RECONSTRUCTING MEMORY: NOSTALGIA, EVERYDAY OBJECTS AND IDENTITY

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the complex interplay between nostalgia, everyday objects, and individual/collective memory from a sociological perspective, using the Museum of Innocence as a case study. Applying the actor-network theory, the research conceptualizes everyday objects exhibited within the museum as "actors" around which individual/collective memories are reaffirmed and reconstructed. The study reveals how nostalgia, as a social spatio-temporal experience, serves as a way for the individuals to deal with the uncertainties of contemporary society. By shedding light on these dynamics, the research contributes to a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural significance of nostalgia, and memory revived around the objects and their implications for the construction of identity and cultural narratives.

Keywords: *Nostalgia, Memory, Object, Identity, Late Modernity*

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HAFIZAYI YENİDEN İNŞA ETMEK: NOSTALJİ, GÜNDELİK NESNELER VE KİMLİK

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Öz

Bu araştırma, sosyolojik bir perspektiften Masumiyet Müzesi'ni bir vaka çalışması olarak kullanarak nostalji, gündelik nesneler ve bireysel/kolektif hafıza arasındaki etkileşimi incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma, aktör-ağ teorisini kullanarak, müzede sergilenen gündelik nesneleri bireysel ve kolektif anıların yeniden canlandırılıp, yapılandırıldığı "eyleyenler" olarak kavramsallaştırmaktadır. Araştırma, nostaljinin mekânsal-zamansal ve toplumsal bir deneyim olduğunu vurgulayarak, çağdaş toplumsal düzenin belirsizliklerine karşı nasıl bir başa çıkma mekanizması olarak işlev gördüğünü ortaya koymaktadır. Araştırma, bu dinamiklere ışık tutarak gündelik nesneler etrafında canlandırılan nostalji ve belleğin sosyo-kültürel öneminin ve bunların kimlik ve kültürel anlatıların inşası üzerindeki etkilerinin anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nostalji, Hafıza, Nesne, Kimlik, Geç Modernite

1. INTRODUCTION

Nostalgia comes from the words *nostos* in Greek, to return home, and *algia,* a painful conditionality and a painful desire to return home (Wildschut et al., 2006). The term "nostalgia" was coined by the Swiss physician named Johannes Hofer at the end of the 18th century, it was intended to designate the state of extreme form of homesickness among Swiss defense mercenaries, installed far from their native land. Hofer (1934) defined nostalgia as "a cerebral disease"

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caused by "the quite continuous vibration of animal spirits through those fibers of the middle brain in which impressed traces of ideas of the Fatherland still cling". At that time, nostalgia was declared as a disease caused by atmospheric pressure by another physician, JJ Scheuchzer (Davis, 1979). The understanding of nostalgia has changed over the years beyond its initial medical connotations. Contemporary researchers, regard nostalgia as a "paradoxical, bittersweet" emotion (Batcho, 2013) characterized by a "sentimental longing or wistful affection for the past" (Pearsall, 1998), rather than a feeling of homesickness caused by an illness or disorder.

While research on nostalgia has traditionally focused on disciplines like psychology, history, and literature, there is now a growing emphasis on sociological perspectives in studying this sentiment. This shift recognizes nostalgia not only as an individual sentiment but as a collective experience intertwined with broader social context and cultural narratives. They argue that nostalgia is contemporary with modernity itself (Boym, 2001), has an ideological dimension (Stewart, 1993), and is commodified as a result of a new accelerated globalization phase (Jameson, 1991; Nieyemer, 2014). Although the nostalgia generally has a temporal dimension (Davis, 1979; Boym, 2001), its spatial dimension is left in the background. Nostalgic experiences are remembered and concretized by being fixed to the place. Everyday objects function as repositories of nostalgia, evoking emotions and memories that bridge the gap between past and present. The Museum of Innocence, created by Orhan Pamuk, serves as a striking example of this phenomenon. Through its curated collection of daily objects, the museum establishes a setting where nostalgia intersects with identity, culture, and history.

This research aims to explore the intricate interplay between nostalgia, everyday objects and individual/collective memory using the Museum of

Innocence as a case study. Drawing upon sociological theories such as actor-network theory, the research seeks to analyze the ways in which everyday objects become ''actors'' within the network of nostalgia, shaping and reshaping personal and societal narratives. By shedding light on these dynamics, the study aims to enhance the comprehension of the socio-cultural importance of nostalgia and its effects for identity construction and cultural memory.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study employed a multifaceted research approach to comprehensively investigate the phenomenon of nostalgia revived around daily objects, particularly within the context of the "Museum of Innocence". The approach involves a multifaceted examination, blending qualitative and interpretative methodologies. The primary method of data collecting is conducting in-depth interviews with museum visitors. This approach enables a comprehensive knowledge of their emotional reactions, memories, and the importance they assign to the displayed objects. We conducted a total of 14 semi-structured interviews, evenly distributed between 7 men and 7 women. The participants' ages ranged from 25 to 46 and they represented various occupations, including personnel in the private sector, students, teachers, directors, and writers.[*] As the age profile of museum visitors aligns with this age group, we have selected individuals from this age bracket for the interviews. The selected participants were interviewed using a semi-structured approach to gain detailed understanding of their emotional responses, memories, and the importance they assigned to the daily objects displayed at the Museum of Innocence. The interview protocol comprised of open-ended inquiries formulated to stimulate

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[*] The data used in this study were collected in 2015 as part of the author's thesis.

participants to contemplate their personal experiences, associations, and interpretations of the museum exhibits.

Thematic analysis was employed to organize and interpret the data within the transcripts. The process of data analysis followed a systematic approach to identify recurring themes and patterns within the interview transcripts. Firstly, transcripts were reviewed and coded to identify preliminary themes and categories emerging from the data. Themes were identified based on patterns of meaning, recurrent ideas, and conceptual relationships observed across interviews. Data saturation was achieved when no new themes or insights emerged from subsequent interviews, indicating a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

Furthermore, participant observation is employed to document the nuanced complexities of the interaction between individuals and objects, unveiling the process by which the past is revived within the carefully curated environment of the museum. This qualitative aspect provides a wider viewpoint for our comprehension, enabling us to gain generalizable insights into how everyday objects evoke nostalgia and recall.

3. THE MUSEUM OF INNOCENCE AS A SPACE OF ''STYLIZED'' MEMORY

The Museum of Innocence is a both literary work authored by Orhan Pamuk, a Turkish writer who was awarded the Nobel Prize and a physical museum established by him. The novel takes place in Istanbul from 1975 until the early 2000s and chronicles the romantic relationship between Kemal, a wealthy businessman, and Füsun, a distant relative. Kemal Basmacı, son of one of the most affluent families in the city, is about to get into an engagement with Sibel, daughter of another influential family. While shopping for his fiancée's purse,

he encounters Füsun, a stunning salesperson and distant relative. A profound and passionate bond forms between them following their encounter. Kemal is deeply in love with Füsun, however he persistently refuses to acknowledge his feelings. Therefore, Kemal deliberately isolated himself from the affluent upper class of Istanbul and its way of life. Kemal's daydream is abruptly disrupted when Füsun vanishes following her observation of his engagement. He ultimately finds Füsun, who is now married to Feridun, a filmmaker. Following a span of seven years and ten months, Kemal, who regularly spends evenings with Füsun's family, successfully arranges a gathering with the film community, where he treats Füsun and her husband. His funding of the establishment of his own film company is signified by this occasion. Kemal becomes an obsessive collector of artifacts that document his romantic development as a result of his mission. He amasses various objects as a symbolic gesture of his affection for Füsun and his belief in her purity. In the end, Füsun and her spouse separate due to circumstances precipitated by the demise of Füsun's father. Kemal, having lost Füsun in the car accident, makes the decision to transform Füsun's residence into the Museum of Innocence, which will contain not only the aforementioned artifacts but also other period-related memorabilia. The narrative structure of the novel is predicated on the manner in which commonplace objects, their intricacies, and their capacity to elicit recollections from an earlier time period are central.

Orhan Pamuk has been concurrently developing his idea for the novel and the museum since the 1990s. While writing the novel, he started to contemplate the museum and collected items he noticed and admired at thrift stores and friends' businesses as he wandered through the neighborhoods near his office. He then began to construct the story of Füsun and Kemal. The museum includes a fictional section to set the period's ambiance, while Pamuk aimed to meticulously depict all elements for visitors to experience and recall the daily

life in Istanbul throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The Museum of Innocence displays common artifacts including cinema tickets, certificates, restaurant bills, taxi meters, and clocks that are described in the novel.

The Museum of Innocence presents stylized and fictionalized memories that are specifically related with the concept of "innocence". These memories are constructed in a way that conveys a particular interpretation and perspective of the context they want to reflect. The museum brings together everyday objects by placing them in a different context and historical setting, removing their practical function and historical significance. The objects within the museum, representing and embodying these "stylized" memories, are said to be equipped with "an aura of innocence", that creates an atmosphere or perception that shields them from criticism and questioning. (Dirlikyapan, 2020: 39). In that sense, the curated and stylized representation of memories in the Museum of Innocence contributes to a particular understanding of history. With this deliberate stylization, the museum aims to offer a selective and subjective interpretation of historical events or cultural contexts.

4. THE SOCIAL FRAMEWORKS OF MEMORY: TRANSMUTATIONS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL MEMORY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Memory is intricately connected to social context and relationships, as individuals construct their own histories and narratives through social interactions. Maurice Halbwachs (1992), French philosopher and sociologist, is attributed with being the first to highlight the social dimension of memory and to introduce the notion of collective memory. According to Halbwachs, memory is a collective phenomenon rather than an individual one. He argues that individuals' memories are shaped by the collective context in which they exist, influenced by the established norms, values, and beliefs of that particular group (Halbwachs, 1992: 38). Time dedication, physical presence, group commitment,

and historical recollection are crucial factors in shaping communal memory. An act of remembering is inherently tied to the dimensions of time and space, as the experience occurs within a certain temporal and spatial context. Paul Connerton (1989), another scholar who places emphasis on the collective and social dimensions of memory, argues that social memory, which pertains to the collective memory of a given community, serves to unite members of that community and sustains society via the processes of transmission and repetition. Connerton discusses "commemorative ceremonies" and "bodily practices" as social processes that are accountable for the preservation and transmission of social memory (Connerton, 1989: 40). Memory is integrated into social practices through these processes.

In Turkey, establishing social or collective memory and its historical continuity is a fundamental issue. Social memory building was accomplished through the selective process of recalling official historiography. This historical phenomenon, shaped by the official historical narrative, serves as a significant instrument of power in reshaping collective memory. Anthropologist Esra Özyürek who researches memory in Turkey, asserts that the Turkish Republic was established based on the act of forgetting (Özyürek, 2007: 3). Özyürek (2007) correlates this memory loss with the process of constructing a nation, stating that the founders of the new government determined that to establish a fresh identity for the emerging nation, they needed to eliminate the Ottoman legacy. The inability to confront the national and recent past progresses together with an interest in certain idealized or glorified images and narratives of the past. In this sense, it has been revealed that "memory boom" and "social amnesia" are experienced simultaneously in Turkey (Suner, 2005). In recent years, the increasing demand for historical novels or TV series and the revival of retro music and fashion trends can be seen as reflections of this "memory boom" (Özyürek, 2001). The Museum of Innocence appears as an example of

the articulation of this nostalgia culture by rearranging the parts of everyday objects that interfere with collective and cultural memories in accordance with the "memory boom".

5. OBJECTS AS ''PLACES OF MEMORY'': MATERIALITY AND AGENCY

Contemporary memory culture focuses on memorials, places, and objects, exemplified as the Museum of Innocence and its collection of common items. These sites and objects serve as a means of preserving and archiving the past, but they also indicate the lack of genuine and active memory as proposed by Pierre Nora (1984: 18). Once the rituals and memory contexts vanish, just the physical locations that evoke the past's enduring character remain. Places of memory are artificial constructs that supplant living and authentic memories (Nora, 1984: 24). Everyday objects can trigger memories by solidifying personal experiences and memories, preserving the past in the present. They can function as reminders of specific periods or events in daily life and can be displayed as collections at a museum.

The sociological research has only recently started to consider the social significance of material things. Until recent studies in the social sciences, the focus has primarily been on topics such as consumption, production, identity, and exchange. Recently, this viewpoint has been criticized in the social sciences for overlooking the possible social functions of material aspects in shaping social connections and interactions. Ian Hodder states that humans are deliberate in their production of artifacts. Social actors employ material culture to intentionally or unintentionally influence the social realm (Hodder, 2007: 29-37). Material culture is dynamic since it is utilized by individuals to accomplish social objectives. Alfred Gell who puts forward a new anthropological theory of art contends that "agency" is ascribed to individuals and objects that are perceived to originate specific causal sequences, specifically occurrences

resulting from deliberate acts of the mind or will (Gell, 1998: 13-16). He observes that things are not capable of independent action, but are inevitably influenced by the intents of social actors. Subjects assign the attribute of "agency" to objects by imbuing them with intentionality, ascribing meanings, values, and allowing for various implications.

Gell's (1998) anthropological approach maintains an ontological separation between subject and object, whereas Actor-network theory (ANT) views the world as an intricate network of non-human actors that play a role in human and interconnected network formation. Originating in the field of science and technology studies by Bruno Latour and his colleagues, ANT's focus is on the connections between humans and non-human entities, such as objects and nature, without categorizing them into separate ontological groups (Latour, 1993). Bruno Latour (2004) believes that humans and non-human entities are consistently interconnected within a network of relationships. Actor-network theory posits that non-human elements have agency that enables them to act on things and become ''actors''. From the ANT's perspective it can be argued that objects carry, shape, distort and transform the meanings and fragments of the spatial-tempo of the social reality.

In the context of Museum of Innocence, the biographical stories of the participants are generated through and around objects, when the participants interact with objects. They tend to view these objects as integral to their personal memories, separate from the novel's setting. Essentially, the daily objects as "actors" have an influence on the narratives associated with individual's past experiences.

6. EXHIBITING CLASS: THE ROLE OF OBJECTS IN CONSTRUCTING CULTURAL NARRATIVES

Material things have a fundamental role in the initial stages of production and consumption relationships. According to Baudrillard, products in consumer society possess not only use value and exchange value, but also sign value, which represents social status and distinction. He asserts that the exhibition of merchandise that enables individuals to attain social status and establish their sense of self (Baudrillard, 1981: 65-66, 115-116). Therefore, the concept of sign value has become a crucial component of goods in a consumer-driven society. The number and sorts of relationships we form with objects can indicate our social class. For instance, the lifestyles of the bourgeois or petty bourgeois are characterized by an abundant array of possessions. Thus, it may be argued that the amassing of possessions and the need for adequate space to showcase them necessitates the presence of a specific level of economic capital. In the context of Museum of Innocence, Kemal - in other words Orhan Pamuk - materializes Füsun's love and obsession through the collection and exhibition of things associated with her. Kemal's privileged class position is evident through his collection practices and consumption habits, particularly in establishing a museum, which reflects his economic and cultural capital.

The process of globalization has resulted in the removal of obstacles to the worldwide flow of money, goods, services, and people. This has further strengthened the concept of consumer society, resulting in a significant and quick growth in the diversity and quantity of consumer products. The interconnection allows customers to easily access a broader range of items and technologies, leading to a culture of fast consumption and disposability. Consequently, there has been a shift in focus from the symbolic and emotional significance of things, as individuals now favor efficiency and originality over forming long-lasting attachments to particular items. In the Turkish context, globalization is linked to the shift towards a neoliberal economy during the tenure of Turgut Özal's government. The political regime underwent a shift

towards liberalism, accompanied by a transition in economic policy towards a free market system. As a result of this shift, The Turkish market has experienced an infusion of new international consumer brands as restrictions on imported products have been relaxed for the first time. With the arrival of multinational merchants in the local market, Turkish consumers were exposed to a wider selection of advanced technical products, a broader range of retail items, and a global assortment of essential and luxury consumer goods (Bali, 2004:17). Some participants highlighted that the emotional connection to material possessions in our consumer-driven society is not as strong or individualized compared to times when there was a scarcity of things, products, and brands. Participant 9 (personal communication):

> Before it became more valuable, there were few goods. It was more important to keep the few possessions we had. Now there is everything in great amounts; I'm not sure if my daughter will state that there were some at home; in that sense, there are designer goods that I used.

> ''In my youth, when Turkey was able to have economic diversity, the worth of things began to lose their meaning. But when I was younger, I recall having months' worth of stuff, making it more valuable'' (Participant 12, personal communication).

Both of these participants emphasize how the relationship between individuals and objects has changed as Turkey's consumer society has developed. Products that were once scarce have now become available everywhere, which has led to a weakening of the emotional ties established with consumer objects. Participants express a nostalgia for a time when material possessions held deeper emotional significance, contrasting sharply with the contemporary consumer-driven society. Besides the collection and exhibition of objects at

museums that reflect social class, it becomes evident that the relationship formed with these displayed objects is also influenced by social class. One interviewee expresses his difficulty to form a personal connection with the museum's objects, and notes that the memories being evoked at the museum are influenced by social class. As Participant 11 (personal communication) mentioned:

> I am from a lower-middle socio-professional class. The project was done along the Nişantaşı axis. I never felt close, but this is not a criticism. Orhan Pamuk's book focuses on the elite framework of society, which may be why it lacks readership. Kemal Tahir, on the other hand, focuses on the working classes and their social commentary, while the other author focuses on the wealthy classes. But I lived during his time, and I may not have been able to be present, so thematic remarks such as unattainable love and family life elicit a reaction in a short period of time, but this does not establish a relationship with me.

This interviewee highlights the tension between personal experience and the social class narrative depicted by the Museum of Innocence. While the museum focuses on objects connected to the affluent, upper-middle-class circles of Istanbul, particularly in neighborhoods like Nişantaşı, this interviewee, who identifies as having a lower-middle-class background, finds it difficult to engage with the narrative.   Furthermore, another interviewee asserts that the portrayal of Istanbul in the Museum of Innocence is a reflection of the author's social standing and cultural background, as well as his cultural norms and values. Consequently, the museum only portrays a specific social group or class that possesses both economic and cultural capital. Participant 3 (personal communication) explained:

> He wants to convey universal messages, yet he exclusively addresses the wealthy. But, of course, he is one of the most educated people, distinguishing secular people from the "uneducated" and "non-secular". There is a cleaning lady who has been coming to our house for ten years, has never read these novels, but is quite intelligent and has a unique perspective on Istanbul. She lives in Küçük Armutlu, a shantytown with a view of the Bosphorus Bridge, which has nothing to do with the Istanbul that is discussed. It's tough to describe a universal Istanbul for someone who lives in the Fatih district because his bottle of vodka says nothing. So the point I made is quite problematic.

This interviewee questions the universality of the museum's depiction of the city and its material culture, arguing that it primarily appeals to the wealthy and educated, while excluding working-class perspectives that represent a different version of Istanbul. The objects exhibited in the Museum of Innocence reflect the experiences and lifestyles of a certain social class or group. Therefore, individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds have difficulty establishing a personal connection with them. In this regard, it could be claimed that the Museum of Innocence endeavors to evoke the collective memory of a specific social group or class within the Turkish context.

7. THE NOSTALGIC EXPERIENCE TO RECONSTRUCT A PAST BETWEEN REALITY AND IMAGINATION

The Museum of Innocence is explained by the fictional lives of fictional characters described in the novel, but it is explained through "real" objects. In this regard, it creates an atmosphere with blurred boundaries between reality and imagination, experience and fiction. The Museum of Innocence appears only as a representation of the daily life of Istanbul in the given periods. At this

point, it is worth briefly mentioning Orhan Pamuk's particular representation of Istanbul in accordance with his novels also in the Museum of Innocence. We can also follow some traces of this representation in the Museum of Innocence. Pamuk (2009) described residents located in Çukurcuma as follows:

> It was a mixed neighborhood: Galata dockworkers, clerks and owners of small shops in the backstreets of Beyoğlu, Romany families who had moved there from Tophane, Kurdish Alevi families from Tunceli the impoverished children and grandchildren of the Italians and Levantines who had once worked as clerks in Beyoğlu or Bank Street, a handful of the old Greek families who, like them, still could not find it in them to leave Istanbul, and various employees of bakeries and depots, taxi drivers, postmen, grocers. (p: 277-278)

Pamuk's portrayal of Istanbul emphasizes the city's once multicultural and cosmopolitan nature. Nevertheless, the representation of the social world remains impertinent because the representation frameworks inevitably choose to include certain facts while excluding certain components of a multifaceted reality (Hall, 1997: 44). Within this framework, museums emerge as places where memory and representation systems that influence the ways in which individuals and groups interact with the past are constructed. As such a context in which representations become predominant than historical reality, the majority of respondents tend to approach museum objects, reflecting historically and directly of daily life in a given period of Istanbul. Participant 1 (personal communication) mentioned:

> It is talked about very often in our family, because my parents still miss that old Istanbul, that is, that feeling. There were no such buildings in the past, there were mulberry fields around here.

There were pictures there, small photographs in the museum, in the glass cases, it was very nice to have the chance to observe them, I think it really strengthened that moment, where people were sitting, what that neighborhood was like, where they ate, what items they used, since it was already discussed, this was also there, my father was telling me. I was able to make a connection because my mother was telling me.

The museum founder's collection of daily objects has the capacity to elicit subjective recollections from visitors and their families, relating to their personal history, childhood, and/or adolescence. As revealed in this interview, the museum through everyday objects does not represent a real or lived past, but rather it reduces it to the fragments or cultural stereotypes of the past which is supposed to be represented in the museum. An "imaginary" story was created and gave rise to an aspiration of a past that is not real or experienced in the museum as stated by Participant 7 (personal communication):

My mother tells me like in the Turkish film Ayşecik, there was an Ibo uncle, he bought me a dog, it was always about a neighborhood culture, even if he lived in Etiler, he came all time to speak with traders. Even if it is no longer about objects, there is still this subculture. In Istanbul there were not many objects, we only saw the American bazaar which sold different goods and even if İbo came from a wealthy family of 8 children he had appropriated this subculture.

The participant's narrative illustrates how she integrates the objects on display in the museum with her nostalgia for Istanbul's past. The participant's nostalgia suggests a yearning for a time when Istanbul was characterized by a diverse cultural landscape and vibrant social interactions. This multicultural portrayal of

Istanbul that Orhan Pamuk frequently emphasizes is closely associated with the neighborhood culture and its nostalgic image. The nostalgic narrative of Istanbul's past concentrated on the city's history of harboring a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-cultural coexistence. This cosmopolitanism constitutes the urban social memory that is associated with the lengthy social and cultural history of the "mahalle" as the space of daily life in an urban environment, as well as a space that consolidates ethnic and religious communities in various residential areas of the city (Mills, 2010: 24-25). Participant 1 (personal communication explained:

> It is really encouraging, first of all, Şişli, Osmanbey, and Beyoğlu is protected, and the places where old families reside are more orderly, everyone knows each other, and there is a city life there, which I really like, but if a city can be formed, here is it. It will have a park, a movie theater, a patisserie, and a city that celebrates neighborhood culture.

This participant's narrative also reproduces Orhan Pamuk's special representation of Istanbul, which emphasizes its cosmopolitan texture and neighborhood culture. Nevertheless, the term "cosmopolitanism" may evolve into a problematic term. It is generally used in reference to nostalgia and it raises the question of the relationship between nostalgia and memory. Currently, this term is used for Istanbul's "lost" ethnic, religious minority groups and their ethnic and religious harmonies and tolerance towards them. However, as Amy Mills discovers in the Kuzguncuk case, this idealized image of multi-religious and multi-ethnic harmony actually obscures the deep histories of social fragmentation and discrimination and the painful memories of these minority groups (Mills, 2010: 24-25). Participant 8 (personal communication) stated:

> Orhan Pamuk is from the upper middle class or upper class, and he has a tendency to constantly tell and explain the state of this class in his novels. On the other hand, it tends to eliminate the problems created by this class by the aestheticization of moving to nostalgic images.

This participant emphasizes again that the objects and representations presented by the Museum of Innocence construct the identity and cultural memory of a certain social class. In doing so, it can be discussed how nostalgia ignores the socio-economic and socio-cultural context, reducing only an "idealized" and "innocent" past isolated from its historicity to an object(s) of aesthetic experience.

Nostalgia seems to be a frequently referenced emotion when participants talked about their interaction with objects in the museum. The term "nostalgia" is generally used for the desire to return to times gone by or places that have disappeared, when life seemed "better", "more pleasant" and "happier". Frederic Jameson reveals that in the age of late capitalism, where the dominance of postmodern cultural features is effective, time is broken off from its historicity in a "schizophrenic" perception of time and reduced to a continuous present (Jameson, 1991: 284). With the disappearance of the notion of historicity, nostalgia does not seek to rediscover or represent the "real" past, but revolves around certain myths and cultural stereotypes about the past, a kind of the "idealized" past (Fritzsche, 2001). Nostalgia is also evident in interviews where individuals discuss past periods and locations that they have not directly experienced as expressed by Participant 5 (personal communication):

> Though I haven't lived the old Istanbul my mother did, I might be yearning for it. For me, nostalgia is something else entirely, hence

I might really miss it. Based on what they tell, objects seem to be more personalized. For instance, it could be a toy I grew up with, but what my mother—who has now passed away—told me might be something we used to have. Though it may not be with us right now, it may be something I truly miss and want our house had right now.

According to the participant, nostalgia is not exclusively associated with a period that the individual has directly experienced, it can also encompass a yearning for something that the individual has internalized but has not yet experienced. The nostalgia that interviewers contemplate upon is not a retrieval of authentic history, but rather a reconstruction of emotional, idealized narratives that echo cultural stereotypes that have been passed down through generations. This form of nostalgia allows individuals to maintain a connection to the past, even in the event that it is inaccessible or unexperienced. As individuals recall and reflect on their memories, they may inadvertently introduce biases or inaccuracies, reshaping the narrative to fit their current understanding or emotional need. Even though every act of remembering is tied to a past event or experience, the temporal status of any act of remembering is always present (Huyssen, 1995: 3).

In this framework, he past is continually reinterpreted and reimagined through aesthetic representations, allowing it to coexist with contemporary experiences. As individuals engage with memory, they actively select, reinterpret, and sometimes distort aspects of the past in the (re)construction of their identities. This selective process is crucial, as memory does not function merely as a passive repository of information; rather, it is a dynamic process that prioritizes certain narratives while omitting others. This selective nature of memory can create an illusion of continuity across time (Halbwachs, 1980: 82).

Collective memory constructs a lasting self-portrait by bridging the gaps between past and present or emphasizing similarities through analogies. The perception of continuity is evident in the narratives of our participants. The majority of our participants tend to the museum's representation as reflecting the daily life of Istanbul between certain periods from a historically realistic perspective. They refer to certain similarities or analogies between the representations of the museum and their autobiographies. As revealed in the interviews, certain participants emphasized the prevalence of collecting everyday objects in their own homes or in the homes of future generations. They also focused on the cosmopolitan past of the city, referring to the nostalgic narration of Istanbul's past.

8. CONCLUSION

This study highlights that nostalgia is not merely an individual emotion but a multifaceted phenomenon that interacts with socio-cultural contexts, particularly in relation to Orhan Pamuk's ''Museum of Innocence''. The everyday objects exhibited in the museum function as significant instruments that reconstruct both personal and collective memories, revealing the importance of temporal and spatial dimensions in shaping identity. These objects act as anchors for memories, bridging the gap between past and present, and thus play a central role in the construction of collective identity.

However, the selective nature of the narratives presented within the museum reveals that nostalgia is often exclusive, favoring certain memories while marginalizing others. In the liquid modern world where fragmentation and uncertainty prevail, as described by Zygmunt Bauman (2000), nostalgia serves as a tool for providing individuals with a semblance of continuity and security. Yet, this continuity is limited, as it reflects the experiences of a specific group, ultimately creating a fragmented collective memory.

The scope of this study is limited to the construction of memory through material objects. However, our findings can extend to examine the impact of digital tools and practices on memory construction, particularly how the relationship between nostalgia and museum representation is reflected on digital platforms. This opens up avenues for exploring the transformation of collective memory in digital media and how different social groups are represented on these platforms.

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Etik Kurul Kararı

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Giriş

Nostalji kavramı, öncelikle tıbbi bir hastalığı ifade etmek için kullanılmasına rağmen tarihsel süreç içerisinde farklı anlamlar kazanmıştır. Çağdaş araştırmacılar; nostaljiyi, bir hastalık ya da bozukluğun neden olduğu sıla hasreti duygusundan ziyade, "geçmişe duyulan duygusal özlem ya da hüzünlü bir sevgi" (Pearsall, 1998) ile karakterize edilen "paradoksal, acı-tatlı" bir duygu (Batcho, 2013) olarak tanımlamaktadır. Nostalji üzerine yapılan araştırmalar geleneksel olarak psikoloji, tarih ve edebiyat gibi disiplinlere odaklanırken, artık bu duyguyu incelerken sosyolojik perspektiflere yapılan vurgu giderek artmaktadır. Nostalji yalnızca bireysel bir duygu olarak değil, daha geniş bir sosyal ve kültürel bağlam içerisinde kolektif bir deneyim olarak da kabul edilmektedir.

Nostaljik deneyimler mekâna sabitlenerek hatırlanmakta ve somutlaştırılmaktadır. Kişisel ve kolektif hafızanın somutlaştığı en önemli bağlamlardan biri olan gündelik nesneler, nostalji deposu olarak işlev görmekte, geçmişle bugün arasındaki uçurumu kapatan duyguları ve anıları çağrıştırmaktadır. Orhan Pamuk'un yarattığı Masumiyet Müzesi, bu olgunun çarpıcı bir örneğini oluşturmaktadır. Müze, günlük objelerden oluşan özenle seçilmiş koleksiyonuyla nostaljinin kimlik, kültür ve tarihle kesiştiği bir ortam oluşturmaktadır. Bu araştırma, Masumiyet Müzesi'ni bir vaka çalışması olarak ele alarak nostalji, gündelik nesneler ve bireysel/kolektif hafıza arasındaki karmaşık etkileşimi araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Metodoloji

Bu araştırma, günlük nesneler etrafında yeniden canlanan nostalji olgusunu, "Masumiyet Müzesi" bağlamında kapsamlı bir şekilde incelemek için, nitel ve yorumlayıcı metodolojileri bir araya getirmiştir. Veri toplamanın temel yöntemi kapsamında; 7 erkek ve 7 kadın olmak üzere toplam 14 müze ziyaretçisiyle yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme gerçekleştirilmiştir. Transkriptlerdeki verileri düzenlemek ve yorumlamak için tematik analiz kullanılmıştır. Temalar, görüşmelerde gözlemlenen anlam kalıplarına, yinelenen fikirlere ve kavramsal ilişkilere göre belirlenmiştir.

Hafızanın Toplumsal Çerçeveleri: Bireysel Hafıza ile Toplumsal Hafıza Arasındaki Dönüşümler

Maurice Halbwachs (1992), belleğin toplumsal boyutunu vurgulayan ve ''kolektif bellek'' kavramını ortaya atan ilk sosyologtur. Halbwachs'a göre, hafıza bireysel olmaktan ziyade kolektif bir olgudur. Halbwachs, bireylerin anılarının içinde bulundukları kolektif bağlam tarafından şekillendiğini, o grubun yerleşik normlarından, değerlerinden ve inançlarından etkilendiğini savunmaktadır. (Halbwachs, 1992, s.38). Deneyim belirli bir zamansal ve mekânsal bağlamda meydana geldiğinden, hatırlama eylemi de zaman ve mekân boyutlarına bağlı olarak gerçekleşmektedir.

Son yıllarda, Türkiye bağlamında tarihi romanlara ve dizilere olan talebin artması, retro müzik ve moda akımlarının yeniden canlanması "hafıza patlamasının" yansımaları olarak görülebilir. (Özyürek, 2001) Masumiyet Müzesi, gündelik nesnelerin kolektif ve kültürel hafızaya müdahale eden kısımlarını "hafıza patlamasına" uygun olarak yeniden düzenleyerek bu nostalji kültürüne eklemlenmesinin güncel bir örneği olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Hafıza Mekânları Olarak Nesneler: Maddesellik ve Faillik

Hafıza mekânları, geçmişi koruma ve arşivleme aracı olarak hizmet ederken aynı zamanda Pierre Nora'nın (1984: 18) öne sürdüğü gibi ''gerçek'' ve ''aktif'' hafızanın eksikliğine de işaret etmektedir. Ritüeller ve hafıza bağlamları ortadan kaybolduğunda geriye yalnızca geçmişin kalıcı karakterini hatırlatan fiziksel yerler kalmaktadır. Gündelik nesneler de bu bağlamda, kişisel deneyimleri ve anıları pekiştirerek, geçmişi şimdiki zamanda koruyarak anıları tetikleyebilmektedir.

Aktör-ağ teorisi, insan olmayan unsurların, olaylar üzerinde hareket etmelerine ve aktörler haline gelmelerine olanak tanıyan bir failliğe sahip olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Bu yaklaşım doğrultusunda, gündelik nesneler de "aktörler" olarak diğer nesnelerle bir etkileşim ağına katılmakta; bu etkileşim ağı içerisinde toplumsal gerçekliğe dair farklı boyutları temsil edip, dönüştürebilmektedir.

Masumiyet Müzesi bağlamında görüşmecilerin biyografik hikayeleri, müzede sergilenen nesnelerle etkileşime girdiklerinde bu nesneler aracılığıyla ve onların etrafında ortaya çıkmaktadır. Katılımcılar bu nesneleri müzenin/romanın ortamından ayrı olarak, kişisel anılarının ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak görme eğilimine sahiplerdir. Bu bakımdan, günlük nesnelerin "aktörler" olarak bireyin geçmiş deneyimlerine ilişkin anlatıları üzerinde etkisi olduğu ortaya konulmuştur.

Sınıfsal Dinamikleri Sergilemek: Kültürel Anlatıları İnşa Etmede Nesnelerin Rolü

Nesnelerle kurulan ilişkiler, bireylerin toplumsal sınıf konumlarını açığa çıkarmaktadır. Özellikle burjuva ve küçük burjuva sınıflarının yaşam tarzları, büyük ölçüde maddi eşyaların biriktirilmesi ve sergilenmesiyle karakterize edilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, eşyaların biriktirilmesi ve sergilenmesi için yeterli mekân ihtiyacı, belirli bir ekonomik sermaye düzeyini gerektirmektedir. Masumiyet Müzesi bağlamında, Kemal Füsun'a duyduğu aşkı ve saplantısını, ona ait nesneleri toplama ve sergileme yoluyla somutlaştırmaktadır. Kemal'in 'ayrıcalıklı' sınıfsal konumu, özellikle müze kurma pratiği aracılığıyla, onun ekonomik ve kültürel sermayesini açığa çıkarmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Kemal'in koleksiyonculuk faaliyetleri ve tüketim alışkanlıkları, sınıfsal ayrıcalıklarının ve toplumsal konumunun belirgin göstergeleridir.

Katılımcıların anlatılarından yola çıkarak, *Masumiyet Müzesi*'nde sergilenen nesnelerin belirli bir sınıfsal anlatıya hizmet ettiği ve özellikle üst-orta sınıfa ait yaşam biçimlerini yansıttığı ifade edilmektedir. Bu çerçevede, farklı sosyoekonomik arka planlara sahip bireylerin müzedeki nesnelerle kişisel bir bağ kurmakta zorlandıkları ve müzenin evrensel bir hafıza yerine belirli bir sınıfın kolektif belleğini temsil ettiği ileri sürülmektedir.

Nostaljik Deneyim: Gerçek ile Tahayyül Arasındaki Geçmişi Yeniden İnşa Etmek

Frederic Jameson, postmodern kültürel özelliklerin hâkim olduğu geç kapitalizm çağında "şizofrenik" bir zaman algısında zamanın tarihselliğinden koparak sürekli bir şimdiye indirgendiğinden bahsetmektedir (Jameson, 1991: 284). Tarihsellik kavramının ortadan kalkmasıyla birlikte nostalji, "gerçek" geçmişi yeniden keşfetmeye ya da temsil etmeye çalışmaz; geçmişle ilgili belirli mitler ve kültürel stereotipler, bir tür "idealleştirilmiş" geçmiş üzerinden kendini var etmektedir. (Fritzsche, 2001) Görüşmeci röportajlarında da ortaya çıktığı üzere, geçmişi idealleştirmeye ya da geçmişin daha olumlu bir versiyonunu sunmaya yönelik nostaljik bir eğilim her zaman vardır. Bireylerin doğrudan deneyimlemedikleri geçmiş dönemleri ve mekânları tartıştıkları röportajlarda nostalji anlatısı kendini açıkça göstermektedir.

Bu bağlamda nostalji, geçmiş olayların yalnızca doğru bir şekilde hatırlanması değil, geçmişin seçici ve idealize edilmiş bir tasviridir. Bireyler anılarını hatırladıkça ve onlar üzerinde düşünürken, istemeden önyargılar veya yanlışlıklar ortaya çıkarabilir, anlatıyı mevcut anlayışlarına veya duygusal ihtiyaçlarına uyacak şekilde yeniden şekillendirebilirler. Her hatırlama eylemi geçmiş bir olaya veya deneyime bağlı olsa da herhangi bir hatırlama eyleminin

zamansal durumu her zaman mevcuttur. (Huyssen, 1995: 3). Bu bakımdan nostaljiye de özgü olan seçici hatırlama/unutma süreci, geçmiş ile bugünü birbirine bağlayan bir süreklilik algısının oluşmasına katkı sağlamaktadır.