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Memories' in Vienna's Urban Heritage“

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*„Ich möchte sagen, daß wunderbar die Linien sind,
die ich mit meinem Fahrrad durch diese große Stadt ziehe.
Die Linien sind genauso wunderbar wie alle anderen Linien,
über die ich fahre, die andere Leute hinter sich lassen. (...)
Ich wage zu sagen, daß die Linie, die ich mit meinen Füßen ziehe, um ins Museum zu gehen,
wichtiger ist als die Linien, die man innen im Museum auf Bildern aufgehängt vorfindet.“*

Friedensreich Hundertwasser

Index

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	1
<i>List of Figures</i>	5
1. Introduction	6
1.1 Methodology	9
2. Theoretical Considerations	
2.1 (Collective) Memories and Migration	14
2.2 Places of Memory in Transition	23
2.3 Collecting Migration?	34
3. Historical Context	
3.1 The Metamorphosis of the 'Turks' in Vienna	42
3.2 Postwar Austria and 'Guest Workers' from Turkey	50
4. Discussion of Findings	
4.1 Porous Cityscapes	55
4.2 'Turkish Memories' beyond the Siege	79
4.3 Mainstreaming Migration?	93
5. Conclusion	109
<i>Bibliography</i>	113
<i>Appendix</i>	121

List of Figures

Fig. 1	Vienna's historic city centre listed by UNESCO. Stadt Wien (wien.at).	57
Fig. 2	Vienna's World Heritage Sites and protected areas. Stadt Wien (wien.at).	57
Fig. 3	Francis Joseph I. in <i>Mariahilfer Straße</i> .	58
Fig. 4	Leaflets for exhibitions on Francis Joseph I.	59
Fig. 5	Residence of Embassy of Brasil in Vienna.	60
	Photo by Embassy of Brasil in Vienna.	
Fig. 6	Film still of ORF TV programme „ <i>Kontakt</i> “ in 1971.	63
Fig. 7	Bench at <i>Antonskirche</i> .	68
Fig. 8	Mosaic in Favoriten.	69
Fig. 9	Close-up view „ <i>Troststraße, Mosaik</i> “, ÖAW.	69
Fig. 10	Mural in <i>Sonnwendgasse</i> .	70
Fig. 11	Close-up view, Mural in <i>Sonnwendgasse</i> .	70
Fig. 12	Aerial photograph of intersection of 3rd, 4th, 10th district, Google Maps.	73
Fig. 13	Video installation at Vienna <i>Hauptbahnhof</i> .	74
Fig. 14	Hıdır Emir, <i>Initiative Minderheiten</i> .	75
Fig. 15	Protest against attempted coup in front of Turkish embassy.	77
Fig. 16	Advertising pillar in <i>Karolinengasse</i> .	78
Fig. 17	Installation by Zaimoğlu. Photo by Herbert Schueppel.	88
Fig. 18	Banner in front of <i>Wien Museum</i> . Website „ <i>Archiv der Migration</i> “.	99
Fig. 19	Work permit of Ö.'s mother.	104
Fig. 20	Postcards for the “Migration Collection”.	104
Fig. 21	One-day exhibition at <i>Wien Museum</i> .	106

1. Introduction

Increased migration-driven diversity in urban areas has implications on locally established memory narratives. Agents of migration do not only add to the complexity of a city's present and future, but also give the impetus to revisit its historicised past. In Vienna, the abundance of references to the Siege of Vienna by the Ottoman Empire in 1529 and 1683, often depreciatingly referred to as '*Türkenbelagerung*', is remarkable (Tomenendal 2000). This twofold memory of both enemy and its defeat reverberates in a variety of urban heritage in Vienna, and quite literally in the bell of Vienna's *Stephansdom*, cast in Ottoman cannonballs captured after the Second Siege (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:300). While the historicised city centre with its famous Ring Road bursts with often meticulously preserved buildings and monuments cherishing the 'glorious' past of the Habsburg Empire, more recent influences on the city lack space in this monumentality. Especially with regard to the migration of former 'guest workers' from Turkey, it is ironic that those who contributed to rebuild and revive Vienna after the destruction of the Second World War, often literally as construction workers, were squeezed to the urban periphery.

While in 1955 with the reestablishment of Austria as a sovereign nation state after the Second World War the predominant political programme by the Viennese municipality centred on regaining the status and influence of a metropolis as in the times of the Habsburg Empire- „*Wien wird wieder Weltstadt*“- labour migrants were not included in this vision (Gürses et al. 2004: 101). While the fluctuating diplomatic cohorts and their entourage might bring the desired cosmopolitan air to the city, Austria's migration (and labour) policies have been marked by several solid continuities from the Habsburg monarchy up to now perpetuating a rather exclusionary legal framework for (labour) migrants, as outlined by Rainer Bauböck (see section 3.2). For example, a strong tendency to define national identity by excluding diversity, by linking the acquisition of citizenship to the principle of *jus sanguinis* and excluding the possibility for dual affiliations, for example, persists until today (Bauböck 1996). With regard to the educational system a rather one-sided representation of the sieges of Vienna is reproduced. Hence, the persistence of nationalist narratives furthering the iterated construction of the 'Turkish threat' embedded in the overall imperial nostalgia of

Vienna's urban heritage fails to accommodate the growing diverse realities of the city's inhabitants and perpetuates the exclusion and amnesia of migrants' memories. Thereby, especially former 'guest workers' from Turkey and their families are related to the ancient enemy image deeply rooted in the city's memories and its anti-Ottoman sentiments that nowadays may manifest in, for example, 'islamophobia', resentment towards a possible accession of Turkey to the European Union and even by heralding an alleged 'Third Siege' (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013: 211).

However, while Viennese urban heritage reflects imperial nostalgia and amnesia towards its migration (hi)stories, migrants themselves, like former Turkish 'guest workers', have created spaces for themselves in the city and exercised various forms of self-organisation and self-historicising. In the context of the 50th anniversary of the recruitment agreement between Turkey and Austria in 2014, more recently also municipal institutions have expressed an increased interest towards the inclusion of the memories of former 'guest workers' into the city's narratives, culminating in the development of the project "The Migration Collection" („*Migration sammeln*“) in cooperation with the *Wien Museum*, aiming at the creation of a collection on the migration of 'guest workers' to Vienna.

Hence, in this master's thesis the following set of questions will be explored: in light of the continued commemoration of the sieges with the image of the 'Turkish enemy' and the presence of migrants from Turkey, who constitute a significant, engaged part of Vienna's inhabitants, how do 'Turkish memories' overlap in Vienna's urban heritage today? How does the commemoration of the sieges affect migrants from Turkey? And how do the memories of former 'guest workers' from Turkey question the notion of 'memories of the Turks' (*Türkengedächtnis*)? While a centuries-old nationalist enemy image is conflated with an ascribed group of migrants and their families, how can an inclusion of their (hi)stories into the city's narratives be achieved? What attempts have been made in Vienna to encourage a more inclusive approach towards the memories of former 'guest workers' from Turkey? In the process of negotiating the relation between migrants' memories and a city's narratives, which tensions emerge? Hence, the main research question to be examined in this master's thesis is: How do migrants' memories influence a city's historical narratives and urban heritage?

Following this introduction and an overview of the methodology employed in this thesis, the theoretical considerations for this research project will be discussed. In the first section of chapter 2, the development of the notion of collective memories is traced, drawing upon the work of, for example, Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Ricœur, Pierre Nora and Jeffrey K. Olick and others. With the idea of the nation as a mnemonic community increasingly challenged in light of transnational flows and migration-driven diversity promoting a multiplicity of heritages embodied by local populations, especially in urban areas, the relation between memory and migration will be considered. Understanding memory through movement, as forwarded by Julia Creet, Jelena Tošić and Monika Palmberger, in section 2.2. its repercussions on the conceptualisation of space and place will be outlined. Thereby, the understanding of place moves beyond rather stable notions, like, for example, Nora's concept of “*lieux de mémoire*”, which tend to frame place as a static entity to be inscribed by memories, most effectively by those in power (Nora 1989). Instead, personal, everyday spatial and mnemonic practices move into focus, allowing for possibilities of active engagement with and (re)appropriation of one's surroundings. Addressing the absence of migrants' memories in museums, as a specific form of public space, in section 2.3 their decolonising practices will be reviewed, particularly attempts for more inclusive approaches in light of increasingly diverse publics and urban heritages. Chapter 3 provides the historical context for the location, in which the fieldwork has been conducted, the city of Vienna. The first section is structured along the lines of the adaption of the commemoration of the sieges of Vienna with the image of the 'Turkish enemy' over the course of the centuries until the Second World War. The second section of the chapter deals with the socio-political situation unfolding in postwar Vienna and Austrian Second Republic, its repercussions on the 'memories of the Turks' as well as the beginning migratory movement of 'guest workers' from Turkey to Vienna. In chapter 4 the findings of this research project are discussed. Drawing on Margaret E. Farrar's work on different modes of urban place-making, her critical take on nostalgic and amnesic landscapes will be traced in the context of Vienna before turning to her advocacy for Walter Benjamin's concept of “porosity”. Thereby, the significance of migrants' memories for the creation of porous cityscapes is examined. Moving beyond assumptions that a specific group of migrants necessarily constitutes a mnemonic

community based on cohesive, collective memories, the processes of elaborating and negotiating narratives on 'guest work' are emphasised. However, despite the heterogeneity and fragmentation among former 'guest workers' from Turkey and their families, shared experiences are considered and meanings of the notion of 'Turkish memories' beyond the Siege are explored. Chapter 4 concludes with the examination of attempts, including processes of self-historicising and initiatives from the municipality of Vienna, that aim at more inclusive narratives on the city in consideration of migrants' memories as well as accompanying challenges.

1.1 Methodology

In this section a brief overview over the methodological approach for this research project is provided, including the study design and application of methods for fieldwork and analysis, which is further elaborated in the actual discussion of findings in chapter 4. Generally speaking, the multidisciplinary field of memory studies with its still rather unsystematic methodological approaches is subject to academic debate. While Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering highlight that despite the “heterogeneous approaches to what it studies, [it] gives limited critical attention to potentially unifying issues of method and methodology”, Olick described memory studies as “a rather unproductive hodgepodge” (Keightley and Pickering 2013:2; Olick 1999:338). In an attempt to move towards greater methodological integration, Keightley and Pickering have emphasised the need for “skills and tools relevant to the investigation of the relationship of memory to national identities, migration (...) and more” due to the often international research topics explored within memory studies (Keightley and Pickering 2013:3).

In order to gain more insight into the topic, narrow my research interest and potentially develop a working research question, I started with desk research, including a literature review and archival research, mainly concerning newspaper articles, visual and audio material as well as document analysis later on in the research. Soon I also contacted the team implementing the project of the “Migration Collection” („Migration sammeln“), which I envisioned to form the main part of my research, in order to make

initial contact and inquire the possibilities for conducting fieldwork. As the team only had been working on the project since a few months, when I contacted them in June 2015, I was offered to conduct interviews with the team members from autumn 2015 onwards. Hence, with a readjusted time frame and no possibility to conduct fieldwork beyond interviewing, I continued with the desk research in order to refocus my topic and find further starting points. With the initial focus on the actual process of collecting objects and conceptualising exhibitions on migration, my interest shifted towards a broader perspective on the urban heritage and monumental landscape, in which these exhibitions are contextualised. In this research project urban heritage is understood as comprising a broad range of cultural products and practices in a city, including, amongst others, monuments, architectural structures, artworks and object in museums, music, literature and visual material. Following conversations with friends and colleagues on my research interest, I was referred to two future interview partners, whose families migrated to Austria as 'guest workers' from Turkey.

Thereby, integrating semi-structured interviews into my research methods, I moved beyond the initial desk research and actively began to access the field. In my case the process of 'entering' or 'leaving' the field was less abrupt and pronounced, since I already used to live and continued living in Vienna, my main field site, previously and subsequently to the active fieldwork. Hence, to a certain extent I had to 'make the familiar strange' again, while at the same time experiencing that “[a] city always contains more than any inhabitant can know” (Solnit 2014:171). While, with regard to my research project, the field can therefore be defined less readily in terms of the spatial distance the researcher has to cover before interacting with potential research participants, conducting research with the spatial proximity of the field may encourage to focus on “the activity or process quality of the event in question” and “avoi[d] a strict inside–outside distinction” (Flick et al. 2004:195). With the field as “naturally occurring social fields of action, as opposed to artificial situational arrangements deliberately engineered for research purposes”, meeting my interview partners in places proposed by them and joining them both in their daily routines and events allowed me to access spaces previously unknown to me beyond my subjective familiarity with the city. Hence, moving along with my interview partners to places frequented by and familiar to them allowed me to develop new perspectives on the city.

While I was introduced to my first interview partners through mutual friends, as mentioned before, I also contacted specific institutions and associations. However, sending an interview request by e-mail proved to be partially ineffective with regard to those associations, through which I hoped to get into contact with former 'guest workers' from Turkey and their families, including the MJÖ (*Muslimische Jugend Österreich*, Muslim Youth Austria), the ATIB (*Avusturya Türkiye İslam Birliği*, Turkish-Islamic Union for Cultural and Social Cooperation in Austria) and the Muslim Cemetery Vienna (*Islamischer Friedhof Wien*). With the e-mail requests being unanswered, I attended an Iftar celebration organised by the MJÖ in June 2015, where I was introduced to a future interview partner. Although in other instances my formal e-mail requests were successful, for example, with regard to the *Wien Museum*, participant observation proved to be an important method to access the field and meet interview partners in an informal manner. After some contacts have been established in the field, mostly my interview partners referred me to further interview partners. In this thesis most interview partners have been anonymised, which however was not always possible as many of my interview partners constitute public persons due to their work and engagement in Vienna. Therefore, many of them already had experiences with being interviewed on a variety of topics, including being portrayed in newspaper articles and television reports, and did not insist to be anonymised.

Semi-structured interviews formed an important method in this research project. While being focussed on a set of prepared questions and topics, enough flexibility was provided for readjustments following the development of the conversation. The type of questions also depended on the context and content of the interview. Especially for interviews on life- and family (hi)stories, involving the recalling of personal memories, I prepared narrative-generating questions (Flick et al. 2004:205). Interviews, which were temporally limited, for example, when I met an interview partner over lunch break, required more specific questions in order to cover all topics of interest within the prescribed time frame. In the processes subsequent to the interviews, including listening to the recordings and transcribing, I followed up the references recommended by my interview partners, which as mentioned before often comprised the contact to further interview partners as well as literature, events, audio and visual material. To a certain extent I was able to reciprocate this exchange of information with my interview

partners. For example, I introduced interview partners, who were part of families of former 'guest workers' from Turkey, to the project of the "Migration Collection" in order to, for example, ask them about their thoughts on these kind of projects and interventions, as well as trigger a conversation about the materiality of memories and objects that transport the migrants' memories of their families. Thereby, in one case I was able to establish a contact between the team of the "Migration Collection" and an interview partner, concerning a possible donation of objects to the collection. All interviews were conducted in German. A command of Turkish language would have certainly been an advantage in order to conduct interviews also with those former 'guest workers' from Turkey, who were not fluent in German.

Complementary to interviews, I applied further qualitative research methods. While interviews constituted an important method in this research project, as it allows to collect verbal data on subjective experiences, memories and motivations, the integration of further methods is required in order to approach the outlined research questions of this project. As mentioned above, I engaged as well in participant observation. I participated in a variety of events, for example, the mentioned Iftar celebration of the MJÖ, a conference on the 50th anniversary of the recruitment agreement with former Yugoslavia, two demonstrations as well as a presentation at the Austrian Academy of Science (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW)*) on places of memory on migration in relation to the new Literature Museum of the Austrian National Library (*Literaturmuseum der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*). Moreover, I visited a variety of museum exhibitions, for example, a one-day exhibition on the "Migration Collection" and a guided tour in the *Wien Museum*, including the exhibition on the sieges of Vienna, as well as an exhibition at the *21er Haus* and Belvedere gardens. Hence, while this does not amount to an ethnographic research based on "taking part, for as long as possible, in this everyday practice and becoming familiar with it, so as to be able to observe its everyday performance", I complemented the participant observation with extended city walks (Flick et al. 2004:222). While "an ethnographic perspective on memory should involve the whole body" as "memory takes us into the enviroing world as well as into our individual lives", in city walks I found a methodological approach to engage with and capture the spatial considerations in my research project, for example, the commemoration of the 'Turkish enemy' in Vienna's

urban heritage and its overlap with (or the absence of) the memories of former 'guest workers' from Turkey in public spaces (Climo and Cattell 2002:20). A more elaborate approach is brought forward with Palmberger's "memory-guided city walks", in which her interview partners decide on a walking route for the interview, passing along their personal places of memory within the urban space (Palmberger 2016a). Moreover, the association *Jukus* (*Verein Jukus – Verein zur Förderung von Jugend, Kultur und Sport*), which I interviewed, organised an exhibition on 'guest workers' from Turkey in 2014 in Vienna and included city walks as a method to complement the exhibition and trace migrants' memories within the urban spaces. Thereby, I walked the tour organised by *Jukus*, also as a way to approach the exhibition, which I could only visit in retrospect, as it took place previously to my fieldwork. Further city walks were guided, for example, the project „Geschichte einer Gasse“ (literally history of an alley) by the festival Soho in Ottakring 2016, while in other walks I retraced Kerstin Tomenendal's meticulous account on monuments relating to the sieges of Vienna in the city's urban heritage or visited art installations in public spaces, like a video intervention at Vienna *Hauptbahnhof* complementing a conference on the 50th anniversary of the recruitment agreement with former Yugoslavia (Tomenendal 2000). The explorations of these city walks I documented by taking photographs or filming short sequences as well as writing observation protocols afterwards. This "subsequent reporting of what has been observed and perceived, or, more precisely, what is still remembered afterwards", thereby pointing to the reliance on the researcher's memory for this method itself, which therefore "cannot (...) be treated as faithful reproductions or unproblematic summaries of what is experienced", formed the basis for segments of ethnographic writing in chapter 4 (Flick et al. 2004:228). Walking through the cityscapes also furthered drawing together the information provided by my interview partners as well as historical and archival data on these urban spaces with the actual observations made on, for example, the inhabitation and engagement with the surroundings.

Eventually, in order to embed the gathered data and material into a broader theoretical context I applied a qualitative content analysis with open and focused coding to the interview transcripts as well as further entries written down in my fieldwork

notebook, including observation protocols. The research was carried out in a circular manner, in which the interchange of fieldwork and subsequent analysis influenced the further direction of the research project and the reformulation of the research questions.

2. Theoretical Considerations

2.1 (Collective) Memories and Migration

Memory is a topic that received enormous attention both inside and outside of academia. Therefore, in order to come to terms with this heightened interest, the period from the 1980s onwards is referred to as the 'memory boom'. However, the memory boom also brought about its crisis. Affected by the reflexive, postcolonial turn, the relation between present, past and future became blurred as “linear historicity, truth, and identity” was increasingly questioned (Climo and Cattell 2002:6). While a variety of further arguments is presented by scholars that should point to the origins of this crisis, like “high-speed communication, information overload, and epistemological unease”, there is a consensus that the concept of memory became even more difficult to grasp (Climo and Cattell 2002:6). With multidisciplinary research interest and collaboration reaching from social science and the humanities to neuroscience and psychology, the multitude of perspectives enhanced both the insight into the topic as well as added to the fuzziness of the term (Climo and Cattell 2002:2). While the nation as “imagined community” often served as the major unit of analysis within memory studies, thereby sustaining a “methodological nationalism”, increasing attention towards collectivities and practices of remembrance beyond the nation state suggest the emergence of a “transnational turn” (Anderson 2006; De Cesari and Rigney 2014:1,3). Hence, in this research project memory is regarded as a useful conceptual frame to explore how collectivities are both formed and disrupted among a city's inhabitants, whose lives have been shaped by a multiplicity of transnational experiences and memories. While public discourse on (im)migration often gravitates towards questions of integration, memory as an analytical lens allows as well to think through and unravel the exclusive framing and

limits of narratives on e.g. national collective memories and belonging that impede on the 'integration' of "[t]he stranger...who comes today and stays tomorrow" (Wolff 1950:402).

The different disciplinary efforts to come to terms with memory resulted in separating individual and personal from social and collective memory. According to Paul Ricœur, a French philosopher, personal memories, subject to the distorted perception and selective process of remembering and forgetting of the individual, entail a cognitive process, in which "identity is opposed to diversity, to difference, by an act of comparison by the mind" that encourages to take possession of one's memories in opposition to another, as "my memories are not yours" (Ricœur 2004:96,104). Thereby, personal as well as collective memories, if "perceived as continuous with the past", may "provide a sense of history and connection, a sense of personal and group identities" (Climo and Cattell 2002:27). This process of (re)constructing memories, which can be exclusionary or inclusionary depending on the perspective, has therefore often been understood as meaning-making of the past, rooting the present and guiding to the future.

The term 'collective memory' is said to have its origins in the beginning of the 20th century, a time, in which multiethnic, partially multireligious, empires were succeeded by the new idea(l) of the nation state and diversity became problematised as a lack of coherence. In order to "overcome subjectivity, judgement, and variability in the name of science, organization, and control", this historical period was marked by "unifying and standardizing projects" supporting the longing for harmonious homogeneity and unified identities (Erll and Nünning 2010:153). Moreover, with the turn of the century photography evolved into a widely accessible technology, as cameras became affordable for amateurs. The democratisation of what now became a crucial mnemonic technology had important repercussions on societies and individuals. Thereby, "[f]or individuals, being able to write a note or record a message or take a photograph vastly extends the capacity to "remember," not simply by providing storage space outside of the brain but by stimulating our neurological storage processes in particular ways; in this manner, we have become genuine cyborgs with what several authors have called "prosthetic" memories" (Olick 1999:342). Situated in this context Maurice Halbwachs published "The Social Frameworks of Memory" in 1925, which until today constitutes a key contribution to the study of collective memory. While his

mentor Émile Durkheim is often criticised for his concept of 'Society' as “an organicism that neglects difference and conflict” with a life on its own, Halbwachs employed a more nuanced, plural approach, “showing how shared memories can be effective markers of social differentiation” (Olick 1999:334). Thereby, collective memories are constitutive to the texture of group identities, functioning as “agreed upon versions of the past, versions constructed through communication, not private remembrance” (Climo and Cattell 2002:4). Hence, relating back to the distinction of personal and social memory as mentioned above, whose relation and mutual influence is debated, Halbwachs referred to the often-quoted example of childhood memories in order to clarify the distinction of collective memories from the concept of autobiographical memory, in the sense of personal experience. The group context, in which an individual is situated, informs the processes of the acquisition and recollection of memories, by “provid[ing] the materials for memory and prod[ing] the individual into recalling particular events and into forgetting others” (Olick 1999:335). Therefore, personal memories, apparently not so 'personal' at all, do not necessarily need to be experienced directly by the individual, but are as well learned and even inherited through communication and collective sense-making processes. While Halbwachs acknowledges that “it is only individuals who remember”, “to remember, we need others”, as Ricœur summarises Halbwachs' work (Olick 1999:335; Ricœur 2004:120). Personal memories are hence socially framed, with the individuality of a person and its memories rather reflecting “the unique product of a particular intersection of groups” (Climo and Cattell 2002:23).

The definition of collective memories still remains vague. The proliferation of terms observable in literature amount to “cultural memory, historical memory, local memory, official memory, popular memory, public memory, shared memory, social memory, custom, heritage, myth, roots, tradition” and vernacular memory, which are used both synonymously as well as for differentiation (Climo and Cattell 2002:4). This inconsistency in use among various authors both seems to verify the contribution to the concept of collective memories, while at the same time also contesting its explanatory value, rendering collective memories as an umbrella term for processes of “pattern-maintenance” (Olick 1999:336). However, it can be questioned, if the difficulty to grasp and conceptualise what the concept of collective memory attempts to describe merely

stems from an “imprecision of concept, lack of disciplinary hegemony, lack of theoretical development” (Climo and Cattell 2002:5). Being “a nonparadigmatic, transdisciplinary, centerless enterprise”, the multidisciplinary interest in and the broad thematic perspectives applied to the study of memory may add to the multitude of terms by shifts of emphasis and a variety of approaches (Climo and Cattell 2002:5). Moreover, referred to as “provisional (...), malleable (...), contingent (...) negotiated and contested; forgotten, suppressed, or recovered; revised, invented or reinvented”, collective memories display an inherent fluidity and ambiguity (Climo and Cattell 2002:4-5). Both unifying and dividing, connecting and separating, providing coherence and revealing discontinuity, these contrasting qualities demonstrate that collective memories involve an active process of remembering and 'un-remembering' (Climo and Cattell 2002:25). Understanding collective memories as a practice-based process exposes the obvious shortcomings of both a reductionist individualist approach, which rather produces what Jeffrey K. Olick refers to as 'collected memory', as well as a collectivist approach to collective memories, as defined by Halbwachs. In the former not only the importance of social influences on memory (re)construction passes unrecognised, but even findings of neurological studies suggesting the importance of contextual and therefore changing factors for remembering (Olick 1999:340). While an individualist approach helps to circumvent the Durkheimian trap of ascribing a single, uncontested collective memory to a society (or Society) and “assuming the existence of a collectivity which has a collective memory” respectively, “merely substituting finer grained collective categories for *the* collective memory does not necessarily eliminate the tendency to reify the new categories“ (Olick 1999:339). Instead of theorising both approaches as mutually exclusive, several attempts to bridge them highlighted their interdependencies, arguing that “[t]here is no individual memory without social experience nor is there any collective memory without individuals participating in communal life” (Olick 1999:346). Acknowledging the interwoven realities of the two approaches might provide an enhanced explanatory value, as “neither has any greater success than the other in deriving the apparent legitimacy of the adverse positions from the strong position each, respectively, holds” (Ricoeur 2004:124). This inclusive approach accommodates the variety of locations and products of collective memories, including written accounts, visual and audio material, oral history, art, music, literature,

architecture and cuisine, to be examined in conjunction with practices, like “reminiscence, recall, representation, commemoration, celebration, regret, renunciation, disavowal, denial, rationalization, excuse, acknowledgment, and many others” (Erll and Nünning 2010:158). Thereby, the complexities of the process of collective memories are acknowledged, moving on from reductionist approaches, in which both either relying on an individual's cognitive capacities or the omnipotence of societal dynamics detached from its actors offers merely limited insight.

However, with an emphasis on practice collective memories have often been referred to what Halbwachs understands as an 'active past', due to its identity-building and -sustaining capacities, while the concept of historical memory rather became to signify a past that is merely known through historical records due to a lack of autobiographical memory. Although the historical, 'dead' memory thereby loses some of its meaning and relevance, it nevertheless provides important material for (re)constructing a continuous group identity through the passage of time (Erll and Nünning 2010:156). Pierre Nora, a French historian, whose work will be elaborated on with more detail in section 2.2., applies a similar distinction, in which “[m]emory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name (...) a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past”, disconnected from the present (Nora 1989:8). However, the not unproblematic positivist assumption of an “opposition between history—the dispassionate representation of the past—and memory—the subjective continuity with it” became increasingly criticised by various scholars, like Michael Lambek, who provided alternative, ethnographic accounts, in which “the past is far from escaping the present” and history may as well take on a rather “explicitly distributive and performative nature” (Lambek 2002:55,134). Thereby, the elaboration of historical narratives, in which history is emplotted, moves into focus, pointing to the fragile relations between memory and truth, both marked by “the dialectics of remembering and forgetting, shaped by semantic and interpretive frames, and subject to a panoply of distortions” (Climo and Cattell 2002:1). In the case of memories more important than factual accuracy, although usually a claim to truth is involved, it rather seems to matter “whether people accept them as truth or, at least, as useful and meaningful” (Climo and Cattell 2002:27). But still, according to Ricœur, it is this claim to truth in reference to the past, that

distinguishes memory from mere imagination (Ricoeur 2004:7). While both memory and imagination involve similar processes “in the mode of becoming-an-image”, as “to evoke one – to imagine it – is to evoke the other – to remember it”, Ricoeur attempts and argues for the necessity to disentangle them, crystallising in memory's “search for truth, faithfulness” (Ricoeur 2004:5,7,55). With memory as a form of situated truth, its (re)construction is shaped by both vivid dynamics as well as paralysing stasis, as expressed in historical reinterpretations and continuities. Regarding personal memory, “[t]hrough reminiscence and narration, individuals are continually reshaping their past lives to fit present needs and concerns”, which on a societal level might be expressed in, for example, forms of tradition building and power struggles (Climo and Cattell 2002:16,27). This points to the inherent power dimension implicated in the formulation of narratives with “the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such production” (Trouillot 1995:xix). With the relation between memory and power being elaborated on with more detail in section 2.2. and 2.3, for now it remains important to note that “[t]here is no political power without control of the archive, if not memory”, as “to control memory is to control history and its interpretations of the past” (Derrida et al. 1995:11; Climo and Cattell 2002:30).

Recapitulating, by means of socialisation the individual develops “sociobiographic memories”, thereby becoming part of “mnemonic communities” (Climo and Cattell 2002:35). While not necessarily based on personal experience, but transmitted via a variety of mnemonic practices and products, “vicarious memories” become rooted in the subjectivities of their members (Climo and Cattell 2002:12). “It is not just that we remember as members of groups, but that we constitute those groups and their members simultaneously in the act (thus re-member-ing)”, hence creating a collectivity among its practitioners that exceeds the sum of their collected, personal memories (Olick 1999:342). While memory as a practice requires periodical reenactment and performance for its persistence, it is also here, where the binding qualities of memories can be challenged by disclosing discontinuities or demanding change. Therefore, while the collectiveness within personal memories has been outlined, the personal within collective memories needs to be considered as well. It is the individual life stories and personal narratives, which may “aid the reconstruction of

nearly forgotten social institutions, demonstrate continuities and changes in memory and identity over time, and reveal individual and collective reactions to historical events” (Climo and Cattell 2002:22). Moreover, instead of assuming collectivity through shared memories of a group, this collectivity should rather be scrutinised and examined in terms of its plural or exclusive meanings.

Therefore, in recent years the relation between memory and migration started to receive more attention. With societies increasingly being transformed by transnational flows and migration-driven diversity, the nation as mnemonic community and the collective memories it sustains become more and more contested. The multiplicity of heritages embodied by local populations, especially in urban areas, challenges the narrowly tied national(ist) narrations, which have never suited the realities of its residents. Moreover, although resistance to a more heterogenous understanding of lived realities can be observed, especially if emanating from migration, in the most extreme cases through, for example, forms of neo-nationalism, “i[n] the postmodern world, even people who are not highly mobile, who remain in the same place for many years, may discover that they need to change and adapt their identities as places are transformed around them” (Climo and Cattell 2002:15). Challenging the “assumed isomorphism of space, place, and culture”, Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson suggested already in 1992 “to ask how to deal with cultural difference while abandoning received ideas of (localized) culture” (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:7). The ontological violence exercised by treating mobility and migration as exceptional phenomena, deviating from the norm of permanent residency, is even perpetuated in concepts of 'multiculturalism' and 'subcultures', as it “attempt[s] to subsume this plurality of cultures within the framework of a national identity” by “stretch[ing] the naturalized association of culture with place” (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:7). Rather, as argued by Zofia Rosińska, “[e]migration (...) is the necessary condition of modern subjectivity”, in which “[e]strangement and alienation, emigratory melancholies, are also reactions to socio-political transformations and to progress, which stage a confrontation with the other, or more precisely with one's self *through* the other” (Creel and Kitzmann 2011:11).

The importance of reconsidering the relation between memory and migration are its repercussions for the realities of immigrants or those defined as immigrants, which often holds true for later-born relatives of immigrants. While the process of obtaining

the citizenship of a country is often constructed to constitute the final, rewarding step of a migrant's 'integration' by becoming a legal citizen, in practice discrimination and the feeling of being merely tolerated by the eternal 'host country' may be experienced further. In light of these unresolved questions of belonging, examining the narratives sustaining the mnemonic community of a nation can provide new insights. Criticising that “[s]tudies on the incorporation of immigrants up until now, especially in Europe, have tended to focus on political participation, which has led to an overemphasis on the legal and political requirements relating to citizenship”, Irial Glynn and J. Olaf Kleist point out the importance of considering the plural, possibly conflictive memories within transnational societies (Kleist and Glynn 2012:4-5). Therefore, questions of belonging are often questions of memory as membership is often defined in terms of the past. As has been outlined above, memory as a practice may “function as a way of indirect persuasion to act according to a particular social group's legacy” in order to ensure the continued preservation of certain narratives (Kleist and Glynn 2012:9). In legal terms, migration policies may reflect how collective memories may give rise to a certain understanding of belonging within a mnemonic community. Thereby, the study of memory moves on towards examining how memories may inform political action and policies and specifically “how memories of the past can affect the reception and incorporation of immigrants in the present” (Kleist and Glynn 2012:6). Likewise, it is crucial to pay attention to how agents of migration strategically use the (re)construction of 'their' memories to challenge policies and national narratives, especially with regard to encounters of postcolonial subjects with racist, colonialist legacies encoded in a variety of mnemonic products and practices. Hence, besides examining the repercussions of national narratives on immigration policies as well as further political effects, “[m]emory, in all its forms, physical, psychological, cultural, and familial, plays a crucial role within the contexts of migration, immigration, resettlement, and diasporas, for memory provides continuity to the dislocations of individual and social identity” (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:3). Thereby, as Gülsah Stapel points out, it should not be forgotten that migrants' memories are more complex and multifaceted, as the memories of all inhabitants in a city. Despite their biographical importance, migrants' memories can therefore not be reduced to migration experiences (Boesen and Lentz 2010). Similarly, “the assumption that ethnic or ethno-religious identities, beliefs, practices or

networks are central to the lives of people of migrant background and to their settlement processes” rather limit than add to the explanatory value of analyses as it “obscures the multiple sources and dynamics of migrant agencies, sociabilities and belongings, as well as the divisions based on class, religion or politics among members of those identified as being from the ‘same’ group“ (Çağlar 2016:952,953).

In light of increased mobility and its transforming effects on the self-understanding of individuals as well as identification processes within collectives, the study of memory should move beyond questions of social cohesion. Taking into account the (de)construction of migration as a movement between bounded entities, Julia Creet argues that “the manner in which memory travels is a quality of memory itself, not a flaw, not a lessening, not a shift in category, but constitutional, of memory, a constant constantly on the move, archiving itself rhizomatically” (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:6). This invokes profound questions about the interplay of memory, migration and place. Locality continues to play an important role for memories, not only because the content of memories is often encoded in specific places, but also in light of the potential of spatial interventions to spark public outrage and provoke resistance. However, if movement is understood as being constitutive to memory, it has repercussions on the conceptualisation of space and place in conjunction with memory. Following Tim Ingold, “[p]laces are formed through movement, when a movement *along* turns into a movement *around*”, which is “place-binding, but it is not place-bound” (Ingold 2008:1808). If, according to Ingold, “the path, not the place, is the primary condition of being, or rather of becoming”, then memory cannot be considered anymore as “memory *in situ*, and place itself as stable, unchanging environment” (Ingold 2008:1808; Creet and Kitzmann 2011:3). In light of this deterritorialisation of memory, Creet suggests “to take the quality of memory's migration rather than the distance from its forever-lost point of origin as our object of study” (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:9). Hence, with migrating memories being traced along movement trajectories, instead of being ascribed, or rather doomed, to an irretrievable origin, Stapel's claim to include migrants' memories beyond their experience of migration is strengthened by this fact, as places are not merely transited by migrants, but inhabited along their pathways. In the following section 2.2, the dynamics between memory and migration in relation to place will be elaborated on with more detail. At this point it can be concluded that

approaching the topic through movement instead of fixity and stasis may provide new insights. Moreover, memories are thereby conceptualised beyond constituting “an important tool to re-imagine and create modes of belonging and models of social cohesion that would also offer an appropriate path into society for immigrants” (Kleist and Glynn 2012:206). By merely arguing for the incorporation of migrants' memories into the 'local' mnemonic products and practices, the concept of 'memory *in situ*' is not fundamentally questioned, but rather assumed.

2.2 Places of Memory in Transition

As has been mentioned in the previous section, place is closely connected to collective memories and their manifestation in a variety of mnemonic products and practices, for example, traceable in the architecture and function of monuments and buildings, like museums and public edifices. These instances of built environment exemplify how humans establish meaningful relationships by engaging with their surroundings in their everyday lives. According to Christopher Tilley, places as “centers of human significance and emotional attachment” are created, precisely through this engagement and interactivity (Becker 2003:130). This focus on practical engagement entailing an understanding of place as a multisensory, “embodied experience” has been forwarded in literature with a phenomenological approach (Becker 2003:131). Thereby, the notion of movement is considered as well as its transforming effects on the conceptualisation of place, as has been indicated in the previous section. Regarding “embodiment as a movement of *incorporation* rather than inscription, not a transcribing of form onto material but a movement wherein forms themselves are generated”, especially in the work of Tim Ingold a dwelling perspective on place has been developed (Ingold 1993:157). Thus, instead of understanding the evolvement of space into place as a continuum of concrete meanings attached to it, as argued by Yi-Fu Tuan, Ingold argues for the concept of 'taskscape', referring to an array of interlocked, practical activities exercised not onto, but within one's surroundings (Tuan 1977:6; Ingold 1993:158). Following this approach, it is not only human agents moving within places, but “the [alleged] fixed forms of the landscape, passive and unchanging unless

acted upon from outside, are themselves in motion” (Ingold 1993:164). Moreover, when moving through an animated surrounding, from place to place so to speak, as in human migratory movements, Ingold holds that, while built structures and features of landscape may be instrumentalised and perceived as boundaries, places per se cannot be defined by or depend on setting up boundaries as they constitute an integral part of the landscapes (Ingold 1993:156,167). These considerations, in which place and humans are integrated and movement is perceived in its binding, not separating qualities, have implications for understanding the interaction between places and (collective) memories. Hence, “blanketing metaphors” building on “the very idea that meaning *covers over* the world, layer upon layer” implicitly foster a methodological approach, in which their uncovering and interpretation by researchers becomes central, “untroubled by any concerns about what the world means to the people who live in it” (Ingold 1993:171). In other words, approaching, for example, urban landscapes as depositories for the dust of history favours “[t]he task of decoding the 'many-layered meanings of symbolic landscapes'", thereby diverting the focus from actual human engagement in these places, in which “[e]very feature, then, is a potential clue, a key to meaning rather than a vehicle for carrying it” (Ingold 1993:171,172). Thus, places do not constitute fixed, unchanging stakes in space containing (collective) memories, but are rather formed through movement by humans (and non-humans) dwelling within their living surroundings, thereby clearly opposing Tuan, who argues that “place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place” (Tuan 1977:6).

Before moving further towards a more detailed account of the influence of human migratory movements on the conceptualisation of place and memory, the work of Maurice Halbwachs, which has already been introduced in the previous section, shall be reviewed as well as the concept of “les lieux de mémoire” by Pierre Nora, which is still impacting on a variety of scholarly literature today, but has as well been subjected to thorough criticism. Recalling, for Halbwachs memories as “agreed upon versions of the past” are inherently social, even with autobiographical memories rather being outcomes of collective recollection and negotiation than private contemplation (Climo and Cattell 2002:4). Hence, collective, social frameworks, in which each group member is situated, provide the coordinates, in which to position their personal experiences and

memories, as “the thoughts of the others (...) have developed ramifications that can be followed, and the design of which can be understood, only on the condition that one brings all these thoughts closer together and somehow rejoins them” (Meusburger et al. 2011:34). Thereby, in this process, to which Halbwachs refers as “localisation”, collective memories are both anchored in the physical surroundings of the group per se as well as in the exercises of communal practices, which constantly revoke and re-link the collective bonds to a locality. Through this “intrinsic spatiality of memory” groups relate to their spatial surroundings, which are constitutive for collective memories, by “implacement”, an understanding different to Ingold's understanding of embodiment, as outlined above (Meusburger et al. 2011:4,41). By inscribing, rather than incorporating, collective memories and thereby 'territorialising' their surroundings, groups establish stable, timeless bonds to a place, “add[ing] an additional “physiognomic” dimension” (Meusburger et al. 2011:48). Consequently, even with a change in membership, collective memories are sustained due to the detachment from the individual and the impersonality of the collective frameworks, which “once in place, becom[e] so familiar that it appears to shine forth from the environment itself” (Meusburger et al. 2011:36,40). Hence, a group's spatial surroundings provide continuity and orientation. However, in light of increased migration, an understanding, in which “[c]ollective memory is possible only when social relationships are slowed down and crystallized around objects” might prove problematic or at least provide merely limited explanatory insight (Meusburger et al. 2011:43). Does a loss of place entail a loss of memory? Can collective memories migrate and be sustained to a new surrounding? How are collective memories affected and shaped by increased multiple spatial attachments of its group members? And if the inhabitants of a place are increasingly diverse and flexible, what is the basis for shared memories and understanding?

In this regard, Pierre Nora laments the disappearance of “*milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory” in favour of “*lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory”, a development he attributes to the “acceleration of history” entailing “the deritualization of our world – producing, manifesting, establishing, constructing, decreeing, and maintaining by artifice and by will a society deeply absorbed in its own transformation and renewal, one that inherently values the new over the ancient, the young over the old, the future over the past” (Nora 1989:7,8,12). Distinguishing between 'real' and 'artificial'

memory, the latter synonymous with history, in Nora's dichotomy place is either essentialised as “stable, geographic, generational environments” with true memories *in situ*, or an imaginary landscape “to remind us of what was one there” in the absence of memory (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:4,5). To put it differently, faced with the loss of intimate, lived memories situated “in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects”, “our hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change” amass and erect depersonalised and externalised sites of memory (Nora 1989:8,9). Interestingly, while Halbwachs stresses the importance of impersonality for the sustainability of collective frameworks, in which the territorialisation of collective memories necessarily entails the detachment from the individual member, for Nora the impersonality of memory arises through the absence of ritual and the generational, social transmission of memories, thereby rather reflecting the disappearance of memory. Moreover, ironically, while Nora developed the concept of “lieux de mémoire” in order to refer to the manifestation of then lost memories, ergo history, the context of its application is usually in the realm of memory, gaining popularity as some sort of buzzword also outside of academia, thereby constituting “a project that has helped stimulate a boom in the study of memory (...) premised on the demise of memory” (Rothberg 2010:4). Acknowledging the dynamics of remembering and forgetting, both the theoretical framework by Halbwachs and Nora allows for a certain degree of flexibility. While Halbwachs argues how “some key images and meanings pass between and are adapted by different frameworks, whereas others are gradually being disposed of and erased from the collective memory”, regarding “lieux de mémoire” Nora accounts for “their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications” (Meusburger et al. 2011:45, Nora 1989:19). Nevertheless, despite taking into consideration the capacity for adaption and inherent fluidity of memories, both approaches rely on a fixed idea of place, in which memories are deposited. This understanding, entailing the assumption that “time is the only movement which memory tolerates”, proves to be unsuitable in the context of increased human migratory movements (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:5). Thereby, also the artificiality of Nora's dichotomy between memory and history has been criticised thoroughly, questioning its suitability concerning “contemporary cultures of memory and new modes of transmission of the past” (Rothberg 2010:4). For example, it may be

well advised to review critically any attempt to produce history, especially those aiming at reconstructing the historical continuity of a people in order to legitimise its claim to power and territory. However, merely invalidating it as 'unreal' and “the clearest expression of the terrorism of historicized memory” is at best simplifying and denying its subversive potential, as in the case of marginalised minorities (Nora 1989:14). Rendering the “task of remembering” a non-practice is misconceiving, since unearthing, documenting and sharing stories and memories is listening, (re)learning and a social practice in itself, sometimes probably not even more inventive than if it would have been handed down and taught by, for example, an immediate kin (Nora 1989:15). Broadening traditional historical narratives became an important tool in the course of the postcolonial turn. Particularly Michael Rothberg highlighted Nora's ignorance regarding France's (post)colonial history and “the impact of decolonization and postcolonial migrations”, thereby rather “end[ing] up reproducing a reified and ironically celebratory image of the nation-state it set out to deconstruct” (Rothberg 2010:6). Instead, he proposes the alternative concept of “noeuds de mémoire”—knots of memory—, thereby departing from Halbwachs' and Nora's implicitly assumed homogeneity within a group bound by collective memories towards “rhizomatic networks of temporality and cultural reference that exceed attempts at territorialization (whether at the local or national level) and identitarian reduction”, “knotted” in all places and acts of memory” (Rothberg 2010:7). Thereby, instead of nostalgically lamenting a loss of memories, Rothberg acknowledges memory's increased plurality or “multidirectionality” fueled by the influences of migration and further global flows, which entails “multiplied possibilities of encountering alterity”, like exposure to diverse memories (Rothberg 2010:9,10).

Hence, new approaches are emerging that challenge the work of Halbwachs and Nora as well as Ricœur, as prominent representatives of a long standing tradition that closely ties place to memory and identity. While scholars with a phenomenological approach to place, most famously Edward Casey, continue to forward this intrinsic connection, contending that “memory is naturally place-oriented, or at least place-supported”, a variety of critics argue for more caution for this link, admittedly in its most essentialised form, may have “the effect of producing of a xenophobic and bellicose “blood and soil” ideology” (Farrar 2011:724). As has been indicated above,

especially the influences of growing human migratory movements and mobility furthers new conceptualisations of space and place. Transnationalism gives rise to “transnational ‘social fields’ or ‘social spaces’”, expressing “increasing diversity, complexity and multiple attachments” (Vertovec 2009:12,162). Hence, with even remote places being affected by transformations on a global scale and the “transnational maintenance of local cultural forms” by migrants, following Arjun Appadurai, “new ‘translocalities’” are created, “linking specific sites with specific sites” (Vertovec 2009:12,162). Places are therefore neither isolated, concrete entities nor do its inhabitants maintain exclusively bonds to one locality.

Clearly these developments and lived realities undermine the demands of the nation state, based on the “conceptual nexus of ‘identities–borders–orders’”, which assumes the contiguity between a shared identity of a people tied to a concrete territory set apart by a border and an alleged unique political, legal and social order, thereby further bolstering its claim to exclusivity and belief in the alterity of those located outside this collectivity (Vertovec 2009:87,100). Since, according to Martin O. Heisler, ““migration tends to attenuate territorial sovereignty, monolithic order, and identitive solidarity”” in both the receiving and sending country, the obsession with ‘integration’ and the controversies surrounding dual citizenship are not surprising due to its relevance for the sustainability of the nation state and the alleged national identity (Vertovec 2009:87). Hence, while a large amount of scholarly efforts were directed towards “a process variously named assimilation, integration, settlement, insertion or incorporation”, the debate often stalemated seemingly between those with a more optimistic and those with a more pessimistic outlook- those arguing how new, ‘strange’ influences on the society can be adopted as a contributing, enriching part constitutive to the whole, sometimes even transfigured as a national task with the potential to demonstrate its capabilities, and those problematising the presence of migrants as threatening or at least diminishing the national potency and prosperity (Vertovec 2009:77). Implicitly (or explicitly) assuming transnational connectivity as impeding the commitment of migrants to their new surroundings as well as understanding inclusion as a one-sided process depending on the migrants’ willingness to adapt, it was neglected that actually “[b]elonging, loyalty and sense of attachment are not parts of a zero-sum game based on a single place”, since “the ‘more transnational’ a person is does not

automatically mean he or she is 'less integrated', and the 'less integrated' one is does not necessarily prompt or strengthen 'more transnational' patterns of association" (Vertovec 2009:78).

Hence, moving back to the notion of place, migrants' compound allegiances and "membership in multiple polities in which they may be residents, part-time residents, or absentees" stimulates transformations in nation states towards "multiple and overlapping jurisdictions, sets of identities and social orders no longer really contained by borders" (Vertovec 2009:86,88). In other words, the emphasis shifts from fixity and stasis towards "[r]elationality, mobility and process (...) against 'settled' notions of place and identity", thereby "mov[ing] towards the idea of 'becoming', as identities in and of places are always being unmade and remade in a complex interplay with the (remembered), (settled) past and the novel events of present moments" (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012:2). However, this should not consolidate "the binary of mobility and stasis", but instead may as well "explore ways in which precisely immobility is also an essential aspect of contemporary mobility regimes" (Tošić and Palmberger 2016:n.p.). To mind comes, for example, "discrepancy between the speed, mobility, and temporalities in modern societies, and the experiences of individuals forced into a prolonged act of waiting", like "the poor, the unemployed, asylum seekers, undocumented migrants or youngsters", often provoking a sense of precarity and uselessness (Khosravi 2014:n.p.). This example illustrates literally what Homi Bhabha calls the "emergence of interstices", by which he argues for focussing on the "liminal space, in-between the designations of identity", which "opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (Bhabha 1994:2,5). But still, despite a reconfigured conceptualisation of place through movement undermining monolithic projects like the nation state, the continued influence of boundaries preventing or at least shaping these dynamics should not be blended out in light of intensified connecting links.

The liminality experienced by many migrants, between countries, borders or social statuses, is often closely connected to experiences of "marginality and inferiority", hinting to the social and thereby also power relations encountered in spatiality (Khosravi 2014:n.p.). Thus, the work of scholars like Doreen Massey, forwarding the idea of space as "a complex web of relations of domination and

subordination, of solidarity and cooperation”, and Henri Lefebvre, understanding space as an “outcome of social, political, and economic struggle” based on a dialectic between produced, “lived” space and reproduced, representational space, indicate how power structures shape places (Becker 2003:131). Hence, the organisation and arrangement of spatiality, for example through design, access, preservation and transmitted meanings, is influenced by and reflects power dynamics. Especially in the context of nation states, identity politics crystallise in places, serving as the bedrock for claims to power based on a concrete territory and a shared identity, as outlined above. Thereby, as in Nora's sites of memory, public spaces carry “material and symbolic markings”, manifesting the “strong relation between ideological domination and cultural representation” (Wahnich et al. 2008:69; Meusburger et al. 2011:59). Public spaces in urban areas, especially in capitals, are therefore of particular interest, as they “became arranged to accurate stages of certain forms of collective identity” from the second half of the 18th century onwards (Wahnich et al. 2008:72).

In light of increased urbanisation and diversity in a city's inhabitants “[t]he staging of memorial signs in the public space allows [not only] putting different temporal levels equivalently next to each other and to thus manufacture time-spreading linkages”, but as well “opens up those memories and identities to persons from radically different backgrounds” (Wahnich et al. 2008:71; Rothberg 2010:10). Hence, through these encounters between formerly distanced or separated stories and identities, overlapping, hybrid or clashing versions are produced. Within the materiality and structure of urban public spaces, the “clearly readable morphologic elements such as ways, boundary lines, defined ranges, intersections and marks” offering spatial orientation, meanings are encoded and communicated, which has been referred to as “city text”, “produced with different intentions over long periods” (Wahnich et al. 2008:69,72). These different intentions hint to the importance of reiteration for mnemonic places in order to sustain their meanings or remain meaningful at all. Through this “ongoing process involving inscription and reinscription, coding and recoding”, meanings can be contested or affirmed as well as simply cease to be readable for both recently settled inhabitants or following generations, for example (Rothberg 2010:8). Hence, instead of merely constituting a representative instrument for those in power, urban public spaces also allow for a considerable amount of power to be

exercised through the agency of active publics. Thereby, increasingly mobile and diverse publics clearly affect this mnemonic agency, provoking questions on “[w]hat impact (...) different patterns of mobility have on memory practices and how (...) they possibly contribute to the emergence of new forms of remembering” (Tošić and Palmberger 2016:n.p.). Although emigratory, diasporic memories are often marginalised as its agents are “transformed from migrants into minority citizen-subjects”, it is also through migration that cities can be seen as the “localization of global forces” (Becker 2003:131).

Furthermore, Margaret E. Farrar identifies urban sprawl and historic preservation as two pervasive developments impacting on place memory in cities nowadays. Thereby, landscapes marked by the former are characterised by an “absence of diversity” through monotonous, repetitive architecture creating amnesia, and those by the latter feed into nostalgia based on the (re)construction of “peculiar, selective, or even wholly imaginary pasts” (Farrar 2011:725). Although not being in the focus of Farrar's elaborations, both urban developments have specific repercussions on the lives of migrants settling in the city. The unmemorable topography connected to urban sprawl lacks “imageability” due to its reliance on “nothing but market logic to determine the shape of our cities” (Farrar 2011:726,731). Indistinctive, uniform landscapes preclude spatial orientation and thus mobility, rather generating “paralyzing uniformity” and “individual or collective alienation” (Farrar 2011:726,727). In amnesic places, that were often built in the course of post-war reconstruction, including housing for migrant workers, “the powers of place are neutralized by ignoring them or removing them from history”, which will be examined with more detail in section 4.1 (Farrar 2011:723). Nostalgia as a longing for a past, on the other hand, attempts to “freeze time and limit the possible interpretations of a given space” by an obsessive, yet selective preservation of those memories perceived as authentic and thereby worthwhile to remember (Farrar 2011:730). Confronted with this politics of preservation, it is not only the imbalance in maintaining and attributing significance to elite architecture that expresses the power dynamics at work, but its norm-setting power may also encourage a city's inhabitants to “identify with wealthy (most often white and male) elites” (Farrar 2011:730). Moreover, considerations on tourism, as a further form of mobility, may as well give the impetus for preservation efforts. Through the commodification of memories inhabitants are

turned into “consumers of memorable milieu instead of producers and interpreters of them”, reinforcing an unambiguous, presentable historical interpretation (Farrar 2011:729). Thereby, the dynamics of historic preservation for tourism do often give rise to historicised city centres and districts, while displacing migrant communities in particular to minoritised urban areas based on (twisted) claims of 'authenticity' causing spatial, socio-economic and further forms of segregation. Ignoring the fact that it is often migrant workers, who are involved in the (re)construction process, historic preservation “bracket[s] relations of power and domination in favor of promoting a fantastic metanarrative of universal privilege”, by sealing off the past by discouraging any active engagement (Farrar 2011:730).

Hence, Farrar dismisses both forms of urban development as not being conducive to democratic politics and an inclusive approach to place memory, but instead forwards the concept of “porosity”- “a sense of place that understands how history and memory seep into landscapes, allowing the past to coexist alongside the present” (Farrar 2011:730). Thus, approaching place through porosity allows for the acknowledgement of “multiple temporalities” and shifts “attention to how these places multiply possible readings of space and of history”, which is especially salient in light of increasingly diverse publics (Farrar 2011:733). Also for this research project the concept of “porosity” proved to be useful in exploring the cracks that emerge between the framing of collective memories in urban (and national) narratives and the actual engagement of a city's inhabitants in the urban space, for example migrants, whose entangled memories are often excluded from larger narratives (Benjamin 2004). Instead of sanitising urban spaces with linear, homogenous narratives, that become sustained in dominant, reductive preservation efforts, the disruptions arising from counter-narratives highlight the multiplicity of meanings and alternative, heterogenous memories condensing in a place throughout time (see section 4.1). Place does thereby not merely provide for power structures and dominant narratives to be projected on, but as part of the everyday life of a city's inhabitants to be transformed through active engagement with and appropriation of the surroundings. Due to the “visual silence” and obstacles for participation, memories concerning migration have often been omitted in scholarly research in favour of the more readily accessible “city texts” on societal traumas like war and genocide as well as further, larger scale narratives, not to deny their importance

(Vienna Summer School in Urban Studies 2014:22; Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012:3). However, in the context of the affective, emotional turn within social sciences, increased interest is now placed on personhood in memory and thereby “the quieter, everyday mnemonic practices that constitute the ‘living presence of the past’”, which thereby also opens up the research to more diverse, alternative place memories hitherto rather neglected (Tošić and Palmberger 2016:n.p.; Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012:4). While the study on memories has largely been framed by dichotomous concepts, like present and past, memory and history, remembering and forgetting, the individual and the collective, mobility and stasis as well as the body in place and space, an affective approach may help to understand memories as a profoundly “living, shifting timespace dynamic, perhaps formed of living, convulsing, labyrinthine entanglements of many virtual (living) landscapes in unconscious memory stores, which are often dark (as in not illuminated by conscious recollection) and thus unmapped and unmappable” (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012:13). While Halbwachs still argued that “[m]emory is blind to all but the group it binds”, an enhanced sensitivity towards “affective mapping” and ordinary, everyday spatial practices may help to unfold the diversity of memories situated within the inhabitants and the city (Nora 1989:9; Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012:14). Thereby, it is both accounted for the memories and experiences of those, who have not the power to shape public spaces by major monumental interventions as well as the shift away from the predominance of monuments. Despite their abundance and purpose to bundle attention, often quite literally they face a “loss of meaning and misinterpretations”, encouraging Robert Musil to contend that “nothing in the world is as invisible as monuments” (Wahnich et al. 2008:73). Moreover, while place and sites of memories may be shaped according to the dominant power structures, “no direct link can be simply assumed between a national historiography inscribed in the cityscape by cultural, academic and political elites and the historical consciousness of people who face these national markers in everyday life”, explaining the ambiguity, alterations and continuance of counter-memories surrounding monuments, compromising the intended message (Palmberger 2013a:10).

Thus, it has been illustrated how the conceptualisation of memory in relation to place moved from the work of both Halbwachs and Nora towards an understanding through movement. Instead of assuming place to constitute a fixed, coherent entity

blanketed and territorialised by (collective) memories, phenomenological approaches emphasised the multisensory experience by bodies moving through and integrated with place. This incorporation and embodiment of one's surroundings highlights the binding qualities of movement, challenging the definition of place through separateness and boundaries. The lived realities of migrants with multiple, translocal attachments, conflated and contradictory identities and increased diversity in place further challenged settled notions of memory and place, and thereby the logics a nation state rests upon. A variety of concepts, like Rothberg's knots of memory and Farrar's porosity, further an understanding that accounts for the multidirectional, multitemporal rhizomatic entanglements between memory and place. While public space reflects and has been designed and used consciously to inform certain dominant narratives by those in power, for example in the construction of Nora's sites of memory, the demand for reiteration in order to sustain its meanings also opens up possibilities for active engagement and (re)appropriation. Multiple readings of place are enhanced by increasingly mobile and diverse publics and their diasporic memories and mnemonic practices. Developments like urban sprawl and historic preservation have repercussions on the lives of migrants settling in the city in particular by privileging the creation of amnesic and nostalgic spaces and perpetuating the exclusion of migratory memories. However, the postcolonial and affective turn within social sciences encourages a shift away from the predominance of monuments and national narratives towards personal, everyday spatial and mnemonic practices, thereby also increasingly allowing for more diverse, alternative memories to be considered.

2.3 Collecting Migration?

“Here, finding is recovering, and recovering is recognizing, and recognizing is accepting, and so judging that the thing recovered is indeed the same as the thing sought, and thus considered after the fact as the thing forgotten.” (Ricoeur 2004:99)

As has been outlined in the previous section, public space, especially in urban areas, reflects the power dynamics of its inhabitants through manifestations of dominant narratives as well as (re)appropriations and absences. In this regard, also in museums as

part of the public space in cities changing conceptualisations of memory and place in relation to increased human migratory movements and diverse publics can be traced. The rise of the nation state in the nineteenth century was accompanied by the development of “new mnemonic forms like the museum, the archive, and indeed professional historiography itself”, providing the instruments necessary to ground the national cohesion of large, anonymous conglomerations of people, Anderson's 'imagined communities' (Olick 1999:343, Anderson 2006). Thereby, with the formalisation of the state its public institutions like the museum evolved into the legitimised “custodian (and owner) of a shared symbolic and material inheritance”, the “gatekeepers of national heritage”, shifting away from the single importance of private possessions and collections by the church and aristocracy (Greismar 2015:74; MeLa* Research Project n.d.:14). Nevertheless, the practice of identifying and selecting 'national heritage' widely reflected and validated the lives and interpretations of those perceived as worth to be remembered (Climo and Cattell 2002:22). This fabrication of identity through categorising and classifying, collecting and displaying along deemed neutral parameters expressed instead the epistemological power (or violence) and organisation of difference by the museum, a “boundary-drawing device” (Chambers et al. 2014a:212). The application of these practices had particularly adverse effects in the context of ethnographic museums, which gave rise to the division between Western subjects and the (colonial) 'Others' based on the imagination of “the gradual evolution of mankind from the state of savagery to civilisation” (Chambers et al. 2014a:65). Hence, “ethnographic museums, branded with their original sin of complicity with colonialism”, which is equally true for anthropology beginning with its formation into a (then natural) scientific discipline, provided the 'evidence' for the illusionary unity of a national identity (Chambers et al. 2014b:73). The (mis)representations and regulation of heritage and memory narratives became more critically scrutinised, especially in light of diversifying societies through migration, challenging the credibility of the museum, perceived as “increasingly partial, unrepresentative and politically and culturally suspect” (Chambers et al. 2014b:17). A changing, societal context, demanding an examination of the seemingly unshakable, now challenged foundations upon which identities rested, entails also changing publics visiting museums. Transmitting a sense of superiority to the relieved and reassured visitor by assuming a comfortable distance

to the 'Other', the museum is now confronted and itself examined by the former 'Other', questioning its status as a Foucauldian 'heterotopia' "isolated from the outer world and its movements (...) imprisoned into an obsolete space-time category" (Ferrara 2012:152-153). While the presence and mobility of migrants is often criminalised, or at least problematised, "[t]he present phase of global migrations (...) is only the latest in the long history of migrations" and is thereby contrary to constituting a (partially tolerated) 'abnormality' the very product of Europe's colonial legacy and "characteristics of labour in the formation of the forces of production of Occidental modernity" (MeLa* Research Project n.d.:16; Ferrara 2012:15). Hence, the problem lies rather in (the need for) homogeneous national narratives based on a clearly demarcated identity definition excluding diversity. While subjectivities are increasingly (and consciously) shaped by heterogeneous realities, migration moreover highlights the "de-centred and diasporic re-elaborations of the grand narratives" produced by colonialism, thereby exposing "shared spaces and times" (Chambers et al. 2014a:2,6).

The absence of migrating memories in museums received deservedly more attention from the 1980s and 1990s onwards. In light of this redirected interest towards memories faced with collective ignorance hitherto, it is important to remark that to a certain extent metaphorical expressions perpetuating a colonial vocabulary are employed, describing the 'recovery' of disappearing memories. While these memories and stories may have been "lost to sight, not to the memory" from the national perspective, they were always present in the lives of those bearing them (Ricœur 2004:99). A shift in interest and attention does not necessarily constitute a recovery. In this regard, (the acknowledgement of) the presence of migrants may thereby rather trigger "a memory of forgetting", something "we remember having forgotten because we do remember it and recognize it" (Ricœur 2004:100). Hence, the memories and lives of migrants have rather been "unremembered", "emphasi[sing] that forgetting is an active process", thereby not merely constituting an absence, but the presence of an absence, "the presence among us of very large silent populations- silent because they are not supposed to be here" (Climo and Cattell 2002:25; Creet and Kitzmann 2011:viii). This adds another dimension to the theme of the presence of an absence that is deeply entrenched with the project of the museum per se, as, according to Ricœur's take on Platon's concept of "eikon", both memories (and imaginations) are necessarily

an image, a “re-presentation” of something that is absent, as well as the object on display in lieu of that, which it is supposed to represent (Ricoeur 2004:6,39). These are theoretical considerations that are being addressed in course of the “redefinition process” of museums set in motion, in conjunction with decolonising processes and demands for inclusion (Chambers et al. 2014a:63-64). According to Julia Creet, “every epoch evokes a model of memory that best suits its time, that memory as a concept reflects the time and place from which it emerges”, thus forwarding the need of a postcolonial museum (and exhibitions) on migration engaging with migrating memories and memories of migration (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:9).

The attempt for an inclusive approach in museums, taking the diverse heritage and publics into account, brought about several challenges. The European invention of the museum relies heavily on the collection, preservation and display on objects, often obtained illegally and violently in the course of colonial expansion. Due to the serious questions this poses to the “legitimate ownership and guardianship of objects” entailing claims for repatriation, it has been criticised that this process in itself is “completely over-determined by Occidental jurisdiction and legal practices” (Chambers et al. 2014a:40,244). A further approach that has been adopted constitutes the “aestheticisation of the ethnographic object”, by which its ethnocised, essentialised “status as 'specimen'” within a wider system of classification has been revoked by turning it in an individual artwork (Chambers et al. 2014a:40). As has been mentioned earlier, enabled by increased human mobility, specifically migration, more diverse publics in museums produce bodily encounters between the postcolonial 'Other' with the remaining colonial, racist narratives and legacies. Thus, beyond processes of reconciliation museums are also confronted with questions of how to “ensure accessibility of message, learning motivation and the visitor's direct participation” due to the variety of contextualised knowledge and socialisation of its visitors (Chambers et al. 2014a:99). Hence, the communication and interpretation of certain topics need to be rethought and adapted, since there might be different perspectives on (and absence of) shared historical experiences, while other experiences might not be readily accessible (Wonisch and Hübel 2012:16). For example, a question that has been explored in various contexts, for example by Josefine Raasch in terms of school education, is concerned with “how teenagers with migrant backgrounds should be introduced to

German history, particularly the history of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust” and if they “consciously exclude [or include] themselves from the *Haftungsgemeinschaft*, the community that is accountable and responsible for the injustices of the Holocaust” (Kleist and Glynn 2012:68).

Hence, like the sensitivity required for both daring to walk barefoot over a pile of broken glass as well as kintsugi, the Japanese art for repairing broken ceramics, the decolonising process in museums as well as the move towards establishing museums on migration in their own right are accompanied by profound considerations. It has been and still is continuously debated, if specific museums on migration provide an adequate framework to respond to the outlined challenges or are doomed to fail due to the impossibility to escape the inherent asymmetric power relations involved in museums, which may be “simply too flawed to redress their historical wrongs” (Chambers et al. 2014a:152). Bearing in mind the conflicted legacy of objects in museums, a key challenge for museums on migration has been the compilation of a collection. While “[t]he history and culture of the vanquished and the oppressed is rarely embodied in material objects”, as will be elaborated on with more detail in section 4.3, critical representational issues remain, accompanied by the risk of “falling into a reductive ethnology” (Chambers et al. 2014a:28,29). Thereby, especially the suitcase object of the suitcase evolved into an allegory in exhibitions on migrations, which due to its frequent application became charged with a symbolism, that nowadays is tried to be avoided (see as well section 4.3). While the suitcase also importantly implicates the limited space available to carry objects, further popular items on display, like “identity papers, travel documents, birth or marriage certificates, diplomas, photographs, letters, books, clothes, musical instruments, kitchen utensils and working tools”, refer to everyday commodities as well as objects taken on the journey, obtained after arrival, produced by bureaucratic procedures (Naguib 2013a:78). In order to obtain these objects museums rely on the participation of corresponding 'communities' present in the city, a strategy also applied to enhance a sense of ownership and inclusion. Thereby, two modes of participation have been applied most frequently, which is “participation by way of provision” based on the communities' engagement and consent to the exhibition as well as “participation by endowment, where donations [,for example, objects,] become sources of income for a museum” (Naguib 2013a:78). While this involves further dynamics that need to be

taken into consideration (see section 4.3), it can be argued that “a concrete visualisation of a traumatic past through images, places and practices aids recognition of the possible re-emergence of this past in contemporary tales of identity” (Chambers et al. 2014a:112). With Pierre Nora lamenting the archival nature of modern memory, “rel[ying] entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image”, a tendency to emphasise the 'intangible cultural heritage' of migrants evolved, which certainly “do not arrive empty handed (...) [, but] bring with them traditions, various types of knowledge and experiences” (Nora 1989:13; Naguib 2013b:2183). Sparking an increased interest in oral history and life stories, intangible cultural heritage (ICH) became as well codified in the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, defined as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith (...) transmitted from generation to generation”.¹ However, while this may provide only a partial solution for addressing representational issues, finding a middle ground, which does not rely on an artificial, dichotomous construction between the tangible and the intangible, may constitute a recommended approach, recognising that “the intangibility of cultural heritage is articulated through the materiality of culture (...) [and] the tangible can only be understood and interpreted through the intangible” (Naguib 2013b:2181). Thereby, it is also accounted for that “[o]bjects inhabit us as we inhabit them[, t]he object-world, the frozen world of things, besets us in a series of networks”, as has been further elaborated on in Bruno Latour's actor-network theory (Chambers et al. 2014a:84; Latour 2005).

With regard to memories traced and transmitted in an intangible manner, like music, dance and poems, the danger of petrification by “making the impermanent permanent” has been repeatedly articulated (Naguib 2013b:2181). While the fluidity of memories is particularly observable in the living traditions being renegotiated and adapted in interaction with their surroundings, preparing it in a manner that allows it to be put on display may entail to lose exactly this inherent quality of performative reinterpretation in favour of fixity. In terms of the archive, the drive to preserve and accumulate establishes, following Jacques Derrida, a “house arrest” for the stored objects and documents as well as the life stories they transmit, thereby amounting to an

¹ Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO 2003, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention>.

“institutionalization of domesticity” (Derrida 1995:10; Creet and Kitzmann 2011:284). Nora, who understood archives as an expression of modern memory that “preserve[s] every indicator of memory- even when we are not sure which memory is being indicated”, understood this development as “delegating to the archive the responsibility of remembering” by depositing memories (Nora 1989:14). Hence, while recording and writing down may follow the sincere intention to keep the presence and present of memories for learning purposes and the circulation of knowledge, for example, it is also “an instrument of organized reality-coping and representation of power” by “controlling, commanding, arranging, and codifying” (Meusburger et al. 2011:105). Thus, it has been questioned to what extent the archival and museal practices of collecting and classifying described by James Clifford as “a form of Western subjectivity and a changing set of powerful institutional practices” are suitable and capable of approaching and communicating the stories and memories of migrants (Chambers et al. 2014b:10). Nevertheless, Creet argued quite pragmatically, that both the archiving of memories as well as its vanishing without having been recorded constitute “states of stasis”, which is “the end of memory and movement its condition” (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:22). While Nora might respond by certifying the former an artificial and the latter a 'natural death', Creet sees a possibility for mobility in the totality of assumed archival fixity with “the motion of bodies sifting through their contents and moving them about, literally unsettling the dust that tends to collect” (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:22).

In course of the debate on the inclusion of migrants' memories and its appropriate methods, the “often socially constructed idea that the “migrants” are “needy” human beings whose histories must be salvaged and made public” has been profoundly challenged, giving rise to an approach that acknowledges that their memories and heritages may “exceed any logic of framing”- “a historical, cultural and ontological wound (...), a cut that remains incurable” (Ferrera 2012:40; Chambers et al. 2014a:5,243). Embracing a concept of “montage” and “interruption”, it may not only be impossible for memory to be aligned “as a narrative act in which people connect past and present as well as imaginations and expectations of the future into more or less coherent narratives”, but moreover there is “the possibility of the refusal of the other to appear” (Ferrera 2012:23,188; Palmberger 2013b:21; Chambers et al. 2014b:279).

Eluding the imposed chronology and linearity of historical narratives, too wieldy 'to fill in the gaps', may constitute a strategical act of resistance and (re)appropriation of a mnemonic form. Hence, by recognising and employing discontinuity and contradiction in one's memories, "the silent violence of hermeneutics and display" is subverted by "partial invisibility and creative silence as tools of liberation from the grip of the violence animating the appetite for transparency" (Chambers et al. 2014a:10; Chambers et al. 2014b:285). This highlights the importance that it is not sufficient to merely 'broaden' dominant, national narratives in an attempt to include memories of migrants, which Saphinaz-Amal Naguib awards to "impart drama and an emotional effect to exhibitions" (Naguib 2013b:2184). In order to result in more than "museums' nationalisation of migration memories", rendering "diversity (...) a national possession", criticism of dominant archival and museal practices and the development of new approaches is required (Kleist and Glynn 2012:14; Chambers et al. 2014a:152).

For example, frequently temporary and travelling exhibitions have been favoured as a form for exhibiting migration reflecting the fluidity and mobility of the topic, while others have criticised that this approach slows down its access into permanent exhibitions (Wonisch and Hübel 2012:17). Moreover, specific exhibitions or even museums dealing with migration may both highlight the importance of the topics as well as sustain its minoritised status in isolation from wider, general (national) narrations (MeLa* Research Project n.d.:16). The "ocular hegemony of Occidental culture" focussed on objects, being part of a "European sensorial regime as a universal archetype based on a disembodied way of looking", has been confronted through multisensory approaches, involving "sounds, orality, sensations, and unscripted memories" (Ferrera 2012:24; MeLa* Research Project n.d.:15). "[T]ransforming the museum into a sort of sensescape" and creating "'affective," sensorial, sonic and fluid archives", including interactive, digital resources, may provide for more varied approaches towards memory and remembering within museums (Chambers et al. 2014b:56; MeLa* Research Project n.d.:17). While this turn towards experiencing and dematerialising museum exhibitions, thereby questioning the suitability of the term 'exhibition' in itself, appears like a return to Nora's preference of 'true' memory traceable "in gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unspoken traditions, in the body's inherent self-knowledge, in unstudied reflexes and ingrained memories", it reflects the

processual transformation, the back and forth in the conversations on renegotiating, rethinking and reinventing museal practices (Nora 1989:13). It reflects moving in conjunction with the articulation of counter-memories, which implicitly sustains a dependence on an inversely defined dominating model, towards (the reinterpretation of) alternative aesthetics and poetics. Thereby, also the concept of “porosity”, as introduced in the previous section, has found its application in the museal space “through images and practices of breaking, ruination, fragmentation, and, simultaneously, of recomposition, recycling and recreation” (Farrar 2011; Chambers et al. 2014b:164). While ruin is traditionally proscribed from the museum, threatening its very aspiration for preservation, a dystopia even, this approach meets Trinh T. Minh-ha's call for paying more “attention to the holes, fissures, and fringes of history” quite literally (Chambers et al. 2014b:98).

To summarise briefly, in this section decolonising practices in the museums have been reviewed, particularly the efforts to adapt to increasingly diverse publics by challenging national historical narratives and including the experiences and memories of migrants. In light of practices that merely aimed at the incorporation and nationalisation of migrating memories, sustaining the predominant power structures and privileges, more critical, radical approaches developed. Profoundly challenging the attempt to 'collect migration' within established representational means and practices, emphasising the fluid, fragmentary nature of memories, revoking to be stockpiled along coherent narratives, but calling for a productive engagement.

3. Historical Context

3.1 The Metamorphosis of the 'Turks' in Vienna

Having outlined the theoretical foundations of this research project, this section provides the historical context for the location, in which the fieldwork has been conducted, the city of Vienna. Moreover, instead of outlining a general description of Vienna's historical development, this section is structured along the lines of the memories on the Sieges of Vienna and their adaption over the course of the following

centuries. Starting with a brief introduction to the historical events of the Sieges themselves, in 1529 and 1683 respectively, their memories will be traced roughly to the Second World War.

Following the Fall of the Byzantine capital Constantinople in 1453, which marked the end to the rule of the Eastern Roman Empire lasting for more than 1100 years, the rise of the Ottoman Empire was consolidated and the way for expansion towards Eastern and Central Europe paved. Vienna has been on the brink of being conquered before by the Mongols in 1241, only saved by their deliberate retreat following the death of Ögedei Khan, the son of Genghis Khan, the founder of the Mongol Empire, as well as witnessed a series of raids by the approaching Ottoman troops in the 1470s in what are nowadays the Austrian Southern states of Carinthia and Styria.² In the aftermath of the Battle of Mohács in 1526 between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary, Hungary was both partitioned and its crown inherited by the Habsburg monarchy due to the death of Louis II, the King of Hungary.³ Now in immediate vicinity to the Ottoman Empire, Vienna became eventually besieged on 25 September 1529 under the rule of Suleiman I, the Magnificent, and the first appointed Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha. Despite the considerable majority of the Ottoman army, which induced the Viennese population to counter the attack from the fortified city in the first place instead of risking an open battle, bad weather conditions impeded their advancement and thereby the undertaking from the beginning (Tomenendal 2000:85). In the course of the following three weeks several attempt to conquer the city failed, and facing the starting infamous Viennese winter season and diminishing food supplies, the Siege ended on 14 October 1529 (Tomenendal 2000:95). There circulate several versions on the reasons for the second Siege of Vienna, including a conspiracy by absolute monarch Louis XIV, the Sun King, due to the long-standing rivalry between the royal houses of Bourbon and Habsburg for preeminence in Europe, which had already been settled for France following the Thirty Years' War from 1618 to 1648 arising from religious conflicts between Catholics and Protestants. More likely and better documented are however versions pointing to aspirations to prestige and wealth,

2 Türkengedächtnis, "Seckau, Basilika," ÖAW, accessed on 10 May 2016, <http://www.tuerkengedaechtnis.oeaw.ac.at/ort/seckau-basilika/>.

3 For simplification, in this thesis the term 'Habsburg monarchy' is used to refer to the Habsburg or Austrian monarchy from 1526 to 1867 as well as to successive Austria-Hungary or the Dual Monarchy from 1867 to 1918.

with Vienna being designated as “Golden Apple”, a general notion in the Ottoman Empire expressing a longed for destination to be conquered, as well as a favourable situation, in which flagging the Habsburg monarchy appeared as an easy target (Tomenendal 2000:110,16). Both sides seemed to have learned from previous experiences: the Ottoman army arrived in an earlier season, on 14 July 1683, now under the command of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha, while Vienna was well stocked with both food and ammunition and secured by improved fortification including a glacis between the city walls and its suburbs (Tomenendal 2000:116-117). The alliance formed with Poland before the Siege, the signing of the Treaty of Warsaw assuring mutual assistance in the case of a siege of Vienna or Krakow, respectively, proved to be the best defence, as with the arrival of the relief force under the command of John III Sobieski, the King of Poland, and the subsequent, decisive Battle of Vienna at the Kahlenberg, a hill on the outskirts of the city, brought about the end of the siege on 12 September 1683 (Tomenendal 2000:129). The Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 following the Great Turkish War and at the latest the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 following the Austro-Turkish War entailed losses of territory for the Ottoman Empire and curtailed their expansionary ambitions towards Central Europe. Hence, in that period the Ottoman Empire ceased to constitute a military threat to Vienna. This final defeat of the Ottomans became a crucial part of the narratives on the sieges sustained until today, in which the (potentially perpetual) threat posed by the enemy is prevailed over, thereby also explaining the prevalence of the Second Siege in various forms of commemorations (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:300). This enemy image of the Turks (*Türkenfeindbild*), which had been applied since the 16th century, was further constructed through the real experiences of the sieges, in which the multiethnic, multireligious Ottoman Empire was stereotypically reduced to the Turkish 'Other', commonly expressed with the term 'Turks' (*Türken*) to this day (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:300,9,7).

In light of Vienna's vivid history it can be surprising how an event approaching its 350th anniversary has been so constitutive to and is still omnipotent in visual and further forms of representations and commemoration. As has been argued previously, the performative character of memories requires their ritual repetition. But can the enormous abundance of monuments in Vienna's public space with their encoded remembrance of the (Second) Siege and the defeat of the Ottomans be sufficiently

explained by Maurice Halbwachs' "imagos" and Émile Durkheim's "collective representations", the "long-term structures to what societies remember or commemorate that are stubbornly impervious to the efforts of individuals to escape them" (Olick 1999:335; Olick 2008:156)? While the top-down nature of these approaches lacking acknowledgement for individual agency has been sufficiently scrutinised in section 2., it is the assumption of persistence at the expense of change that is challenged here. While the memories on the 'Turks' are indeed marked by an impressive persistence, in order to remain viable throughout the centuries, it is more likely that it is not in absence of change, but because of a certain degree of flexibility and adaption that persistence is provided for. Johann Heiss and Johannes Feichtinger, whose work constitutes a key contribution to the topic, argue for the usability of the scaffold of this enemy image that throughout Vienna's historical development has been reapplied and remodels according to the respective political situation by those in charge due to its capacity to forge internal cohesion in light of an external threat (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:7). Hence, despite the material continuity of monumental signifiers, which in Vienna amounts to more than one hundred in reference to the sieges, their reading and interpretation is situated in and adapted to specific contexts. In the following, these processes of reappropriation and revitalisation concerning memories of the 'Turks' in Vienna will be roughly traced up to the Second World War and the beginning migration of 'guest workers' from Turkey to Vienna.

Following the Second Siege, the absence of a 'real' military threat by the Ottoman Empire allowed for an increased interest towards the 'enemy'. In the 18th century, marked by Baroque style and later on Rococo, the curiosity sparked by the 'Orient' strongly influenced the cultural productions at that time, like art, music and architecture, giving rise to the fashion of *Turquerie* (Tomenendal 2000:49). More importantly, this entailed also a changed representation of 'Turks' in literature, poetry or opera, in which their characters became increasingly inscribed with virtues like generosity and nobleness, thereby often constituting a leading example for the European characters involved (Tomenendal 2000:36,45). Moreover, out of increased economic relations with the Ottoman Empire, accompanied by the establishment of trading companies, also an interest (and need for communicating) in the Turkish language evolved, culminating in the establishment of the Oriental Academy (*Kaiserlich-*

königliche Akademie für Orientalische Sprachen) in 1754 (Tomenendal 2000:61). However, this desire directed towards the exoticised 'Other' also generated the common practice to convert Turkish prisoners to Catholicism (*Türkentaufen*), by which often members of the nobility assumed the role of godparents, like Prince Eugene of Savoy, who achieved a good reputation during the Second Siege for his service in the relief force (Tomenendal 2000:29-30). While the commemoration of the 1683 Siege were held by the church until then, during the first centennial anniversary in 1783 under Joseph II in the process of nation-building these activities were more restricted in favour of increased state involvement, lending the celebration are more secular, popular form, including fireworks (Heiss and Feichtinger 2009:255-256). Although a last war has been fought with the Ottomans from 1788 onwards, concluded with the signing of the Treaty of Sistova in 1791 by agreeing on demarcations based on the status quo, the Ottoman Empire did not pose the main threat anymore. Instead, proponents of the Enlightenment and the spreading ideas of nationalism in the aftermath of the French Revolution in 1789 with the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte needed to be warded off (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:10). Heiss and Feichtinger argue that it was then that for the first time a new external threat was compared to the threat by the 'Turks', thereby substituting them and marking the beginning of their role as a 'placeholder' (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:10).

In the beginning of the 19th century Vienna was marked by the Napoleonic wars, both by the proclamation of the Austrian Empire under Francis II previous to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, as well as the following occupation of Vienna in both 1805 and 1809. The parts of the fortification that were demolished during the retreat of the French troops were not rebuild in the aftermath, but instead provided the space for what in 1878 was named Heroes' Square (*Heldenplatz*), inspired by the political, nationally encoded squares in London and Paris (Wahnich et al. 2008:77). Ernst Hanisch describes the Viennese Heroes' Square as the symbolic centre of the Habsburg Empire and its myth sustained to this day, despite its 'torso-like', unfinished air, referring to the planned, but never realised Emperor's forum (*Kaiserforum*), which would have intersected with the liberal, bourgeois Ring Road (*Ringstraße*) (Hanisch 1998:9,11). In the course of general dynamics fostered by industrialisation and modernisation, and the accompanying pressures of a growing

population, further fortifications were removed for the building of Vienna's famous boulevard, which was inaugurated in 1865. Heavily influenced by historicism (*Historismus*), referring to an architectonic style combining old and new elements, a wide array of Vienna's most iconic buildings were constructed in the brief period of the following 20 years, including the Votive Church, the main building of the University of Vienna, the Town Hall, the Parliament Building, the Vienna State Opera as well as a variety of parks. The mushrooming of these representative buildings, a highly inventive undertaking navigated by a variety of architecture competitions, was accompanied by an equally excessive construction of monuments, a true monumental 'cult', especially in commemoration of the sieges (*Türkendenkmale*), according to Heiss and Feichtinger (Heiss and Feichtinger 2009:249). This 'route of monuments' ("Denkmalstrecke") provided impressive visual, symbolic markers to its inhabitants, especially to those newly settling in the city (Heiss and Feichtinger 2009:253). Despite the increased overseas emigration, Vienna's population grew to about two million at the end of the century, both through the formal incorporation of its suburbs as well as internal migration from the peripheral provinces of the Empire (Bauböck 1996:3). This metropolitan status was furthered by Vienna's diplomatic significance, sometimes being the only city in Europe with an ambassador of the Ottoman Empire, covering up some of the monarchy's external setbacks, like the defeat in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866 and the ensuing financial crisis entailing the establishment of Austria-Hungary, the Dual Monarchy in 1867 (Tomenendal 2000:132). Further formative, symbolic events cultivated this self-aggrandising celebration of imperial power, like the World Exposition in 1873, featuring a popular 'Oriental' section giving rise to the later Oriental museum, as well as the visit of Abdülaziz I in 1867, the first (goodwill) visit of an Ottoman Sultan in Vienna (Tomenendal 2000:133). Thereby, especially those engaged in the cultural and economic sector had an interest in enhanced ties with the Ottoman Empire, positioning themselves as 'bridge builders' to some extent with a civilising mission, while often being discredited as 'Turcophils' (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:312-313). This rapprochement, in conjunction with the defeat of Napoleon, was perceived to undermine both the integrative function of a common, external enemy image and moreover, the self-conception as insuperable bastion of against the East. In this regard, following Edward Said, Andre Gingrich developed the concept of "frontier orientalism"

in order to account for the construction of the significance of Austria as bulwark due to its historical and geographical position, sharing borders the Ottomans as well as marking the threshold for Ottoman expansion (Gollner 2008:44). Hence, constituting a crucial element for political strategy and of popular culture, the enemy image was retrieved during the bicentennial anniversary in 1883 under Francis Joseph I, Austria's longest-reigning emperor. Marked by opposing authorities with diverging interests, the commemoration of the sieges in 1883 illustrate particularly well how the 'Turks' were utilised as a signifier according to need supplemented by respective events during the week-long celebrations. Hence, in 1883 the enemy image internally divided Vienna's liberal municipality from the Catholic church and monarchy, for which liberalism and the Oriental 'Other', both Muslim and Jewish, constituted the both new and perpetual threat (Heiss and Feichtinger 2009:255,258). These internal divisions were also reflected in the process and design of several monuments inaugurated during this anniversary, for example, the monument in St. Stephen's Cathedral commemorating the liberation from the 'Turks' (*Türkenbefreiungsdenkmal*) and the monument for Vienna's mayor von Liebenberg in 1683 (*Liebenbergdenkmals*) (Heiss and Feichtinger 2009:252,254). During the fin de siècle in Vienna with its atmosphere of decadence, pessimism and impasse, the tensions between opposing ideologies intensified, probably well illustrated by that fact that personalities like Sigmund Freud, Adolf Hitler, Leon Trotsky, Josef Stalin, Josip Broz 'Tito' and Vladimir Lenin lived in or frequented Vienna at the same time. Out of these tensions arose nevertheless, or rather because of it, a period of prosperity in Vienna's art scene known as the Viennese Modern Age (*Wiener Moderne*). Despite the profound influence of Jewish intellectuals on the city, especially nationalism and antisemitism were on the rise, significantly fostered by the politics and rhetorics of Karl Lueger, Vienna's mayor at that time (Corbett 2011:45). In the light of the increasing nationalist identity struggles, in which “just about every ethnic group in the empire, including the German-speaking Austrians, longed for nothing less than the dissolution of the empire”, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 added yet another ethnic and religious group and entailed Islam to be officially recognised (Corbett 2011:18). With the outbreak of the First World War the empires became allies, both to be dissolved in the aftermath of the war, entailing the establishment of the Turkish Republic under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the First Austrian Republic,

introducing the period of the 'Red Vienna' governed by the Social Democrats (Tomenendal 2000:150). The uncertainty experienced during the interwar period, following destruction and war guilt, displacement and unemployment, also emanated from a bifurcated notion of identity, perceiving the nation as Austrian, but its ethnicity as German (Hanisch 1998:7). The demand for stability led to a re-appreciation of Habsburg traditions, signalling a demarcation to the National Socialist West as well a reorientation towards the old, new enemy from the East, during this time both seen in socialism and 'Bolshevism', apparently heralded by the 'Red Vienna', as well as in the 'Turks' as 'racially' different (Hanisch 1998:8; Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:315). In absence of the monarchy the celebrations for the 250th anniversary in 1933, marked by this reinterpretation of the enemy, were executed by the Church in conjunction with the Austrofascist regime or 'Ständestaat' under Engelbert Dollfuß and his successor Kurt Schuschnigg. Interestingly, apparently in an attempt to improve or at least not to worsen the relations with the Turkish republic, for the first time a Turkish delegation was invited to the ceremony, which however declined to participate, as well as the idea for a monument dedicated to Turkish soldiers killed in action in Vienna was debated temporarily (Tomenendal 2000:154-155). The aftermath of the Second World War, in which Turkey and Austria as part of Nazi Germany following the '*Anschluss*' fought on opposite sides, and the beginning migration of 'guest workers' from Turkey to Vienna will be elaborated on in the following section.

Recapitulating, an important factor explaining the persistence and viability of the commemoration concerning the sieges of Vienna is that while the structure remained the same, including the element of a threat and subsequently its defeat and victory, the 'Turks' as enemy evolved into a versatilely interpretable signifier. Respectively, the threat emanating from the 'Turks' was applied to the Ottoman Empire itself, serving as the cultural, religious and later 'racial' antithesis, as well as to any undesired influences, including Enlightenment, nationalism, Judaism, liberalism or socialism. Hence, even in periods marked by friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire, as allies during war or 'Turkish' being in vogue, the role of the Habsburg monarchy as bastion and saviour of the 'Occident' and Christendom and thereby its relevance for Europe has been sustained throughout the centuries. Thereby, the abundance of visual markers in Vienna, largely inaugurated in the period of historicism in the 19th century as well as during intensified

moments of commemoration surrounding the respective anniversaries, reflect the incorporation of these memories in everyday life to be navigated, when moving through the city. In light of an uncertain (national) identity the integrative function of the memories on the sieges became crucial for cohesion as well as the concreteness of monuments, despite their inherent ambiguity and reinterpretation (Heiss and Feichtinger 2009:250).

3.2 Postwar Austria and 'Guest Workers' from Turkey

Having outlined the development and utilisation of memories on the 'Turks' over the centuries in Vienna, in this section a closer look will be taken at the sociopolitical situation unfolding in postwar Vienna and Austrian Second Republic, its repercussions on 'Turkish memories' as well as the beginning migratory movement of 'guest workers' from Turkey moving to Vienna.

While with the end of the Second World War Austria was occupied by the four Allied powers, the signing of the Austrian State Treaty in 1955 marked an important step towards (re)establishing nationhood, formalising the sovereign Second Austrian Republic based on principles of democracy and neutrality. Having already been encoded in the Moscow Declaration from 1943, the regained independence rested on the belief that Austria as the first victim of Nazi Germany had been occupied from 1938 to 1945, thereby nurturing “a myth of its victimization and the memory of its resistance” (*Opfermythos*), which denied “any material or moral responsibility for Nazism” (Meusburger et al. 2011:164). In the context of negating the Austrian share in the Holocaust, few perpetrators and proponents of Nazism were being held accountable and antisemitism continued to persist, thereby entailing commemoration to be directed towards Austrian soldiers and prisoners-of-war (Meusburger et al. 2011:164). Hence, “[w]hile the Germans distanced themselves from Nazism, the Austrians distanced themselves from all things German”, bolstering an amalgamation of the Habsburg myth with the victim myth (Corbett 2011:52; Hanisch 1998:11). Codified in written publications by the Austrian government, for example the Red-White-Red-Book (*Rot-Weiß-Rot-Buch*) in 1946, an array of cultural productions indulged into a romanticised

image of the long-standing origin of the Austrian nation providing an idyllic, nostalgic account of the Habsburg monarchy, as evident in Ernst Marboe's "The book of Austria" (*Das Österreichbuch*) and the popularity of the film genre of *Heimatfilme*, like the 'Sissi' trilogy in the 1950s. Likewise, Austria's declared neutrality provided the grounds for continuously position itself as both bulwark and bridge on the frontier to the East and thereon basing its claims and aspirations to regain the status and significance of a 'metropolis' ("*Wien wird wieder Weltstadt*"), describing the "interplay of centres and peripheries" that gave rise to "the misnomer 'Central Europe'" (Gürses et. al 2004:101; Corbett 2011:9). Constituting the alleged centre and neutral ground of Europe, Austria both gained membership in a variety of international organisations, like the United Nations (UN) in 1955 and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1961, as well as serves as a base for several headquarters of international organisations, like the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) since 1957, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) since 1965, and most prestigiously the UNO-City since 1967. However, while welcoming the alleged cosmopolitan ambience accompanying the presence of diplomatic missions, labour migrants were excluded from this vision.

The postwar economic and infrastructural reconstruction of Vienna, and Austria as a whole, involved a high demand for workers. While especially Jewish displaced persons were rendered undesirably- after all an admission of larger numbers could have been read as Austria pleading guilty, thereby threatening to undermine its elaborated myth of its victimisation-, displaced undesirable, but rather 'integrable' Germans from Eastern and Central Europe were eventually accepted based on their linguistic and ethnic proximity- quite paradoxically in light of the aspiration to construct a genuinely distinct Austrian nation distinguished by its 'un-Germanness' (Bauböck 1996:7,8). After most of the around 1,6 million displaced persons left Austria voluntarily or were expatriated in the aftermath of the Second World War and refugees were 'tolerated' only temporarily (*Duldung*), the Austrian state responded to the labour shortage by signing a series of agreements concerning the recruitment and employment of foreign workers, following the example of Germany and Switzerland, starting with Spain in 1962, followed by Turkey in 1964 and the former Yugoslavia in 1966 (Bauböck 1996:7). Being based on the principles of temporariness and rotation this model circumvented

effortlessly any considerations of civil and political rights for the labourers, not to mention permanent residency or citizenship, while providing a flexible class of labourers available and disposable on demand (Bauböck 1996:3). For the Turkish state the agreement posed an opportunity to relieve the domestic job market through both probable remittances sent to relatives in Turkey and lowering the high unemployment rates, that both furthered and resulted from internal migratory movements towards urban conglomerations and thereby the more industrialised Western part of the country (Hasan 2010:39,41-42). The nowadays seemingly paradox term of 'guest worker' illustrates well this bending of impermanency for the state's benefits, minimising its legal and social responsibilities for the individual labourer, while benefiting from permanent profit and steady economic growth. While soon the direct, institutionalised recruitment via specific offices in the respective country (*Anwerbestelle*) was replaced by informal recruitment via the (family) networks of already present 'guest workers', also the system of rotation proved unsuitable for both the migrant labourers as well as the employers reluctant to permanently exchange its recently trained personnel (Bauböck 1996:13). Moreover, an increased demand for female labourers as well as the recruitment ban (*Anwerbestopp*) in 1973 fostered family reunifications, thereby further eroding the principle of rotation. Linguistic, religious and ethnic differences, which were supposed to facilitate the willingness for 'voluntary return', did not prevent this development (Bauböck 1996:13,24). Hence, the settlement of 'guest workers' was perceived as a breach of contract, skipping the condition of a final return and instead turning into 'eternal guests', a somewhat uncanny presence (Bauböck 1996:24).

While in light of the centuries-long multiethnic heritage of the Habsburg empire the obsessive exclusion of anyone and anything perceived as '*fremd*' (alien) might appear surprising, Rainer Bauböck points to the strong continuities in migration policies from the rule of the monarchy to date, in which an insecure definition of national identity is conditioned by assimilation, nowadays often disguised with the more fashionable term 'integration' "as a process of one-sided adaptation to the Austrian way of life" (Bauböck 1996:24; Fassmann and Reeger 2008:29). While migration policies demarcate externally the admission to national membership, with the rise of the welfare state the access to social benefits became an internal marker (Bauböck 1996:24). By cautiously safeguarding its achievement for national beneficiaries, mostly populist and

conservative voices even reduced migrants' motives to come to Austria to the attempt to fraudulently obtain access to the system, coining infamous expressions like '*Scheinasylant*' ('false asylum seeker'). Additionally to the often precarious circumstances, involving the lack of civil and political rights, fragmented families, substandard housing and uncertain employment in an ethnically segregated job market, migrants in general and the topic of immigration has frequently been instrumentalised in political campaigns, with the Austrian presidential elections in 2016 serving as the latest example.

The tercentenary celebrations in commemoration of the sieges in 1983 were held in line with Vienna's positioning as both bulwark, now against communism, as well as mediator between the two ideological building blocks, marked by the visit of Pope John Paul II holding services at pertinent places, like the *Heldenplatz* (Heroes' Square), *Karlsplatz* (Charles' Square) and Kahlenberg (Heiss and Feichtinger 2009:256). However, despite its aspirations in foreign policy a few years later Austria experienced a period of international isolation following the 'Waldheim affair', sparked by statements of Kurt Waldheim, former UN Secretary-General and then elected Austrian president in 1986, in which he announced "he had only been doing his duty as a soldier in the *Wehrmacht* (the German armed forces) during World War II" (Meusburger et al. 2011:164). When Waldheim visited Pope John Paul II at the Vatican in 1988 in an attempt to overcome the foreign policy crisis, an Austrian newspaper titled that "Again a Pole is saving us!" ("Wieder rettet uns ein Pole!"), implying a comparison with the Polish king John III Sobieski, who commanded the relief force in 1683 against the 'Turks', now symbolised by 'world Judaism' based on Nazi propaganda (Gollner 2008:45). Marking as well the 50th anniversary of the '*Anschluss*' and the November pogrom, the year 1988 is nowadays often represented as a turning point in public discourse, by challenging the myth of Austria's victimisation and initiating a debate about its responsibilities in the Holocaust (Corbett 2011:53). Thereby, several official monuments relating to the Holocaust were inaugurated over the course of the next years and decades as well as numerous commemoration projects initiated by local neighbourhood and grassroots movements, countering "[t]he predominance of war damage" like "images of Vienna's burned-out Saint Stephen's Cathedral" (Andraschek et al. 2012:47). While space was reclaimed for the commemoration of the Holocaust in

the mnemonic landscape of Vienna, initiatives often face “a tide of socio-political apathy, and sometimes even resistance” and an antisemitic orientation is still present in parts of the Austrian society (Corbett 2011:84). While the myth of victimisation persisted for around four decades before it experienced substantive challenges, with commemoration increasingly including the victims of the Holocaust and research debunking Austria's role during the Second World War, it is not particularly surprising that more recent developments like the migration of 'guest workers' and their experiences were not in the focus and the 20th and 30th anniversary of the agreement on 'guest work' between Austria and Turkey in 1984 and 1994, respectively, were not (yet) perceived as something to be remembered. However, with the beginning of the 1990s political changes in Europe impacted on Austria's experiences with migration. While the end of the Cold War with the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 made Austria's role as bulwark against communism redundant and thereby available to be interpreted with a new enemy image, it also brought about migratory movements from the former Eastern Bloc. Moreover, with the break-up of Yugoslavia and the ensuing wars in the Balkans caused many people to seek refuge in Austria. The accession of Austria to the European Union (EU) in 1995 caused a “substitution of guest worker migration by an EU-internal migration”, thereby shifting from “traditional settlement migration” towards “demand-oriented, flexible and circular migration” (Fassmann and Reeger 2008:15).

Equipped with an understanding of the developments in postwar Austria, marked by both the continued commemoration of the sieges and the persisting myth of victimisation as well as its collapse and a shift towards Holocaust commemoration, Vienna as the place, where the fieldwork for this research project has been conducted, becomes more comprehensible. This sociopolitical context provides the backdrop for the several attempts in the past decade to include migration into the national or at least local, urban narratives in Vienna. With around 270.000 people living in Austria in 2015, that have ties to Turkey either by birth or by their parents' birth, 'Turkish memories' or 'Turkish remembrance' (*Türkengedächtnis*) can by no means merely refer to the sieges of Vienna by the Ottomans. The reductionist tale of the the sieges of Vienna with the eternal Turkish enemy cannot be the fundament for the city's and nation's self-identification. While Islam was officially recognised anew in 1979, 'the Islam' and its believers, the largest group associated with Turkey, evolved into the renewed enemy

picture, on the rise since the end of the Cold War and at latest in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks. The tensions and intersections between the narrowly defined national narratives in an increasingly diverse society will be elaborated on with more detail in the following sections.

4. Discussion of Findings

4.1 Porous Cityscapes

„Wie schön wäre Wien ohne Wiener – (...)
Statt des Antisemitismus nur ein Antiquariat!“⁴
Georg Kreisler

While the previous chapter outlines Vienna's sociopolitical context, in this section ethnographic findings generated through interviews, city walks and participant observation will be presented that suggest increasingly 'porous' cityscapes spurred by an enhanced elaboration and recognition of a multiplicity of urban narratives. Drawing on Margaret E. Farrar's work on different modes of urban place-making, her critical take on nostalgic and amnesic landscapes will be traced in the context of Vienna before turning to Walter Benjamin's concept of “porosity”, for which Farrar's advocates (Farrar 2011).

As has been outlined in the previous chapter, both the preoccupation with (architectural) preservation and the aspiration to regain the status of a significant metropolis provide sociopolitical instruments to channel nostalgic feelings for the Habsburg monarchy, supported by a wide array of cultural productions. The loss of the empire triggered a “feeling of want or lack of something intangible and ideal”, in particular “the loss of an object in terms of its emotional meaning that is the subject of melancholic longings” by clinging to its material heritage (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:39). In its reductionist account of an idealised past, it is given way to imagination rather than memory. Thereby, “[t]he imagined object's “not-being-there” is covered over by the quasi presence induced by the magical operation”, by resorting to “a “secure” past, when life was stable and predictable (...) alone for the fact that - in

⁴ Quotation from Georg Kreisler's „Wien ohne Wiener“ (“Vienna without the Viennese”) can be loosely translated as: “How beautiful Vienna would be without the Viennese – (...) instead of antisemitism only an antiquarian store!”

retrospect - we know what it brought while we do not know what the future will bring” (Ricœur 2004:53; Palmberger 2008:359). An obsession with a “past that does not pass”, the idealisation of the Habsburg monarchy, points to the pathological aspects of imagination, by which “[h]auntedness is to collective memory what hallucination is to private memory” (Ricœur 2004:54). The psychological make-up of Vienna may thereby be well described by Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical concepts, like repression (*Verdrängung*) and death drive (*Todestrieb* or *Thanatos*), which he formulated under the impression of fin de siècle Vienna with the end of the empire looming and the unprecedented destruction of the First World War. Hence, while Freud's psychoanalysis has been subjected to thorough scrutinisation and quite rightly criticised, it still may indirectly provide a glimpse of his perception and observations of the city of Vienna. In Freudian terms the negation and destruction of Jewish life and heritage during the Holocaust, that resumed in the recurring antisemitism and Austria's victimisation myth after the Second World War, can be read as an expression of self-aggression. With Vienna's anti-Semitic mayor Karl Lueger announcing “Wer Jude ist, bestimme ich” ('Who is a Jew is something I determine'), the construction of the Jewish 'Other' in Nazi racist ideology has always been arbitrary and impossible (Schorske 1980:145). The profound influence of Jewish life is undeniable and intrinsically tied to the city of Vienna. Various intellectual achievements, artistic productions and architectural landmarks, like a variety of buildings along the Ring Road as well as the Prater Ferris wheel, that are associated with 'Jewish' inhabitants, became nowadays stylised as 'typically Viennese' (Corbett 2011:118). In Hugo Bettauer's novel “The City without Jews” (*Die Stadt ohne Juden*), intended as futuristic satire, but retrospectively a quite tragic precognition in light of its publication in 1922, the disastrous effects for Vienna without its Jewish inhabitants are outlined, resulting in a cultural, social and economic downturn. Also the conflicts concerning the Austrian national identity within the Habsburg monarchy and the tension between both striving for an annexation to Germany as well as rejecting everything considered German after the Second World War are described by Rainer Bauböck with the psychoanalytical terms of defence and recurrence of repressed ethnicity (Bauböck 1996:24). According to Freud, expressions of repression and denial, recurrence and repetition are clearly pathological traits, often paired with a need for standstill and preservation (Freud 1920). Translated into urban

planning practices, nostalgic feelings in Vienna informed a pronounced focus on the protection and preservation of its urban heritage. In Vienna the Schönbrunn Palace and its surrounding areas as well as the entire first district and parts of the adjacent districts, constituting the historic city centre divided into a core and a buffer zone, are listed by the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) as World Heritage sites since 1996 and 2001, respectively (see Fig. 1 and 2). Much earlier in 1972 protected areas (*Schutzzonen*) were established in Vienna, which entailed a strict building code (*Bauordnung für Wien*) and allows the city's municipality to identify structures to be preserved independently from the Federal Monuments Office (*Bundesdenkmalamt*). Coinciding with the UNESCO World Heritage sites, the protected areas comprise larger spatial areas (see Fig. 2).⁵ However, instead of strengthening place memories, Farrar argues that historic preservation has “depoliticizing effects by conjuring up peculiar, selective, or even wholly imaginary pasts” and promotes the commodification of urban heritage for touristic purposes (Farrar 2011:723). Thereby, decisions concerning preservation do often follow an economic logic in consideration of the most profitable and marketable past. Thereby, “citizens become tourists in their own cities, consumers of memorable milieu instead of producers and interpreters of them” (Farrar 2011:729). In the following, I would like to provide an ethnographic example, in which Habsburg nostalgia in Vienna blends with a commodified, touristic environment.



Fig. 1 Vienna's historic city centre listed by UNESCO. Stadt Wien (wien.at).



Fig. 2 Vienna's World Heritage Sites and protected areas. Stadt Wien (wien.at).

⁵ Schutzzonen, Stadt Wien, accessed on 11 July 2016, <https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/grundlagen/schutzzonen>.

It is a rather chilly afternoon in early spring in March 2016, when I walk down the *Mariahilfer Straße*, one of Vienna's longest shopping streets, reaching from the *Museumsquartier* to the *Westbahnhof* (West railway station). With one store next to the other, the street is crowded with people as usual, but is getting less busy the closer I approach its western end. Passing by a group of men distributing the Qur'an for free, from afar I spot a red block, which I have not seen before, positioned between the pavement and the traffic calmed street. As I come closer I recognise the oversized figure of Francis Joseph I. Initially the colour coding irritates me, as it rather triggers associations with a monument for a Communist leader or the Red Vienna governed by the Social Democrats, to whom Francis Joseph did not cultivate particularly close ties during his lifetime. While the red signal colour certainly allows the monument to stand out from its rather grey environment, most people do not seem to notice or pay attention to it.



Fig. 3 Francis Joseph I. in *Mariahilfer Straße*.

The poster attached on the left side reveals the reason for its installation; it advertises the exhibition commemorating the centenary of Francis Joseph's death, which is spread over four locations and will last for about eight months. According to the official website, Francis Joseph's death takes up considerable symbolic significance for Vienna's urban narratives, stating that “[m]any bystanders at the time felt they were witnessing not only the funeral of a long-serving monarch but the demise of an

entire epoch”, confirmed by the end of the empire two years later.⁶ Rising from Austria's longest-reigning emperor to the mystified 'eternal emperor' (*Der ewige Kaiser*), the title of a further exhibition simultaneously hold in the Austrian National Library in 2016, Francis Joseph, who himself frequented the *Mariahilfer Straße*, as it connects the Hofburg Palace in the city centre with the Schönbrunn Palace, appears to be rather lost and displaced. Within the banality of the consumption area and crowds of passers-by, the monument both constitutes an unnoticed relict and as promotional material itself blends with its consumerist environment.



Fig. 4 Leaflets for exhibitions on Francis Joseph I.

This example of encountering a visual marker relating to the nostalgic, reductionist narrative on the Habsburg monarchy is a rather everyday experience in Vienna. From the perceived glorious, idealised past of the city emanates a certain entitlement and pride for its present inhabitants, as expressed in one of the official slogans of the *Museumsquartier*, which bluntly states: “Vienna has culture” (*Wien hat Kultur*). Hence, it is important to note that instead of understanding nostalgia as merely being directed towards the past, “it always forms a reaction to the present state” and thereby “tell[s] us something about how the status quo is perceived and what is expected of the future” (Palmer 2008:358). While nowadays the static dichotomy between history and memory, or artificial and real memory respectively, proposed by scholars like Pierre Nora, as has been discussed in 2.2, is rather obsolete, it may well be wondered to what extent the memory narratives on the Habsburg monarchy constitute “an object of history or an object of memory (...), a matter of systematic, historiographic inquiry or a wellspring of collective belonging and affective attachment”

⁶ Franz Joseph Exhibition, Schloß Schönbrunn, accessed on 8 June 2016, <http://www.franzjoseph2016.at/en>.

(Walton 2016). In light of nostalgic longings for the past evoked into a utopia, the need to consider the interlocking of past, present and future in favour of multiple temporalities instead of linearity and a chronological order is furthered.

Before turning to Farrar's take on the concept of “porosity”, which “speaks to a sense of place that understands how history and memory seep into landscapes, allowing the past to coexist alongside the present”, the relation between amnesic to nostalgic landscapes in the context of Vienna shall be reviewed (Farrar 2011:731). To begin with, Gert Jonke's novel “The System of Vienna: From Heaven Street to Earth Mound Square” (*Himmelstraße – Erdbrustplatz oder Das System von Wien*) hints to the burden of a nostalgic past, in which the value placed on meticulous preservation directs the future. Influenced by historicism and Art Nouveau, the anthropomorphic figures of caryatids and atlantes, seemingly buttressing the façades and balconies, constitute a formative element in Vienna's architecture. Marked by their “immobile existence” and “petrified wakefulness, walled in by the need for a sleeplessness that has stood the test of timelessness”, the anthropomorphic stone figures' incipient fascination with sleep, as demonstrated to them by the narrator, poses a threat to the city, as “[h]alf of Vienna would collapse, which would then be like an undeclared war breaking out—or breaking down” (Jonke 1999:93,95,102). This dystopian scenario sketched by Jonke, with Vienna's caryatids and atlantes potentially falling asleep or even leaving their positions and the city, reminds of Bettauer's novel “The City without Jews”, as mentioned earlier. By referring to the anthropomorphic stone figures as “Vienna's first guest workers” he seems to establish as well as a link to the often unrecognised contribution of former 'guest workers' to the city, with many of them literally rebuilding Vienna in the aftermath of the destruction caused by the Second World War, and the denial of their



Fig. 5 Residence of Embassy of Brasil in Vienna. Photo by Embassy of Brasil in Vienna.

equal standing as citizens and city's inhabitants. If Vienna's former 'guest workers' indeed would have decided to leave, as intended in the original design of the agreement, the social, political, economic, cultural and intellectual consequences for the city, amongst others, would have been detrimental. Taking the presence of 'guest workers' for granted, however merely in terms of their tireless labour, Jonke's narrator states that “[i]t was important, even so, and getting to be high time for not only me, but for everybody else in Vienna as well, to start showing a little more respect to the *telamones* than they had before[, i]t was to be feared that they might otherwise grow sick and tired of continuing to support so many buildings in Vienna” (Jonke 1999:101). Vienna's façades reflect thereby the selectivity (and ignorance) required to uphold a nostalgic past, in which “producing a wholly commodified place memory means endorsing a particular kind of history” (Farrar 2011:729). Reductionist narratives further amnesic urban landscapes, “because preservation efforts often aim to safeguard places of architectural significance, [making it] far more likely that the residences and cultural institutions of the elite will be preserved than the ordinary dwellings, workplaces, or community centers” (Farrar 2011:728). Hence, nostalgia guides urban reconstruction and planning, focussing on the preservation of places remembering the lives of its elite rather than the (hi)stories and places of significance of the workers' population.

Apart from efforts in postwar Vienna to reconstruct buildings and façades displaying the city's former imperial grandeur, also housing became a salient issue with about 41% of the city's buildings being damaged and increasing migration to the city.⁷ The rather demand-oriented, functionalist building boom in the postwar area initiated “the rapid pace of construction of “placeless places”” and a “landscape of the temporary”, furthered by processes of urbanisation and 'urban sprawl' (Farrar 2011:726). Thereby, amnesic or “unmemorable landscapes” are created, negatively impacting on place memory, as outlined in 2.2 (Farrar 2011:723). A case in point constitutes Vienna's tenth district Favoriten, which, positioned once beyond the historic city walls and nowadays the protected areas, traditionally constituted a housing area for a workers' and migrant population. Moreover, being located to the south of the former Südbahnhof (South Station), inaugurated in 2014 as Hauptbahnhof (Main Station), and constituting a major industrial and infrastructural site, Favoriten was heavily damaged

⁷ Kriegssachschädenplan um 1946, Stadt Wien, accessed on 20 July 2016, <https://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/kulturgut/plaene/kriegssachschaden.html>.

during the Second World War, losing around a sixth of its housing space (Denk 2007:11,15). Hence, in contrast to Vienna's historic(ised) city centre, Favoriten's architecture is less marked by monumentality and historicity, but rather by its *Gemeindebauten* (municipal housing). The establishment of the First Austrian Republic giving rise to the social democratic 'Red Vienna' in the interwar period introduced the construction of affordable, communal housing blocks, resumed after the Second World War until today. As an expression of its underlying social democratic ideology, the provision of shared, social facilities within the housing blocks, like playgrounds, laundry and shopping facilities, moved into focus, shifting away from or rather demonstrating its unconcernedness with architectural form, recognisable in the strikingly simple façades and uniform structure. Although markedly different from the architecture of historicism and the *Gründerzeit* (founders' period) with its prestigious buildings, the *Gemeindebau* was mainly oriented along former building regulations, like the construction height, and therefore remained rather conservative (Denk 2007:52).

While some *Gemeindebauten* constructed in the interwar period in fact adopted partially monumental, baroque elements, therefore polemically referred to as *Volkswohnpaläste* (people's palaces), especially those constructed in postwar Vienna were marked by simplicity.



Rejecting the demonstration of state authority as under the Nazi regime by means of monumental architecture and urban planning, the *Gemeindebau* thereby constituted a certain 'denazification of form' by a dehistoricised architecture and repression of the past (Denk 2007:87). This lack of "imageability", in which "the powers of place are neutralized by ignoring them or removing them from history", causes alienation instead of spatial orientation and mobility, as outlined in 2.2 (Farrar 2011:723,726). In light of this desired amnesia in architecture in favour of uniformity and repetitiveness, Favoriten might serve as an

Fig. 6 Film still of ORF TV programme „Kontakt“ in 1971.

example for Farrar's concept of “amnesia”. Moreover, as a housing area predominantly inhabited by a workers' and migrant population, the contrast to the imperial nostalgia displayed in Vienna's well-preserved city centre are striking.

During all interviews I conducted with former 'guest workers' from Turkey or their children, eventually the issue of the housing conditions would come up. The experienced living conditions in *Substandardwohnungen* (substandard housing), which were often located in *Gründerzeithäusern* (houses of the founders' period), became engrained in the memories and passed on within the families. For example, my interview partner B., whose grandparents and parents migrated from Turkey to Austria, herself being born in a small town close to Vienna, described housing blocks in her neighbourhood, in which only 'guest workers' from Turkey used to live. The flats used to be so small that in order to remain rentable nowadays each flat consists of two merged flats. While initially housing was often arranged by the company the 'guest workers' would work for, also later on many families had to remain in substandard housing due to e.g. economic reasons and discrimination. Some families, like B.'s family, also decided to remain in rather small, overcrowded flats in order to save money for investing into the construction of a house in Turkey. In a surprisingly critical report on the often degrading housing conditions of 'guest workers' by the Austrian public broadcasting service ORF TV programme “*Kontakt*” in 1971, housing had been identified as key theme and continues to constitute an important issue to be examined in respective exhibitions (see section 4.3). Moreover, the housing situation for 'guest workers' had been aggravated by strict admission standards in *Gemeindebauten*- until 2006 tenants were required to own the Austrian citizenship.⁸ Thereby, comparably to the ethnically divided labour market, marked by the preferential treatment of domestic workers and restricted rights for 'guest workers' in labour unions, housing illustrates a further example, in which the intersectionality of being a worker and a migrant is demonstrated (Bauböck 1996:15). In light of the recent increased interest in documenting the experience of former 'guest workers', including the housing and working conditions, the lack of preservation emerged as a problem. With preservation constituting the “choice about whose memories are considered worthwhile and whose places are given preference”, the experiences and (hi)stories of 'guest workers' have

⁸ Migranten im Gemeindebau, Die Presse, accessed on 14 July 2016, <http://diepresse.com/home/panorama/oesterreich/316986/Migranten-im-Gemeindebau>.

been left unconsidered for decades (Farrar 2011:729). In workers' and migrant districts, like Favoriten, the “landscape of the temporary has been produced in conjunction with and to service a population that is also temporary”, like 'guest workers' expected to eventually return (Farrar 2011:726). Thereby, also the majority of housing areas and factories, in which 'guest workers' used to live and work, have been demolished by now. In conjunction with the exhibition “Avusturya! Österreich!” in 2014, which will be outlined with more detail in section 4.3, the association Jukus (*Verein Jukus – Verein zur Förderung von Jugend, Kultur und Sport*) organised several city walks concerning places of migration of former 'guest workers' from Turkey in Vienna. Thereby, according to Handan Özbaş, a board member of Jukus, the conceptualisation of the city walks were challenged by the demolition and new constructions in several, meaningful sites: “there is nothing...it's a pity...the sites, how it really used to be...do not exist anymore”.⁹ In an attempt to approach this invisibility and possible traces in the urban landscape, some demolished places, like the fish cannery C. Warhanek in Favoriten, have been revisited in addition to, for example, visiting a Turkish association and talking with former 'guest workers' about their experiences. However, during one of the city walks by Jukus a group of five people left after half an hour, because they expected to visit and access specific sites, like a former flat of 'guest workers'. This experience illustrates a certain learned habit of encountering (or rather seeing and consuming) the (hi)stories of 'others', which will be elaborated on with more detail in section 4.3 with regard to exhibitions. Moreover, “places can be “un-remembered,” as when buildings or other landmarks are demolished and can no longer support the memories and meanings stored in them”, erasing an already amnesic landscape (Climo and Cattell 2002:21). To those, unaware of the stories knotted to a place, it remains invisible and inaccessible. With “[s]pecific places support[ing] continuity of memory and history as they become invested with meaning for specific individuals and groups, though such meanings may be contested within groups or between competing groups”, city walks constitute thereby a method to trace those stories and developments, even (or especially) if a place is embedded into an amnesic landscape (Climo and Cattell 2002:21).

⁹ All interviews, which have been conducted in German, were subsequently translated into English by the author.

While the postwar reconstruction and building boom was often accompanied by demolition and the construction of new buildings, the opening of *Gebietsbetreuungen* (area renewal offices) in Vienna introduced a changed approach to urban development. The first *Gebietsbetreuung* in Vienna was opened in Ottakring, the 16th district, in 1974, which like Favoriten evolved historically as housing area for a workers' and migrant population and industrial site. In order to obtain a better insight into the urban development and living realities of Favoriten, the *Gebietsbetreuung* in Favoriten, abbreviated as GB*10, constituted an important interview partner. Opening an office in 1985 in Favoriten, the GB*10 is located in the former machine factory of Hugo Reinhold Gläser. The brick-lined building, which architecturally stands out from its environment, was built in around 1888 and is nowadays listed by the Austrian Federal Monuments Office (*Bundesdenkmalamt*). Acting on behalf of the city of Vienna, like all *Gebietsbetreuungen* the GB*10 was initially focussed on reducing the substandard housing by following the strategy of *Sanfte Stadterneuerung* (alternately translated as 'soft' or 'gentle urban renewal'). Thereby, processes of gentrification, in which following the rehabilitation and renovation of buildings former inhabitants are displaced, are attempted to be prevented by providing public funds for renovations whereby rents remain affordable. The tasks of the GB*10 expanded gradually, including offering consultancy concerning any housing issue, fostering the participation of the district's inhabitants in shaping urban processes and constituting a general platform for mediation and exchange in the respective district. Moreover, during the interview, which I conducted with two team members of the GB*10, I learned that also various activities centre on encouraging the inhabitants' and participants' self-reflection and critically challenge their self-perception and perception of 'others': "the perception of the street is just very ambivalent and especially among the long-time Austrian residents ('*Alteingesessene*') experienced as severe downturn". For example, the *Quellenstraße*, in which the GB*10 is located, constitutes as a cross-road to the *Favoriten Straße* the main horizontal axis in the district and is thereby spatially as well as economically and socially one of the most important streets in Favoriten. An enquiry conducted by the GB*10 concerning the type of businesses and background of the owners crystallised that the *Quellenstraße* is not confronted with the 'classical problems' of shopping streets, like vacancies of business premises, but instead is rather vibrant and bustling. Hence,

what is perceived as a decline can rather be described as a negative perception of the changes taking place, like the actual decline of traditional Austrian retail stores as well as the increased economic activity of business owners, with family ties abroad, mainly to Turkey. One of my interview partners at the GB*10 holds that while many long-time Austrian residents in Favoriten feel being pushed aside by migrants, with the upward social mobility of the working class (*sozialer Aufstieg*) they actually gave away their standing in the district: "...they get into the car and drive away to do their shopping, for leisure activities they drive away, they do not sit in the parks, do not carry on the shops of their parents, because they climbed the social ladder and have dinner in the inner districts, go to the opera and cinema- the void left is just filled by others, but it is perceived as displacement...". Moreover, "images change very sluggishly and slowly... the ingenuousness, with which migrants see the district, is quite refreshing...they don't know about those old clichés and somehow look ahead...I have the impression that within their communities it is not viewed negatively, if you say, we are from Favoriten...Germans, for example, or other migrant groups, student groups, are always absolutely enthusiastic, whereas a Viennese from other districts...difficult to take down their glasses...". Those reductionist, biased narratives, often relating to poverty, criminality and lack of cultural events and institutions as well as seeing migrants as eternally 'new' inhabitants even after decades, feed into an amnesic perception. Hence, with its engagement the GB*10 encourages to critically question one's own perception of identified developments and to contextualise them by uncovering and differentiating the underlying dynamics, in which Favoriten is embedded: "I understand increasingly that what is happening here is not the 'microcosm Favoriten', but, pointedly formulated, actually reflects world affairs and their politics of the day". In light of the lack of critical self-reflection in favour of short-sighted explanations and preconceived opinions to observed phenomena, my interview partner at the GB*10 argues for the concept of "urban competence" as the ability to contextualise local phenomena in a global context: "...instead of pitying this 'backward' situation here, you actually flip it over...what happens in the world is locally quite present...that you can understand and interpret social processes and not just jump to conclusions...that you have a basic understanding of how humans work...". Similarly, the creation of an independent, flourishing infrastructure by migrants in their districts is often assessed and criticised as a

withdrawal from the city as a whole and the creation of a 'parallel society' (*Parallelgesellschaft*), often associated with criminality, religious fundamentalism and a 'refusal to integrate' (*Integrationsverweigerung*) (Özbaş et al. 2014:68). Thereby, the consequences of urban developments like the commodification of the city centre are often disregarded, in which “citizens become tourists in their own cities, consumers of memorable milieu instead of producers and interpreters of them” (Farrar 2011:729). While “it is unclear whose sense of place memory is being amplified through these reconstructions since locals will likely avoid the tourist areas, shop in their own neighborhoods or at the mall, and leave “historic” downtown to the visitors”, the segregation of the historicised city centre is further underpinned by economic, occupational and residential restrictions (Farrar 2011:729). As strikingly demonstrated by statistics, 2011 the lowest amount of residents in the first district has been counted in Vienna's history, which with 16.374 residents is markedly lower than its peak level in 1880 (69.694) and even in 1550 (18.000).¹⁰ Moreover, it is due to the increased entrepreneurial activity of former 'guest workers' that Vienna's markets, like the *Naschmarkt* and *Brunnenmarkt*, were recovered and revived in the 1970s (Gürses et al. 2004:146,148). As Yaşar Güney, one of the former 'guest workers' interviewed for the exhibition by Jukus, concludes: “Vienna was like a village for me, you could not find any stores and so on. The tenth district in turn was like a centre. After the migrants came, Vienna developed” (Özbaş et al. 2014:183). While this culinary experience of Vienna's *Naschmarkt* is a must-do in every tourist guide, the contributions of former 'guest workers' to the market with its economic, social and cultural importance for migrants are often forgotten. Instead, those memories are replaced with an exoticised, orientalist narrative taking pride in the multiethnic legacy of the former Habsburg monarchy and Vienna's alleged position as 'bridge to the East'.

After the interview at the GB*10 I use the opportunity to go for a walk in the tenth district Favoriten, as it is a cold, but sunny afternoon in January. The GB*10 itself offers a series of city walks surrounding the 'cosmos *Quellenstraße*', including visiting, for example, the mosques, stores, green areas along the streets as well as its

¹⁰ Bevölkerungsgeschichte, Stadt Wien, <https://www.wien.gv.at/wiki/index.php?title=Bevölkerungsgeschichte>.

eastern and western ending.¹¹ Passing down the *Quellenstraße*, the street becomes busier, the closer I approach its junction with the *Favoriten Straße*, crowded with people chatting and going about their daily activities, pupils walking home from school, a woman rearranging tomatoes and other vegetables in a rack on the pavement. The dense car traffic and rumbling trams add to the soundscape. Reaching the junction, I walk southwards, past the *Amalienbad*, an Art Deco public swimming bath, colloquially known as a '*Tröpferlbad*' ('droplet bath'), referring to its history of being frequented by people living in substandard housing lacking appropriate sanitary facilities, like many 'guest workers', with peak time occasionally causing a shortage in water supply. Crossing the *Reumannplatz*, the area gets more residential and quiet. In the park surrounding the *Antonskirche* only one bench is occupied by a group of chatting men. Another bench is scribbled with a hilal and the word "Türkiye" in big letters. The location I am heading to is offside the *Quellenstraße*.



Fig. 7 Bench at *Antonskirche*.

Kerstin Tomenendal, whose work has been introduced in section 3.1, offers a detailed list of monuments referring to the Sieges of Vienna or more general the presence and influence of the Ottoman Empire in the respective districts in Vienna, or in her wording 'Turk related' ("*mit Türkenbezug*") (Tomenendal 2000:161). For Favoriten merely one sight is mentioned- a mosaic depicting moments of Viennese history, including the Second Siege in 1683, as well listed by the *Bundesdenkmalamt* (Tomenendal 2000:226). Passing by a Turkish supermarket in the street corner, I approach a block of yellow *Gemeindebauten*, where it is supposedly located. As I walk between the buildings, I ask a woman entering one of the houses, if she knows where the mosaic is located, but she negates. After a while I discover the mosaic at the end of the housing block, nearly ranging over the entire height of the building. The scene relating to the Siege is located in the middle of

¹¹ Kosmos Quellenstraße, GB*10, accessed on 25 January 2016, <http://www.gbstern.at/projekte-und-aktivitaeten/stadtnutzen/die-quellenstrasse/kosmos-quellenstrasse>.

seven scenes relating to Vienna's history. Thereby, two soldiers of the Ottoman army, one of them referring to Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha, armed with a sabre and a cannon look down to Vienna with its stellate fortification and the St. Stephen's Cathedral located behind the Wien river and the Danube. A hilal hovers above the city in the red night sky, brightened by a shooting star.



Fig. 8 Mosaic in Favoriten.



Fig. 9 Close-up view „Troststraße, Mosaik“, ÖAW.

Asked about potential traces of the Ottoman past in Favoriten, my interview partners at the GB*10 were not aware of the mosaic. However, as a potential theme for another city walk, they suggested that in the broadest sense, and probably more lived, in the design and displays of stores in Favoriten employ a clear reference to Ottoman stylistic features: “...the whole design of stores, when they renovate, the interior...it used to be quite meagre, by now it is often very pompous...that you walk through the city and discover, where you can find this language of generic Ottoman forms (*Formensprache*), often in foil stickers...there has to be an ornament everywhere...”. Thereby, the *Quellenstraße*, which used to have a rather plain appearance, changed markedly through the more glamorous shop windows nowadays. A couple of weeks later, when I pass through the *Sonnwendviertel*, which is a site of new construction projects located behind the new *Hauptbahnhof* (Main Station) and part of Favoriten, I discover an image on a façade subtitled as “History of Favoriten”. It includes an illustration of an Ottoman horseman holding a sabre, added with the description

“*Türkenkriege*” (Ottoman Wars) in big letters. I am surprised as it is neither being mentioned in the publication of Tomenendal nor in the research project on 'Turkish memories' (“*Türkengedächtnis*”) conducted by the Austrian Academy of Science (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW)*).¹² Unfortunately, despite further research I could not ascertain further information concerning this mural.



Fig. 10, Mural in *Sonnwendgasse*.



Fig. 11, Close-up view, Mural in *Sonnwendgasse*.

Walking through Favoriten and observing the streetscape and life, and interviewing associations engaged in the district, like Jukus and the GB*10, Farrar's concept of “amnesia” appears to become less adequate to describe Favoriten- an impression that becomes reinforced during further interviews, as will be described in the following sections, in terms of self-organisation and engagement in the city by former 'guest workers' and their families. While it still holds that the efforts on preservation have been focussed on Vienna's historic city centre and the Schönbrunn Palace and that Favoriten as an outer district experienced demolition and reconstruction, often marked by a rather monotonous, repetitive architecture and a provision of municipal housing based on citizenship, it appears that in the 1970s at the latest the amnesic landscape became more porous. During this transitional period a changed approach towards spatial planning and urban development manifested, by promoting gentle urban renewal through the introduction of *Gebietsbetreuungen* instead of demolition. Moreover, with the recruitment ban (*Anwerbestopp*) in 1973 due to the economic recession, self-employment and family reunifications of 'guest workers' increased. As will be discussed

¹² Türkengedächtnis, ÖAW, accessed on 19 January 2016, <http://www.tuerkengedaechtnis.oeaw.ac.at>.

with more detail in the following section 4.2, in this time also the formation of associations by 'guest workers' from Turkey increased or by those already established a shift from focussing predominantly on the political situation in Turkey towards the living conditions of 'guest workers' in Austria was set in motion. Hence, while the nostalgic longing for the Habsburg monarchy in the city was met with a sense of nostalgia and feeling of displacement by its 'guest workers', for many 'guest workers' a process of settlement began, albeit certainly not for all (see as well 4.2). In other words, “migrants’ [increasing] efforts to settle and build networks of connection within the constraints and opportunities of a specific locality” supported a process of “emplacement” (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2013:495). Thereby, referring back to section 2.2, increased (possibilities for) engagement with one's surroundings in the everyday life fosters a relationship to place as a multisensory, “embodied experience” (Becker 2003:131). While nostalgic and amnesic landscapes further fixity and stasis, with the former being obsessed with preservation and the latter paralysed by “placelessness” and uniformity, in a porous cityscape “place is not static or fixed (...) but is more along the lines of a memory trace: modifying and modified by our actions in the present (...) imbued with multiple temporalities” (Farrar 2011:732-733). Thereby, acknowledging that “[t]he past is always leaking into the present”, a porous place memory encourages “multipl[e] possible readings of space and of history” by “contain[ing] and communicat[ing] both individual and social memory” (Farrar 2011:731,733). Most importantly, while “[s]uch coexistence is an ontological (un) certainty”, “urban spaces (and our everyday lives) always are characterized by this porosity, whether we choose to admit it or not” (Farrar 2011:731). An example for Favoriten, in which its porous places and (hi)stories are repressed in favour of a rather continued nostalgic (and thereby amnesic in terms of the district's migration experience) narrative, may be illustrated with the book “*Menschen in Favoriten*” ('Humans of Favoriten') published in 2013 by Franz Jerabek, the office manager for the municipal district chairperson of Favoriten. As has been outlined, while experiences of migration constitute a formative element in the district, it is even more striking that from the 21 portraits and life stories selected for the book only one person has a 'migration background'- from Germany. While the goal of the book is stated as introducing people, who represent and shape Favoriten, independently of social status and function, the absence of people, who

themselves or whose parents have been born outside of Austria, especially families of former 'guest workers', is quite an affront, all the more if it is coming from the municipal administration of Favoriten (Jerabek and Farkasch 2013:1-2). For my interview partner at the GB*10 this publication exemplifies how the active engagement of former 'guest workers' is still often disregarded and their “right to the city” as participating city users (*StadtnutzerInnen*) denied (Lefebvre 1968)- “...a whole community left out...when I just have some sense of how to represent my district...they are perceived as 'welfare cases', who visit daily advisory services, who have problems, it is not, that they are not taken care of...but as actual contributing participants of the city...this hasn't sunken in yet...that is isn't conceded to the people that they have a history here as well...allowing, that they just localise their life stories here, that they also want to build something and contributed already...”. Thereby, the role of migrants “as active agents of city-making processes and as scale makers”, who “have an impact on the changing forms of urban governance, development and social movement”, is denied (Çağlar 2016:964; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009:189). Moreover, according to Farrar, both nostalgic and amnesic landscapes may cause depoliticisation. The reductionist narratives accompanying preservation tend to “ignore the enormous human and ecological costs” necessary in the first place in order to construct (and reconstruct) those grand edifices to be preserved, thereby “bracketing relations of power and domination in favor of promoting a fantastic metanarrative of universal privilege” (Farrar 2011:730). While “marginalized and oppressed groups often use place as a way to forge oppositional identities”, the “placelessness” in amnesic landscapes may cause “individual or collective alienation” and “the diminishment of political engagement and efficacy” (Farrar 2011:726,727). In light of the construction of affordable, communal municipal housing with its focus on providing shared, social facilities for its tenants, but at the same time effectively excluding the families of 'guest workers' for decades, this might appear particularly salient. From another perspective, the lack of appropriate housing might have indirectly spurred the evolvement of communal places outside the house, like cafés, associations, mosques, and later on markets, and thereby the organisation of an effective infrastructure and community. In order to encounter porous places, ethnographic methods, like combining city walks with participant observation, provide a useful tool for research, practically tracing the shift from monument(al)ity to

movement. Thereby, places can be experienced less as “*things*” with their specific architectural structures, “but also as processes, as relationships and *practice*” (Farrar 2011:733). To conclude this section, I would like to end with the ethnographic description of an area in Vienna, exemplifying the intermingling of multiple temporalities and multidirectionality of memories knotted to a porous landscape.

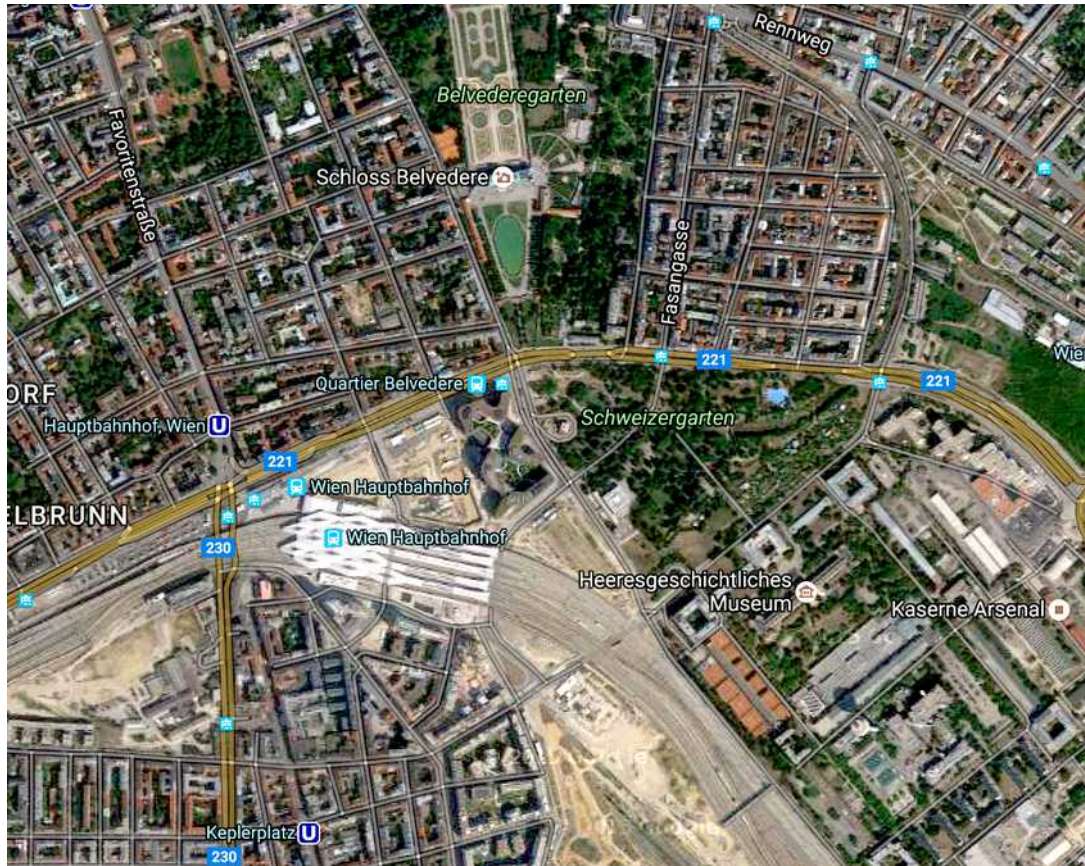


Fig. 12, Aerial photograph of intersection of 3rd, 4th, 10th district, Google Maps.

Time and direction are probably two key components in main stations- a place, in which trains bundle for a moment before heading into various directions towards their destinations according to a minute timetable of arrival and departure with people moving, transiting, waiting, watching at the oversized station clock. The first place of (re)encountering a city, a junction embedding a city into a broader network. Probably a quite amnesic place in light of its impermanence and often repetitive architecture. With the construction of Vienna's main station, colloquially often referred to with its old name *Südbahnhof*, the place as encountered by 'guest workers' upon arrival ceased to exist. Beyond their arrival the *Südbahnhof* evolved into a meaningful venue to exchange information. In light of the rather constrained,

slow channels for communication, newly arriving 'guest workers' functioned as messengers and source for information, according to Handan Özbaş: "...many 'guest workers', when somebody arrived from Turkey, asked about news from Turkey, exchanged, networked...the main station was an important point of reference, where they exchanged information". While with the construction of the new main station the opportunity to commemorate the particular narrative attached to this place has been missed, in April 2016 a video intervention complementing a conference on the 50th anniversary of the recruitment agreement with former Yugoslavia had been installed for a week. As the screen is located in a rather dark corner set back from the main walkway with its shops and (moving) staircases leading to the platforms, few people walk past the screen. Moreover, with its location along the walkway and thereby not in the visual field of the direction people are heading to, those who pass by usually do not pay attention to the screen, except when I begin to make some photographs. Also the employee at the station information desk around the corner, whom I asked about the screen as I could not find it right away, did not know about



Fig. 13, Video installation at Vienna *Hauptbahnhof*.

the installation. Hence, while the exposure of the video, consisting of photographs and quotations, might have been rather low, it has been a first (and only) intervention in the new main station to highlight the meaning of this particular place for former 'guest workers'. Moreover, the video on the anniversary has been taking turns with a second video on welcoming refugees. It points to the continued significance of Vienna's main station for people in migration, as for the (Syrian) refugees during the summer months of 2015 heading towards Germany and further northern states. While the context and conditions concerning the (hi)stories of former 'guest workers' and today's refugees are quite different, their experiences and routes do occasionally cross paths. Hence, despite the demolition of the buildings, some of its former place

memories seep into the new environment and yet others were surfacing, sometimes quite literally, like a tank from the Second World War transferred for exhibition to the Museum of Military History (*Heeresgeschichtliches Museum*). With the museum being located across the main station, it is also here that a permanent exhibition on the Ottoman Wars and Second Siege of Vienna is housed, displaying a variety of objects, including captured weapons and a watch standing still since the afternoon of 1 August 1664, the battle of Saint Gotthard (Tomenendal 2000:100). The *Schweizergarten* (Swiss Garden) outside of the museum as well as the park of the Belvedere across the '*Gürtel*' (Beltway) were often visited by 'guest workers' upon arrival and frequented later on. The photographs of 'guest workers' posing in front of flowerbeds and statues in one of those gardens became well known. Hıdır Emir, a 'guest worker' in Vienna employed at a construction company, became known in his leisure time as 'photographer Hıdır', taking pictures of 'guest workers', who had just



Fig. 14, Hıdır Emir, *Initiative Minderheiten*.

arrived, to send to their families (Gürses et al. 2004:158-159). The imaginaries on Austria by the family members staying behind were profoundly influenced by those images. Only being acquainted with photographs in black-and-white until then, one of my interview partners, Ali Gedik, who came to Austria as a 14-year-old, remembered how the colourful photos sent by his uncle shaped his image of Austria connected with the hopes for a better future: "...I will go somewhere, where it is colourful, where it is beautiful, greener... we didn't have colour photos yet...and then I was always so curious [laughs], on the other hand of course with the consideration, yes, wow, I will make a career, my uncle takes me with him, and for the looks of it, it is rich there, there is prosperity, everything is different, yes...". To my interview partner Ö., whose parents came to Vienna as 'guest workers', the Belvedere with its publicly available Baroque garden constitutes a place for recreation, which she uses on a daily basis for a walk during

her lunch break as she lives close by: “...since my private flat and workspace are in the same building, I need to clear my mind during lunchtime and get some fresh air... with the Belvedere park around the corner I enjoy to go for a walk here...”. Standing at the Upper Belvedere, the palace situated on a hill, allows to overlook the city with the Kahlenberg rising at the horizon. Adjacent to the Belvedere, built in in the 1710s and 1720s for Prince Eugene of Savoy, resides the Turkish embassy. Correspondingly, since 1911 the street name, “conflat[ing] history and geography and merg[ing] the past [it] commemorate[s] into ordinary settings of human life”, is called *Prinz-Eugen-Straße* (Palmberger 2013a:3). With both streets, the '*Gürtel*' and the *Prinz-Eugen-Straße*, geographically marking the dividing lines and junction between the 3rd, 4th and 10th district, they also constitute important connecting lines, particular salient for demonstrations. While demonstrations organised by Kurdish associations usually take place in front of the chamber of labour (*Arbeiterkammer*), located 100m down the road from the embassy building, thereby underlining their proximity to labour unions, demonstrations in support of the current Turkish government often take place directly in front of the building. In the night of the attempted coup on 15 to 16 July 2016 in Turkey only minutes pass between the first sounds of car horns and an assembly of hundreds of protesters. I am surprised about the instant and well organisation and mobilisation of people, either walking down from the direction of the '*Gürtel*' or arriving in fully occupied cars, equipped with Turkish flags and music blasting from the speakers. While at first this setting gave me the impression of a celebrating crowd, after getting into conversations with protesters, who willingly explain the situation and their motivations to me, it becomes obvious that the people on the street are Erdoğan supporters following his call to take to the streets. A middle-aged man with a Turkish flag wrapped around his head answers to my question, why he came to the gathering at the embassy tonight: “...we love our president, we would do anything for him...”. While the situation feels tense in some moments, due to both the emotionally charged circumstances and their collective discharging in “Allahu Akbar” calls as well as the high police presence causing some confusion among the crowd by enacting temporary road blocks, I do sense also a certain routine. Not only the tired-looking, bored faces of some police officials, also the interactions within the crowd transmit a certain ease

and familiarity- intergenerational groups, many families I assume, stand together and greet, chat and laugh with other protesters. The engine bonnet of a car is opened with a group of men gathering around it. A father, whose son occasionally helps out by providing German vocabularies, explains to me: “...these people [attempting the coup] do not respect our laws...see, I am an Austrian citizen [pointing to his wallet], I do not cross the street, when the traffic lights are red...I saw the news in the television, so we decided to come here...”. While in a conversation with a Russian and Austrian bystander they expressed their astonishment at why so many people apparently had Turkish flags at their disposal, apart from the protesters' political affiliations it has to be borne in mind that the coup attempt fell into the month of the men's football championship UEFA Euro 2016, in which Turkey took part. After an address by the ambassador, who stepped out onto the balcony, the chanting crowd eventually disperses.



Fig. 15, Protest against attempted coup in front of Turkish embassy.

The next day no traces point to the midnightly protest, as the trams saunter along the road, dropping tourists at the Belvedere. I decide to visit Ai Weiwei's recently opened exhibition “translocation - transformation” at the *21er Haus*, a museum for contemporary art located next to the main station and *Schweizergarten*. In a complementary installation in a pond in the Belvedere gardens, the converging of Baroque aesthetics and the arrangement of worn life jackets grouped as floating lotus flowers in the shape of an calligraphic F appear both unfamiliar as well as

incredibly fitting. Dealing with “the metamorphosis provoked by expulsion, migration, and deliberate change of location that is undergone by people and objects alike”, Ai Weiwei's installation underlines the porosity of this place, so profoundly knotted to migrating memories and an increasingly contested, ambivalent past.¹³ As I walk out of the Belvedere down a side street I pass by a pillar advertising the Mozarthaus. Somebody scribbled a nose piercing, bruise and tears on Mozart's face, making him appear both rebelliously unadjusted and sadly confined. A caption added reads: “High culture is like a graveyard” - quite an antithesis to “Vienna has culture”.



Fig. 16, Advertising pillar in *Karolinengasse*.

Having traced elements of nostalgic and amnesic landscapes in Vienna, with the former most prevalent in the historic city centre and adjoining inner districts, and the latter in the traditional workers' and migrants districts on the outskirts like Favoriten, evolving porous interstices in urban spaces undermine these modes of place-making. Recalling, “porosity speaks to a sense of place that understands how history and memory seep into landscapes, allowing the past to coexist alongside the present”, which can be experienced in the spatial proximity and temporal overlap of manifold memories in the described space in Vienna at the intersection of a rather nostalgic and amnesic landscape (Farrar 2011:731). Both inhabitants, or rather city users, and initiatives, like

¹³ Ai Weiwei, 21er Haus, accessed on 18 July 2016, <http://www.21erhaus.at/en/aiww21>.

the GB*10 and the 21er Haus, cultivate and encourage an active engagement with the environment through recreating, “reclaiming and repurposing” an increasingly diverse neighbourhood (Farrar 2011:731). The creative influence of migrants to the urban development of the city, as well as in social, political, economic, cultural and intellectual terms, is undeniable, thereby answering back to Vienna's quite oxymoronic vision of becoming a “*Weltstadt*” without immigrants, however allowing working 'guests' (Gürses 2004:47,100). Thereby, the nostalgic burden turning the city into “a tomb, a mausoleum, a mo(nu)ment of the past, re-collecting the ruins of itself and the nation” is “invigorated by new users whose lived experiences of the space often contradict its earlier function”, also because they are often unaware of a certain place memory (Ferrara 2012:153; Farrar 2011:732). The often negative connotations associated with the words 'Turks' or 'Turkish' and the exclusive reference of 'Turkish memories' to the Sieges by the Ottoman Empire are misleading and a misnomer to be reclaimed.

4.2 'Turkish Memories' beyond the Siege

As has been demonstrated in the previous section, migrants' memories profoundly impact on urban place memory, with migrants “doing more than “putting down roots”; instead, they are creating the infrastructure for an expansive social and political life” (Farrar 2011:727). Certainly, in light of the migration of 'guest workers' from Turkey and the evolvment of an active 'Turkish community' in Vienna, the expression of 'Turkish memories' needs to be revisited. Thereby, the heterogeneity and fragmentation I encountered among my 'Turkish' interview partners questions the implicit collectivity in 'Turkish memories', which often tends to “create totalising and constraining identities from apparently cohesive migrant memories by assuming that a collective group of migrants has a common and cohesive past” (Kleist and Glynn 2012:11). Hence, instead of envisioning “the networks or imaginaries of diasporic identity that link people (...) as circumscribed and bounded by a common communal or national identity”, Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar argue for “the need to move ‘beyond the ethnic lens’” in order to account for internal differentiation in migrant

'communities' and “obtain the analytical distance to investigate when, why and how ethnic identities become salient for people of migrant background and for the institutions of governance” (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009:185,186; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2013:495).

For example, my interview partner Ali Gedik, a Kurdish Alevi, grounds his motivation for political activism and rather leftist orientation in the collective experiences of discrimination and violence of Kurds and Alevis in Turkey, which are therefore inherently connected with a desire of freedom: “...to be Alevi is this religious orientation, which is incredibly open-minded...in many questions, children's rights, women's rights, interpersonal relations, culture, music, how you practice, women and men sit together...this religious faith was strongly prohibited...in the province, where I come from, after I have left already...a gruesome massacre of Alevis, Kurds, and leftists...because those two groups were oppressed, leftist ideology was obviously not far from them...and hence political engagement was always within us, already with eleven, twelve years I participated in demonstrations...”. In terms of communication with his parents, often a complicated endeavour due to technical issues, he experienced several times that the telephone connection was cut, as soon as they started to speak Kurdish. Migrating to Austria in a time, when the official agreement on 'guest work' was commonly circumvented in favour of the less bureaucratic, direct recruitment by recommendation of relatives, who already lived in Austria as 'guest workers', Ali Gedik moved to his uncle in Vorarlberg. He became part of the *Werkstätigenbund Vorarlberg* (literally workers' alliance Vorarlberg), which also spurred his ambitions to learn German: “...all the political engagement...nearly 'forced' my to learn German in order to communicate with the people in Vorarlberg”. Focussed on the political situation in Turkey, their range of political activities included hunger strikes, rallies, peaceful occupations of, for example, the headquarters of the Austrian public broadcasting service ORF in Vorarlberg, as well as petitions and alternative elections. Moreover, being embedded into a nationwide network, the *Werkstätigenbund* organised a protest march with 30 people from Bregenz, the capital of Vorarlberg, to Vienna against cuts in social welfare. Probably in light of the discrimination 'guest workers' faced in Austria, he speaks enthusiastically about this event, especially the fact that they passed through small towns, “where they have never seen a protest march”, and their welcome at

Vienna's *Westbahnhof* (West Station) by 70.000-80.000 people. Organised in the end of the 1980s, this time was, accordingly to Ali Gedik, also marked by discussions within various associations concerning a shift from being primarily preoccupied with the political situation in Turkey, like workers' rights and the living conditions of Kurds, towards workers' rights and thereby their own living conditions in Austria. With these debates also expressing a slow change in attitude, in which a potential return to Turkey became less likely, they fostered cooperations with Austrian workers' associations and labour unions. Coinciding with the findings of Sabine Kroissenbrunner, who did research on organisations of migrants from Turkey in Vienna, she further argues that left-wing organisations “aiming for network-building with Austrian political parties” “had built up much stronger links and co-operations with left and liberal political parties than right-wing, conservative and Islamic organisations, which were unable to establish similar „partnerships“ at political-institutional level” (Kraler and Sohler 2005:33). Moreover, Kroissenbrunner's findings suggest that while left-wing 'Turkish' organisations are inclined towards “professionalisation and specialisation”, “[r]ight wing and Islamic organisations, by contrast, ai[m] at fulfilling comprehensive community functions” (Kraler and Sohler 2005:33). For example, coming back to Ali Gedik, in 1990 he was invited to candidate for the Green Party during the legislative elections (*Nationalratswahlen*) and even got listed for the second position. After the public announcement, the reaction by the media and other parties was very strong, so that he stepped down from his candidature only ten days later and eventually had to move to Vienna as no company would hire him anymore: “...they are guests, they have to work, have to be nice, how do they get to do politics...that they [the Green Party] advocate for 'guest workers' is still acceptable, but he should represent us in Vienna?... the leftist, the terrorist, the PKK supporter, the dangerous, and so on...”. Emanating from this experience, Ali Gedik decided his political activism would remain in cooperation with political parties, but not as elected politician. His political engagement can be read in the context of an increased migratory movement from Turkey by people with a leftist political orientation, following the military coup in Turkey in 1971. Thereby, the hitherto existing, rather minor structure of associations founded by migrants from Turkey in Vienna became increasingly differentiated and fragmented (Hasan 2010:50). Following Ljubomir Bratić, the structure of migrant organisations

often resembles the political structure in the country of origin. Hence, while 'guest workers' of former Yugoslavia came from a 'one-party system', receiving increased support by consular posts, in the 'Turkish communities' in Vienna the diverse political spectrum and fragmentation within Turkey becomes evident (Bratić 2000:18). Hence, “[t]he kind and degree of participation in ‘homeland’ politics differs with reference to a series of contextual factors, including the history of specific migration and settlement processes and political conditions in the country of origin” (Vertovec 2009:95). The differences among the 'communities' of migrants from former Yugoslavia and Turkey are also noticeable by the team members of the project “The Migration Collection” („*Migration sammeln*“), which will be elaborated on in section 4.3. Interested in processes of self-historicising (*Selbsthistorisierung*) within the respective 'communities', for its 30th anniversary of the association the *Dachverband der jugoslawischen Vereine in Wien* (Umbrella Organisation of Yugoslavian Associations in Vienna) published a monograph on the historical development of the association. Moreover, in a room in the premises of the association picture frames are put on the walls each for every year. While as well in the 'Turkish communities' various processes of self-historicising can be observed, it is usually not in the framework of an integrated community.

Also with regard to the so-called 'second generation', who themselves were born in Austria, but whose parents migrated from Turkey, attachments to different associations and 'communities' are common. This generation is also described with the concept of “post migrant”, highlighting that while descending from migrants they “have not experienced the actual spatial mobility themselves but [their] actions and lives bear the traces of migration” (Çağlar 2016:954). For example, my interview partner B., is an active member of the MJÖ (*Muslimische Jugend Österreich*, Muslim Youth Austria), which is the youth organisation of the IGGiÖ (*Islamische Glaubensgemeinschaft*, Islamic Faith Community of Austria). While growing up in a small town close to Vienna in a Turkish Muslim family, B.'s group of friends was “‘mixed’ in the sense of... non-Muslim Austrians or a Serbian Greek Orthodox friend and then Turkish Muslims... but both [Austrian and Muslim] under one roof didn't exist...for me it used to be hardly imaginable that I have Arab friends or Austrian Muslims...there was no contact...that was for example one of the points that fascinated me about the MJÖ...so many different people with different backgrounds and what connects us is the German language and

that we are Muslims. And you realised that you were not as different as perceived...we are all born here and grow up here...and what remains as difference is that she has a different mother tongue than I do...and this was for example the way how I became attentive of Kurdish. Although in Turkey there is a very large minority of Kurds, it hasn't been an issue before...I didn't have this in the Turkish community, you remained among Turks...". Hence, becoming part of a broader Muslim community, in which the shared religious denomination and language create a sense of belonging, for B. the ethnic or national connotations of being 'Muslim' were dissolved, or more precisely, embraced in its diversity. Moreover, although being intertwined, she differentiates between religious and cultural values: "...when I take a decision now, what I can or should do or shouldn't do- the Islam is my measure. When there is no religious obstacle, then I do not care, if it is welcomed in Turkish or Austrian culture...". While religion constitutes therefore an important medium through which B. experiences orientation and belonging in a country with a non-Muslim majority, she also feels at the same time to have more in common with (Christian and atheist) adolescents in Austria than her Muslim cousins in Turkey. She explains this in terms of a common socialisation in Austria, including shared habits, traditions, dreams, sense of humour and mentality, hence, following Pierre Bourdieu, a similar "habitus" (Bourdieu 1979): "...then you have those [young people in Turkey], who are very traditional, it doesn't matter how modern they pretend to be...this has nothing to do with age, education or religion...". It is also this influence of socialisation and habitus that the parents of my interview partner Ö., who also grew up in a Turkish Muslim family, initially tried to keep her away from: "...I grew up with speaking Turkish, eating Turkish, living Turkish and watching Turkish television at home...it was always like: we are not like Austrians, we shouldn't be like Austrians, my parents used to be panicked that we would become Austrian...for me this wasn't a strange world, on the contrary, I always had Austrian friends, so for me this was also my world...there was always the fear to lose one's own culture, and the more fear, the more it was looked out to remain among the closest circle...". However, over time the misgiving by her parents towards what was perceived as 'Austrian' weakened, also with regard to her sisters being married to or in a relationship with an Austrian, Alevi or Kurd. In comparison to her family, Ö. describes herself as 'outlier', as she is the only one, who is neither married, nor has children until now, and who

graduated from both school with the *Matura* (Austrian university-entrance diploma) and university, thereby becoming the first graduate at this institution of a 'guest worker' family. In the framework of her master's thesis Ö. conducted workshops in Turkish for women on the topic of self-confidence at the ATIB (*Avusturya Türkiye İslam Birliği*, Turkish-Islamic Union for Cultural and Social Cooperation in Austria). As has been outlined above, while the IGGiÖ and the MJÖ represent a broader Muslim community across nationality, the ATIB more specifically represents Turkish Muslims in Austria and is closely related to the Diyanet (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*, Presidency of Religious Affairs) in Turkey.

Hence, the examples of three of my interview partners highlight various possibilities to establish ties with different associations and 'communities' in Vienna for former 'guest workers' and their children. With organisations being positioned both in opposition to the current Turkish government in office as well as in close cooperation with Turkish parties and institutions, with both relations based on mutual cooperation as well as instances of (violent) disputes, the heterogeneity and fragmentation within the 'Turkish community' became apparent (Hasan 2010:49). Challenging the assumption that “hybrid, diasporic ‘third space’ standpoints are inherently anti-essentialist and subversive of dominant hegemonies of race and nation”, in terms of self-organisation an active engagement across, for example, the political and religious spectrum can be observed (Vertovec 2009:11). Despite affiliations to different organisations, all three interview partners I introduced are remarkably engaged, both within and beyond specific associations. Next to his direct political engagement, Ali Gedik worked in the field of social and streetwork for several years and organised a series of concerts with Austrian and Kurdish musicians. Thereby, his motivation arises from the wish to bring different people with different 'backgrounds' together and initiate a dialogue: “...it started already on the stage- bands were mixed, music was mixed, languages were mixed and the audience was mixed every time...I always tried that people do not stay away from each other, but come together...not to love each other, but get to know each other, being curious, maybe there is something on the other side that I need, come on, open up and talk to the people...”. My interview partner Ö. completed a variety of internships with organisations assisting migrants and refugees before opening her own therapist practice, which offers therapy in Turkish language and focussed on

transcultural psychoanalysis. B. as an active member at the MJÖ is engaged in several activities, like community service during Ramadan and the Project Fatima, a workshop for strengthening the skills of young Muslim women to become active participants and multipliers in Austria by challenging negative stereotypes. In light of their engagement and network of family, friends and organisations, all of them express during the interviews their profound connection to Austria, also in relation to the continuous debates on 'integration'. For example, for Ö. it constitutes a rather obsolete, convenient debate with its one-sided demands as well as an excuse deferring debates on more important topics: "...I feel like a European and Viennese...but who actually cares about 'the background'?...I would say they [former 'guest workers' and their families] are anyway integrated...what else should they do?...what is more important is intercultural competence... out of mere interest I would look into this culture and exchange more... this isn't just a one-way street, I cannot expect for everybody to somehow assimilate, this is also laziness...". Despite their active engagement and feeling 'at home' in Vienna and Austria, they also experienced discrimination and partially feelings of alienation (*Fremdheitserfahrung*). During the interview all of them mentioned instances of discrimination in relation to their names, a symbolic marker for a sense of self and personal identity. As has been outlined above, while Ali Gedik had to step down from his candidature for the Green Party after the reaction in the media and further parties, in the aftermath he was not hired by any company anymore due to his name, now associated with negative headlines and prejudices, which also negatively affected his cousin carrying the same last name: "...I see...Gedik? A Gedik we don't need here, we don't need a communist in the company...". Due to a variety of problems with her name, like many people assuming it to be a male name or having difficulties with its pronunciation, Ö. gave herself an Austrian name by 'Europeanising' her second name: "...it was just easier this way...for nearly ten years...and then I said around two years ago, no, I am Ö. and you just need to be able to pronounce it or not, but I am Ö., and that's that." B. describes that she used to be perceived as Austrian, only when mentioning her name, there was a slight moment of surprise. However, a marked change was initiated, when she started to wear a hijab at the age of twelve: "...that I started to be perceived as Turkish or foreigner went hand in hand with the headscarf, there was a cut...for me personally nothing had changed...always this We and You...". B. was

suddenly confronted with having to explain and justify herself as well as her religion and politics in Turkey: "...there was a complaint that we spoke Turkish...the teacher wanted to prohibit this...this is my mother tongue and I am at home here and I don't let myself be treated like a stranger in my own home...like: we are not in Turkey, and even there is is prohibited...how do you get to compare this with Turkey? I can't help it, can I? I am not even a Turkish citizen, I cannot vote there, and now I am held accountable for Turkish politics, just because I come from a Turkish family?...this was a shock...because until then it was no issue that I am somehow different, that I am perceived to be religiously different...when I started wearing a headscarf I was asked, where is this written...me, a twelve year old girl...I don't know, where it is written, it was a matter of course, because I am from a practicing family, that girls start wearing a headscarf at a certain age...it wasn't something strange...it was no imposition or a decision...alright, here we go [laughs]...but you grow up with this and then it belongs to you...". Despite more than 50 years have past since the signing of the agreement on the recruitment and employment of workers from Turkey, these examples illustrate experiences of continued discrimination, also impacting on the 'second' or even 'third generation'. As mentioned in section 4.1, the living and working conditions for 'guest workers', including discrimination in the housing and job market as well as the fragmentation of families, were hard and often degrading. Particularly the practices applied in the recruitment process itself, like the medical examinations, are recalled as humiliating (Busch and Böse 2006:89). Over the time also the exclusion from certain political and civic rights moved into the focus, with an increased "[a]wareness of their precarious situation (...) propel[ling] members of diasporas to advance legal and civic causes and to be active in human rights and social justice issues", as illustrated above with Ali Gedik's political activism (Vertovec 2009:10-11). Recapitulating, in acknowledgement of the heterogeneity and diversity among former 'guest workers' from Turkey and the following generations, the collective experience of migrating to Austria and being a 'guest worker' may foster and sustain the creation of a mnemonic community, as observable in various examples of self-historicising introduced in section 4.3. Recalling from section 2.1, individuals develop "sociobiographic memories" not necessarily based on personal experience, but transmitted via a variety of mnemonic practices and products, by which those memories are shared among, for example, family members of

former 'guest workers' (Climo and Cattell 2002:35). While it is important not to reduce the memories concerning 'guest work' exclusively to negative experiences, it is also the precarity of the living conditions of former 'guest workers', concerning, for example, family life and childcare, legal status and visa extensions as well as communication, that amounts to a certain “traumatic memory”, which “is an entirely social phenomenon, rendered meaningful, not by the accuracy of the memories (...) or the authority of [the] narrating voice, but through circulation and movement inside the circulatory system of a collective memory” (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:18). Sharing and shared memories thereby have binding effects across an otherwise heterogeneous, diverse and even fragmented community, for example the emotional experience of exclusion. This is not to say that experiences and memories are necessarily (and quite impossibly) uniform- it is rather in the process of circulating memories that both more homogeneous narratives are elaborated as well as areas of contestation and debate identified.

Hence, the process of crafting and negotiating narratives on 'guest work' is inherently social and relational. However, thereby it is important to remark that although it includes redressing the “absence of recognition–misrecognition–” of former 'guest workers' from Turkey who migrated to Austria and their families, it is not a self-referential process within 'their communities' (Naguib 2013b:2182). Narratives on migration constitute not merely a concern for migrants themselves, but are interlocked with national narratives, reflecting what it considered worth to be remembered for a nation as a whole. This refers both to the countries migrated from and to as well as further countries potentially involved. Before moving on to section 4.3, in which attempts for more inclusive approaches towards migration in museums will be examined, in light of this increased interest in elaborating memories of former 'guest workers', their encounter with the persistent narrative on the sieges of Vienna with the eternal enemy image of the 'Turks' need to be considered. As outlined in section 3.1, throughout the centuries the memories on the 'Turks' in Vienna have been sustained by constant readaptation according to the specific context and consequential 'requirements'. Thereby, since the end of the Cold War and at latest in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, Muslims evolved into the renewed enemy picture, with the largest group of believers in Vienna constituted by people associated with Turkey. Especially politics constitutes a space, in which an encounter between the commemoration of the sieges by

the Ottoman Empire and migrants from Turkey is forced. The right-wing populist party FPÖ (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*, Freedom Party of Austria) (in)famously avails itself of the vacuous narrative on the sieges by admonishing of the danger of a stealthy 'Third Siege' of Vienna, now due to the presence of 'Turkish', equalled with Muslim, migrants. Immigration policies are thereby intermingled with the retrievable collective 'trauma' of the city, which devoid of historical facts has been reduced to both stoking fears of the recurring, eternal enemy as well as reassuring one's superiority in light of the past successful defence (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:205). Hence, Feridun Zaimoğlu's installation „*KanakAttack. Die dritte Türkenbelagerung?*“ (“KanakAttack. The Third Siege?”) in 2005, which veiled the façade of the Kunsthalle Wien with hundreds of Turkish flags, pointed exactly to this potential for provocation arising from the overlap of these two per se unrelated histories, as it caused the FPÖ to react by campaigning that “Vienna must not be Istanbul” („*Wien darf nicht Istanbul werden*“) in the following elections (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:220). Also my interview partner Ali Gedik recalls a symptomatic incident from the election campaign in 2013, when during a TV debate the candidate of the FPÖ

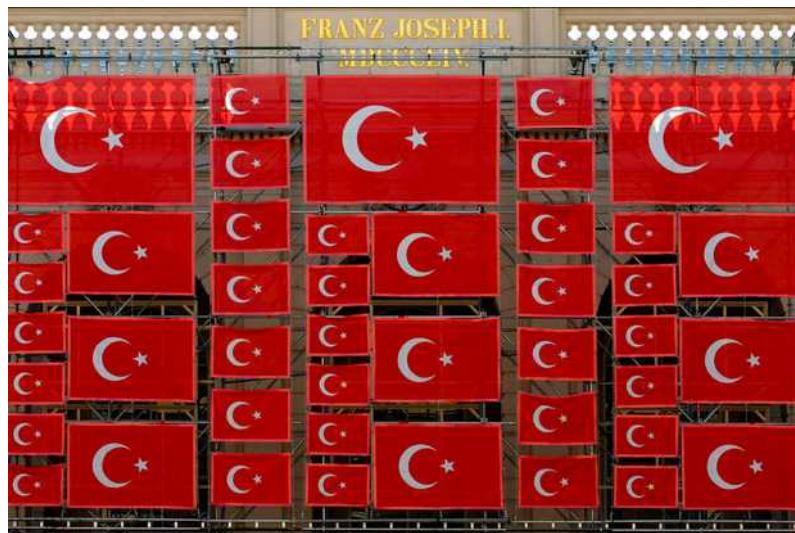


Fig. 17 Installation by Zaimoğlu. Photo by Herbert Schueppel.

accused the SPÖ (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs*, Social Democratic Party of Austria) to print election posters in Turkish language. Instead of exposing the propaganda of the FPÖ and embracing multilingualism, the candidate of the SPÖ backed down and distanced himself from the poster. Moreover, within the European Union (EU) Austria demonstrated the fiercest opposition towards a possible accession of Turkey and in light of the political events in July 2016 is the first country in the EU to call for an ending of accession talks. Moreover, the renewed rise of anti-Islamic sentiments in Austria is partially replacing anti-Semitism, following the research findings by Rudolf de Cillia and Ruth Wodak, in which “interviewees went as far as

including 'the Jews' in their positive vision of modern Austria while stigmatising 'the Turks'" (Corbett 2011:126). During the increased migratory movement from Syria in the summer months of 2015, media attention in Austria was repeatedly concerned with the 'import' of anti-Semitism by Muslim refugees, possibly indicating a similar tendency. Besides politics, also within the educational system, in which "a strong relation between ideological domination and cultural representation" finds its expression, a rather one-sided representation of the sieges of Vienna is reproduced, although the language became more neutral in the course of time (Meusburger et al. 2011:59; Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:195). In addition to the proximity constructed linguistically by the use of the expression 'Turks' in reference to both the Ottoman Empire and migrants from Turkey, the research conducted by Johanna Witzeling on Austrian schoolbooks communicating the sieges of Vienna suggests that uncertainty among teachers on how to communicate the subject increased with the presence of pupils with families from Turkey (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:18-19,206-207). Quoting a teacher, who recalled pupils from Turkish families in his classes to express feelings of pride towards the Ottoman army, which might partially constitute a reaction arising from experiences of discrimination, a possibly different perception of the historical narratives on the sieges is only briefly covered (Heiss and Feichtinger 2013:201). With "the Ottoman past ha[ving] risen from the grave to attain new life as an object of memory in contemporary Turkey", in further research the influence of "neo-Ottomanism" transmitted by Turkish politics, media outlets and cultural products on migrant families from Turkey might as well be interesting to consider in this regard (Walton 2016).

Producing a continuity between the perpetual 'Turkish' enemy and migrant families from Turkey, constituting a significant, active part of Vienna's inhabitants profoundly attached to the place in multiple ways, impedes on developing an inclusive approach, in which memories on 'guest work' form an innate part of the city's narratives. And although it is important to highlight traces of the encounter marked by mutual exchange and adoption, like the Viennese coffee house culture (*Kaffeekultur*), and debunk their construction as something distinctively 'national', when Kerstin Tomenendal contends that past controversies between Austria and Turkey are forgotten with former disjunctions having evolved into connections nowadays, it rather sounds

like wishful thinking (Tomenendal 2000:17). Like the MJÖ, many Muslims in Vienna feel to be targeted by mistrust and a general suspicion (*Generalverdacht*), illustrated in the controversies surrounding the new *Islamgesetz* (Islam Law) in 2015. Regarding the enormous abundance of monuments in Vienna's public space and further symbolic markers in cultural products and practices with their encoded remembrance of the (Second) Siege and the defeat of the Ottomans, as discussed in section 3.1, a certain indifference but also lack of awareness among passersby from Turkey has been identified in Marion Gollner's research (Gollner 2008:89-90). If not socialised into the Austrian educational system, like most former 'guest workers', it is even more likely that migrants are not acquainted with the embedded narratives, which also expressed one of my interview partners at the GB*10. Accompanying a group of female migrants from mostly Arabic countries on touristic excursions in the region or city, with some of them living in Austria since 10-15 years, she recalls a participant surprisedly hearing for the first time about the anecdote surrounding the *Kipferl*, a 'typical' pastry in Austria in the shape of a half moon: "...a symbol for the defeat of the Ottomans [laughs]...this is of course then again like: I see, ok, we have been the enemies...I think that they don't really pick up on many of those stories...it is reciprocal- not to notice and know about each other...". With regard to former 'guest workers' a lack of familiarity with touristic sights and historical narratives is not uncommon. For example, due to the hard working conditions, especially shift work, little time and money was left for touristic activities for B.'s father. Moreover, undergoing these living conditions in Austria lowered his interest in becoming acquainted with its sights, fostering nostalgic feelings towards his home in Turkey: "...for example, when I tell him about...beautiful lakes and so on, then he directly compares it with lakes in Turkey...there is also a lake, there is also a mountain [laughs]...". While the St. Stephen's Cathedral located in the heart of Vienna with its bells cast in Ottoman cannonballs often has to serve as a symbol for the FPÖ propaganda on the supposed 'Turkish danger' (*Türkengefahr*) through 'Turkish' migrants, it is also both ironic and symptomatic that living in a town close to Vienna since more than 30 years B.'s father actually never went to visit the St. Stephen's Cathedral. Hence, in light of this ambivalent presence of monumental signifiers, Johann Heiss and Johannes Feichtinger argue that not their removal, but a critical reassessment opens up the possibility to reformulate an understanding of identity that moves beyond

the 'national' (Heiss and Feichtinger 2009:261). Recalling from section 2.2 that monuments constitute not “'collective memory inscribed in the cityscape' but instead of the manifestation of the dominant public history discourses“, through historicising these discourses and reductionist narratives can be exposed and contextualised, which simultaneously allows for an intellectual distancing (Palmberger 2013a:10; Heiss and Feichtinger 2009:260). Critically revisiting and scrutinising the exclusionary narratives on the perpetual 'Turkish' enemy, which with an increasingly diverse composition of Vienna's inhabitants are inept to sustain a sense of social cohesion, it is important to remark that the manner in which “immigrants and the receiving society relate to each other in terms of belonging might even depend more on the perception of the past than the actual history” (Kleist and Glynn 2012:240). In this regard, Rainer Bauböck suggests “a 'multiple pasts' perspective”, in which the encounter between formerly distanced or separated identities is accounted for by “reconciling different pasts with different presents and futures” (Kleist and Glynn 2012:6). While for the nation state with its “imagined communities” acknowledging heterogenous realities appears to be challenging, during the interviews with my research partners I observed that within the identities of its individual inhabitants multiple attachments are lived in the everyday life (Anderson 2006). Enthusiastically B. described to me her travels with the MJÖ, which made her feel to be 'home' in various places based on different sources for attachments: “...what does it mean to be at home? I think, it has to do with your well-being. And this can have many different reasons...for example, in Spain it was the Muslim heritage...in Bosnia...just this harmony between Orient and Occident...on the one hand that of the Muslims, the Ottomans, but on the other hand that of the Dual Monarchy, Viennese houses...And in Mecca...I once got lost, and I don't know Arabic and not everyone speaks English...then I saw two men...one of them speaking Turkish on the phone...I can't tell you how glad I felt...There is was the Turkish language, in Bratislava it was German...” Thereby, she seems to rather effortlessly move in between and along the experiences of multiple attachments, eluding demands for prescribed coherence. In light of increasingly “individual prismatic identities” B. doubts that nowadays the single allegiance demanded by the nation state can capture the lived realities of people (Naguib 2013b:2183)- “...the interesting thing is...I don't know if nowadays you can still separate it so clearly...for my father it is clear, his home, where he belongs and

where he feels at ease, is Turkey...You ask yourself, you wonder, what your identity is made of, it exists of different parts...when I see the *Sachertorte* [Austrian chocolate cake] it belongs to me as much as *Baklava* [Ottoman/ Turkish pastry] does...I think, in the future this will become an issue even more...that you won't have a single, a fixed national consciousness...it won't be possible anymore, because you will be born somewhere, but raised somewhere else...you drive somewhere for your education and then find a job somewhere else...and the nationality, when you will be asked for a nationality, then only the passport is left to tell...I have the Austrian citizenship...I had to decide...We had to give up the Turkish one in order to receive the Austrian...". Instead of "portray[ing] individuals as having only one country and one identity", who "[t]hrough a single discursive act (...) [as] native[s] to the territory of a nation-state are transformed into participants in a shared and homogenous culture", the concept of "multiple embeddedness" appears to offer a more productive, accurate description of the diverse realities of a city's inhabitants (Çağlar 2016:953; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2013:496,499).

Recapitulating, although the dynamic 'communities' and range of associations, in which former 'guest workers' and their families from Turkey are engaged in and affiliated to, are quite heterogeneous and often fragmented, both efforts to bring people together and enable a dialogue between possibly opposed groups as well as sharing experiences and memories as 'guest workers' creates a sense of cohesion. In light of their undeniable influence on and significance for the city several attempts, some to be examined in the following section 4.3, to create more inclusive narratives in recognition of migrants' memories have evolved. However, due to the construction of links between the presence of migrants, especially former 'guest workers' and their families, from Turkey and the narratives on the sieges of Vienna with its enemy image of the 'Turks' a mere inclusion and incorporation into localised narratives appears questionable and even undesirable. Moreover, established local narratives may become more difficult to be uphold, since, recalling from 2.1, "[i]n the postmodern world, even people who are not highly mobile, who remain in the same place for many years, may discover that they need to change and adapt their identities as places are transformed around them" (Climo

and Cattell 2002:15). The multiple attachments of migrants' memories may foster the processes of revisiting those localised narratives and tell more inclusive (hi)stories acknowledging the heterogenous realities of its inhabitants.

4.3 Mainstreaming Migration?

Along with the decolonising processes in museums, as discussed in section 2.3, migration experienced increased consideration both as a topic for exhibition and in generating more diverse publics. In Vienna in light of the pronounced focus on the protection and preservation of its urban heritage, also impacting on the densely arranged museal landscape, migration, especially in reference to former 'guest workers', has long been absent in (re)collections. Following the landmark exhibition “The Peopling of London” in the Museum of London in 1993, which inspired a series of exhibitions in cities across the globe engaging with the migratory movements of its inhabitants, in 1996 Austria's first exhibition dealing explicitly with immigration, “WE. On the Past and Present of Viennese Immigration” („*WIR. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Zuwanderung nach Wien*“), took place at the former Historical Museum of the City of Vienna (*Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien*), now Wien Museum (Wonisch and Hübel 2012:117). However, although the lack of formal recognition “has often been internalized by subaltern groups and led to the depreciation of their own cultures, traditions and local knowledge”, it is the exercise of self-historicising that significantly informs processes of re-remembering of migrants' (hi)stories (Naguib 2013b:2182). Memories are and have always been present in the lives of those bearing them, while museums “can only tell the stories their collections allow them to tell” (Chambers et al. 2014a:155).

Hence, acknowledging that “migrant communities often become memory makers themselves because of their absence from national memories”, also my interview partner Ali Gedik assembled a private archive (Kleist and Glynn 2012:18). Both due to his own political engagement and with a general interest in topics surrounding migration, the situations of Kurds and human rights in Turkey as well as the living situation and rights of immigrants in Austria, Ali Gedik began to collect

pieces of from German- and Turkish-language media coverage, mainly newspaper articles: "...I didn't collect with the intention that one day it will be needed...I am generally someone, who thinks it's a pity, when certain things just disappear...and with this intention just for myself, I began collecting, putting in drawers...sometimes it was directly connected with us [the associations he was part of]...it wasn't arranged in order, not at all, just a page [imitates sound of tearing out a page] out and put in the drawer...really mountains of this...". This clearly reflects how during the process of their creation private collections were ignored by the same institutions, like municipal authorities and museums, that nowadays heavily rely on those compilations when curating exhibitions on migration. This lack of interest in the (hi)stories of migrants also discouraged collecting efforts in the first place. Today it renders the objects, which have nevertheless been collected or safeguarded without any prospects of use in the future, so rare and valuable, as will be elaborated on below. The process of moving from a very personal assemblage of various materials scattered in drawers at Ali Gedik's home towards archiving was initiated during a conversation with team members involved in the exhibition "*Gastarbajteri. 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration*" (Gastarbajteri. 40 Years of Labour Migration), which was realised at the Wien Museum in 2004, the year of the 40th anniversary of the recruitment agreement between Austria and Turkey (see below). Hence, Ali Gedik placed his collections, including around 500 documents collected between the period of 1979 to the early 1990s, at the disposal of the project members, who processed, separated and reorganised the material in the course of the following months. Re-encountering his physical material well-arranged and digitalised publicly accessible at the *Wiener Hauptbücherei* (Vienna Central Library), which constituted the second venue of the exhibition "Gastarbajteri" focussing on media and migration, is recalled positively by Ali Gedik and helped himself to realise the significance of his archive: "...but, you know, by now I actually realised how nice and important it is, an archive...for example to arrange this in 20, 30, 40 years and tell: in the 70s, 80s, the beginnings of the 90s there lived a Kurd in Austria and he was interested in this...it would be interesting to have and protect this...". As part of Austria's first exhibition dedicated specifically to the migration of 'guest workers', which aimed at highlighting their misrecognition and absence in the prevailing historic narratives in Vienna, Ali Gedik's collections evolved into "[a]n archive[,which] as a project, an intervention, an

anticipation of intentional collective memory is an “aspiration rather than a recollection,” as Appadurai puts it” (Chambers et al. 2014b:100). When Cemalettin Efe, a former 'guest worker' himself, and Andrea Jantschko, approached the *Initiative Minderheiten* (Platform for Minorities in Austria) with the idea of an exhibition on 'guest workers', it soon became clear that these experiences and memories can only be communicated with positioned, fragmented (hi)stories, instead of being neutrally subsumed in an overall storyline (Gürses et. al 2004:82). Also Ali Gedik's archive is inherently subjective, positioned and fragmentary, growing out of an everyday mnemonic practice, which temporarily condensed for the duration of the exhibition only to move on further. While intended to be on loan for the exhibition, Ali Gedik describes how in the aftermath of the exhibition “Gastarbajteri” his archive did not find its way back to his home, but dispersed. He passed on some parts of the collection following several inquiries for exhibition of institutions across Austria, like the Jewish Museum Hohenems in Vorarlberg, while other parts he gifted to a Kurdish professor from Armenia, who founded an archival institution in Austria: “...this is how actually a lot of it didn't get lost, but ended up somewhere and didn't return...this is the story of my great archive [laughs]”. Expressing that “an archive is not made out of ice”, a solid state of aggregation, Ali Gedik implicitly points to the fluidity and potential for disruption of his archive in both its content, transmitting memories of movement, and its mobile form, embracing “practices of breaking, ruination, fragmentation, and, simultaneously, of recomposition, recycling and recreation” (Chambers et al. 2014b:164). Instead of being contained within a coherent, conclusive narrative inside of a particular institution, Ali Gedik's archive stayed alive in different exhibitions, different contexts and different places by “creat[ing] discontinuous and fragmented paths by means of movement” (Chambers et al. 2014b:272).

Interlaced in several narrations, the dispersal of Ali Gedik's archive also illustrates the general increased and 'overdue' interest in the (hi)stories of 'guest workers'. However, accompanied with a surging interest, especially by those institutions in the position to influence the city's narratives as well as policies on migration, also the fragility and cracks in their relations with migrant 'communities' surfaced, like museums' complicity in sustaining certain power divides. While half a century had to pass before the need for recognition of migrants' memories was articulated on a broader

scale in Vienna, the temporal dimension of power relations, often experienced as waiting by migrants, is exposed, “influenc[ing] the credibility and moral reputation of political regimes or organizations” (Khosravi 2014:n.p.; Meusbürger et al. 2011:60). Hence, with many former 'guest workers' entering the retirement age, “call[ing] for securing the material and recording the stories of the first generation of migrant workers before it is too late” might at best be received as a delayed insight or at worst rather cynical (Wolbert 2010:n.p.). Therefore, as my interview partner at the *Initiative Minderheiten* emphasised, questions on representation and ownership were a key concern during the conceptualisation and development of the exhibition “Gastarbajteri”: “...How do you represent and tell these histories? How do you illustrate them? Which images do you show?” Debates crystallised as well around the production of (counter-)images ((*Gegen*)*bilder*), the choice of place for exhibition as well as the composition and functioning of the team. Thereby, the selection of photographs used in the exhibition and catalogue were subject to serious discussions in the team in order to avoid reproducing well-established clichés like the 'guest worker' from Turkey “with moustache and suitcase” and communicate rather unfamiliar aspects, like the (hi)stories of female 'guest workers'. Also the title of the exhibition itself, a loanword of Serbo-Croatian colloquial language, demonstrates a shift of perspective through the reappropriation of the negatively connoted external categorisation as 'guest workers' by reversing it into the ironised self-ascription as 'gastarbajteri' (Busch and Böse 2006:91-92). In this regard, especially the knowledge generated through experiences (*Erfahrungswissen*) by migrants as part of the team at the *Initiative Minderheiten* was very valuable and insightful in developing counter-images. During my research I noticed the recurrence and reapplication of photographs utilised previously in the exhibition “Gastarbajteri”, demonstrating the significance of the selection of visual material due to its range and lasting effect. Concerning the choice of place for the exhibition “Gastarbajteri”, the cooperation with the *Wien Museum* was intended as a political symbol to all of Vienna's inhabitants, both former 'guest workers' and their families as well as those part of the 'majority society' (*Mehrheitsgesellschaft*): “...to give them the space of a mainstream museum, not taking place in a tiny, alternative space, but really the Historical Museum of the City of Vienna...that was a very important political signal to migrants, but of course as well to the majority society, these

people are part of the Austrian society, part of the Austrian history and part of the Austrian political society...”. The strategical positioning of the exhibition at the museum considered to be the central memory institution of the city, emphasised as well by its geographic centrality in the urban space, granted enhanced exposure and signified the increased recognition and symbolic inclusion. Moreover, following Aimé Césaire, “[t]elling Réunion people [and in this case, former 'guest workers' in Vienna] that they deserved a museum with all the elitist representations associated with this space was a very important gesture: 'Yes, your “poor” lives deserve a museum, your creations and practices deserve a museum.’” (Chambers et al. 2014a:32). In terms of the composition and functioning of the team, closely tied to issues of representation, the inclusion of people from 'guest worker' families within the team developing the exhibition was formulated as a further key principle at the *Initiative Minderheiten* and proved to challenge established practices in museums. When subaltern memories move into the focus of an exhibition, “[t]he subaltern subject is, in many cases, the subject of two violent memories”, by both having “endured the violence of an unjust society” and being subjected to “epistemic violence in the sense that such recollections and stories do not always exist in a form readily maintained by the colonial or postcolonial archive [and w]hen these memories do figure, subalterns are often spoken *for*, not *of*” (Meusburger et al. 2011:290). Hence, even if illiterate, as has been the case with some former 'guest workers', the authorship for their own (hi)stories cannot be denied. Therefore, for both the exhibition “Gastarbajteri” in 2004 and “Romane Thana. Places of the Roma and Sinti” (*Romane Thana. Orte der Roma und Sinti*) in 2015 a basic condition and work ethic of the *Initiative Minderheiten* constituted to enable and advocate migrants' active involvement in developing and directing the exhibitions: “... this was exactly the practice that was never really there before...it was a total struggle to explain them that we can only do the exhibition, if the people are the authors of their stories...this was a very important moment that the people were not just 'information sources for research' and not just like: you give the objects to us and we do a great exhibition...”. In reference to Gayatri Spivak, it needs to be reformulated: Can the subaltern *curate*? (Spivak 1988) While usually in exhibitions on migration, people from the respective migrant 'communities' may participate in the mediation and events concerning the exhibition, an involvement in the actual curation is often denied. After

intense negotiations with the *Wien Museum*, the *Initiative Minderheiten* successfully communicated that for the authorship of the subjects in the exhibitions participation in the curation process is indispensable and cannot be reduced to the delivery of material. Hence, this approach challenges both the objective that by “prompting self-esteem and a sense of pride about one’s cultural background, museums give immigrants and diasporas the means to re-appropriate their own cultures” and the advice for them to “be attentive to the internal conflicts and tensions within communities from the same country of origin, keep a certain distance and maintain their authority and power of decision in dealing with contradictory versions of history” (Naguib 2013b:2186; Naguib 2013a:82). Rather, the process of crafting narratives on migrants’ memories is fundamentally connected to engaging with incoherences and negotiating competing versions and therefore, as previously mentioned, achieved by facilitating authorship by migrants “via the assemblage of fragments”, instead of seeking a conclusive storyline for the memories of a homogenous migrant community (Chambers et al. 2014a:90). This process of collective remembering, discussing and (dis)agreeing may be well exemplified with a panel discussion that evolved into a lively discussion between speakers and participants at a conference on the 50th anniversary of the recruitment agreement with former Yugoslavia, taking place on 7 April 2016 at the *Filmkasino*, an art-house cinema in Vienna, which served as meeting point for the Yugoslavian ‘community’ in the 1980s. A substantial controversy emerged concerning the question on the extent of actual (financial) support offered by the consular posts to the former Yugoslavian associations, with an older man sitting in the first row proudly stating “I am living history, I know everything”.¹⁴ Also the difficulty to conflate the experiences of former ‘guest workers’ with concluding remarks depicts the different perceptions among the generations. With the so-called second generation, born in Austria, appreciating the sacrifices made by their parents, thereby enabling their children to seize opportunities, which were unattainable for themselves, often the negative experiences predominate. After being summarised as the ‘lost generation’ by a participant from the second generation, Ljubomir Bratić, who moderated the panel discussion, intervenes in order to point as well to the positive (hi)stories. Hence, instead of starting by negotiating a common historiography ‘from above’, in which museums direct and decide on

14 Original quotation in German: „... ich bin lebende Geschichte, ich weiß alles...”

discrepancies and ambiguities in migrants' memories, museums could use their resources to facilitate forums, in which varied, inconsistent memory collectives find a space to be articulated and discussed (Stapel 2010:284).

Therefore, the significance of the exhibition “Gastarbajteri” at the *Wien Museum* in 2004 cannot be underestimated, as it encouraged an important, long overdue debate addressed to all of Vienna's inhabitants, concerning the position (or rather absence) of the memories of former 'guest workers', who grew into a significant, creative part of the city. While most of the exhibition has been digitalised, being designed as a temporary exhibition, the display equipment has been destroyed, most exhibits on loan have been returned to their owners and potentially dispersed and migrated from there, like Ali Gedik's archive.

Despite the successful reception of the exhibition, with its aftermath lingering in the city, it was not followed up by an increased engagement of Vienna's municipal administration and further political institutions located in



Fig. 18 Banner in front of Wien Museum. Website „Archiv der Migration“.

Austria's capital. Hence, during the Wienwoche (literally 'Vienna week') in 2012 Arif Akkılıç and Ljubomir Bratić intervened in the public space with a poster campaign demanding an “Archive of migration, now!” („Für ein Archiv der Migration, jetzt!“), thereby symbolising the lack of an institutionalised place commemorating the migration in the city. Acknowledging that migrants are not 'the people without history', in this institution a collection on materials and documents should be created enabling to tell the (hi)stories of migration to Vienna in the first place and revisit established narratives. Recalling the significance of the former *Südbahnhof* as a place of memory for former 'guest workers' as outlined in section 4.1, it is a quite a nice coincidence that during the time of installation of a banner demanding an archive of migration in front of the *Wien*

Museum, simultaneously the exhibition “Absolutely Vienna. Acquisitions and Donations since 2000” („*Absolut Wien. Ankäufe und Schenkungen seit 2000*“) took place, which included placing the former lettering of the railway station above the entry of the museum (see Fig. 18). In 2010 with the demolition of the *Südbahnhof* and construction of the new *Hauptbahnhof*, the ÖBB (*Österreichischen Bundesbahnen*, Austrian Federal Railways) donated the lettering to the *Wien Museum*. Two years later, in 2014, several events and developments concerning the topic of former 'guest workers' took place, as it marked the 50th anniversary of the recruitment agreement with Turkey. Constituting a further example for self-historicising, on this occasion my interview partner Ö. organised a party in her home for her friends by both exhibiting archival and family photographs as well as quotations and newspaper headlines and decorating her flat with objects she selected as typical for the homes of 'guest workers' from Turkey, like a clothesline in the living room and a teapot. With the travelling exhibition “Avusturya! Österreich!” ten years after “Gastarbajteri” the second exhibition dealing explicitly with the (hi)stories of 'guest workers' was realised in Vienna at the *Volkskunde Museum* (Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art) and three further cities in Austria. Organised by the association Jukus (*Verein Jukus – Verein zur Förderung von Jugend, Kultur und Sport*), which is based in Graz and was founded by Ali Özbaş with support from his sister Handan Özbaş, who migrated with their family from Turkey to Austria in 1990, the exhibition applied a biographical approach and focussed on the issues including recruitment, arrival, housing and discrimination. The exhibition is lendable and has been complemented with a bilingual book publication written in both German and Turkish. From the side of the municipality of Vienna, a ceremonial act with Austria's president Heinz Fischer and Vienna's mayor Michael Häupl was held at the Rathaus, Vienna's city hall, to which around 1000 former 'guest workers' and their families were invited. Moreover, in 2014 the Municipal Department for Integration and Diversity (*MA 17, Abteilung Integration und Diversität*) announced the “Migration Collection” project („*Migration sammeln*“) in cooperation with the *Wien Museum*, aiming at the creation of a collection on the migration of 'guest workers' to Vienna. The team members assigned with its implementation, including Arif Akkılıç, Vida Bakondy, Ljubomir Bratić and Regina Wonisch, as well Dirk Rupnow as academic advisory member, demonstrate a high level of expertise and experience,

amongst others, building on their involvement in the exhibition “Gastarbajteri” and the campaign “Archive of migration, now!” as well as from their own migration experiences.

While it can be assumed that the “Migration Collection” project has been a (at least implicit) reaction to the demand for an “Archive of migration, now!” with the publicity it generated, in some aspects its conceptualisation differs quite profoundly from the vision communicated in the campaign. Most significantly, instead of establishing an independent archival institution for research and exchange, comparably to e.g. the association DOMiD (*Dokumentationszentrum und Museum über die Migration in Deutschland*, Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany), the “Migration Collection” is a temporary project based on commission, in which exhibits are collected for the depot of the *Wien Museum*, which by the way stores as well the alleged cranium of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha (Tomenendal 2000: 214). During our interview Matti Bunzl, who is the director at the *Wien Museum* since October 2015 and has therefore not been in charge of the conceptualisation of the project, argues against a separate museum or archive of migration, as migration would continue to be discussed in dissociation from issues, to which it is rather constitutive: “...I think that in a general museum, if it is a city or national museum or whatever, migration has to be a central theme...it simply has to be amidst everything, instead of isolating it...”. Moreover, the formulation of inclusive narratives would be hampered by “separate memories of immigrants, on the one hand, and of the receiving society on the other” (Kleist and Glynn 2012:15). While this is a valid line of argument, in the current composition of the project the objectives, as formulated by two of the team members I interviewed, are not fully accommodated. This particularly concerns the symbolic character and visibility of an independent institution, “which is publicly available, which can be used for research, for exchange and where things are archived”. Especially, the involvement of (migrants') associations that donated for the project and their access to the archival material would have been facilitated. Hence, the conceptualisation of the project not as a documentation and archival institution, but as a collection for a museum, implicates a further key distinction, which is the innate focus on the collection of objects, involving a variety of challenges and ethical considerations. Thereby, besides conforming to general requirements of conservation and restoration,

the *Wien Museum* formulated certain basic selection requirements for objects to be included in the “Migration Collection”. While both the exhibition “Gastarbajteri” and the envisioned archive of migration pursued to adopt a more transnational perspective, for example by tracing the changes induced by the migration of 'guest workers' within the countries of emigration and cooperating with their local archives, the objects for the “Migration Collection” should primarily depict a distinct reference to Vienna. Moreover, objects considered as particularly valuable transport a certain aesthetic appeal as well as (hi)stories and associations beyond their intended material purpose and with these multidimensional meanings are applicable in a variety of contexts. Also the specific history of the object and its previous owner is of interest, thereby implying that instead of replicas the objects need to be originals.

While those requirements are not particularly extraordinary, but rather express certain common standards for collections in museums, in the context of collecting objects on the migration of 'guest workers' they might be quite challenging and even controversial. Thereby, the question of what constitutes an 'object of migration' has been central for the team assigned with the collection process: “...what is 'worthy' to be collected?...I believe the basic criterion is that it has a good story...that it is connected with something...many of these stories are told by paper, which is flat...so what is an object? I think there exist quite diverging ideas...” Hence, while the understanding of the team coincides with the requirement of a degree of multidimensionality- “...we try to cover as many aspects as possible with the objects, so that all these facets of migration can be addressed in an exhibition, so we want less folkloristic things...but objects that refer to work, housing, school, everyday life, leisure, communication, and one of the most important aspects for us are the struggles, the self-organisation...”- in practice they often encounter 'flat objects' (*Flachware*), like documents. Dealing with the topic of migration, the amount of paperwork and documentation is quite characteristic, by illustrating the influence of e.g. residence and work permits in regulating the lives of migrants. Many objects that would tell the (hi)stories of migration are therefore to be found in paperwork, generating questions on how to engage with the object definition of museums. While those paper objects would be potentially of interest for an envisaged archive of migration with its focus on documentation and research, for a collection of a museum their two-dimensionality questions its qualification as an

object for display. Moreover, due to the personal importance of these documents for migrants themselves, they guarded them well and are therefore available in plenitude, which proportionately reduces their uniqueness and worth for a museum. These opposing dynamics raise questions concerning “the historical value of personal papers” (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:284). Following Julia Creet, who argues that “the memory/history divide is both a product and perpetuator of the idea of the 'unbiased' historical document”, while talking with my interview partner Ö. I learned about the value attributed to her mother's documentation from her time as a 'guest worker', which “mak[es] the selection criteria and value of personal papers difficult to rationalize” (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:284). As we got to know each other thanks to a mutual friend, our encounter rested on a sense of trust, so that Ö. offered to me to borrow a pile of the documents for a week to take time to read through them. When I was surprised by the amount of documents she packed into a folder for me to transport them safely, she laughingly pointed to several boxes in her living room filled with more papers, still unpacked as she moved only recently to this flat. When her mother decided to return to Turkey after entering retirement, Ö. basically 'inherited' all those treasured documents. Thereby, from the beginning of the recruitment process to the potential acquisition of the Austrian citizenship, to former 'guest workers' a certain authority emanated from these colour-coded, stamped papers, which was probably even augmented to Ö.'s mother as she is largely illiterate. Moreover, while all documents are written in German, the only Turkish sentences I can spot in the borrowed documents reads in bold capital letters:

**LÜTFEN, SİZE VERİLMİŞ OLAN BÜTÜN ÇALIŞMA
İZNİ BELGELERİNİ, BÜYÜK BİR DİKKAT İLE SAKLAYINIZ.¹⁵**

Documents, therefore, do constitute unsurprisingly one of the most common 'objects' preserved by former 'guest workers' that tell their (hi)stories of migration. When I turned the page with this highly visible, slightly intimidating request, I found it to be a funny coincidence that the employer of Ö.'s mother at that time was “Bunzl & Biach”- one of Austria's largest companies involved in waste paper management and trading, and by the way founded by the family, of which Matti Bunzl, the director of the *Wien Museum*, is a descendent. Hence, coming full circle quite literally, papers were usually

¹⁵ English translation: “Please keep all work permits issued to you in a safe place”.



Fig. 19 Work permit of Ö.'s mother.

is difficult, because people moved a lot, because the flats were so small and because there was actually no awareness for historicising, for self-historicising...there was not this awareness to collect, that it could mean something...”. Moreover, also approaching former 'guest workers' with the request for objects communicating their (hi)stories of migration proved to be quite abstract: “...when I tell the people that I need objects telling the history of migration, then this can be both everything or nothing...”. The team created postcards for distribution in German, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish, depicting examples of objects for visualisation and inspiration, which in turn also had some restricting effects. Extensive interviews, especially in people's homes, proved to be most supportive in generating objects for the collection: “only in conversations it turns out, oh, this has a history...it creates a different self-perception...



Fig. 20 Postcards for the “Migration Collection”.

only then they say, oh well, but who keeps these kind of things?...on the one hand I try to open up, on the other hand not to determine, I want this and that...”. Hence, narrating

their experiences and memories of migration helps both to identify objects to be donated to the collection as well as to embed them into a story. While documentation constitutes an important aspect in telling (hi)stories of migration, the experiences of former 'guest workers' cannot be reduced to bureaucracy and regulation, perpetuating their external ascription as workforce. Acknowledging the experiences of migrants in their entirety, including leisure activities, self-organisation and cultural products, also depicts a variety of objects beyond paper that can transmit their (hi)stories. However, there have been discussions in academia as well as in the team of the "Migration Collection", if in the endeavour of telling the (hi)stories of migration the approach of collecting objects for a collection in a museum is adequate at all: "...I don't think that you can tick off the topic of migration...that you can document these migration histories by collecting objects...I think it would have been easier, if there would have been a project to conduct biographical narrative interviews...because this collects, documents...there are just experiences that don't fit into an object...sensual experiences, but also bodily, emotional, mental...this is really a challenge for us, I think it requires a translation...in this regard I am quite sceptical that you can achieve this with objects...". Arguments have been put forward that call for "the need to pass from "museums as collections" to "museums as narration"", in which objects "serve to interpret the story that is being narrated[,] rather than representing a "value" in themselves" and the museum "opposed to being the "container" of an institutional memory, (...) becomes the venue for a collective re-elaboration of meanings and identity" (Chambers et al. 2014b:73). Hence, instead of basing the narration of migrants' experiences on the collection of objects in an attempt to "fill up a void, to compensate for the absence" in national narratives, it is an approach, "where the absence of material objects through which to visualise the lives of the oppressed, the migrants, the marginal, would be confronted" (Chambers et al. 2014a:25). Also it highlights "how 'sense memory' is crucial to reconstructing the life histories of migratory human beings", including sounds, scent and social interactions (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:18). Thereby, questions are raised on how to engage with processes of objectification and essentialisation, that might not be completely avoided in a collection on migration. In this regard Barbara Wolbert criticises that "the tangibility of the objects ten[d] to reduce the complexity", by „perpetuati[ng] a generalized story of migration", in which "[v]isitors become observers of Others' timeless daily practices" as

“[t]he institutional authority of a museum is (...) not capable of providing the stories inscribed in the objects with the presumed historical distance“ (Wolbert 2010:n.p.). Therefore she argues for the inclusion of works of art in exhibitions engaging with the (hi)stories of migrants as artists can intervene as authors of their own (hi)stories and avoid the “voyeuristic stance as seemingly neutral viewers of others' migratory fate” by challenging “the visitors to the exhibition to position themselves individually as well” (Wolbert 2010:n.p.). Also the team of the “Migration Collection” engaged with these dynamics in a one-day exhibition on 4 December 2015 at the *Wien Museum*, presenting first objects and project results. Asking if the subjects of migration are reobjectified in exhibitions on migration, a cooking pot was exhibited, in which the owner inscribed the date of purchase before passing it on to the collection. Similar to “an artist's name [that] has to appear on the label of an artwork”, Vasilija Stegić, who bought the cooking pot with her first salary as 'guest worker', effectively inscribed herself in the object and transformed it into a new, 'musealised' object.



Fig. 21 One-day exhibition at *Wien Museum*.

However, in the process of moving the object from the intimacy of one's home by handing it over to the public collection of a museum, certain ethical questions may surface. Bearing in mind that e.g. the poor housing conditions as well as a lack of awareness impeded on storing many objects, those that actually have been guarded for decades were thereby selected rather consciously and usually pose an emotional value to their owners. Hence, in some situations the team of the “Migration Collection” experienced a moral conflict between the assignment of compiling a collection, despite

acknowledging also its positive aspects, and the feeling of 'talking away' objects, to which the owners feel emotionally attached, although the donation of objects is of course consensual: "...you notice that it is difficult [for them]...and that we are in a difficult position as well...sometimes we actually realised, phew...we have a moral conflict, because on the one hand we have to deliver objects, we have an assignment, we are paid for this, and at the same time we take something away from the people...". Therefore, if possible, as in the case of photographs or documents, the team prepares reproductions as a form of compensation. Moreover, while the calls for collections, e.g. by means of the distribution of the aforementioned postcards, remained largely unanswered, personal contacts became constitutive to the success of the project, emphasising the need of a trusting relationship for the realisation of a "Migration Collection": "...I think that there is trust is a fundamental reason for people to decide to actually donate". Thereby, in reaching out to various 'communities', the team could built upon both networks created during the exhibition "Gastarbajteri" as well as the personal networks of two team members, whose families migrated to Austria as 'guest workers'. This is all the more important regarding the fact that many former 'guest workers' feel a certain inhibition and rather distant relation towards the institution of a museum, that only recently expressed an increased interest in long marginalised migrants' memories. Thereby, as the museum does not constitute a familiar space to many former 'guest workers', arguing during the collection process that the objects will become part of the central memory institution of the city has only limited relevance and persuasive power. However, especially persons, e.g. involved in self-organisation and associations, demonstrate an increased interest in the project: "...I think, the argument that it will be in the museum is important and has a higher value...but of course it depends with whom you speak, if the person is a public figure, who was actively engaged in associations, who then may have different interests what will be preserved for the public...you notice quite different reactions...those, who have no relation with the museum, it is not a familiar space they visit...insofar it doesn't mean anything to them, if the museum includes it in its depot and keeps it forever...". Therefore, also the reactions towards the project "Migration Collection" by former 'guest workers' is rather mixed. While mostly the team encounters an overall positive response, appreciating its symbolic significance, it is as well paired with a form of indifference or at least no

outright enthusiasm. Thereby, also questions concerning the potential audience of the exhibitions based on the “Migration Collection” surface. One team member recalls the reactions of a group of former female 'guest workers' invited to the exhibition “Gastarbajteri”: “...they said, we know all about it, other people should go and look at it, they sat down, drank coffee, chatted, also about the times back then...we know, what we have suffered, what we experienced...”. Hence, beyond being addressed to former 'guest workers' themselves, also subsequent generations constitute an important part of the audience, as it imparts knowledge that is often not communicated within families and thereby allows for the contextualisation of family anecdotes. Aytaç Eryılmaz, founder member of the association DOMiD, argues that since “[m]ost of the young immigrants have only a fragmentary knowledge of their family’s past because many parents taboo their experiences of migration, often considered shameful (...) [and t]heir history is barely represented in the historiography of immigration countries, [they] have great problems determining their position within that society” (Eryılmaz 2007). Moreover, observing that during the mediation programme of the exhibition “Gastarbajteri”, e.g. guided tours with school classes, often students of families from former 'guest workers' were singled out by their teachers in order to 'tell their (hi)stories', the importance of emphasising the sociopolitical conditions and structures, in which the (hi)stories of former 'guest workers' are embedded, was reinforced: “... otherwise people will say I'll go look at migrants, the lives of migrants...there was a class...a professor said...Kemal, tell us, you are the migrant, tell us about your history, so I said, Kemal won't tell anything, it is not about his story, it is neither about my story...that's why the mediation programme was about what is history, what is historiography...”. As it is not about the migration history of a particular group, but rather the (hi)stories of migrants within a particular context and place, the audience, to which the exhibitions on migration are directed to, included all inhabitants of the city: “...so, how do you see the city?...do these ones have this history, and those ones have another history?...it is the history of a city...”. By acknowledging migrants' experiences as inclusive part of the city's narratives, the distinction between 'our' and 'your' history becomes redundant.

In this section various attempts have been traced, from process of self-historicising to initiatives from the municipality of Vienna, that aim at more inclusive narratives of the city that account as well for migrants' memories. While repeatedly the importance of understanding Vienna's migration (hi)stories has been highlighted in connection to the comprehension of contemporary migratory movements, the relations between the (absence of) narratives on ('Turkish') migration and the persistent narratives on the sieges of Vienna have not been revisited.

5. Conclusion

In this thesis the influence of migrants' memories on a city's historical narratives and urban heritage has been examined at the example of former 'guest workers' from Turkey in Vienna. Thereby, the impact of the commemoration of the sieges of Vienna with its versatile image of the 'Turkish threat' on migrants and their families from Turkey has been outlined. It has been argued that it is not in absence of change, but because of a certain degree of flexibility and adaption that this predominant narrative on the 'Turks' is sustained throughout the centuries, demonstrating an impressive persistence. Thereby, the abundance of monuments in Vienna commemorating the sieges, largely inaugurated in the period of historicism in the 19th century as well as during intensified moments of commemoration surrounding the respective anniversaries, constitute interpretable signifiers, which due to its depleted, reductionist narrative can be easily recalled and have been applied beyond the Ottoman Empire to any undesired influences, including Enlightenment, nationalism, Judaism, liberalism or socialism. Furthermore, an overall nostalgic longing for the Habsburg monarchy is manifested in Vienna's urban heritage, most prevalent in the historicised city centre and adjoining inner districts, encouraging a pronounced focus on its protection and preservation. While many 'guest workers' from Turkey literally contributed to rebuilding the city in the aftermath of the destruction caused by the Second World War, their lives and memories have greatly remained unrecognised in postwar Vienna. In denial of Austria's responsibility in the Second World War with its myth of victimisation, the nostalgic utopia of regaining the status and significance of a “*Weltstadt*” positioned as

both bulwark and bridge on the frontier to the East, however without immigrants, prevailed in Vienna. Thereby, since the end of the Cold War and at latest in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, especially migrants from Turkey and their families were associated with the image of the 'Turkish enemy' as largest group of Muslims in Vienna. The layering of the image of the 'Turkish threat' with migrants from Turkey has been traced in politics as well as within the educational system, which is further illustrated by the constructed linguistic proximity expressed in the use of the expression 'Turks' in reference to both the Ottoman Empire and migrants from Turkey. In this regard, migrants, especially former 'guest workers' from Turkey, are both excluded from a common vision as well as constitute the 'antithesis' on which to ground an insecure definition of national identity. Even while writing these concluding remarks, in response to the recent diplomatic ill-feeling between Austria and Turkey entailing the withdrawal of Turkey's ambassador to Austria in August 2016, Austria's most read tabloid newspaper titles: "Again crisis with Turkey (...) Is it just coincidence? Exactly 333 years after the Second Siege (...) the relationship between Austria and Turkey is again extremely tense!"¹⁶ In light of being subsumed under the negatively connoted external categorisation as 'guest workers' as well as being collectively associated with the 'Turkish threat', in this thesis the often problematic assumption of coherence and collectivity in the memories of particular migrant groups has been examined. Thereby, the heterogeneity and fragmentation with the 'Turkish community' has been highlighted, illustrated by the range of dynamic associations and projects my interview partners were engaged in and affiliated to. Contrary to the single allegiance demanded by the nation state, they seem to move rather effortlessly in between and along the experiences of multiple attachments in their everyday lives. However, even despite potential opposition within the 'communities' of former 'guest workers' from Turkey, both efforts to bring people together and enable a dialogue as well as sharing experiences and memories as 'guest workers' supported by attempts of self-historicising create a sense of cohesion. While it is important not to reduce the memories of former 'guest workers' exclusively to negative experiences like discrimination and mistrust, "his or her precariousness is

16 Original quotation in German: „Wieder Krise mit Türkei: (...) Alles nur reiner Zufall? Exakt 333 Jahre nach der zweiten Türkenbelagerung (...) ist das Verhältnis zwischen Österreich und der Türkei wieder äußerst angespannt!“

Kronen Zeitung, accessed on 23 August 2016, <http://www.krone.at/oesterreich/wieder-krise-mit-tuerkei-botschafter-abgezogen-333-jahre-danach-story-526043>

also ours; for it exposes the coordinates of a worldly condition in both the dramatic immediacy of everyday life and in the arbitrary violence that is sustained in the abstract reach of the polity and the law” (Ferrera 2012:16). The famous phrase „*Man hat Arbeitskräfte gerufen, und es kommen Menschen*“ by Max Frisch, which I encountered in the conversations with interview partners as well as in exhibitions and publications, exposes the “racialising biopolitics that mark, catalogue and define the migrant’s body as an object of economical, legal and political authority” experienced by former 'guest workers' (Ferrera 2012:17).¹⁷ Hence, having discussed the surge in interest in migrants' memories from municipal institutions, for example by funding a “Migration Collection” to be included in the *Wien Museum* as the central memory institution of the city as well as the challenges it entails, the need to engage with a 'difficult' heritage arises. The “interrogative presence of the migrant“ and migrant workers' “bod[ies] as a site of memory” do not merely ask to be included or subsumed in national narratives, it rather demands to revisit a city's historical narratives and urban heritage by critically engaging with often unquestioned, but highly problematic pasts (Creet and Kitzmann 2011:207). For the memories of former 'guest workers' from Turkey to become part of the 'Our' in Vienna's (hi)stories, which proved to be challenging in past exhibitions on 'guest workers' in Vienna, the commemoration of the sieges and its urban heritage need to be scrutinised and contextualised. While Kerstin Tomenendal suggests to reconsider the idea of a monument for the fallen soldiers of the Ottoman army during the Second Siege to foster mutual understanding, I would rather doubt both the adequacy to follow up an idea originating in the preparations for the 250th anniversary of the Siege under the Austrofascist regime in 1933 as well as if another monument, although with a readjusted focus, would meet these expectations (Tomenendal 2000:155). Rather a monument for former 'guest workers' could be interesting for consideration, although sporadic attempts in Germany were not particularly successful, illustrating that the established approach to monument design might not be suitable in this context and constitutes a more complex endeavour than remembering an “inadequate attempt at abstract- aesthetic symbolisation” (Corbett 2011:58). Moreover, the multiple ways, in which former 'guest worker' from Turkey and their families are engaged in and reappropriated their surroundings, fostered the emergence of porous cityscapes, in which “their present in-

17 Literally: “We asked for workers, and people came in instead.”

difference that does not ask for re-cognition” (Chambers et al. 2014b:288). Monumental urban narratives intermingle with personal, everyday spatial and mnemonic practices, “whether we choose to admit it or not”, whether displayed in the city's central memory institutions or not, whether commemorated with a lithic monument or not (Farrar 2011:731). Thereby, also the notion of 'Turkish' in the context of Vienna long moved beyond a meaning reduced to an association with 'threat' or 'guest worker'.

While Benjamin focussed on spatial aspects with his concept of “porosity”, the ethnographic examples described in this thesis also support its application for an enhanced understanding of temporal narratives, or rather chronotopes. It is through the porosity of urban spaces that the orchestration of chronological time is challenged in favour of polyphonic voices narrating the multiplicity of (hi)stories entangled in space. The ethnographic evidence provided examples, in which the spatial and temporal structures of nostalgic landscapes preserved according to the narratives of the nation state (or municipality, respectively) and its regulatory effects on bodies moving through these spaces have been undermined by, for example, instantaneous interventions and improvisations as well as repeating everyday practices. This could be achieved by making use of one's rights as a citizen, like participating in a demonstration, or by appropriating and reusing spaces according to one's needs and ideas. In the ethnographic examples provided the hegemonic narratives inscribed in spaces have also been challenged by “re-envision[ing] localities as transnational spaces” and revealing, if only for a moment, its interlaced pasts (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009:186). This is particularly salient with regard to Çağlar's criticism of “a prioritisation of ethnic and/or national categories in analysis [that] inscrib[e] those who are designated as migrants and the ‘natives’ into different temporal frameworks” (Çağlar 2016:953). Dividing a city's inhabitants into migrants and 'natives' denies the former “coevalness” (*Gleichzeitigkeit*), meaning “approach[ing] the migrants on the one hand as if they were the contemporaries of the societies they are settled in and on the other hand frame them to be in a perpetual transition either from an inscribed and path dependent past or towards a normative future” (Çağlar 2016:959). The porosity produced in urban spaces also challenges this temporal divide fixating and arranging migrants' in a specific narrative. In this regard also attempts, for example by the municipality of Vienna, to foster more 'inclusive' narratives of the city rather sustain this divide and their sustainability remains

to be seen. Nevertheless, the relevance of these attempts is acknowledged more than ever in light of the recent political development and discourse on the relation between Turkey and Austria as well as the high election returns of Austria's right-wing populist party in 2016 with the election campaign mainly based on immigration policies. Thereby, revisiting Vienna's established memory narratives with the memories of former 'guest workers' from Turkey would as well further an understanding of more recent migratory movements, with “the memory of movement (...) contaminat[ing] the collective memory of the territory to become an unfolded space rearticulated in a different manner: an open horizon made of fragmented memories, a living archive elaborated on its ruins” (Chambers 2014b:272). Allowing for coevalness among a city's inhabitants, “a basic condition of communication and symmetry in social interaction”, would then allow to narrate and share the multiplicity of pasts, (hi)stories and memories settled in urban subjectivities (Çağlar 2016:959). In other words, from the debris of exclusive, chronological narratives of a nation state emerges a porosity that embraces the heterogeneous lived realities and memories of a city's inhabitants.

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Appendix

Abstract

Vienna's urban heritage is profoundly shaped by Habsburg nostalgia, including an abundance of references to the Siege of Vienna by the Ottoman Empire in 1529 and 1683. The twofold remembrance of both the threat and defeat of the 'Turks' nurtured an impressively persistent enemy image that has been flexibly adapted throughout the centuries. With the conclusion of the agreement on the recruitment and employment of foreign workers between Austria and Turkey, many migrants moved from Turkey to Vienna from the 1960s onwards. While they contributed to rebuild and revive Vienna after the destruction of the Second World War, often literally as construction workers, the amnesia towards the city's migration (hi)stories in the urban heritage is striking. Instead being squeezed to the urban periphery and often framed as the 'Turkish enemy', migrants from Turkey and their families started exercising various forms of self-organisation and self-historicising. Arguing that increased migration-driven diversity in urban areas has implications on locally established memory narratives, in this thesis initiatives by individuals, 'communities' and the municipality as well as their challenges to articulate and include Vienna's migration (hi)stories are examined, including for example exhibitions. How does the commemoration of the sieges affect migrants from Turkey? How can the term 'Turk', often used in a derogatory manner, be reappropriated? How do 'Turkish memories', including thereby both the remembrance of the Siege by the 'Turks' and urban memories of labour migrants from Turkey, overlap in Vienna's urban heritage today? How do these overlaps impact on the conceptualisation of urban space in Vienna? How do migrants' memories influence a city's dominant historical narratives and urban heritage? Based on ethnographic fieldwork, like the visits of museum exhibitions, interviews and city walks, in this thesis Walter Benjamin's concept of "porosity" is considered a useful analytical tool in order to account for the heterogeneous lived realities and multiplicity of memories of a city's inhabitants entangled in space. The focus shifts thereby from definite, exclusive memory narratives promoted and inscribed by the nation state towards a plurality of transnational (counter-)memories traceable in personal, everyday spatial and mnemonic practices revealing the interlaced pasts of places.

Keywords: counter-memories, 'guest work', Habsburg nostalgia, (collective) memory, migration, porosity, self-historicising, Siege, urban heritage

Zusammenfassung

Das städtische Erbe Wien's ist tiefgreifend von Habsburg-Nostalgie beeinflusst, einschließlich einer Fülle von Bezügen auf die Belagerung Wien's durch die Osmanische Armee in 1529 und 1683. Die zweifältige Erinnerung an sowohl die Gefahr als auch die Besiegung der 'Türken' förderte ein beeindruckend beständiges Feindbild, welches über die Jahrhunderte hinweg flexibel angepasst wurde. Mit dem Abschluss des Anwerbe- und Beschäftigungsabkommens zwischen Österreich und der Türkei sind in the 1960er Jahren vermehrt MigrantInnen von der Türkei nach Wien gezogen. Während sie dazu beitrugen Wien nach den Zerstörungen des Zweiten Weltkriegs

wiederaufzubauen und wiederzubeleben, oftmals wortwörtlich als BauarbeiterInnen, ist die Amnesie der Stadt gegenüber ihrer Migrationsgeschichten im städtischen Erbe äußerst auffällig. Stattdessen haben MigrantInnen aus der Türkei und ihre Familien, die oftmals an die Stadtränder gedrängt und als 'türkische Erbfeinde' dargestellt werden, damit begonnen verschiedenste Arten der Selbst-Organisation und Selbst-Historisierung auszuüben. Der Argumentation folgend, dass verstärkte migrationsinduzierte Diversität in Stadtgebieten Auswirkungen auf lokal etablierte Erinnerungsnarrative hat, werden in dieser Masterarbeit Initiativen von Individuen, 'Communities' und der Stadtverwaltung sowie deren Herausforderungen Migrationsgeschichten von Wien zu formulieren und miteinzubeziehen untersucht, wie zum Beispiel Ausstellungen. Wie werden MigrantInnen aus der Türkei von dem Gedenken an die Belagerungen beeinflusst? Wie kann sich der Begriff 'Türke', der oftmals mit einer negativen Konnotation verwendet wird, wieder angeeignet werden? Wie überlagert sich dabei das sogenannte 'Türkengedächtnis', einschließlich der Erinnerungen an die 'Türkenbelagerungen' sowie der städtischen Erinnerungen von ArbeitsmigrantInnen aus der Türkei, im städtischen Erbe Wien's heutzutage? Was für Auswirkungen haben diese Überlagerungen auf die Konzeptualisierung von städtischen Räumen in Wien? Wie beeinflussen die Erinnerungen von MigrantInnen die dominanten historischen Narrative und das Erbe der Stadt? Basierend auf ethnografischer Feldforschung, wie Besuchen von Museumsausstellungen, Interviews und Stadtpaziergängen, wird in dieser Masterarbeit Walter Benjamin's Konzept der „Porosität“ als hilfreiches analytisches Werkzeug erachtet, um die heterogenen Lebensrealitäten und die Vielfalt der Erinnerungen der StadtbewohnerInnen, die im städtischen Räumen verwoben sind, zu berücksichtigen. Der Fokus verschiebt sich hierbei von eindeutigen, ausschließenden Erinnerungsnarrativen, die durch den Nationalstaat gefördert und eingeschrieben werden, hin zu einer Pluralität von transnationalen (Gegen-) Erinnerungen nachzeichnbar in persönlicher, alltäglicher räumlicher und mnemonischer Praxis, wodurch die verflochtenen Vergangenheiten von Orten deutlich werden.

Schlagwörter: Belagerung, 'Gastarbeit', (Gegen-) Erinnerungen, Habsburg-Nostalgie, kollektives Gedächtnis, Migration, Porosität, Selbsthistorisierung, städtisches Erbe