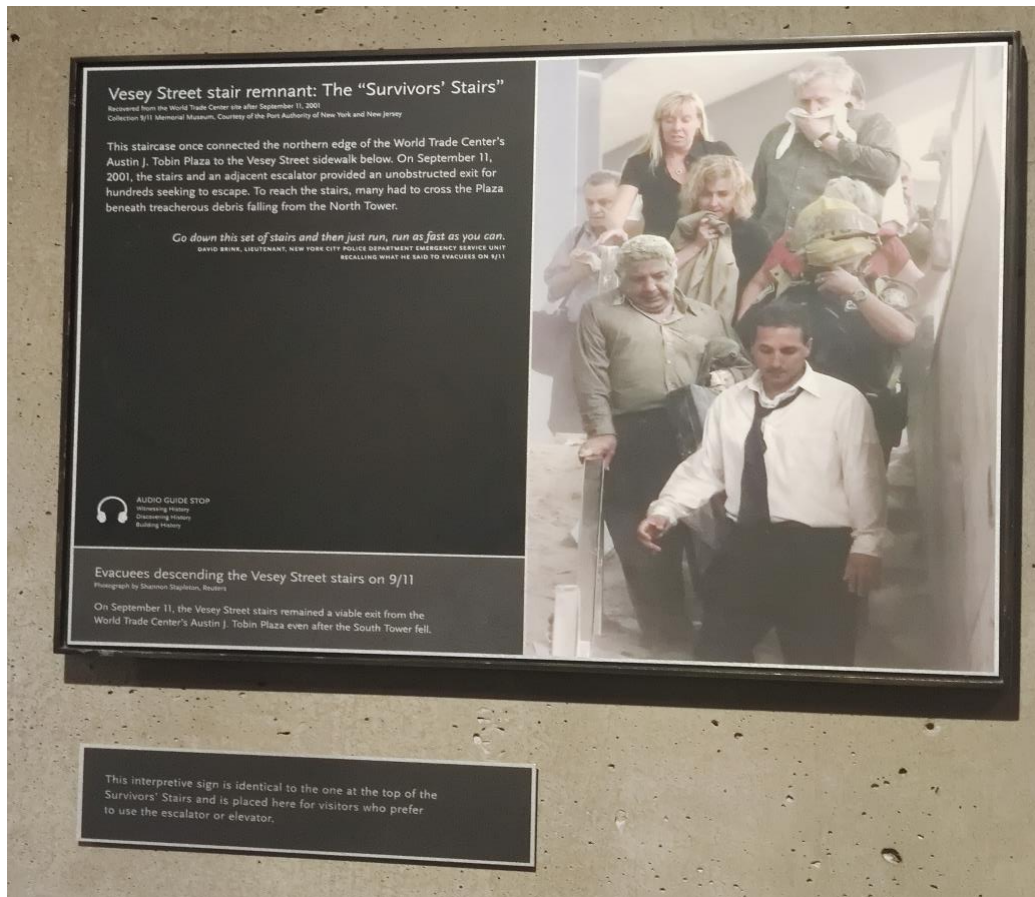


Figure 5. The Survivors' Stairs Exhibit Label Copy. Note. Picture of the label copy established by the Survivors' Stairs exhibit explaining its history and the used it had during September 11, 2001. (own photo).

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): It may promote a sense of safety, since visitors can see the real object of the stairs that saved so many lives the day of the attacks. While watching the stairs, visitors can choose to go through the electric stairs and contemplate the survivor stairs in a calmed way or they can choose to go through the analog stairs and skip the exhibit, or follow it and stop whenever they want. It creates mixed feelings, since visitors can feel de-escalation from the previous exhibit by seeing the stairs that helped people survive, but that the same time, they can also see how those stairs also portray the image of destruction and devastation. Also, the stairs show two stages. The upper stairs are in a more complete state, whether the lower part is completely destroyed by the collapse of the Towers.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? The audio of the exhibit from the app also promotes a sense of safety since there is the audio recording of a survivor explaining her experience and how those stairs saved her life.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? The electric stairs where visitors descend next to this exhibit go in a very low speed, letting the visitors have time to process what they are seeing. They also provide analog stairs, which guests can stop at any time, as an alternative to the electric steps. Additionally, once guests enter the hallway, they are free to stand in front of the stairs to view them and do so for however long they like. The audio of the app is also narrated in a paused way and there is also the transcription of the audio where visitors can calmly read the audio narration.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? Visitors have the choice of taking the analog stairs instead of this exhibit because it is next to the stairs, therefore they are in control of whether they want to learn about it or not. In the app, visitors can also decide to skip the exhibit or listen to it, since the app suggests a chronological order of the exhibits but visitors are free to choose whatever they want.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? There are label copies with quotations from statements made that day in those steps by police officers who were attempting to save people's lives, as well as a picture where survivors can be seen walking down the stairs. In the recorded audio, the name of the survivor as well as the story is quoted and mentioned.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? Yes, it provides information about the design and construction of the stairs as well as how they actually saved lives. In addition, a real testimony from a survivor who used the stairs is included, outlining her experience in detail.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited, they are not replicas.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? A member of the museum staff is stationed close to the steps to direct visitors and answer any questions or concerns they might have.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent? In the case of this exhibit, there is a section of the audio tour app where a virtual guide explains what's on display. There are also labeled copies with a photo that describes the exhibit's subject in matter.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information on its exhibits? Yes, along with the app's audio testimonial outlining her experience, it contains pictures of a person who witnessed the events on that day in that location.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? The exhibit shows an equal level of power between the entity and the personal narrative.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? Not for the visitors, but the exhibition portrays the personal experience and voices of survivors.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind?

It was partly developed with the voices of victims and survivors.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? The picture showed in the exhibit shows a sample of the people that were at the World Trade Center when the attacks happened.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment?

The picture includes an image of survivors that appear to have different races and ethnicities, but it does not specifically talk about the personal story of people belonging to those minorities.

ANNEX 5:

Exhibit 5: Memorial Hall:

The exhibit of the Memorial Hall consists of a very wide space where other exhibits stand such as the “*In- Memoriam* Exhibit”, “The Tribute Walk”, “The Historical Exhibition” and more. Besides those exhibits, visitors find themselves in front of an enormous wall with a quote by the roman poet Virgil, written in “The Aeneid” which says “No day shall erase you from the memory of time”. According to Balestrino (2020) the quote was “forged from recovered World Trade Center steel by Tom Joyce, and a mosaic made up of 2,983 (the number of victims) paper panels surrounding the quotation” (p, 251). In the exhibit there is also “a specific art installation called “Trying to Remember the Color of the Sky on that September Morning” (created by the) artist Spencer Finch to pay tribute to the victims and to explore both the personal and the collective nature of memory” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.).



Figure 6. Memorial Hall Exhibit. Note. Picture of the Virgil's Quote at the Memorial Hall Exhibit. (own photo).

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): A feeling of safety could be produced by the physical surroundings of the area. Visitors are placed in an area of the museum that is highly open and spacious, with seats where individuals may practice self-care if necessary, as well as the quiet and tranquil setting that the large hall offers and the avoidance of small, confined locations where people can get stuck.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? There are no auditory components in the exhibit that might cause stress or trauma. With the addition of the color blue to the surroundings, which represents the appearance of the sky on the day of the events, the visual source—which is the quote—promotes a feeling of calmness. The audio from the app gives visitors the explanation of the blacksmith who created the exhibit for Virgil’s quotation. Visitors may feel safer after the narration of how the exhibit was made and feel they are in more control of the information.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? The exhibit is established in a wide space where visitors can stand for as long as they want observing the quote with no need to be rushed by other visitors, or by the fact that they encounter themselves in a small space.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? Since the exhibit is established in a very wide and open hall, visitors can decide to read and get to know more about the quotation, or they can also decide to skip the exhibit. In the app, visitors can also decide to skip the exhibit or listen to it, since it suggests a chronological order of the exhibits but visitors are free to choose whatever they want.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? The exhibit contains a label copy where it explains the meaning of the art installation, the purpose of its creation as well as the citation of the designer of the exhibit and the blacksmith who forged the letters. In the app, visitors can also hear the voice of the blacksmith, explaining his ideas for the exhibit as well as what materials he used to construct it, and to give visitors a more accurate and first-hand information.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? The material is objective since it tells viewers how the exhibit was made, by whom, and how it came to be. It also includes first-person stories from those who made it or came up with the idea.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? A member of the museum staff is stationed in the hall to direct visitors and answer any questions or concerns they might have.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent? In the case of this exhibit, there is a portion of the audio guide app where the exhibit is explained by a virtual guide, as well as label copies with a picture that explains the object of the exhibit.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information? The work is created by an artist that is not part of the museum, but who was hired by the museum.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? The exhibit shows an equal level of power between the entity and the personal narrative. However, the personal narratives are also curated by the museum curators.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? It does not contain interactive elements for visitors.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? It was not developed with the voices of the victims and survivors in mind.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? It doesn't represent different cultures races, ethnicities or minority collectives.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? It doesn't specifically exclude minorities because it does not talk about any specific groups of people.

ANNEX 6:

Exhibit 6: Memorial Exhibition; In Memoriam:

The exhibit *In-Memoriam*, is one of the core exhibits of the 9/11 Museum. Located under the South Tower excavation, the exhibit “honors the victims in a thoughtful and respectful way” (Stewart, 1988, p.6). The exhibit consists of an enclosed square-shaped space where the portraits of the victims of the terrorist attacks of September 11, as well as the victims of the bombing attacks at the World Trade Center in 1993, “are remembered through images, objects and stories told by those who knew them, best-families, friends and co-workers” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.). This exhibit also includes a separate room “with seats for visitors to rest and spend time, (while it) plays recordings of victims’ family members narrating short anecdotes while specific victims’ photographs are projected onto the walls” (Stewart, 1988, p.6)

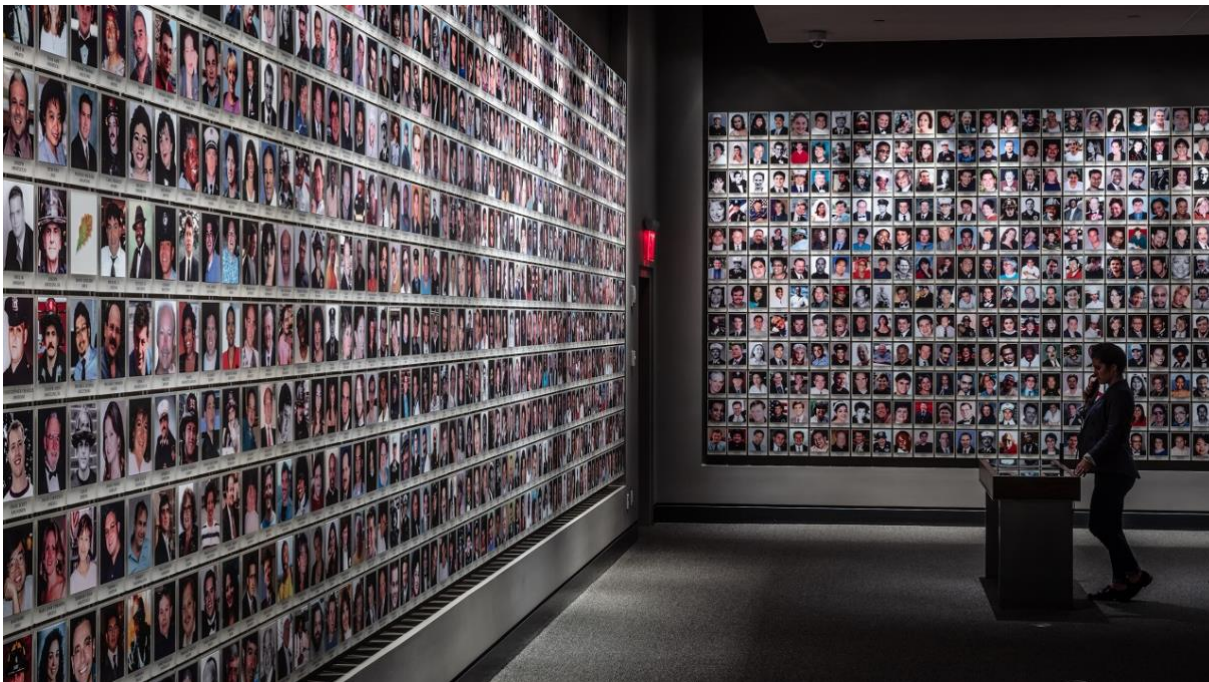


Figure 7: Inner chamber at the *In-Memoriam* Exhibit. Note. Image of the structure of the exhibit of the In-Memoriam where in the inner chamber, in which the victims’ profiles are narrated and showed to the visitors, as well as some objects from the victims displayed on the wall. Retrieved from the *9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage*. (<https://www.911memorial.org/visit/museum/exhibitions/in-memoriam>). Accessed 24/04/2023



Figure 8: Part of the *In-Memoriam* Exhibit. Note. Picture of the images of the victims from the 1993 and 2001 Terrorist Attacks. The image also shows a visitor navigating through the interactive screens to know more about the victims. Retrieved from the *9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage*. (<https://www.911memorial.org/visit/museum/exhibitions/in-memoriam>). Accessed 24/04/2023

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): The exhibit is a quiet and respectful place where people pay tribute to the deaths that occurred at the World Trade Center. However, it is a small space and the uniformity of the countless faces on the walls can be overwhelming, and thus lead to a loss of direction where someone could feel trapped or lost. The exhibit may be bypassed by those who don't feel like seeing it, but since there is only one entry and one exit, you must see the entire thing once you are inside. Also, in the interior of the exhibit there is a room where visitors can sit and listen to the narrations of some family members, friends, coworkers etc., about the victims who died. This chamber is located inside the In-Memoriam exhibit with just one access and exit, making it challenging for a traumatized visitor to de-escalate because, in order to depart during a breakdown, they must first confront the dark room and then the *In-Memoriam* display.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? The audio in the exhibit may cause visitors to have conflicting feelings; although some may find it distressing, others may find it therapeutic to hear others talk about the wonderful things and memories of individuals who are no longer with us. However, the audio itself it's calmed and there is nothing shocking or scaring about it, it brings more sad feelings rather than fear.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? Since the exhibit is located in a tiny, enclosed space with a massive mural covered in faces, it might be overwhelming for a visitor may have experienced trauma. The little area, as well as the mural, may be a draw for tourists, and they may linger longer while seeing the photos, producing an overwhelming environment. The short hallways may also evoke a feeling of claustrophobia. Indeed, the room full of different faces may create a sense of overstimulation, making it harder to process all the information visitors are seeing in the exhibit. However, in contrast to this, visitors are given access to a touchable screen where they can move and enlarge the images of the victims of the wall in order to make the display less overwhelming. Even if visitors are utilizing the touchable screen, the congested space may occasionally give the impression that they are rushing since it may seem that other visitors want to be able to use those devices.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? The devices displaying the victims posted in the wall may create a sense of control for the visitors, since they can choose who to look for or who they want to see. Yet, once inside the exhibit, visitors have no choice but to observe to the big mural of portraits of the victims, having to go through a great part of the exhibit to find the exit

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? All the information inside the exhibit is carefully cited.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? Since the audio recordings were produced by the victims' families, they contain biased information in their explanations in regards to the victims. However, since these details only describe specific instances in the victims' past lives, they are not essential to understanding the events of the day, though the information does not contain information essential to the formation of a trauma narrative.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? Staff from the museum is on site at the entrance and exit as well as inside the exhibit to answer any questions or concerns visitors may have. They are also available to direct traumatized visitors to the exit and offer tissues.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent?

In the case of this exhibit, there is a portion of the audio guide app where the exhibit is explained by a virtual guide. Moreover, it has a featuring audio named “Remembrances” where visitors can listen to some family members talking about their beloved ones who died in the terrorist attacks, as well as personal experiences and feelings that can also create a connection with the visitor.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information? Numerous personal stories about the victims are told in the exhibit by family members, friends, coworkers, and others, giving them voice and revealing more about who they were and what they did. The exhibit also includes items that belonged to the victims that they used to wear or utilize before passing away.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? The level of power in this exhibit is higher in the personal narratives, since it’s a space that centers on the victims and their past life, and how their relatives tell stories about the victims’ pasts and not about the historical event.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? The exhibit has interactive elements; family members or friends of victims that died in the attacks are invited to share personal stories or messages about the victims, and this ability is advertised on signs throughout the exhibit. However, the opinion statements and the use of voices is reserved only for those who had direct connections to victims and cannot be used by other visitors even if they have their own personal stories of trauma regarding 9/11.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? The exhibit was fully developed by the voices of the family members of the victims.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? The exhibit provides all the faces from all the people who died in the terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center, 1993 bombing and September 11, 2001. In the pictures, visitors can spot all the different ethnicities, cultures, races and minority collectives that the victims belonged to. Greenwald (2013, 9:30), in her interview for *60 Minutes*, a program by CBS News, states that in the exhibit visitors will see pictures of the victims whose “ages (go) from 2 and a half to 85, from over 90 countries, every sector of the economy, every possible ethnic group”.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? The portrayal of the victims established that those people who died, no matter their ethnicity age, race, etc. are all part of a very devastating historical moment of the terrorist attacks in the Twin Towers.

ANNEX 7:

Exhibit 7: Tribute Walk:

The Tribute Walk, located in front of the exit of the *In-Memoriam* exhibit and next to the Survivors' Stairs, is a space “dedicated to displaying works of art created in response of the events of the 9/11 and objects made in tribute to the victims of the attacks” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.). The exhibit displays art works such as “memorial quilts, a memorial motorcycle and other items (that) tributes those who died” (Sturken, 2015, p. 479). The exhibit is rotating and displays different types of tribute artifacts when changed (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d.).



Figure 9. Tribute Walk Exhibit. Note. This picture shows visitors exploring the exhibits at the Tribute Walk established on the right side of the image. Retrieved from the *9/11 Memorial & Museum Ticket Webpage*. (<https://www.memorial-911-museum-tickets.com/911-museum-artifacts/>). Accessed 25/04/2023

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): The area where the tribute walk takes place is a large hall with a tall ceiling, giving the impression of a spacious area. The items exhibited in the Tribute Walk are not located close together and it’s not overcrowded. This may give visitors the

impression that the area is open and not overly packed with things to see. After the *In-Memoriam* exhibit, if visitors follow the app narrative, they will go to the Tribute walk. Those who may feel overwhelmed will be able to come back to a more calming environment and de-escalate from a core exhibit to a more calmed one. Visitors who choose not to view the exhibit can leave and return to the Memorial Hall. However, if they choose to view the South Tower exhibit, they will be required to go through the exhibit. It doesn't, however, have anything really alarming in it.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? There is no physical audio-media in the exhibit but, if visitors are following it with the app, the audio they will hear is calmed and paused.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? Since visitors are in a wider space and the pieces exhibited are not close together, visitors can calmly look at the items without feeling enclosed in a small space full of people. Yet, they can take their time looking at the exhibit.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? If wished, since the exhibit is in a wider space and connecting to the Memorial Hall, visitors can decide to skip the exhibit if needed.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? All the information inside the exhibit is carefully cited.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? The label copy only states the facts, so the information exposed is unbiased.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? There are no docents available in this exhibit for traumatized visitors. If needed, visitors can move to the Memorial Hall where they will be able to find museum staff for any questions or queries.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent?

There is a section of the audio guide app dedicated to this exhibit where a virtual guide explains it. One of the exhibit painters is also included in this section of the audio tour, speaking and explaining his work. The app also includes an audio clip describing one of the works of art by the artist.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information? The exhibit consists of artwork pieces created by different artists and memorials where people who wanted to tribute the terrorist attacks added pieces of personal items to the artistic paintings or monuments.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? The level of power in this exhibit is higher in the personal narratives, since it consists of art pieces created by people who wanted to be part of the tribute of the terrorist attacks and to honor the victims. This exhibit shows a higher power of personal narratives rather than the entity narratives. However, the museum curators decide what objects to showcase.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? The exhibit does not contain interactive elements for visitors to state their opinions, rate or use their voices.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? The display was created using items donated by victims or anyone who wanted to support the memorializing of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Some of the exhibits feature objects and writings created by survivors as well as by victims' families or other people willing to memorialize them.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? The exhibit does not represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? The exhibit does not include minorities.

ANNEX 8:

Exhibit 8: Memorial Hall Large Artifacts:

The Memorial Hall is a wide space that displays different artifacts found intact or partially intact at Ground Zero. Those are considered to be Large Artifacts that wouldn't fit in a smaller room. The app highlights four objects as symbols of the destruction caused by the terrorist attacks. The exhibit includes The Box Column Remnant, the North Tower Antenna, the FDNY Ladder 3 Truck and the Impacted steel. The Box column Remnant once formed the “exterior steel framework of the Twin Towers [...] that created the distinctive appearance of the twin towers” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.). The North Tower Antenna stood “approximately 360 feet tall [...] broadcasting television signals in 1980” (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d.). The FDNY Ladder 3 Truck that was “parked near the World Trade Center and rushed into the towers, (thus) when the North Tower collapsed, the truck's front end would be crushed by falling debris” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.). Last but not least, there is the Impact steel where “The underbelly of the aircraft mangled the top of this facade segment with force sufficient to twist and shred the steel.” (9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, n.d.).

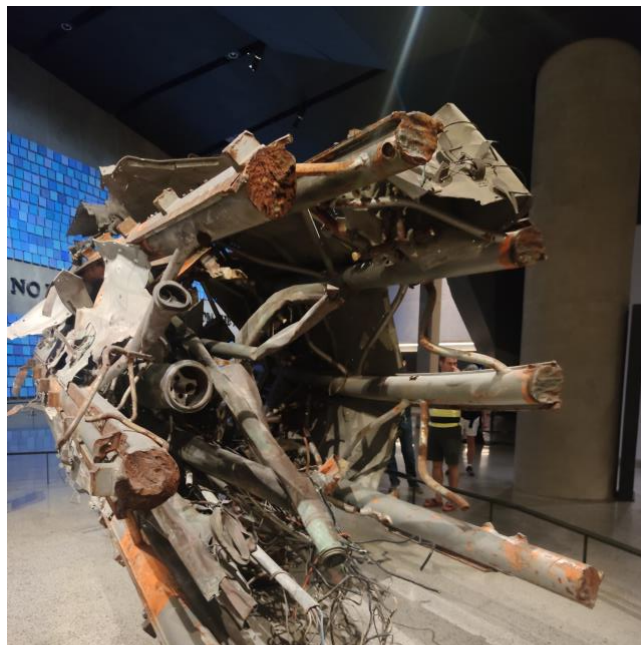


Figure 10: Antenna Fragment recovered from 'Ground Zero'.
Note. Upper fragment from the North Tower Antenna recovered from 'Ground Zero' after the Terrorist Attacks.
(own photo).



Figure 11: Recovered Fire Truck From 'Ground Zero'. Note. Image of half of the Fire Truck recovered from the debris of 'Ground Zero' after the terrorist attacks. This picture demonstrates the impact and destruction the Terrorist Attacks brought. (own photo).

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): The aforementioned large artifacts are spread out through the Memorial Hall exhibit. It is an open space where visitors can freely walk around and choosing whether to see the objects or skip them. The open area gives guests a sense of freedom to move around and view the artifacts without being constrained in one area, as well as the option to observe them or not.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? There is no physical audio-media in the exhibits, but, the app gives narrations about each of the aforementioned artifacts with a calming voice and without background noises. Also, there are some featuring audios of victims of the 9/11 that give further explanation and personal stories about the displayed objects. The calmed voice and the collaboration of different survivors may give the visitors a sense of a safety and calmed environment.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? Visitors may take their time and quietly examine the things without feeling trapped in a tiny space, as they are in a bigger area and the artifacts being displayed are not close together.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? Since the exhibit is located in a larger area, visitors may opt to skip it if they so choose. Additionally, there are seats available in case visitors feel the need to practice self-care.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? All the information inside the exhibit is carefully cited.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? The information is unbiased, since it tells the story of the facts and the artifacts as they happened.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? There are no docents available particularly in each exhibit of the artifacts. Thus, since the objects are exhibited in the Memorial Hall, visitors can find museum staff walking around for anything needed.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent? A virtual guide provides explanations in one section of the audio guide app for this exhibit. Additionally, a few victims and survivors who are connected to the exhibit's object share their personal stories as well as their attachment to it.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information? The exhibits do not contain any external sources of information.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? There are no personal narratives in these exhibits.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? The exhibits do not contain interactive elements for visitors to state their opinions, rate or use their voices.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? The exhibits were not developed with the voices of the victims and survivors in mind.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? The exhibit does not represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? The exhibit does not include minorities.

ANNEX 9:

Exhibit 9: Historical Exhibition:

The Historical Exhibition, entitled “September 11, 2001”, is one of the core exhibits of the 9/11 Memorial and Museum. The exhibit “occupies almost the entire footprint of the North Tower [...] (and) it reconstructs the day’s events in painstaking and multisensory detail.” (Simko, 2020, p.64). According to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum’s webpage (n.p.), the historical exhibit is divided into three parts that will create a narrative of the terrorist attacks. The first part of the exhibit visitors encounter is called “The Events of the Day”, this deals with how the events happened that day and how they evolved. The second exhibit visitors encounter is called “Before 9/11”; this narrates the bombing attack at the World Trade Center in 1993 as well as the motives behind why both attacks happened. To end the exhibit visitors will walk through the third part of the exhibit named “After 9/11”. Here, visitors face how “images, objects and video capture the physical destruction as well as the massive outpouring of grief” (Simko, 2020, p.65).

Since in this exhibit it is not permitted to take photos or videos, research relied on descriptions of the exhibit via the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App and webpage.

Annex 9.1: The Events of the Day

The “Events of the Day” section of the Historical Exhibit at the 9/11 Museum is composed of seven different exhibits showcasing how the terrorist attacks unfolded that day, using the support of objects and audio and video media.

The first exhibit, entitled “North Tower Attack”, narrates the events as the first plane struck the North Tower. The first important object visitors encounter, according to the audio-guided tour of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App (n.d.), is the sign that used to indicate the entrance of the North Tower. This is followed by the display of newspapers, signs, programs, and other events that were going on in the city of New York that September 11, 2001, including the primary elections for mayor, and followed by a display of burned papers and other damaged objects that fell from the tower. As the audio-guided tour in the app continues, visitors will face a timeline that “highlights the events (that visitors) are witnessing in the exhibit and (that describe) developments happening simultaneously, both in the skies above and other locations on the ground” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.). Surrounding this exhibit, visitors can also explore audio and video media of witnesses around the area commenting on what they were seeing.

The next exhibit visitors encounter, as the narrative follows, is named “South Tower Attack”. In it, visitors observe the same entrance indicator as that of the North Tower, in this case “2 World Trade Center”. Beside the banner, as the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App (n.d.) states, visitors will face a showcase of a plane fragment along with a piece of one of the stolen aircraft's fuselage with a passenger window belonging to Flight 11. Featured displays in the exhibit include visual material, such as quotes from survivors from the South Tower, as well as personal objects belonging to them. Another remarkable artifact included in this exhibit is a small room with benches, where a visual program is shown, providing “firsthand accounts of people who evacuated from or responded to the towers on 9/11” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.).

The “Attack at the Pentagon” is the next display visitors will observe. It showcases and covers the explanation of the terrorist attack that happened the same day at the Pentagon, outside Washington D.C. One of the featuring elements displayed is news programs on TV talking about the events as they occurred, as well as the showcase of some fragments of the western facade of the Pentagon. Another core display at this exhibit, is the audio-visual programs that provide visitors first-hand testimonies from victims of the attack at the Pentagon, continued with an object display.

The fourth exhibit is entitled “Emergency Response”. Visitors experience the showcasing of a real firetruck damaged by the impacts of objects falling from the towers. The main aim of the exhibit is to pay tribute to the first responders to the attack by displaying artifacts that explain stories of those first responders, including a “recovered shield and a medal rack” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.) worn by them. As the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App (n.d.) states, numerous stories about the first responders are explained in the exhibit, as well as those who helped evacuate the site. Following this, a display of the footage from the collapse of the south tower is showed to the visitors.

Stop five from the “Events of the Day” exhibit deals with the “Crash of Flight 93”. Visitors first see a map of the route the flight took, as well as damaged artifacts from the aircraft. Another core object displayed in the exhibit is the audio-visual program that, according to 9/11 Memorial & Museum App (n.d.), lasts around seven minutes of storytelling about the hijacking featuring recorded voice messages from cabin crew and passengers, as well as flight data obtained from the airplane. Next to it, artifacts from passengers on the flight are displayed, letting the visitor learn more about the victims.

The next stop of the exhibit has to do with the “Collapse of the Towers”. As the title mentions, a narrative of how and when the towers fell is explained to the visitors with the showcasing of steel columns that formed the structure of the tower. Other featured elements, according to the 9/11

Memorial & Museum App (n.d.), include the videos and photographs taken from the International Space Station by the astronaut Frank Culbertson, as well as other objects that were damaged during the collapse of the towers.

The last part of the exhibit, entitled “Ground Zero”, narrates the moments and events of the affected area after the Towers collapsed. Visitors first encounter an audio that simulates the sound of the Personal Alert System Device, which “signal that a firefighter may be trapped or incapacitated” (Amidon, et. al. 2018, p. 26). This simulates what it was like at Ground Zero after the towers collapsed, hearing all those noises from firefighters stuck or killed under the debris. The exhibit tries to make the visitors understand the damages and the losses suffered after the attacks by the display of storytelling artifacts belonging to victims that portray the meaning of what those events were and what they meant to them, including a destroyed rack of bicycles that stood near the Ground Zero area. Along with the aforementioned displays, videos and audios about hours after the events are also showcased.

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): This particular exhibit may create a sense of unsafety to the visitors by the artifacts displayed, as well as the media showcased. The exhibit may also be overwhelming since the visitors are exposed to a lot of damaged artifacts in a small space and it may be hard to move around when crowded. This may create a feeling of anxiety in the visitors. Nevertheless, the exhibit contains four exit doors in case visitors feel the need to get out of the exhibit, as well as some points of free tissues for the visitors in case of a breakdown. The place is overcrowded and loud thus it does not provide a sense of calming and de-escalation to the visitors but the contrary, it may create anxiety and high senses of awareness to the environment.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? The audio-media of the exhibit does not promote a sense of safety. Some audios overlap since are all played at the same time near each other creating this sense of chaos. Indeed, the audio displayed are real, some from victims that died (or were about to die), and some from people who were witnessing the events. Some of the audios from the victims that died were recorded inside the plane where some of the victims speak in a calmed voice, though audios from background noises are sometimes heard in these audios because of the chaos. Even though some of the audios are with

calmed voice and background noise, the survivors and victims explain their traumatic and hard moments, sometimes with detailed description that may make some visitors feel unsafe, as it narrates a moment where victims were scared or unsafe or having anxiety attacks. One example of this is the video of the plane crashing in the second tower recorded by Richard Helfer, where visitors can witness “close-up views of the building facade, of debris spilling from the puncture hole, and heavy smoke emitting from it that grows increasingly more opaque” (9/11 Memorial & Museum’s webpage, n.p.). In the audio, visitors can also hear the screaming, the sirens, the fire and the debris falling as well as someone survivors having a panic attack. Moreover, since the space of the exhibit is small, some audios are showcased out loud and some are displayed through a telephone looking like speaker that visitors can put in their ear and listen to if they want to. In regards to audio exposed in the exhibits, some are from witnesses explaining the events and what they were going through after the attack, and some are recorded as the events were happening that day.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? The exhibits may be overwhelming to visitors, since there are a lot of objects to look at in small spaces, as well as it’s one of the exhibits that people are the most concentrated in the narrow spaces. Traumatized visitors may feel they have no time to look at everything or they may feel the need to leave the exhibit because of its content as well as because of the sometimes-crowded space, of people, objects, voices and materials.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? According to Barton (2014), who is one of the designers of the museum, for this exhibit, they developed “Emotional exits, ways that people can essentially exit and go into a safe neutral zone which is the envelope that surrounds the historical exhibition” (1:20). This gives visitors the option to leave the exhibit at any time into a more neutral and safer zone. Thus, visitors can choose to take over the situation without being exposed to more traumatizing content, and it leads them to a space where they can practice self-care, sit in a bench and be in a neutral space where there is not sensitive content.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it?

All the information inside the exhibit is carefully cited.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? The information portrayed in the exhibit is unbiased, since the images, pictures, audios and objects explain the story as it was and as it happened, as well as the choosing from the museum curators to whether they want to exhibit or not.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? There are no docents available for traumatized visitors, though there is museum staff that can lead people to the aforementioned “emotional exits” as well as they can provide tissues and also take care of the exhibit and that people don’t photograph the area.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent? In the case of this exhibit, there is a portion of the audio guide app where the exhibit is explained by a virtual guide, who is as well a victim of the events.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information? Most of the objects, images and videos showed are external sources of information since they are provided from the victims, the family of the victim, survivors, and other entities who witnessed or experienced the attack.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? The level of power is higher on the entity’s side as the decision of exhibit and showing images or audio was their choice as to show it to visitors or not.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? The exhibits do not contain interactive elements for visitors to state their opinions, rate or use their voices.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? The exhibit was mostly developed with the voices of the victims and survivors in mind by the videos recorded by victims, or voice recording experiences that victims and survivors went through, as well as objects.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? The exhibit partially represents different cultures and races, with the display of pictures and objects of different survivors and victims' that may belong to different cultures, races and ethnicities. One example is the portrayal picture of the flight attendants from Flight 11 were their portrait tells they were from different ethnicities.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? The exhibit includes those minorities as being part of an historical moment, but does not highlight any of the minorities specifically.

Annex 9.2: Before 9/11:

The exhibit "Before 9/11" partially discusses the causes of the terrorist attacks, provides background information about the 1993 World Trade Center attack, and places visitors in that perspective. The exhibit takes visitors back in time to the origins that orchestrated both terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center, as well as how the it was constructed. The first exhibit visitors come across is a small hall with benches where visitors may sit and watch how the Towers were built, as well as the Twin Towers' model, images, and explanations of its significance to America and the rest of the world. According to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App (n.d.) The Towers were objects of the popular culture, thus, the exhibit showcases posters, souvenirs, postcards and photographs of the World Trade Center before the attacks, as well as the explanation of how those were targets for the terrorists. A showcase of the fragment from the banner that once stood in the parking lot of the World Trade Center when the 1993 terrorist attacks happened is displayed as an example. As the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App states, "The 1993 bombing had a profound impact [...] in addition to prompting security and safety upgrades that likely made it possible or many to evacuate safely eight years later on 9/11" (n.d.). Visitors then come upon the survivor stone that was formerly a component of the fountain that originally existed in the World Trade Center's central plaza and paid tribute to those who lost their lives in the 1993 terrorist attacks. After this, visitors move to a separate room where they are shown a "seven- minute audio-visual program that explains the roots of al-Qaeda, the terrorist group responsible for coordinating and perpetrating the 9/11 attacks" (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.)

Following the exhibit, visitors go through a showcase of the "Before 9/11" named "The Plot Comes to America". In it, according to 9/11 Memorial & Museum App (n.d.), a movie featuring a map of America and information on how the terrorists planned the assault within the country is shown, along

with an animation showing their activities on the day of the attacks and how they infiltrated in America. Following that, visitors can see a timeline from the United States Intelligence Agency tracking information related to al-Qaeda before the attacks. As visitors move to the next room, they will see a display of the hijackers and the terrorist who orchestrated the entire event, followed by a more precise timeline of the movements on the day of the events. Additionally, a telephone book is displayed beneath the aforementioned map to show how the terrorists hid in plain sight for years prior to the attacks.

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): The exhibits are presented to the viewers in an overwhelming setting, much like in the previous showcases, with a large number of things on display. However, there are benches when visitors enter the exhibit so they can take a seat for a while, even though the space may be somewhat crowded and seats might not always be available. As part of the Historical Exhibit, visitors can use the “emotional exits” in case of trauma or anxiety attack. This exhibit may not create a sense of safety as it explains how the terrorists created and orchestrated the whole terrorist attack without being caught by the authorities, entering freely to the country without any suspicion.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? The audio- media of the exhibit shows survivors discussing the bombing of 1993 attacks as well as the audios and videos of the President establishing new laws to make America a safer place and start investigating terrorism to a greater extent. The voices of the audios are calmed and narrate the events that they remember happening that day. The exhibit does not display audio where visitors hear bombs, screaming sirens or any other tough audio that may trigger trauma or anxiety. Indeed, the audio by the president Bill Clinton assuring safety and new laws against terrorism after the 1993 Bombing at the World Trade Center may recomfort more the visitors and make them feel they are in a safe country.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? The exhibits may be overwhelming to visitors, since there are a lot of objects to look at in small spaces, as well as it's one of the exhibits that people concentrate the most in the narrow spaces. Traumatized visitors could feel rushed to see

everything or that they need to leave the exhibit due to its topic and occasionally busy environment with people, items, sounds, and materials.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation?

The Historical exhibit according to Barton (2014) who is one of the designers of the museum states that for this exhibit, they developed “Emotional exists, ways that people can essentially exit and go into a safe neutral zone which is the envelope that surrounds the historical exhibition” (1:20). This makes visitors the feeling of leaving be a safe moment and action as well as not having to go through more traumatizing exhibits in order to get out of there. Thus, visitors can choose to take over the situation without being exposed to more traumatized content, and it leads them to a space where they can practice self-care, sit in a bench and be in a neutral space where there is not sensitive content

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? All the information inside the exhibit is carefully cited.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? The information portrayed in the exhibit is unbiased, since the images, pictures, audios and objects explain the story as it was and as it happened.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? There are no docents available for traumatized visitors, though there is museum staff that can lead people to the aforementioned “emotional exists” as well as they can provide tissues and also take care of the exhibit and that people don’t photograph the area, since it’s forbidden.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent? In the case of this exhibit, there is a portion of the audio guide app where it is explained by a virtual guide.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information? Some of the objects, images and videos showed are external sources of information since they are provided from the victims, the family of

the victim, survivors, and other entities who witnessed or experienced the attack, as well as information and object provided by security forces.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? The entity has more authority since it decided whether to display the exhibit and play the audio or video for visitors or not.

Empowerment, Voice and Choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? The exhibits do not contain interactive elements for visitors to state their opinions, rate or use their voices.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? The exhibit was partially developed with the voices of the victims and survivors; thus, it contains a lot of secondary sources from security forces, as well as the narration of the events as they happened and how the terrorists got inside the country.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? The exhibit partially represents different cultures and races, with the display of pictures and objects of different survivors and victims that were from different cultures, races and ethnicities and it shows the terrorists as members of the Arabic race and belonging to the Muslim religion, thus they were also classified as being part of a collective named al-Qaeda.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? The exhibit does include those minorities as being part of a historical moment, but the film and other information about the Islamic terrorists has been denounced by an interfaith committee saying that it portrays all Muslims as being collectively responsible for the actions of the terrorists.

Annex 9.3: After 9/11:

This is the third and last exhibit of the Historical Exhibition. According to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum Webpage, visitors will experience “the story of the days, weeks, and months following the devastation of 9/11 (and how it is) epitomized by acts of compassion, public service, and volunteerism that significantly contributed to the rescue, recovery, and cleanup efforts” (n.d.). Additionally, visitors

can pass by a path where they can see candles and a recreation of photographs that depict the vigils that were held in the city in the aftermath of the attacks and how survivors' families, people who witnessed the attacks, and everyone else showed support for America and the victims belonging to more than 90 different countries. According to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App (n.d.), this goes accompanied in the exhibit with the display of newspapers, and other examples of impromptu memorials that were set just in the aftermath of the events and the days that followed. In line with this, Micieli-Voutsinas (2016) states that “the visitor is relentlessly propelled into a succession of post-9/11 emotions: anger, loss, sadness, grief, and revenge (in which) affective heritage compels the visitor to partake in collective mentalities as means to contemplate their own emotions” (p, 102).

The featured exhibit named “aftermath” also includes “the diversity of responses to the attacks” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.) as well as a preserved clothing store virtually untouched and still full of dust from the falling of the towers. The last exhibit also includes another inner featuring named “Rescue and Recovery” where visitors face a steel fragment with a form of a trident in which a video is played about the recovery of the Ground Zero. Surrounding the trident, the showcase of other objects that were part or donations in order to help the rescue team in their task, are also showcased for visitors, as well as images of those. Stories of heroism, volunteers and security forces recovering Ground Zero, are available through the exhibit as visitors advance. The last stop finishes in a section named “Resilience and Renewal”, where visitors first encounter with a time-lapse video of the reconstruction of Ground Zero from 2001 until 2011. Next to it, the display of an artifact named “composite” is showed. The object is “comprised parts of approximately five building floors compacted and fused together through pressure and extreme heat” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.). The object stood as a controvert artifact to display, as some stated that it was unknown if it contained human remains, though it was scientifically examined and the conclusion established there was no human DNA in that piece. The exhibit finishes with the photographs that inform about the good task and “public service that individuals and organizations have undertaken in direct response to the 9/11”. (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.) Another important exhibit that is displayed, is a big mural with a lot of questions that were asked after the happening of the events, where uncertainty and other feelings were demonstrated by the whole world.

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): The exhibits are still crammed into a large, intimidating area. Together, with the aforementioned damaged items represent the terrorist assaults as the source of the destruction. Safety might not be portrayed in these exhibits, as fully destroyed artifacts are on display. Indeed, the exhibit is still located through small paths, sometimes hard to move when crowded, that doesn’t leave a sense of calm to the traumatized visitors. As part of the Historical Exhibit, visitors can use the “emotional exits” in case of trauma or anxiety attack. Visitors may experience a feeling of de-escalation, though, as it depicts the healing of a severely damaged area to create a monument and a place of mourning that commemorates the victims.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? The audio- media showcased in the exhibit does not contain audios of destruction, chaos or screams, yet it shows the recovery of the zone. The audio explanations of survivors and victims are serene and devoid of background noise, so some messages may conjure up feelings of unease. For example, some of the videos discuss how some people died or received cancer diagnoses as a result of being exposed to toxic substances during the attacks and the event's aftermath. An example is a video showed where 3 firefighters are on a TV program explaining how in the aftermath of the events and the recovery, because of the inhalation of toxins, they have to go through cancer and other diseases. This fact may make feel the visitor who is a victim and a survivor unsafe as they may develop sicknesses in the future.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? Visitors may find the displays overwhelming since there are so many items to look at in such small places, and this particular exhibit is one where people focus the most. Traumatized visitors could feel rushed to see everything or that they need to leave the exhibit due to its topic and occasionally busy environment with people, items, sounds, and materials.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? The Historical Exhibit according to Barton (2014) who is one of the designers of the museum states that for this exhibit, they developed “Emotional exits, ways that people can essentially exit and go into a safe neutral zone which is the envelope that surrounds the historical exhibition” (1:20). This makes visitors the feeling of leaving be a safe moment and action as well as not having to go through more traumatizing exhibits in order to get out of there. Thus, visitors can choose to take over the

situation without being exposed to more traumatized content, and it leads them to a space where they can practice self-care, sit in a bench and be in a neutral space where there is not sensitive content.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it?

All the information inside the exhibit is carefully cited.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? The information portrayed in the exhibit is unbiased, since the images, pictures, audios and objects explain the story as it was and as it happened.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? There are no docents available for traumatized visitors, though there is museum staff that can lead people to the aforementioned “emotional exits” as well as they can provide tissues and also take care of the exhibit and that people don’t photograph the area.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent? In the case of this exhibit, there is a portion of the audio guide app where the exhibit is explained by a virtual guide.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information? The victims’ families, survivors, and other groups who saw or experienced the attack provided some of the objects, images, and videos displayed. Information, objects, and media were also provided by news reports and journalists as well as witnesses, survivors, recovery task assistants, and volunteers.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? The level of power is higher on the entity’s side as the decision of exhibit and showing images or audio was of their choice to show it to visitors or not.

Empowerment, Voice and Choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? The exhibits do not contain interactive elements for visitors to state their opinions, rate or use their voices.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? The exhibit was partially developed with the voices of the victims and survivors; it contains a lot of secondary sources from survivors, volunteers, recovery forces about their tasks at Ground Zero as well as the consequences (such as diseases) some had to face after the attacks. The museum gives unbiased information of the recovery at Ground Zero as it happened complementing it with the aforementioned statements of the survivors and helpers.

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? It doesn't represent different cultures races, ethnicities or minority collectives.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? It doesn't specifically exclude minorities because it does not talk about any specific groups of people.

ANNEX 10:

Exhibit 10: The Last Column:

The last exhibit of the museum, if following the narrative, visitors end up in front of the Last Column. Made out of steel and during the recovery of Ground Zero, it was “covered top to bottom with inscriptions and mementos” (9/11 Memorial & Museum App, n.d.) and it became a symbol of the recovery of the zone by commemorating and dedicating a column to everyone who helped in the cleanup task and recovery, as well as the searching for survivors. According to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum App, there is a display of screens near the column where visitors “can explore the inscriptions on the Last Column” (n.d.) as well as a list of thousands of rescuers that participated in the recovery task. As Barton (2013) stated in a video explaining about the media that helps understanding the Last Column, “visitors will be able to move through this artifact, clicking and dragging and uncover each of these individual stories to understand all human experiences that this artifact represents” (0:23) After the last column, visitors are welcomed to share their thoughts, voices, messages and personal stories about the events of the 9/11 by recording a video in a studio.



Figure 12: The Last Column Exhibit. Note. Image of the Last Column surrounded by visitors. Some of them are looking for further information of the exhibit in the interactive screens located near the column. Retrieved from *9/11 Memorial & Museum Tickets Webpage*. (<https://www.memorial-911-museum-tickets.com/911-museum-exhibits/>) Accessed: 29/ 04/ 2023.

Questions:

Safety:

“How does the physical environment promote a sense of safety, calming and de-escalation for clients and staff?” (Huang, Flatow, et.al, 2014, p. 14): The area in the Foundation Hall where the last column is located is broad, has seats, and has wider areas where agglomerations seldom occur. Visitors are in a tranquil, silent zone where there are no exterior sounds or media that would evoke a sense of danger. After a challenging display like the preceding one, visitors might feel a feeling of de-escalation and soothing if they are following the museum narrative and coming from the historical show. Visitors can also practice self-care on benches in case of anxiety.

Is the audio - media of the exhibit promoting a sense of safety or making the visitor feel more unsafe? There is no physical audio-media in the exhibit but, if visitors are following it with the app, the audio they will hear is calmed and paused.

Does the exhibit give the traumatized patient time to process what they are hearing seeing or touching or it makes them feel that they are in a rush? The exhibit is established in a wide space where visitors can stand for as long as they want, observing the quote with no need to be rushed by other visitors or by the fact that they encounter themselves in a small space.

Does the exhibit make the visitor feel they are in control or can choose to take over the situation? Since the exhibit is established in a very wide and open hall, visitors can decide to stand and read and know about the Last Column or they can also decide to skip the exhibit. In the app, visitors can also decide to skip the exhibit or listen to it, since the app suggests a chronological order of the exhibits but visitors are free to choose whatever they want.

Trustworthiness and Transparency:

Does it cite who wrote the information, who recorded the audio or whose object is it? All the information inside the exhibit is carefully cited.

Is the information exposing the facts in an unbiased way? It explains the story of the column and its significance to the people who visit ground zero as well as the ones who helped in the recovery tasks.

Are the objects, audio, media and texts real? Yes, they are real and cited.

Peer Support:

Are there docents available for traumatized visitors in the exhibit? There are no docents available for traumatized visitors, though there is museum staff that can guide or answer possible questions that the visitors may have.

Are there alternative types of media to substitute the absence of an in-person docent? In the case of this exhibit, there is a portion of the audio guide app where the exhibit is explained by a virtual guide. As well as the explanation of personal experiences by a recovery task member from Port Authority Police Department.

Collaboration and Mutuality:

Does the exhibit contain external sources of information? The exhibit is mainly formed by external sources of information, since are writings, pictures, stickers and other objects that belong to other people as well as all of them contain different personal experiences in regards to the 9/11 events.

Does the exhibit show a level of power between the entity narratives and the personal narratives? Since the Last Column was transformed by personal narratives of people who were adding fragments of personal stories as well as personal artifacts from others, the power level is higher on the personal narratives.

Empowerment, voice and choice:

Does the exhibit have interactive elements where visitors can state their opinions, rate or use their voice? Visitors can learn more about the real-life experiences depicted in the Last Column through interactive elements in the exhibit, but they are unable to express their opinions. Thus, there is a place where visitors can express their own opinions and voices through a videotape explaining personal experiences and opinions.

Was the exhibit developed with the voices of victims and survivors in mind? The exhibit was developed with the personal stories of the messages and the people that are showed at the Last Column with also personal stories behind it. This goes also hand in hand with the historical explanation of the Tower and its significance

Cultural, Historical and Gender Issues:

Does the exhibit represent different cultures, races, ethnicities and minority collectives? The column may contain depictions and messages to or from people of different minority groups, but this is not highlighted in the exhibit.

Does the exhibit include those minorities as being part of an historical moment? It doesn't specifically exclude minorities because it does not talk about any specific groups of people.

ANNEX 11:

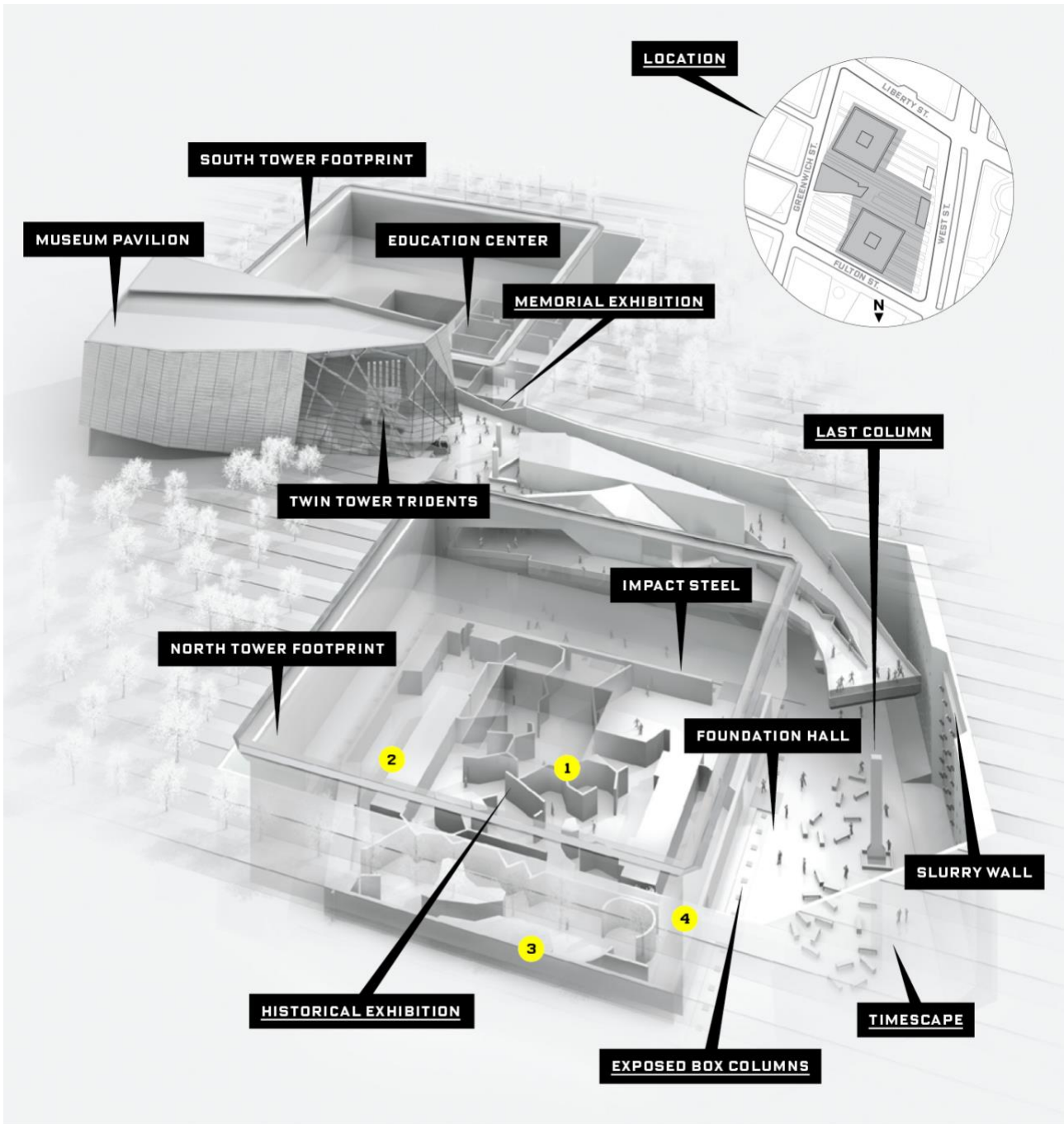


Figure 13: 3D Plans of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum. Note. Image of the structure of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum and the indication of the location of certain exhibits. Retrieved from Wired Webpage.

(<https://www.wired.com/2014/05/911-museum-3/>) Accessed 30/04/2023.