

KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



MUSEUMIZATION OF MIGRATION IN BURSA, TURKEY

GRADUATE THESIS

GABRIELE MANKE

March, 2016

GABRIELE MANKE

M.A. Thesis

2016



MUSEUMIZATION OF MIGRATION IN BURSA, TURKEY



GABRIELE MANKE

Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY

March 2016

"I, Gabriele Manke, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis."



GABRIELE MANKE

KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

MUSEUMIZATION OF MIGRATION IN BURSA, TURKEY

GABRIELE MANKE

APPROVED BY:

Prof. Dr. Asker Kartarı (Advisor) Kadir Has University



Dr. Cordula Weißköppel (Co-advisor) University of Bremen



Dr. Ayşe Binay Kurultay

Kadir Has University



APPROVAL DATE: 31/03/2016

ABSTRACT

MUSEUMIZATION OF MIGRATION IN BURSA, TURKEY

Gabriele Manke

Master of Arts

in Intercultural Communication

Advisor: Prof. Dr. Asker Kartarı

March, 2016

The present thesis addresses museumization of migration in Turkey referring to the particular example of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa (Museum of Migration History in Bursa). By describing and analyzing the varied components and methods of the representation in this Turkish migration museum in a detailed way, it is the aim to portray the statements, functions, and policies underlying the exhibition. Therefore, the institution museum is understood as a vivid, social, and reciprocal organization. In order to frame and channel the approach of the description and analysis, the focus lies on specific aspects of migration, namely movement, ethnical and cultural heterogeneity, and nationality. The main assumption is that the representation of the migration history in Bursa legitimizes and strengthens the concept of migration as a process of homogenization. The narratives told in the museum are about forced migration movements during the gradual decline of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic. These circumstances led to the formation of a homogenous Muslim-Turkic population on strongly disputed territories. This master thesis about museumization of migration should therefore be regarded as a contribution to the analysis of an institutionalized construct of Turkish nationality.

Keywords: museumization, migration

ÖZET

BURSA'DA GÖÇÜN MÜZELEŞTİRİLMESİ

Gabriele Manke

Yüksek Lisans

Kültürlerarası İletişim

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Asker Kartarı

Mart, 2016

Mevcut tez, Türkiye'deki göç olaylarının müzeleştirme yoluyla, Bursa Göç Tarihi Müzesi örneğini kullanarak işler. Müzede kullanılan sunum metotları, tanımlanarak ve çeşitli bileşenleri incelenerek, serginin temelindeki açıklamaları, fonksiyonları ve politikaları ortaya çıkarmak amaçlanmıştır. Bu nedenle, kurum müzesi canlı, sosyal ve karşılıklı bir örgüt olarak anlaşılır. Tanımlama ve inceleme yaklaşımlarının ifade edilebilmesi için, göçün belirli yönleri, etnik, kültürel ve milli farklılıklarına odaklanılmıştır. Genel varsayım Bursa'daki göç müzesinin, göç kavramını aynılaştırma süreci olarak meşrulaştıran ve güçlendiren bir olay olarak temsil eder. Müzede anlatılan hikâyeler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun kademeli düşüşü ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kuruluşu sırasındaki zorunlu göç olaylarını işler. Koşullar, tartışmalı topraklarda Müslüman-Türk nüfusunun homojen bir biçimde oluşmasına yol açmıştır. Göç olayının müzeleştirilmesiyle ilgili olan bu yüksek lisans tezi, Türk uyruklu kurumsallaşmış bir yapının analizine bir katkı olarak kabul edilmelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: müzeleştirme, göç

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the great support and help from my advisor Prof. Dr. Asker Kartarı from Kadir Has University in Istanbul, Turkey and my co-adviser Dr. Cordula Weißköppel from the University of Bremen, Germany.

Furthermore, I would like to thank the curator Ahmet Ö. Erdönmez and the employee Ayşe Hacıođlu of the G6c Tarihi M6zesi in Bursa for the interviews and the support throughout the entire process of research by providing the access to manifold information and explanations.

Moreover, I would like to express my gratitude to numerous friends and family members, who gave moral support, made helpful suggestions, and commented earlier parts of the manuscript. Last but not least, a special thank you goes out to my Turkish friends which helped me with translation work in many situations.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Özet

Acknowledgements

List of Figures ix

1 Introduction 1

1.1 State of Research 4

1.2 Structure of the Thesis 6

2 Museumization of Migration – Foundations and Perspectives 8

2.1 The Museum as Social Organization 8

2.1.1 The Post-Colonial Museum 14

2.1.2 The Commemorative and Identity-establishing Museum 17

2.1.3 The Representing Museum 19

2.2 The Museum of Migration – Potentials and Specialties 21

3 The Case of Turkey – History of Contrasts, Ruptures and Frictions 26

3.1 Turkey and its History of Migration 28

3.2 Nation-State and Nationalism in Turkey 31

3.3 Heritage of the Ottoman Empire 33

4 The Theories and Methods of the Exhibition Analysis 36

4.1 The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting and the Speech Act Theory 37

4.2 Thick Description and Semiotic Approach 40

4.3 The Questionnaire 45

4.4 The Role as Translator and Interpreter in the Process of Research 47

5 The 'Göç Tarihi Müzesi' in Bursa – Description and Analysis 50

5.1 Framing the 'Göç Tarihi Müzesi' 50

5.1.1 The City of Bursa and the Complex of the Former Merino Factory 51

5.1.2	The Foundation of the Museum	55
5.1.3	Çınar Ağacı – The Roots of Bursa	57
5.2	Welcome to the Exodus	59
5.3	General Structure of the Museum	62
5.4	From First Settlements up to the Ottoman Empire.....	65
5.5	Migration from the Balkans, Caucasus, and Crimea.....	70
5.5.1	The Clothes – Display of Belonging.....	71
5.5.2	The Journey – Display of Movement.....	74
5.6	Greek-Turkish Exchange Migrants	77
5.7	Bursa of Today – A Happy End	81
5.8	Summary of Results	85
6	Conclusion.....	91
	References	94
	Appendices	101
	Appendix A – Brochure of Exhibition “Dedelerimizin Toprakları”	101
	Appendix B – Introduction Signboard 1	104
	Appendix C – Introduction Signboard 2	105

List of Figures

Figure 1 - Atatürk Congress Culture Centre	53
Figure 2 - Çınar Ağacı in Bursa	58
Figure 3 – Picture in the Entrance Area	60
Figure 4 - Groundplan of Göç Tarihi Müzesi.....	63
Figure 5 - Replica of Janissary Armor	68
Figure 6 - Display of Textiles.....	73
Figure 7 - Display of Movement with Train	76
Figure 8 - Fence in Section about Exchange.....	80
Figure 9 - The Success of Ali Osman Sönmez.....	84

1 Introduction

Especially at the present time, nearly everyone's existence is shaped in various and new forms by migration processes. Flexible economics, destabilized nation-states, technological innovations, and rapid dissemination of information result in intensified migration movements (Strasser 2011, p.385). However, the currently in Europe arriving migration flows put emphasis to different factors and reasons for migrating; people flee from war, persecution and poverty. In dealing with these social transformation more and more institutions, which are supposed to channel and stabilize these changes, become established. But also aged, well-known institutions, like the museum, offer themselves as appropriate platforms for approaching and structuring the topic migration. However, the emergence of migration museums is a relatively new phenomenon. But this development is not just caused by powerful migration processes; also the institution museum itself undergoes an extensive and difficult transformation, which leads to new possibilities, but also challenges. Museums of migration should be regarded as such possibilities and challenges. Therefore, the museumization of migration is to understand as an institutionalized processing of present, extensive, transnational, and social changes.

The Göç Tarihi Müzesi¹, established in 2014 and located in the industrial city Bursa, is the first museum in Turkey that is using the self-description migration museum. Its focus is on mostly forced migration movements to Bursa, today the fourth largest city

¹ Migration History Museum (own translation).

in Turkey. The narratives told in the museum refer mainly to the Ottoman Empire in its time period of gradual deterioration and to the foundation of the Turkish Republic. These processes were accompanied by multi-layered, diverse and complex emigration and immigration movements. By a detailed description and analysis of the already mentioned museum, this master thesis addresses the connected intentions, purposes, and statements of the representation. Therefore, the main question is: what for an image of migration is constructed? In this context, three focus areas with a dominant appearance during the process of research, serve as orientation; namely nationality, movement, and ethnical as well as cultural heterogeneity. Along these keywords, museumization of migration in Bursa, Turkey will be examined. However, the main focus will lie on the reciprocal relationship of migration and nation. In which extent is the representation of migration used to represent a homogenous image of the nation-state Turkey? The main assumption is that the representation of the migration history in Bursa legitimizes and strengthens the concept of migration as a process of homogenization.

The relevance of the topic museumization of migration lies in the obvious currency and omnipresence of issues like migration and its concomitants such as enormous social changes. Identities and spaces are no longer fixed and static entities.

Der Trend zur Transnationalisierung verstanden als Verdichtung und Verstetigung plurilokaler, grenzübergreifender Sozial- und Wirtschaftsräume betrifft immer mehr Menschen. (...) Und diese vielfältigen Formen von Grenzüberschreitungen befördern die Herausbildung von nicht territorial definierten Identitäten (Wonisch 2012, p.21).

In comparison to this, museums are understood as fundamental public sceneries for politics of history, commemorative culture, and constructing identities; “[m]useums as institutions of recognition and identity *par excellence*” (Macdonald 2006, p.4, italics in original). The related power and prerogative of interpretation has been

unquestioned for a long period of time. But “[t]he politics of representation – who can represent whom, how, where, and with what, (...) - have become central for museums and for all students of culture” (Ames 1992, p.146). Issues of authenticity, authority, appropriation, and canonization of knowledge becoming relevant and significant (Ames 1992, p.146). Especially because of the high dynamic of the topic migration, it is important and necessary to question the practice of museums. What for methods and instruments are used for the representation of migration? Who is involved in the decision-making and designing processes of the museum? These are multi-layered questions which have to be answered in the following.

By doing research in the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa I used firstly very direct and immediate methods, which served for documentation: I took photographs, wrote down field notes about salience and reports about my visits. Later on, I drafted questions and led two expert interviews with the curator of the exhibition and one scientific employee. In the 4th chapter, I am going to explain the indirect, more in-depth and subsequent methods, like the thick description and the semiotic approach. Based on this, I developed a questionnaire listing many and varied questions which shall act as guideline by describing and analyzing the museum. In this master thesis especially the case of museums of immigration and not emigration will be focused. Even when the general expression of museums of migration is used, normally the meaning of immigration is implied. This approach has two reasons. First of all, I am referring to numerous papers and treatises using this more general term with a view to avoid the excluding of diverse and valuable approaches already from the beginning. Secondly, the remarkable about the Turkish word *göç* is that it is used in a very general way for moving and the whole concept of migration. There are no special words for immigration or emigration in the Turkish language. That means, especially in the context of

the description and analysis of the museum in Bursa, which uses the self-description Göç Tarihi Müzesi, I will use the term migration. Like Regina Wonisch I consider the concept of migration as a complex, transnational, and social process (Wonisch 2012, p.21). In the following also the concept of a museum has to be clarified more detailed. Usually a museum is understood as an institution; an abstract system of rules, which shapes, stabilizes, and leads the social behavior of individuals, groups, and communities. I will define a museum as an organization; a social structure, which emerge through collaborative work of people and is characterized by its interactions. For what reason I chose this classification will be explained in chapter 2.1.

1.1 State of Research

Unfortunately, there are barely any Turkish literatures which refer to the specific topic of museumization of migration. But this is not surprising, considering that the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa is the first of its kind in Turkey; this matter of fact underlines again the relevance of this master thesis. Above all, the importance and relevance of one monograph written by Joachim Baur is to name. With his extensive research about museumization of migration in the USA, Canada and Australia (Baur 2009), he enabled me to comprehend the foundations and dimensions of this topic and of the connected analytic work. Therefore, his influence on this master thesis should not be underestimated. In his elaborations the museumization or rather institutionalization of migration is understood as challenge and overcoming of the hegemonic concept of the nation-state. However, representing and focusing migration is not automatically accompanied by a deconstruction of the concept nation-state. Baur describes a special connection between the nation-state and the examined museums of migration. In these cases, the representation of migration is a reformed version of

the representation of the nation, based on a modified, multicultural understanding of nation (Baur 2009, p.20). Not least, this elaboration got me interested in the relations and connections between the museum of migration in Bursa and the Turkish concept of nation-state. Referring to the main issue, the museumization of migration, there should be mentioned two more books, which influenced this master thesis fundamentally. The collective volumes “Museums and Migration” (Gouriévidis 2014a) and “Museum und Migration” (Wonisch & Hübel 2012) provided valuable and latest input. Moreover, in these articles my attention was drawn again to national perspectives on museums of migration.

In the context of the issue of migration in Turkey one collective volume should be especially highlighted. The articles of the book “Migration und Türkei” (Pusch & Tekin 2011b) provide a wide range of insights into the topic. Again the significance of migration in coherence with the understanding and establishment of the nation-state is named. “Die Rolle von MigrantInnen im Prozess der Nationalbildung ist dabei zu einem wichtigen und interessanten Forschungsschwerpunkt geworden“ (Pusch & Tekin 2011a, p.17). One more striking example referring to issues of migration in Turkey is the MiReKoc, the Migration Research Center at the Koç University in Istanbul. The institution became established in August 2004 and initiates conferences, workshops, and meetings related to the topic of migration. Additionally, several collective volumes became published. But this example clearly shows how late migration research in Turkey comparatively developed. This is also due to the fact that the persecution and oppression of some ethnic groups have been taboo subjects for a long time (Pusch & Tekin 2011a, p.17). Therefore, also the term of transnationalism attracts little attention in the debate on migration issues in a Turkish context (Pusch & Tekin 2011a, p.17). For a long time migration movements

were seen or understood as onetime changes of location. However, we have to understand these movements as lasting processes, which create diverse, transnational, transcultural and plurilocal spaces or realities. Migration means the positioning between two or even more communities. A creation of new transnational social spaces takes place. Meant here is a deterritorialization of migration (Pusch & Tekin 2011a, p.14sq.) and the emergence of spaces which are ‘imagined’ in the sense of Anderson (Anderson 2006).

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

At the beginning it is necessary to create a basis, which prepares a comprehensible and understandable analysis of the Museum in Bursa. Therefore, it is helpful to elaborate the concepts of museum and migration in a more detailed way and to put them into context. Therefore, a general understanding of museums and the connected theoretical foundations have to be introduced. In this case, museums are understood and presented as post-colonial, commemorative, identity-establishing and representing organization. Thereupon, the specialties and potentials of museums of migration are described. Referring to the case of Turkey, the history of migration and issues like Turkish nationality and the legacy of the Ottoman Empire are taken into account as well. The 4th chapter is about the methodical approach and theoretical background of the exhibition analysis. To complement this, my multi-layered and difficult role as researcher, translator and interpreter during the processes of research and analysis, is also part of this chapter. With this methodical foundation the following and main element of my thesis in chapter 5 is introduced. It contains the description and analysis of the museum in Bursa. Thereby I orientate myself partially on the structure in the exhibition and proceed along the divided sections in the museum. Also exhibition

methods and designs which occur repeatedly are considered in particular subchapters. This thesis does not make any claim to be exhaustive. In the analysis the focus is on three main aspects of the representation of migration: nationality, movement, and cultural as well as ethnical heterogeneity in a Turkish context. These components have been repetitive issues during the process of research and appear therefore as appropriate focus areas. Finally, the results and specialties shall be summarized.



2 Museumization of Migration – Foundations and Perspectives

First of all, it seems to be important and necessary to start this master thesis by elaborating a general understanding of museums and the connected theoretical background. In this context, the elaborations of Peter Vergo (Vergo 1989) should be especially highlighted. He encouraged the reconsideration of the actual aim of museums. Therefore, the approach towards museums in this master thesis is a critical one. The theoretical foundation bases on well-known theorist like Said (Said 2003), Spivak (Spivak 1988), Halbwachs (Halbwachs 1985), Assmann (Assmann 1992), and Clifford/ Marcus (Clifford & Marcus 1986). By contextualizing their theories, it is the aim to expose the problems of the institution museum. In a final subchapter the specialties and potentials, but also problems of museums of migration are especially highlighted.

2.1 The Museum as Social Organization

The museum has become a target of various criticisms, connected to the question, if we are even still in need for such an obsolete concept. The irrelevance of museums as social institutions is suggested and the exhortation to rethink the purpose of the museum is formulated. “[T]he majority of museums, as social institutions, have largely eschewed, on both moral and practical grounds, a broader commitment to the world in which they operate” (Janes 2009, p.13). Not just the ignorance towards the own environment and the fixation to superficial processes like collecting and preser-

vation, but also the basic idea of the museum is questioned. Theodor Adorno once wrote that, “[t]he German word, ‘*museal*’ [‘*museumlike*’], has unpleasant overtones. It describes objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying” (Adorno 1997, p.173, italics and emphasis in original). That suggests that the objects do not just seem to be detached from their original context, if something like an original context even exists, but that they have to die, in separated and incoherent existence, cooped up in glass boxes. From this perspective the museum seems to be only something like a hospice or perhaps even a morgue. But in spite of their “cannibalistic appetites” and the function of the glass boxes as “cultural imprisonment”, the museums can be much more (Ames 1992, p.4). It is formulated and noticed that the museum has such an enormous potential, that it is privileged and that a lot can be expected (Janes 2009). The problem is just that these capacities are not used, because they are unnoticed, perhaps consciously, by the responsible persons. But how is it possible to figure out where the potential is? One first step would be to turn the gaze towards another layer of the museum, a more social layer. Referring to this, we have to take a look at two different aspects of this social layer.

First of all, I would like to take reference to the collected volume “New Museology” (Vergo 1989). With this book one of the first impulses towards reconsidering the actual aim of the modern museum of our times came from the direction of the museum studies. In this sense, not just the institution itself has been criticized, also the museology, the study of museums, is supposed to change its criteria of research.

[W]hat is wrong with the 'old' museology is that it is too much about museum *methods*, and too little about the purposes of museums; that museology has in the past only infrequently been seen, (...), as a theoretical or humanistic discipline, and that the kinds of questions raised above have been all too rarely articulated (Vergo 1989, p.3, italics in original).

What Vergo means by the “questions raised above”, are issues like the political, ideological or aesthetic dimensions, which have an influence on any exhibition. He refers here to the decision-making of the museum director, the curator, the scholar, the designer, and the sponsor, who are in the position to decide which objects have the “value” to be displayed or arranged, which histories and stories are portrayed. He questions the political, social and educational system that left its stamp on the exhibition and the whole institution museum (Vergo 1989). The critique is about the fact, that the emphasis is often on *how*, to see in the “clichéd processes of collecting, preserving and earning revenue” (Janes 2009, p.16), instead of *why* and *who*. Hence, we have to change our perspective and understand the museum as a vivid, flexible, dynamic and constructed organization. This bears much more potential than to see the museum as a fixed institution, in which the positions and the power of the decision-makers and creators are overshadowed by the classic museum work and methods. Museums are no neutral spaces, they are contested fields. In my paper I will try to focus also on the participants and purposes in this apparently ominous, opaque but powerful system, which is supposed to build up the fundamental basis of museums.

Secondly, it must be noted that more recent matters, like economic pressure, required museums to revise their relationship to the public. Public disciplines like marketing, program and surveys are parts of an offensive orientation towards the audience and its wishes. Moreover, in the understanding of Joachim Baur museums are places of complex productions and “Agenturen der Konstruktion, Inszenierung, Authentisierung, aber auch der Anfechtung und Infragestellung von Geschichte und Geschichten” (Baur 2009, p.36). These keywords should be kept in mind. All the mentioned components above are integral parts of the museum and constitute its aim, intention and purpose, but also illustrate again the power that is connected to this

institution. On the one hand, the museum started to develop from a transcendent, unquestioned institution to a public-orientated spectacle, while on the other hand the educational and creative power and the rare instances which control the content are elemental features of museum work. To qualify and relativize this matter of fact, the audience, especially communities whose stories are part of exhibitions, should be more engaged in the process of creating messages for the museum and should have the possibility to participate. This should be a linchpin for the educational staff of the museums nowadays.

While many museums work collaboratively with community groups, some local histories (...) are authored by curators, or an exhibition team, who draw on academic histories to construct their narratives but who pay little regard to the way such histories are used by local audiences (Watson 2007, p.160).

But different groups of minorities start more and more to claim for recognition of their histories and for own way of portraying them². With regard to the development of public disciplines and the cooperative work with communities, it is conceivable that these aspects also have been impulses for the development of new types of museums, like museums of migration.

For a better understanding, we should also take a look at the immense diversity and variety of museum concepts nowadays. A museum can be the Louvre in Paris, the Astrid Lindgren Museum in Stockholm, the Lipstick Museum in Berlin, the Museum of Innocence in Istanbul, the MoMA in New York etc. The list could go on and on. In addition, the mentioned museums are still parts of a tight outline of the term. In principal, we can say there is no one general museum, just museums. From the very early start, which is often traced back to the Ptolematic mouseion in Alexandria (Vergo 1989, p.1), to the modern museum of our times, the history of museum re-

² Related to this, it is important to introduce the debate of representation. This will be done in the chapter 2.1.3 in the context of the theoretical background of this master thesis.

veals a tremendous period of time and an incomparable and enormous development. Especially in the framework of the imperialistic and colonial politics of the European countries since the 16th century the private collections, so-called cabinets of curiosities and in German *Wunderkammern*, were growing and served as the basis for the public museum, which was formed and started to be open for everyone in the 17th century. Particularly at the beginning the museum was rather a platform for the elite and upper class and today this prejudice still exists. Equal access or opportunities are not given. “The majority of the world's museums still cater to society's elite – the most educated and most well-off of our citizenry” (Janes 2009, p.21).

This imperialistic background brings us to the undisputed main tasks of museums, which are still the collection, or the collecting of objects, the conservation and the research. But then its exhibition function became prevalent and the other components are supposed to support the development of the arrangement, the exhibition. Focus areas shifted and nowadays one more important element of museum work, namely the idea of conveyance of the representation, another important social layer of museum work, should be added (Alexander & Alexander 2008, p.8sq.). Past ideas of the objective truth, the given authenticity of the objects placed in the neutral medium museum, is nowadays an unsustainable misbelief. The museum object is constructed and in need for supplements and contextualization (Welz 1996, p.75). The object, already the term 'object' is deceptive, is not speaking for itself. All objects are parts of the environment or culture of people and become charged with meaning through context. They have their own history and biography. Of course, through the display in a museum the object is removed from its origin and set in a new context, but without communication, interpretation and analysis the object does not even exist for us in a narrow sense. Representations in museums *produce* truths and realities (Welz

1996, p.83). Once objectified in a public, visible form, the represented cultures and communities can be discussed, used and manipulated³ (Bouquet 2012, p.123). In this connection the arrangement, contextualization, but especially the conveyance of the display becomes more and more focused. This semiotic and symbolic substance will be further focus upon when discussing the theories and methods of exhibition analysis in chapter 4. As already mentioned above, also forcing matters like the economic pressure encourage museums to revise their relationship to the public. Public disciplines like marketing, program and interpretation contain an offensive orientation towards the audience (Ames 1992, p.9).

In conclusion, the amazing potential of museums lies firstly in its power as official, public institution of knowledge and preservation and secondly in its enormous social, dynamic character. The question is if the responsible staff of the museum wants to concentrate more on the second part and to negotiate the becoming and the arrangement of exhibitions with communities, minorities and the audience. That would also mean to question and revise the first part.

Now, we will take a closer look on the function of museums as a nation-state legitimizing authority. The mentioned significance of museums during the era of classic European imperialism was already a reference to this function. In the following chapter the theories I am going to use as foundation for my analysis will be introduced.

³ Also in this context it will be necessary and useful to introduce the debate of representation in the chapter 2.1.3 of this master thesis.

2.1.1 The Post-Colonial Museum

Two of the most famous museums were opened in Great Britain in 1753 and in France in 1793, namely the British Museum and the Palace of the Louvre as museums of the Republic. The success of the Louvre is also attributable to the strategy of Napoleon to confiscate art objects during his conquests. “[H]is conception of a museum as an instrument of national glory continued to stir the imagination of Europeans” (Alexander & Alexander 2008, p.6). National museums were intended to foster a sense of pride and identification (Bouquet 2012, p.36) Moreover, they are pivotal factors for the formation of a national and cultural identity. Still at the beginning of the 20th century they were useful instruments in the service of colonial administration and as embodiment of colonial ideology and propaganda (Coombes 1988). They served as image of a national unity and constituted the idea of a concept of national culture, also through the representation of the domination of the own imperial power. “They were born during the Age of Imperialism, often served and benefited capitalism, and continue to be instruments of the ruling classes and corporate powers” (Ames 1992, p.3). Especially this context is also where the post-colonial studies come into play and have to be presented. Museums as repositories of objects, or better to say of material culture and cultural heritage, have to expose the problems of their role and self-perception in the past and in the present (Barringer & Flynn 1998, p.4). In many respects, this seems to be a tough piece of work even for well-established institutions, like the Völkerkundemuseum Wien. During the exhibition “Benin – Könige und Rituale. Höfische Kunst aus Nigeria” from 2007, the director of the museum, scientists and lawyers repeated constantly the same neo-colonial arguments as answer to the reclaim of displayed, and through British forces robbed cultural assets. The reclaim was formulated by representatives of Nigeria and the

royal family of Benin (Kazeem 2009, p.49sq.). With that they touched upon a sore spot and questioned Eurocentric understandings of art objects, cultural assets, cultural heritage and the necessity of public accessibility as a reason for the remaining in the museum. The defensive attitude of the discussion participants in Austria showed that the debate also referred to the uncertain future relevance or responsibilities of museums. In a more general sense, it points out that the construction of the “Other” is still needed in ethnological museums (Kazeem 2009, p.56). This example highlights the still existing effects and aftermaths of colonialism. The post-colonial discourse, decisively influenced by prominent writers like Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Homi Bhabha, gives many examples for analysis and exposures of these ongoing effects of colonialism on the culture of the colonizer and the colonized (Said 2003; Bhabha 1994; Spivak 1988). In this context, it is important to mention that not only national states directly influenced by or involved in colonial interventions matter in postcolonial discourses. “Die Postkoloniale Theorie hat dagegen immer wieder darauf hingewiesen, dass keine Region dieser Erde den Wirkungen kolonialer Herrschaft entkommen konnte“ (Castro Varela & Dhawan 2005, p.11). Post-colonial theory investigates on the process of colonization as well as the lasting decolonization and also recolonization. Furthermore, the perspective on neocolonialism does not confine itself to the brutal military occupation and looting of geographical territories, but also on the production of epistemic violence (Castro Varela & Dhawan 2005, p.8). This term was established by Spivak and applied Foucault’s concept of the episteme in his work “The Order of Things” (Foucault 2006). According to that, epistemic violence means to constitute the “Other” in support of the construct of the European “Self”.

The clearest available example of such epistemic violence is the remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogenous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other. This project is also the asymmetrical obliteration of the trace of that Other in its precarious Subject-ivity (Spivak 1988, p.281, emphasis in original).

Moreover, the episteme indicates that the construct of the “Other” is an indisputable truth. Bhaba adds: “colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an ‘other’ and yet an entirely knowable and visible. (...) It employs a system of representation, a regime of truth, that is structurally similar to realism” (Bhabha 1994, p.70 sq., emphasis in original). This system of “Othering” is also to find in the argumentation of Said in “Orientalism” (Said 2003). By returning to the actual topic, we have to understand museums as production platforms of epistemic violence. To conclude, material culture and museum studies can only benefit from the approach of post-colonial theories. The question is only, if the responsible persons of well-established museums are interested in working on their colonial legacy in this way. Nevertheless, there are already commendable examples of deconstructing and fracturing the “imperial mind” of exhibitions (Heartney 2004). Additionally, Benedict Anderson should be mentioned. He focuses on the museum as one institution of power which shaped the way the colonial state imagined its dominion. It illuminates the colonial state's style of thinking about its domain. He describes the museums as classificatory grid, “which could be applied with endless flexibility to anything under the state's (...) control: people, regions, religions, languages, products, monuments, (...)” (Anderson 2006, p.184). With his writings about imagined communities, Anderson drafted a pivotal interpretation of nationalism.

2.1.2 The Commemorative and Identity-establishing Museum

This brings us to the next point.

[M]emory is both productive and product of political struggle in the present. [We have to] discuss the ways in which memories create identities and help members of the nation come to terms with the past and with national traumas, by either highlighting or concealing them (Özyürek 2007a, p.6).

It should be noted that museums are diverse settings of representations of identity, commemorative culture and politics of history. The museum as a multifaceted institution is appealing to various academic disciplines (Baur 2010, p.7). I would like to point out one more accumulation of theorists whose ideas are applicable to a critical analysis of museums. As already mentioned, the national and cultural identity is substantially influenced by museums and their exhibitions, and the same way reversed. National identity is imposed by the authority of the state and can be shaped by many diverse layers and components. For example, ethnicity, religion or ideologies might be parts of this ominous identity. Of course, they can have different priorities and especially ethnicity is a complex and vague concept, often associated with cultural behavior, custom, language, history, dress, material culture or origin (Kaplan 2006, p.153sq.). The apparently paradox about religion is that it can be both; a cultural feature of ethnicity, and a feature of identity apart from ethnicity (Kaplan 2006, p.158). The concept of identity is a discursive field and not unproblematic or transparent. Identity has to be understood as an act of production. It is never complete and always in process (Hall 1990, p.222). Important in this context are also the theories of Maurice Halbwachs about the collective memory and about the cultural memory from Jan and Aleida Assmann. They can be useful tools for giving evidences on particular representations of identity, commemorative culture and politics of history in the framework of museums. Halbwachs evolved his ideas about collective memory,

in contrast to the individual one, in the 1920s and suggested that collective memory functions as a matrix in which particular memories can be fixed and accessed. In this construct formation of identity takes place. “[E]s gibt kein mögliches Gedächtnis außerhalb derjenigen Bezugsrahmen, deren sich die in der Gesellschaft lebenden Menschen bedienen, um ihre Erinnerungen zu fixieren und wiederzufinden” (Halbwachs 1985, p.121). Aleida and Jan Assmann built on the theory of collective memory and developed their ideas on cultural memory in the 1980s. According to that, cultural memory is a collective, shared knowledge, mostly about the past, to which a group or community bases its consciousness about the own unity and distinctiveness (Assmann 1992, p.52)⁴. But in which way is this helpful for analyzing a museum? Aleida and Jan Assmann work especially on the institutionalized form of memory and name the need for spaces, the spatialization of memory (Assmann 1992, p.39). Museums are some of these memorial spaces and places of discourses about history and memory. One of the most important questions is who is involved in the process of communication, interpretation and the politics of history taking place in museums? On the one hand museums are the product of these discourses; on the other hand they are also the engine of commemorative culture. “Untersucht man Museen (...) als Indikatoren und Generatoren von Erinnerungskultur, so lassen sich Einsichten darüber gewinnen, wie gesellschaftliche Gruppen einschließlich politischer Funktionsträger über bestimmte Themen kommunizieren und welchen Stellenwert diese in der Gesellschaft einnehmen” (Pieper 2010, p.203). In the end it is possible to reveal the political images of history and self-concepts of the constructed masterpiece of narrative⁵ in museums.

⁴ On the issue of the connection between the parameters history, memory, and migration there is the multifaceted collective volume “Geschichte und Gedächtnis in Einwanderungsgesellschaften” (Motte & Ohliger 2004) with a special focus on Germany and Turkey.

⁵ The term Master Narrative refers to the definition of Konrad H. Jarausch and Martin Sabrow

2.1.3 The Representing Museum

As already mentioned, the theoretical background of the debate of representation plays also an important role by analyzing an exhibition as one very special form of representation. The debate of representation arose in the late 70s and reached its peak in the release of the collected volume “Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography” edited by James Clifford and George Marcus (Clifford & Marcus 1986). The term “writing culture” has three meanings. It refers to the description of culture, the culture of writing and the fixation of culture, thus the constructing of culture. Especially because of the last part, basically the role of the ethnographer, the debate led to a political and epistemological crisis in ethnography, the crisis of ethnographical representation. Already before post-colonial writers like Edward Said (Said 2003) and Johannes Fabian (Fabian 1983) called attention to the asymmetric representation and proposed the thesis that ethnographies just create societies as the others, often to justify colonial aims. They meant the phenomenon of “Othering”. The aims of this debate were to question science itself and the contexts of constructing knowledge about others. Furthermore, there have been attempts to test new, experimental forms of ethnography. They noted that Western writers no longer portray non-Western people with unchallenged authority, because the process of cultural representation should be understood as contingent, historical and contestable. “Ethnographic truths are thus inherently partial – committed and incomplete” (Clifford 1986, p.7, italics in original). Museums are places highly connected with a constructivist conception of representation concepts. As sites of production of meaning and

(Jaraus & Sabrow 2002) and means depictions of history which are normally orientated towards the nation-state and which influence and dominate not only the instances of education, but also public discourse.

importance they are very specific media of representation and representations are always portrayals of imaginings (Baur 2009, p.28). That means in conclusion:

Der Begriff der Repräsentation signalisiert die Abkehr von jeglicher unproblematischen Auffassung vom spiegelbildlichen Reproduzieren sozialer Realität und kultureller Handlung durch die Wissenschaft. Die Politik der Repräsentation: das bedeutet ein kritisches Bewusstsein bei jeglicher Darstellung von volkskulturellen Äußerungen, gerade da, wo bisher darauf bestanden wurde, dass wir Kultur doch nur in einen neuen Rahmen oder performativen Kontext transportieren und das Transportierte dabei unverändert bleibt (Bendix & Welz 2002, p.28).

As mentioned above, the omnipresent connection between the museum and the nation-state was present since the early beginnings of the museum as an instrument of colonial administration, ideology, propaganda, and constitution of national identity. But there are also manifold academic approaches of fracturing the imperial mind of museums by using the methods of post-colonial studies, the ideas about collective identity and by becoming aware of the representation parameters. Nevertheless, museums played and continue to play an important role in narrating and creating national identities (Kaplan 2006, p.165). In the end there is one important question left: Will museums continue to define a homogenous national identity “or represent a collectivity, multiplicity of ethnics, religions, ideological groups in a physical space?” (Kaplan 2006, p.168). One answer to this question could be the concept of museums of migration.

In summary, we can say the consciousness about the connections between the post-colonial museum and national identity, the focusing on more audience-orientated disciplines, the required participation of different communities, and the guidelines of a New Museology are important components for a transformation of museums and their self-perception. This transformation is also one part of the foundation of the arising museums of migration all over the world. One final and leading question is, whether the museum as an institution, in which the colonial thought is deeply en-

trenched, and which is still a representative and representing institution, is able to avoid the imminent danger of a renewed colonization towards the migrants through its structure and daily work (Wonisch 2012, p.32).

2.2 The Museum of Migration – Potentials and Specialties

In an age of globalization, intensifying human movements and flows, multifaceted transnational networks, along with cheaper and fast-evolving means of communication, museums are encouraged to reflect the socio-cultural implications of such changes and the increasingly plural face of the populations composing modern states (Gouriévidis 2014b, p.1).

The increasing mobility of people and occurrence of habitats and realities, which can exist in different countries and transcend national borders, promote a change of attitude, especially in the countries of immigration. In museums educational and ideological aims changed, especially in contrast to the ideas of the early museums in England or France, but often only under the rubric of multiculturalism (Coombes 1988, p.242). That means many museums of migration became spots which pursue a multicultural approach (Baur 2009; Pieper 2010, p.190). The question is, whether this is desirable and appropriate in a time of increasing pluralization of memories and identities. To expose the problem of the multicultural approach, it is helpful to look at the detailed elaboration of Joachim Baur about the Ellis Island Museum in New York. The creators of this well-known migration museum adopted also a multicultural approach when representing migration. Thereby it seems that this representation “der Konstruktion und Konsolidierung einer nationalen Meistererzählung verpflichtet bleibt. Migrationsgeschichte im Ellis Island Museum wäre dann auch in Zukunft die gefeierte Geschichte der Nation“ (Baur 2009, p.198). Baur illustrates that in the process of museumization of migration the concepts of migration, movement, and cultural heterogeneity are special components of a construct of a new multicultural

nation; the nation-state as multicultural union. This highlights the immanent connection of multiculturalism and nationalism. The impression appears that also the museum of migration continues to serve as nation-state supporting and legitimizing institution. A closer inspection of the phenomenon museum of migration seems to be necessary.

The emergence and the development of this new type of museums is, besides some exceptions, not longer ago than 25 years. A lot of European countries already have numerous well-established museums of this type (Gouriévidis 2014a). Despite this fact, especially in Europe the representation of “*emigration* has been far less problematic and conflicting than *immigration*” (Gouriévidis 2014b, p.5, italics in original). This difficulty is clearly visible in the context of Germany. While well-established museums of emigration, like the *Auswandererhaus* in Bremerhaven and the *BallinStadt* in Hamburg gain more and more popularity, the tough discussion about the possibilities and the realization of a united museum of immigration is still going on⁶. The Ellis Island Museum in New York, opened in 1990, is certainly the most famous museum of its kind. Important to add, the USA is a very classical type of an immigration country. Throughout their long history of immigration they have transformed from a society of settlers, better to say of colonists, to a nation of immigration. In this context it is not surprising, that the first and most well-known museums of migration were also opened in Australia and Canada. The development of these museums in Europe, a continent with more modern structures of immigration, was slightly delayed, whereas institutions of this kind in Argentina and South Africa for example are elements of the 21st century.

⁶ For years the association DOMID (Dokumentationszentrum und Museum über die Migration in Deutschland e.V.) calls for an official museum of migration in Germany (Eryilmaz 2004; Eryilmaz 2012).

But what are the potentials and specialties of the museums of migration? By trying to answer this question, I would like to display those public debates, which seem to be most important in the context of this thesis. According to them, the recognition, especially the recognition of difference, is one of the most important keywords in connection with this type of museum (Gouriévidis 2014b, p.13,16). Because social respect and “recognition is closely bound up with the perceived role of museums as spaces of authority that confer legitimacy” (Gouriévidis 2014b, p.13). The international network UNESCO-IMO Migration Museums Initiative, founded in 2006, is extending the outline and drafting the image of a prototype of an inclusive museum. These are supposed to be spaces for encounters between migrants and host populations, for cultural exchange between generations and dialogue. While serving the duty to remember, the initiative wants to pay attention to three main points: to acknowledge the contribution the migrants made to their host⁷ countries, integrate and foster a sense of belonging and national identity, and last but not least, build awareness and deconstruct stereotypes on immigration. All in all, the potential of these museums is seen in the possible creation of new and multiple national identities (UNESCO & IOM 2007). In this context, a museum of migration occurs as agent of social change, as an alleged solution for social problems, as an engine of social transformation and responsibility and which contributes ideas and suggestions on the field of cultural conveyance (Baur 2009, p.16; Gouriévidis 2014b, p.9). Besides this, there is another, perhaps more promising discourse about the potential of museums of migration. In this case, these museums are understood as a transnational approach to commemorative culture. That means they represent examples which give hope for the overcoming of the fixation to national representations of history, what always has

⁷ It is conspicuous that in this context the word “host” is used. In this way, it is implicated that the migrant is a visiting guest in the immigration country and emphasized that other rules, like referring to residence or civil rights, would apply to them. Moreover, rigid entities are preserved.

been inscribed in the institution museum (Baur 2009, p.16). The resulting potential of museums of migrations is enormous and noteworthy, because they would be able to constitute counter-narratives with more transnational, transcultural, global and nomadic perspectives. All this is a chance for exposure, revaluation and decentralization of processes of nationalization and national self-assurance (Baur 2009, p.16sq.). Concepts and ideas of transnationalism, translocalism, and a circular understanding of migration can help to work in different and varied ways on this project and “to overcome the predominance of the national perspective” (Brunnbauer 2012, p.14). “The transnational lens (...) opens new vistas at divergent notions of home” (Brunnbauer 2012, p.18). But there is always a big difference between theory and practice: what is the museum of migration supposed to achieve and what is the museum of migration in Bursa able to achieve? To what extent is the potential and specialty exploit in reality? Even museums of migration seem to function still as institutions that create images of the nation-state, although they have the potential of telling counter-narratives. Moreover, also museums of migration are mostly initiated and funded by the state and still orientated towards particular national and public interests. In the end, it comes down to the question if there will be ever, or perhaps already is the possibility of an optimistic transcultural and transnational understanding or representation of migration beyond multicultural ideas and national frameworks. Are we perhaps even able to cross deeply entrenched ideas of diverse borders, demarcations and nation-states? Museums of migration bear a particular responsibility and challenging tasks.

Whilst museums are used to combat prejudice and reverse misrepresentation (...) they are also tasked with the responsibility of healing deeply etched social wounds or reducing and attenuating social cleavages. (...) [T]he tensions that surface around migration memories are frequent signs of a post-colonial fault line, and colonization and slavery have been identified as two (...) major sources of memorial conflicts or 'memory wars' world-wide (Gouriévidis 2014b, p.16, emphasis in original).

It is questionable, if this is possible by sticking to the ideas of multiculturalism and the real and imagined borders of nation-states.

Finally it is to say that there are numerous and diverse approaches to design museums of migration. Particular stories are narrated by the combination of chosen objects, pictures and texts, and set into context to each other. In the case of the museum of migration history in Bursa, I am going to examine the exhibition among the categories of movement, nationality, and ethnical as well as cultural heterogeneity. In my opinion, the museum in Bursa can be examined in the most profitable way by looking for the representation of these categories, because they provide a major focus and a lot of referring exhibits in the exhibition. It will be insightful to look in the following on the case of Turkey and how in Bursa the connection between the museum and nation-state takes place. But before this, it will be helpful to enlighten the politics of history and the topics of migration in general in Turkey. This is supposed to help us understanding the representation in Bursa. Therefore, relevant aspects of Turkish migration history have to be considered. In the process of research connections to issues of Turkish nationality and the legacy of the Ottoman Empire appeared. Hence, these issues are also considered in the next chapter.

3 The Case of Turkey – History of Contrasts, Ruptures and Frictions

The official declaration of the Turkish Republic in October 1923 marked a brutal rupture with the imperial Ottoman past, even though the Empire was already at a central point of destruction and declination (Monceau 2000, p.284). With heralding the start of modernity and with laying the foundation of extensive reforms the periods of the Empire became definite past. Therefore it seems to be difficult to reconcile the past, the Ottoman Empire, and the present, the Turkish Republic. “[N]either (...) the question of the transition between the two regimes, nor the reality of the current republican regime (...)” (Monceau 2000, p.294) are topics naturally and publicly discussed. From a general Turkish perspective, it seems impossible to appreciate these periods in the same way and extent or to discuss and approach them from a neutral point of view. The celebrations of the 75th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey and the 700th anniversary of the foundation of the Ottoman Empire in 1998 and 1999 pointed out to what extent equality and appeasement between these parts of Turkish history seem to be still far apart (Monceau 2000). Nicolas Monceau outlines and discusses some of the exhibitions, which took place in the framework of the anniversaries and shows that they are evident indicators for the difficulties connected to representation and memory in an official, public, ideological and political context (Monceau 2000, p.325sq.). In the introduction to an essay collection about the politics of public memory in Turkey, Esra Özyürek finds plausible and clear words for the difficult negotiation between the history of two different eras and the memo-

ries about them: “(...) [t]he Turkish Republic was originally based on forgetting. Yet, at the turn of the twenty-first century, (...) people relentlessly struggle over how to represent and define the past” (Özyürek 2007a, p.3). She even describes the time of the early republic as a time of “administered and organized amnesia” (Özyürek 2007a, p.3). By erasing and controlling everyday habits through westernization and secularization, regulating the time system, establishing last names and administering script and language reforms, deep ruptures in public memory took place (Özyürek 2007a, p.4sq.). A new collage of nationalist values replaced multi-ethnic, multi-religious and Islam-orientated values of the Ottoman Empire (Fuller 2008, p.25). Foundations of nation-states are in general always a rupture with the past, but in Turkey, this had extraordinary dimensions. The founding process was accompanied by “traumatic events where religious minorities were massacred, deported or encouraged to migrate” (Özyürek 2007a, p.11). The founders of the Turkish Republic were endeavored to realize a homogeneous idea of a Turkish national identity, even though Turkey was an ethnically and culturally diverse country at that time. “This was much driven by a deep-seated belief that the Ottoman Empire had collapsed because of its multi-ethnic and multi-cultural nature” (İçduygu & Kirişci 2009, p.10). This difference between the era of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic reveals a contested and fractured migration history of Turkey, referring on the one hand to tolerance of ethnic and religious heterogeneity and on the other hand to forced and violent migration politics.

In the context of museumization of migration in Turkey, this leads to several questions. What are the politics of history and migration in the context of two fundamental parts of the Turkish History, the end of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic through Kemal Mustafa Atatürk? What does all that mean for

the commemorative culture and the construct of Turkish identity? And what does all that ultimately mean for the development and foundation of museums of migration in Turkey? In order to answer these questions it is necessary to elucidate the Turkish politics of history and migration, and the idea of nation-state, which is closely linked to these just mentioned politics.

3.1 Turkey and its History of Migration

In comparison to the already mentioned example of the USA, a classical country of immigration, Turkey's image is still that of a country of dispatch, which is sending migrants to European countries. Caused by the need of workforce during the sustained economic boom in the 50s and 60s guest workers in particular from Greece, Italy and Turkey came to Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and France. The agreement between the Turkish and West-German government was signed in 1961. In the EU this was a way to satisfy the need of workers and in Turkey to fight the high rate of unemployment. The Turkish government hoped that well-qualified workers would return, but a lot of the workers settled down and got their families from Turkey to join them. Because of these developments, the biggest group of people with a migration background in Germany comes from Turkey nowadays (Pusch & Tekin 2011a, p.11sq.; İçduygu & Kirişçi 2009, p.3). Despite the widely-held perception of Turkey as a country of dispatch, there have been always diverse forms of immigration. Moreover, especially during the last decades and in the course of the current flows of refugees Turkey became a central country of transition migration.

During the 19th century the immigration of people from Ottoman provinces was accelerated by the authorities to fight problems like the lack of population and thus fertile fields lying fallow. Especially people of Muslim belief or family background immigrated to their *anavatan*⁸ and settled down in Trace and Anatolia (Pusch & Tekin 2011a, p.13). In the years surrounding the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 international migration served as important tool for the formation of a Turkish nation-state. Two events which supported the homogenization of the population in an intensive and formative way were the deportation of the Armenians in 1915 and the population exchange between Turkey and Greece, caused by an agreement signed in 1923 (İçduygu 2008, p.10). In this time, more than 350.000 Greeks of Turkish origin came to Turkey. Also important is the law of settlement number 2510 from 1934, which enabled people of Turkish culture and origin, to settle down in Turkey. In general, Turkish speaking and/or Muslim groups from former territories of the Ottoman Empire, especially from the Balkan countries, benefited from this law. Between 1923 and 1945 over 840.000 people immigrated (Pusch & Tekin 2011a, p.13). From 1945 to the 1980s migration movements did not have a salient political or social relevance, even though the remaining non-Muslim population like Jews and Greeks were also forced to emigrate (İçduygu 2008, p.12)⁹. Only from then migration issues became significant again. A time began, where an increase of migrants, but also a structural change of migration movements took place. Apart from the increasing rural migration, the profile of the immigrants became more and more international. Also, they did not become nationalized anymore like the ones who

⁸ Ancestral homeland, mother country (own translation).

⁹ On the issue of the connection between forced migration and militarized ambitions for establishing a nation-state in the early years of the Turkish Republic, there is a detailed and well elaborated essay of Fuat Dündar (Dündar 2014).

arrived after the foundation of Turkish Republic; their lives are in line with the global trend ruled by mobility and circularity (Pusch & Tekin 2011, p.14).

Especially the illegal transition migration since the end of the 90s became and is still a big problem for the Turkish government, also because a high number of European Union (EU) members exerted massive pressure to curb these occurrences (İçduygu & Kirişci 2009, p.14sq.). This is bound up with the fact that since 1999, when Turkey became officially a candidate country for the EU, and since 2005, when the accession negotiations began, the claim for extensive reforms were formulated by many of the EU members. The issues of migration play an important role in the framework of the accession negotiations (Erder 2011). In this context, the EU criticizes the selective, outdated and also malfunctioning Turkish asylum policy, which does not grant refugees status to asylum seekers coming from outside Europe (İçduygu & Kirişci 2009, p.15). At the same time Europe has tightened its asylum system and “Turkish authorities are concerned that Turkey could become a buffer zone” (İçduygu & Kirişci 2009, p.17). Although the Turkish government passed a law in 2013, which grants a provisional and reserved status as refugee for example to people from Syria, Turkey is still a country of illegal transitional mass-migration. One reason for all these developments is seen in the inability of Turkish policymakers to keep up with the changing situation of becoming more and more a country of immigration. Another reason might be the current special migration situation at the edges of Europe and Turkey, also caused by geographical factors (Erder 2011). It is a sad reality that Turkey seals itself off from refugees and other irregular immigrants, while small groups of qualified and wealthy migrants are most welcome (Özgür-Baklacioğlu 2011; Pusch 2011).

3.2 Nation-State and Nationalism in Turkey

“The First World War brought the age of high dynasticism to an end. By 1922, Habsburgs, Hohenzollerns, Romanovs and Ottomans were gone” (Anderson 2006, p.113). In the same time this was the legacy of the arising nations of our time. The legitimizing international norm was the nation-state and even surviving imperial powers occurred dressed in national costumes (Anderson 2006, p.113).

The before clarified occurrences in modern Turkish history and the different phases of migration movements highlight a special understanding and conception of the nation-state and nationalism in Turkey. There are sharp tendencies towards assimilation of ethnical diversity and a nation-state supporting monoculture. In this context, migration is an important political instrument for the formation and protection of the nation-state and a substantial contribution to the process of modernity. “Die wesentliche Funktion der Migration ist demnach, den Gedanken nationaler Reinheit umzusetzen und die Bevölkerung des Nationalstaates so weit wie möglich zu homogenisieren“ (İçduygu 2008, p.5). At the beginning of the defining process of a Turkish identity, Ottoman intellectuals created the idea of an ethnic Turkish community “spread across a large territory, extending from the Mediterranean basin into Central Asia” (Kasaba 2006, p.214). They also rediscovered the old works of Orientalists, who were interested in early Turkish cultures, tribes, and languages. Caused by all these drafts, the concept of a “distinct Turkish race” (Kasaba 2006, p.215) developed into a new nationalist idea. In the 1920s it became the official ideology of the newly arising Turkish Republic, although on the basis of a restricted territory. Important to add, even though the race-based and secular components of the new Turkish identity were in contrast to religious definitions, Sunni Islam became a fundamental part of

the definition who is a Turk (Kasaba 2006, p.215)¹⁰. This identity politics have to be seen from a cultural point of view. Amy Mills writes on this subject, that the nation became defined as “ethnically Turkish and culturally Muslim” (Mills 2010, p.8). In a narrow sense, the Turkish history became rewritten. Not only general history writing, also sciences like archaeology or public institutions like museums, interesting in the context of this thesis, served as propagation media for this new history. A lot of official projects and studies on culture and history of the Turks became realized, whose purpose it was to define a homogenous Turkish culture. “It purported to show a Turkish ethnic continuity in Anatolia since prehistoric times” (Gür 2007, p.47). By demonstrating that there has been primordial Turkish existence in Anatolia, the geographic aspect became pivotal for the argumentation that the Turkish nation-state should be acknowledged as the natural heir of Anatolia (Gür 2007, p.48). Firstly, Anatolia signified a political territory of the nation-state and furthermore it stood for the homeland of the Turkish citizens. The argumentation was “based on a homogenized and territorially defined culture” (Gür 2007, p.49).

“[N]ation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time” (Anderson 2006, p.3), despite the high potential of nation-states as zones of conflicts (Hutchinson 2005). Therefore, it is wrong to assume that nation-states are uniform, since the aim of governments is often just to pretend homogeneity.

¹⁰ On the issue of Islamic subversions of republican nostalgia and the use of public memory for political negotiations there is an essay from Esra Özyürek (Özyürek 2007b). Therein she explains that Islamic interpretation of the foundation of the Turkish Republic is an act of redefining history and a claim for recognition. The representation becomes a battleground for people with conflicting interests (Özyürek 2007b, p.118).

3.3 Heritage of the Ottoman Empire

As described above, the negotiation of Turkish identity and memory has been difficult and multilayered. While the time after the foundation of the Turkish Republic was characterized by an administered forgetting, the 21st century tagged the beginning of a rise of memory (Özyürek 2007a, p.6). Other sources call this even a “return of history” (Fuller 2008, p.8). In this context, especially the process of reworking the Ottoman heritage for an economical and touristic purpose seems to be interesting for this thesis. Heritage politics have a key role in constructing national identity. That means heritage is no fixed phenomenon; it is constructed by political elites and the state (Zencirci 2014). A promising example for this is the “Miniaturk”, opened in 2003, in Istanbul. It is a theme park along the Golden Horn, which exhibits miniaturized models of 126 Turkish and Ottoman monuments, sites and places. Most of them are located in Istanbul, others in Anatolia and some in former territories of the Ottoman Empire (Miniaturk 2014). Bringing them together in one park, they do not only represent different civilizations and epochs, but also transform into a whole. The 55 displayed historical monuments of Istanbul reflect the golden age of the city, when Istanbul had been the capital of the Ottoman Empire¹¹. It becomes apparent here that religious components of Islam and Turkish nationalism seem to coexist, be aligned and brought into dialogue (Öncü 2007, p.248sq.). This produced narrative shows a different form of belonging. It is understood as a wider cultural form of belonging; not bound to the territory of the actual nation-state (Öncü 2007, p.260). But every history narrative is still constructed, selective and supports different interests. One

¹¹ In this context it is notable, that Istanbul as old capital and symbol for the failure of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by Ankara. This new capital in the heart of Anatolia strengthens also the geographical aspect of the argumentation in the new ideology of the Turkish nation-state. These opposing images illustrate again the very brutal rupture in Turkish history.

essay from Gizem Zencirci for example emphasizes that the articulation and mobilization of the AKP of Ottoman heritage often downplays the actual complexity by manufacturing a selective version of the imperial past. According to Zencirci this has led to a partial depoliticization of Turkey's civil society (Zencirci 2014). Ottoman heritage is often considered from a romantic and nostalgic perspective. But in general, "the turn of the twenty-first century is one of nostalgia for people in Turkey and elsewhere" (Özyürek 2007a, p.6). It tempts the people to pine after an imagined past and to look back instead of working on future utopias (Huysen 1995). In Turkey, history becomes even a popular science. This is also caused by the efforts of the History Foundation of Turkey, founded in 1991 (İğsız 2007, p.164). All this has influenced an increasing interest in the past. Cultural products like novels, books, movies and music albums, which address narratives of the Ottoman and Anatolian past transport and modify these stories into the Turkish present (İğsız 2007, p.165).

But still, the history of Turkey is ambivalent and filled with paradoxes. "This ambivalence has led to a contested legacy and tensions in Turkey when dealing with its Ottoman past" (Walker 2009, p.392). It must be noted that post-imperial nations have a special, formative type of legacy and experiences with international leadership. Previous interactions with former conquered countries can be characterized by an inherent sense of superiority and especially empires that conquered territories near to them differ from empires that conquered in distant regions. Turkey cannot escape its past that easily (Walker 2009, p.387sq.). Nowadays, the Ottoman past and its ideas about politics of expansion and imperialistic power become more and more prevalent and relevant again. This refers also to the position of Turkey as mediator and global player in the international arena. Even though Turkey is no economic superpower (Walker 2009, p.385) it is rather often in the position of a "regional leader and

spokesman within the Muslim world. (...) [W]here does Turkey derive this status and ambition as a regional and global player (...)?” (Walker 2009, p.386) One answer lies in the end of the Cold War and the resulting collapse of the Soviet Union. When the main rival of Turkey disappeared, Turkey was able to promote itself as natural leader in its surrounding area. In this context, aspects of foreign policies are to be considered. After a long period of isolation Turkey is apparently turning towards Middle East and Eurasia again (Fuller 2008, p.8). In this context, the Neo-Ottomanism, an intellectual movement and foreign policy strategy, having its roots in the 1990s, is noteworthy. Especially the AKP “has rekindled the debate over Turkey’s historical roots and legacy as a successor state to the Ottoman Empire” (Walker 2009, p.394). Ahmet Davutoğlu, the current prime minister of Turkey published the book “Stratejik Derinlik. Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu”¹² in 2001. The foundation of this geo-strategic concept is the close connection between geography, history, identity and current politics. He argues that Turkey as the central country in Eurasia has to reflect on its historic and geographic identity. With this he refers to the Ottoman past (Davutoğlu 2001).

“Most exploration of Turkish history makes a clear break between the country’s past (...) and the present Turkish Republic” (Walker 2009, p.396). This becomes particularly obvious, when one looks at the conflicting and diverse interpretations concerning Turkey’s Ottoman legacy. The newly occurred orientation towards the Ottoman past may mean several things. In connection to my thesis, it is most interesting how the representations of the Turkish Republic and Ottoman Empire take place and what that means for the Turkish stories of migration.

¹² Strategic depth. The international position of Turkey (own translation).

4 The Theories and Methods of the Exhibition Analysis

Many of the theories mentioned and explained in the 2nd chapter are linked to the following clarifications and relate to one another. However, it seems advisable to differentiate between general and more specific theories. Related to the methods and theories of my later analysis of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa, the “Handbuch der Allgemeinen Museologie” (Waidacher 1999) is worth to be pointed out. The author Friedrich Weidacher distinguishes between museology and the techniques of museums; thereby he presents an extensive introduction into the theoretical and practical fields of museum work. Critical and more detailed examinations linked to forms and ways of presentations like objects, architecture, glass boxes, light, sound and audio-visual materials, are also done in manifold ways (Pearce 1994; Macdonald 1998). In the context of my focus on museums of migration and representations of cultural plurality the following approach of Roswitha Muttenthaler and Regina Wonisch (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006) seems highly promising. In their work they analyze three different types of museums, the art museum, the natural history museum, and the ethnological museum, by using the categories of race, gender and class. They draw attention to the fact that the diverse and multiple types of visualization like objects, pictures, movies, texts or the architecture of an exhibition are interrelated and refer to each other. Through the contextualization of these parameters reciprocity between everything emerges. Therefore, the interplay of different types and forms of presentation has to be examined. It is not enough to only focus on texts and contents

or particular objects (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.37sq.). Because of this it is necessary to work with a mixture of techniques, approaches and methods borrowed for example from semiotics, literary analysis, movie sciences, theater, art or ethnography (Scholze 2004; Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.62sq.).

4.1 The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting and the Speech Act Theory

The theoretical approach applied in the later analysis of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa is orientated towards the concepts of the poetics of exhibiting and the politics of exhibiting introduced by Henrietta Lidchi. The poetics of exhibiting mean “the practice of producing meaning through the internal ordering and conjugation to the separate but related components of an exhibition” (Lidchi 1997, p.168). The aim of this practice is the construction of meaning and importance, thus the shown despite its constructed character seems to be natural and innocent (Lidchi 1997, p.179)¹³. Every curator, ethnologist, designer and author has the power to create and produce meaning through representation. But the constructed character of the meaning is concealed and this is because the mediated content appears as discovery of the irrefutable truth (Dean 2010, p.57). In the end, just the object is visible, not the person who speaks and points out (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.39).

This is also the link to another theoretical background which should be explained before moving to the politics of exhibiting. In the context of museums the speech act theory is based on the assumption that every representation is a discursive practice. That means the reception of these representations is determined by a web of relation-

¹³ Lidchi is referring to Roland Barthes and his theory about the variety of myths in our daily life, which are conscious statements and messages (Barthes 1991). Moreover, modern myths are created for a reason. With his elaborations of myths Barthes laid the foundations of a critical semiotic.

ships between the exhibition organizers, the visitors and the objects. Moreover, the exhibition is to be understood as a statement of the exhibition organizers (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.38). By taking Mieke Bal's examination about the speech act theory into account, the ambiguities of an exposing gesture is becoming the linchpin. According to the primary function of museums, the exposition, the gesture points to things and objects and seems to say: "Look!" - often implying: "That's how it is" (Bal 1996, p.2). The first aspect of looking involves the availability of the object; the second one of pronouncement reflects the epistemic authority of the knowing person (Bal 1996, p.2). "The possible discrepancy between the object that is present and the statement about it creates the ambiguities (...)" (Bal 1996, p.2). Because of this the gesture of exposing is always a discursive practice and performed by an operating subject. That means representations like visual displays and arrangements are never innocent narratives. Although the position of the speaker is concealed, the statement is done, inseparably interwoven with the appearance of the exhibition and for this reason legible and visible as subtext (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.39). It is the substance of the museum to present narratives, to display objects, but never to reveal the speaking voice or the pointing finger. By this situation a subject/object dichotomy gets created and "[t]his dichotomy enables the subject to make a statement about the object. The object is there to substantiate the statement" (Bal 1996, p.3). With the help of the speech act theory this web of relationships becomes visible. In the style of an interpersonal speaking act there is a first person, the exhibition organizer, a second person, the visitor and a third person, the shown or exhibited one, who is mute and not taking an active part in the conversation. The difference between the interpersonal speaking act and the speaking act in exhibitions is that the first person is invisible and for that reason the positions of the Ego and

You are not reciprocal. However, the second person is the recipient and only through this matter of fact the existence of the exhibition is relevant. Without the recipient there is no exhibition. The recipient decides which objects and texts are read and which routes are taken (Bal 1996, p.3sq.; Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.39).

But “[t]he third person, silenced by the discursive situation, is the most important element, the only one visible. This visibility and this presence paradoxically make it possible to make statements about the objects that do not apply to it (...). The thing on display comes to stand for something else, the statement about it. It comes to *mean*” (Bal 1996, p.4, italics in original).

Even though the exhibition initially comes into existence in the head of the recipient, the power of the exposing gesture of the first person should not be underestimated. Representations are ambiguous, but the statement of the exhibiting subject influences the perception of the visitors. Because of this it is important to analyze how the attention of visitors is channeled and authorities are supported (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.40).

The politics of exhibiting are also about power and authority, but looked at it in relation to the whole institution museum and in the context of the connection between power and knowledge (Lidchi 1997, p.185). Therefore, the question concerning the institutional power needs to be asked. This refers to the specific definition Foucault gives to this conceptual pair of power/ knowledge and the term discourse (Foucault 2008; Foucault 2006). “[M]useum collections do not simply 'happen': artifacts have to be made to be collected, and collected to be exhibited. They are historical, social and political events” (Lidchi 1997, p.185, emphasis in original). The politics of exhibiting are a critical approach to the practices of collecting and exhibiting, which in this context are perceived as powerful activities and productions of social knowledge. An important element of this approach is the questioning of the role and position of the institution museum and its relationship to knowledge, be-

cause “all knowledge is **power/knowledge**” (Lidchi 1997, p.185, emphasis in original). This power, which is, as chapter 2.1.1 has shown, especially a result from the period of colonialism, relates to all visible in the museum. “The very nature of exhibiting (...) makes it a contested terrain” (Lavine & Karp 1991b, p.1).

Finally, the analysis of poetics and politics of exhibiting are not possible to be analyzed independently from each other. Both elements complement and enrich each other ideally (Dean 2010). Furthermore, the theoretical concept and idea of the poetics and politics of exhibiting is not a recent and unprecedented appearance. These keywords were used in many ways before (Macdonald 1998; Lavine & Karp 1991a) and have their origin in the writing culture debate (Clifford & Marcus 1986). Especially the collected volume edited by Karp and Lavine was based on the conference entitled “The Poetics and Politics of Representation”, which was held 1988, two years after the release of “Writing Culture” edited by James Clifford and George Marcus. This collected volume was the result of a previous discussion and critical reflection about the problematic representation and fixation of culture, especially through ethnographers. Also the speech act theory questions the apparently undisputed authority of the first person and the truth of the exhibition as statement. Therefore it is impossible to consider the Göç Tarihi Müzesi without keeping all these parameters in mind.

4.2 Thick Description and Semiotic Approach

There are different questions to ask and aspects to look at when describing and analyzing an exhibition. In the introduction I already mentioned the immediate and direct methods or techniques that I used like for instance the interviews, first field

notes and photographs. In the present chapter I want to focus on the indirect, more in-depth and subsequent methods; methods to use when first writings are already done. In this context it is necessary to note, that methods should not be understood as strict set of rules. It is possible to adjust them to specific contexts. The main technique and elemental foundation of the following exhibition analysis is the descriptive work. This procedure is implemented along the already mentioned main categories of migration; movement, nationality, and ethnical as well as cultural heterogeneity.

The concept and procedure of the Thick Description was developed in the 70s by Clifford Geertz and used for the ethnographic fieldwork. It is based on a semiotic understanding of the construct of culture, which is like a web of codes and symbols, flexible and always open for reinterpretation. Geertz' approach was also based on the realization that the ethnographic work and description of culture is never objective. In this way, he was one of the first anthropologists who reflected on his position and role as interpreter, admitted his own subjectivity and found ways how to deal and work with this matter of fact. Thereby his work constituted an important foundation for the following Writing Culture Debate in the 80s. By following his ideas about description and interpretation, humans and culture can be understood as texts that can be read (Geertz 1987).

Ethnographie betreiben gleicht dem Versuch, ein Manuskript zu lesen (im Sinne von "eine Lesart entwickeln"), das fremdartig, verblaßt [sic!], unvollständig, voll von Widersprüchen (...) ist, aber nicht in konventionellen Lautzeichen, sondern in vergänglichen Beispielen geformten Verhaltens geschrieben ist (Geertz 1987, p.15, emphasis in original).

In this manner, I am going to read the museum like a text and will apply the ethnographic concept of Thick Description to the field of the museum like Scholze, Muttenthaler / Wonisch and Dean suggest (Scholze 2004; Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006; Dean 2010). "Auch bei Ausstellungen handelt es sich um einen "Text", der

sich aus visuellen und schriftlichen Zeichen zusammensetzt, und den es zu “lesen” gilt” (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.50, emphasis in original). Thick Description has become a synonym for an interpretative approach to social and cultural phenomena in varied sciences. Elemental characteristics of this method are described by Geertz as microscopic and interpretative (Geertz 1987, p.30sq.). That means the researcher examines only a section and draws conclusion based on this detailed and accurate examination. Furthermore, already the description of a cultural phenomenon is an interpretation and contains an analysis. In this way, an analysis is always an interpretation of an interpretation (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.50). I regard my analysis of the museum as microscopic insofar as I look at just one aspect, the one of representation. From this position, I try to examine, in how far the institution positions itself in a social, political and cultural context. Also only selected objects, displays and texts will be taken into account. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw conclusions and to figure out elemental techniques of representation. Every description is simultaneously interpretative work and there are always different ways of perception, which influence the analysis. The task is to describe the interplay of visual elements, texts and space, which are all involved in telling the narratives, and to become aware of the varied connections (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.51). That means Thick Description does not only reproduce the physical and observable elements of an exhibition; through accuracy and ongoing, anew questioning it is possible to figure out structures and productions of meaning. Moreover, statements about general or universal information can be made with the help of concrete data. But in the end, there is no possibility to discover the one and only truth. Such a thing does not exist. Every Thick Description has to be seen in the context of the describing

subject, the situation of description and the current, diverse discourses (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.52).

With regard to the Thick Description it is necessary to describe the semiotic methodical approaches of denotation, connotation and metacommunication. The science of semiotics works on processes of communication. These are made possible through codes, which are the connections between the signs and the society. By explaining the meaning of these codes and how this can be helpful on the field of museum analysis, I rely mostly on the remarks of Eco about semiotics (Eco 1987) and Lidchi, Scholze and Muttenthaler / Wonisch (Lidchi 1997; Scholze 2004; Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006), who used the semiotic approach in extended and exemplary manner to analyze exhibitions. Exhibitions are locations where processes of communication are taking place and where the space, the objects and the media of representation become signs, which indicate concrete content and information, but less concrete meanings. Museum objects are deprived from their original settings and just represent the initial function. They become signifiers¹⁴. Hence, there are material and semiotic dimensions of these objects (Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.54). By looking at the codes of denotation, connotation and metacommunication we are also going to understand the varied layers and dimensions of objects and representations in exhibitions. Codes are social rules and restrictions of communication conventions which are based on society and history. “Codes [stellen] die Regeln bereit, die im kommunikativen Verkehr Zeichen als konkrete Gebilde generieren” (Eco 1987, p.77). Denotative codes refer to the actual function of an object or the media of exhibiting.

¹⁴ Ferdinand de Saussure (de Saussure 2013) explained that, if there is a signifier, a signified is implied. They are the two components of a sign. The signifier is always material like sounds, objects or images. A signified is the concept, meaning or referent the signifier is referring to and varies between contexts and people. The relationship between signifier and signified is arbitrary. Furthermore, Saussure dissents that the signifier reflects the signified: the signifier creates the signified concerning the meaning it causes for us.

In the context of museum objects the denotative code refers to the previous function. The decoding of the function seems to be banal, but provides a label, which enables to name it and to classify it to a cultural raster (Scholze 2004, p.30), the very fundamental task of museums. In museums the objects are not used in the original way: “Im Prozess der Musealisierung erfolgen durch Isolierung der Objekte von ihren konkreten Zusammenhängen eine weitgehende Aufhebung der Funktion und eine Umwidmung des Gebrauchswerts” (Scholze 2004, p.30). Nevertheless, it is important to ask for the function, because objects in museums are often sorted by their field of usage, for example household, engineering, traffic or clothes (Scholze 2004, p.31). Besides this, the questioning forces us to grapple with the conventions and circumstances of the naming and classifying. This brings us to the decoding of the connotations, “which guides one to look at the way in which the image (object) is understood, at a broader, more associative, level of meaning” (Lidchi 1997, p.164, emphasis in original). Connotations refer to the integration of the object in cultural processes, systems of norms and values and individual biographies (Scholze 2004, p.32). A very fundamental connotation is already owed by the fact that the object has been adopted to the collection of a museum. Thereby it gets inscribed with historical and cultural values (Scholze 2004, p.34). Hence, the complexity, variety and flexibility of a connotative code are immense and Scholze claims that it is impossible to gather the full extent of connotative meanings. The decoding of connotations also depends for example on the imagination and knowledge of the visitor. Additionally, through highlighting or contextualization with other objects the process of communication can be influenced and stimulated (Scholze 2004, p.33). Finally, the metacommunication refers to the institutional context of the museum, the political, social and scientific positioning of the institution. What are the convictions, attitudes

and interests of the exhibition designers? Which academic, museological, political and individual positions determine the discourses taking place in the museum? “Ausstellungen im Museum sind immer räumliche Konstruktionen einer Auseinandersetzung mit Geschichte, Kultur und Gesellschaft” (Scholze 2004, p.35). Therefore, the metacommunication has to be understood as the political, social and scientific frame, within which the exhibition designers negotiate and determine the content and modalities of an exhibition.

In summary, it should be mentioned that the separation between denotation, connotation and metacommunication is just fundamental for understanding the varied layers of this method of exhibition analysis. Very often it will be difficult or impossible to separate the layers of naming, classifying, meaning, content and intentions. The transitions can be fluid and therefore it is problematic or even not advisable to look at these codes isolated from each other. In the following I would like to present a questionnaire, which bases on all the previously outlined theories and methods and shall serve as instrument for the description and analysis of the museum.

4.3 The Questionnaire

For the description and analysis of the 'Göç Tarihi Müzesi' in Bursa I orientate myself towards an accumulation of questions. Based on elaborations in two of my main sources (Baur 2009, p.19sq.; Muttenthaler & Wonisch 2006, p.46sq.) I developed a questionnaire. This is a method for handling and framing the complexity of the representation and intentions in the museum. What are the key subjects and which narratives of migration are represented and told in the museum? How is the relationship between the past and the present in the context of migration movements? Which

perspectives are chosen and which images of migration are created? How is the exhibition structured and sorted, by regional or chronological aspects for example? Which forms of sources are displayed, originals, replications, or audio-visual media? Are the representations contextualized in object-text-displays or are there rather isolated exhibits? In which extent and with which intentions are texts used and are they primary or secondary sources? Is the focus more on textual or visual components? How are color and light used? Is there a specific route or it is possible to take different ones? What for a location, building or place is hosting the museum and what does that signify? How are the architecture, design, and composition of the exhibition? Has the exhibition a clear statement or are there argumentative ambiguities, gaps, frictions? Is the own position or authority of the institution museum questionable? All this leads also to the actual underlying intentions of the museum, to the second part of the exploration, which also questions the institution museum by itself. What are the intentions of this museum project, how took the implementation of the project place and who are leading or acting persons and participants? What are the underlying ideologies and interests of the representations? What is the purpose of founding the museum for whom and finally, what for an audience is addressed and which one is not? All these questions seem to be important for an analysis of an exhibition, but I do not claim to be able to answer all of them. Before starting with the analysis, it seems to be necessary to consider my own position and role during the process of research. There are to find again manifold references to the methodical and theoretical approach of this thesis. Moreover, it might be an appropriate transition to the main part, the description and analysis of the museum.

4.4 The Role as Translator and Interpreter in the Process of Research

The first visit to the museum was full of contradictory feelings. On the one hand I realized that, due to my insufficient Turkish skills, I am not able to understand most of the written content in the exhibition. On the other hand exactly this matter of fact was also a great gift for my first encounter with the field. The design and the methods of representation were attracting my full attention and I was able to perceive details or features I would not have recognized, if I would have been able to understand the written content. Hence, I analyzed the two main components, the displays and texts, separately from each other and with a clear focus on the displayed components. This can be a great opportunity, but the danger of losing the connection between written and displayed objects is present. Against this background I want to describe and explain my situation in the field as researcher, but also translator and interpreter. Perhaps, I am even more an interpreter than in other research situations, because I am not just interpreting encounters, representations and objects, but also language. Translation is always interpretation, because “[t]here is no such thing as a neutral translation” (Freely 2006, p.145). Furthermore, “[t]he distance between Turkish and English is so great that literal translation is next to impossible” (Freely 2006, p.146). In addition, my mother tongue is German, my knowledge of Turkish has its spacious limits and to a large extent I was depended on the help of translators, but most of my effort was reserved to do a lot of the translation by my own. Nevertheless, the discussion with a translator about contents is also doing its part during the process of understanding. Already through this description the multilingual and transcultural demand of this task becomes clear. Specific languages are always connected to specific ways of expression, telling and explaining. Therefore, language plays a

pivotal role in culture and reverse (Bassnett 2002, p.22sqg.)¹⁵. The interviews I conducted, took place together with major help of translators. For the first time a female employee from the museum, and the other time a Turkish friend from my university helped me. I asked my questions in English, they translated the questions for my interview partners in Turkish and translated the following answers for me in English. Despite everything, I am aware of possible inaccuracies and irregularities, which could appear in connection with the present translations and I bear the complete responsibility for any potentially occurring mistakes and obscurities. In the following the information from the interviews will serve to complement the description and analysis.

I approached the museum as a German master student who is enrolled at a Turkish university in Istanbul and who wants to write her master thesis about the museumization of migration. The reception was very friendly and the responsible people very helpful. They seemed surprised that an international student is interested in such a little museum in Bursa, Turkey, but at the same time they told me also that a lot of students are interested in all museums on the terrain of the Merinos Park¹⁶. In this way they seem to be used to the contact with them and are most willing to provide information. They told me a lot about their public projects, their educational work, and their cooperation with different communities and took great care to give me insights into the extent of their activities. To get information apart from these issues was sometimes difficult or deficient. In the end I was even more aware about my uncertain or precarious position as researcher in this field and that not every

¹⁵ Bassnett points out that, although translation is a demanding linguistic activity, it belongs mostly to semiotics (Bassnett 2002, p.22). Therefore, the methods described before are also applied to the translation work in this thesis.

¹⁶ The Göç Tarihi Müzesi is just one museum of an accumulation of museums and leisure activities in the Merinos Park. In the chapter of the analysis this park and its backgrounds will be presented.

question I asked was welcomed. I was going to make a research about an institution of the state that is responsible for production and propagation of knowledge. It is a powerful one, because it has the authority of interpretation and explanation; it can decide which topics are supposed to be important enough to be represented (Gable 2010, p.101). This results also in my own critical view with regard to the often unquestioned power of this institution. It is undeniable that I have reservations against the institution museum because of its imperialistic function and history. But I am also aware of the difficulties, which are related to a start as a critic. “Es ist schwerer echte Forschungsbeziehungen zu knüpfen, wenn man als Kritiker beginnt” (Gable 2010, p.116). However, the subjectivity of every researcher influences the results of the research (Gable 2010, p.116).

5 The 'Göç Tarihi Müzesi' in Bursa – Description and Analysis

The following chapter tries to give some general impressions of the exhibition, but it does not claim to be exhaustive. This is because of two obvious aspects; firstly, the intended extent of this thesis might not do justice to an overall description and analysis of the exhibition. Secondly, my view on the exhibition, as explained before, is selective and incomplete. Apart from that, I am convinced to achieve a higher quality and legibility by concentrating on selected elements. Thus I am going to describe and analyze in a detailed way specific components of the museum, which were selected based on certain criteria; the most important ones are the already named focus areas movement, ethnical and cultural heterogeneity and nationality in the Turkish context. Another focus is on comparing the representation of migration in the era of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic and how they differ from each other. My description and analysis is partially orientated to single objects or arrangements, thematically divided areas, or special keywords, respectively conceptual terms.

5.1 Framing the 'Göç Tarihi Müzesi'

The Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa, opened in November 2014, is the first museum in Turkey that is using the self-description as “museum of migration history”. Although the museum in Bursa is the first of its kind in Turkey, there have been already other plans for museums of migration. Approximately end of 2013, when the municipality in Bursa announced to plan a museum of migration history, also the city of Eskişehir

published plans of opening a migration museum. Even though this project apparently stood still for a while, because websites has not been updated or even available for a long time, it seems to be still in progress (Eskişehir 2016). In this context, it seems to be necessary to look at the framing of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi. How did the museum become established and who was involved? Where and in what setting is the museum located in the city of Bursa? What kind of city is Bursa and how is that contextualized in the museum? Main parts of the following description are based on the collective volume “Dünden Yarına Bursa”¹⁷ from 2012, which was published under the patronage of the municipality of Bursa. This provide also a good overview about the self-display and perception of the city. Moreover, some information are taken from the interviews.

5.1.1 The City of Bursa and the Complex of the Former Merino Factory

Bursa is the forth-largest city of Turkey with almost 2.800.000 inhabitants. This industrial city is situated between the south-eastern cost of the Marmara Sea and the Uludağ, the highest mountain in the region. The Göç Tarihi Müzesi is just one element of a superior and widespread complex, which provides many social-cultural activities in Bursa. This complex is the Merinos Park with an area of 20 hectares. The Atatürk Congress Culture Centre, which is located in the park, comprises different museums and exhibition areas in a separated culture center and a specific congress center. It “is an important public recreation area for Bursa” (Atatürk Congress Culture Centre). One old and restored building that remained of the former Merinos

¹⁷ Bursa: From Yesterday to Tomorrow. The essays are in English and Turkish, unfortunately there is no editor named. Also the names of some authors are missed.

Spinning Factory¹⁸ and one new building for the congress center make up the complex, whose architecture is characterized through an industrial design. The terrain of the park provides play- and sports-grounds, artificial waterholes, cafes and restaurants.

The former Merinos Spinning Factory, established by Kemal Mustafa Atatürk in 1938, was one of the biggest of its kind in Europe and Eurasia and had a significant place in Bursa as well as in the whole young Republic of Turkey. In the textile sector Bursa had a leading position during the years of the early Republic and the factory was unique by hosting all components of textile manufacturing. However, the factory had to close after 66 years in 2004, because the productivity decreased significantly. After that, the “Bursa Metropolitan Municipality decided to transform the factory and its grounds into a giant public project encompassing a variety of functional units to meet the cultural and recreational needs of the city” (n.u. 2012, p.24). But the Merinos Spinning Factory was just one manufacturing facility that served as starting point for the establishing of numerous museums about the, particularly industrial, history of Bursa. Besides the Merinos Museum the complex of the culture center contains the Energy Museum, the Textile Museum and The Museum of the Migration History of Bursa. Some stories about Kemal Mustafa Atatürk himself are noticeably connected to the establishment of the factory and to Bursa; they are often emphasized in different contexts. For example it is said, that Atatürk traveled several times to this city; it was one Turkish city he visited most regularly (Erdönmez 2012, p.14)¹⁹.

¹⁸The term Merinos stands for the Merino Sheep. Its wool was manufactured in the factory.

¹⁹ Also he is said to have had his last waltz on the ball in Bursa before he died. He insisted to participate on the opening ceremony of the factory, although his doctor advised him against this, because he was in poor health (n.u. 2012, p.24).



Figure 1 - Atatürk Congress Culture Centre

“The massive halls in the Congress Center have been named after the first four sultans of the Ottoman Empire who were buried in Bursa” (n.u. 2012, p.26), while the whole complex is named after the founder of the Republic, Kemal Mustafa Atatürk. As already mentioned before, Bursa was the first capital of the Ottoman Empire. Osman, the founder of the Ottoman Empire began to conquest Bursa in 1314. After the death of Osman, his son Orhan Ghazi ended the conquest of Bursa in 1326. Although the city lost some of its importance after the conquest of Constantinople, it retained its commercial significance. In addition, there is no other city, except Istanbul, where so many sultans of the Ottoman Empire are buried (Erdönmez 2012, p.14). Moreover, the era of the Ottoman Empire provides also connections to the industrial and rich image of present Bursa. It was not just the Merinos Spinning Factory, which made Bursa famous for its textile manufacturing. Already long time before, the geographical location of Bursa at the western end of the Silk Road, their own cultivation of silkworms and the trade with and the processing of the silk made Bursa a significant and important city. Still today this part of history is illustrated and kept alive

through historical places like Koza Han, which was the commercial center and heart of the sale of the silk cocoons. Even the Metro, which is going through the old city center, is named after the producer of silk, İpek Böceği²⁰. This industrial past is also a reason for different waves of migration; people came for employment, especially in the 20th century, not just from the Balkan regions and the Crimea, but also from rural Anatolian regions, the eastern parts of Turkey²¹. Hence, the city and its community were shaped by labor migration²². One article in the above mentioned collective volume highlights also some further migration movements to and from Bursa. The article, which is written by Ahmet Erdönmez, the curator of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi, is concerned with Bursa and its significance as first capital of the Ottoman Empire. In this context, he emphasizes the social enrichment which a city gains through minorities and immigrants. But afterwards he describes the decreasing population of Greeks and Armenians at the end of the Ottoman Empire without naming any reasons. Only the establishment of the state of Israel is named as reason for the decreasing population of the Jews. He further explains that the non-Muslims were replaced by exchange migrants from Greece. The resulting chaos in economical, social and cultural life “was resolved by the Republican administration in a relatively short time” (Erdönmez 2012, p.15).

In summary, it is conspicuous and noticeable, that the emphasis of the official history of Bursa is on the Ottoman Empire and the role Bursa played during this time as well

²⁰ Silkworm

²¹In the Göç Tarihi Müzesi the labor-related migration is not more than a side issue, just in the last part about the actual situation and the effects of migration on nowadays, the rural exodus from Anatolian regions to the cities is addressed.

²²A similar case took place in Northern Germany, Delmenhorst. The NW&K Factory (Norddeutsche Wollkämmerei und Kammgarnspinnerei) was a spinning factory established in 1884 and for a long period of time the most productive one in Europe. Wool was manufactured during 1880-1981. The social transformation of the city was strongly characterized by labor migration. Before the I. World War most of the workers came from eastern European countries. After the II. World War especially Greeks and Turks came as guest workers.

as on the importance of the Turkish Republic founder Atatürk for the city. Bursa was the capital of the former Empire and during all its history an important economical site in the region as well as in whole Turkey. The municipality of Bursa emphasizes very diverse and different eras, values and people. Topics like special and unique development, change and persistence of industry, culture, migration, heritage and nature are significant for the self-display of Bursa. In the next chapter we will take a closer look at the actual foundation of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi and who was involved in the process of the foundation.

5.1.2 The Foundation of the Museum

First of all, it seems necessary to name some of the people, who have been especially involved in the process of creating the museum. The curator of the museum, Ahmet Erdönmez, is the responsible person for all museums in Bursa, which are initiated and funded by the state. Moreover, he is consultant of the Culture and Art Department of Bursa. The main museum of Bursa is the Kent Müzesi²³. This museum and all other museums which are located in the culture center and have been mentioned above are designed and created by one team of experts. This team of experts consists of employees of the Kent Müzesi. They are for example architects or experts of art and history. Also involved have been professors of history of the Uludağ University in Bursa as academic advisors for the historical information.

Moreover, both of the interviewees emphasized how important and close the cooperative work with the communities of the former immigrants has been during the process of establishing. Hence, through the cooperation between multiple people and groups the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa became realized. To get in contact with them,

²³City Museum

the creators of the museum approached the associations of the different communities. Therefore, many local immigrant associations have been involved in the process of foundation of the Museum. Especially named have been the Caucasian, Crimean, and Balkan associations. In this context, the associations of Bursa and their work should be described more detailed. Bursa has one of the largest networks of Balkan and Caucasian Immigrant associations. At the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s especially the immigrants from North Caucasus, Georgia, Bulgaria, Kosovo and Western Thrace established diverse associations in Bursa (Toumarkine 2000). They have the function to commemorate the origin and culture of their members, while emphasizing their Turkish identity. Especially caused by the Cold War and the resulting collapse of the Soviet Union the named minority groups and associations emphasized their Turkish identity (Toumarkine 2000, p.404). The associations arrange exhibitions, festivals, and conferences referring to the history of their communities. The Göç Tarihi Müzesi and its employees are sometimes involved in organizing these exhibitions or festivals. Therefore, the cooperative work was not restricted to the foundation of the museum. But the only clearly named and recognizable aspect of the participation of the immigrants is the one of the donations. A lot of the exhibits in the museum are donations from immigrants in Bursa and thus, originals are used for the representation. As an act of recognition, often the donators are even named next to their donations. Before finally starting with the tour through the museum, I would like to look at one special link between the Göç Tarihi Müzesi and a natural site at the Uludağ, the mountain at the edge of the city. This last thought shall accompany in the following description and analysis of the actual exhibition.

5.1.3 Çınar Ağacı – The Roots of Bursa

„Bursa tek kökten doğan ulu bir çınarın dallarıdır“²⁴. This quotation, written down in the exhibition of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi itself, on the official website, and in brochures of the museum, already conveys that the *çınar ağacı*, loosely translated, the sycamore tree or *platanus occidentalis*, is not just a metaphor for a conventional and industrial city somewhere in Turkey. Instead it stands for a city with a multi-layered history and society, although all components and ingredients of it seem to have their origin in one single and strong root.

The *İnkaya Çınarı* or *Ulu Çınarı*²⁵ of Bursa is located near to the Uludağ Yolu, a little street in the mountains, which forms the borders of the city Bursa. A small-sized cluster of houses surrounds the area in which the plane tree can be recognized as linchpin of the spectacle. This settlement or village, called *İnkaya*, was said to be one of the first of the Ottoman Empire. Also the tree is growing since nearly 600 years and together with some other plane trees in Turkey it is supposed to be one of the oldest of its kind. “Osmanlı ile yaşıt Bursa çınarlarıdır”²⁶. With its 35 meter height, nine meter circumference and some branches which need to be underpinned because of their length and strength, the *İnkaya Çınarı* is an impressive tree. The entire village is shaped by this attraction. Women are sitting behind stalls, full of self-crocheted, glittery scarves and other souvenirs, keep watching for tourists. They come to this place to sit in the shadow of the plane tree, to drink tea and have a good meal, because this is what you do under this tree. You are supposed to take a break, to meet with other people and to have an enjoyable time together. This tree symbol-

²⁴Bursa is the origin of all the branches of one majestic 'çınar' tree, grown/ born out of one root (own translation).

²⁵*İnkaya* plane tree or majestic plane tree (own translation).

²⁶The plane trees of Bursa are of the same age than Ottomans (own translation) (Bursa 2015).

izes a long life, durability, permanence, strength and survival. The benches and tables are placed in circles on different tiers around the tree. While sitting and relaxing, it is enough time to study the curvatures of all the various branches and to recognize the obvious fact that some are younger than others, thinner and everyone is pullulating in another direction.



Figure 2 - Çınar Ağacı in Bursa

In the Turkish movie *Çınar Ağacı* (İpekçi 2011), the opening and ending scene is shaped by tracking shots through the leaves and branches of the plane tree under which the whole family is meeting every two month. At the beginning the camera's starting point is in the crown of the tree and guides with a panning into the happening of the story. The family, composed by a grandmother, her two sons, two daughters and their families, is quarreled and has a lot of interpersonal problems. In the end the grandmother, the protagonist of the family, dies, but the siblings are able to resolve some of their problems. The movie ends again under the tree and the camera is panning out of the happening by focusing again on the leaves and branches of the plane

tree. In this movie the tree seems to symbolize the cohesion or bond of the family, which still exists, despite all differences, problems and dissensions. On the one hand this consistency, represented by the plane tree, unifies differences and mediates the impression of a structure which is strong enough to endure these differences of the branches. On the other hand the metaphor of one root irritates, especially in the example of the museum in Bursa. The selected quotation from the beginning of this chapter appears in different contexts in the Museum of Migration History in Bursa and raises many questions: What is this one and only root of the tree with all the different branches? And what does the answer mean for the understanding of migration and cultural pluralism in Turkey, or especially Bursa? With these questions in mind the tour through the museum can start.

5.2 Welcome to the Exodus

By leaving the elevator in one of the upper floors in the culture center, which is the restored part of the former factory that hosts the varied museums, you enter an area where you can decide if you want to go left into the Göç Tarihi Müzesi or to the right, into another floor. There is a podium for speeches or discussions and a little section which provides the possibility to exhibit smaller and time-limited collections. But first of all, the glance catches on the wall opposite of the elevator²⁷. Above the staircase an enlightened golden frame stands out of the dark gray painted wall. In the frame you are able to recognize the face of a woman, carrying a child. Just the faces and the upper bodies of these two human beings are framed. Beyond the outer edges of the frame the picture is becoming a whole. A photographic image is recognizable. The woman and the child walk behind a wagon, of which only one big, wooden

²⁷A groundplan of the museum is presented in Figure 4, which is attached in the next chapter.

wheel can be seen. Only this wheel is an indication for the presence of other people. The woman looks straight into the camera, is barefooted and appears lost in the extended emptiness of the barren and hostile landscape where the ground looks muddy and soaked. The face of the child seems to be swollen. Both of them are covered with several layers of clothing.



Figure 3 – Picture in the Entrance Area

The picture is a copy of a photography depicted in *L'Illustration*²⁸ on the 9th of November 1912²⁹. The subtitle of this cover picture was: “L'exode. Le retour vers l'Asie,

²⁸French weekly newspaper, 1843-1944, one of the earliest illustrated newspapers (*L'Illustration* 2013).

²⁹All captions and further information of the picture are taken from a brochure about the exhibition “Dedelerimizin toprakları. Ben bir mübadil torunuyum” (The soil of our grandfathers. I am an exchange grandchild, own translation) which was displayed in the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in February and March 2015. Parts of the brochure and the picture are accessible in Appendix A.

à travers les plaines de Thrace, derrière le chariot ancestral”³⁰. The picture was shot in the near of Tchoulou (Turkish: Çorlu) in Eastern Trace, namely by a “correspondant de guerre” (war correspondent), Georges Rémond³¹. Although he is described as “envoyé spécial” (special representative) in the subtitle of the picture, he got the title of a war correspondent for his stay in the Balkans during this time³². In 1913, he also published a book about this time: “Avec les vaincus. La campagne de Trace. Oct. 1912 – Mai 1913”³³. Trace, where the picture was shot, is a region at the Aegean Sea, in between Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. Especially the region of Eastern Thrace has an alternating history. In the whole Middle Ages it was an embattled region between the Bulgarian and Byzantine Empire. During the I. Balkan War 1912 the Bulgarian army conquered almost the whole region and after the I. World War it got allotted to Greece in the contract of Sèvres from 1920. But because of the Turkish-Greek War from 1919 to 1922, the region was allotted back to Turkey in the contract of Lausanne from 1923. Today the eastern part of the historical Trace provides the European part of Turkey, the northern part belongs to Bulgaria and most of the region is still part of Greece. All this information is not available for the visitors. The visitors do not know about the contexts. They see just the woman and the child. Why was the decision made, to choose this as plot of entry? On the other wall, next to the picture, are written a few sentences: “Göçenlerdi onlar... Girit'ten, Kırım'dan, Kafkaslardan, Balkanlardan... Bir "yuva" arayanlar...”³⁴. In this coherence the picture of the woman and the child appears as the embodiment of the type of immigrants

³⁰The Exodus. The return to Asia, through the plains of Trace, behind an ancestral wagon (own translation).

³¹All information about Georges Rémond is taken from the already quoted website of L'Illustration.

³²On the issue of the connection between early photography, tourism and the emergence of Western Orientalism and Balkanism, there is an article from Karl Kaser (Kaser 2012) with a particular focus on the cases of England and France.

³³Together with the defeated ones. The campaign of Trace. Oct. 1912 – May 1913 (own translation).

³⁴They were migrants... from Crete, from Crimea, from the Caucasian regions, from the Balkan regions... searchers for a homeland (own translation, emphasis in original).

coming to Turkey, to Bursa and represented in the museum. Their framed faces are the representative ones of all immigrants from the just mentioned countries. But it is an image of seriousness, suffering, of a burdensome journey and of displacement. The introducing moment of the museum is an image about immigrants who are forced to migrate, characterized through involuntariness, and searching for a homeland.

5.3 General Structure of the Museum

After tearing the look away from this picture, the entrance of the museum is on the left. The museum is structured by two main corridors which adjoin each other and which are connected through a curve or turn in the middle and an automatic door at the end. This door leads again to the start of the exhibition as well as marking the exit³⁵.

The creators made the decision to represent the history of migration of Bursa along single groups, which are characterized by geographical or national aspects, and time frames like historical eras or ruptures. Thereby the first momentous focusing took place. Side effects are the exclusion of other groups and the limitation to short periods of time. There are also rooms with some references to the current situation of all immigrants and to the very early settlements in the region of Bursa. But the main focus is on the apparently homogeneous groups and special historical events which seems to be linked essentially to their reasons of emigration. The first section is about the early settlements around Bursa and the migration during the era of the

³⁵ For a better understanding of the structure of the museum a groundplan is presented in Figure 4, which is attached below.

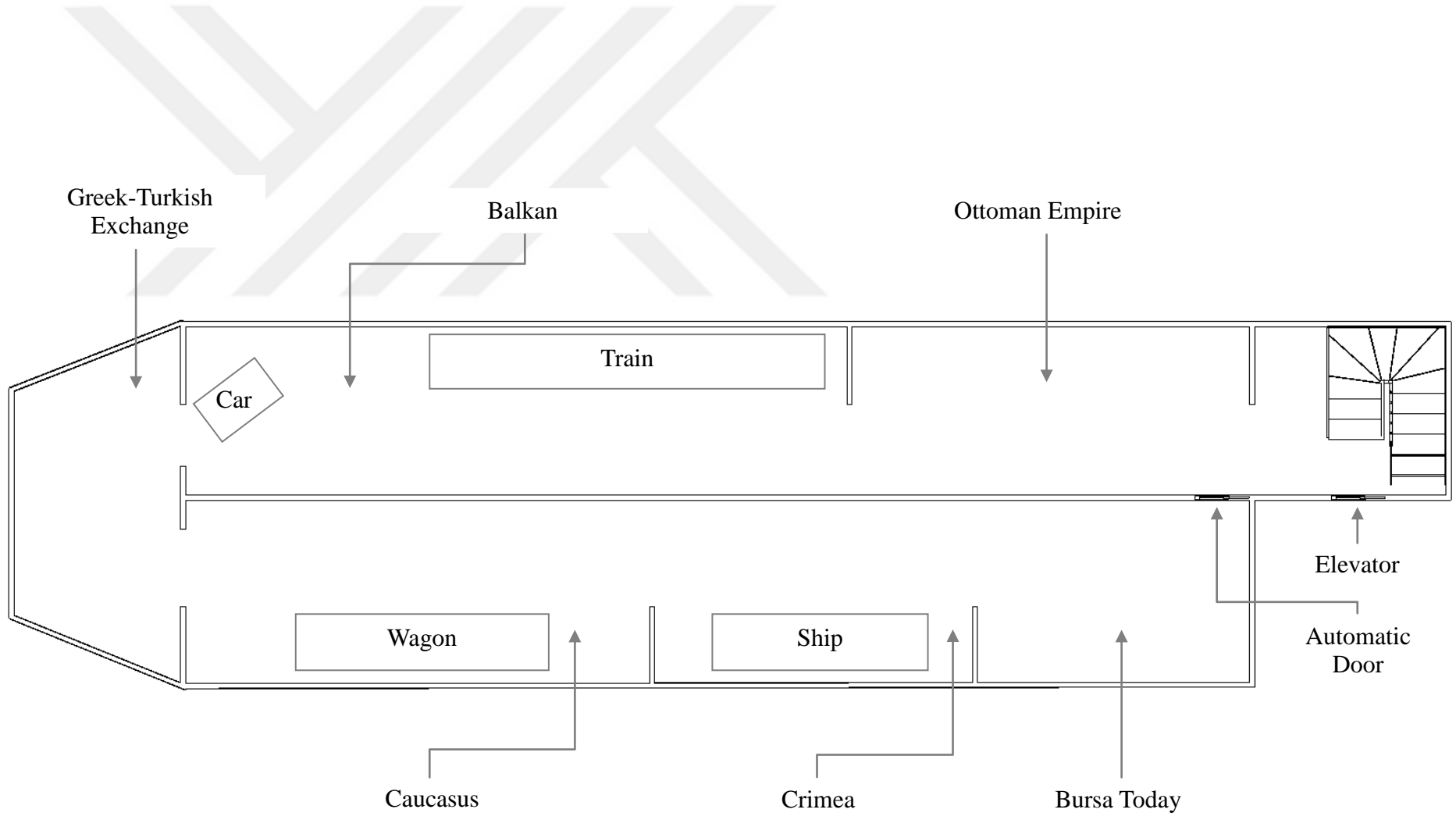


Figure 4 - Groundplan of Göç Tarihi Müzesi (Drawings are not in scale and simplified)

Ottoman Empire. The next section represents the migration history from Balkan regions to Bursa during different periods of time. After this, the section about the compulsory migrants exchange between Greece and Turkey is placed. This is followed by the section about the migrants from Caucasia and Crimea. At the very end there is one section which provides information about the life and influence of the immigrants in the society of nowadays.

The path is basically compulsory and the visitor is not able to deprive or escape the set logic of the exhibition creator. The sections and different divisions of the museum are discernible in many ways, first of all, through declarations, reports, namely all written components, which communicate information and imply coherence and context of the represented content. But one even more formative medium of design is the division or partition of the room and the coloration. With regard to the room, in which the topic of the exchange of Greek and Turkish migrants is approached, this is particularly conspicuous. The dark red color of the walls is a strong and intensive contrast towards the dark blue, white and beige colors in the other sections. What is more, this section is located in the curve between the corridors and with that quasi nestled in two more neutral-colored sections. The rooms are partially divided by walls, which even strengthens the perception of distinction between the rooms and thus also between the groups of immigrants. The first two introductory tablets directly behind the entrance are written in English. But besides that all remaining contents are written in Turkish. Just the descriptions of the objects are also translated into English. Through the whole exhibition there is an accumulation of different kinds of tablets and written explanations. On the first glance it might look confusing but after a while a system is recognizable. Although the exhibition area seems to be overfilled

with text, there is definitely an imbalance between text and object, a system of similar text groups is recognizable. Almost every text group of one specific part contains signboards with general historical information, signboards with eyewitness reports and signboards with newspaper articles or old pictures of the happenings. However, not only the signboards, also most of the objects are located on both sides of the corridors. Consequently, the visitor is always gravitated towards the walls. The structure of the museum, defined and fixed by a very clear route, leaves only few open spaces and possibilities to escape the setting and find an own way of adoption of the represented.

5.4 From First Settlements up to the Ottoman Empire

The museum “(...) shed lights on Bursa's prehistoric times, 8500 years up to the present, depicts the population movements that sometimes occurs as a natural necessity, sometimes subsequent occurring under pressures as a result of war” (see Appendix B). This is written down in the English translated introduction text of the museum with the title “Bursa Immigration History Museum”. Furthermore it depicts that “(...) from approaches of the Ottoman Empire towards the migration and migrants to many cases that has [sic!] added value to the contemporary Turkey; there are depictions of painful journey of the immigrations [sic!] from Balkans, the Crimea and the Caucasus to Bursa” (see Appendix B). All in all, the museum seems to have a large extent of starting points. There are created linkages between different eras of migration history which are located in a long period of time. Like in the picture at the entrance, the act of migration is described again as a painful event where migrants are forced to leave.

The first section is about the early settlements during the Stone Age and the Neolithic Age in the region of today's Bursa. The walls are colored in a pleasant and decent beige-yellow and colored drawings illustrate the daily life during this period of time. In connection to this, there is a replica of a mud hut, in which the people of the Neolithic Age used to live. Also mentioned in this section is the population of Misyalılar³⁶. However, particular attention must be given to a screen which is mounted at the wall and shows a male archaeologist who tells about the work on the excavation sites in Bursa and the regions around. The clip is apparently shot on an excavation site, because in the background a grassy and stony landscape is recognizable. Thereby, he occurs in a position as expert and scientist who tells about his work in his usual environment. This seems to underline the credibility of his explanations. Next to this screen there is a glass case embedded into the wall, where ancient tools and containers from these excavations are displayed. The arrangement of the findings seems to be ordered from a practical point of view. The tools like for example little spears are attached to the wall and the containers stand further below. They are illuminated by uniform light. What is the point of displaying early population movements and settlements around Bursa by demonstrating archeological work and findings? On the issue of the connection between archeology's role in bridging the national territory and the imagined past of the nation there is an insightful essay from Aslı Gür (Gür 2007). Gür explains that archaeological excavations and exhibitions of the artifacts are elemental practices for the construction and representation of the nation. The identity imagined by the nation's community is also linked to the territory and homogenous within the national borders (Gür 2007, p.43). This refers also to the elaborations in the chapter about the Turkish nation-state and nationalism.

³⁶ Mysians: inhabitants of Mysia, a region in Asia Minor (ancient Anatolia). They were mentioned by Homer in the list of Trojans allies as the lion-hearted spearmen who fought with their bare hands.

A fluent transition to the next section is given by maintaining the color of the wall and the style of the pictorial design of the drawings. Apart from that the second section is extremely text-intensive. Different ancient and medieval populations are mentioned, such as the people from the Aegean region of today's Turkey, which immigrated into the region of Bursa and established the first villages. The following section of the museum covers the eras of the Roman and the Byzantine Empire and their influence on the region. Hence, some groups or communities are listed here, whose immigration is said to have started during the Byzantine era and which are still present in Bursa and Turkey. These are the Karamanlılar³⁷, the Armenians, the Jews and the Çingeneler. The Turkish expression Çingeneler in the museum should be particularly highlighted, because it is equate with the English expression “Gypsy” or the German word “Zigeuner”. The more neutral designation Romanlar is added in brackets. In the following text in the museum the etymology of “Çingene” is explained, but that does not clarify why the political incorrect term has a primacy position, although a consciousness for the difficulty of the word exists in Turkey³⁸. Especially in a public institution like a museum it should be given.

³⁷ This is a Turk speaking, Christian-Orthodox group in Greece and Turkey with origins located in Anatolia.

³⁸ For example: in 2011 the term Çingene has been removed from legislative texts in Turkey (Antiziganismus Watchblog 2011).



Figure 5 - Replica of Janissary Armor

Also the description of the conquest of Bursa through the son of Osman, the founder of the Ottoman Empire, and the related development of the region on many levels is extremely text-intensive. However, this section takes up considerable space in the exhibition and attaches great importance to the migrants, who are seen as essential component of the Ottoman Empire. Notations like *şenlendiren*³⁹ immigrant illustrate this. Also the geographical position of Bursa at the end of the Silk Road is described as important factor for migration movements, as *Göç Köprüsü*⁴⁰. The development and growth of the Ottoman Empire and the related migration waves are represented as positive or rather enriching, perhaps even unifying. By entering the next section,

³⁹ *Şenlendirmek*: to cheer (sb.) up, to make (a place) well populated and prosperous

⁴⁰ Bridge of migration (own translation).

the introduction of a new topic is clearly recognizable. The color of the wall changes from light and more neutral yellow-beige to a dark blue. The atmosphere is changing clearly. In this section the migration movements from the Balkan regions are explained. But two objects right at the beginning of this section are also connected to the Ottoman Empire in an ambiguous way. An impressive image of a battle with included sound effects of the fight dominates the whole wall and is inspired by a painting from Stanisław Chlebowski⁴¹ about the battle of Mohács in 1526⁴². In this battle, forces of the king of Hungary, Louis II., were utterly vanquished by forces of the Ottoman Empire, led by Suleiman the Magnificent, the tenth, longest-reigning and most popular sultan of the Ottoman Empire. After this victory he conquered big parts of Hungary and Croatia. As a consequence, the empire was at its peak of growth during the reign of Suleiman. At the opposite side of copied painting there is a replica of a janissary⁴³ armor displayed in a glass case. It is a donation from the production of an Ottoman soap opera called “Muhteşem Yüzyıl”⁴⁴. It started in 2011, is one of the most popular Turkish soap operas and a glorifying mass production of Ottoman history. The soap opera is about Sultan Suleiman and his reign from 1520 to 1566. Not only in Turkey, in almost all Balkan and Caucasian countries “Muhteşem Yüzyıl” has enjoyed exceptional popularity. Even on Russian television the soap opera was broadcasted. However, it has been criticized a lot by mainly politicians and historians as slandering and lurid. The soap opera is more about the love life of Suleiman and his ladies of the harem than his campaigns of conquest. But the chosen object of representation is an armor; that means the focus is on Suleiman as warrior

⁴¹ He lived from 1835 to 1884 and was a Polish historical painter and court painter of the Sultan Abdülaziz. For 12 years he lived in Constantinople and was a renowned specialist in Oriental themes.

⁴² Painted during the time of 1864 and 1876. Turkish title: Mohaç Meydan Muhaberesi

⁴³ The janissaries were elite infantry units which were under direct command of the Sultan and existed from the 14th to the 19th centuries.

⁴⁴ The magnificent century (own translation).

and general, even though the soap opera has a different emphasis. As already mentioned in the chapter about the heritage of the Ottoman Empire, history becomes a *popular* science in Turkey. This soap opera perfectly fits into the image of nostalgic and mass appealing modification of history. In the context of the migration history of Bursa the image of the painting and the armor glorifies the influence of the conquests during the reign of Suleiman and the related growth of the Ottoman Empire.

To sum up, already the description of the section about first settlements and the Ottoman Empire reveals significant insights. Right at the start the creators of the exhibition refer to prehistoric times and archeological findings in order to construct and represent a constant existence of ethnical and cultural diverse migration movements in the region of Bursa. At the same time the migration movements during the Ottoman Empire, or better to say the occurrence and establishment of the Ottoman Empire, seem to unite the different communities. Now they are parts of one unifying empire. The narrative of this section is one of the becoming of an initial unit.

5.5 Migration from the Balkans, Caucasus, and Crimea

In the following, I consider the representation of the migration history of the Balkans, Caucasus and Crimea together. I decided to do so, because very similar structures and methods of design are used. I am going to look at two elements of display in an intensive way; the displays of clothes and movement. They are the predominant objects and epitomes of the representation of migration in all the three sections. The sections are placed on the two long corridors of the museum. Moreover, the wall colors are all black or dark blue. All other sections clearly stand out from this and are characterized by different and more diverse objects and methods of representation.

The written content of the three sections tells mainly about acts of war, which are said to have influenced the migration movements. But also one event of previous history should be mentioned. One signboard tells about the fact that the rulers of the young Ottoman Empire sent people into conquered Balkan regions to populate empty areas and cultivate fertile soil. In this context it is notable that the section about the migration from the Balkans is more detailed and requires more space than the ones about the Caucasus and Crimea. Described migration waves from Balkan regions into the already collapsing Ottoman Empire are the ones from 1878 to 1900, caused by the Ottoman-Russian War in 1877/78. Also the I. Balkan War in 1912, the II. Balkan War in 1913 and the I. World War are cited as reasons for several migration waves. Especially the Ottoman-Russian War and the Balkan Wars caused a tremendous loss of territory⁴⁵. Finally the exhibition regards also the circumstances of the migration from Balkan regions during more current times such as from 1925 to 1951 and 1989/90. The Ottoman-Russian war is also cited as reason for migration waves from the Caucasus and Crimea. In all sections it is explained that especially Turks and Muslims emigrated, but from the Caucasus and Crimea for more general reasons and apparently less forced by specific wars or conflicts.

5.5.1 The Clothes – Display of Belonging

The component of the display of clothes is particular remarkable. It takes up considerable space in the Göç Tarihi Müzesi. In every section of the museum clothes serve the representation of different groups and communities which immigrated to Bursa. Most of the clothes and dresses in the museum were donations from immigrants living in Bursa. In the signboards at the exhibition pieces the donators, their origin,

⁴⁵ Especially the Ottoman-Russian War was celebrated as a war of independence and liberation by Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania.

and the specifications of time and usage are named and explained. There are festive, working or everyday clothes from all the regions and countries the immigrants came from. In general, clothes and fashion are parts of a semiotic system. “It is one of the ways in which we make statements. It forms a language, if a restricted one” (Ross 2008, p.6). Paulicelli & Clark stress the close relationship between the ideas and concepts of fashion and identity (Paulicelli & Clark 2009): “Fashion again has a lot to say about, and contributes greatly to, the shaping of the perception of a country or culture” (Paulicelli & Clark 2009, p.2)⁴⁶. In this way fashion has a homogenizing and nationalizing character. “Or does fashion go beyond nation?” (Paulicelli & Clark 2009, p.3).

In the exhibition the clothes are stylistic methods for representing the typical immigrants from special ethnical, religious or national origins by reference to dress and externals. They are links to the belonging, origin and identity of the people. Joachim Baur uses the term “*Dramatis Personae*”⁴⁷ (Baur 2009, p.150) to describe the immigrants as the main characters of the representation in a migration museum. He refers to an atrium in the Ellis Island Immigration Museum in New York where large-format photographs depict several persons or small groups of people: immigrants. “Die [...] kategorisierten Immigranten sind nicht tatsächlich Individuen, sondern Exemplare eines bestimmten Typs, Repräsentanten von Nationen und ethnischen Gruppen“ (Baur 2009, p.152). For Baur they symbolize just masks of cultural diversity. In the Göç Tarihi Müzesi the exhibited clothes take over the task of representing the types of immigrants who came to Bursa. However, the quantity, diversity, and

⁴⁶ During the eras of the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic, especially the headgears have been always a source of tension and conflict. One example is the fez, which was banned by the law no. 671 passed in November 1925, and got replaced by brimmed hats (Ross 2008, p.114). This symbolized also the averting from Ottoman traditions and values and underlines the identity-establishing significance of clothes.

⁴⁷ Latin: Persons of the drama. It is a phrase used to refer to the main characters in a dramatic work.

individuality as well as the fact that most of the clothes are donations given by immigrants debilitate the categorizing factor of them. It is also worth mentioning that personalized mannequins are used for the display of the clothes. That means that most of the faces of the ordinary mannequins are shaped with modeling compound. Additionally, the creators of the museum used make-up, different eye colors and wigs. The intention of this approach was to provide an individual and lively effect. This whole creative work points out that not only the clothes are meant to be exhibited. By personalizing the mannequins, the typical immigrants and their histories become even more created and constructed.



Figure 6 - Display of Textiles

One final thought: fashion is also a manufacturing industry. In the special example of Bursa as a city with a great history in the textile sector the whole city is still shaped by this past. Hence, the display of clothes in the Göç Tarihi Müzesi is an element to

see in a multilayered context. First of all, the museum contains not only clothes from the immigrants, but also other textiles like tablecloths, handkerchiefs, towels or blankets. Furthermore the museum is part of a reshaped former textile factory. Moreover this complex hosts also a textile museum. It exhibits clothes and dresses manufactured in Bursa during different ages as well as the production processes in a textile factory, and also the extraction and processing of silk, a resource of particular significance for Bursa. Therefore, the museum and the over-proportional usage of clothes and textiles have to be seen in the context of a special tradition and Bursa's history.

5.5.2 The Journey – Display of Movement

I would like to focus additionally on one more special and prevalent media of structure and representation. Four very significant displays in the museum are the representations of the actual journey of the immigrants. They gain a lot of space in the exhibition. On the one hand they are exhibition areas for original, real objects and on the other hand the representation, or better to say, the materialization of the movement. In the Göç Tarihi Müzesi the movement, the actual process of the migration, seems to be one of the key concepts. In this museum they are paying tribute to this process in a great extent and exhibit four different journeys of the immigrants⁴⁸. Even the English introduction signboard “Suffering Stories of Unknown Roads” is focusing on “the essence of migration; there is the adventure of the road filled with pain and sadness in which people had to leave their homeland where for generations are born, grow, live briefly where rooted and were forced to leave in order to obtain a new home [sic!]” (see Appendix C). The linchpin of these displays is the transportation used for the journey. The transportation, or the whole scenery in which the

⁴⁸ Another outstanding example for the focus on the actual process of migration is provided by the *Auswandererhaus* in Bremerhaven, Germany, where the cruise to the USA becomes the central topic of the narrative.

transportation is placed and embedded, also functions as structuring element in the exhibition. The first scenery is dominated by a replica of a train. The second form of transportation, an original little car, is placed behind the section of the migration from the Balkans. The third transportation is an original barrow, pulled by oxen, and placed in the area about the migration from the Caucasian regions. The final scenery is characterized by a replica of a ship and is placed in the exhibition area about the immigrants from Crimea. The ship seems to have the most obvious connection to the group of immigrants, because of the geographical position of Crimea. Also the car has a special connection to the exhibition of Balkan emigrants. The exhibition describes a wave of immigration to Turkey, especially from Bulgaria, in 1989 and 1990. In this context a picture of a car caravan, with resembling models and similar to the object in the museum, is displayed. This object is an original one from an immigrant, who came in this period from Bulgaria to Bursa. The creators bought it from him and restored it for the museum where it is now representing as the prototype of the typical migration car of this time. The sceneries are also shaped by numerous mannequins, which represent the moving people. Like the mannequins in the glass boxes, they wear partly donated clothes and have individualized faces and bodies. While the mannequins in the glass boxes do not represent a special moment, scene or event, the mannequins placed in the displays of movement are parts of a constructed narrative. They stand in the front of or sit in the transportations. Women, men, elderly and children are arranged in groups.



Figure 7 - Display of Movement with Train

Furthermore, there are numerous and diverse bags, cases and everyday objects which partly lay spread among the whole displays. Especially in the display of the train there are plates, dishes and pots which are obviously supposed to be presented. They are not in line with the constructed narrative of the scenery; otherwise they would be stowed in the luggage. The luggage of the migrants is said to be the most exhibited object in museums of migration (Wonisch 2012, p.22). It is the epitome of migration. Mountains of suitcases and bags turn into a symbol of a life *in-between*. The attention of the visitors is therefore especially focused on the change of location, the journey (Wonisch 2012, p.23). But of course, migration cannot be reduced to an interspace, such as the actual movement.

Especially in connection to the before mentioned text on the English introduction signboard, namely the explanation of the reasons for the immigrants to migrate, the display of movement is one of suffering, longing, and displacement. It also appears mostly as a process of involuntariness, like in the image of the woman and the child

at the entrance of the museum. Another phrasing in the signboard mentioned before, which says “(...) the immigrant, forcibly removed from the homeland with his heart filled with longing and fear (...)” (see Appendix C), is an additional indicator for an emphasis on the very painful perspectives of migration. What does that imply for the representation of the migrants? With the emphasis on the victimhood of the migrants concepts of self-determination, decision making and the consideration of different possibilities are not or just in limited ways issues of the displacement. The moments and events of movement are marked by troubles, challenges, fracture, and borders - real and symbolic ones. They stand for hope but also uncertainty. One final aspect may also play a role. These special displays of movement, the transportation, the luggage, the texts, they symbolize that this is a one-time process. In this context migration is a one-time experience of leaving and arriving. It has nothing in common with more transnational forms of migration.

5.6 Greek-Turkish Exchange Migrants

Directly next to the car, the visitor has to turn left and enters the curve, which is the connection to the second corridor leading back to the entrance. In the curve is the section about the compulsory exchange of Greek and Turkish people in 1923. The contract was signed in Lausanne at the 30th of January. Based on the criteria of religious membership, it “became the last step taken in the international arena towards homogenizing the Turkish Anatolian demography” (İğsız 2007, p.167). The exchange was supposed to regulate the already preceding expulsion of Orthodox believers in Turkey and Muslim believers in Greece during the Greek-Turkish War from 1919 to 1922. The *mübadiller*, the exchanged ones, were not just losing their homesteads; they also felt alienated by their new motherland. They still identify themselves with

their geographic origin (Iğsız 2007, p.168). Also notable is that the term *mübadil* literally meaning exchanged, and addressing especially the ones from the Greek-Turkish exchange, identifies the migrants not by their geographic, religious or ethnic origin, but by a process; the process of the exchange (Iğsız 2007, p.167).

The intensive dark-red coloration of this section was already mentioned before.

Moreover, a barbed wire fence dominates the composition of the scenery. It is placed all around the walls and draws a dividing line between the visitor and the texts and images at the walls. In none of the other sections such aggressive, negative, or even adverse media are used to visualize the history of migration. A fence is a very clear borderline, a symbol of demarcation. In the introduction signboard one can read the meaningful headline: “Her şey yunan işgalı ile başladı”⁴⁹. In addition to this, the visitor comes across cover photography of the French newspaper L’Illustration again (see Appendix A). It is from the newspaper of the 16th September 1922 and portrays “Moustapha Kemal Pacha, et le commandant en chef des armées kemalistes, le général Ismet Pacha”⁵⁰. The newspaper also entitles Atatürk as “[u]n victorieux conducteur d’hommes”⁵¹. The two men are positioned in profile to the camera. Atatürk with a suit, a western and international dress, looks with serious face over the shoulder of Ismet Pasha, who looks in Atatürk’s face. He is dressed in military clothes. The title of the photography refers to the victory of the Turkish National Movement⁵² forces in the already mentioned Greek-Turkish War. During the I. World War the Ottoman Empire finally collapsed and Greece started to occupy Eastern

⁴⁹ Everything started with the Greek occupation (own translation).

⁵⁰ Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and the chief commander of the Kemalist army, the general Ismet Pasha (own translation).

⁵¹ A victorious leader of people (own translation).

⁵² The Turkish National Movement encompassed after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire the political and military activities of the revolutionaries that resulted in the declaration of the Turkish Republic at the 29. October 1923.

Thrace and Western Anatolia. In the process of the war Bursa was occupied by Greece from 1920 until the end of the war when the Greek forces have been driven out again. Soon afterwards the declaration of the Turkish Republic followed. In Turkey this war is celebrated as War of Independence. Next to the image of L'Illustration there are photographs of the Greek occupation and the partly destruction of Bursa. A statistic about how many buildings have been destroyed in several city districts of Bursa during this time is also attached. This salient focus on the Greek-Turkish War seems to be an elemental component of the narrative of the exchange.

In the centre of the section there is an installation that seems to be familiar. It is an installation, placed in a highlighted position - a reconstruction of the image of the picture from the entrance area. The photography from L'Illustration, showing the woman and the child is here represented and embodied through two mannequins. In the moment of the first encounter with this image in the entrance area, the visitor does not know the background information of it, and also later, when the visitor meets this composition again, there is no background information. The question arises why this picture, shot in 1912 in the context of a different event, serves as template for the installation in this section. The connection lies in the recurring conflicts about land claims and the related expulsion of minorities between the Ottoman Empire, its successor state Turkey, and Greece. The final collapse of the Ottoman Empire during the I. World War and the enormous land loss caused by this one and the Balkan Wars in 1912/13 are the reasons for numerous migration movements. The migration story of the woman and the child started at the beginning of this period. In the context of the museum the victory in the Greek-Turkish War, the foundation of

the republic, and related to this, the compulsory exchange of population seems to have put an end to the horror.

Texts on the walls explain in which time, how many immigrants came to Bursa, and the images of old sepia photography illustrate their journey. Next to some family pictures, there are reports from Muslim exchange immigrants who were very relieved to go to Turkey and reported about the dreadful and restrictive treatment they had to gone through in Greece. Versions, which describe the painfulness of being forced to leave the place and region they lived in their whole life and their families since generations, are not represented here. Also the focus is on the Muslim migrants from Greece. There is no representation of the Orthodox exchange emigrants.



Figure 8 - Fence in Section about Exchange

Because of the representation in the museum, the Greek-Turkish exchange seems to be embedded in a tricky and difficult part of the Turkish history. The design of the section symbolizes the danger, but also the significant key role of the Greek-Turkish War for the Turkish population; and Atatürk seems to be the key person of the narra-

tive. The migrants are victims and Atatürk arises as defender, liberator, and rescuer during the war as well as by signing the exchange contract and bringing home the compatriots. In the end the heroic figure and founding father of the Turkish Republic Atatürk is victorious and a new area begins. The section occurs as linchpin, the highlight of the museum. The position of the section and the chosen methods of representation point out that this migration narrative is a special one and that the memory of it seems to be a clear one. The fence, the color of the section, the texts and images - everything suggests that the Muslim migrants from Greece have been victims of an unjustified expansion policy of the Greek government. The declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923 marked a turning point, especially for the politics of history. But that does not mean that the Ottoman Empire is forgotten, but rather kept nostalgically in mind. One quotation written down in big white letters on the wall above another glass case is especially conspicuous: “Muhacirler, kaybedilmiş topraklarımızın milli hatıralarıdır”⁵³. Under the lettering there is the signature from Başkomutan Mustafa Kemal Atatürk⁵⁴. This quotation refers to the former regions of the Ottoman Empire, which got lost during the collapse of the Empire. With that, the immigrants become a symbol, an incarnation of the longing for the glorious past and dimensions of the former empire.

5.7 Bursa of Today – A Happy End

The walls in the last section of the museum are colored in light white. Hence, the round tour ends in the same warm, welcoming atmosphere as it started. The beginning and the end of this history of migration seems to frame the turbulent and

⁵³ The immigrants are the national memories of our lost land (own translation).

⁵⁴ Commander-in-chief Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (own translation).

changeable history of the in-between. Numerous electronic information tablets presented in a modern design are available for the visitors to read again the details about the migration history of Bursa. The content of the information is again mainly composed by text and a repetition of the narratives in the exhibition. Furthermore, the visitor is able to access information about other museums of the city. Besides this, the last section of the museum illustrates how the immigrants influence the daily and cultural life of the city. Examples of cultural influences can be found in local recipes or clothing. The section is also enriched with pictures of people living in Bursa and special places in and around the city centre. One focus is on old buildings like mosques or the former silk trade center, Koza Han. Another focus is also on natural areas of Bursa, like woods, mountains, parks and trees.

Last but not least I would like to describe one final selection of objects in a glass case in this section. It is on the left side, embedded into the wall and near to the exit of the exhibition. More precisely, there are three glass cases with object selections; every glass case displays the life and success of one specific immigrant, who came to Bursa. All of them are men. I am going to focus on Ali Osman Sönmez. He lived from 1926 to 2001 and was born in Bulgaria. He came to Turkey in 1948 and moved to Inegöl, a city in the Bursa Province. By entering into the industry in 1972 and founding the Sönmez Holding, which incorporated 27 companies with thousands of employees, he became one of the most influential industrialists in Turkey. Having been the president of Bursa Chamber of Commerce and Industry for 25 years and a cabinet member of Turkish parliament in 1997, he has been called names like the emperor or sir of Bursa (Sönmez Holding). Especially notable is the fact that the written information about Sönmez in the middle of the glass case is identical with the information about him on the official website of Sönmez Holding (Sönmez Holding). Therefore, it can

be assumed that the creators of the museum did not write an own text, or in any case made an arrangement with the responsible persons of Sönmez Holding. Moreover, the focus of the text is on the industrial career of Sönmez and his extensive charity work. His migration background is just listed in few sentences at the beginning of the text. The objects which were chosen to represent the life, success, and work of Sönmez were donated by his family and can be categorized into three kinds: clothes, photos, and official documents. The clothes form the frame of the display. On one side of the glass case hangs a dressing gown, on a lower pedestal lie patterned ties, a pullover, a belt and on a higher pedestal a silk scarf and sunglasses. One pair of black leather shoes on the left side of the lower pedestal complete the display. All these clothes give a personal, individual touch; the person Ali Osman Sönmez seems approachable. The photos form the frame around the written information. They have no specific labeling; it is not explained which situations are shown. It is just recognizable or guessable how old Sönmez was, when the pictures were shot. Two black-and-white-images show a portrait of the young Sönmez with some other men. The remaining colored pictures document the public life of Sönmez; he at the lectern, on the stage, at conferences, with other men in suits posing for the camera. The third kind of objects are the official documents. They are situated on three columnar pedestals in the middle of the glass case. Hence, they form the centre of the display. On the left one there are two documents: a Turkish diplomatic passport and a very old looking Turkish identity card. These documents prove the official Turkish identity of Ali Osman Sönmez. On the right pedestal there is an official paper which names him as cabinet member of the Turkish parliament. The already mentioned silk scarf and sunglasses lie in front of this paper. But the most conspicuous object is the Şükran Plaketi, a plaque of appreciation. The owner of this plaque did a great honor and

service to his country because of his work and public duty. Signed is the plaque by Süleyman Demirel, who has been the president of the Turkish Republic from 1993 to 2000. Also the emblem of the president is placed on the plaque. A sun is surrounded by sixteen stars. It is said that the stars symbolize the old-Turkic states while the sun in the middle represents the Republic of Turkey as legacy of these states. This is attributed to the belief of Atatürk that the new republic cannot base on religion anymore; it has to base on the nation and therefore on old-Turkic history (Aydemir & Özcan 2007, p.66). The unifying criteria of the old-Turkic states are vague and inaccurate; they base mostly on the assumption of a common Turkic-language family.



Figure 9 - The Success of Ali Osman Sönmez

All these documents and honors constitute the credibility and importance of this person, and underline his belonging to the Turkish Republic. Moreover, all three

chosen immigrants are unified by their stories of success and particularity. Their immigration was profitable and honorable for Bursa and Turkey. They have done a great service to their countries. But by displaying just the stories of public figures also meaningful exclusions take place. There are no stories of ordinary workers or about the difficulties to live in the new home country. These stories of success have to be seen in different contexts of this museum. First of all, especially Sönmez is a representative of the profitable industrial image of the city Bursa. Moreover, by the display of clothes in all the glass boxes the traditional industrial sector of textiles in Bursa is again applied. This method of representation can be seen in this tradition. Additionally, clothes are always special status symbols. These personal and high-quality clothes of the men are indicators for their wealth, success and importance. However, these clothes also give insights in the private and intimate life of these persons of success. It is like a look behind the façade. Last but not least, it is conspicuous that with these narratives of success the exhibition is brought to a close. After all the migration stories of suffering, displacement, and involuntariness, the narrative ends apparently with a Happy End. It seems that the trauma of the collapsed Ottoman Empire has been overcome. The success of the immigrants is also the success of the Turkish Republic.

5.8 Summary of Results

The selected elements of the museum, which have been described and analyzed, point out in manifold ways how migration is represented and what for an image of migration is constructed in this special case of Bursa in Turkey. The most salient aspect of these migration narratives is the characteristic of *suffering*. Welcomed by a dramatic moment of the exodus the visitor of the museum is introduced into a narra-

tive of displacement. Represented by the display of the transportation, the burdensome journey and actual movement is focused in an extent way. The signboards of the museum depict a history of frictions and ruptures, which caused forced migration. All in all it is a painful perspective of migration. Moreover, the representation is linked to the feeling of *longing*, which is displayed and named. Longing for a new home, where the immigrants can live safe and fearless, but also longing for the old home, the region they come from.

For a better understanding, it is necessary to sum up concisely the important components of content, structure, and design. The groups and communities of immigrants, which stories are represented in the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa, are mostly sorted by their geographical origin. The selection of the depicted migration narratives bases on their direct reference to the city of Bursa. They shaped the city of Bursa significantly. For example, the section about the migration movements from the Balkans takes considerable space, because this was a region from where most of the migrants came in the particular example of Bursa. Most of the migration narratives refer to different periods of the Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic. Just in the last section of the museum there are also linkages to present forms of migration, like internal migration, but the focus is on the influence of the previously depicted migration movements on the present society of Bursa. The structure of the museum is shaped by a predetermined route, but the most catchy media of design are the wall colors. The beginning and ending sections of the museum are colored in bright yellow and white. The visitor feels welcomed and finishes the tour also in a neutral or even friendly atmosphere. The sections along the corridors are colored in dark blue and black. Therefore, the atmosphere is changing clearly. But the most conspicuous section of the museum is the one about the compulsory Greek-Turkish exchange. By

its red wall color it occurs as linchpin at first sight. Also because of the fence the representation of this migration narrative provides an aggressive atmosphere. The visitor knows that this part of the migration history of Bursa is of crucial importance. For a further summary it is helpful to look at the focus areas of this master thesis.

Referring to the focus area movement, there are to sum up the following results: the actual movement, as elemental part of migration, is a prevalent key aspect of the museum. The displays of it structures and shapes the sections of the museum significantly. The transportation symbolizes the already mentioned burdensome journey but also the life of in-between. They are like snapshots, just moments, which represent enormous changes and continuous processes. The personalized mannequins placed in these displays are the representatives of all the immigrants, who had to leave by train, car, wagon or ship. Thereby, the constructed moments of movement become dramatic and believable. Important to add, the displays of movement are representations of a onetime event. It has nothing in common with more flexible, transnational understandings of migration.

The other focus areas nationality and cultural and ethnic heterogeneity have to be considered in regard to much more and very diverse components of the exhibition. First of all, the issues of the migration narratives in the context of different periods during the era of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic play significant roles. The representation of the rise of the Ottoman Empire gives the impression of a glorious era, which had just positive impact in the lives of all involved people. The creators of the museum did not expose any problems of this era. Expansion politics of other empires are questioned or judged, like the ones from Russia or Greece, while the conquests of the Ottoman Empire seem to unify people.

Different ancient and medieval populations are named before, but just to strengthen the impression of the unifying characteristics of the Ottoman Empire, which has been a multicultural union. The impression given by those representations and signboards is rather that, there is a nostalgic longing for the Ottoman past and no questioning of the expansion strategy of sultans like Suleiman the Magnificent. In the end the destruction of the Empire and several wars caused forced migration and displacement of people who have been unified. They fled to the successor state of the Ottoman Empire; the Turkish Republic. The migration history of this young republic climaxed with the Greek-Turkish Exchange of population, which based on the criteria of religious membership and became one of the most important steps taken towards homogenizing the Turkish Anatolian demography. The impression appears that the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa represents a migration history of communities which already belonged to the “Turkish” nation-state. Decisive components have been Turkish origin or culture. This origin was mostly referring to “ethnic Turkish communities” from former regions of the Ottoman Empire, while the culture was grounded in religious membership. Migration movements appear as *re-merging* of what actually belongs together. The regions the immigrants had to leave are depicted as the lost land, the lost past, but still kept nostalgically in memory. Especially the “exchanged” ones became symbols for the lost land, while Atatürk as liberator and reformer became a symbol for a new era. All these mentioned narratives are very close connected to geographical aspects. Apart from the already mentioned aspects, the display of the archeological excavations is a significant connection between legacies of former empires, territorial claims, successor states, and for the evidence of ethnic continuity. Therefore, the development of the Turkish nation-state is clearly connected to the migration narratives which are depicted in the museum. The named aspects of geo-

graphical origin and cultural and ethnical membership are crucial components of the nationality, better to say the constructed national identity of the immigrants. The represented concept of nationality bases on a homogenized culture and ethnical Turkish population, which are defined by their territorial origin. The remarkable about this is that the representation of the museum makes clearly positive linkages to the apparently unifying role of the Ottoman Empire. The declination of it occurs as dramatic moment and cause for forced migration. In this context the foundation of the Turkish Republic and its migration politics are represented as solution.

With the elaborations above some elements of the representation of the last focus area are already depicted. Commonly the term of migration causes mostly associations with cultural and ethnical heterogeneity, but the migration narratives of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi depict processes of homogenization. However, there are also components in the museum, which refer especially to a cultural heterogeneity of the people in Bursa. In these cases not religious membership is addressed as part of the culture – especially different customs, dresses or material culture are displayed by luggage, clothes, textiles, and pictures. A good example is to find in the last section. There it is displayed how the immigrants became integrated in Bursa, how they influenced and enriched the city and contributed to the success of the city, although they had different backgrounds. But the most conspicuous exhibits connected to the cultural heterogeneity of the immigrants are the clothes and textiles. Clothes are fundamental parts of an everyday culture and of a strategy to preserve the identity. But although the colorful, exceptional clothes seem to illustrate a cultural diversity of the immigrants, the clothes and mannequins become representatives of the *typical* immigrants with

their particular cultural background, who came to Bursa. Last but not least, the disproportionately high use of clothes seems also to be linked to the image of Bursa as city with a multi-layered and diverse history of textile industry.

By referring to this short summary of results and my theoretical and methodical foundation of this master thesis, I will attempt to conclude and name my fundamental insights.



6 Conclusion

By referring to the summary of results elaborated above, it can be said that the representation in the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa constructs an image of migration as a moment of suffering, longing, and displacement. Moreover, the depicted forced migration movements, caused by war and compulsory exchange agreements, represent migration as a process of homogenization. Although the immigrants from the Balkans, Crimea, Caucasus, and Greece are described as cultural heterogeneous, because of their different customs, dresses, and cuisine, their immigration to Turkey occurs as an act of re-merging of what actually belongs together. To understand this, it is important to include the representation of the migration history during the Ottoman Empire and the new arising ideologies of the Turkish Republic into the consideration. Because of their geographical origin, the migrants came from former regions of the Ottoman Empire, and their ethnical and / or cultural origins, they become defined as ethnically Turkish and culturally Muslim, the immigrants become represented as compatriots. In the context of the foundation of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk appears especially in the section about the Greek-Turkish Exchange, which is a salient hub of the museum, as rescuer of the migrants and as person, who solves the problems of the declined Ottoman Empire. Hence, the migrants are mostly represented as victims and symbols of the lost land and past. What remains is the nostalgic memory of the glorious past during the Ottoman Empire. This is also the context in which the narrative about the *çınar ağacı*, the sycamore tree on a natural site at the

Uludağ of Bursa, has to be considered. The one root of the tree is to understand as the natural connection of all communities and groups in Bursa; they are all strongly united through their shared past and “origin”.

Therefore, the reciprocal connection of the concepts migration and nation-state is predominant. The migration narratives depicted in the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa emerge smoothly with the narrative of the eventful history of the Turkish nation-state as successor state of an Empire. That means, also this museum of migration continues to serve as nation-state supporting and legitimizing institution, which pursues a multicultural approach. The potential of museums of migrations referring to their possibility to depict counter-narratives with more transnational, transcultural, global and nomadic perspectives, is not exploited in this particular example in Bursa, Turkey. However, the cooperative work of creators and communities is emphasized and displayed in many ways in the framework of the museum, mostly by a wide range of exhibited donations. They shape the sections of the museum in an extent way.

Through the whole representation the immigrants receive recognition for their contribution to the society of Bursa, but it does not become clear in which extent the communities have the possibility to give advices or are even involved in the processing of the contents. The whole processes of decision-making are mostly veiled in the particular example of Bursa.

The Turkish history of migration is one of ruptures, frictions, and gaps, but in the representation of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in Bursa there are just some of them depicted. This museum, which is a post-colonial, representing, commemorative and identity-establishing organization, represents Bursa’s and partly Turkey’s migration history

aligned with the history of the nation-state. Narratives which do not fit into this master-narrative are left out.



References

- Adorno, T.W., 1997. *Prisms* 9. ed., Cambridge: MIT.
- Alexander, E.P. & Alexander, M., 2008. *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* 2. ed., Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Ames, M.M., 1992. *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: An Anthropology of Museums*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Anderson, B., 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.
- Assmann, J., 1992. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München: Beck.
- Aydemir, E. & Özcan, B., 2007. Repräsentation im Osmanischen Reich und der Übergang zur Republik. In L. Huth & M. Krzeminski, eds. *Repräsentationen in Politik, Medien und Gesellschaft*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, pp. 47–68.
- Bal, M., 1996. *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis*, New York, London: Routledge.
- Barringer, T. & Flynn, T., 1998. Introduction. In T. Barringer & T. Flynn, eds. *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*. New York: Routledge, pp. 1–10.
- Barthes, R., 1991. *Mythologies*, New York: Noonday Press.
- Bassnett, S., 2002. *Translation Studies* 3. ed., London, New York: Routledge.
- Baur, J., 2009. *Die Musealisierung der Migration: Einwanderungsmuseen und die Inszenierung der multikulturellen Nation*, Bielefeld: transcript.
- Baur, J., 2010. Museumsanalyse: Eine Einführung. In J. Baur, ed. *Museumsanalyse: Methoden und Konturen eines neuen Forschungsfeldes*. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 7–14.
- Bendix, R. & Welz, G., 2002. Kulturvermittlung und “Public Folklore”: Formen volkskundlichen Wissenstransfers in Deutschland und den USA. In R. Bendix & G. Welz, eds. *Kulturwissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit: Amerikanische und deutschsprachige Volkskunde im Dialog*. Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-

- Universität Frankfurt am Main, pp. 15–29.
- Bhabha, H.K., 1994. *The Location of Culture*, New York: Routledge.
- Bouquet, M., 2012. *Museums: A Visual Anthropology*, London: Berg.
- Brunnbauer, U., 2012. Labour Migration and Transnationalism in the Balkans: A Historical Perspective. In P. Hristov, ed. *Migration and Identity. Historical, Cultural and Linguistics Dimensions of Mobility in the Balkans*. Sofia: Paradigma, pp. 11–24.
- Bursa, 2015. İnkaya Çınarı. Available at: <http://www.bursa.com.tr/inkaya-cinari-595.html#.VuL8wubp71Y> [Accessed March 11, 2016].
- Castro Varela, M. do M. & Dhawan, N., 2005. *Postkoloniale Theorie: eine kritische Einführung*, Bielefeld: transcript.
- Clifford, J., 1986. Introduction: Partial Truths. In J. Clifford & G. E. Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, pp. 1–26.
- Clifford, J. & Marcus, G.E. eds., 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Coombes, A.E., 1988. Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities. *Oxford Art Journal*, 11, pp.57–68.
- Davutoğlu, A., 2001. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*, Istanbul: Küre Yayınları.
- Dean, I., 2010. *Musealisierung des Anderen: Stereotype in der Ausstellung "Kunst aus AFRIKA,"* Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Dündar, F., 2014. Deporting Demos, Militarizing Natives: Forced Migration and Conflicts in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey (1908-1947). In A. B. Karaçay & A. Üstübcü, eds. *Migration to and from Turkey: Changing Patterns and Shifting Policies*. Istanbul: Isis Press, pp. 39–71.
- Eco, U., 1987. *Semiotik: Entwurf einer Theorie der Zeichen*, München: Fink.
- Erder, S., 2011. Migration as a "Heated Question" in Turkey-EU Negotiations. In B. Pusch & U. Tekin, eds. *Migration und Türkei: Neue Bewegungen am Rande der europäischen Union*. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 85–91.
- Erdönmez, A., 2012. Bursa: The First Capital of the Ottomans. In Unknown, ed. *Dünden Yarına Bursa*. Paris: RL Communication, pp. 12–23.
- Eryılmaz, A., 2004. Deutschland braucht ein Migrationsmuseum: Plädoyer für ein Paradigmenwechsel in der Kulturpolitik. In J. Motte & R. Ohliger, eds. *Geschichte und Gedächtnis in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Migration zwischen Historischer Rekonstruktion und Erinnerungspolitik*. Essen: Klartext, pp. 305–322.

- Eryılmaz, A., 2012. Migrationsgeschichte und die nationalstaatliche Perspektive in Archiven und Museen. In R. Wonisch & T. Hübel, eds. *Museum und Migration: Konzepte - Kontexte - Kontroversen*. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 33–48.
- Eskişehir, 2016. Eti Şehir ve Göç Müzesi. Available at: <http://www.eskisehir.gov.tr/tr/haberler/6646--eti-sehir-ve-goc-muzesi-temel-atma-toreni-6646.html> [Accessed March 11, 2016].
- Fabian, J., 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Foucault, M., 2006. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London: Routledge.
- Foucault, M., 2008. *Überwachen und Strafen: Die Geburt des Gefängnisses* 9. ed., Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Freely, M., 2006. Cultural Translation. In G. MacLean, ed. *Writing Turkey: Explorations in Turkish History, Politics, and Cultural Identity*. London: Middlesex University Press, pp. 145–152.
- Fuller, G.E., 2008. *The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Gable, E., 2010. Ethnographie: Das Museum als Feld. In *Museumsanalyse: Methoden und Konturen eines neuen Forschungsfeldes*. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 95–119.
- Geertz, C., 1987. *Dichte Beschreibung: Beiträge zum Verstehen kultureller Systeme*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Gouriévidis, L. ed., 2014a. *Museums and Migration: History, Memory and Politics*, Oxford: Routledge.
- Gouriévidis, L., 2014b. Representing Migration in Museums: History, Diversity and the Politics of Memory. In L. Gouriévidis, ed. *Museums and Migration: History, Memory and Politics*. Oxford: Routledge, pp. 1–23.
- Gür, A., 2007. Stories in Three Dimensions: Narratives of Nation and the Anatolian Civilizations Museum. In E. Özyürek, ed. *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*. New York: Syracuse University Press, pp. 40–69.
- Halbwachs, M., 1985. *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*, Suhrkamp.
- Hall, S., 1990. Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In J. Rutherford, ed. *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, pp. 222–237.
- Heartney, E., 2004. Fracturing the Imperial Mind. In B. Messias Carbonell, ed. *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hutchinson, J., 2005. *Nations as Zones of Conflict*, London: SAGE.

- Huysen, A., 1995. *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, New York, London: Routledge.
- İçduygu, A., 2008. Den Nationalstaat errichten und bewahren, auch in der globalisierten Welt: Der politische Hintergrund internationaler Migration in die Türkei. In B. Pusch & T. Wilkoszewski, eds. *Facetten internationaler Migration in die Türkei: Gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen und persönliche Lebenswelten*. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 3–23.
- İçduygu, A. & Kirişci, K., 2009. Introduction: Turkey's International Migration in Transition. In A. İçduygu & K. Kirişci, eds. *Land of Diverse Migration: Challenges of Emigration and Immigration in Turkey*. Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press, pp. 1–25.
- İğsız, A., 2007. Polyphony and Geographic Kinship in Anatolia: Framing the Turkish-Greek Compulsory Population Exchange. In E. Özyürek, ed. *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*. New York: Syracuse University Press, pp. 162–187.
- İpekçi, H., 2011. *Çınar Ağacı*, Turkey: Medyavisyon.
- Janes, R.R., 2009. *Museums in a Troubled World: Renewal, Irrelevance or Collapse?*, New York: Routledge.
- Jaraus, K.H. & Sabrow, M. eds., 2002. *Die historische Meistererzählung: Deutungslinien der deutschen Nationalgeschichte nach 1945*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht Verlag.
- Kaplan, F.E.S., 2006. Making and Remaking National Identities. In S. Macdonald, ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 152–169.
- Kasaba, R., 2006. Dreams of Empire, Dreams of Nation. In J. W. Esherick, H. Kayali, & E. van Young, eds. *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World*. Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 198–225.
- Kaser, K., 2012. Travelling, Balkanism, Orientalism and the Photograph in the 19th and early 20th Century. In P. Hristov, ed. *Migration and Identity: Historical, Cultural and Linguistics Dimensions of Mobility in the Balkans*. Sofia: Paradigma, pp. 60–72.
- Kazeem, B., 2009. Die Zukunft der Besitzenden: Oder fortwährende Verstrickungen in neokoloniale Argumentationsmuster. In B. Kazeem, C. Martinz-Turek, & N. Sternfeld, eds. *Das Unbehagen im Museum: Postkoloniale Museologien*. Wien: Turia + Kant, pp. 43–60.
- Lavine, S.D. & Karp, I. eds., 1991a. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington, London: Smithsonian Institution.
- Lavine, S.D. & Karp, I., 1991b. Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism. In S. D. Lavine & I. Karp, eds. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington, London: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 1–9.

- Lidchi, H., 1997. The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures. In S. Hall, ed. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. SAGE, pp. 151–222.
- Macdonald, S., 2006. Expanding Museum Studies: An Introduction. In S. Macdonald, ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 1–12.
- Macdonald, S. ed., 1998. *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, New York: Routledge.
- Mills, A., 2010. *Streets of Memory: Landscape, Tolerance, and National Identity in Istanbul*, Athen, London: University of Georgia Press.
- Monceau, N., 2000. The 75th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey and the 700th anniversary of the foundation of the Ottoman state: Celebrating past and present modernity. In G. Seufert, K. Vorhoff, & S. Yerasimos, eds. *Civil Society in the Grip of Nationalism*. Istanbul: Orient-Institut, pp. 283–333.
- Motte, J. & Ohliger, R. eds., 2004. *Geschichte und Gedächtnis in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft: Migration zwischen historischer Rekonstruktion und Erinnerungspolitik*, Essen: Klartext.
- Muttenthaler, R. & Wonisch, R., 2006. *Gesten des Zeigens: Zur Repräsentation von Gender und Race in Ausstellungen*, Bielefeld: transcript.
- Öncü, A., 2007. The Politics of Istanbul's Ottoman Heritage in the Era of Globalism: Refractions through a Prism of a Theme Park. In B. Drieskens, F. Mermier, & H. Wimmen, eds. *Cities of the South. Citizenship and Exclusion in the 21st Century*. London, Beirut: Saqi Books, pp. 233–264.
- Özgür-Baklacioğlu, N., 2011. Asylum policy and practices in Turkey: Constructing the refugee "Other" in Konya. In B. Pusch & U. Tekin, eds. *Migration und Türkei: Neue Bewegungen am Rande der europäischen Union*. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 207–226.
- Özyürek, E., 2007a. Introduction: The politics of public memory in Turkey. In E. Özyürek, ed. *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*. New York: Syracuse University Press, pp. 1–15.
- Özyürek, E., 2007b. Public Memory as Political Battleground: Islamist Subversions of Republican Nostalgia. In E. Özyürek, ed. *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*. New York: Syracuse University Press, pp. 114–137.
- Paulicelli, E. & Clark, H., 2009. Introduction. In E. Paulicelli & H. Clark, eds. *The Fabric of Cultures: Fashion, Identity, and Globalization*. London, New York: Routledge, pp. 1–11.
- Pearce, S.M. ed., 1994. *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, London, New York: Routledge.
- Pieper, K., 2010. Resonanzräume: Das Museum im Forschungsfeld Erinnerungskultur. In J. Baur, ed. *Museumsanalyse: Methoden und Konturen*

- eines neuen Forschungsfeldes. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 187–212.
- Pusch, B., 2011. Irreguläre Migration in die Türkei: Facetten, Zahlen und Tendenzen. In B. Pusch & U. Tekin, eds. *Migration und Türkei: Neue Bewegungen am Rande der europäischen Union*. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 153–170.
- Pusch, B. & Tekin, U., 2011a. Einleitung. In B. Pusch & U. Tekin, eds. *Migration und Türkei: Neue Bewegungen am Rande der europäischen Union*. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 11–27.
- Pusch, B. & Tekin, U. eds., 2011b. *Migration und Türkei: Neue Bewegungen am Rande der europäischen Union*, Würzburg: Ergon.
- Ross, R., 2008. *Clothing: A Global History, Or the Imperialists' New Clothes*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Said, E.W., 2003. *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books.
- de Saussure, F., 2013. *Course in General Linguistics*, London: Bloomsbury.
- Scholze, J., 2004. *Medium Ausstellung: Lektüren musealer Gestaltung in Oxford, Leipzig, Amsterdam und Berlin*, Bielefeld: transcript.
- Sönmez Holding, Ali Osman Sönmez. Available at: <http://www.sonmezholding.com.tr/> [Accessed March 11, 2016].
- Spivak, G.C., 1988. Can the Subaltern Speak? *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, pp.271–313.
- Strasser, S., 2011. Transnationale Migration. In F. Kreff, E.-M. Knoll, & A. Gingrich, eds. *Lexikon der Globalisierung*. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 385–389.
- Toumarkine, A., 2000. Balkan and Caucasian Immigrant Associations: Community and Politics. In G. Seufert, K. Vorhoff, & S. Yerasimos, eds. *Civil Society in the Grip of Nationalism*. Istanbul: Orient-Institut, pp. 403–432.
- UNESCO & IOM, 2007. „Migration has a past, a present and a future. Migration museums can build a bridge between all three." Final Statement of the 1st Expert Meeting on Migration Museums. *Museum Aktuell*, 10.
- Unknown, 2011. Antiziganismus Watchblog. Available at: <http://antizig.blogspot.de/2011/01/19/das-wort-cingene-wurde-aus-dem-gesetzestext-entfernt/> [Accessed March 11, 2016].
- Unknown, 2012. Atatürk Congress and Cultural Center Merinos. In Unknown, ed. *Düinden Yarına Bursa*. Paris: RL Communication, pp. 24–27.
- Unknown, Atatürk Congress Culture Centre Merinos. Available at: <http://www.merinosakkm.com/en/> [Accessed March 11, 2016].
- Unknown, 2013. L'illustration. Available at: <http://revue.lillustration.com/index.php?subpage=home> [Accessed March 11,

2016].

Unknown, 2014. Miniaturk. Available at: <http://miniaturk.com.tr/homepage> [Accessed March 11, 2016].

Vergo, P., 1989. *The New Museology*, London: Reaction Books.

Waidacher, F., 1999. *Handbuch der Allgemeinen Museologie* 3. ed., Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau.

Walker, J.W., 2009. Turkey's Imperial Legacy: Understanding Contemporary Turkey through its Ottoman Past. In J. Harris, ed. *The Nation in the Global Era: Conflict and Transformation*. Brill, pp. 384–398.

Watson, S., 2007. History Museums, Community Identity and a Sense of Place: Rewriting Histories. In S. Knell, S. MacLeod, & S. Watson, eds. *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and are Changed*. New York: Routledge, pp. 160–172.

Welz, G., 1996. *Inszenierungen kultureller Vielfalt: Frankfurt am Main und New York*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Wonisch, R., 2012. Museum und Migration: Einleitung. In R. Wonisch & T. Hübel, eds. *Museum und Migration. Konzepte - Kontexte - Kontroversen*. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 9–32.

Wonisch, R. & Hübel, T. eds., 2012. *Museum und Migration: Konzepte - Kontexte - Kontroversen*, Bielefeld: transcript.

Zencirci, G., 2014. Civil Society's History: New Constructions of Ottoman Heritage by the Justice and Development Party in Turkey. *European Journal of Turkish Studies: Social Science on Contemporary Turkey*, 19. Available at: <http://ejts.revues.org/5076> [Accessed March 11, 2016].

Appendices

The following appendices are sorted according to their sequence in the master thesis.

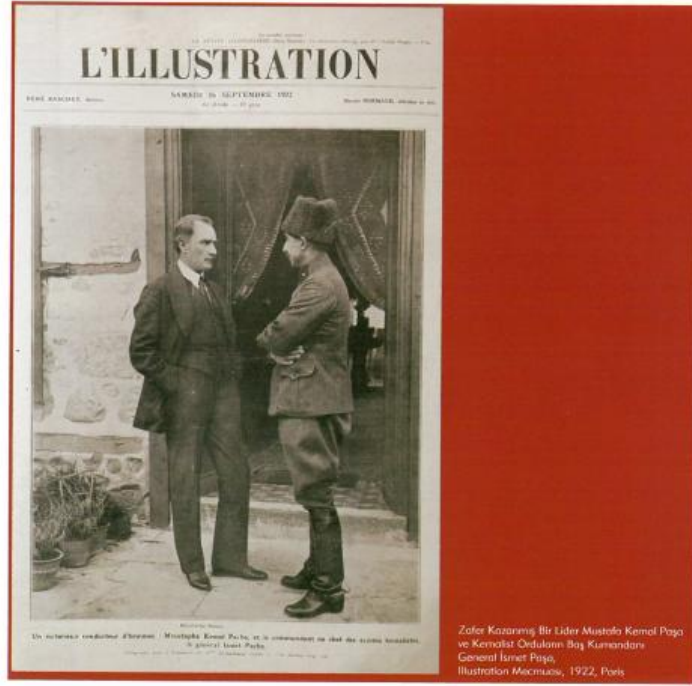
Appendix A – Brochure of Exhibition “Dedelerimizin Toprakları”

The following three images are parts of an accompanying brochure of the exhibition “Dedelerimizin toprakları. Ben bir mübadil torunuyum”⁵⁵, which has been displayed in the gallery of the Göç Tarihi Müzesi in February and March 2015.



Cover page. (The depicted map on the cover page shows Greece on the left side and western parts of Turkey on the right side.)

⁵⁵ The soil of our grandfathers. I am an exchange grandchild (own translation).



L'illustration Mecmuası Kapak Sayfasında Gazi Mustafa Kemal ve İsmet Paşa 1922 Paris

Page 13, L'illustration, French illustrated newspaper, 16th September 1922



Mübadele ve Göç

Page 42, L'Illustration, French illustrated newspaper, 9th November 1912

Appendix B – Introduction Signboard 1

BURSA IMMIGRATION HISTORY MUSEUM

Nowadays, urban identity and a culture of coexistence have become even more important in the process of civilizations' development for opening to the world. In this context; Bursa, has a special place in Turkey and in the world. As a result of intense demographic mobility which took place for nearly 150 years, this city has been referred as an immigrant city.

Bursa Immigration History Museum which would shed lights on Bursa's prehistoric times, 8500 years up to the present, depicts the population movements that sometimes occurs as a natural necessity, sometimes subsequent occurring under pressures as a result of war.

From daily belongings of immigrants to the historical photographs, from stories of roads to the contributions of the construction of Bursa, from approaches of the Ottoman Empire towards the migration and migrants to many cases that has added value to the contemporary Turkey; there are depictions of painful journey of the immigrations from Balkans, the Crimea and the Caucasus to Bursa.

Appendix C – Introduction Signboard 2

SUFFERING STORIES OF UNKNOWN ROADS

The concept of Migration is old as human history. Prehistoric tribes need to relocate themselves permanently in order to find suitable climatic and natural conditions to feed themselves, in other words people have always been nomadic since existence.

Migration that varies with the development of civilization has become the most important factor of social forms. Particularly; the rural-urban migrations during the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century were beyond a simple displacement experience, by marking the issue of population as the basic case of social sciences; sciences of population (demography) has revealed.

Migration corresponds to; “to go from one place to another place because of economics, social and political reasons of individuals or communities, transportation, emigration, immigration” in the books. However, in the essence of migration; there is the adventure of the road filled with pain and sadness in which people had to leave their homeland where for generations are born, grow, live, briefly where rooted and were forced to leave in order to obtain a new home.

Migration is the effort to say “home” to the place where newly settled by and to the suffering stories of unknown roads with relic homesick of the old land. Migration is a journey leaving the residence either willingly or by force; permanent or for a certain condition. On one hand, while trying to save language, culture and way of life; the fear of immigrants trying not to be alone in the foreign crowds would have been the complete deal on the other hand.

However, for the immigrant, forcibly removed from the homeland with the heart filled with longing and fear, it becomes an intimate basis as the people welcomes these immigrants with open arms and the state embraces with devotion all material and spiritual resources. In this way, never extinguished embers brought from the old homeland and new sprouts flourished in the new land; a spiritual treasure blended with multiculturalism emerged rather than an artificial mosaic.

Bursa throughout the history grows and develops its' culture with spiritual treasures and has become a living area, which indiscriminately shares unique blessings of fertile land with everyone.

