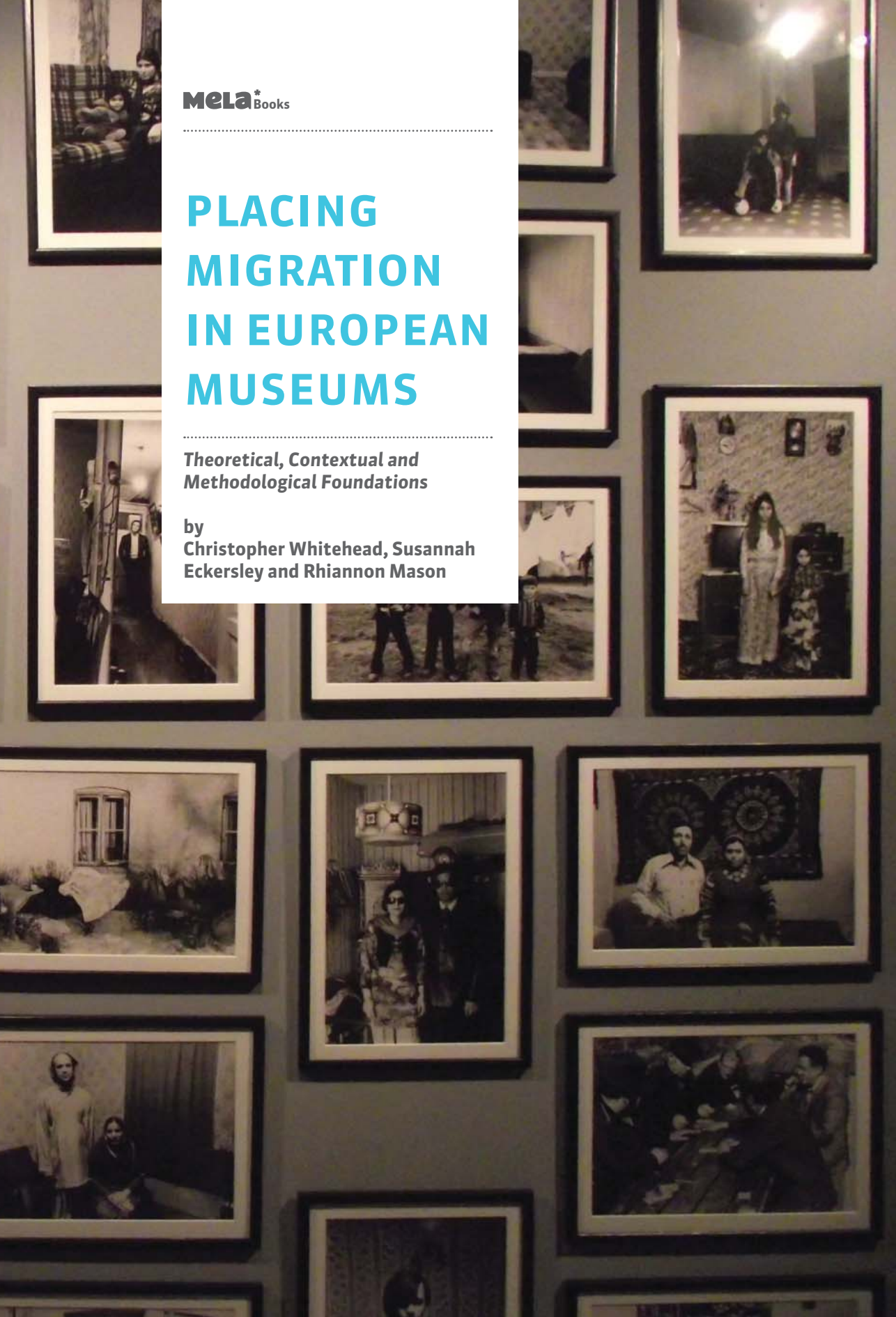

MeLa Books

PLACING MIGRATION IN EUROPEAN MUSEUMS

Theoretical, Contextual and Methodological Foundations

by
Christopher Whitehead, Susannah Eckersley and Rhiannon Mason

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Acknowledgements

This book grew out of the work of the Research Field 01 "Museums & Identity in History and Contemporaneity" led by Professor Christopher Whitehead with colleagues Dr Rhiannon Mason and Dr Susannah Eckersley at Newcastle University within the European project MeLa–European Museums in an age of migrations.

MeLa is a four-year interdisciplinary research project funded in 2011 by the European Commission under the Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities Programme (Seventh Framework Programme). Adopting the notion of "migration" as a paradigm of the contemporary global and multicultural world, MeLa reflects on the role of museums and heritage in the twenty-first century. The main objective of the MeLa project is to define innovative museum practices that reflect the challenges of the contemporary processes of globalization, mobility and migration. As people, objects, knowledge and information move at increasingly high rates, a sharper awareness of an inclusive European identity is needed to facilitate mutual understanding and social cohesion. MeLa aims at empowering museums spaces, practices and policies with the task of building this identity. MeLa involves nine European partners – universities, museums, research institutes and a company – who will lead six Research Fields (RFs) with a collaborative approach. The purpose of this book is to report on the preliminary findings of the first research phases.

Introduction

This short book is a preliminary account of the research project developed in relation to Research Field 01 (RF01) of the European Museums in an Age of Migrations (MeLa) project. Our primary focus here will be on the theoretical, contextual and methodological orientations of the research, as well as an account of the selection of case studies. After a brief introduction to RF01 research and to current progress we will develop understandings of the relationships between museums and place and museums and identity and lines of enquiry about museums and migration, broadly understood. Following an explanation of our approach, including the case study structure adopted and details of the museums to be studied, we proceed to discuss the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of our research to date, focusing primarily on the approach to display analysis which has been developed. After this we provide introductory orientations for each of the three case study clusters, which focus respectively on "placing the nation", "peoples, borders, movements" and "European cities and their 'others'". A brief concluding section will outline the future plan for the research project. As the fieldwork and analysis is currently ongoing, we have opted to defer a discussion of findings until the third RF01 publication. Additionally, this book is concerned with the first phase of our project, and does not include details pertaining to the visitor studies and qualitative research on the views and opinions of museum professionals which we plan to undertake. These too will be covered in the third RF01 publication, which will also include a discussion of the concept of *identity* in relation to institutions, museum representations, objects and visitors. This publication, then, functions primarily as an initial guide to the first phases of the research project, accounting for the theoretical premises of our study and an exploration of methodologies, and case study orientation.

How is migration "placed", in a doubled sense, in the museum? We mean, on one hand, the manual and physical "placing" of objects, furniture, museum texts and consequently of ideas, themes and narratives within exhibition space. On the other hand we use "to place" as a noun rendered as verb, where migration is "placed" in the museum through being related to, defined through or determined by, place geographies and the politics of place.

This research will examine the historical and contemporary relationships between European museum representations and identity within the contextual structure of place. The main objectives of the RF are:

- To investigate aspects of the relationships between museums, place and identity in Europe from the development of nation states (notably in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) to the present day.
- To study the relationship between museums and the multidimensional, potentially shifting "territory" in which they are situated and purport to represent – a territory which is geographical, political and epistemological.
- To examine how museum actions (including collecting and display) have articulated and articulate the relationships between places, peoples and cultures within geopolitical conceptual frames (e.g. "the nation", the "region", "Europe").
- To study changing practices of representation, interpellation and audience participation in the context of population dynamics and flows and diversified conceptions of place (as both routes and roots).
- To study producers' intentions with regard to such representations.
- To study visitor understandings both of such museum representations and to evaluate their congruence or incongruence with visitors' individual sense of identity.

The research project is predicated on a number of lines of enquiry, which can be summarized as follows. What happens or what can happen, when the "peoples" and "places" implicated in, and at least to some extent constructed in, museum representation shift, change, multiply, fragment and/or move? What happens when the Enlightenment desire for fixity and the making permanent of knowledge, peoples and places is dislocated by new sensibilities towards population flows, shifting demographics, multiple heritages, ethnic diversification and the shifting territories of geopolitical places and knowledge? Have museums' representational practices changed? If so how? What are the new dimensions of identity construction and production in museums whose physical place is fixed, but whose audiences, with their changing heritages and cultures, are not? These are critical questions to explore in national, postnational and transnational contexts, and a historical and theoretical exploration will form a foundational structure for the proposal as a whole.

The initial impetus for this investigation will be a consideration of the production and consumption of museum representations in relation to components of the bodies of theory surrounding place and identity. Notably, we will explore the ways in which museum representations articulate the relations between people(s) and places in Europe (itself a shifting geopolitical construct), considering:

- the ways in which place is represented as significant within local and global human history, from morphology (e.g. features of the natural environment) to local traditions;

- → the dialectics of the representation of place as locus of roots or as part of many routes;
- → the dynamics of the mode of address of museum representations in implying who belongs to which place and how and why, as well as who does not belong;
- → the play of interpellation (e.g. the appeal to people's "insideness" (Rowles 1983) and "disinheritance", where cultures are presented as "someone else's" (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996, 21) and people are excluded from claiming a heritage and a place as their own;
- → the consumption or reception of museum representations which articulate the relations between places and people(s) on the part of visitors.

The investigation focuses on history, archaeology, ethnography/folk culture and migration museums, based on the rationale that these are all disciplines which explicitly seek to represent the holistic relationships between people and places. This is not to suggest that place is not implicated in other types of museum display (e.g. art museums, natural science museums etc.) but rather that it is less likely to be foregrounded, and that the most effective use of time in this cluster is to study museums whose focus on place is centrally acknowledged.

As a consequence of a first phase of research, the research questions were fine tuned as follows:

1. How do European museums present societies as bound to, or enabled by, place and places, as having roots in places and/or taking routes from, to and through places?
2. How are these relations understood by cultural sector professionals and visitors?
3. Should/do museums' representational practices regarding people-place relations change? If so how?

As indicated above, this book concentrates on the first of these three questions, and indeed we foresee the further elaboration and modification of the second and third questions as the research progresses.

Introductory Frameworks

Place-People-Culture Relations in Museums

A Theoretical Introduction

Our research seeks to relate museum representations of the cultures, identities and experiences of people/peoples to *place*, understood functionally as an organizing principle within certain museum knowledges. While place might be barely perceived by some museum visitors as a kind of mere backdrop to historical narratives, this research foregrounds it as a dynamic element within the framing of historical and contemporary knowledges and identities which in turn relate to key concepts such as belonging and citizenship (where does one belong, if anywhere? Of what, or which, geo-political entity or entities – of what *place or places* – is one a citizen, and what then does this located citizenship involve and mean?) We propose that these key concepts of belonging to place and citizenship of place are of paramount importance in the context of European Union cultures and policies.

We take *place*, in a tradition harking to the definition work by Tuan (1977), to signify the cultural entity constructed and reconstructed through human social representation, and thus not merely synonymous with the built environment or with dwelling. Place is, in this sense, what emerges when particular spaces are imbued with significance through human actions such as identifying, naming, surveying, mapping, bordering, conquering, ruling, representing, celebrating them etc. We recognize, however, the need to perceive space and place as in a dialectical relationship (Relph 1976), for our "understanding of space is structured by the places which we inhabit, which in turn derive meaning from their spatial context" (Seamon and Sowers 2008, 44).

As we will show later on, there is a plethora of definitions and approaches to the notion of "place identity", but the majority of these approaches focus on the individual as the sole unit of study – i.e. the identities constructed, performed and experienced by people both as individuals and groups in relation to place or to places. This is certainly of interest for our research, most particularly in engaging with visitor and non-visitor understandings. However, in the context of the study of museum repre-

PREVIOUS PAGE — *Display detail, from 'Becoming a Copenhagener' exhibition, Museum of Copenhagen.*

sentations it is not the whole story, for we are also concerned with the ways in which museums invoke, identify and characterize place. In other words, we are concerned with how communicative media institutions like museums confer or impose identities on places and, consequently, on their inhabitants. This is particularly important when museums are implicated politically in the places they represent, either through: 1) being physically situated within them and being funded by the governments of geopolitical units (cities, regions, nations etc) with an interest in the production and reproduction of specific accounts of place in history and in contemporaneity; or through 2) representing "other" places such as former colonies. In this sense we see place as a multifaceted co-ordinate within identity construction processes involving both museum representation and the psychology of individuals. Building on existing literature in this area and for the purposes of this research, we propose a definition of *place identity* as:

> The construction of identity for or by people(s) through reference to place and/or the construction of identity for places through reference to their morphology, histories, cultures and inhabitants.

The two parts of this definition necessarily overlap, but in simplistic terms it allows us to take a view of place identity which is both produced through representation (for example in museum displays) and thus in some sense conferred, and, on the other hand, place identity as something which is constructed, performed and experienced by individuals or groups of individuals such as visitors or non-visitors. This duality between conferral and experience is, as we shall see, one that can be questioned and reproposed as an infinite dialectic, wherein conferrals and experiences of place identity necessarily predispose each other.

A particular contention of the proposed research then, is the need to understand museum constructions of identity in relation to place, as well as to more commonplace themes such as the nation, ethnicity, migrations or mobilities. There are a number of reasons for this. While not synonymous with alternative themes, place can be seen necessarily to invoke and comprehend them. Place is material for unstable identities: it is matter from which, or in relation to which, geo-political and cultural realities are constructed, reconstructed and bordered, and it is imbued variously with different (sometimes competing) values that inform identities. It is where "history" is seen to happen (whatever history that is) and where place becomes "site" either by designation or through the identification of its significance in museums. Through musealisation, or "fixation" as heritage site (Kockel 2010, 124), place is formed into embodied historiography and material for identity construction. Places such as historic battlefields of significance, for example, to national identity (such as Bannockburn in Scotland, where the Scots defeated the English in 1314), can be set up by institutional and representational practice as "places for/of identification" we call these "identity places" for short), i.e. as invitations to visitors to construct their own identities in relation to a geographically-located past and/or present (although some battlefields can also be erased as places in acts of concerted forgetting).

In an extension of this, identity places produce different material cultures by dint of their unique morphologies and the cultures and economies which they enable. This material culture is often presented within museum representations in the form of *objects of identification* ("identity objects"), i.e. objects chosen as significant representations of past identities that also form materials for historicised contemporary identities. As instances of identity objects we might consider two examples of metalwork relating to Turkish histories within and outwith Turkey respectively: 1) the immense boom chain in the Istanbul Military Museum, which was intended to stop Ottoman forces from entering the Golden Horn in 1453 and now functions symbolically, as an object of pride representing Ottoman fortitude, resourcefulness and conquest which arguably also provides material for contemporary, historically-aware *Turkish* identity [Img. 01]; and 2) a clothes hook, fashioned in the 1960s by a Turkish Guest Worker, in the steelworks of the NDSM shipyards near Amsterdam, for his own use in the cramped quarters shared with eight others in the "Atatürk" barracks, now functioning in the Amsterdam Museum as a symbol of the hardships and common difficulties faced by this migrant group in the Netherlands [Img. 02].

A focus on place allows us to co-ordinate (in cartographical and organisational senses) a number of human concerns and human practices such as: the need to apprehend and experience tangible evidence of the past; human habitation and movement (such as migration); and situated memory and memorialisation. We are also interested in place as a physical arena in which to represent plurality and difference without recourse to ethnic or other classifications and compartmentalisations, as we will see in the section "Cluster 3: European Cities and Their 'Others'" in relation to our third case study cluster.

Place as a conceptual frame also allows us to use and adapt a variety of theoretical resources which are rarely used in historical or museum studies, including notions such as place identity, place belonging, "incident places" and "insideness" developed in the fields of geography and environmental psychology (Rowles 1983; Dixon and Durheim 2000; Relph 1976) and "disinheritance" as developed in Heritage Studies (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996). These concepts largely relate to experiences of belonging, attachment to place, personal history within place or non-belonging and exclusion from place in relation to identity. Place identity is, in the heterogenous literature in which it figures, difficult to pin down, as noted by Whitehead in his brief review of the literature (2009a):

> "Place identity" is a topic which has become increasingly prominent over the last three decades or so in fields as varied as environmental psychology (Proshansky et al. 1983, Rowles 1983), social psychology (Dixon and Durrheim 2000), geography (Keith and Pile 1993), sociology (Degnen 2005), anthropology (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003) planning (Hague and Jenkins 2005) and, to a lesser extent, heritage studies (Ashworth and Graham 2005; and Smith 2006, 74-80). It is a contested term (and some of the authors mentioned do not use it at all), but refers in general to two interrelated human practices. Firstly, it concerns the imposition of constructed identities on place (and different people and groups may confer quite different identities

> on individual places, as in Neill's (1999) study of the different readings of the physical environment of Belfast by unionists and nationalists. Secondly, it concerns the construction of identities for ourselves through reference to place, ranging from the immediate habitat (the domestic, leisure and work places of our lives) to civic, regional and national places (e.g. Newcastle upon Tyne, the North-East, England) and geographical notions of place (e.g. "northernness"). Our self-consciousness within cultural (and physically real) places and our choice to inhabit or avoid them can also be linked to the political operation of cultural capital, as we define ourselves in relation to the places in which we feel at ease or ill at ease – the museum, the greyhound track, the fitness club and so on, each with their own codes to be understood or resisted. (Whitehead 2009a, 29-30)

In a now-classic definition of place identity as a psychological structure, Proshansky et al. propose that:

> What emerges as place-identity is a complex cognitive structure which is characterized by a host of attitudes, values, thoughts, beliefs, meanings and belonging to particular places… Place-identity as a cognitive sub-structure of self-identity consists of an endless variety of cognitions related to the past, present and anticipated physical settings that define and circumscribe the day-to-day existence of the person. (Proshansky et al. 1983, 62)

IMG. 01 — *Boom chain, Harbiye Military Museum, Istanbul.*

IMG. 02 — *Clothes Hook made by Turkish guest worker, 1960s (to right of image), Amsterdam Museum.*

What is interesting here in the context of our research is the centrality of past, present and future physical settings as experienced/anticipated by an individual person. This brings a useful dimension of historical and future time into the sphere of place identity accounting for particular individuals' "place-chronologies", such as migration from a homeland to another place. But we may also inflect the definition against the grain by suggesting that individuals may not need first-hand experience of "past" physical settings in order to adopt them within place identity construction, as in the different cases of a third generation descendent of migrants who has never visited the country or region from which her family migrated, or the individual who identifies, and identifies with, an "identity place" in a museum on a symbolic level as a signifier of national belonging and national identity, such as a representation of London during the Blitz in the Museum of London, taken as a symbol of British resilience and fortitude. Some of the psychological theories advanced by Proshansky et al. might be seen to comprehend behaviours of different type in dialectics between place and the individual. For example, a "recognition function" may operate, leading people to construct identities related to self recognition within places, such as in the notional example of the visitor identifying with the British "spirit" characterized by wartime London, or the notional visitor of Congolese origin who finds within the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren, near Brussels, a representation of an ancestral homeland with which s/he identifies. Also of interest in the specific context of migrant experiences are the "mediating-change

function" (where discrepancies between self-identity and place emerge) and the "anxiety and defence function" (people's learned understanding of what and where to avoid and how they know when they are in place and out of place) (Proshansky et al. 1983, 66-76; Graham et al. 2009).

Additionally, the component elements or sub-sets of place identity are contested and their relative importance or primacy is a matter for debate, and concepts such as "place identity", "place attachment" and "place dependency" interrelate differently or subsume one another variously in different theoretical texts (Graham et al. 2009). We note in particular the potential currency for our research of studies of place attachment, in describing affective bonds between people and places. As noted in the literature survey by Graham et al. (2009):

> The relationship between place attachment and identity has been further elaborated by Clare Twigger-Ross and David Uzzell (1996) in a study of twenty people living in London's Surrey Docks, an area which has been redeveloped following the decline of "Britain as a maritime power"... They identify three principles of place identity – which we will explore in greater detail when considering the evidence for the link between sense of place and the historic environment: 1) distinctiveness (the way people use place to distinguish themselves from others); 2) continuity (concept of self preserved over time, where places allows a sense of continuity throughout the life course) and 3) self-esteem (using place to create a positive evaluation of yourself). An example of this is the link between self-esteem and living in a particularly high status neighbourhood. (Graham et al. 2009, 17)

While these theoretical resources are little used in humanities research, the reverse is also true, for the significance of history, historical sites, historical objects and museum representations is rarely considered in studies relating to place and identity in disciplines such as Geography, Sociology and Psychology. One exception is the important 2007 book, *Pluralising Pasts*, by Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge which focuses on "heritage, identity and place in multicultural societies." However, their focus is on heritage more broadly rather than museums specifically. We have also investigated such issues ourselves in previous research but in the context of art galleries (Mason et al. 2012). In this project we hope to move different fields forward in different ways. As indicated, one of the limitations of social and psychological sciences approaches to place identity has been an exclusive focus on individual human experience (i.e. how individuals or groups of individuals construct their identity through reference to place) rather than on the ways in which institutional representations (such as museum displays, TV documentaries etc.) construct identity *for* places through reference to their morphology, histories, cultures and inhabitants. In this context, many theoretical resources associated with place identity understood as a concern about individual people can be adapted in illuminating ways to understand museum representations. For example, Graham Rowles' important concept of "incident places" refers to locations where people experienced what they perceived to be defining moments in their personal histories. The concept can be abstracted to account for the "identity places" represented in museum displays as defining moments within the history of a territory, nation, religion or people.

Similarly, the notions of place attachment discussed above can prove to be illuminating when used as keys for understanding museum displays which represent places as particularly distinctive or as persisting over historical time, perhaps maintaining essential characteristics or undergoing radical changes (such as bombarded cities) and furnishing resources for local pride which may fuel individuals' self esteem. We may also ask if and how migrants feel place attachment, and to what places ("homeland" laces or settlement places, or both, and in what dialectics/combinations). There then emerges a more general question which we will address at a later stage in the research process: what is the interrelationship between institutional conferrals and representations of identity and people's own place identities? This question involves the study of dialectical relations between museum representations (and other media representations for that matter) of place and people's own place identity feelings and experiences, which themselves concern questions of belonging: belonging to a place; to a nation; to one or more groups determined by ethnicity, nation, religion and political allegiance, taken singly or in combination; and belonging within a history.

Belonging exists in representational form in museum displays as implicit or explicit projections of group identity and through speech acts and interpellation. At the Ankara Museum of Ethnography in Turkey text panels use the first-person-plural mode of address, as in the example "We Turks, who are famous for our hospitality, have used coffee as the subject of our proverbs, and in our folk songs."[1] However, belonging (and consequently "not-belonging" too) also exists in experiential form, i.e. as a feeling and/or belief experienced by individuals who inevitably engage with cultural and institutional representations of belonging (e.g. belonging to a homeland) which may inform, consolidate or contradict their senses of belonging (Hedetoft 2002). In this sense the relations between representation and experience are not straightforward or mono-directional. Hedetoft characterizes this in a theoretical account of belonging which is shot through with reference to place at different scales, from locality (which can be taken literally or metaphorically) and globality:

> Analytically, "belonging" must be situated in relation to four key parameters which in varying configurations are responsible for its relations to and importance for the identity politics of different groups. They are, in systematic order, (1) sources of belonging, (2) feelings of belonging, (3) ascriptions and constructions of belonging, (4) fluidities of belonging. Broadly speaking the site of (1) is "locality" and immediate familiarity, of (2) socio-psychological needs, identification with "locality", and memory, of (3) nationalism and racisms, new and old, and of (4) globality and the cosmopolitan dream. The four build on and presuppose each other in this sequence. (Hedetoft 2002, 2)

Hedetoft's theoretical framework is insightful, even if we take issue with the implication that the parameters of belonging presuppose each other only sequentially, rather than being iterative and much more mixed up, fluid and inter-dependent. Places can in fact constitute some of the "sources of belonging' in relation to which people construct identities

1 A direct translation of the same address is given in Turkish at the museum.

both for themselves and/or (curatorially) for others. Yet 'feelings of belonging'" cannot be based on all places and thus individuals must select from the places available to them as sources. This may or may not be influenced by media representations of place such as those in museums, and in any case a museum visitor will consciously or unconsciously select the represented places with which s/he identifies within the context of the coercive structures of museum representation. Hedetoft's general theoretical account (he does not refer to museums) expands on this kind of process:

> For instance, (2) cognitively and affectively orders the wellspring and conditions of belonging as categorized under (1) and hence entails an element of "construction", in that feelings of belonging are never totally unmediated or entirely "pure", but always pass through mental processing, personal and collective experiences, and the temporal distantiator and psychological filter of "memory" – all of which shape each individual's images and perceptions of belonging, giving them depth and value, and engendering the meaning they have for different persons. (Hedetoft 2002, 2)

One of the tasks of our research, then, is to attend to and track mediations between representations of place in museums – however deeply embedded – and people's beliefs, attitudes and day-to-day experiences of place and place identity. In this sense our work must build on existing frameworks for understanding place identity which have been discussed in this section in order to provide an account of the significance of museum representation practices both politically and affectively for individuals, insofar as the political and personal can ever be separated. What is missing from existing literature is a theoretical apparatus for analysing the *place* of *place* within museum representations, and what discursive effects this might have. To address this lacuna, we now turn to the museum context in order to explain how, historically, place has often (if not always) been a central organising principle in museum practices, even where it is rendered invisible or is (sometimes literally, in colonial representations) taken for granted.

→ MUSEUM REPRESENTATIONS OF PLACE

As noted in a previous MeLa publication (Whitehead and Mason 2012), there is a significant geographical tradition within the history of museum practice. In the context of the early public museum geography often assumed an epistemological role comparable to that of chronology (i.e. the periodization of the past) or materiality (i.e. the understanding of the world and world cultures in relation to taxonomies and indeed chronologies of physical material such as stone, bronze and iron). Even in the art museum, whose collections might be assumed to transcend place as a consequence of their elevated, quasi-spiritual (and therefore somewhat non-worldly) status within discourse, the place of production, or the place to which an artist belonged or through which s/he moved, was often used as an organizing principle in the articulation of collections and the production of displays (Whitehead 2005), for example in classifying groups of painters in relation to their national and/or region-

al "school". The public museum itself often embodied an invocation of particular kinds of place. The neoclassical temple format of nineteenth-century fine art museums was intended, through architectural reference to a geo-historical moment that was perceived and presented as the apex of human civilization and culture, to bestow cultural status on the collections. Museums of natural history frequently involved the adoption of neo-gothic architecture, invoking (Christian) religious place. Meanwhile the Italianate neo-Renaissance architecture of the South Kensington Museum (named the V&A from 1899) and the museums it inspired (e.g. the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna, the Cincinnati Art Museum, etc.) also emphasized the primacy of a particular geohistorical moment (this time, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy).

The development of historicist architectural and display practices and of "period" approaches (which are inevitably as much about characterizing places as they are moments in time) also involved the referencing, and sometimes the wholesale recreation and reconstruction, of places outwith the museum, leading to the common nineteenth-century trope concerning the museum as a microcosm of the world, functioning as a surrogate in miniature for visitors to travel – in an age when international travel was the preserve of the very few (Whitehead 2006). In this context the travels of the collectors and museum professionals whose material acquisitions – or sometimes also their attitudes – formed public collections can be seen as critical, and are refracted in displays to this day, a phenomenon characterized by Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett as an "undrawn" map whose spaces, collections and itineraries are indexed to travel, to other places and to collecting (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 132; Whitehead 2009b, 45). Herein, of course, lies the potential for museum representations and invocations of place to bear signs of the violence, symbolic, cultural or other, of interactions between collecting communities (including nations) and their oft-subordinated others. It also places past museum collecting in relation with the practice of spoliation, which itself fuels a long tradition of critique of museums as places in which to deposit dislocated objects, subtracted violently from the contexts in which they had vital roles (Whitehead and Mason 2012). In an extension of this, Macdonald points out the significance for the representation of the nation state of surveying, appropriating and indexing other cultures:

> The possession of artefacts from other cultures was itself important for such artefacts were, for colonialist nations, also signs of the capacity to gather and master beyond national boundaries. As such, they were claims of the capacity to know and to govern; signs too for the visitors that theirs was a nation, or a locality, that also played on the global stage. (Macdonald 2003, 3)

While King notes that:

> The production of maps of colonies is a symbolic form of conquest. To map a territory is to stake various kinds of claim to it, to make assertions of ownership, sovereignty and legitimacy of rule. (King 1996, 27)

It should be noted, however, that such power dynamics were not limited to colonial contexts. They also appear when powerful nations collect from the less powerful, such as in the case of Britain's mid-nineteenth-

century national collections of Italian and Spanish material culture in the National Gallery and the Victoria and Albert Museum, made at a time when the source countries in question were in political and economic disarray (Whitehead 2006).

For the purposes of overview we can consider the following museum representations as characteristic of some persistent invocations of place, which can be taken historical in broadly chronological order of emergence (some of these may overlap over different museum forms):

1. Indexing of "other" places (explored, traded with, colonised, invaded, subjugated, despoiled etc.)

   → national "courts" at Universal exhibitions; decorative art museums, natural history museums, ethnography and ethnology museums, "universal" museums.[2]

2. Representing the home nation/locale, its people(s) and their origin stories

   → national museums and city museums with foci on geology/landscape morphology, archaeology (settlement stories), social history; civic art collections housing topographical paintings of, and artisanal produce of, the locale.

3. Preserving or reconstructing "real" places of habitation and work

   → period rooms in art and social history museums, open air museums.

4. Representing people's experience of being in, or moving from, to and through, place

   → city/urban museums with displays comprehending migrant experiences; travel and maritime museums; slavery museums; military museums; migration museums.

5. Representing places as part of "receiving states"

   → city museums, immigration museums.

How then can we analyse the significance of place within museum representations? In the context of our research we aim to achieve this through: 1) contextualised display analysis; 2) semi-structured interviews with the museum professionals involved in the production of displays; and 3) qualitative visitor studies.

This publication is primarily concerned with the first of these methods, and we will introduce it in the section "Methodologies and Their Theoretical Foundation".

2 As defined in the 2002 "Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums", available at http://icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/ICOM_News/2004-1/ENG/p4_2004-1.pdf

Museums and Migration

Definitions, Relationships and Orientations

In order to understand clearly the ways in which museums and migration interrelate, it is first necessary to define and explore the terms themselves.

→ WHAT ARE MUSEUMS

Across Europe, the most widely accepted definition of a museum is that adopted by ICOM (international Council on Museums) in their statutes (ICOM Statutes, Article 03.3 Section 1):

> A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.

However, there are also more individual views on the roles and purposes of museums within different countries and school of thought within museum studies as a discipline. Many of the various national Museums Associations across Europe have their own definitions, which are may be based on, or be a development of the ICOM definition. For example, The UK Museums Association states that:

> Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society.

→ WHAT IS HUMAN MIGRATION?

Human migration is defined by the Encyclopaedia Britannica as; "the permanent change of residence by an individual or group", specifically excluding more temporary movements including: "nomadism, migrant labour, commuting, and tourism" (Britannica Online Encyclopaedia). However, within contemporary common usage the term migration is

PREVIOUS PAGE — *Jewish Museum, Berlin.*

often understood to encompass a much broader range of human movements, which may or may not be permanent, or which may become permanent despite original intentions of impermanence, see for example, the Institute of Migration's definition of migration:

> The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification. (Institute of Migration 2011)

In addition to the narrow definition of the EB, a number of other significant oppositions or differentiations are found within the discourses on migration issues, which merit discussion here in order to situate the MeLA research within this context:

1. The question of whether migration relates only to permanent change of residence or also to temporary movements, divides those people who are included or excluded from being defined as migrants:

   → Permanent: settlers, colonisers, occupying forces, refugees, displaced people, slaves.

   → Temporary: students, labour (guest workers, temporary employment), tourists, pilgrims.

   This division is potentially more useful within theoretical debates and within certain aspects of political discourse, than it is to any analysis of social attitudes, practices and of public presentations of migration issues, where these divisions and definitions are commonly disregarded or simply not known. Political analysis of immigration figures and trends in the UK, for example, includes students within its definition of immigrants, despite academics' and experts' suggestions that they should be excluded (Cavanagh 2012; Cavanagh and Glennie 2012; Universities UK 2012). In contrast, the long-held political standpoint that Germany is "not a country of immigration" (see speeches and statements given by Genscher 1984 ,"*Wir sind kein Einwanderungsland*" and Kohl 1986 *"die Bundesrepublik Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland und darf es auch nicht werden."* available on www.sezession.de), based on a strict definition of human migration such as that seen in the EB, has caused significant discussion, debate and controversy over the lack of political and social recognition of groups such as the Turkish guest workers of the 1980s and 90s. Many former guest workers have settled permanently in Germany and their offspring may have known no other home, but they are still seen as "Turkish" rather than "German", legally, politically, and socially. This is in part due to the immigration standpoint and Germany's *jus sanguinis* nationality laws, which have only recently

been adapted to allow the possibility for the children and grandchildren of migrants to "become" German nationals rather than merely being part of the population of Germany (see point 3 below).

2. Is migration considered to be only from one nation-state to another, i.e. international in nature, or can it also include internal migrations, such as rural to civic population movements, North-South movements or movements of populations into the "heart" of the nation during or following conflict, natural or man-made disasters, or when national borders change during and as a result of wars?

3. How does the definition of an individual as a migrant affect the definition of subsequent generations in the new home location? In other words, is being a migrant an inheritable status or is the child of a migrant not classed as a migrant themselves? Alternative terms are being used politically and in the media in different European Countries to describe these second, third or subsequent generations within the population. In the UK for example, visible minority individuals are commonly referred to as Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) people, while in Germany the current phrase used to describe those members of the population whose background is not entirely ethnically German, or who were born outside of Germany to German (or only partly German) parents is: *"Bürger mit Migrationshintergrund"* residents with a background of migration).

4. One separation between forms of migration that provides a valuable distinction in terms of both migration itself, but also in terms of the issues raised by it is that between voluntary and forced migration and the potential sub-categories of each. Voluntary migration includes movements of people following choices made to improve their lives for economic, educational, social and political reasons, including: labour/economic migration; educational migration; social migration; and political migration. We will now characterise these in turn and they are also illustrated overleaf [Img 01].

   Labour/economic migration is the temporary or permanent movement for reasons of work or economic advantage, for example: guest workers, such as the Turkish guest workers in Germany; itinerant labourers (for example historically pedlars, Roma, Sinti and Irish travellers, construction workers etc); members of a skilled workforce, such as academics, business people and experts in fields including engineering; and permanent emigration as seen in the 19th century emigrations from Europe to America and earlier emigrations to colonies.

   Educational migration consists, in particular, of students and early career academics who perhaps intend to move only temporarily, but who then may or may not settle permanently in their new home. Students' immigrant status is also contingent on state policy. For

example, in the UK at the time of writing, international students attending degree programmes in higher education institutions are included in immigration totals collected by government, even if the majority leave the UK after completing their studies.

Social migration can include the immediate or extended family of a migrant of another sort (labour, educational, political etc). It can also be used to describe groups or individuals with a cultural or historical tradition of travel, such as Roma, Sinti and Irish Travellers, or those with a contemporary lifestyle based around movement, such as new Age Travellers or financially independent individuals with social or cultural ties to various locations.

Political migration forms the borderline between the definition of voluntary and forced migrations, as it primarily consists of individuals or groups who choose to leave their home for reasons of passive or active opposition to the dominant political party or social trend; thus it includes, for example: those who emigrated from South Africa during the Apartheid years; from Germany in the early period of the Nazi Regime, and organised protest groups including New Age Travellers.

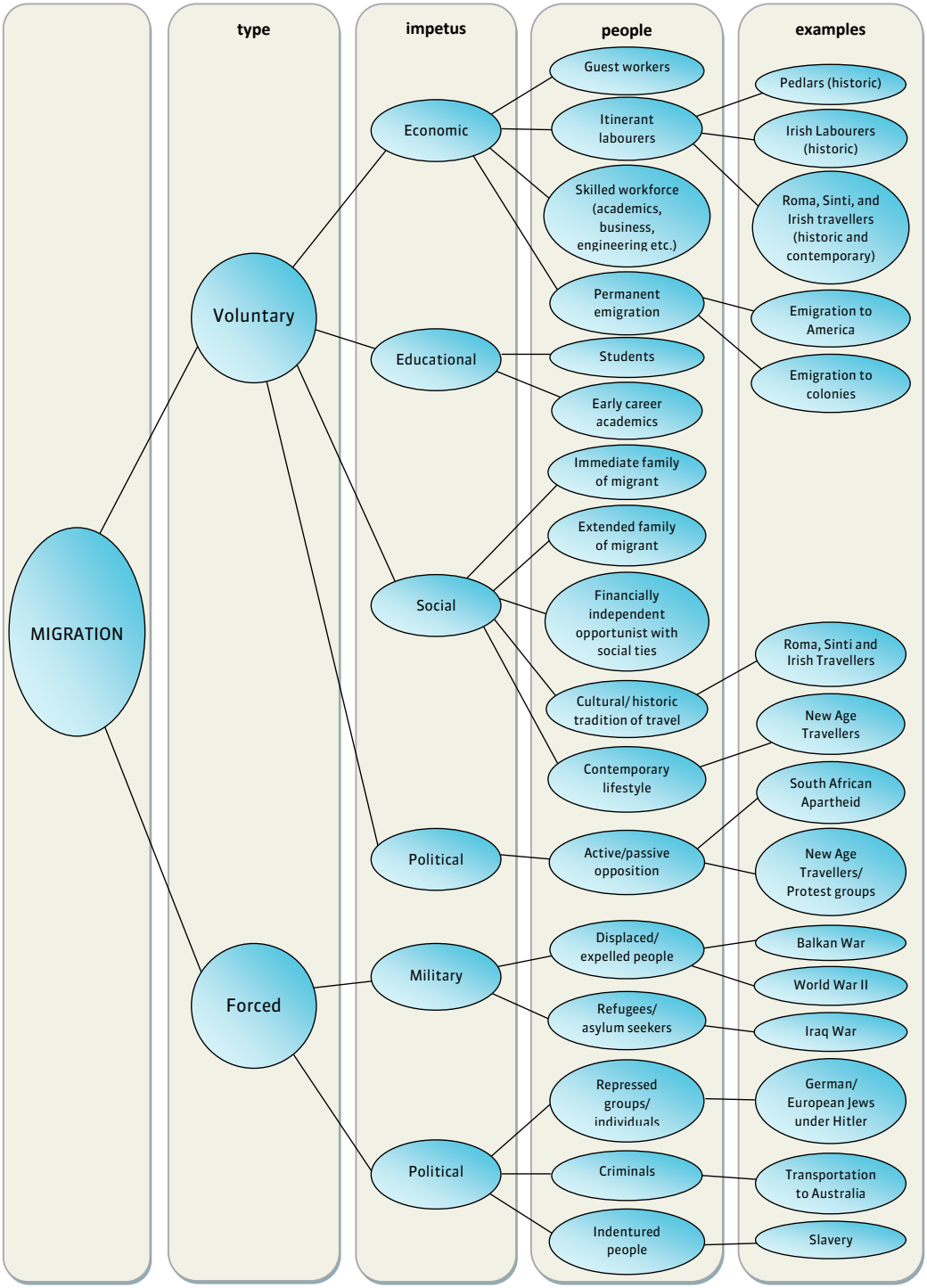
Contrasting with such voluntary migration, *forced migration* is the forcible, compulsory and often violent movement of people from one area or country to another by military or political means, or a combination of both.

Military-led forced migration is made up primarily of individuals and groups who have been displaced by conflict or expelled from their homes during or after conflicts, and often also from their home regions or countries. Examples of this include the Bosnian Muslims during the Balkan Wars, German populations east of the Oder-Neisse line, and the "population transfers" of Polish communities east of the Curzon line following World War II. Many of these people subsequently become refugees and asylum-seekers as immigrants in a new country.

Politically-led forced migration is different from the above only insomuch as the instrument of migration is primarily political rather than military, although there is clearly some overlap in situations where combined political and military means are used to deport or expel people, such as German and European Jews under the Nazis. Other repressed groups or individuals may be considered to be victims of politically-led forced migration, as would victims of certain political policies, such as the indenturing of people into slavery or the compulsory transportation of convicted criminals to Australia.

IMG. 01 — *Chart illustrating aspects of migration broken down by Type, Impetus, People, Examples.*

5. Immigration – emigration. Are the inextricably linked concepts of


MIGRATION
type
Voluntary
Forced
impetus
Economic
Educational
Social
Political
Military
Political
people
Guest workers
Itinerant labourers
Skilled workforce (academics, business, engineering etc.)
Permanent emigration
Students
Early career academics
Immediate family of migrant
Extended family of migrant
Financially independent opportunist with social ties
Cultural/ historic tradition of travel
Contemporary lifestyle
Active/passive opposition
Displaced/ expelled people
Refugees/ asylum seekers
Repressed groups/ individuals
Criminals
Indentured people
examples
Pedlars (historic)
Irish Labourers (historic)
Roma, Sinti, and Irish travellers (historic and contemporary)
Emigration to America
Emigration to colonies
Roma, Sinti and Irish Travellers
New Age Travellers
South African Apartheid
New Age Travellers/ Protest groups
Balkan War
World War II
Iraq War
German/ European Jews under Hitler
Transportation to Australia
Slavery

> *immigration* and *emigration* given equal weighting in social, political and academic discourse? Every immigrant is necessarily also an emigrant, yet the political and social discourses and debates in many European countries appear to be negatively weighted when discussing the "immigrant problem" of what is often presented as "floods" of people arriving from distant and strange lands, but conversely it is positively weighted when discussing the hardships and tribulations of natives/nationals of that country who have emigrated (either historical or contemporary movements) in search of a better life for themselves elsewhere.

These divisions and sub-categorisations of migrants and forms of migration can be expressed in tabular format for clarity, as indicated by the chart [Img. 01] which includes some examples of types of migrations, drivers for migrations and of groups of people affected by such migratory shifts.

What themes are important in migration studies? And how do museums and their functions relate to migration? While many studies of migration are bound by disciplinary constraints, it is important to note, as Brettell and Hollifield (2000, 1-2) do, that it is at the rare meeting points between disciplinary studies of the phenomena that the possibility of new knowledge formation occurs. The key disciplinary divide is acknowledged to be between historical and social science research into migration, with additional differences in approach between social scientists investigating the actors upon migration (i.e. policy) and those who examine the subjects of migration and their perspectives (i.e. individuals and family groups of migrants) (ibid). The table opposite [Img. 02] adapted from Brettell and Hollifield (2000, 3) provides an indication of the key disciplinary differences in migration studies, and has been expanded for the purposes of this study (with two additional columns on museums added) to also highlight the areas in which museums and their objects, exhibitions, interpretation, events etc are relevant to such questions of migration.

In countries where the expectations of museums are that they fulfil the classic responsibilities of collecting, protecting, exhibiting, etc (see the ICOM definition of a museum, ICOM Statutes, Article 03.3 Section 1, and national Museums Associations' definitions) as the primary functions, the multiple, layered connections between museums and the topic of human migration may not always be immediately apparent, or even recognised by the relevant political and museological authorities, other than in migration-specific museums (in other words: Emigration, Immigration and Migration Museums). However, the long history of migration as a part both of general human experience and of specific national, regional, and local histories and indeed, the contemporary phenomenon of increased migration and trans-nationalism mean that not only is migration necessarily embedded into any examination of human history and culture, but that it is an increasingly significant part of contemporary life. Castles and Miller (1993, 260) argue that "international migration is

IMG. 02 — *Table indicating disciplinary differences in migration studies, with added information on relevance to museums. Original table by Brettell and Hollifield (2000, 3) adapted by S. Eckersley.*

Discipline	Research Question(s)	Levels/Units of Analysis	Dominant Theories	Sample Hypothesis	Issues of Relevance to Museums	Relevant Museum Types
Anthropology	How does migration effect cultural change and affect ethnic identity?	More micro/individuals, households, groups	Relational or structuralist and transnational	Social networks help maintain cultural difference	Identities, Ethnicities, Cultural change, place identities	National museums, history museums, ethnic group museums, Diaspora museums, Jewish museums
Demography	How does migration affect population change?	More macro/population	Rationalist (borrows heavily from economics)	Immigration increases the birth rate	Population change, place identities	City museums, regional museums
Economics	What explains the propensity to migrate and its effects?	More micro/individuals	Rationalist: cost: benefit and push-pull	Incorporation depends on the human capital of immigrants	History, industrialisation, urbanisation, depopulation, immigration, regeneration	History museums, national museums, city museums, regional museums, industrial museums, transport/travel museums, migration museums
History	How do we understand the immigrant experience?	More micro/individuals and groups	Eschews theory and hypothesis testing	Not applicable	History, identities, social capital, empathy, education,	All museums
Law	How does the law influence migration?	Macro and micro/the political and legal system	Institutionalist and rationalist (borrows from all the social sciences)	Rights create incentive structures for migrants	History – social and political, citizenship, rights and duties	National museums, supra-national museums (e.g. European museums), migration museums, history museums, Jewish museums
Political Science	Why do states have difficulty controlling migration?	More macro/political and international systems	Institutionalist and rationalist	States are often captured by pro-immigrant interests	Politics, history	National museums, history museums, migration museums
Sociology	What explains immigrant incorporation?	More macro/ethnic groups and social class	Structuralist and/or functionalist	Immigrant incorporation is dependent on social capital	History, social inclusion, social capital, place, community, objects, families, language	City museums, Diaspora museums, Jewish museums,

a constant, not an aberration, in human history", and as such, it seems a highly appropriate topic for museums to respond to, either in relation to historical or contemporary topics, collections, exhibitions and/or events.

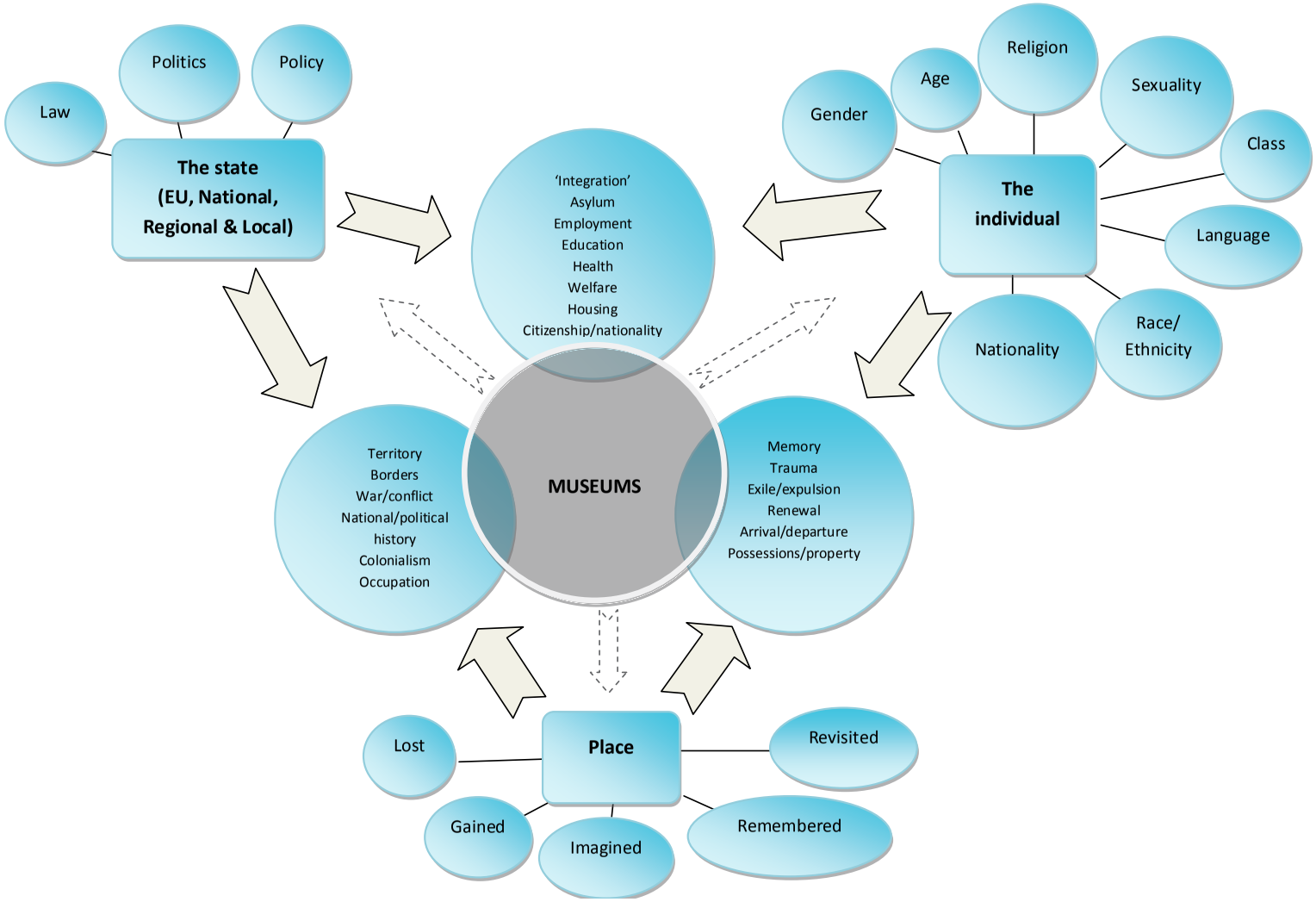
Some of the key themes emerging from studies of migration, which take an anthropological, ethnographic, historical or sociological approach, are also themes of great interest and relevance to museums of various types. For example: Massey and Jess (1995) examine migration in relation to questions of place identity, globalisation, and cultures; in addition, the topics of identity, memory and home form the focus of work on migration by Rapport and Dawson (1998), Fortier (2000) and Keith and Pile (1993). The latter also addresses issues of race and social justice, which are a key part of Castles' work on Ethnicity and Globalization (2000). While museums may primarily appear to focus on historical issues, the themes listed above are a significant part of the multiple layering of histories, so that migration topics such as globalisation, identity and memory are integral to national histories, regional and local histories as well as individual, family or community histories. Through museum collections, the objects and stories that they comprise as well as through the representations of the place(s) within which the museum operates, narratives of migration and "otherness" which form part of the integral history (or story) of the museum's subject area on many different levels can be presented alongside, or embedded within those narratives of belonging and "sameness", which are perhaps more often recognised as being "the story" or "the history" of the place that the museum (re)presents [Img. 03].

So why are museums engaging with migration, and why are some still not doing so? Castles and Miller provide the following explanation as to why different nations respond to migration so differently, which, given the political nature of museums within Europe primarily as government funded institutions, whose functions and ideals are formed by the dominant public and cultural policies of the nation, can very easily be applied to the museum:

> …clearly trends towards political inclusion of minorities and cultural pluralism can threaten national identity, especially in countries in which it has been constructed in exclusionary forms. If ideas of belonging to a nation have been based on myths of ethnic purity or of cultural superiority, then they really are threatened by the growth of ethnic diversity. Whether the community of the nation has been based on belonging to a "Volk" (as in Germany) or on a unitary culture (as in France), ethnic diversity inevitably requires major political and psychological adjustments. This shift is far smaller for countries that have seen themselves as nations of immigrants, for their political structures and models of citizenship are geared to incorporating newcomers. (Castles and Miller 1993, 273-4)

IMG. 03 — *Migration and Museums mind-map.*

However, at the same time, there is an increasing political and social impetus across Europe to respond to and address the "problem" of migration and the increasing numbers of "immigrant-citizens", and museums


Politics
Policy
Law
The state
(EU, National,
Regional & Local)
'Integration'
Asylum
Employment
Education
Health
Welfare
Housing
Citizenship/nationality
Religion
Age
Gender
Sexuality
Class
The
individual
Language
Nationality
Race/
Ethnicity
Territory
Borders
War/conflict
National/political
history
Colonialism
Occupation
MUSEUMS
Memory
Trauma
Exile/expulsion
Renewal
Arrival/departure
Possessions/property
Lost
Place
Revisited
Gained
Imagined
Remembered

have become part of this, for example, the Deutscher Museumsbund's working group on Migration http://www.museumsbund.de/de/fachgruppen_arbeitskreise/migration_ak/themen (accessed July 4th 2012, and Deutscher Museumsbund 2012) and the developments towards migration museums around Europe (see the section "Understanding Migration in Museums" for more details). Media presentations of migrants and immigration in particular, have become overwhelmingly negative, particularly during times of increasing economic hardship and social inequalities (Triandafyllidou and Ulasiuk 2011, 1), and alongside the changing demographic make-up of European societies, this has influenced social opinion as well as political targets or measures in relation to migration (ibid; European Commission 2011, 6; Blinder, Ruhs and Vargas-Silva 2011). In turn this has influenced society itself, communities of migrants, non-migrants and mixed communities are all facing pressures and this changes the museum audiences' expectations of what is, or should be, on display in public museums. Museum professionals in the UK have, for since the advent of the economic return argument with Thatcher in the late 1970s , been accustomed to addressing instrumental cultural policy targets which have social change or community empowerment as their aim (Bassett 1993, 1779; McGuigan 1996, 30-31, 54; Kawashima 1997; Belfiore 2002, 94; Holden 2004, 15; Eckersley 2007, 122-3), and have experience of working with excluded groups, such as refugees and asylum seekers among others, to develop new programmes of activity, new displays or content within their museums. It is probably also fair to say that it is the preference of many UK museum professionals to undertake this kind of work, following the ideals of new museology and community museology, while in certain other European countries, such as Germany, the idea that museum can be an actor of social change rather than, or as well as, being a storehouse for academic research is a much more recent and controversial concept (see also the section "Cluster 1: Placing the Nation").

Of course, there are also museums all around Europe whose collection strengths and/or their local connections, specific local histories or contemporary situations mean that they are actively engaging with the topic of migration. In many cases this is limited to a specific form of migration or historic wave of migration which has relevance to that museum and its location, such as the first iteration of the Deutsches Auswandererhaus in Bremerhaven, the BallinStadt in Hamburg or the Jewish Museum Berlin [Img. 01] (all of which interestingly, have been partly supported from American sources, target American audiences in addition to German ones and which have had accusations of "Disneyfication" or "dumbing down" thrown at them - see Chametzky 2008; Reid 2001; Die Welt 2000; Baur 2006; Förster 2006). Attempts at more universal representations of migration and migrant experiences, such as the Cité Nationale de l'Immigration in Paris, whose aim was to provide a national context for and understanding of the positive role that immigration and immigrants have played in French history, culture and society, may run the risk

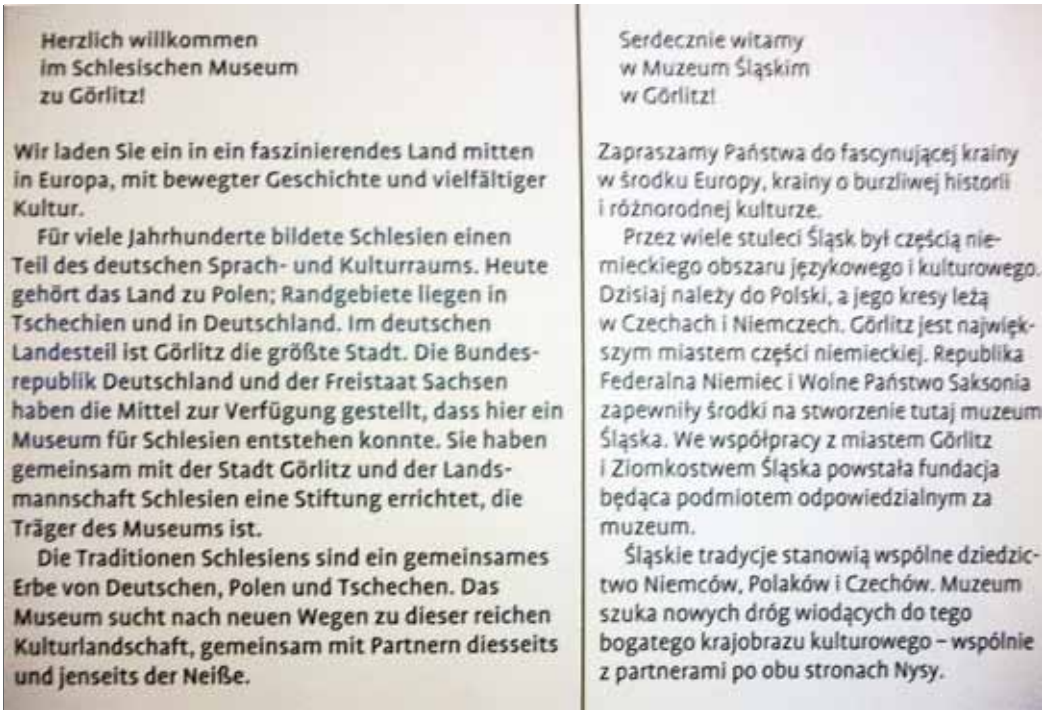
of being considered by some to be too generic or loaded with a particular political message to find the universal audience that they target (Vinson 2007; Toubon 2007; Noiriel 2007; Lafont-Couturier 2007; Grognet 2007; Payeur and Elhadad 2007; Nair 2007; Arquez-Roth 2007; Heraud 2007; Servole 2007).

→ WHAT PATTERNS HAVE EMERGED? HOW ARE MUSEUMS ENGAGING WITH MIGRATION?

Museums internationally are engaging with the issue of migration and topics associated with it in a broad range of ways, some very explicit in their openness in dealing with a major political topic and others much more implicit to the other topics and issues which their institutions address within their geographic, subject-specific and historical remit.

Since the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century there has been a significant boom in the numbers of migration-specific museums being opened and developed, covering migration in general, immigration in general and specific emigrations, depending on their location and the particular story of significance to that area. The key debates surrounding migration-specific museums such as these, is whether they are valuable because they constitute an attempt to "redress the balance" and to tell a story which has been undervalued and under-represented in society and in museums, along the lines of the debates on other minorities (including BMEs, women, LGBT, the disabled, workers, etc), or whether they "ghetto-ise" or segregate migration from the mainstream of history, society and culture and thereby denigrate or devalue it as a key constituent of contemporary and historic society (Baur 2010; Wonisch 2012).

A very broad range of museums, including: city museums; district museums; open air museums; transport museums; national museums; Jewish museums; folk museums, ecomuseums and Heimatmuseums; for example, include aspects of migration in their permanent presentations and displays, depending again on the specificities of their location and remit. So for example, the district museums in major cities might address issues of relevance to recent migrants from outside of the EU, and Heimatmuseums or other folk museums might examine issues relating to particular groups of displaced people, and transport museums may explore the experience of travel on the ships, trains and other means of transport that migrants have used at different times in history. Museums specific to a particular population group, such as Jewish Museums, Roma Museums or other diaspora museums will obviously tell the migration stories that are of particular relevance to their subject area. National museums and European museums also address both historical and more contemporary migration, in their own ways and in relation to their over-riding narratives of national history or European progress. These "hidden" migration stories within museums provide the counterpoint to the overt migration focus of the first group of museums, and may be more successful in con-



Herzlich willkommen im Schlesischen Museum zu Görlitz!

Wir laden Sie ein in ein faszinierendes Land mitten in Europa, mit bewegter Geschichte und vielfältiger Kultur.

Für viele Jahrhunderte bildete Schlesien einen Teil des deutschen Sprach- und Kulturraums. Heute gehört das Land zu Polen; Randgebiete liegen in Tschechien und in Deutschland. Im deutschen Landesteil ist Görlitz die größte Stadt. Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Freistaat Sachsen haben die Mittel zur Verfügung gestellt, dass hier ein Museum für Schlesien entstehen konnte. Sie haben gemeinsam mit der Stadt Görlitz und der Landsmannschaft Schlesien eine Stiftung errichtet, die Träger des Museums ist.

Die Traditionen Schlesiens sind ein gemeinsames Erbe von Deutschen, Polen und Tschechen. Das Museum sucht nach neuen Wegen zu dieser reichen Kulturlandschaft, gemeinsam mit Partnern diesseits und jenseits der Neiße.

Serdecznie witamy w Muzeum Śląskim w Görlitz!

Zapraszamy Państwa do fascynującej krainy w środku Europy, krainy o burzliwej historii i różnorodnej kulturze.

Przez wiele stuleci Śląsk był częścią niemieckiego obszaru językowego i kulturowego. Dzisiaj należy do Polski, a jego kresy leżą w Czechach i Niemczech. Görlitz jest największym miastem części niemieckiej. Republika Federalna Niemiec i Wolne Państwo Saksonia zapewniły środki na stworzenie tutaj muzeum Śląska. We współpracy z miastem Görlitz i Ziomkostwem Śląska powstała fundacja będąca podmiotem odpowiedzialnym za muzeum.

Śląskie tradycje stanowią wspólne dziedzictwo Niemców, Polaków i Czechów. Muzeum szuka nowych dróg wiodących do tego bogatego krajobrazu kulturowego – wspólnie z partnerami po obu stronach Nysy.

IMG. 04 — *Bilingual introductory text panel in the entrance hall of the Silesian Museum in Görlitz. All texts in the exhibitions are written in German and Polish.*
'Silesian traditions are a common heritage of Germans, Poles and Czechs. The museum aims to find new paths through this rich cultural landscape, together with partners on both this and the other side of Neisse.' (Translation of final paragraph.)

veying the true nature, both of the wide variety of migration issues, and also of the integral part of migrations of various forms to all time periods in human history, culture and society.

In addition to the permanent displays of museums, other opportunities for discussing issues of migration are taken advantage of through temporary exhibitions, travelling exhibitions, collaborative exhibitions, public events in museums, conferences in museums, community involvement and through interactive and collaborative content design. These less permanent inscriptions into the museum and public realm are often, particularly in continental Europe, the preferred means by which to address the more emotional and emotive aspect of migration, for example, the personal stories, memories and individual reflections. Temporary exhibitions of this sort are more able to present the subjective element of their topics, and to balance them by juxtaposing contrasting viewpoints or mirroring stories from opposing sides in addition to more objective, factual accounts, than permanent displays on, for example, the national history of Germany are. Similarly, museums relating to specific diasporas and their experiences, such as Jewish Museums are also often much more able to make use of personal memory and testimony, alongside personal artefacts, in order to provide historical fact with emotional impact. Exceptions to this, however, are museums in or about long disputed territories, such as the Silesian Museum in Görlitz, Germany [Img. 04] where it is vitally important for the museum to attempt to retain a neutral political and academic standpoint.

Understanding Migration in Museums

Theoretical and Practical Standpoints

As has already been discussed, migration is a complex topic with many sub-divisions and categories, and one which continues to be the focus of a wide variety of academic disciplines and government policies, each with their own specific approach and purpose.

In order to investigate and understand the ways in which museums and migration relate to one another, our approach is based on a wide remit of museums which respond to place-people-culture-history relations. This necessarily includes a significantly wider range of museums than studies focussing only on migration-specific museums, and therefore allows us to make detailed analyses and comparisons between museums in groups by - for example - type, theme, or approach. Our approach to the topic of museums and migration therefore:

- → Involves a historical and contemporary focus on the significance of museum representations of place for expressions of cultural identity in European museums.
- → Addresses questions surrounding place-people(s)-culture relations in contemporary European museums, involving consideration of the ways in which museums *construct* places and their inhabitants through representational practices.
- → Asks how such representations are figured and consumed at the present time, against a backdrop of changing geo-political and social orders brought about by EU legislation, migration and mobility and discourses about place (local, national, "European" etc) in relation to citizenship.

Examining both the historical and contemporary aspects of museum representations in this way again allows us to broaden our understanding of migration to encompass a wide remit of place-people-culture relations, rather than limiting our investigation to the more obvious contemporary focus on immigration, integration and associated political or social issues.

PREVIOUS PAGE —
Parliamentarium, Brussels.

This wider understanding is intended to enable us to shed light on museum representations of the long-term and continuous nature of migration in all its forms, even when these representations are not "labelled" or demarcated as relating specifically to "migration" as an overt topic.

Some of the historical practices that have occurred in relation to museums and place-people-culture relations include: the indexing of "other" places (explored, traded with, colonised, invaded, subjugated, despoiled etc.); representations of the home nation/locale and its people(s); the preservation or reconstruction of "real" places; representations of people's experience of being in, or moving from, to and through, place; and representations of places as part of "receiving states" or hubs, or as places of population loss.

→ USING PLACE AS A FRAME FOR UNDERSTANDING MIGRATION

Place, rather than other relevant themes - such as nationality, ethnicity, migration, or mobilities - has been chosen as the key focus for the investigation and resulting analysis for a number of reasons. While place is not synonymous with other alternatives, it can invoke or comprehend each or all of them, without necessarily simultaneously excluding or limiting any. Place is significant, particularly in representations of, and understandings of unstable identities, or fluidities of belonging as it forms a stable territory which can bound, hold or support them. Place is matter from which, or in relation to which, geo-political and cultural realities are constructed and reconstructed, and it is imbued variously with different (and sometimes competing) values which inform identities. Place also allows for the study of various experiences of migration, as well as those of "staying-put", and also of their interrelationships with one another. Place is, at the same time, both the physical and economic "setting" for practice and experience, inside the museum as well as beyond it. Objects, which form the basis of museum collections, their exhibitions and research are all produced, used and circulated within places, and are transferred from one place to another, a process which imbues them with and alters their meanings. From a methodological standpoint, a focus on place allows for the use of particular theoretical concepts of great value to the research questions of this project, including: place identity, place belonging; "insideness"; disinheritance (concepts which are examined variously by: Nora 1989; Williams, Patterson and Roggenbuck 1992; Massey and Jess 1995; Fortier 2000; Dixon and Durrheim 2000 and 2004; Ahmed, Castada and Fortier 2003; Wallwork and Dixon 2004; Galbraith 2004; Amin 2004; Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran and Vieten 2006; Brettell 2006; Bjork and Gerwarth 2007; Lambkin 2008; Casakin and Kreitler 2008; Easthope 2009; Moles 2009; Kockel 2010; Svašek 2010; Duvendak 2011). In addition, it is our belief that there has been insufficient attention to place and the significance of it within and for the field of museum studies, an omission which this project aims to address.

→ WHAT KINDS OF MUSEUMS ARE WE INCLUDING/EXCLUDING

In order to begin the process of selecting suitable case study museums for further analysis, a wide-ranging online survey of European museums dealing with issues of place, identity, and migrations was undertaken. The resulting data was categorised by the type of museum, based on the focus of each museum's collections, exhibitions and institutional remit, rather than merely using the museums' own classifications of themselves. Types of museum that emerged from this survey included museums specifically focussing on migration, immigration and/or emigration; museums of and for Europe [Img. p.38]; national museums; city museums; regional museums; Jewish museums; other museums focussing on specific diasporas, indigenous communities, refugee groups or occupations; open air, Heimat and ecomuseums; and museums of transport and travel.

Other studies of the interrelationship between museums and migration (Ohliger 2002; Hampe 2004; Baur 2005a and b, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010a and b; Eryilmaz 2007; Rocha-Trinidade and Monteiro 2007; Sebastian 2007; Hermensen and Møller 2007; Vereins Migrationsmuseum Schweiz 2007; Vieira 2007; Stevens 2009; Hutchison 2009; IPPR 2009; Witcomb 2009; Marselis 2011) do not take into account such a wide range of museum types, focussing instead on the more obvious, migration-specific institutions, exhibitions or events. By taking a more unusual, and significantly broader understanding of museums and migration (in its historical and contemporary context and in specific relation to place, as discussed previously) for its basis, the current research not only makes a valuable contribution to the interdisciplinary study of migration, but also to those of identities, cultures, place, and museums.

In order to select suitable museums for case study analysis from the extensive range included in the survey, a "clustering" rationale was utilised, in which we selected situations where different types of migration and the specific issues associated with each them would be brought to the fore. The resulting clusters therefore consist of combinations of case study museums with geographical and typological variations, as cases were purposively selected which dealt with explicitly with the topics of each cluster. Three key clusters were identified: "placing" the nation; peoples, borders, movements; and European cities and "other" places; which enabled the many varied, complex, interwoven issues making up the academic study of migration to be brought to the fore in relation to the clusters and case studies of most relevance to them.

Within each cluster, the case studies are organised in three tiers:

- Primary level: these museums will be subject to detailed analyses of aspects of displays and exhibitions within them, framed by the cluster theme, and encompassing different aspects of the issue of migration and mobilities as they are addressed or ignored within the museum displays.

- Secondary level: these include additional valuable museums focussing on aspects of migration/s and on geographic areas which are not necessarily covered by the primary clusters. Many of these museums will have been visited on behalf of the research project, or by

the authors, but without a detailed analysis (such as at the primary level) taking place. These museums will necessarily be explored in less depth, providing supplementary material for the wider discussion of the significant issues in each cluster.

→ Tertiary level: this consists of museums which will act as illustrative further examples, providing supplementary material to the discussions arising from the primary and secondary level case studies. While these museums will not be visited specifically for this research, they will have either been visited previously by the authors, or by other MeLa consortium members, or they may be discussed without a site visit taking place.

→ CLUSTER 1: "PLACING" THE NATION

This cluster concentrates on museums in locations where the political conception of the nation and its identity has recently (from the twentieth century onwards) become more strongly articulated based on a political imperative. This includes locations where there has been political transformation at the state level and the subsequent re-articulation of national identity (including that expressed within museums) combines geographic, historical and cultural sense of place and individual identity within the nation.

Primary case study:

→ Edinburgh – National Museum of Scotland

Secondary case studies:

→ Tallinn – Estonian History Museum

→ Barcelona – Museum of the History of Catalonia; Migration Museum

→ Ankara – Museum of Anatolian Civilizations; Ethnography Museum of Ankara; First Turkish National Assembly Museum

→ Istanbul – Istanbul Military Museum

→ Dresden – Military History Museum

→ Berlin – Deutsches Historisches Museum (German Historical Museum)

Tertiary case studies:

→ Paris – Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration

→ Genoa – Museum of the Sea

→ Brussels – Parliamentarium

→ CLUSTER 2: PEOPLES, BORDERS, MOVEMENT

This cluster concentrates on museums which are in locations and/or about peoples that have been subject to significant change and movement in terms of population shift (including forced migrations), political border change and mobilities within groups of people as well as individuals. The time span includes recent representations of major historical 20th century impulses for such change as well as more fluid contemporary mobilities.

Primary case study:

- → Goerlitz – Silesian Museum

Secondary case studies:

- → Berlin – Jewish Museum Berlin; Museum of European Cultures
- → Copenhagen – National Museum of Denmark
- → Ankara – Museum of Anatolian Civilizations; Ethnography Museum of Ankara
- → Berlin – Deutsches Historisches Museum (German Historical Museum)

Tertiary case studies:

- → Dresden – Military History Museum
- → Istanbul – Military Museum
- → Barcelona – Migration Museum
- → Genoa – Museum of the Sea
- → Paris – Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration
- → Bremerhaven – Deutsches Auswandererhaus

→ CLUSTER 3: EUROPEAN CITIES AND "OTHER" PLACES

This cluster includes museums which are located within major European cities, which have a historical connection to and contemporary legacy of colonialism, or state-sponsored programmes of immigration (in particular from outside of the Judeo-Christian world), in terms of populations, museum collections, representations and audiences, and articulations of "otherness".

Primary case study:

- → Amsterdam – Amsterdam Museum

Secondary case studies:

- London – Museum of London
- Berlin – Bezirksmuseum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg; Museum Neukölln; Museum of European Cultures
- Genoa – Emigration Museum
- Copenhagen – Museum of Copenhagen
- Gothenburg – Museum of World Culture

Tertiary case studies:

- Brussels (Tervuren) – Royal Museum for Central Africa
- Paris – Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration
- Amsterdam - Tropenmuseum

→ HOW ARE WE LOOKING AT/INVESTIGATING THE MUSEUMS, EXHIBITIONS, OBJECTS, TEXTS?

Within our fieldwork we are investigating the following questions:

- *What is the metaphorical "place" of place in European museums now?*
- *How do museums approach issues of identity, multiculturalism and migration in European societies?*
- *What examples of innovative practice have we seen and what makes it innovative?*
- *What suggestions for museum practice can we draw from the academic debates about these subjects and what can academics learn from museum practice?*
- *What difference does it make to how we understand contemporary people-place relations if museums predominantly frame their displays and interpretation in terms of:*

  a) traditional identity-based categories such as ethnicity and nationality,

  b) cross-cutting themes like journeys, home, belonging or

  c) place as a common denominator for a wide diversity of experience with sub-themes like migration embedded throughout?

We then analyse the approaches which different museums adopt and how is this determined by:

a) their own museological type (e.g. city or ethnographic, history etc);

b) the museum's own institutional identity and history (e.g. nature of site, building, remit, collections, colonial origins);

c) the museum's local context – (i.e. how issues of identity, multiculturalism and migration are framed within both broader national narratives of identity and history and cultural policy and funding contexts?).

Further, we will then be investigating how the museum's visitors respond to the different museums' approaches to identity, multiculturalism and migration. It will be important to note to what extent visitors' responses correlate with their own self-identification, political views, national context, context and motivations for visiting (e.g. whether they are tourists, locals, long-term residents, new arrivals, younger people, older people, people who self-identify as migrants, as having multiple heritages or see themselves as part of the "host" community?). In other words, do the museums' representations resonate with visitors' own perspectives? To what extent do visitors selectively filter out (ignore) or alternatively actively seek out representations about specific identity groups or topics like multiculturalism and migration? To what extent is there evidence that museums' representations on these topics may, or may not, influence attitudes amongst visitors? Might visitors express feelings of pride, identification and belonging or, alternatively, reject such approaches as "political correctness"?

Methodologies and Their Theoretical Foundation

As noted in the introduction this publication is primarily concerned with the introduction and explanation of display analysis methods pertaining to the study of place-people-culture relations in museum representations. Methodological concerns relating to the qualitative research to be conducted into the views of cultural producers such as museum professionals and into visitor responses to museum displays pertaining to place will be addressed in later Research Field 01 publications.

The display analysis responds to the first aim of the RF01 research:

> How do European museums present societies as bound to, or enabled by, place and places, as having roots in places and/or taking routes from, to and through places?

This section draws on a substantial body of theoretical writing by one of the current authors in the context of understanding display and conceptualizing the museum as a form of map (Whitehead 2006, 2009, 2011 and 2012) for the physical and epistemological organization of *cultural objects*. A *cultural object* may be one (or more, in combination) of the following:

- → physical and material, such as a Pictish Stone;
- → intangible, such as a surname, dialect, language or music;
- → abstract/epistemological, such as a theme (e.g. identity, victimhood etc.);
- → a cultural signifier (including historical events and personages "the Battle of Bannockburn," "William Wallace," "the Renaissance" etc.).

Physical/intangible objects can be made to stand for different orders of cultural object; for example, a weapon found on the site of Bannockburn may be used to "stand for" the Battle itself. The museum marshals and maps cultural objects but is also a cultural object and a map itself.

PREVIOUS PAGE —
Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

→ DISPLAY

Display is understood as the organisation in space of cultural objects (ranging from tangible objects to places, concepts historical events or personages) for staged, and sometimes cumulative, encounters between visitors who are assumed to be engaged in co-ordinated acts of locomotion, sensing (primarily looking), reading and viewing. A paramount concern with our work is an understanding of museum display not as merely "reflective", in the sense that the museum cannot be conceptualized as a "mirror" (for example of society, of history etc.). Rather, it is a technology for constructing knowledge and for theorizing about the world or aspects of the world, because, as Whitehead notes, the activity of physically assembling and displaying objects for presentation to publics – indeed even just planning for such activity, as in many of the idealised museological plans of the nineteenth century – is "heuristic and structuring" (Whitehead 2009, 26). This involves a recognition that the act of producing displays is itself a process of theorizing. This theorizing is done through the physical organization of objects set up in certain ways for pre-imagined encounters with visitors, who are themselves "imagined" by curators engaged in acts of production:

> The imagined visitor is the moving, seeing, reading, learning, intellectualising, behaving and feeling element in curators' visions of display spaces. Curators' expectations or hopes as to the social milieu and cultural capital of their visitors inform the stories told through display and how they are told. (Whitehead 2009, 32)

At the same time, we need to be mindful that the theory embodied in finished displays is always inevitably compromised because of physical, logistical and political circumstances which exert force on the process of display production and effectively limit the theoretical potential of displays – for example through inadequate floor loading, inadequate financial resources, space or gaps in the collection or through repression, suppression or containment of politically sensitive and controversial issues in displays. Display is understood not so much as a medium but rather as a technology for orchestrating a range of expressive elements, including:

- → the spatial and relational positioning of objects;
- → the lighting of objects and ambient conditions generally, including non-visuals such as audio;
- → the architecture and interior decoration of the museum building;
- → the inclusion, graphics and content of text, audiovisual and ICT-based interpretation (labels, panels, film footage, interactive touchscreens etc.);
- → the presence of security provisions and personnel;
- → furniture.

As discussed, when orchestrating these elements cultural producers (curators, architects, designers etc.) actively invoke the "imagined visi-

tor" who moves through, engages with and makes sense of the display in hoped-for ways. (There is of course much scope for mismatch and difference between the ideal visitor behavior and understandings hoped for by museum professionals and those exhibited by *actual* visitors.) Museum professionals involved in the production of displays engage in the construction of what, in the context of articulating reception theory, Wolfgang Iser (1978) calls "response-inviting structures". For example, to isolate an object in space in a 'white cube' interior and to illuminate it individually (for example through careful spotlighting) is to invite an aesthetic response, to present the object as artwork and to direct the visitor's gaze accordingly. Placing seating before objects also contributes to the construction of a response-inviting structure, in the concrete sense that the visitor is invited to seat herself and contemplate an object at length, indicating both the type of engagement prescribed or expected (usually aesthetic, where extended "dwell time"[1] is encouraged) and ideas about the value of the object. The visibility of security provision also invites the visitor to consider the value of the object(s) displayed, and perhaps to consider her own status as a potential threat to such object(s).

Alternatively, very different responses to objects can be invited by invoking particular codes of display that have become associated with certain types of regard, including, for example, the dramatic, somewhat exoticising "black-box" treatment of objects presented as ethnographic [Img. 01] or the use of dioramas, costumed mannequins and audiotracks associated with some social history displays. Such display codes and the responses which they invite have particular epistemological and political consequences of importance to our research, e.g. the presentation of non-western objects as either art or ethnography has a bearing upon the way in which peoples and their cultures are classified, potentially marshalling them representationally into positions of alterity or subalterity, with consequences for real-world social relations, as will be explained further below.

→ MUSEUMS AS MAPS

The display analysis is based upon a conceptualization of the museum as a form of cultural cartography – effectively as a map of knowledge. A *map* is here understood as a spatialised representation of knowledge about the world, or some aspect of the world (not limited to conventional maps on plane surfaces), involving the identification, registering and presentation of cultural objects, and of their prominence and their relational positions. The map may also involve specific modes of address, effectively also mapping the observer/visitor or impelling her to inscribe herself symbolically into the map, into or outwith specific territories. This may be done, for example, by the use of pronouns in labels ("Our culture" etc.), and relates to cultures of belonging and group identity/history construction, and thus to the discussion on place identity in the section "Place-people-culture Relations in Museums". As will be explained in greater depth below, another special feature of museum cartography is the potential

1 The amount of time spent by a visitor engaging with a specific object in a museum context.

IMG. 01 — *Ethnological Museum, Berlin.*

for constructing and presenting narrative, and this is because the staged temporality of the notional and actual museum visit (the order in which cultural objects are encountered, their prominence and the extent of engagement with them) means that the museum-map is dynamic.

The conceptualization of museums as maps can be located as one element within wider interests of the study of cultural cartography. This is a term with no strict consensus definition but which here we can take to signify attentiveness to the ways in which knowledges about the world are "mapped" through the interrelation of political and media practices, representations and constructions of all kinds, leaving us with a shifting cultural territory or landscape to navigate and negotiate meaning, belongings (and non-belongings) and within which we too, as individuals or collectives, can force changes which result in new mappings. Belonging to a culture, it has been argued, "provides us with access to … shared frameworks or 'maps' of meaning which we use to place and understand things, to 'make sense of the world', to formulate ideas and to communicate or exchange ideas and meanings about it" (Du Gay et al. 1997, 10). Encountering cultural maps, in this sense, is part of daily existence and in many instances may not come to our conscious attention at all. When a politician such as Barack Obama makes a speech in which he identifies and valorizes notions of empathy (between the citizenry, in corporate practice etc.) then a particular mapping of cultures of ethics and morality takes place (Pedwell 2012) pertaining to right and wrong and to responsible social relations. This is not, of course, to say that such mappings will be accepted as "true" or valid by all of those who come into contact with them, but rather that there exist a multitude of cultural maps which involve potentially competing truth claims, and humans tend to "navigate" endlessly through and towards sets of beliefs in reference to this multitude.

In this sense, the term "map" and indeed "cartography" need to be loosened from their vernacular mooring in strict notions of two-dimensional

graphic representation of (literally) geographical realities, and allowed to encompass also the representation of knowledges of all kinds, where knowledges can be understood as both accounts of the world or aspects thereof (for example of the past, of morality, of gender, of places) and ways of accounting, or, to put it another way, modes of representation (Whitehead 2009, 8). However, as many theorists make clear, knowledges are not simply representations of existing entities, but rather they are also the technologies by which such entities are socially *created*. As noted by Whitehead, "knowledges are not just the *results* of perception, learning and reasoning; they are also processes of perception, learning and reasoning which produce the particularized results" (ibid, original emphasis). In this view, the cultural mapping of morality and ethics which occurs when Obama makes a speech concerning a particular notion of empathy is part of a broad technology (comprising, for example, the institutional organization of the presidential office, the machinery of political speech writing, broadcasting and political analysis) which *constructs* empathy, morality and contemporary ethics. This is not to say that empathy *per se* does not exist as an entity outside of social relations and epistemological constructions, which is a philosophical and psychological question beyond the scope of this research (although some would argue that indeed empathy does not exist as a pre-social phenomenon). Rather, for our purposes, this approach calls attention to the ways in which entities, phenomena and the knowledges which account for them are mapped through social processes. In this sense, cartography organizes material, and is always political and epistemological in its working. It organizes literal geographies (landmasses, bodies of water etc.) into the social constructs which constitute geo-political realities (continents, countries, regions, borders etc.). As introduced above, it also organizes non geographical referents, according to techniques described by Gieryn in his account of the way in which "science" is mapped and bounded:

> Maps do to nongeographical referents what they do to the earth. Boundaries differentiate this thing from that; borders create spaces with occupants homogeneous and generalized in some respect (though they may vary in other ways). Arrangements of spaces define logical relations among sets of things: nested, overlapping, adjacent, separated. Coordinates place things in multidimensional space, making it possible to know the direction and distance between two things. Landmarks and labels call attention to typicalities or aberrations, reduce ambiguities about the precise location of a boundary, highlight differences between spaces of things: they are reality checks, of sorts. (Gieryn 1999, 7)

While we will turn to the technical dimensions of museum mapping below, strikingly, these are techniques which, with little need for abstraction, also characterize the organization of cultural objects within museum space in relation to activities such as the spacing, juxtaposition and grouping or segregation of objects, as well as others such as their illumination (which can be understood in some instances as a form of landmarking to render special prominence [Img. 02]). Within this, we also encounter the possibility of mapping non-spatial objects such as time. This is of course a commonplace if we consider graphic chronologies, themselves much used in interpretive resources in museum displays [Img. 03], but is less

IMG. 02 — *Landmarking example from the installation of the exhibition 'Hints to Workmen', 2011, Northern Gallery for Contemporary Art, Sunderland.*

well researched in the sense that museum displays themselves constitute a chronology or mapping of time. In museums, time can be stretched and compressed according to the extent of its representation and the amount of space accorded to it. This too has political consequences. In a simple example, we might consider the Arts of the Americas wing in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston opened in 2010. Of the fifty-three galleries ranged over four floors only a few on the ground floor are dedicated to Native American and pre-colonial cultures, while the vast majority relate to American art from the seventeenth century to the 1970s. This represents a compression of millennia of cultural production and an expansion of the less than five centuries following colonial contact. While this is a blunt statistic which may be countermanded by the emphases of the displays themselves, it is nevertheless revealing of the politics of cultural production of the displays, and the historical emphases of the collection which propose a particular evaluation of cultural histories. As we will see in future RF01 publications, another mapping of time takes place in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara [Img. 05], where Anatolian civilizations are mapped up to 1923, the year of the founding of the Republic, with the implicit suggestion that civilization was "fixed" and stabilized at this date with no further diversification or development. The political ramifications of such mappings of time are clear and represent another area of interest for us in that they feed into critical issues such as our relationship with the past (and past cultures and peoples), and the ways in which the past is shown in museum displays to bear upon, or be isolated from, the present, informing historicized contemporary identities.

IMG. 03 — *Graphic chronology from the Medieval and Renaissance Galleries, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

→ MUSEUMS AS MAPS: TRUTH CLAIMS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

John Pickles, in discussing conventional, plane-surface maps, makes clear the sense in which representation works on the social:

> Mapping technologies and practices have been crucial to the emergence of modern "views of the world", Enlightenment sensibilities and contemporary modernities. The world has literally been made, domesticated and ordered by drawing lines, distinctions, taxonomies and hierarchies: Europe and its others, West and non-West, or people with history and people without history. Through their gaze, gridding, and architectures the sciences have spatialized and produced the world we inhabit. And, indeed this is perhaps the crucial issue: maps provide the very conditions of possibility for the worlds we inhabit and the subjects we become. (Pickles 2003, 4-5)

This can be related to the previous discussion which explored the status of museums as themselves "part of the visualizing technology" of idea formation (Macdonald 1996, 7). Pickles' suggestion here is that mapping never stays at the "mere" level of representation, but also produces the world and has real world effects for the human state of being-in-the-world, determining the structures and potentials for agency with which we live. This is at its most obvious in understanding the conditions of possibility and agency of people whose mobility is restricted because of poverty, visa restrictions or other political limitations. But it also holds true in terms of the cartography embodied in museum representations


1200
1300
1400
THE RISE OF GOTHIC
DEVOTION AND DISPLAY
CITYSCAPE AND VILLA
NOBLE LIVING

– and indeed in representations furnished by other institutions such as print, TV and news media – which constitute truth claims that are constitutive of social realities, howsoever contested they may be. As a blunt example, when an ethnography museum represents a particular people as subaltern and uncivilised, this may have a direct result in forming and reproducing social attitudes which contribute to and perpetuate inequalities. More broadly, as Robert Lumley notes, museums "map out geographies of taste and values" and function as a "means whereby societies represent their relationship to their own history and to that of other cultures" (Lumley 1988, 2).

The truth claims of museum representations are shored up by their apparently unbrookable legitimacy, their sponsorship by governmental funding structures, their appeal to an economy and a tradition of knowledge and the self-effacing "authorless authority" with which they make representations, often through objects which, because of their "authenticity", are made to stand as material evidence and literally objective proofs of one world view or another. As noted by Whitehead, "museum display has been traditionally presented as asocial and inhuman: this is to bolster the authoritative selection, narration and evaluation inherent within it by diminishing the sense of curatorial artifice. The seamlessness of museum display and its ostensible authorlessness help to naturalize the theories it embodies" (Whitehead 2009, 42). In a sense, the museum has traditionally endorsed the misleading view of itself as a mirror of external realities (the history or art, society, the past etc.) and has implicitly disavowed any reflection on the constructed nature of its representations or the coexistence of different, potentially contradictory worldviews. (In accounts of our case study work we will encounter new departures from this modus operandi in due course). But both map and museum are involved, as Hooper-Greenhill observes, in selecting "from the totality of the world those aspects that can serve to depict it through ordering, classifying and constructing pictures of 'reality'", and both are technologies of authority:

> Maps are official, legitimating documents. They, like modernist museums, have the authority of the official, the authenticated. They, like museums, are not neutral, may be inaccurate, may bear little relationship to territory – the concrete that they supposedly accurately reflect. Maps and museums both bring the world into an apparent single, rational framework, with unified, ordered, and assigned relationships between nature, the arts, and cultures. Museums, like maps, construct relationships, propose hierarchies, define territories, and present a view. Through those things that are made visible and those things that are left invisible, views and values are created. These values relate to spaces, objects and identities. (Hooper-Greenhill 2000, 18)

However, as Cosgrove notes, we must take great caution in engaging uncritically with cultural mappings:

> [Maps'] apparent stability and their aesthetics of closure and finality dissolve with but a little recognition of their partiality and provisionality, their embodiment of intention, their imaginative and creative capacities, their mythical qualities, their appeal to reverie, their ability to record and stimulate anxiety, their silences and powers of deception. (Cosgrove 1999, 2)

Paramount within our research is the understanding of museums as maps not in a metaphorical sense but in a literal one. This affirmation, however, requires some qualifications to explain the special characteristics of visitor engagement, which is ontologically different from "map reading" in the conventional, vernacular sense. As Whitehead (2011) notes, the museum is articulated in the physical space of architecture, often in different rooms and on different floors, "so that one cannot, with the same rapidity, in a single spreading gaze, survey the world shown on the map". Meanwhile, the visitor must normally engage in locomotion, involving a form of attention in which cumulative encounters are more significant and productive of meaning, leading also to a difference in durational experience. The scopic regime of the museum is also unique, for "the world is (largely) seen at the eye-height of an able-bodied adult human and not at god-height, where the particles of the world are revealed only incrementally and not all at once" (ibid, 107).

→ DISPLAYS AS "MORE THAN TEXTUAL"

One of the advantages of understanding museums as maps is in providing a counterpoint to more conventional descriptions and analyses of display as textual in the literal sense of the text as a verbal entity which can be "read" as though it were homologous with a written-language text. This "textual" tradition can be exemplified through the writings of theorists and practitioners such as Robert Storr and Mieke Bal. Storr notes that:

> Galleries are paragraphs, the walls and formal subdivisions of the floors are sentences, clusters of works are clauses, and individual works, in varying degree, operate as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and often as more than one of these functions according to their context. (Storr 2006, 23)

Meanwhile, Bal accounts for her method of analyzing display as follows:

> Connections between things are syntactical; they produce, so to speak, sentences conveying propositions… [I] analyze these connections with the help of the fundamental notion that exposition as display is a particular kind of speech act. It is a specific integration of constative speech acts building up a narrative discourse. (Bal 1996, 87-88)

These approaches are helpful in emphasizing the authored (and hence constructed) nature of museum representations and in denaturalizing their truth claims. However, as accounts of the ways in which display, and engagements with displays, work they are only partial in their utility, for the following reasons. Firstly, in our view they overemphasize the role of narrative within display, for where an analogy or homology is suggested between the museum as text and the written (verbal) text there ensues a tendency to try to decode museums on the terms of text, in other words to seek a relatively unified "story", in however abstract a form. We do not suggest that narrative is unimportant in museum display – far from it. But to concentrate on narrative is to devalue other communicative elements within the display, some of which may be in contradiction with one another. It also accounts badly for non-linear communicative flows and itineraries in museums, where there is no set visitor route, or were

the prescribed route is not observed. Secondly, textual approaches of this kind are insufficiently attentive to the sensory and affective dimensions of display and visiting, not least the scopic set-up and experience of displays, which defies the linearity of textual understandings (where, as it were, one word comes after another). We contend that the ways in which locomotion, vision, cognition and being in space feel, and can signify, are very different from those offered by strictly textual translations or accounts of display. These are problems which have been identified beyond the realm of Museum Studies in recent scholarly work bearing on the "Sensual Turn" (Howes 2004) and in theories of affect and the non-representational (Thrift 2007; Lorimer 2008). These dimensions of display, it is acknowledged, are particularly difficult, if not ultimately impossible, to "translate" in the context of analysis. But it can be suggested that the understanding of the museum as a map involves closer attentiveness to the particular physical ontology of display as a form of representation, enabling more nuanced analysis; in addition to this in future stages of the research we will develop video methodologies to complement the graphic and textual analysis of display; this will be explored and presented in a future RF01 publication.

To summarize, while display has been conventionally "deciphered" through textual understandings, for the purposes of this research we are seeking to augment this through:

- the representation of the locomotive-scopic ordering of experience (the spatial representation of knowledge and the imagined or real visitor's movement through this spatial representation) via film footage of specific *itineraries*;[2]

- the representation of knowledge relations through *mapping*, which shares technologies with, and may be considered to be homologous with, display. Our use of mapping as a method of analysis is intended to be attentive to the cartographical operation of museums.

Through these methods we seek to overcome some of the limitations of textual analysis, while recognising that all attempts to translate the meanings and experience of display into other forms will inevitably involve limitations and specific inflections.

→ CARTOGRAPHICAL TECHNIQUES IN MUSEUMS

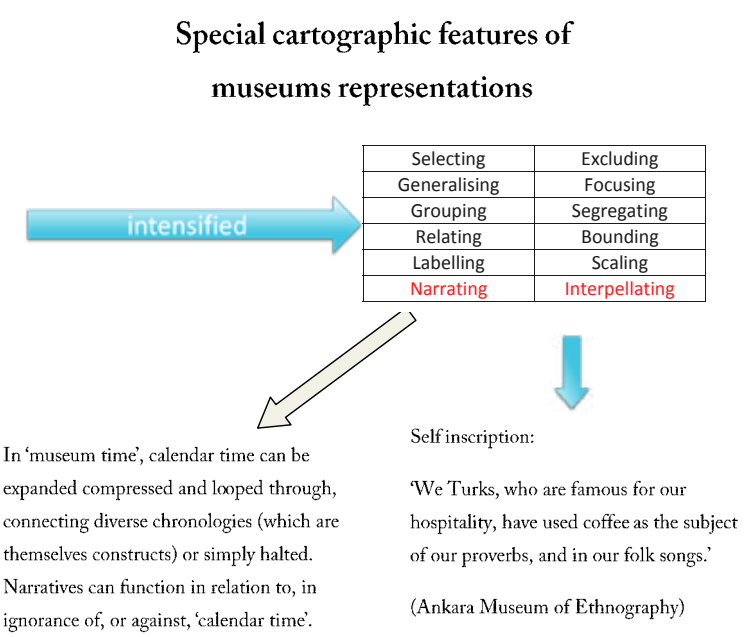
Analysing museum displays as maps involves attending to the way in which cultural objects of all kinds are organized through cartographical techniques including:

Selecting	Excluding
Generalising	Focusing
Grouping	Segregating
Relating	Bounding
Labelling	Scaling

2 A "route" which is at once perambulatory – in requiring visitor locomotion through museum space – and intellectual, in affording a specific account of historical/cultural phenomena through the temporally-ordered encounter with cultural objects in space.

However, we suggest that the museum as map involves further techniques which, while possible in plane surface maps, are intensified because of the expressive potentials of display to construct narrative through orchestrating seriated encounters between visitors and information and because of the textual nature of some media within museums (e.g. wall labels and panels).

These cartographic techniques and the cultural objects of interest (from abstract ones like religion to concrete ones such as displayed artefacts) form an orientation for structured visiting, developing field notes in order to build graphic and textual accounts of the significations of museum displays. The "map" which emerges from analyzing the display in this way is itself amenable to graphic representation which forms the basis of textual commentary and discussion. The following, pertaining to the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara [img. 06], is a basic example of this kind of graphic rendering of museum representations.



IMG. 04 — *Special Cartographic Features of Museum Representations.*

It should be noted that this graphic rendering of the museum as map (in some ways a kind of map of a map) is not intended to replace textual commentary, but rather to diversify and enrich the analytical means at our disposal. As argued above, textual analysis taken alone is insufficient in providing sophisticated understandings of museum representations, but it is not redundant and functions within a mixed-methods approach which, as stated, will include also video methodologies to be explored in future publications.

However, for now it is worth giving as an example the kind of worksheet which structures our visits and which highlights the cartographical

IMG. 05 — *View inside the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.*

workings of the museum. It is in a sense a fortuitous coincidence that we approach the museum as a cartographic technology, when cartography is so frequently associated primarily with geography and where our own research interests concern the indexing of place and/or people's (or peoples') movements from, through and to place. But it is necessary to stress again that museum cartography is about more than just geographical places, in that it spatializes other dimensions too: primarily those of time (chronology), knowledge and affect. Indeed, one of the contentions of our research is that in museum representations these dimensions are inextricably linked to the strict geographical dimension.

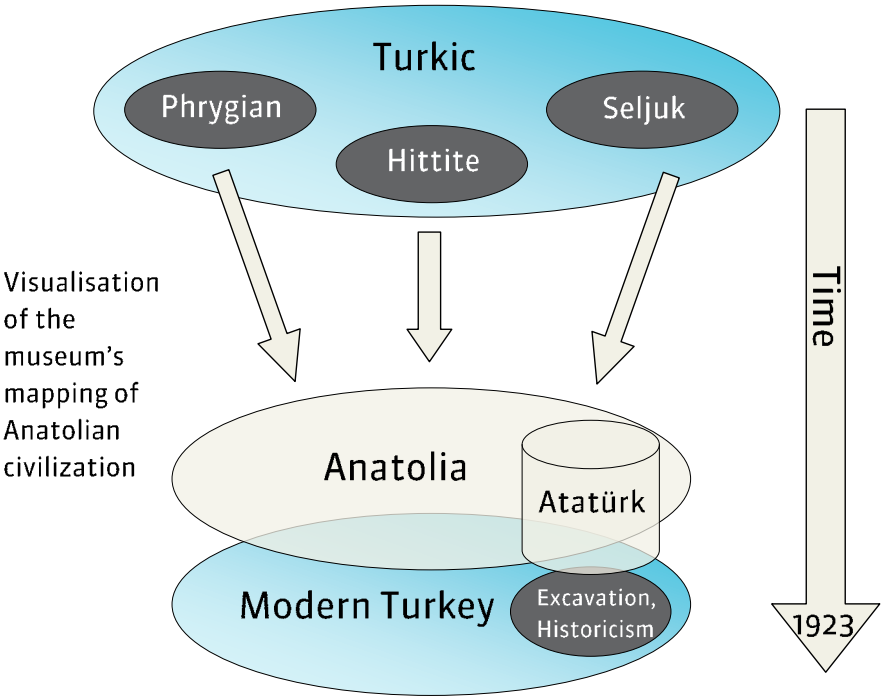
The analysis also proceeds on a semi-grounded basis. This means that we will be actively "reading for" certain themes, accounts and stories (namely those which are of relevance to our WP, such as "place"; "identity"; "mobility" etc.), while being attentive to competing aspects of lesser interest to our research. This recognises the inevitability of "reading for" specific kinds of data within the framework of qualitative and subjective research and the ineluctable cultural situation of the researcher, not least as someone undertaking a pre-specified task with its own history and culture, and bringing to bear upon it her/his cultural competencies, capital, skills and experiences.

In analyzing a museum display we ask:

- → Is place represented as significant?
- → If so, how, and in relation to what chronologies/periods?
- → What use does the museum itself make of (conventional) cartographic representations?
- → What cultural objects are selected to represent place?

IMG. 06 — *Visualization of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations of Ankara's mapping of Anatolian civilization.*

Example of Epistemological Mapping



Commentary

The museum charts the ingress of different peoples in antiquity (Phrygian, Hittite, etc.) with a strong emphasis on places (there are lots of maps) and also places as sites of excavations; they are thus doubled as cultural objects: the sites are not just places of past cultures but also places which signify the respect for, inquiry into and marshalling of, a territorial past. The museum works up until the date of 1923 – the founding of the Republic of Turkey – the moment in which the past is 'fixed'. Even if excavations continue after this date, it is then that the historical gaze is established.

The figure of Kemal Atatürk is prominent on high – he is shown above the excavated artefacts in the form of flags or photographs of Ataturk himself, for example visiting archaeological sites. He legitimizes the historicizing gaze; indeed this recognition and valorization of the past is one of the characteristics of the modernity he sought to establish. Atatürk provides the impulse for surveying the past, promoting archaeology as a *modern* practice and seeking to incorporate pre-Turkish Anatolian peoples into Turkish lineage and identity (Özdağan 1998).

- How are cultural objects:
  - grouped;
  - related to one another;
  - segregated from one another;
  - scaled?[3]
- What prominence/intensity is given to cultural objects?
- What borders, boundaries and confines are observed (geographical, chronological, cultural, political etc)?
- How are people and peoples represented as:
  - inhabiting place;
  - moving to place;
  - moving through place;
  - moving within place;
  - moving from place.
- How is the visitor addressed/prompted to inscribe herself?
- What knowledges and narratives are employed? How are these organised into recognisable itineraries?

In a final point about the theoretical foundations of this method we should stress that, as is clear from the above worksheet, it is inherently qualitative in its organisation. It encourages an impressionistic response to display, based on the position that other forms of analysis are less reliable to the point of being misleading. For example, it would be possible to quantify the incidence of key terms within the textual element of displays (e.g. "migration", "assimilation" etc), to count the objects which are made to relate to a specific theme or to measure the apportionment of display space in square metres. These however, would be crude measures likely to obscure aspects of signification within displays – they are rendered nonsensical and misleading if just one "landmark" exhibit is made to dominate through its positioning, lighting etc. The method also recognizes the primary importance of subjectivity within the museum experience, comprising not only cognitive but affective dimensions.

3 Scaling can be understood in multiple ways, for example in the literal scale of the interpretational apparatus around a given cultural object, or its more or less centralised position within the visitor itinerary, such that it takes on more or less significance within the imagined visitor's engagement; or in the way in which it is lighted or indeed reproduced (e.g. in posters, postcards, logos etc).

Key Themes and Future Research

Kingdom of the Scots

Cluster 1: Placing the Nation

Introductory Orientations

As noted in the section "Understanding Migration in Museums", this cluster focuses on museums in European countries which make an institutional claim to represent the nation in some form or another. Specifically, this cluster concentrates on museums in locations where the political conception of the nation and its identity has recently (from the twentieth century onwards) become more strongly articulated based on a political imperative. This includes locations where there has been political transformation at the state level (typically devolved government or regional autonomy) and the subsequent re-articulation of national identity (including that expressed within museums) combines geographic, historical and cultural sense of place and individual identity within the nation. In this respect, this cluster is concerned with museums in the following contexts:

- *Stateless nations and autonomous communities* – nations or regions with a strong sense of distinct cultural identity which are situated within a broader unitary state framework which retains overall political power. Scotland in the UK and Catalonia in Spain are two examples of this [Img. in the previeous page]. In both cases, the level of political autonomy for Scotland and Catalonia has increased in recent times. Scotland gained greater political autonomy through the process of political devolution and the foundation of the Scottish Parliament in 1998. There will be a referendum on whether Scotland should be an independent nation distinct from the UK in 2014. Catalonia was previously an autonomous region in 1931 before this was revoked under the rule of General Franco. It was recognised again as an autonomous community in 1978. The national history museums in Scotland and Catalonia explicitly set out to tell the story of those countries and to make the case for the distinctiveness of the people's identities, cultures, and histories.

- *Post-independence nations* – nations nominally independent but militarily subsumed within larger, regional-bloc political entities which post-independence can be seen to be concerned with reasserting their own pre-occupation national identity through museums. Here

PREVIOUS PAGE — *National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.*

the emphasis is on rebuilding and rearticulating a sense of cultural and historical distinctiveness and autonomy. This may entail a reconstitution and reframing of the nation's museums or the creation of new institutions as can be seen in Eastern European countries following the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. Poland, for example, is creating a new Polish History Museum while in Estonia, there has been a long-standing proposal to create a new home for the country's National Museum. Whereas some recent literature about national museums has focused on transnational societal trends like migration which problematize national boundaries, post-independence nations remind us that the ability of museums to assert national identities remains important when thinking about Europe's museums.

→ *Nation building in the twentieth-century* – in most countries the ruling bodies of nation-states (in the form of the government or monarch) are closely involved in the creation and support of national museums. In some nation-states, representations of the nation may also be supported by military interests, particularly where the military plays a pronounced role in state affairs. Turkey's museums offer a fascinating example of these processes of deliberate and explicit nation-building from the foundation of the Republic in 1923. Turkey is also important for this study because it sits at the crossroads of East and West, Europe and Asia, Christianity and Islam and therefore occupies a particularly important space in debates about the nature of contemporary and historical European identity and culture. In terms of whether Turkey wants to be part of the EU and whether it will be allowed to join, the extent to which Turkey is understood – culturally, historically and politically – to share European heritage is a matter of considerable significance. For these reasons the way that museums in Turkey articulate the nation's histories is of particular interest. In Turkey where the military has intervened in matters of government and statehood, for example in staging military coups, the role of military museums in telling a national story takes on special resonance. Military museums, more generally, represent a significant cultural space where accounts of the formation of the nation can be found. In addition, we also consider how similar processes of nation building may be said to be happening at the supranational level, for example, at the Parlementarium in Brussels.

→ *Divided nations* – In places where national territories have been divided and reconfigured by political boundaries museums find themselves required to tell complicated histories of shifting identities and cultures. When territorial borders are redrawn so too museum collections can find themselves divided while institutions may be duplicated on either side of the border. This leads to multiple, parallel, and possibly competing accounts about the nation's past, present and future. Questions may arise about which museums should rightfully tell which histories. If and when political reunification takes place, then collections may be similarly (re)united leading to a process of conceptual reframing or amalgamation. This can be seen in the case of the key state museums in Berlin [Img. 01].

IMG. 01 — *Museum of European Cultures, Berlin.*

→ *Migration as part of the nation's history* - migration is dealt with in all the clusters in different ways. Here the focus is on migration as it features historically and contemporaneously in relation to the nation's history or histories. Migration is always part of national narratives but the degree to which this is acknowledged varies considerably. Similarly, the way in which the relationship between migrants, their cultures, histories, and identities is articulated in relation to the host nation can be markedly different in terms of specific groups but also according to the time-period and museum-discipline in question. We consider the issue of migration in all of the case-study museums alongside several separate migration museums and displays like the ones in Paris, Barcelona, Bremerhaven and Genoa. Turkey is of interest again here because its emigrants are specifically represented in several of the other European museums visited as part of this study, most notably in Berlin and Amsterdam.

→ NATIONS AND MUSEUMS: ACROSS TIME AND SPACE

"National museums" can be understood in many different and contrasting ways both along the axis of history and geography as well as in terms of museum-disciplines and exhibitionary approaches. As Aronsson et al. argue: "National museums are the result of the negotiated logics between science and politics, universalism and particularism, difference and unity, change and continuity, materiality and imagination" (2011, 5). Recently

large-scale, comparative studies of museums like EUNAMUS and MeLa have begun to illuminate the extent of this variety in the European context (Knell et al. 2011). In some countries the term is understood simply to refer to those with state imprimatur and funding, for example in Italy where national museums may be small and provincial in purview rather than necessarily having any obligation to represent the wider nation; what have been called museums "for the nation" (Mason 2007). In many countries the national status of a museum derives from its possession of a collection considered to be of national importance (e.g. Taiwan) while in other countries (e.g. the UK) it is accepted that local and regional museums can also hold objects of national importance. In many cases national museums are those which can be understood to claim to specifically represent the nation's cultural identity and history in some form; these can be termed museums "of the nation" (Mason 2007). The disciplinary logics of national museums can also be framed quite differently according to various countries' own museological traditions which may exhibit transnational similarities and divergences. For example, clear parallels can be drawn between recent narrative-style national history museums in Scotland and Catalonia. Similarly, the national open-air museum in Wales at St Fagans was directly inspired by and modelled on Skansen Museum in Sweden (Mason 2005). By contrast, narrative history museums are not common in Italy or Greece. Here the exhibitionary logic underpinning displays of national heritage is frequently more object-driven, aesthetically oriented and underpinned by a notion of art and classical culture as the primary expression of national achievement. As the above suggests, a fixed and single definition of national museums is therefore neither desirable nor achievable. This is a point similarly stressed by other researchers on national museums (Knell et al. 2011).

> A philosophical position is adopted by the authors … that might contradict popular, professional and political understandings of the museum. Here the museum is not to be understood as a singular and particular readymade instrument that is then universally applied by cities, nations or communities. In every nation the museum has been adopted as a malleable technology that can be adjusted to local need. The museum developed as a European technology to serve European needs, including the negotiation and materialization of regional and national identities, and to establish societies based on knowledge, culture and education. Political, militaristic and economic challenges to these identities catalysed museum development and called for a range of museum responses. Museums continue to be shaped by local and momentary forces. (Knell et al. 2012, 7)

In view of this, we take a broad and inclusive approach by focusing on museums which seek to represent the nation in a variety of forms.

Furthermore, it is important not to project backwards contemporary Western European understandings of nationalism onto the history of national museums. Analysis of the development of museums in different European countries demonstrates that the relationship between museums and nations has not always been aligned in the way it would be commonly understood today (Prosler 1996). Collections and institutions formed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century predate ideas of

modern nationalism and so were not usually framed within the nationalist view in the sense most Western European citizens would now recognize (NMDC 2002, 6). Although museums like the British Museum founded in 1753 were described as being for the nation, the term "nation" was understood much more narrowly and their intellectual roots were in the Enlightenment. Museums formed before the advent of modern European nationalisms tended not to assume an automatic symmetry between power (which was at that point primarily monarchical), territory, material culture and people (Prosler 1996; Daugbjerg and Fibiger 2011). The shift towards understanding a national museum as representing a territory and people develops in Europe out of a modern nineteenth-century understanding of a nation as consisting of a unity between people and territory, out of the need to provide symbolic legitimacy for the new emerging sovereign power of the state, out of a concern to produce a national citizenry, and in response to an emerging concept of a bourgeois public sphere (Sutherland 2011; Bennett 1995; Macdonald 2003; Anderson 1983; Habermas 1991).

> Public museums, then, were from their beginnings embroiled in the attempt to culture a public and encourage people to imagine and experience themselves as members of an ordered but nevertheless sentimentalized nation-state. They invited people to conceptualise a sense of national or racial difference from others; and to experience their own worlds as relatively and reassuringly governed ones. They helped to convey senses of both stability and progress. They helped to instantiate a "scientific", "objective" way of seeing - a gaze which could "forget" its own positionedness. They helped to think identities as bounded and coherent. (Macdonald 2003, 5)

Even when given a national appellation museums and collections formed prior to the real flowering of European nationalism tended to be more universalist, encyclopaedic and interested in the rare, precious, and unusual rather than the nationally representative (Bennett 1995). It is in this pre-modern nationalist sense that the British Museum describes its institutional roots as being in the Enlightenment and in the encyclopaedic conception of the museum as a means to know the whole world rather than focus inwardly on the home nation (NMDC 2002). This does not negate the museum's later history and relationship with modern nationalism, colonialism and Empire. Nor does it preclude the need to engage with those today who criticize the museum from a postcolonial perspective. However, it does explain why the fit between what we now expect from a museum with a national title like the British Museum and what can be found there seems, to our modern eyes, to be at odds.

The overtly national frame of reference which can be found in many (although not all) European national museums came later during the nineteenth-century and always depends on the point at which the institutional remit was established, the dominant discourses of nationalism in operation in that country, the political context, and the disciplinary practices within institutions (Mason 2007). Earlier museum collections were refashioned accordingly where possible. For example, in the collecting history of the National Museum of Antiquities, Scotland, (est. 1780) which contributed some of the materials in the current-day Na-

tional Museum of Scotland, it is possible to observe a process of refining and narrowing of the collection of antiquities at the latter part of the nineteenth century to bring its Scottishness more sharply into view (Mason 2004). However, this process was far from uniform. In Germany, for example, where regional identity has historically been very strong Penny questions the dominant view of the development of national museums by arguing that the museums established there in the late-nineteenth century were often more interested in the cosmopolitan and local than the national (Penny 1999).

→ NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND NATION-BUILDING

Notwithstanding such variations, it is clear that from the late-nineteenth and throughout twentieth centuries an important remit of European public museums has been to represent the places, peoples and cultures in which they are located. Museums – both national and non – have been tasked with differentiating places and peoples from one another and to provide scientific evidence for claims of distinctiveness and cultural sophistication (Macdonald 2003; Davison 2001). This has been particularly important for those displays and institutions which are explicitly charged with representing the nation's history (Davison 2001). Since the creation of the first open-air museum in Sweden in the 1890s folk and open-air museums in many countries have been heavily identified with preserving the "authentic history" of the nation's people. This was especially so where processes of rapid industrialisation and modernisation were perceived to be bringing about the demise of traditional culture (Mason 2005).

Displays of national antiquities and archaeological heritage have also been seen as key bearers of the national history because they work to provide a deep and historic timeline for the nation's origin story (Crooke 2000). As Donald Preziosi puts it: "…we imagine ourselves to be what our historical relics can be read as implying we have long been in the process of becoming" (20011, 58). Natural history displays which identify the special characteristics of a given place (its flora, fauna and geological specificities) with a people again have been accorded significant responsibility for defining the national narrative and the uniqueness of a given place. Art museums too have played a crucial role in evidencing a nation's claim to be on a par with other comparable nations in terms of cultural achievement and in order to signal the perceived status of a given nation within a transnational or international narrative of art history (Duncan 1995). Art museums have traditionally operated in this way to stake a claim in the Western European canon of cultural progress, although in recent years there have been challenges to singular canonical accounts of art history and progress. More recently, it has become more common for some national museums to orchestrate the discrete elements of the nation's history into an overarching narrative format. While not represented in all countries, this genre is in evidence at the National Museum of Scotland and the Museum of Catalonia as well as in many other national museums created post 1980s worldwide (e.g. Taiwan, Hong Kong, Australia).

For all these reasons, national museums have traditionally been understood as important means of fostering a sense of collective identity, civic pride and shared public history, although as indicated above this has always been internally complicated by the histories of collections, vested interests, politics, and disciplinary priorities. Whether demonstrating the might of the monarch or the great achievements of the nation, museums have long been valued by those in power and concerned with matters of the state as primary sites for the presentation, communication and consolidation of purportedly shared notions of collective histories, cultures, and identities (McIntyre and Wehner 2001). In situations where groups seek to make a bid for, or to consolidate political power, museums have historically featured as an integral part of the nation-building process. Around the world it has been well-recognised that to influence, shape or control collective identity, requires access to the means by which a nation's historical consciousness is formed, disseminated, and legitimated. Typically, this means access to the traditional tools of nation-building, the education system, museums and the broader cultural heritage sector amongst others. In some cases the driving impetus for national museums has been closely linked to the development of capital cities and the emergence of a patron class, so that the interests of national governments and individual cities become intertwined (Macdonald 2003). Again, there is considerable variation in different countries due to the historical development of nation-states, their political configurations and the relationships between monarchies (former or current) and states. For example, in Germany due to the long history of separate states (*Länder*), each with their own capitals, museums were set up by individual monarchs and rulers of states prior to the existence of a unified nation-state in the late nineteenth-century (Eckersley 2012); a similar situation characterises Italy prior to Unification.

Historically, many national museums tended to represent the vested interest of political or cultural elites and therefore to produce and reproduce hegemonic notions of what counted as national culture and heritage. Even where the museum discourse was one of representing 'the people' and vernacular culture, as in the open-air museum movement from the 1890s onwards, it was European cultural elites who elevated and romanticised notions of specific aspects of rural and regional cultures as the "authentic national culture" at the expense of other national narratives (Lofgren 1989). Minority groups, histories of immigration and the less glorious aspects of national histories (the negative effects of colonialism or war) have traditionally been excluded from the narratives represented in national museums which reflected the dominant interests in society. In some stark cases museums were explicitly used to further the agenda of the most powerful in society to the deliberate detriment of specific ethnic groups. The Nazis, as is well documented, made explicit use of museums to promote their ideologies of National Socialism and anti-Semitism.

Another aspect which is well documented in the museological literature concerns the ways in which colonial powers used national museums to showcase the wealth that the home nations were accruing through their activities overseas and to promote the paternalistic idea that European nations were the most "civilised" and therefore best placed to take charge of land, resources and peoples in far-off colonies (Bennett 1995; see

also the section "Cluster 3: European Cities and Their 'Others' "). Belgium's Royal Museum for Central Africa (formerly the Congo Museum), founded by King Leopold of Belgium in 1898, was used to legitimise and justify Belgium's activities in the Congo when difficult questions where being raised about both the efficacy and appropriateness of such an arrangement (RMCA 2003, 11). For those peoples on the receiving end of Western European's colonial expansion, the vast treasures of the colonising countries' national museums cannot be separated from dark histories of exploitation and appropriation. It is important to recognise that European nations differ considerably in the scope and form of their colonial histories and this is reflected in their museums. Notwithstanding this, it is clear that in many European countries the national and the colonial are inextricably linked together in museums' histories and that this continues to have significant political repercussions today.

> … in a post-imperial era, when the colonisers are often on show to the formerly colonised, the museum becomes a prime site for a renegotiation of national identity. … the national museum remains a hot spot in both historical and national consciousness. And on no topic is the heat greater than on the history of colonisation and conquest itself. (Davison 2001, 12-13)

→ NATIONAL MUSEUMS: CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

It remains the case that most national museums are closely tied to state and governmental agendas and priorities through their funding and policy arrangements. National museums are often more directly governed than other kinds of local or private museums where funding is routed via other means or intermediate bodies. The exact nature of the arrangement and degree of a museum's independence depends considerably on how the museum sector has come to be managed and funded over time in specific national contexts. Museums continue to be expected to play an important role in society and to act in the national interest. However, the kinds of roles which national museums are expected to play have shifted in many Western European countries from being less about improvement, reform of manners, promotion of colonial values, and spiritual enlightenment to being more about fostering citizenship, social cohesion, national identity, multiculturalism, promotion of intercultural understanding, and in some cases cultural diplomacy (Bennett 1995; NMDC 2002). In addition, many museums are now viewed in terms of their potential to generate economic benefits associated with regeneration, cultural tourism, and the creative economies. Education arguably remains as important as it ever was but has undergone a shift from an overly didactic and paternalistic approach to a more self-directed, collaborative emphasis on learning.

Again different inflections of roles and priorities in European museums derive from the various national contexts within which museums are located (Eckersley 2008 and 2012). In the UK, since the 1990s museums have been explicitly encouraged and expected through policy and funding mechanisms to contribute to governmental priorities like social inclusion and, more recently, community cohesion. However, in Italy the instrumental agenda for museums is less explicitly defined, for the intrinsic benefits of simply showcasing culture are seen to be paramount. In Ger-

many, museums continue to be closely aligned to academic interests and place a high priority on research.

In the museological literature, the shift towards thinking more about the role of museums in societies and their political and ethical dimensions, rather than focusing on the technical nature of museum work has been termed "new museology" (Vergo 1989; Macdonald 2006; Message 2006). Much of the existing Anglophone literature associated with new museology has focused on the contestation over national histories in museums in countries outside of Europe with settler histories and displaced and oppressed indigenous peoples for example, in New Zealand, Australia, and North America (McIntyre and Wehner 2001; Luke 2002.) Many of the issues raised in the MeLa Project have direct resonances with innovation in museum practice which has been practised in these countries beyond Europe for some decades now. Although there are many parallels between the debates beyond Europe about the social role of museums with those now occurring in European countries, there are some important distinctions. For example, it is important not to simply superimpose discourses forged within the context of indigenous politics as a result of being on the receiving end of colonialism onto those countries which historically prosecuted and benefitted from colonial projects.

However, there are some shared museological concerns in evidence in many different countries around the world, often in response to what is described as the current state of "accelerated globalisation" (Isar et al. 2011, xxv) and the "age of migration" (Castles and Miller 2009). A recurrent question in the literature on these topics is whether nations should and will move away from homogenous, exclusive accounts of national identity and towards more pluralistic, inclusive accounts which can better recognise the multicultural and globalised nature of contemporary European societies. The implications for museums in this sense are whether they can and will reframe their traditional conceptions of the relations between peoples, places, cultures, histories and identities to recognise the changing nature of European societies. This challenge, it is argued, arises from many sources including from the consequences of the end of colonisation in former colonies and the subsequent move of peoples from colonies to the countries of the colonisers. It also comes from the much greater and more diverse flows of international migration generally and from broader societal trends associated with globalisation, cosmopolitanism, and the networked, digital society (Isar et al. 2011). At the same time as many writers have stressed there are equal pressures in the other directions which have led to a reinforcing of located, place-based identities (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007). One of the side-effects of certain aspects of globalisation has been to prompt groups and societies to stress their difference from others, particularly in the area of culture and heritage. This trend can be seen in the resurgence or development of local, regional, national and special interest-identities. Differentiation is further encouraged by national and international bodies under the banner of recognising and valuing cultural diversity. It is also a by-product of the economic imperative to develop heritage tourism because the tourist appeal of a particular place is premised on the promotion of local specificity and distinctiveness.

The extent and ways in which national governments and national museums around the world are inclined to respond to these different issues varies considerably and is underpinned by differing motivations. In parts of the world like Australia or New Zealand with a postcolonial, settler history, issues such as multiculturalism, migration and cultural pluralism have already been part of the public debates about museums and museum practice for some time (McIntyre and Wehner 2001; Witcomb 2003; Message 2006; McCarthy 2007 and 2011; Trinca 2007). In parts of Europe too, such issues have already been taken up by many museums and museum professionals in countries like Scandinavia and Germany (Sandahl 2002 and 2008; Hinz 2007; Beier-de-Haan 2007; Vanja and Tietmeyer 2009). Arguments for more diverse, pluralistic, and multicultural notions of national identity have also been made by pressure groups and the political left in relation to museums in the UK since the 1990s. The UK's role in the history of international slavery is now part of the national school curriculum and there exists a nationally funded museum about the Transatlantic Slave Trade in Liverpool, (although there is no longer a museum which specifically deals with Britain's colonial history).[1] By virtue of its being a world city, an institution like the Museum of London has also been working with issues of multiculturalism for many years. In Paris, evidence of the changing nature of French society can be found in the form of the new Cité de L'Immigration which sets out to represent the history of immigration in France. In Sweden, the Museum of World Culture based in Gothenberg, explicitly embraces the ideas of diversity, transnationalism and global politics, as does the Museum of European Cultures in Berlin. On another front, there is a strand of new museums dealing with transnational and global trends such as migration or European identity which might be understood to signal a move beyond the national frame of reference. Whether they do or not, in practice, is still a matter for debate (see Mason forthcoming). By contrast, as mentioned above, in some Eastern European countries the challenge is not so much to deconstruct the national narrative but to reconstruct it post-independence following the collapse of the USSR. Similarly, in some southern European countries many museums still take a more traditional perspective, demonstrating less interest in issues of globalisation, multiculturalism and migration.

Against this backdrop international non-governmental organisations such as ICOM, UNESCO, and the EU have been promoting museums as valuable spaces for intercultural dialogue and cross-cultural understanding. At the same time, since 9/11 public and governmental concerns over global terrorism, domestic security, and religious extremism have also been raising questions around national identity, social cohesion, citizenship, belonging and shared cultural heritage. In some cases, this may create renewed political impetus for more homogenous, unifying narratives of national identity in an attempt to bind populations together for the purposes of social cohesion. Whether this is desirable, advisable or even achievable is beyond the scope of this piece but also part of this broader context of this project's interest in museums within contemporary Europe.

1 Britain did have an Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol which opened in 2000 but this has recently closed.

IMG. 02 — *Museum of World Culture, Gothenburg Sweden.*

For all these reasons it is complex and fraught with difficulties to try and generalise too far about the situation in European national museums. With this in mind, we have not attempted to provide a representative sample but to identify a key number of cases which illuminate some of the key problematics faced if, and when, museums rethink the relationships between people, places cultures, histories and identities in contemporary societies.

Cluster 2: Peoples, Borders, Movements

This cluster concentrates on museums in locations and about peoples that have been subject to significant change and movement in terms of population shift, political border change and mobilities within groups of people as well as individuals. The timespan includes recent representations of major historical 20th century impulses for such change as well as more fluid contemporary mobilities.

Traditionally museums have developed their understandings of their collections, their presentations of objects, people(s) and histories from a place-bounded approach, in other words in relation to the locations within which they sit, from which their collections originate, and from place-based framings of the events arising within and individuals who inhabited those locations (see also the section "Cluster 1: Placing the Nation"). However, these traditional approaches have been challenged more recently, by a series of complex, interwoven developments within contemporary society, which have influenced and altered the ways in which museums present themselves as well as histories and stories of migration and mobility.

Where does this challenge arise from? The dynamism of social change across Europe and globally, as a result of postcolonialism, border change and population movements (both in terms of migration and mobilities), the resulting diasporas and diversified communities, transnationalism, multiculturalism, and the layering of multiple identities has enabled new understandings of social differentiation and social constancy to develop. One of a number of key issues within this social differentiation of relevance to this cluster is in terms of people's ability (or inability) to move or migrate from one place to another. This is dependent on different factors such as financial status, for example to fund the cost of travel, or to provide evidence to an immigration or visa enforcement official that the potential migrants are themselves financially solvent, or are supported by individuals who are. The vagaries of immigration and nationality laws, and the impact of these on an individual's ability to travel freely into and around Europe is another important point, as is the nature of the borders to be crossed, both around, and within contemporary Europe as well as

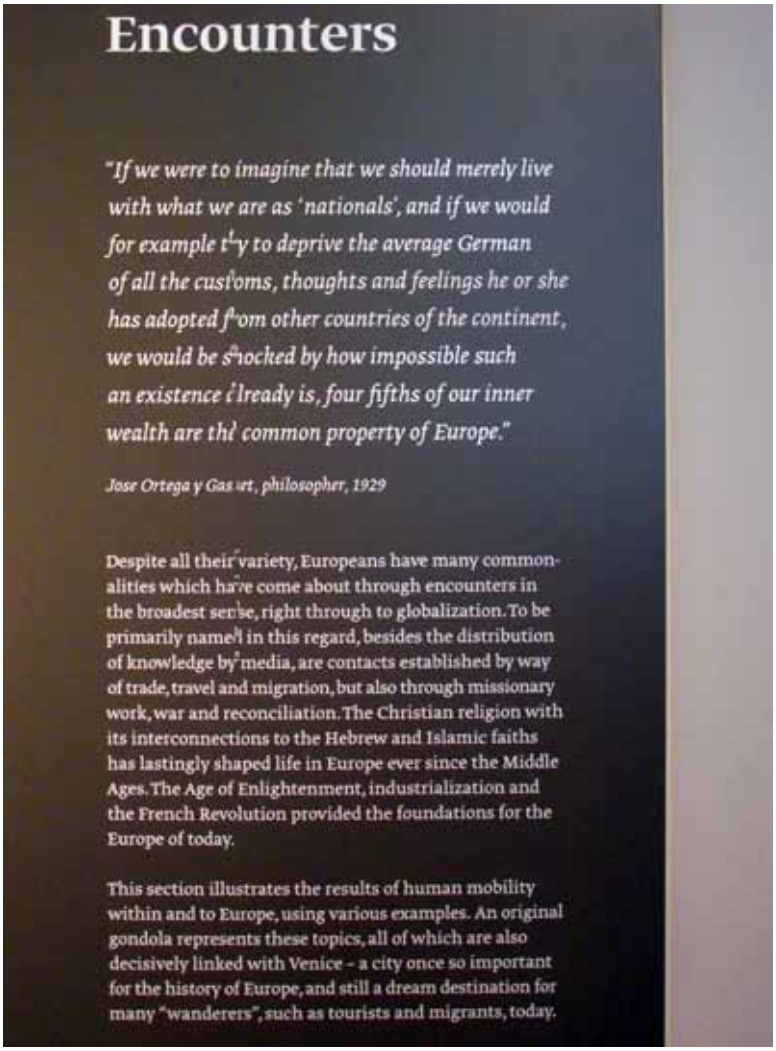
PREVIOUS PAGE — *German Historical Museum, Berlin.*

at various points in European history. How and why do museums across Europe, which may be within or representing places and people affected by such social differentiation and by the challenges of dynamic social change respond to these challenges? Are there museums which have not responded to these challenges (yet), and why not? Should museums even be expected to address such social issues? Is an expectation that perhaps they should, an intellectual and ethical position which is not universal across Europe? What problems can attempts to address these challenges throw up both for museums themselves, but also for society?

In exploring museum responses, an understanding of what we mean by the concepts of *peoples, borders and movements* in relation to museums is integral to the analysis.

Peoples: this is a term defined differently at various time periods and depending on the over-riding social and political terminology of the culture giving the definition, and is often used interchangeably with the term ethnos or ethnic group. It can be used variously to delineate human beings into groups based on the following, in either isolation or combination: ethnic origins and identity; geographic origins; nationality and national identity; religious affiliation; linguistic traditions and language use; cultural traditions and heritage; racial characteristics or perceived characteristics; mode of transport (i.e. "boat people"); manner of making a living (agricultural, industrial, business etc); etc. Such terms have frequently been used in a pejorative and divisive manner, to assert the superiority of one "people" over another, a history which can be seen in many museums, either through their exposure and analysis of this history in relation to particular groups (such as within Jewish Museums) or in museums whose past collecting and exhibiting policies are tied up in this aspect of history (for example, the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren outside Brussels), and where renovation and redisplay in accordance with contemporary ideas has not yet taken place. Recent reinterpretations of ethnographic or ethnology collections, such as the Museum of European Cultures, Berlin, attempt to provide displays which present both a more inclusive attitude and to provide a greater awareness of similarity within diversity [Img. 01].

Borders: While this term may at first appear to be self-limiting, as one is either on one side of a border or the other, understandings of physical, geographic, and political borders and their roles are dependent on different expectations that have grown out of diverse experiences of borders internationally. For example, although the borders within the nations of the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have changed through history, the external borders (at least of Great Britain) are fixed by the natural and geographic boundary of the coastline. The historical experience of countries such as Germany or Poland, where land borders have shifted frequently and significantly, either by peaceful or forceful means, throughout their history, is entirely different and will therefore have had a very different impact on cultural, social and academic understandings of the meaning of the term "border", and of related terms such as "borderlands". The representations of these topics within museums in locations such as Edinburgh and Berlin, or Silesia will therefore be framed by an entirely different understanding and expectation of



IMG. 01 — *'Encounters' information panel from the Museum of European Cultures, Berlin.*

what a border stands for. The National Museum of Scotland, for example, takes borders as a frame of reference for a positive sense of unified national Scottish identity, while in Berlin (in various museums, including the German Historical Museum, the GDR Museum, the Museum at Checkpoint Charlie) the border is an embodiment difficult national history, characterised at different points by the nationalist *Volkisch* ideology of the National Socialists, the East German Communist regime, both of which included the repression of otherness, the imprisonment, deportation or extermination of perceived outsiders and the strict control of movement within and across borders. At the same time within contemporary German society and German museums (such as the Silesian Museum in Görlitz), the idea of the border as representation of a potential crossing, transition or meeting point is seen as a highly positive symbol of a new supra-European identity (a concept which is common in Germany due to its national history, but more unusual within the UK).

Movements: By using the term movements, we are intentionally including both *migration* (as defined in the section "Museums and Migration") and the broader term *mobilities* (see Sheller and Urry 2000). This would therefore additionally encompass movements such as short-term and/or short-distance movements of people (perhaps for employment purposes) which are not normally included under a definition of migration. Sheller and Urry argue that: "social science has largely ignored or trivialised the importance of the systematic movements of people for work and family life, for leisure and pleasure, and for politics and protest" (Sheller and Urry 2000, 208) and that "new mobilities are bringing into being new surprising combinations of presence and absence as the new century chaotically unfolds" (ibid 222) [Img. 02]. Within the context of this cluster – peoples, borders, movements – it is anticipated that many of the museum representations of migration and movement are likely to vary in style and tone, depending on the causes of the migrations or the key impetus for a decision by an individual, family or larger group to leave their homes and try to begin new lives elsewhere. For example, the content in terms of objects, documentary evidence, personal testimonies, oral histories, as well as the emotive or factual content of interpretation and display techniques within museums will necessarily depend on the impetus for various types of movement, such as:

- → Displacement, forced expulsion and ethnic cleansing;
- → Military or paramilitary occupations;
- → Political exile due to political, religious and cultural beliefs or practices;
- → War and conflict within the home country or region;
- → Border change or regime change as a result of war, conflict or occupations;
- → Repressive regimes, including those which restrict the free movement of citizens within and from the country of residence;
- → Economic and labour migration from troubled regions;
- → Social migration, in other words to be close to family members, loved ones or friends.

Those individuals who come under the categories above may become either regular or irregular migrants (the latter indicating those lacking legal status in their host or transit country, either by entering the country illegally, or remaining beyond the terms of their visa; see the Institute of Migration's glossary of key terms) within their receiving society, and therefore become subject to varying constraints affecting their future lives.

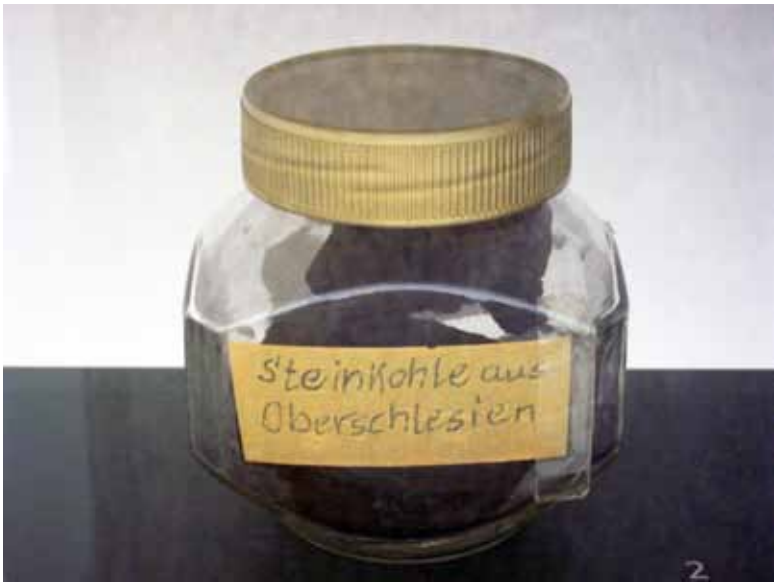
IMG. 02 — *Information panel from Museum of European Cultures, Berlin exploring issues of migration and mobility and their impact on diversity.*

→ THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF MIGRATION AND MUSEUMS

The difficulties encountered by both migrants and host societies in adapting to change as a result of migration and movement are often social and political flashpoints, which museums, if they chose to respond to migration, can either address or attempt to smooth over. Some of these flashpoints relate to problems which migrants may encounter, either due to the effects of their migrations upon themselves, or due to the racism, anti-immigration sentiment or a culture clash between the expectations of individuals as well as between originating and host societies. As an example, some of the most significant such issues include:

- → employment or benefit-receiving status;
- → legal and national status;
- → discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, ethnicity, traditions, language, immigrant status;
- → the after effects of loss and trauma;
- → changing family relationships and gender/individual roles in a new society;
- → changed social status.

Some of the key overlap between museum studies as both a practice and an academic discipline, and more traditional studies of migration and those affected by it is in relation to these more "problematic" issues. One example is memory studies research, in particular Hirsch 1996, Ball 2000, Rothberg 2009, Assmann and Conrad 2010, which has considerable relevance to any representation of migrants and their histories (which often include experiences of trauma and loss) and is therefore highly significant for both museum studies and museum practice. This is particularly true for Jewish Museums or museums such as the Silesian Museum, which cover issues of forced migration, and whose displays, interpretation and publicity are directed towards responding to a history that is both difficult to transmit and also still within the living memory and experience of potential visitors. The psychological significance of mementoes to displaced people [Img. 03], as "transitional objects" according to Parkin 1999, fits in not only with the museum's role as a depository of significant objects, but also with the observation that some of the objects on display in the Amsterdam Museum's display about the Atatürk guest workers' community in 1960s Amsterdam were apparently ordinary, mundane objects given on loan to the museum by migrants, but they were still of enough significance to the original owners, that they were only *loaned*, and not donated. Other examples of apparently ordinary objects becoming symbolic of a personal as well as wider history of migration include the permanent collection on display as "99x Neukölln" at the Museum Neukölln in Berlin. Here the deeper significance (both in personal and historical terms) of the objects is uncovered through the visitor's explorations into the interactive catalogue, which provides layered information on the object and donor's personal history as well as of their interconnection with international historical and contemporary developments [Img. 04]. Again, research from outside of the field of museum studies (Mouton and Pohl-McCormick 1999; Rylko-Bauer 2005) indicates the importance of personal as well as literary or traditional stories in the individual



IMG. 03 — *A jar of coal from Upper Silesia, as part of the exhibition displays on expulsion in the Silesian Museum, Görlitz.*

and social working through of experiences of migration, trauma and displacement, trends which can be seen in the exhibition interpretations and display techniques of museums or temporary exhibitions relating to migration and movements, including the recent temporary exhibitions at the Silesian Museum ("Silesia after 1945" and "Routes into Uncertainty" both exhibited in 2012 [Imgs. 05-06]) which had a strong focus on individual stories and recollections, as opposed to the permanent exhibition which presented a more factual, documentary approach to the subject matter. Both the permanent and temporary exhibitions will have been faced with the same need to tread a fine line to try to present an unbiased, "neutral" view of the difficult history of forced migration and post-war expulsion, whether basing their displays on historically proven fact or on personal memories, stories and experiences.

Although museums have a responsibility to provide factual information as to the histories, objects and places they present, at the same time, many museums are able also to convey the more emotional, personal aspects of these histories, objects and places. In doing so, museums are often in a unique position to enable audiences to make linkages between the past with the present, the "big history" and the personal story, the near and the far away, with great success. In this way, museums are able to draw on and highlight some of the key commonalities that can be found across migrant groups and diasporas, namely the significance of often intangible issues such as a sense of belonging (Fortier 2000; Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran and Vieten 2006), trauma and loss, the sense of home and identities (Rapport and Dawson 1998; Kockel 2010; Duvendak 2011),

IMG. 04 — *Group of four images from Neukölln Museum's permanent exhibition and interactive catalogue (clockwise from top left):*

- View of a carved peach-stone on display.

- Description of the origins of the peach-stone amulet from the museum's interactive catalogue, carved by a political prisoner in Syria and given to his brother in Lebanon. The peach-stone amulet then accompanied the brother as a memento during his flight from Lebanon to Berlin-Neukölln.

- A deeper layer of interpretation relating to the peach-stone amulet from the interactive catalogue, describes the situation of the family during their time in exile in Lebanon from Syria.

- A yet further layer of interpretation describes the situation for asylum seekers in Germany from the 1950s to around 2008.

IMG. 05 — *View of audiovisuals within temporary exhibition 'Routes into Uncertainty' in the Silesian Museum, Görlitz.*

the intangible heritage of cultural traditions, all of which may be rooted in place (Williams, Patterson and Roggenbuck 1992; Casakin and Kreitler 2008; Easthope 2009). These commonalities are all too frequently undermined or ignored by the way in which much research on migration and migrants tends to be categorised, according to, for example: the national or ethnic background of the migrant and/or (hi)story represented; the geographic location of the sending or of the receiving state; the social, ethnic or legal category of the migrant (i.e. by gender, age, legal or illegal status, employment status, family situation, refugee or economic migrant status, race, religion or political affiliation).

IMG. 06 — *View of temporary exhibition 'Silesia after 1945' in the Silesian Museum, Görlitz.*

IMG. 07 — *'Rooted in Place' interpretation panel from the Museum of European Cultures, Berlin.*

As has been discussed in previous sections of this book, our interpretation and analysis of museums and migration also has significant overlap with studies on place and place identity (for example: Nora 1989; Brettell 2006; Dixon and Durrheim 2000 and 2004; Wallwork and Dixon 2004), which are more commonly categorised within the disciplines of geography or psychology than with museum studies, but which we consider to be integral to an understanding of museums and their interrelationship with, and presentations of, migration.

IMG. 08 — *Depiction of the 'Schneekoppe' mountain in Silesia on a cup and saucer in the Silesian Museum, Görlitz.*

→ HOW HAVE MUSEUMS RESPONDED (OR NOT RESPONDED) TO THESE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES?

As briefly introduced in the section "Understanding Migration in Museums", museums respond to the topic of migration in a variety of ways, often depending on the type of museum, and the museum's overriding mission and purpose in relation to the topic of migration and mobility [Imgs. 07-08].

1. Migration-specific museums

   The recent boom in migration-specific museums around Europe, includes many which have tried to integrate historical and contemporary movements of migrants to (and in some cases also from) the museum's home nation, region or city within the wider cultural, social, economic and political history of that "home". Museums such as the Cité National de l'Immigration in Paris have sparked or reignited discussions both at "home" (see in particular the special issue - number 59 - of Museum International from 2007, dedicated to the opening of the Cité), and across Europe as to the necessity for migration museums in other countries, as the diversity of their populations becomes more accepted and permanent. A number of these are calls for new national migration museums to be opened (Ohliger 2002; Eryilmaz 2007; Vereins Migrationsmuseum Schweiz 2007; IPPR 2009; Stevens 2009), while others debate existing museum practices related to migration, but not necessarily within migration-specific museums (for example: Hampe 2004; Hermansen and Møller 2007; Rocha-Trinidade, Beatriz and Monteiro 2007; Sebastian 2007; Vieira 2007; Goodnow, Lohman and Marfleet 2008; Chametzky 2008; Baur 2009 and 2010a; Duggan and Gandolfo 2011; Marselis 2011). This follows similar movements in the international museum field, notably with discussions of high profile migration museums in Australia and the USA. Detailed analysis of the US migration museum Ellis Island has been undertaken by Joachim Baur (2005a, 2005b, 2007 and 2010b) and of the challenge for Australian museums by Edmundson, Message and Frederick (2009), but it is also worth noting the work by others on less high-profile museums outside Europe (for example: Velasquez 2001; Hutchison 2009; Abram 2007; Farrell and Medvedeva 2010).

2. Museums of specific population, religious or cultural groups

   Jewish museums such as the Jewish Museum Berlin, obviously highlight the specific history and individual stories of migration that are an integral part of the history and experience of Jewish populations within Europe, in particular during the 20th century and as part of the Holocaust. Interestingly, the Jewish Museum Berlin also draws parallels between the historical treatment of and experiences of Jews within Germany and the contemporary history and experiences of Muslim (mainly Turkish) migrants in Germany today, creating perhaps unusual or unexpected juxtapositions (Chametzky 2008) of different communities at different periods of time in order to highlight

the commonalities of experience and engender empathy between groups.

The difficulties and debates encountered and engendered by a number of individual museums and exhibitions internationally which relate to or include representations of other minority, diaspora, migrant or mobile communities, while not necessarily forming part of the detailed case study examination being undertaken for this research, also provide valuable insights. A wide range of international examples and analyses of the difficulties encountered are presented in: Trumpener 1992; Price and Price 1995; Hilden 2000; Rogoff 2002; Stewardt 2004; Witz and Raassool 2006; Mgijima and Buthelezi 2006; Abram 2007; Witcomb 2009; Ang 2009; Farrago and Preziosi 2009; Peralta 2009; Jäppinen 2010.

3. Museums on specific geo-political places, migrations and/or communities

Museums of this type are often closely associated with a specific place, or aspect of migration or community history, and as such, have strong ties to the issue of identities - layering place identities, community, ethnic or national identities, with the political events surrounding each specific migration. Audiences to such museums are likely to be made up of individuals with a direct experience of the specific migratory event, the place or with the people who migrated.

IMG. 09 — *View of digital map from the Silesian Museum, Görlitz, depicting the area of Silesia (in darker tones) laid over the current borders of Germany (blue) , Poland (yellow-orange) and the Czech Republic (green).*

In other words, the migrants themselves, their family members and descendants (depending on the length of time which has passed since the migration took place) and so can constitute a form of "return" or quasi-return to the place of origin. In some cases the museum, such as the Silesian Museum in Görlitz, may "stand in for" the actual place of origin, by representing a place which is no longer within the national boundaries of Germany, and therefore has become "foreign" or "other" to those expelled and their descendants [Img. 09]. There is also a sense of "pilgrimage" to a museum representing such a place, or the history of a community which no longer exists in that form, for example the frequency of American visitors returning to their "roots" in Ireland or Scotland. As Lambkin (2008) describes, such visitors may find a museum provides them with a sense of belonging or of their origins, even where it may be a museum commemorating the birthplace of a significant literary or historical figure rather than with any tangible connection to their own family, or more generic representation of the history of a now-lost way of life or of the events leading to a major migration (such as the emigrations which followed the Highland clearances, or Irish potato famine). In such situations, the emotional value of the museum appears to be of as much, or even more significance to visitors with a personal sense of connection to the past presented in it, than the details of the history itself. In this way, the visitor experience of museums responding to migration in this manner is likely to be quite varied, depending on the personal history and emotional "starting point" of different visitors.

IMG. 10 — *Exterior view of the Military History Museum, Dresden, with Daniel Libeskind's addition.*

4. Military history museums

Military history museums may not always be the most obvious institutions within which to look for topics of migration, yet it is vital to bear in mind that many forms of migration, whether forced or voluntary, are caused in one way or another, by a conflict situation or military presence. The way in which such migrations are addressed in these museums is interesting in itself, for what it says about the ethos of the military in question, in relation to potentially difficult aspects of their involvement in historical population movements. For example, in the Military History Museum in Dresden [Img. 10], various issues of relevance to this cluster are addressed alongside the more traditional presentations of militaria, key figures and events within German military history etc. In this museum, major historical issues, including: the division of Germany and the military's involvement in enforcing it; the role of the German military in occupations during the National Socialist period; and the impact of other militaries on the German population (including the expulsion of Germans from East of the Oder-Neisse line from 1945 onwards, the role of the Soviet military in the GDR, and the other allies' military presences in West Germany). It also includes more recent German military involvement in international situations, such as the former Yugoslavia, Iraq and Afghanistan, which have had an impact on international migration in recent years. The history of Germany potentially makes this museum unique amongst military history museums, in that an ambivalence to the power of the military is embedded into the interpretation and presentation of the collections throughout, despite it being funded by and an integral part of the German Bundeswehr (the national military). The key ideas behind the museum, as expressed on the museum's website are that:

> We do not see our museum primarily as a technical history, but rather as a cultural history museum. It should inform people about our history, raise questions and offer various answers. A museum which aims to provide a critical debate without pathos and which is thought-provoking. (http://www.mhmbw.de/index.php/leitgedanken, my translation)

It will be of particular interest to analyse this museum's presentation of migrations in relation to those in other military history museums, such as the Istanbul Military Museum, where the predominance of "official history" makes for a different representation of the relationship between the military and difficult aspects of the past. This will be discussed in later RF01 publications.

5. Ethnographic museums

Museums of ethnography, or museums following the more recent trend towards re-interpreting and re-presenting such collections as museums of "world cultures" of "European cultures" etc. cross over into all of the three clusters of analysis being used in this research, due to their focus on ethnographies. In this way, the languages, cultures, traditions, etc. of various population groups, both historical and contemporary are analysed, with the current trend for re-ori-

IMG. 11 — *Display with a traditional costume from a pre-1945 minority community of German-speakers ('German language island') in Moravia in the Museum of European Cultures, Berlin.*

IMG. 12 — *Football shirts worn by German national team members with immigrant backgrounds, Mesut Özil and Fatmire 'Lira' Bajramaj on display in the Museum of European Cultures, Berlin.*

Football shirts of the German national men's and women's teams "No. 8 – Mesut Özil", "No. 19 – Fatmire 'Lira' Bajramaj".

2010; Germany; synthetic fibre, machine sewn; donated by the German Football Association (DFB)

Black and white are the two colours identifying the German national teams, and although the same of course also applies to the national colours of Germany, black, red and gold, these are kept quite small and only appear in thin stripes on the shirtfronts. The football players wear black shorts and white shirts at home matches. The shirts may be a national identification symbol, but have an international background nonetheless. They are distributed by a German manufacturer of sports equipment, but produced in Thailand, and some of their wearers not only have German roots: Mesut Özil is the child of Turkish immigrants and grew up in Gelsenkirchen, Fatmire 'Lira' Bajramaj came to Germany from Kosovo at the age of four. Both of them number amongst the players who represent Germany in international sports.

IMG. 13 — *Transcription of label describing the international nature of both the manufacture of football shirts and of the players who wear them. Museum of European Cultures, Berlin.*

enting these museums providing an indication of their attempts not only to distance themselves from past attitudes of "otherness", but also to address issues of relevance to contemporary societies, such as immigration, diversity, multiculturalism, changing demographics. Museums such as the relatively small Museum of European Cultures in Berlin combine both historical and contemporary collections, representing ethnic groups such as the German-language minority populations in Eastern Europe during the early part of the twentieth century [Img. 11], as well as the contemporary, diverse make-up of German society due to immigration in order to place the

continuing changes in the population of Germany into a positive, European context [Imgs. 12-13]. Again, as mentioned previously in relation to military history museums, the specific German context and an awareness of German history is embedded in the museum's ethos and interpretation, but this is done in a way which may not always be immediately apparent to non-Germans or those without a significant background knowledge of German history, culture and society. Again, in these cases there is overlap between questions of place and identities, in relation to the ways in which various ethnographic museums respond to migration and mobility.

→ INTEGRATING MIGRATION/MOBILITIES INTO MUSEUMS

It is of course, important to note (as discussed in the section "Understanding Migration in Museums") that almost all "types" of museum may include aspects of migration (particularly in relation to the broad cluster theme of peoples, borders, movements, but also overlapping into our other thematic clusters discussed in the sections "Cluster 1: Placing the Nation" and "Cluster 3: European Cities and Their 'Others'") within their collections, exhibitions and presentations. It is therefore important not to exclude other types of museums from the analysis, where the potential for relevant examples exists. National museums and history museums in general, while being examined in more detail in the section "Cluster 1: Placing the Nation", will also be analysed for this cluster, in as much as they contain displays or collection items of relevance to specific examples of migrations, such as the post-1945 expulsions of Germans from Poland, the Czech Republic, etc. or border change issues, population "transfers", etc. In the same way, city or regional museums may be of relevance to this cluster in specific cases, while also forming the key focus, for different reasons, of cluster 3 "European cities and their 'others'". In some instances, although it is expected that these may be relatively isolated cases of relevance to specific histories, open air museums, eco-, folk or *Heimat* museums may also provide useful examples of migration within museums, which may be referred to within the analysis. This is also the case for museums of transport, travel, or industry, where any appropriate and useful examples of responses to or the addressing of migration may be used as supporting information to the key analysis of the cluster.

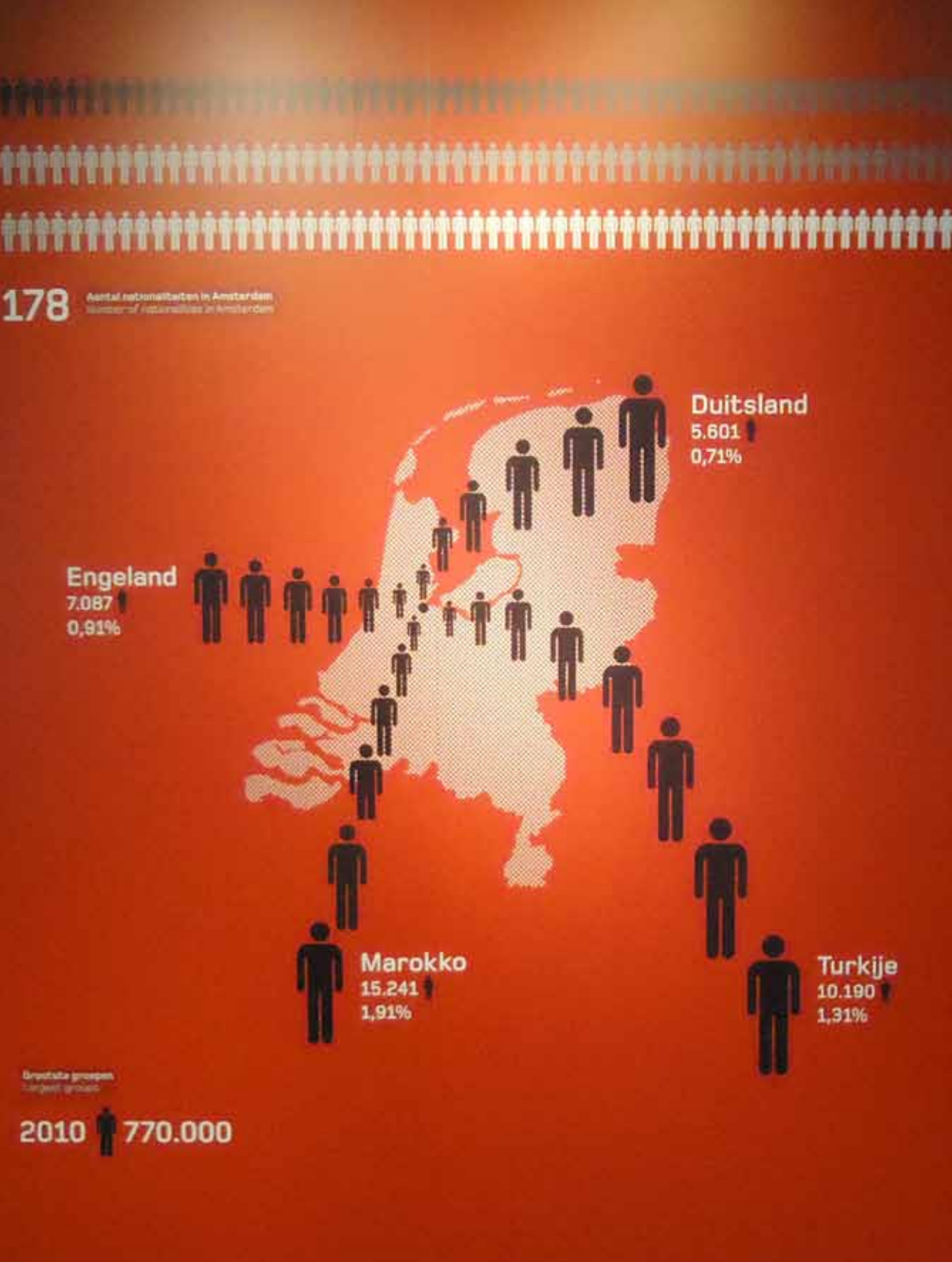
→ IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CLUSTER

There are a number of potential difficulties, challenges and problems which museums responding to migration, as organised under the cluster heading of "Peoples, Borders, Movements" are likely to encounter, and which will be explored further during the case study analyses to be presented in the third MeLa RF01 book publication. One of the key problems of museums which attempt to present themselves as addressing "migration" as a stand-alone topic (in other words, migration-specific museums, wherever they may be located) is that they are bound by a need to generalise in order to pull together the in actuality, quite diverse, strands of different migrations into a coherent narrative and visual presentation within the museum. This in turn is likely to propagate "fuzzy"

understandings of migration, migrants and the integral differences in experiences of migration. In the same way, the differences, but also the parallels between immigration and emigration are all too frequently neglected, one example of which would be the first iteration of the Deutsches Auswandererhaus, Bremerhaven, which presented only one community's experience of migration. In their recent redevelopment, the Deutsches Auswandererhaus has addressed precisely this criticism by adding a new section relating to immigration

Other museums responding to specific, particularly traumatic and politically motivated migrations, such as the Silesian Museum (and other museums on this topic), have to navigate the difficult waters of political and public controversy, and international diplomacy at the same time as attempting to address the more personal, emotional expectations of visitors with a personal connection to that history. Museums focussing on communities which cross international boundaries, for example, Jewish museums and Roma museums, as well as migration museums generally, are bound in part by the expectations of the nation within which they are located, but also have a duty to meet the diverse needs of community members, organisations or interest groups internationally, each of which may not necessarily be in harmony with one another.

In addition to these and other challenges which face museums responding to migration under the cluster heading "Peoples, Borders, Movements", one key question which remains is that of the significance of the target and actual audience. The potential diversity of audiences to such museums impacts on every aspect of the museum, including: the style of displays and interpretation; the objects that are chosen as being of particular significance; the language(s) chosen for the interpretation and publicity material; the level of sensitivity to religious or cultural expectations (for example in relation to respect for the dead); the need either for neutrality or for a particular standpoint to be taken.


178
Aantal nationaliteiten in Amsterdam
Duitsland
5.601
0,71%
Engeland
7.087
0,91%
Marokko
15.241
1,91%
Turkije
10.190
1,31%
Grootste groepen
2010
770.000

1989

Cluster 3: European Cities and Their "Others"

Introductory Orientations

As noted in the section "Understanding Migration in Museums" this cluster includes museums which are located within major European cities which have a historical connection to, and contemporary legacy of, colonialism, or state-sponsored programmes of immigration (in particular from outside of the Judeo-Christian world). In this context we focus on the cities' populations, museum representations (i.e. collections, displays, activities etc.) and audiences, and the articulations of "otherness", diversity, multiculturalism and, in general, the cultural significances of place which emerge from this. In particular, the cluster involves a primary focus on museums in London and Amsterdam – both cities which once formed hubs of empire and subsequently, after twentieth-century decolonization processes, became major centres within the "receiving states" in which peoples from the former colonies were able to settle as a consequence of legislation such as the British Nationality Act of 1948 in the UK or the various post-World War Two agreements between the Netherlands and its former colonies. In these contexts, significant numbers of British subjects (from the Indian subcontinent, from the Caribbean etc.) or Netherlandish subjects (from Surinam, the Netherlands Antilles etc.) entered the UK or the Netherlands respectively.

→ THE POSTCOLONIAL CITY

The term "postcolonial city" is normally used to denote cities (primarily capitals) within former colonies, such as Jakarta, and much literature exists that explores the social, architectural and urban structuring of such cities to understand the politics of relations between "native" and "European" settlements, often with emphases on segregation, spatial inequalities and the cultural domination of native peoples by the relevant colonial power (King 2009). But there is an additional, albeit less-frequent usage in which the term "postcolonial city" denotes the capital or major cities in *colonizing* countries: cities in which the colonial project was organized and in some way engineered. Here we can instance cities such as London,

PREVIOUS PAGE — *Wall display, Amsterdam Museum.*

Amsterdam, Paris, Brussels, Lisbon and Liverpool. In these cases, cities formed either the political centres of colonizing nations and/or locations of geo-strategic importance in the context of the international movement of goods and people, sometimes including slaves (as in the cases of Amsterdam and Liverpool). Inevitably, the historical and contemporary morphologies – the very fabric – of such cities are to some extent a product of imperialism and the social structures and wealth generated by the colonization of "other" places usually outside of what we now recognize as Europe (with the exception of Ireland, when understood as a historically colonized place). As Aldrich notes:

> Colonialists made great efforts to mark cities with signs of empire, the plaques and statues that sanctified great men (but only rarely great colonial women), the monuments that commemorated battles lost and won, the ministries from which imperial power reached to the moving frontiers of the known world, churches enshrining relics of martyrs of the faith, the remains of colonial exhibitions. (Aldrich 2010, 13)

But alongside these most visible vestiges of empire (of which the colonial ethnographic museum is another example) the city can be seen to be in some measure produced through the colonial project in a deeper sense, in that an active relation with colonies affected the conditions of its existence, its potentials for growth, the parameters of its population demographics, the psychologies of its inhabitants and its cultural horizons.

Another sense in which such cities count as "postcolonial" lies in the view that subsequent to the decolonization of former colonies, postcolonial immigration has had "major influences on the economy, society, culture, religion, politics, spatial and built environments, and also security, of the city, [bringing] to the global city a variety of vibrant postcolonial cosmopolitanisms specific to the city (and the state) where they exist" (King 2009). This has been the focus of considerable study in the context of literary studies bearing on "postcolonial" fiction (e.g. McLeod 2004; Ponzanesi and Merolla 2005). The postcolonial city (in the lesser-used sense adopted here of the city in the colonizing nation) is built on and from colonization and, in the post-decolonization context, bears and accommodates (not always easily) multiple place identities in which different, often physically remote geographical territories are inextricably related at cultural, imaginative, social and political levels. At the same time the postcolonial city brings into constant view not just geographical difference (between colonizing and colonized states) but also temporal differences (e.g. the freedoms now enjoyed by formerly colonized people within the colonizing state) and connections (e.g. persistent and new racisms, discrimination, inequality of opportunity) between the colonial "then" and the postcolonial "now":

> The postcolonial city can be said to generate not only multiple temporalities but also multiple spatialities. These extend to the real and the virtual space of the city and its inhabitants to other urban and rural locations worldwide. (King ibid)

It is this idea of the historically and geographically networked Western European city which interests us in the context of this cluster: a city

which has historically taken shape and been formed in relation to other, usually non-European, places which have normally been the object of a colonizing project. As Yeoh notes, cities within colonizing states and those within the respective colonized states are "umbilically connected in terms of economic linkages as well as cultural hybridization," and need to be understood "within a single 'postcolonial' framework of intertwining histories and relations" (Yeoh 2001). Clifford offers a similar understanding of the intertwined morphology of places, co-constituted by practices of travel and displacement:

> The region called "Europe" has been constantly remade, and traversed, by influences beyond its borders… And is not this interactive process relevant, in varying degrees, to any local, national, or regional domain? Virtually everywhere one looks, the processes of human movement and encounter are long-established and complex. Cultural centers, discrete regions and territories, do not exist prior to contacts, but are sustained through them, appropriating and disciplining the restless movement of people and things. (Clifford 1997, 3)

The question we may then pose is: How do European cities recognize and/or evoke their "others" in the context of museum display? There are additional questions pertaining to conferrals and experiences of place identity: in what ways, if at all, are "other" places (e.g. Trinidad) and the cultures associated with them assimilated or incorporated in representation into the identities of the "receiving state" (for example in celebrations of diversity such as the Notting Hill Carnival in London, which is associated with celebrations of Caribbean culture)? And how do individuals and groups negotiate place identities between ideas and notions of "homeland" and places of settlement, even in instances where people may have no direct experience of the "homeland" itself (e.g. by descendants of migrants) other than on symbolic levels?

In posing these questions we are not limiting our investigation to colonial relations between cities and other places in the strict sense. This allows us to recognize and explore other types of alterity as they come to be represented within museum spaces, for example in displays in the Copenhagen Museum's "Becoming a Copenhagener" gallery pertaining to Arab culture in the city, or in representations of the experiences of asylum seekers, or the influx of guest workers (for example from Turkey) into states such as Germany and the Netherlands. As noted in the context of the photoCLEC project, in the context of the study of representations of multiculturalism and alterity it can be misleading to focus only on the colonial past in a strict sense:

> Since the late 1970s, exhibition work in museums in the UK, the Netherlands and Norway has increasingly addressed multicultural audiences, representing cultural diversity on gallery walls and thereby expanding the territories of national belonging. These multicultural initiatives have not been responsive to the colonial past primarily, but focused instead on the processes of integration and assimilation of immigrants arriving either in the wake of

> decolonisation or as labour migrants. (Photoclec 2012)[1]

Indeed, in some senses, the experiences of colonial and non-colonial migrants (for example guest workers, who are economic migrants) may well be broadly comparable in relation to vectors such as deprivation, work and assimilation (Samers 2010, 13). Museums of different type which all deal with cultural difference – the colonial relations explored in the ethnographic museum or the cultural diversity accounted for in the city museum – may end up with a representational common denominator which is the imperative to account for the disadvantage to which people and peoples are subjected through situated historical and social processes. However, it is nevertheless important to be attentive to the different political issues at play in the particular context of postcolonial relations, whose specific dynamics involve complex admissions of culpability and recognitions of historical iniquity perpetrated against colonized peoples that are not distinct from situations of contemporary social and economic disadvantage in which ex-colonies and their peoples may find themselves. A further dimension of our work in this area is the need to attend to relational representations across museums: while our primary focus is on city museums there can often be relational representations between city museums and ethnographic museums. As an example, in attending to representations of Dutch colonial activity, including slavery, in the Amsterdam Museum, we need also to examine related representations at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam and at the Maritime Museum in the same city.

→ THE REFRAMING OF ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUMS IN EUROPE

Ethnographic museums (or former ethnographic museums with new epistemological inflections like Gothenberg's Museum of World Cultures or the Musèe du Quai Branly in Paris) have been the main foci in studies of the relations between museums in colonizing countries and the former colonies themselves. It is here that questions such as the following have been posed:

> What impact did the museums once have on colonial policy? What have these power relations meant for the interpretations of objects from the colonies and for the overall understanding of these cultures? What transformations of meaning are the artefacts subjected to when displayed in the West? How should museums exhibit such objects today? And in general, how ought the museums to address colonial history and its legacy? (Rogan 2004, 37)

As Rogan specifies, one of the reasons for such questioning is that it has dawned on museums (understood, it would seem, as agents composed of conglomerations of professional minds) that "they do not stand outside time and historical processes, as neutral recorders, but that they have been and still are committed participants" (ibid, 38). This is at its most obvious in instances where museums were established to act as a showcase for

1 http://photoclec.dmu.ac.uk/content/about.

colonial spoils and as an advertisement for the benefits both economic (for the colonizer) and civilizing (for the colonized) of colonial practice. In some cases, this representational force is built into the fabric of the museum, for example in the monumental sculptures in the entrance hall of the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren, showing scenes such as *La Belgique Apportant Le Bien-Être au Congo* through racialised personifications of the two territories which clearly signal the subalterity of the latter. In this sense the museum itself can be seen as a "tool of empire" (MacKenzie 2009, 7):

> The museum [in colonizing states] offered a public justification for expansion and the accommodation of nature and people's to its purposes. The museum was itself a machine for measuring the alleged achievements, or lack of them, of mankind. It was also a key "imperial archive", both three-dimensional and conventional, through specimens, objects and records. As such, it provided a constant updating of the natural and anthropological markers of colonial rule. In all these ways, it was intended to be a prime contributor to knowledge. It was a central part of the process of ordering the world, familiarizing and naturalizing the unknown as the known, bringing the remote and unfamiliar into concordance with the zone of prior knowledge, both geographically and intellectually. (ibid, 7-8)

MacKenzie has argued that it is important not to over-emphasise the instrumental identity of the museum because of "real-world" regulation such as state reluctance to fund museums or the lack of purchase of the museum project on the minds of some colonialist politicians, and that museums are not reducible, in their own complexity and in the complexity of their vicissitudes, to what Barringer calls "a metonym of the state itself" (ibid, 8; Barringer 1998, 17). Nevertheless, the agency of the museum within historical colonial power relations has produced a persistent negative stigma. Consequently, in the changed politics and moralities of modernity the morphological and ideological structuring of the colonial museum has in some cases been managed and operated on differently: firstly in order to acknowledge the iniquity which it both expresses and embodies; and, secondly, to negotiate (and thus also to construct and reproduce) collective senses of guilt at historical wrongdoings perpetrated by the colonizing ancestors of contemporary "indigenous" Western European peoples. This is done, for example, by revealing and implicitly critiquing the museum's own role within colonial power relations or by deconstructing historical museum representations which conferred subaltern status onto the colonized. Museums in this sense call into a play a "self-in history." For example, at the Tropenmuseum we read that "the development of the museum since it was founded at the end of the nineteenth century and the way the presentation of non-western cultures changed over the past century is a fascinating story in itself" (quoted in Thomas 2012, 8), a statement which calls into question the validity of museum truth claims over time. Meanwhile, the same museum also includes displays focusing on colonial collecting practices, the display and stereoptyping of colonized peoples (e.g. through crafted figurines) at popular exhibitions in the Netherlands and the documentation of anthropometric practices undertaken by colonial agents bespeaking forms of scientific racism. Similarly, one of the founding exhibitions at the Museum of

World Culture in Gothenberg was artist Fred Wilson's 2004 installation *Site unseen - Dwellings of the Demons* which operated as a critique of the historic premises and practices of the museum itself. The then Director Jette Sandahl stated in a press release that she had commissioned Wilson "to help us [to bring] our own specific demons out into the open since he is very skilled at demonstrating in an interesting and subtle way the pillar of colonial power, evolutionary assumptions, racism and sexism, built-in foundations that have faded into oblivion over the years. Not least for… museums themselves" (quoted in Mignolo 2011, 77).

Such critical interventions have meant the reframing of museum collections and displays so that they invite not a colonizers' gaze but a historicizising, postcolonial one (perhaps even a postcolonializing one), in which the economic and moral certainties of colonial projects are replaced, we would argue, by the uncertain affective and identity politics of guilt and the perceived, but as-yet un-articulated potential of using the museum to pose a symbolic and implicit apology to previously colonized peoples. Such reframing processes, which have not been without their critics (Thomas 2012), are ongoing at the time of writing, for example in the instance of one of our case study museums, the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren, just outside Brussels, which, in 2012, is due to close for a three-year renovation. As noted on its website:

> This renovation is urgently needed. The museum building dates from 1910. It still exudes a unique charm, but the infrastructure is no longer suited to the needs of a modern museum. The last major alterations date back to the 1958 World Exhibition in Brussels, more than 50 years ago now.
>
> The permanent exhibition has also become extremely dated, in sharp contrast with the temporary exhibitions which tend to concentrate on scientific research and the topicality of the collections. All in all it is high time for a drastic renovation and modernisation... The museum will be given a contemporary infrastructure and an entirely new and original narrative thread [original emphases]. (www.africamuseum.be/renovation)

Such reframings may seem more connected to the need to modernize physical infrastructure than the politics of representation. But firstly it needs to be acknowledged that the two cannot really be separated; and secondly, there is often an explicit sense that what is due for modernization is nothing less than the mission and political project of the museum, which cannot happen easily without a capital redevelopment and a thoroughgoing remarshaling of the collections according to much-changed ideological priorities. As quoted by Thomas in relation to the Royal Museum for Central Africa, "the permanent exhibition still reflects the way Europe regarded Africa in the nineteen-sixties," and this despite a "radically altered context not only in Africa but here [in Europe] as well" Thomas 2012, 8).

→ CITIES AND CITY MUSEUMS

While such ethnographic (or post-ethnographic) museums are inevitably situated in, or a little outside, major European cities such as capitals or

centres of high population (and immigrant) density, they rarely take the city or indeed even the "home nation" as their geo-political frame; rather, their frame is the colony or "other" place outwith and elsewhere. Our research in this cluster focuses on museum representations at the geo-political level of the city and thus involves a primary focus on city museums which are concerned with the morphology, histories and contemporary identities of the cities in which they are situated. In this context we are interested in cities as "nodes" – to draw on Voigt-Graf's 2004 adaptation of Castell's view of nodes as components of networks in a "space of flows" (Castells 1996, vol. 1, 410-18) – hometown, through-points and destinations – as places which are a home (in different ways) to people, however temporarily, and in relation to which identities are formed. For Voigt-Graf a node can be a "cultural hearth" where the culture of a group of migrants originally developed (although we would argue that in fact such locations can be hard to pin down in space and time as a result of historic and indeed prehistoric migrations), or the "destinations" in which migrants settle. Samers summarizes:

> Such nodes are part of networks or the trajectories of certain migrant groups that can span the globe, but… these "nodes" are also real and complex "places" (cities, towns, neighbourhoods, etc.) in which migrants grow up, work, find housing, face ethnic and racial discrimination, raise sons and daughters and build communities. (Samers 2010, 38-9)

This understanding of nodes is an illuminating way to conceptualize the metaphorical and literal place of cities within the space of flows of transnational migration and traffic – the traffic made up of people and objects and ideas in movement, both historically and in the present, but also in relation to places (like cities) where such entities have been *trafficked*. This, in turn leads us to new lines of enquiry about which actors are involved in the making or contesting of representations and who is empowered to do so under what circumstances and conditions. How, if at all, in Europe, do "non-indigenous" people such as migrants or descendants of migrants (leaving to one side the political and practical difficulties of any claim to indigenousness) "speak" within the postcolonial museum? Or are migrants "spoken for", and in which case, by whom (is it by the European, white, "native" majority?)? These questions can also be framed in relation to the much-used idea of the museum as "contact zone" first articulated by Pratt (1992, 6-7) and then taken up by Clifford (1997, 188-219) as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict". Pratt goes on, "a "contact" perspective emphasizies how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other," just as, we might observe, colonizing and colonized places are "constituted in and by their relations to each other" (Pratt 1992, 7; and Clifford 1997, 192). What then are the power geometries inherent in the museum as contact zone? And what form does "contact" actually take? (E.g. is it one-party's representation and cultural production of "others", or thoroughgoing constructive dialogue)?

When we think of museum representations of migration we also need to ask further questions. What are the differences between historical, pre-

modern mobilities and contemporary migrations? When do migrants whose journey is at an end stop being migrants? As posed in the section "Understanding Migration in Museums", are their children also migrants, even if their physical mobility is slight? When we think of migrant experiences, should we consider, distinguish between or conglomerate both "real" and "imaginative" migrations and relations between "homelands" and settlement destinations? What of the "myth of return" or the dream of assimilation and belonging in the (foreign) Western European city? What of migrant tourism to a "homeland"? Is the migrant who visits her "homeland" actually a tourist? What is the threshold between tourism and migrancy? What of the transnational rich – often perpetual migrants with immense wealth who settle in multiple cities simultaneously, free from any of the disadvantage usually associated with migrant communities? Should museums concerned with migration eschew representations of privilege amongst some migrant communities?

On a practical level we must also question and refine the ways in which we might talk of "city museums", to subsume institutions which set out to represent a geopolitical unit like London or Amsterdam (i.e. the Museum of London; the Amsterdam Museum), as well as those whose geopolitical frame is smaller (e.g. the neighborhood) but nevertheless falls within the urban context of the larger city, such as the Kreuzberg Museum in Berlin, situated in one of the main areas in Germany inhabited by people of Turkish origin. In each case – the city or the neighborhood within a city – the relatively small geographical focus of the museum transcends itself in attending to the transnational relations which produce the place whose cultures the museums map.

The city museum (in our expanded sense) is not a postcolonial museum in the same way that the reframed ethnographic museums discussed above are. Its focus tends to be on local place rather than on colonized places and colonial relations. But just as the city itself is a product of the colonial project, so the city museum has the opportunity if not the imperative to represent this. At the same time, it may represent population influx as a consequence of decolonization and the subsequent development of the city as a multicultural place, with cosmpolitanisms to celebrate and tensions and difficulties to explore. While the city museum is not a "weapon" of empire, to use MacKenzie's term (2009, 7), it nevertheless often seeks to address questions of otherness both in relation to strictly "postcolonial" migrants and in relation to other kind of migrants (e.g. guest-workers), frequently with a view to making sense of, and making a virtue of, the existence of different cultural groups as part of a discourse of civic richness where host and guest are ultimately (and ideally) folded into one another. We will explore, in due course, the possibilities of city museums for producing contrasting accounts of multiculturalism, such as the uneasy co-existence of different cultural and ethnic groups, the existence and persistence of racisms, disadvantage and so on; for just as ethnographic museums may recognize historical iniquities perpetrated against specific ethnic groups, so too the city museum can represent situated inequalities (for example the difficulties of being a person of Arab descent in Copenhagen), and both of these recognitions, as we will argue, work within an affective politics of "majority culpability." In this sense, the city museum cannot entirely be detached from other kinds of muse-

um which deal explicitly with the management of difference (notably the ethnographic museum, the maritime museum and the Jewish museum, all three of which, for example, figure in Amsterdam), meaning that we can and should see them relationally (as discussed in the section "Cluster 2: Peoples, Borders, Movements") both in terms of their operation and representational politics.

Future Directions for Research Field 01

This publication has introduced Research Field 1 of the MeLa project, providing a detailed account of the context for the research, the theoretical orientations and methodologies to be employed. This final section provides a brief account of future directions for RF01 research, focusing on:

- → the display analysis currently being undertaken at case study museums;
- → qualitative research into the views and attitudes of museum professionals and of their approaches to developing displays which focus on, or integrate, representations of migration;
- → visitor understandings and experiences of representations of migration in museums.

These foci will now be taken in turn.

→ DISPLAY ANALYSIS

Displays in the majority of the case study museums have now been identified and analysis of them is ongoing after extensive research visits. As discussed in the section "Methodologies and Their Theoretical Foundation", the display analysis takes the form of a multi-modal and multi-media translation of the representations of place-people-culture representations in museums with a particular focus on migration. This involves the production of graphic renderings of the displays, "walkthrough" films in which particular epistemological and physical itineraries are shown, and text commentaries of each of these. It should be noted that the display analysis itself works at different scales. It may focus on a small, individual display, such as the "Migrant Carousel" at the Amsterdam Museum – a circular display cabinet which showcases a number of individual migrant stories and the objects associated with them [Img. in the previous page] – or, more exceptionally, it may focus on "whole-museum" representation, taking in all of the displays, as at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (see the section "Methodologies and Their Theoretical Foundation").

PREVIOUS PAGE — *Migration Carousel, Amsterdam Musem.*

However, given the in-depth nature of the display analysis methods and the vast size of some of the case study museums, most of the analyses we will provide will be partial, seeking to account for small components within the overall cultural map embodied by the museum. We will nevertheless contextualize the analyses in relation both to the museum taken as a whole and to relevant other museums and their representations, as noted in our discussion of relational analysis (see the section "Methodologies and Their Theoretical Foundation").

The display analysis is also attentive to themes which are articulated over different areas of a given museum. For example, at the Amsterdam Museum the theme of *tolerance* is developed over several sections of the museum which are not always physically contiguous. In this context, we are able to use edited film footage as a way to capture such thematic itineraries.

→ SURVEY OF MUSEUM PROFESSIONALS

After the display analysis is complete we will interview the professionals involved at curatorial level in the production of the displays in question. The interviews will be semi-structured, and will serve to provide a historical, contextual and intellectual account of the processes of production of the displays. One result of this will be to create an "experience resource" for museum professionals interested in understanding the processes, philosophies and politics of producing displays relating to place and identity, migration, multiculturalism, citizenship and diversity.

→ VISITOR STUDIES

While essential to the RF01 research in order to ensure that the findings are not limited to the researchers' and producers' understandings of displays, the visitor studies to be undertaken have not yet been structured. However, as a primary method here we anticipate using qualitative, non-generalisable methods to gain in-depth understandings of the experiences and responses of a relatively small sample of research participants. Methods available to us here include:

- → semi-structured interviews;
- → focus groups;
- → accompanied visiting and "thinking aloud";
- → mind mapping;
- → using mobile technologies to film visits from the visitor's perspective, followed by interviews prompted by the footage – a possibility which is being developed in relation to MeLa partnership working with the Copenhagen Institute of Interactive Design.

These in-depth methods focused on individuals may be complemented

by more general surveys to provide more superficial and numerous responses to themes of interest (e.g. through questionnaires). However, given the complexity of the topics in question we believe that more general methods, while they may elicit a significant number of responses, cannot fully capture people's beliefs about the key themes of our work or the subtleties of their responses to relevant displays. As a consequence, these methods will constitute a secondary plank in our data collection.

The presentation and discussion of these analyses and the findings which emerge from them will form the content of the third book publication of Research Field 1 of the MeLa project.

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Christopher Whitehead is Professor of Museology and a member of the University's Cultural Affairs Steering Group and the Great North Museum's Board. His research activities focus on both historical and contemporary museology. He has published extensively in the field of art museum history, with particular emphases on architecture, display and knowledge construction. His second major strand of activity relates to education and interpretation practices in art museums and galleries, and includes considerable government-funded and policy-relevant research. In the context of museological study he has strong interests in learning theory, social constructionism, theories of representation, cartography and disciplinarity. He is the author of the following books: *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Ashgate 2005), *Museums and the Construction of Disciplines* (Bloomsbury/Duckworth Academic 2009) and *Interpreting Art in Museums and Galleries* (Routledge 2012).

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Susannah Eckersley is a Lecturer in Museum, Gallery, and Heritage Studies and Research Associate on the MeLA project. Susannah's PhD examined new museum building projects in the UK and Germany, focussing on the relationships between and influences of the key figures involved (museum directors, architects and local/regional government officials) against the context of the different historical developments of museums, cultural policy priorities and management styles in each country. Susannah's teaching combines these interests and her wider interest in issues of representing difficult histories (in particular in Germany). She is currently developing a new research project examining the representations of forced migration in museums, focussing in particular on the post World War II expulsions of Germans from east of the Oder-Neisse line (the post-war border between Germany and Poland).

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MeLa* - European Museums in an age of migrations

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RF01: Museums and Identity in History and Contemporaneity
examines the historical and contemporary relationships between museums, places and identities in Europe and the effects of migrations on museum practices.

RF02: Cultural Memory, Migrating Modernity and Museum Practices
transforms the question of memory into an unfolding cultural and historical problematic, in order to promote new critical and practical perspectives.

RF03: Network of Museums, Libraries and Public Cultural Institutions
investigates coordination strategies between museums, libraries and public cultural institutions in relation to European cultural and scientific heritage, migration and integration.

RF04: Curatorial and Artistic Research
explores the work of artists and curators on and with issues of migration, as well as the role of museums and galleries exhibiting this work and disseminating knowledge.

RF05: Exhibition Design, Technology of Representation and Experimental Actions
investigates and experiments innovative communication tools, ICT potentialities, user centered approaches, and the role of architecture and design for the contemporary museum.

RF06: Envisioning 21st Century Museums
fosters theoretical, methodological and operative contributions to the interpretation of diversities and commonalities within European cultural heritage, and proposes enhanced practices for the mission and design of museums in the contemporary multicultural society.

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PLACING MIGRATION IN EUROPEAN MUSEUMS

THEORETICAL, CONTEXTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

How might we understand and study museum representations pertaining to place, identity and migration in contemporary Europe? This question is addressed in this book, which is the first of a series produced by researchers at Newcastle University in the context of the EC-funded project 'European Museums in an Age of Migrations' (MeLa). The book sets out the theoretical and methodological premises for Research Field 1 of the MeLa project. This Research Field focuses on Museums and Identity in History and today, and will develop policy-relevant arguments concerning the cultural significance of place within museum representations for questions of contemporary European identities and notions of citizenship.

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COVER IMAGE — *Display detail, from 'Becoming a Copenhagener' exhibition, Museum of Copenhagen*

MeLa–European Museums in an age of migrations

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